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Mosaic floor of the Synagogue at el-Hammeh
(Southern panel of nave, partly reconstructed).

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A NOTE ON FOUR TURKISH RENAISSANCE BUILDINGS IN RAMLEH

H. WADDINGTON

(JERUSALEM)

In the 12th and 13th centuries of the Hijra[1] there developed in Palestine and Syria a very charming and straightforward style of architecture, which was employed mostly on the better class of house. This style may conveniently be called Turkish renaissance.

In Ramleh, as in other towns and villages, it is exemplified by a number of houses, four of which are the subject of this article. It is difficult to assign an exact date to them, but the Qaṣr Ḥasan ed-Darwîsh is said to be 150 years old and it is probable that this is within fifty years of the actual date.[2]

It is beyond the scope of this note to go fully into all the details of these houses, so that a distinct and delightful feature common to them all, the upper room,[3] is primarily described. This was by no means a new feature in Palestinian architecture, for it is referred to both in the Old and the New Testaments.

DÂR EL-ASHʿARI

Dâr el-Ashʿari is on the west side of the town, not far from the Convent of St. Nicodemus of Arimathea and close to the tomb of Sheikh Ḥammâr.

The entrance is on the north-east, at the end of a set-back from the road, and a short crooked passage leads into the courtyard round which are ranged on the south, an open-sided room—the

[1] A. D. 1694–1886

[2] Since the above was written, I learn from *waqf* documents, now in Jaffa, that the building of Qaṣr Waqf Abu'l-Huda was begun in 1125 A. H.

[3] *ʿilliyyeh.* In these cases on the first floor, but often, especially in town houses, on the second or even third floors.

riwâq[1]—and on the other three sides several large and some small rooms which may not all have been built at the same time. In fact, judging by the differing types of stone-dressing, it would seem that the north and west parts were added later.

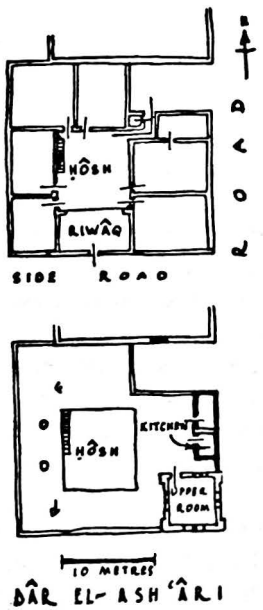


Fig. 1.

Stairs along the west side of the court lead up to the roof and the upper room, which is at the south-east corner of the building with a small kitchen to the north.

The door of the upper room is on the north with a blocked-up window on the east (see Plate I. 1. and the plan of the upper room, Fig. 2). The four windows of this room had, and still have despite the blockings-up, a central mullion and an eight-pointed opening above, the upper part being of thicker masonry than the mullion. The treatment is reminiscent of Gothic tracery 500 years earlier in Europe. The room is roofed with a dome which is supported on thin wall arches and pendentives.[2] The under surface of the dome is plastered and decorated with two interlacing fourpointed moulded plaster stars and there is a small shallow dome in the centre which is decorated with spiral flutings.

Externally the room is buttressed at each end of the east and west walls, those on the east each being supported by four corbel stones. The lower part of the dome is octagonal externally (see Plate III 3.)

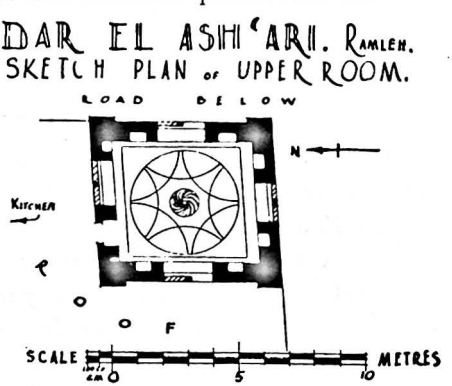


Fig. 2.

[1] Known in Egypt as *takhtabōsh*. See LANE POOLE, *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*. 1886, p. 77, and BRIGGS, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, 1924, p. 150.

[2] *Rukbeh*.

XV

QAṢR WAQF ABU'L-HUDA

Qaṣr Waqf Abu'l-Huda is on a corner site to the south of the Great Mosque, and opposite the government offices.

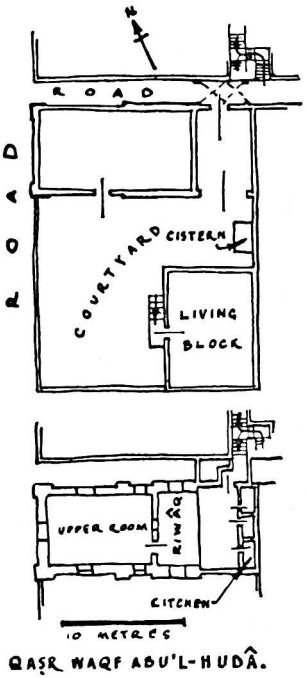


Fig. 3.

The entrance to the courtyard is on the north-east below an arch over a road and through a big doorway and a vaulted passage (see Fig. 3). The old main part of the building is along the north and the present living quarters are a two-storey building to the south-east.

The roof of the old block is approached by a winding stairway on the further side of the road. This stair also gives on to a house which connects with the Dâr esh-Sheikh Suleimân et-Tâji. The roof of Qaṣr Waqf Abu'l-Huda is a court[1] above the entrance doorway in the road below, and there is a series of small rooms—kitchen, etc.,—along the left (east) side, and a *riwâq* on the west which is roofed by a cross vault with a small dome in the centre (see Plate II. 1. and Fig. 4).

The door in the *riwâq* leads to the upper room which is built in two bays, the more easterly being a wide but shallow barrel vault with intersecting vaults north and south and a small central dome, and separated from the main bay by an arch. This main western bay is

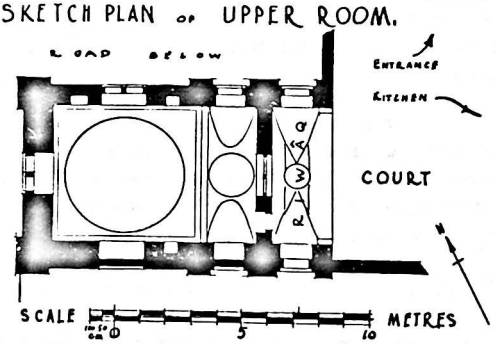


Fig. 4.

[1] *Ḥaḍīr* or *Stīḥah*. See CANAAN, *Palestinian Arab House*, 1933, p. 68.

approximately square and is covered by a large plain dome supported on narrow wall arches and pendentives. The windows on the north are balanced by deep recesses on the south which were almost certainly originally also windows.

In the external elevation of the smaller bay there is a thickening of the walls which is carried over the window by a tall four-cusped arch.[1] The western quoins of the building are strengthened with flat buttresses.

DÂR KHALÎL EL-MULLA

Dâr Khalîl el-Mulla is on the north-east of the town, a few metres to the north of the ruins of Jâmiʿ en-Nakhali, and beside the brickyard (see Fig 5).

The house is entered on the south-east through an inset doorway flanked by stone seats—a typical *bâb haba*[2]—and thence by a right-angle bend into the courtyard (see Plate II. 2).[3] This courtyard contains a fountain, a palm and a banana tree (see Plate III. 1). To the south and to the west are a series of large storerooms, next the entrance is the *riwâq*, and on the north is the main block, the east side being a curtain wall on the road.

The stairway is on the north-west corner and gives on to the roof of the main block, at the eastern end of which is the upper room. At the north-west is the kitchen.

The upper room, as at Qaṣr Waqf Abu'l-Huda, is built in two unequal bays, the lesser, western one being roofed by a vault and small dome, the latter fluted. The main bay is covered by a dome, the centre of which has spiral and the lower part vertical fluting. This rests on a series of sixteen small pointed arches worked in

[1] Cf. RIEFSTAHL, *Turkish Architecture in South-west Anatolia*, 1931, Fig. 214. This shows an arch over the door of Sharafseh Han, near Alaya, which has two cusps only. The multiple cusped arch is much used in the Moorish architecture of Spain, but is not common in Palestine. Cf. also RIVOIRA, *Moslem Architecture*, 1918, p. 303, Fig. 275 (Toledo), and p. 359 Fig. 331 (Cordova); but these are earlier examples.

[2] CANAAN, *Palestinian Arab House*, pp. 34 and 35.

[3] The window of the lower floor of the main block on the right of Plate II.2, is a later addition and not part of the original design. So large an opening in an external wall on the ground floor would expose the room inside to the view or gunfire of a passer-by.

the plaster, and these are supported by narrow wall arches and pendentives. The two bays are divided from each other by a carved wooden screen, and there is a step up into the main bay. The door of the upper room is a ten-panelled wooden one, each pair of panels being carved with a different design (see Plate III. 2).

The lintels of all the doors and windows are one slab of stone each, that of the door of the upper room being of marble, and above each of them is a flat relieving arch delicately carved in low relief (see Plate III. 1 and 2). At each side of the door of the upper room is a hole above the lintel in which it was probably intended to put wooden beams to support some sort of porch or awning.

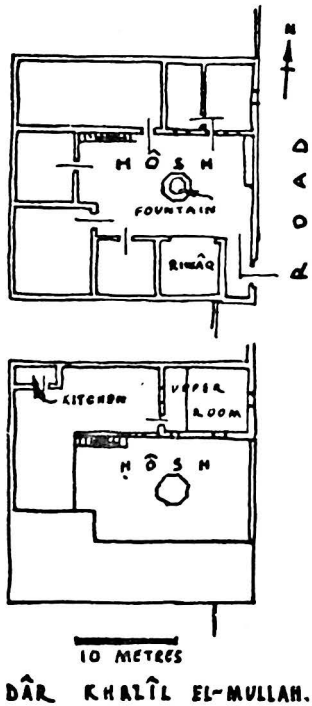


Fig. 5.

QAṢR ḤASAN ED-DARWÎSH

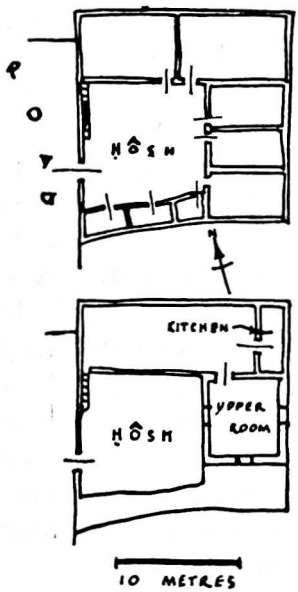
Qaṣr Ḥasan ed-Darwîsh is at the east side of the town, a few metres north of the Khân el-ʿIẓâm. It is not a very large building (see Fig. 6).

The front (west) wall of the courtyard is broken and indeed may not be the original wall at all. The present entrance is through a break in its centre (see Plate IV. 4). To the north and south are small rooms, and to the east, under the upper room, are two barrel-vaulted rooms running east and west.

The stairway to the roof is very narrow and is at the north-west of the court. The roof over the rooms on the north side of the courtyard is walled in and the kitchen is at the east end.

The upper room, which is square in plan, is on the immediate south of the kitchen, with the door on the north. The dome of this room is decorated with straight fluting at the centre. Below this are four flower-motif roundels about 20 cm. across, alternating with diamonds, and below this again is a double wavy line and sixteen small pointed arches all worked in the plaster. All this is supported by narrow wall arches and pendentives, in the lower corner of each of which is a conventionalized cypress tree about 30 cm. high, embossed in the plaster (see Plate IV. 2).

Externally the main block is buttressed at each end of the north and south walls.



QAṢR ḤASSAN ED-DARWÎSH

Fig. 6

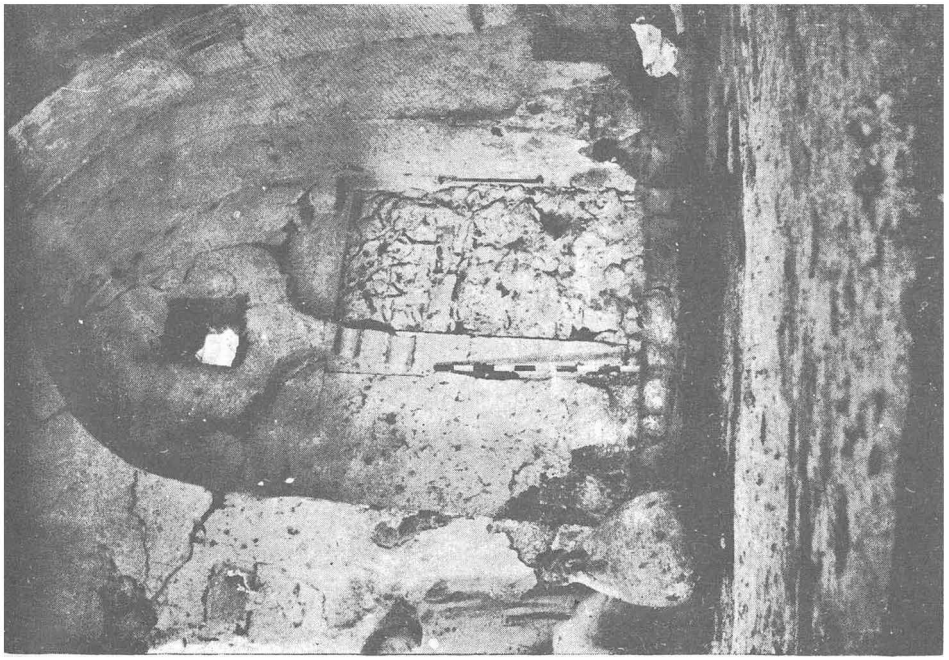
There is a marked similarity of design running through all these four houses. The courtyard, entered by a bent passage[1]—to prevent passers-by in the road from seeing into the house[2]—is a feature of almost all Arab houses of almost all periods, but among other features common to these houses there are the flat buttresses, the kitchen close to the upper room, and the upper room itself, covered by a shallow dome which is supported by narrow wall arches and pendentives. The moulded plaster decorations all show the same treatment, merely varying in the amount of work put into them.

There is very little doubt that these, if not the work of one architect, or more probably of one master mason, are at any rate the work of one school.

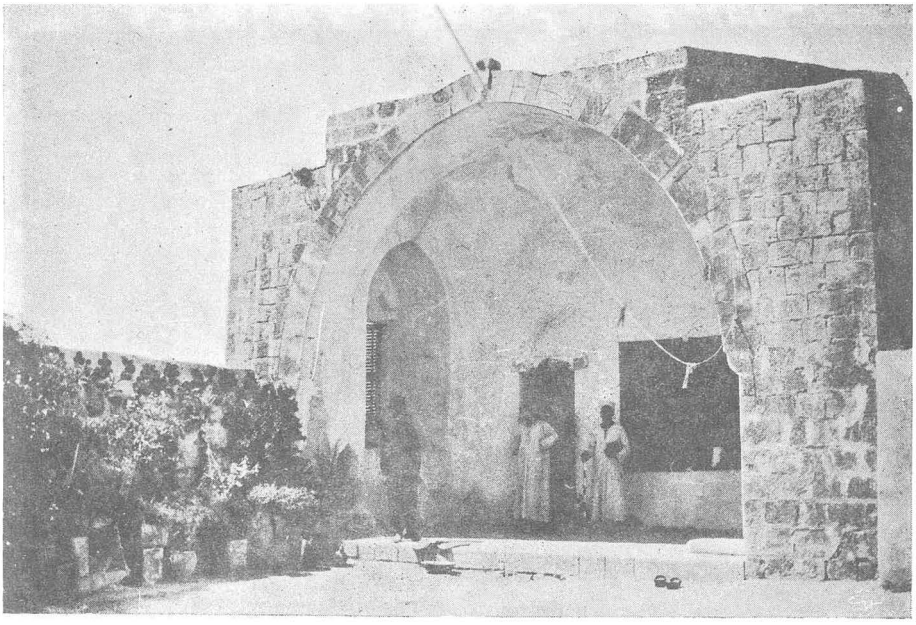
[1] Cf. THOUMIN, *La Maison Syrienne*, 1932, Plates XXII. 3, and XXIII.

[2] The bent passage also facilitates defence. See CANAAN, *Palestinian Arab House*, p. 65.

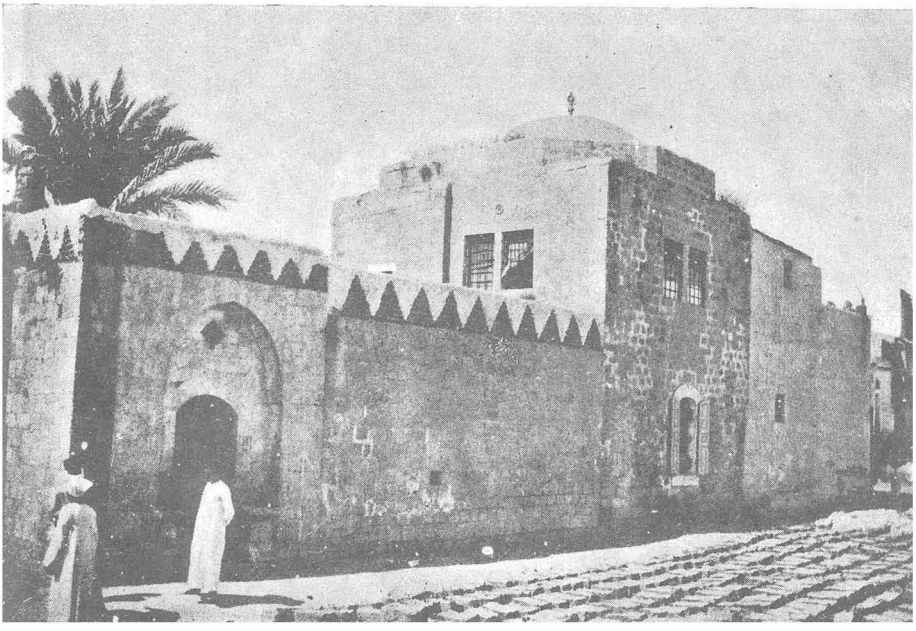
2. Qaṣr Hassan ed-Derwish



1. Dar el-Ash'ari

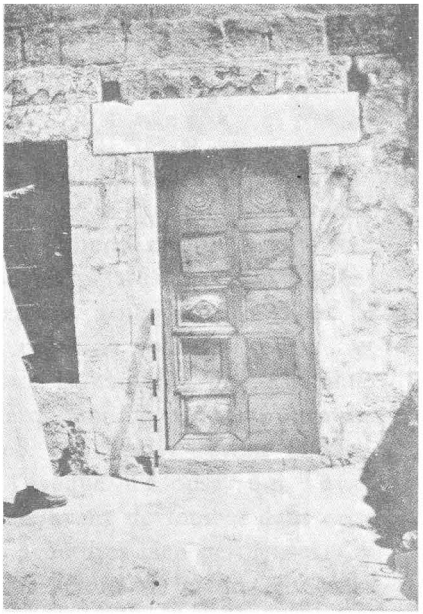


1. Qaṣr Waqf Abu'l-Huda

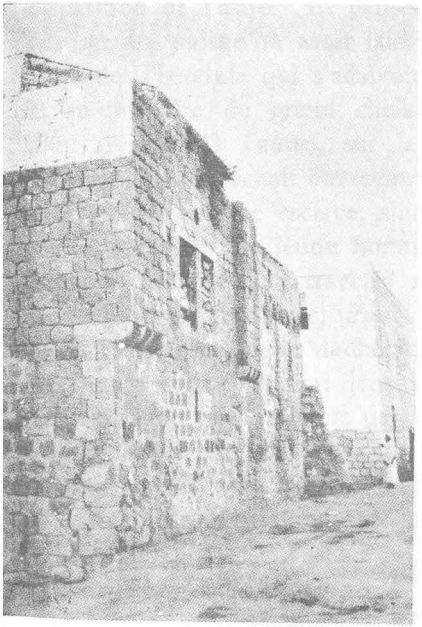


2. Dâr Khalîl el-Mulla

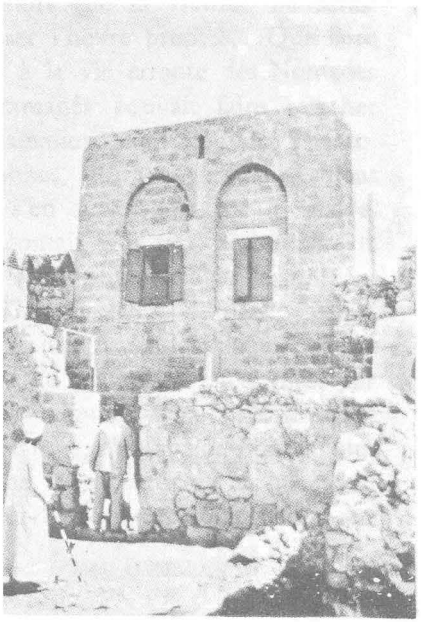
1. DÂR KHALÎL EL-MULLA



2. DÂR KHALIL EL-MULLA



3. DÂR EL-ASHʿARI



4. QAṢR HASSAN ED-DARWÎSH

NOTE SUR SBAÏṬA

F.-M. Abel

(Jérusalem)

Il s'agit du fameux récit rédigé en grec au cours du Ve siècle, où un moine nommé Nil (*Νεῖλος*) raconte le martyre de plusieurs solitaires au Sinaï et les démarches qu'il s'impose ensuite à lui-même pour recouvrer son fils Théodule que les pillards Sarrasins avaient emmené en captivité après leurs exploits sanguinaires. Tout le monde sait l'intérêt que présente au point de vue des moeurs et de la religion des Arabes avant l'Islam la narration que Théodule fait à son père des péripéties qui ont marqué son voyage forcé à travers la Péninsule Sinaïtique jusqu'au Négeb. Nil, nous devons le dire, avait fini par retrouver son fils chez l'évêque d'Élousa, qui l'avait attaché comme clerc à son église. Mais avant de tomber dans cette ville, le jeune moine avait couru des aventures bien périlleuses. On le destina une fois à servir de victime à l'étoile du matin, el-ʿOuzza ou Allāt; tout était préparé pour le sacrifice, dès la veille. Mais les Sarrasins, plongés dans le sommeil, ne se réveillèrent qu'après la disparition de l'astre. Ils pensèrent alors que la victime ne serait pas agréée, puisqu'on avait laissé passer l'heure propice. Que faire alors de Théodule qui s'adaptait mal à la vie errante des Nomades et qu'un ordre du grand cheikh Ammanés pouvait faire relâcher d'un moment à l'autre, sur la réclamation des gens de Pharan. Comme on approchait des centres habités, les ravisseurs se décident à le vendre comme esclave, sinon à s'en débarrasser par le glaive. Voici comment le jeune homme racontait plus tard à son père la situation critique qu'il traversa alors. Nous suivons pour le moment le texte reçu de Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXIX, 688: "Alors, après je ne sais quelle délibération, ils (les Arabes) m'amènent dans un bourg appelé Souca; [ensuite] et ils annoncent [d'avance] ma mise en vente aux habitants de l'endroit. Comme ceux-ci retournaient souvent chez eux sans conclure de marché, refusant de donner plus de deux pièces d'or, ils (les Arabes) me firent sortir et me placèrent à l'entrée du village, une épée nue sur le cou, déclarant à tous que

si personne ne m'achetait, ils me couperaient la tête sur-le-champ. Quant à moi, je suppliais des deux mains ceux qui venaient à la vente de payer ce que les Barbares demandaient et de ne pas se montrer avares quand il s'agissait du prix du sang humain, assurant que je rembourserais sous peu la somme, avec la promesse de servir avec zèle celui qui m'acquerrait, s'il le voulait, et de reconnaître comme maître quiconque rachéterait ma vie, même après que j'aurais rendu l'argent déboursé par lui".

Bref, touché de ces supplications, un habitant de la localité finit par acheter le malheureux otage, non sans débats, pour aller le revendre à Élousa où l'évêque de cette ville s'en porta acquéreur et l'affranchit.

Ainsi, le texte publié par la *Patrologie grecque* d'après l'édition du Père Poussin appelle *Souca* le lieu où le fils de saint Nil fut exposé et mis en vente. Depuis l'édition de Poussin en 1630, qui repose sur un manuscrit de Toulouse, les historiens et les critiques, de Tillemont à Karl Heussi, admettent sans hésiter cette lecture. On le fait d'autant plus volontiers que *Souca*, comme le remarque J. Wellhausen, signifie "marché". L'observation, d'ailleurs facile, est fort juste, mais c'est précisément à cause de cette signification que *Σουκᾶ* a évincé la leçon originale et authentique.

Les copistes étaient, au surplus, beaucoup plus familier avec le nom de *Souca*, que portait par exemple la fameuse laure de Saint-Chariton au sud de Bethléem, qu'avec celui de *Soubaïṭa,* qui doit être réintégré ici dans le texte. La teneur même de la phrase du manuscrit de Toulouse n'est pas irréprochable avec son second membre débutant par *εἶτα καὶ*. Aussi bien est-il clair que *εἰς κώμην καλουμένην Σουκᾶ. εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν* . . . constitue la retouche d'un scribe désireux d'élucider une leçon qui lui semblait difficile et bizarre. Enfin en paléographie le *bêta* et le *kappa* se ressemblent tellement!

En m'appuyant sur une des variantes colligées par L. Allatius et reproduites au bas du texte de Migne, j'avais déjà proposé dans la revue *Byzantion*, t. I, p. 57, la lecture *Subaïṭa* au lieu de *Σουκᾶ. εἶτα* . . . La variante offerte par le seul *Codex Altempsianus* n'était rien moins que *Συβαΐτα*.

Ayant eu, depuis la publication en 1924 de l'article que j'avais intitulé *Une mention byzantine de Subaïṭa*, l'occasion de parcourir le

Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat grec de Jérusalem établi par Pápadopoulos-Kerameus je fus mis sur la piste d'un nouveau témoin en faveur de *Subaïṭa*. Le No. 5 du fonds de Sainte-Croix, au tome III du Catalogue, contient en effet, parmi toute une collection de vies de saints orientaux, la mention d'un récit de Nil de Moine sur le massacre des saints abbés de la montagne du Sinaï. Grâce à la bienveillance du bibliothècaire, Mgr. Meliton, archevêque de Mādabā, il m'a été possible de prendre contact avec ce témoin de l'oeuvre de saint Nil, qui ne parait pas avoir été collationné jusqu'ici. La copie sur parchemin, écrite entre le Xe et XIe siècle, provient originairement de la laure de Saint-Sabas. Le morceau (3e de la collection) est intitulé *Νείλου μοναχοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἁγίων ἀββάδων, τῶν ἐν τῷ Σινὰ ὄρει,* et il débute par *Ἁλώμενος ἐγὼ μετὰ τὴν ἔφοδον.* Le titre est beaucoup plus simple que celui de l'édition de Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXIX, 583, il y manque le terme de *διηγήματα* ou *narrationes.*

Mais il est temps de fournir ici, d'après ce *codex* de Jérusalem, le passage qui fait l'objet de la présente étude:

Τότε γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ'ὅ τι κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι εἰσάγουσιν εἰς κώμην καλουμένην Σουβαιτα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τοῖς αὐτόθι προσαγγέ(λ)λουσι πρᾶσιν, οὐδὲν δὲ δρῶντες κτλ. *Codex Ste.-Croix*, 5, fol. 55 v.

"Alors à la suite de je ne sais quelle délibération en commun, ils m'introduisent dans un bourg appelé *Soubaïṭa* et annoncent ma mise en vente aux gens de l'endroit, mais ceux-ci n'en faisant rien etc."

Ce texte est de tout point excellent: le verbe *προσαγγέλλω* est mieux en situation que *προαγγέλλω*. Le *iota* de *Σουβαιτα* a souffert du rafistolage de la marge interne du manuscrit, mais il se devine aisément. Nous avons ici *κώμην* au lieu de *πόλιν* que présente une variante d'Allatius. Il est possible, du reste, qu'à l'époque de l'événement rapporté, vers 400 probablement, l'agglomération de *Soubaïṭa* n'avait pas encore atteint le développement qu'elle eut au VIe siècle.

Le site actuel des ruines de *Sbaïṭa* cadre exactement avec les exigences du récit de Théodule que nous conserve la narration de Nil le Moine: on le connait sur les confins de la steppe des Nomades, dans un milieu cultivable, à 25 kilomètres au sud de *Khalaṣa*, l'ancienne Élousa des auteurs de l'époque romano-byzantine, où se dénoue l'histoire mouvementée de Nil et de son fils.

La forme grecque *Σουβαιτα* est la transcription exacte d'un diminutif arabe féminin du thème *fuʿailah*: سُبَيْطَة, qui provient d'un radical سبط, susceptible de plusieurs sens entre lesquels il est malaisé d'opter avec certitude: *rejeton ? petite tribu ?* En tout cas, en hébreu comme en syriaque le radical correspondant serait שבט, *šbt*. C'est pourquoi le rapprochement de *Sbaïṭa* avec צפת de Juges 1[17], proposé et soutenu par quelques savants est bien difficile à admettre. Entre *sbṭ* et *ṣpṯ*, le rapport de la valeur des consonnes est entièrement renversé. Il n'y a donc pas lieu d'insister sur cette identification.

Du reste, comme le nouveau nom imposé et usité par les Israélites était *Khorma*, il y a lieu de croire que l'ancien nom *Ṣfath* avait disparu de l'usage de même que *Louz* devant le nom de *Béthel*. Au surplus la transcription grecque est en faveur d'une forme *Ṣafeq* qui s'éloigne encore davantage du nom de Sbaïṭa et dont la discussion n'entre pas dans le cadre de cette note.

Sbaïṭa doit probablement son nom et son origine aux Nabatéens. M. Stephan me suggère que ce pourrait être un nom propre de personne, car on trouve encore aux environs de Jérusalem des familles nommées *Šbaiṭa*. Je ne sais si cette conjecture s'accorde avec l'emploi de l'article qu'on remarque chez Maqrīzi et qui peut avoir influencé la prononciation *Esbaïṭa* dont l'usage est assez répandu. Quoi qu'il en soit, pour l'origine du site on a comme indices des fragments de poterie nabatéenne récemment découverts et le proscynème nabatéen trouvé dans les ruines en 1905.[1] La ville chrétienne attestée par le récit de S. Nil se développa au cours de la période byzantine et les fouilles que dirige M. Colt sont en train d'en manifester l'importance. Le pèlerin de 570, nommé Antonin, signale à vingt milles d'Élousa un *castrum* dans lequel existe une hôtellerie de Saint George où les passants trouvent un refuge et les ermites des ressources.[2] Si cette indication ne s'applique pas à el-ʿAudja, elle conviendrait bien à Sbaïṭa où l'une des églises parait dediée à saint George. La vie ne semble pas avoir déserté cette localité tout de suite après la conquête arabe. Les caravanes

[1] *Revue Biblique*, 1905, p. 257 Le site proprement nabatéen vient d'être découvert par la mission Colt.

[2] GEYER, *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi III-VIII*, p. 182. *Proficiscentes de civitate Elusa, ingressi hermum. Ad XX milia est castrum, in quo est xenodochius sancti Georgi in quo habent quasi refugium transeuntes vel heremitae stipendia.*

continuèrent à y trouver un abri. Plus tard, les ruines furent exploitées soit par les chameliers, soit par des Arabes logés dans les débris des habitations. Les matériaux étaient transportés à Gaza et vendus pour les constructions de cette ville.

Maqrīzi rapporte à propos des villes de Madyan qu'il en subsiste encore une quarantaine en l'année 825 (1421–22).

"Seize villes à nom connu se trouvent dans la terre de Hidjâz, dans les pays de Palestine et dans le *diár Mṣr*. Dans la région de Palestine il y a dix villes que voici : el-Khalaṣa, es-Subaïṭa, el-Madara, el-Meniyeh, el-ʿAudja, el-Khweiriq, el-Bîrein, el-Mâʿîn, es-Sebaʿ, el-Muʿallaq. Les plus grandes de ces villes sont celles d'el-Khalaṣa et d'es-Subaïṭa. Souvent on en transporte les pierres à Gaza pour y faire des constructions. Parmi les villes de Madyan dans la région de la Mer de Qulzum et de Ṭûr, sont celles de Fârân, d'er-Raqqa, de Qulzum et de Madyan. Dans la ville de Madyan se voient jusqu'à présent de merveilleux monuments et de grandes colonnes".[1]

Le *Mṣr* dont il est question dans ce texte s'applique à la péninsule sinaïtique. Les quatre premières villes palestiniennes sont mentionnées ci-dessus dans une direction nord-sud-est; Madara représente sans doute ʿAbdeh à l'ouest de la région de Maḍêra, et Meniyeh est à lire Menʿiyeh qui désigne les ruines d'un centre minier de cuivre à l'ouest de la ʿAraba, à 30 kilomètres environ au nord de ʿAqaba.[2] Parmi les quatre suivantes où l'on peut reconnaître un ordre nord-sud, nous retrouvons el-ʿAudjâ, sur le Wādi el-Ḥafîr; le nom qui suit se présente sous des formes diverses dans les manuscrits qui rendent l'identification difficile.[3] El-Bîrein et Bîr el Mayein sont situés sur des pistes de caravanes. Les deux derniers noms nous reportent au nord vers Bîr-es-Sebaʿ et à el-Muʿallaqa qui se trouve à la jonction des Wādis es-Sebaʿ et Khalaṣa.

[1] *Ḫiṭaṭ* t. III, ch. 25, édition G. WIET, Le Caire, 1922. Ce passage a été traduit par le P. MARMARDJI.

[2] Cf. MUSIL, A., *Edom*, II. 2, pp. 185–190. GLUECK, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 55, p. 9. s.

[3] Peut-être ce nom est-il la combinaison de deux noms *Ḥawwar* et *Baraq* à la ligne de partage des eaux de la ʿAraba. Variantes: *el-Ḫwbrq*, *el-Ḫwyrq*, *el-Ḫwbryq* etc.

DER JUDA-SPRUCH GENESIS 49[18]ff UND DIE TEXTE VON *RAS ŠAMRA*

ANTON JIRKU
(BRESLAU)

Daß Genesis 49[18]ff messianisch, d. h. religionsgeschichtlich gedeutet werden muß, ist längst erkannt. Nicht so klar ist leider die Gestalt, die hier gezeichnet wird; man braucht nur an das rätselhafte *šilo* in V. 10 zu erinnern, das immer noch seiner Erklärung harrt. Auch bei V. 11f. muß man sich, wenn auch die messianischen Motive „Fülle des Weines", „der Esel als Reittier des Erlösers" klar zu erkennen sind, fragen, an welche älteren Vorstellungen der Verfasser unserer biblischen Stelle hier anknüpft. Ich glaube daß nur zur Beantwortung dieser Frage auf eine Stelle in dem zweiten großen mythologischen Texte von *ras šamra* (Text B) hingewiesen werden kann, der in der Zeitschrift *Syria* XIII, 113ff. von CH. VIROLLEAUD herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert wurde. An dieser Stelle (Col. IV, 1–12) erteilt eine Gottheit (wahrscheinlich die *Ašera*) der Doppelgottheit *Kadeš-Amurru* einen Befehl, den diese auch ausführt. Der Text hat folgenden Wortlaut:[1]

„. . . . *Ašerā* des Meeres [Sattle den Esel (ער)]
Rüste den Eselshengst (פחל)
[Mache zurecht die Weinstöcke (גפנם)], die silbernen,
Die gol[denen (?) Ackerfluren]
Richte her den Weinstock [deiner] Eselinnen (אתנתך)?
Es gehorcht Kadeš-Amurru,
Er sattelte den Esel,
Er rüstete den Eselshengst,
Er machte zurecht die Weinstöcke, die silbernen,
Die goldenen (?) Ackerfluren,
Er richtete her den Weinstock seiner Eselinnen."

[1] Ich folge der Übersetzung von CHARLES VIROLLEAUD. Die eckig eingeklammerten Worte am Anfang sind durch den folgenden Text gesichert.— Bei den für unsere folgenden Ausführungen wichtigen Worten ist der Originaltext in runden Klammern beigefügt.

Stellen wir nun neben diesen neuen Text den altbekannten von Gen. 49[11a]:

„Der da bindet an den Weinstock (גפנם) seinen Esel (עירה)
Und an die junge Rebe das Junge seiner Eselin". (אתנתך)

Ist es nicht auffallend, daß an beiden Stellen der Esel, das Reittier des Messias, mit der Weinrebe in Verbindung gebracht wird; daß an beiden Stellen die gleichen Wörter Verwendung finden? VIROLLEAUD (*Syria* XIII, S. 134) will diese Stelle kulturgeschichtlich erklären (Instructions . . . concernant la culture de la vigne et des champs"). Ich glaube nicht, daß dies möglich ist; dies zeigt schon die Fortsetzung in V. 14, wo von den *bamot* („Höhen") dieses Esels die Rede ist.

Diese Stelle ist zweifellos religionsgeschichtlich zu deuten. Sollte es nicht möglich sein, daß dieser Mythus unsere biblische Stelle Gen. 49[11] beeinflußt hat? Daß man auch in Israel die Mythen von *ras šamra* kannte, zeigen uns die Gestalten Daniels[1] und Liwjatans[2], die uns dort wieder begegnen. Und die zu *Betšemeš* von E. GRANT gefundene Tontafel mit einer Inschrift in *ras šamra* Keilschrift[3] zeigt uns, daß der Gebrauch dieser Schrift auch im späteren israelitischen Gebiete üblich war.

[1] Vgl. DUSSAUD, *Syria*, XII, S. 77.
[2] Vgl. VIROLLEAUD, *Syria* XII, S. 357.
[3] Vgl. BARTON, G. A., *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 52, S. 5 (vgl. S. 4).

THE SNUFF-SHOVEL* AS A JEWISH SYMBOL.

(A contribution to the problem of Jewish decorative motifs).

M. NARKISS

(JERUSALEM)

In the series of Jewish motifs appearing in ancient synagogues, mosaic pavements, capitals, on tombstones, in catacombs, on clay lamps, on gilt glasses (fondi d'oro) and similar objects, there appear, flanking the main symbol, a seven-branched candlestick, representations of other sacred objects, some easily recognizable, others not. Together with the *ethrog* and the *lulab*, which are found, almost without exception, near the candlestick, we find other objects, one of which is of rectangular, occasionally oval, shape. It has a long or short handle, perforated for hanging, with or without two diagonal supports on both its sides. This representation, which I believe always to refer to the same object, viz., the snuff-shovel (מַחְתָּה), used in the Temple with the candlestick, has been explained in the most varied manner, the explanations being at least as numerous as the scholars who have dealt therewith. Some regarded it as an incense burner, others as an alms-box, a scroll, the knife used in circumcision, as a pulpit, a basin with its stand, etc. Below, each of these explanations will be set out more fully, and I shall endeavour to prove that they cannot be accepted, mainly on iconographic considerations (drawn from the representations of this object, as shown on the attached plate).

Prima facie it appears to me that the object before us is undoubtedly one the shape of which corresponds to that of a shovel, as used in antiquity, and referred to in many authorities. It must be considered that the representations we have of this snuff-shovel are conditioned by the exigencies of the material, whether mosaic,

* This object is called in the Authorised Version of the O.T. by the obsolete term "snuffdish".

stone, or clay, and of the process, whether relief, graffito, or sculpture in the round. The snuff-shovel of a candlestick was used as a receptacle of ashes from the candlesticks or the wicks; it is mentioned already in the description of the making of the Temple candlestick, side by side with the tongs.[1]

The iconographic list given below is not complete, as I have not endeavoured to collect *all* known representations of this object, but only to give such examples as appear to me to prove clearly my contention, together with some others, which although differing in some respects, nevertheless do clearly represent the snuff-shovel.

Fig. 1. A rectangle with a projection on the left. On a capital in the synagogue of Capernaum together with a candlestick and *shofar*.[2]

Fig. 2. A rectangle, (with a projection on the right?), together with a candlestick, *shofar* and *ethrog*.[3] On a stone from the old synagogue of Pekiʿīn.

Fig. 3. A rectangle with a perforated handle. On a clay lamp in the collection of Dr. A. REIFENBERG, Jerusalem (with a seven-branched candlestick).[4]

Fig. 4. A rectangle, with a narrowing handle, having a bell at its end. On a photograph of a clay lamp in the collection of Dr. A. REIFENBERG, on the right of the candlestick.

Fig. 5. A trapezoid, broadening out, having a tapering handle. On a clay lamp in the collection of Dr. A. REIFENBERG (on the right of a seven-branched candlestick).[4]

Fig. 6. A square with volutes on two corners of the "snuff-shovel." In the object itself six points are represented; the handle is narrowing and ha sone eye in its end. On a clay lamp in possession of a dealer in antiquities.[5]

[1] Exodus 25^{38}: "... and the tongs thereof and the snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure gold."

[2] ORFALI, *Capharnaüm* . . ., p. 94, Fig. 124.

[3] J. BEN-ZEVIE, *Shear Yishuv*, p. 38.

[4] I have to thank Dr. A. REIFENBERG for his kind permission to publish this figure and several others, before the publication of his corpus of lamps decorated with the seven-branched candlestick.

[5] A. REIFENBERG in *JPOS*, XI, p. 64, Pl. II, IV; SUKENIK, *Beth-Alpha* (Hebrew ed.), p. 25.

Fig. 7. A square with a simple handle. In the centre of a fifth century clay lamp, found in a catacomb at Syracuse.[6]

Fig. 8. An upright rectangle, with a handle on its top. On a tombstone at Monteverde, to the left of the candlestick.[7]

Fig. 9. A square (with a projection and eye above?) in a photograph of a clay lamp in the Reifenberg collection[4]

Fig. 10. In the form of a spoon. On a clay lamp found at Syracuse, to the left of a candlestick.[8]

Fig. 11. In the same shape, on a relief in the Gaza mosque transferred there from an ancient synagogue.[9]

Fig. 12. Formed like a spoon or knife with a projecting handle on the left of a candlestick (with a *shofar* on the right), all inside a Hercules knot. On a relief from Tiberias.[10]

Fig. 13. Shaped like a shovel or spade with handle and eye. On a tombstone from Monteverde.[11]

Fig. 14. A rectangle with a rounded and bent handle. On the Jerash mosaic.[12]

Fig. 15, 16. Squares with handles below. On the Beth Alpha mosaic.[13]

Fig. 17, 18. Squares, having handles with diagonal supports. In the ʿIsfîya mosaic, with candlesticks to the right and left.[14]

Fig. 19. Of semi-globular shape with a round ball below. From a stone door of a tomb at Kafr Yâsîf.[15]

Fig. 20. In the form of an irregular rectangle, with a rough handle. On a gilt glass, together with a candlestick, oil-flask, *ethrog*, *lulab*, *shofar*, etc., and an object of doubtful shape, which may possibly be the tongs (Fig. 26). In the Vatican Museum, Rome.[16]

[6] C. M. KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der christl. Archaeol.* 1922[3], p. 582, Fig. 291b.

[7] MUELLER-BEES, *Die Inschr. d. jüd. Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom.* p. 62. No. 58.

[8] COHN-WIENER, *Die jüdische Kunst*, p. 105, Fig. 64.

[9] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archaeol. Researches in Palestine*, II, p. 393.

[10] DE SAULCY, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, II, Pl. XLVI.

[11] MUELLER-BEES, *op. cit.*, p. 110, No. 120.

[12] J. W. CROWFOOT, *Churches at Jerash*, p. 18, Pl. Vc ("Torah case").

[13] SUKENIK, *Beth Alpha*, p. 25, Pl. VIII.

[14] AVI-YONAH in *Quarterly of the Dep. of Antiquities, III*, Pl. XLII.

[15] DUSSAUD, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques*, p. 88, No. 118 (Fig.).

[16] H. FRAUBURGER, *Über alte Kultusgegenstände in Synagoge und Haus*, p. 6, Fig. 2; *Beth Alpha*, p. 29, Fig. 34.

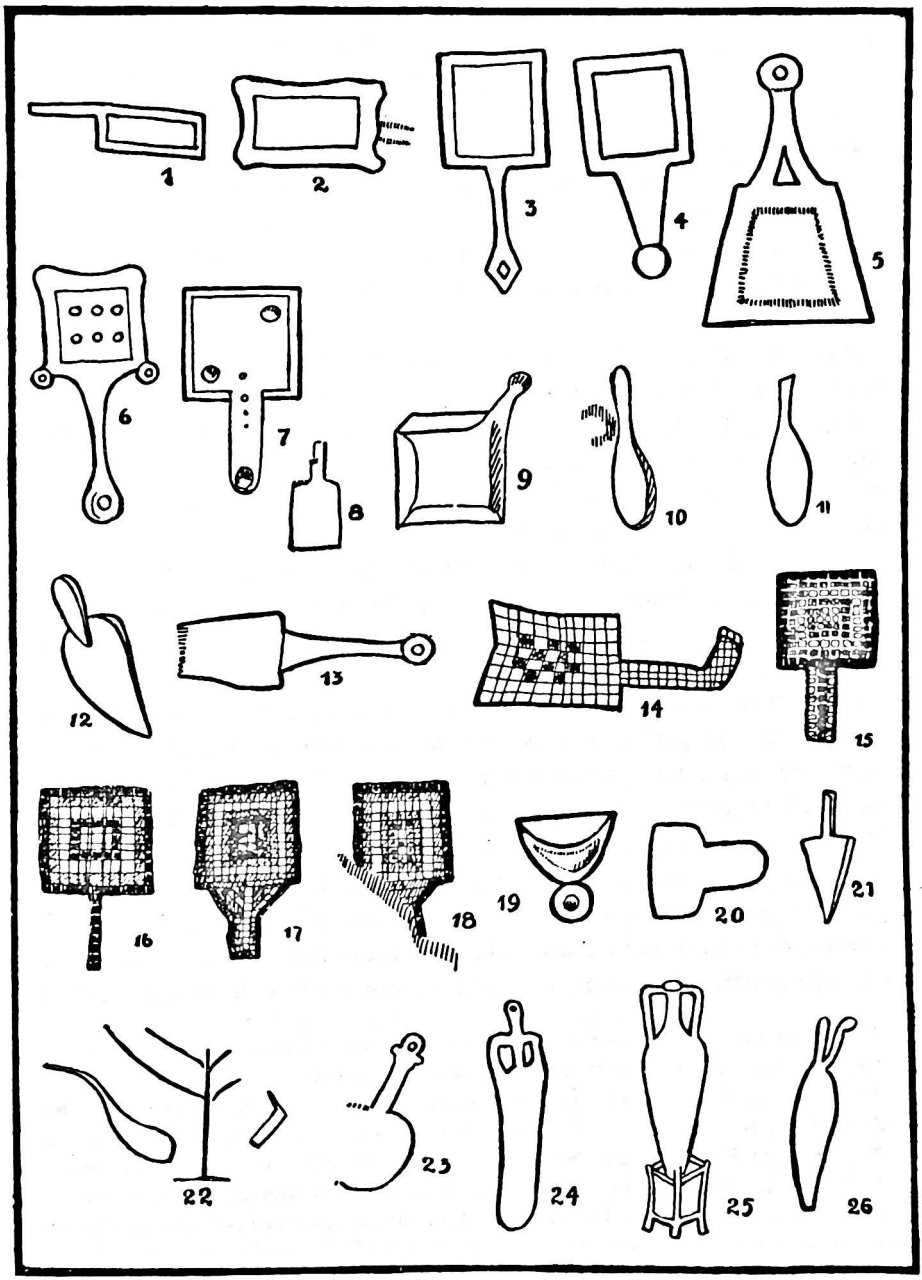

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Fig. 21. A sharp triangular object with a handle. From a titulus found in he Villa Torlonia catacomb, near an inscription $\frac{\Sigma TATΩ}{PEA}$.[17]

Fig. 22. Having the shape of a dish or a spoon, on the left of a candlestick (with a *shofar* to the right?). On a tomb-stone in the Monteverde catacomb.[18]

Fig. 23. A spoon, with its left part missing, having a round handle with an eye. On a painting in the Villa Torlonia catacomb, Rome.[19]

Fig. 30. A square with a handle in one side, and on it a *shofar*. From a drawing in the Monteverde catacomb.[20]

Fig. 39. In the shape of two ornamented spades; with a seven-branched candlestick and the other sacred objects. From a thirteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, written the eighth of Sivan, 5059 (A. D. 1299), at Perpignan.[21]

Fig. 40. In the form of a deep spoon; with a seven-branched candlestick and other sacred objects. In a Leningrad manuscript written by SALOMON HALEVI BARBUYA in the year 1241 of the Seleucid era (A. D. 930)[22].

From this iconographic summary, and from the parallel examples drawn from the pagan objects of the same time or the same ethnic origin, we can establish the form in which Jewish artists at that time tried to present the snuff-shovel or the Mishnaic מחתה, i. e., one of the important ritual instruments used with the candlestick.[23]

It is a fact that various instruments used in the Temple are repeatedly represented on objects, still extant, whether for ritual, funerary, or even domestic use. Many of these latter are contemporary with representations quoted above. This contradicts those who regard

[17] BEYER-LIETZMANN, *Die jüd. Katakombe d. Villa Torlonia zu Rom*, p. 38, Pl. 20, No. 50. No explanation of this object is given.

[18] MUELLER-BEES, p. 147, No. 163; MUELLER, *Die jüd. Katakombe am Monteverde in Rom*, p. 72. [19] BEYER-LIETZMANN, *Villa Torlonia*, p. 13 Pl. 12

[20] MUELLER-BEES, p. 149, No. 167. [21] Ms. No. 7 du fonds hebr. de la Bibl. Nat. Paris; STASSOF-GÜNZBURG, *L'ornament hebreu*, Pl. A. p. 13.

[22] Cod. Petropolis, 14, II; STASSOFF-GÜNZBURG, *L'ornament hebreu*, Pl. III. The same representation is also found in a Bible belonging to the Duke of Alba ("*Biblia Alba*" *Hebraica*, ed. Calavas, Pl. XLII).

[23] Tamid, III 6, 9.

such representations as purely funerary,[24] as well as those who consider them to represent objects in use in synagogues,[25] or as references to Jewish feasts.[26] In our view such representations refer to or commemorate the splendours of the Temple and its destruction; one can regard them as representing the objects removed by Titus from the Temple. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the objects used in the synagogue should be repeated in its decoration when all who were in the congregation could see them in reality. This does not imply, of course, that there was no connexion between these representations and the form of similar objects used in the synagogue. The artists of that time could not themselves see the original Temple objects—Jews did not live in Rome alone, and it is not only in Rome that the candlestick is represented.[27] The variations which they introduced show the free play of their imaginations, the types not having as yet become stereotyped. Prof. Krauss himself will probably now agree that these representations are not of sepulchral character,[27a] considering that such symbols have been found in synagogues and on objects made for the use of the living. Had they been of funerary character we should have found them in the period when the Second Temple was still standing, a period in which funerary decoration was highly developed. They are, however, found only from the third or fourth century onwards, when revolutionary feeling had subsided among the Jews, leaving only a strong longing for the lost Temple, not merely in the Diaspora, but even in Palestine. The removal of the sacred objects to Rome symbolized the destruction of the Temple, and hence these objects were represented again and again. It does

[24] D. KAUFMANN, *Sens et origine des symboles tumulaires de l'Ancien Testament dans l'art chrétien primitif, REJ*, XIV, 33, 217. S. KRAUSS, Zur Katakombenforschung in *Berliner Festschrift*. p. 204–214.

[25] H. GRESSMANN, "The Jews in Ancient Rome" in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, p. 187; SUKENIK, *Beth Alpha*, p. 25ff.

[26] S. TEPLITZ, *Rimon*, V, VI.

[27] This refutes also the contentions of KRAUSS and GRESSMANN, who speak of the prototype in Rome.

[27a] Prof. KRAUSS argues that the Tables of the Law were not represented, and regards this as proof for the sepulchral character of these symbols. More probably they were not represented, since at that time the Law was only known in the form of a scroll, locked up in the Temple.

not matter that not all the objects represented were actually taken to Rome; it sufficed that the two main objects, the candlestick and the Ark of the Law, were. The artists knew that the snuff-shovel and the tongs were of importance in the Biblical account, and hence they included them here. Therefore we find also the tongs by the side of the candlestick, together with the *ethrog,* in the Vigna Randanini catacomb,[28] and it is likely that the same objects are represented in a gilt glass in the Vatican, together with the candlestick, etc.,[29] as well as in Fig. 29 from the Monteverde catacomb.[30] If we compare these representations of tongs with a pair of actual Roman tongs[31] we see that the forms correspond. The tongs are not mentioned among the booty taken by Titus, yet they and the snuff-shovels appear regularly in the Bible, together with the candlestick.[32] JOSEPHUS[33] does not mention this or other objects, since he mentions the Temple objects only generally, describing in more detail the golden table[34] and the candlestick. Another fact proving that these objects are Temple objects is that the scroll of the Law, which is found in most of the representations under consideration, is mentioned by JOSEPHUS.

Thus the snuff-shovel and the tongs were received among other motifs of symbolic value[37] and are still depicted in manuscripts of the tenth (Fig. 40) or thirteenth century (Fig. 39) with the other objects accompanying the candlestick.[38]

[28] Fig. 28 in our plate. Cf. RAFFAEL GARRUCCI, *Cimeteria degli antichi Ebrei,* Roma, 1862, p. 34. [29] Fig. 26. Cf. note 16.

[30] MUELLER-BEES, p. 149, No. 16. Cf. also Nos. 129, p. 118. BEES recognises tongs on the left of the candlestick, but they can hardly be seen in the drawing. Together are found a roll, the *shofar, ethrog, lulab,* a cup, and a jar.

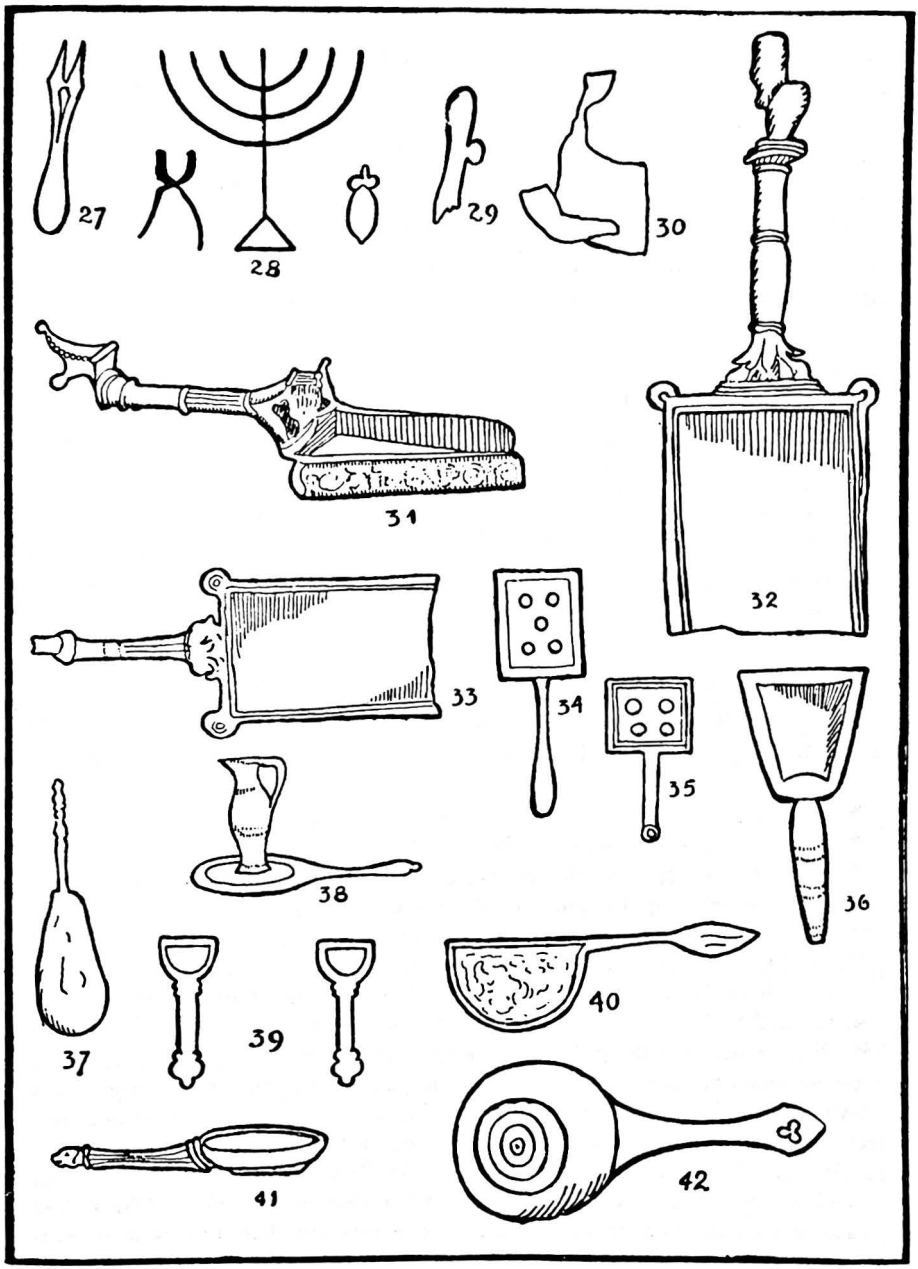
[31] F. HOTTENROTH, *Le Costume, les armes, les utensils, objets, mobiliers des peuples anciens et modernes.* I. Pl. 51, 47.

[32] E.g. Leviticus 4^{6}. [33] Bell. jud. VII, 5, 6.

[34] Nevertheless it is still not clear whether the box carried by the soldiers on the *fesculum* represents the Golden Table. This might be the Ark of the Law, and on it a cup, a reminiscence of the pot of manna (Exodus 16^{33-34}).

[37] Anyone reading the descriptions of how the candlestick in the Temple was lit, will see how important was every detail; this description gave the artist subject-matter for his representation.

[38] It seems worth while to mention that the Passover sacrifice was represented on an ossuary found in the Vigna Randanini; this includes the representation of a sheep in a dish. (cf. also KOHL-WATZINGER, *Antike Synagogen in Galilāa,* p. 187, Fig. 299). This too proves that such representations did not refer to synagogue services, but to the Temple ritual.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We shall now endeavour to find the common traits in the various representations of the object under consideration. It will be seen that we have here various illustrations of one and the same object, whose form varied only slightly under the contending influences of the material, of the pattern from which the artist worked and, of course, of his artistic abilities.

If we compare Fig. 1,[39] drawn in bold outline, with the shovel Fig. 31, seen in profile (copied from a pagan ritual shovel from Palestine),[40] they appear to represent the same object, although Fig. 1. is much simplified. Equally Fig. 2. resembles the Byzantine shovels in Fig. 32[42] and Fig. 33, both from Palestine.[43] The rounded projections found in these two shovels, Figs. 32 and 33, remind us of the projections of a similar character in Fig. 6 which resembles most closely the Roman bakers' shovels, Figs. 34, 35, called *applare*, which were found in the Casa Pansa at Pompeii.[43] These shovels show similar points or holes. Their form also resembles that of our object on the clay-lamp from Syracuse (Fig. 7). From these shovels we come directly to objects Figs. 3, 4, 5, 13,[44] which resemble very much the Egyptian shovel Fig. 36[45]; this resembles in turn the primitive form of our object, Figs. 8, 9, in which its shape is rather indistinct. Objects in Figs. 10, 11, and perhaps also 12, 21, are related to each other. These recall an object

[39] The figures mentioned here refer to the plates.

[40] DUSSAUD, *Les monuments* . . . p. 36. No. 19 (Fig.).

[41] A. REIFENBERG, *Pal. Kleinplastik*, p. 75, No. 97. I have to thank Dr. REIFENBERG for placing this photograph at my disposal.

[42] DUSSAUD, *Les monuments* . . . p. 71, No. 85 (av. fig.).

[43] A. RICH, *Illustriertes Wörterbuch des röm. Altertums*, s. v. (for Fig. 34). MAU, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 1908², p. 397, Fig. 222i. For Fig. 35. HOTTENROTH, *op. cit.*, I. Pl. 39, 13.

[44] Fig. 13 appears alone on a tomb-stone at Monteverde (cf. note 11). The artist regarded this object as sufficiently important to place it by itself on a tomb-stone. Prof. KLEIN, in a conversation with the writer, regarded this object as a purely sepulchral motif. In my opinion it seems difficult to attach a purely sepulchral meaning to this object. In all the catacombs known to us no symbols or representation of a profane object were found. Thus BEES regarded this object as a spade (Spaten); he points out that it is unique of its kind in all the catacomb tomb-stones in Rome. GRESSMANN (p. 189) attempts to show that this is a circumcision knife; all these suppositions are purely hypothetical.

[45] HOTTENROTH, *op. cit.*, I. pl. 5, 33.

resembling a flat patera, which can be seen in Fig. 38, taken from a wall painting in Pompeii (in the house of the banker Caecilius Jucundus).[46] The scene in which it figures represents a religious ceremony in the temple of Jupiter. It resembles Fig. 23, which GRESSMANN[47] wants to identify as a knife used in circumcision,[48] just as he does in the case of Fig. 24, an oil amphora found represented in the Monteverde catacomb.[49] We illustrate here an amphora (Fig. 25) from a Christian representation, copied by GRESSMANN from Garucci,[50] which shows the artistic ineptitude of the artist of the Monteverde catacomb when copying an amphora. It is obvious that the circumcision knife was not a ritual instrument in the Temple or synagogue.

Next come the objects in the Jerash, Beth-Alpha, and ʿIsfîya mosaics, Figs. 14, 16, 15, 17, 18.

The handle in Fig. 14 resembles that in Figs. 31, 32; it is possible that the bend in the handle has been unconsciously modified to show its length. Such handle soccur on mirrors and various other objects; it is enough to compare it to some of the Pompeii finds. Objects Nos. 15, 16 remind us in their simplicity of Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5. Figs. 17, 18, from ʿIsfîya resemble objects Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6; in the fixing of the handle to the pan by triangular supports, they resemble also objects of pagan origin, such as 31, 32, 33. As these shovels of pagan origin have rims, the mosaic-maker emphasizes them by a black border; in order to satisfy his coloristic tendency he then filled the body with many coloured designs. Again there is something similar in Figs. 19 and 20, even if Fig. 20 is simplified. The body of Fig. 19 resembles Fig. 36. This seems natural, as Fig. 39 is a continuation of the development of Fig. 19. There seems to be a connexion between Figs. 9 and 30, though it is somewhat doubtful whether both objects are relevant here. Fig. 22 shows on the left a spoon, like Fig. 37, a Coptic gold spoon in the British Museum.[51] These objects are connected with Figs. 10,

[46] MAU, *op. cit.*, p. 63, Fig. 23.

[47] GRESSMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[48] Cf. BEYER-LIETZMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 24: "... ein Messer mit hellbraunem Griff in grüner Scheide (!) ... einst die bläuliche Klinge gewesen, mit einer Öse am Griff. ...".

[49] MÜLLER-BEES, No. 19.

[50] GARUCCI, *Mystères*, p. 8; GRESSMANN, *op. cit.* Pl. II.

[51] C. M. KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 547, Fig. 247.

11, 12, 21, 38, Fig. 40 is the side view of a *patera*, which preserves the traditional form of an ancient *patera*,[52] as well as of another *patera* (Fig. 42) found in England.[53]

The above appears to show that all these representations are meant to show one and the same object. That this object has the form of the shovel follows from the examples given, whether of pagan or Christian origin. Having arrived at this conclusion, we might pass in review the various opinions hitherto offered.

Père ORFALI, in his book *Capharnaüm*, explains this object as an incense-burner "as used in synagogues"; this view is also accepted by J. BEN-ZEVIE, N. SLOUSCH and J. PRESS.[54] The two last-named attempted also to show that this object has the form of a spice-box, still used in our time. Whether the custom of *havdalah* in this form existed at that time or not (Prof. KLEIN proves it to be very late),[55] it cannot in any case be refered to here. The traditional spice-box has come down to us in the form of a pointed and elongated Gothic tower. Its earlier form is unknown. Our object cannot have been intended for such a spice-box of the traditional form, since in ʿIsfîya it stands with its point downwards. If we regard it as a spice-box, it would thus be represented upside down. We should consider that this object is represented body upwards, or sideways. This could not be done with a spice-box of a definite form; nor does it suit any other object mentioned except the shovel.

The spice-boxes which have come down to us of Christian-Coptic origin, are in the form of an incense-burner[56]; some scholars regard the traditional Jewish form of the spice-box as an imitation of the Christian monstrance.[57] In Jewish ritual we find the myrtle bough (הדס), without its being necessarily connected with any object.

[52] HOTTENROTH, *op. cit.* I., Pl. I., 51.

[53] *Journal of the Soc. of Antiq.* Vol. XIII. pl. XXI.

[54] In a discussion following a paper read by Mr. AVI-YONAH on the ʿIsfîya synagogue. See *Davar*, No. 2454 of June 14, 1933, p. 4.

[55] In the discussion mentioned in the above note and again at a private conversation and in a special paper "Was there a custom of Havdalah in the Synagogue?" (Cf. *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, No. 2, p. 32.

[56] See C. M. KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 519, Fig.

[57] G. HERRMANN, *Von Psomimbüchsen (!) und alten Haggaden*; in Ver. jued. Museum, Breslau, 1928, p. 2.

Prof. KLEIN believes[58] that the disputed object is an alms-box. From the representations themselves there are several very obvious objections to his view. Firstly, why should such an object, even if in use in the synagogue, be placed among sacred ritual objects, objects which, even if represented only because used in synagogues, were also used in the Temple? Secondly, an alms-box was found built into a wall in the Beth-Alpha synagogue.[59] Dr. SUKENIK considers that this was the place where there were kept the funds destined for repairs of the synagogue and for charity. It is quite possible that this was also the form of the alms-boxes in the Temple treasuries (the "Treasury for anonymous gifts," the "Treasury for Temple repairs," in which the Half-Shekel was deposited).[60] In the Solomonic Temple the alms-box had the form of a wooden chest with a hole in its lid.[61] As regards later alms-boxes, we know that they had the form of a *shofar* (horn).[62] Late alms-boxes which have come down to our times, do not resemble the object under discussion. One such box, from the Toledo synagogue, has the form of a column with an iron lock.[63] Another box, mentioned by ISRAEL LEVI,[64] is apparently a Purim "plate," having the form of a cup (with a handle) inscribed in Judeo-Spanish: "Rey Ahasuerus y la Reyna Esther," and beneath "Remember the Miracle." This box has the date inscribed in its centre "In the year 99" (1319).

Dr. SUKENIK[65] at first supposed that this object was a "scroll contained in a case." This theory, however, is untenable, not merely because of the form of the object found at ʿIsfîya (Figs. 17, 18), but

[58] In his article on the Gerasa synagogue in "*Zion*", *Bulletin of the Jewish Historical and Ethnographical Society*, I, 1930, No. 2 p. 19.

[59] *Beth-Alpha*, p. 13, Fig. 5 (Hebrew ed.)

[60] *Sheqalim*, V, 6. [61] II Kings, 12[9].

[62] Thus it is said in *Sheqalim* (II, 31) "As there were *shofaroth* in the Temple, so there were *shofaroth* in the country." In *Mishnah Sheqalim* (VI,1) thirteen *shofaroth* in the Temple are mentioned.

[63] "Sinagoga blanca," from which apparently comes the name of the church (which it later became) "Santa Maria la Blanca." The alms-box is referred to by MOISE SCHWAB, *Rapport sur les inscr. hebr. de l'Espagne* p. 135 (363). COMTE DE CEDILIO, *Toledo quia artistica practica*, Toledo, 1890, p. 103.

[64] *RES.* XXI, p. 78–80. In the collection of Baron Rothschild (Musée Cluny).

[65] *Beth-Alpha*, pp. 25 ff., Pl. VIII (Hebrew ed.).

also from a comparison with the various representations of these objects on gilt vessels, or on tombstones or decorations where it is represented without a case. These show that the case was not considered important, in spite of what may be said about it in ancient sources.[66]

Dr. SUKENIK[67] now holds that this object represents an *analogeion* (lectern) such as is mentioned in Mishnah and Talmud. At the same time he withdraws his former view that our object was a case for the Torah, relying upon arguments somewhat similor to those here put forward. This new explanation, too, does not seem entirely convincing.

(a) No representation of our object fits the proportions of such a lectern (*JPOS*, XIII, p. 223, Fig. 9).

(b) From Fig. 10 (ib.) no conclusion can be drawn, as it is much later; also its form, as well as the form of Figs. 11, 12 (ib.) does not resemble—either in proportion or in shape—the objects under discussion (it is to be regretted that the sources of Figs. 11, 12 are not indicated in Dr. SUKENIK's article). I know of only one representation of the *analogeion* which could support the hypothesis, namely that of the San Vitale mosaic at Ravenna; but there also the table is represented in a correct perspective.[68]

(c) The objects are not represented in that illustration in their actual positions. In Fig. 1 (Capernaum) the object is lying in such a way that its handle is turned to the left; in Fig. 2 (Pekiʿīn) the proportions are not observed; in Fig. 4 the object is shown with its handle to the right; in Fig. 7 (on a lamp in the Reifenberg collection) the handle of the object is turned upwards; in Fig. 8 (Monteverde) the object is represented lying down, with its handle to the right. If these representations were meant for an *analogeion,* they would not show it lying down; but this can be done with a snuff-shovel. No object in these representations is ever reproduced upside down or sideways.

(d) In none of these representations do we find examples of a book laid down, and we cannot be certain that an *analogeion* was used in reading the Law. In Christian circles the *analogeion* was

[66] Quoted by Dr. SUKENIK, *op. cit.*

[67] *JPOS*, XIII, 221–5. [68] *JPOS*, XIII, p. 223.

used only for writing.[69] Besides, this object had no significance either in the Temple or in the synagogues. The *analogeion*, like

[69] In support of the opinion here put forward the following illustrations may be referred to. In the San Vitale mosaic at Ravenna two figures are represented. St. Mark writes in a scroll on his knees. On the *analogeion* rest the inkstand and pen. Above St. Mark is an angel writing in a scroll on his knees; on the *analogeion* are two inkstands and two pens; below is a box for the scrolls. As this mosaic dates from the sixth century we have before us a valuable illustration of the use of the *analogeion*. In the *Codex Aureus* of the Paris Library (10th century A.D.) the evangelist St. Mark is shown sitting with an *analogeion* on his right, dipping his pen into an inkstand on the *analogeion* (SPRINGER, *Kunstgeschichte*, II[8], p. 118, Fig. 140).

In a silver relief in the chancel of the Minster at Aix-la-Chapelle (10th century) St. Mark writes in a book on an *analogeion*. This representation originated in Byzantine and Carolingian art, according to SPRINGER (*op. cit.* p. 122, Fig. 146). In a miniature in a manuscript of the Gospels at Rome (*Vat. gr.* No. 1158) St. Mark is shown writing on his knees, but the inkstand rests on the *analogeion*. (WULFF, *Altchristl. Kunst* II, 1914, p. 532, Fig. 464). Writing on an *analogeion* is found several times even on the Hungarian coronation mantle (1031 A.D.). All persons writing are represented sitting with a scroll on their knees or on the *analogeion* and dipping their pens in an inkstand on the *analogeion*. (JACOB v. FALKE, *Geschichte d. deutschen Kunstgewerbes*, pp. 70—1). On the binding of the *Codex Aureus* at Munich (formerly at Ratisbon) the four Evangelists are represented as writing on an *analogeion* (LOUBIER, *Der Bucheinband in alter u. neuer Zeit*. Leipzig, p. 35, Fig. 39). On the binding of the Gospels of the Emperor Henry II in the State Library at Munich, an *analogeion* is represented with a saint writing on it. On the top rests an inkstand (LOUBIER, *op. cit.*, p. 43, Fig. 49). Dürer also represents Erasmus of Rotterdam writing on an *analogeion* in A.D. 1526!).

An *analogeion*, especially used for writing upon, resting on a table with writing utensils on it. is shown in a Byzantine manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (SPELTZ, *Der Ornamentstil*, Pl. 67, Fig. 7). Another *analogeion* of the same kind may be seen in a Latin manuscript also in the Bibliothèque Nationale (SPELTZ, *op. cit.*, Pl. 77, Fig. 9). On the title page of a manuscript of the Gospel according to St. Luke (*Rom. Vaticana urb.*[2]) the Evangelist is represented sitting and writing on an *analogeion*. In a manuscript of the 11th century (*Bibl. Municipale de Poitiers*, ms. 250. fol. 21 verso) St. Fortunatus is represented writing the Lives of the Saints on an *analogein* (*Bull. de la Soc. Franc. de Reprod. de manuscr. à peintures*, 4e année, No. 1, p. 57, Pl. 1), holding in his right hand a pen, in his left an erasing-knife; on the *analogeion* rests the inkstand.

The kind of *analogeion* used for reading has usually the form of a table. In illuminated manuscripts the Scriptures are nearly always placed on a table. This table, covered with linen, is represented in a Catacomb wall-painting

the "chair" (כורסיה) or the "board" (לוחין) from which the Law was read, is mentioned in the Mishnah (Kelim XVI, 7) among the objects which "are accessory to what a man uses." If the idea was to symbolise the Law, why should it be represented together with the Ark of the Law, an object of much greater holiness and symbolic significance.

That this object is not a knife for circumcision does not require any proof; also the earlier theory of Prof. KLAUSNER, which supposes it to be a basin and stand, has nothing to support it.

(Kraus, *Roma soterranea*[2], Fig. 52 c). In the fourth century this object had the form of a reading desk (WULFF, *op. cit.*, I, p. 205). In all the documents quoted by BAYER, *Die Buchrolle in d. Kunst*, p. 175) we never find a person reading on an *analogeion*. The only representation comes from a terracotta at Athens, much earlier than the Christian era.

A NEW AKKADIAN PARALLEL TO DEUTERONOMY 25^{11-12}

CYRUS H. GORDON
American Schools of Oriental Research

כִּי־יִנָּצוּ אֲנָשִׁים יַחְדָּו אִישׁ וְאָחִיו וְנִקְרְבָה אֵשֶׁת הָאֶחָד לְהַצִּיל אֶת־אִישָׁהּ מִיַּד מַכֵּהוּ
וְשָׁלְחָה יָדָהּ וְהֶחֱזִיקָה בִּמְבֻשָׁיו: וְקִצַּתָּה אֶת־כַּפָּהּ לֹא תָחוֹס עֵינֶךָ:

'If men are fighting together, one with the other, and the wife of the one draws near to save her husband from the hand of the smiter, and she sends forth her hand and seizes his privates; then shall you cut off her hand; your eye shall have no pity' (Dt. 25^{11-12}).

DILLMANN[1] makes the following remarks on this passage: 'Der Fall, bezeichnend für die Sitten, kam doch gewiß nicht so oft vor, daß ein besonderes Gesetz dagegen zu erlassen war; er ist aber als typisch (wie z. B. 19^{5}), aus einer Menge anderer herausgenommen, um für die Rechtsprechung in ähnlichen Fällen als Norm zu dienen. Gegen Schamlosigkeit der Weiber, selbst wenn mildernde Umstände da sind, ist aufs strengste einzuschreiten. Es ist das zugleich, abgesehen vom jus talionis, der einzige Fall, wo das Gesetz Körperverstümmlung als Strafe festsetzt.' DRIVER[2] cites DILLMANN without adding anything new.

Until the last decade, this strange law was without a parallel. However, in 1920, SCHROEDER published *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts,* Leipzig, containing the old Assyrian Law Code in facsimile. Among the Biblical laws illuminated by the Assyrian Code is the passage under consideration. Section 8 of the Code begins: *šum-ma sinništu i-na ṣa-al-te iš-ka ša awêli ta-aḫ-te-e-pi I ú-ba-an-ša i-na-ki-su*[3]: 'If, during a fight, a woman breaks the testicle of a man, they shall cut off one of her fingers.'

[1] *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium and Josua,* 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1886, p. 358.

[2] *Deuteronomy,* New York, 1906, pp. 285–6.

[3] SCHROEDER, op. cit., p. 2, ll. 78–80. For translation and literature, see EBELING, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament,* 2nd ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, p. 412. This law does not occur in the extant portions of Hammurabi's Code, or of the Sumerian, Hittite and Neo-Babylonian Codes.

As noted by DILLMANN, Dt. 25^{11-12} is the only Biblical law, apart from the *jus talionis*, exacting mutilation. However, punishment by mutilation is quite characteristic of the Assyrian Code, and it would seem, therefore, that we are to look toward Assyria for the source of Dt. 25^{11-12}.

Although the exact date is unknown, the Assyrian Code probably comes from about the 12th century B.C. It is interesting to note that we now have a parallel in the Nuzi tablets,[1] which date from about the 15th century B.C. and were discovered near modern Kirkuk, Iraq.

The Nuzi documents have already shed light on parts of the Old Testament. For instance, in Gen. 15^{2}ff.,[2] we read that Abraham's heir was to be his servant Eliezer, in the event that Abraham should not beget children of his own. The custom of childless people adopting a son to inherit and care for the family estate (as well as for the family funerary rites) is well known in the Nuzi tablets. As in the case of Abraham and Isaac, so too in Nuzi, a son born subsequent to the adoption becomes his father's principal heir.[3]

An even more striking parallel from the Nuzi tablets has been pointed out by SIDNEY SMITH, *RA* XXIII, p. 127. In an adoption tablet from Nuzi, it appears that the possession of household gods was intimately associated with the right of inheritance. This explains the hitherto puzzling incident in Gen. 31^{19}ff., of Rachel's stealing Laban's תְּרָפִים 'household gods.' As we now understand it, she did so to claim the right of inheriting her father's property. This suggestion is particularly attractive in view of the Mesopotamian setting of the episode.

More recently, CURT KUHL has pointed out a parallel to Hosea 2^{4-15} in the Nuzi tablets; *ZAW* NF, X (1934), p. 106.

DILLMANN, followed by DRIVER, was of the opinion that Dt. 25^{11-12} was hardly a practical legal situation but was intended primarily to check immodesty in women, even under extenuating circumstances. But now, we find in the Nuzi tablets a record of an actual law

[1] For the literature on the Nuzi tablets and for the abbreviations used in referring to them, see *RA* XXXI (1934), pp. 53f.

[2] Cf. W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 2nd ed. New York, 1933, pp. 137ff.

[3] See SPEISER, *New Kirkuk Documents to Family Laws*,, *AASOR* X, pp. 7–8,

case illustrating Dt. 25^{11-12} and its Assyrian counterpart. The text is No. 43 in CHIERA, *Harvard Semitic Series* V, Cambridge, U. S. A., 1929. AAPELI SAARISALO has transliterated and translated the text and some of his notes are very helpful.[4] According to Dr. SAARISALO's interpretation, however, the bearing of this text on the Deuteronomic passage and its Assyrian parallel is entirely lost. For this reason, the present writer finds it necessary to give his own transliteration and translation.

^{m}a-kap-še-en-ni mâr zi-gi (2) *it-ti ^{f}im-še-en-na-a-a* (3) *i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni dayâni^{meš} i-te-lu-ma* (4) *um-ma ^{m}a-kap-še-en-ni-ma it-ti* (5) *^{m}a-ri-ḫa-a-a {u} ti-du-ka$_4$-am!-ma i-te-pu-uš* (6) *ù ^{f}im-še-en-na-a-a a-ḫi-ia qa-sú-ma i-te-pu-uš* (7) *ù dayâni^{meš} ši-bu-ti-šu a-šar ^{m}a-kap-še-en-ni* (8) *i-te-ir-šú ù ^{m}a-kap-še-en-ni ši-bu-tù* (9) *ša ú-bi-la ^{m}šarru-^{d}sîn mâr ar-ša-tù-ia* (10) *^{m}ú-ku-ia mâr gi-eš-ḫa-a-a* (11) *^{m}a-kip-til-la mâr ik-ki-ia ^{m}a-ri-ḫa-a-a mâr šu-ri-ka$_4$-a-a* (12) *IV awêlû^{meš} ši-bu-tù ina pa-ni dayâni^{meš} iq-ta-bu* (13) *^{m}a-kap-še-en-ni it-it ^{m}a-ri-ḫa-a-a* (14) *ti-du-ka$_4$-am!-ma $^{i-te-pu-uš}$itepušû^{šú}* (15) *ù ^{f}im-še-en-na-a-a it-ta-al-im-ma* (16) *ù a-ḫa-šu$_4$ ša ^{m}a-kap-še-en-ni* (17) *i-na sú-qi-im-ma qa-sú-ma i-te-pu-uš* (18) *ù dá-[m]a mu-uš-šu-rù* (19) *ù ni-nu ni-ta-mar-šu-nu-ti* (20) *ù dayâni^{meš} a-na ^{f}im-še-en-na-a-a iq-ta-bu-ú* (21) *ši-bu-ti-šu ša ^{m}a-kap-še-en-ni ilâni^{meš} i-ši-šu-mi ù ^{f}im-še-en-na-a-a* (22) *a-šar ilâni^{meš} id-du-ra a-kap-še-en-ni* (23) *ina di-ni il-te-ma ù dayâni^{meš}* (24) *^{f}im-še-en-na-a-a a-na ⟨I⟩ alpi^{meš}* (25) *a-na I imêri^{meš} ù a-na X immerê^{meš}* (26) *a-na ^{m}a-kap-še-en-ni it-ta-du-uš* (27) *dayâni^{meš} ^{m}a-ni-na-pí mâr ar-šá-an-ta* (28) *ù ^{m}ḫu-ti-ia mâr ú-ta-a-a* (29) *a-šar ^{m}ḫa-iš-te-šup it-tap-ru-uš* (30) *um-ma ^{m}ḫa-iš-te-šup-ma ^{f}im-še-en-na-a-a* (31) *aš-ša-at wardi-ia ù-ba-nu* (32) *ki-i i-ka$_4$-ša-du ù* (33) *pu-ur-sà ^{m}ar-še-eḫ-li mâr ar-te-ia* (34) *^{m}te-ḫi-ia mâr ú-ta-a-a* (35) *ù ^{m}ši-mi-ia NU QA AK PU* (36) *III awêlû^{meš} ma-za!-at-tù-uḫ-li ki-me-e* (37) *^{f}im-še-en-na-a-a a-šar ilâni^{meš} id-du-ru* (38) *un-du ṭup-pu i-š[a]$_7$-aṭ-ṭá-⟨ru⟩* (39) *ù ^{m}a-ri-ḫa-a-a i-za-az*

(40) *^{aban}kunuk ^{m}a-kap-tùg-gi* (41) *^{aban}kunuk MAT-ku-tar aban ut-ḫap-ta-e* (42) *qât ^{m}na-an-na-taḫ ṭupšarru^{rù}*

[4] *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Slaves, Studia Orientalia* V 3, Helsingfors, 1934.

Akapshenni son of Zigi appeared with Imshennaya in court before the judges. (4) Akapshenni declares: While I was having a fight with Arihaya, Imshennaya put her hand on my loin. (7) Then the judges demanded witnesses from Akapshenni, and (these are) the witnesses that Akapshenni brought: Sharru-Sîn son of Arshatuya, (10) Ukiya son of Geshhaya, Akiptilla son of Ikkiya (and) Arihaya son of Shurikaya. (12) The four witnesses said before the judges: (13) While Akapshenni was having a fight with Arihaya, Imshennaya flew into a rage and in the street put her hand on the loin of Akapshenni and blood was let, and meanwhile we were watching them. (20) And the judges said to Imshennaya: (21) Make the witnesses of Akapshenni swear by the gods! But Imshennaya was afraid of the gods. Akapshenni won the case and the judges made Imshennaya pay ⟨1⟩ ox, 1 ass and 10 sheep to Akapshenni. (27) The judges sent Aninapi son of Arshanta and Hutiya son of Utaya to Haishteshup. (30) Haishteshup declares: (As for) Imshennaya, the wife of my slave, since (her) finger seized (him), cut (it) off! Arshehli son of Arteya, Tehiya son of Utaya (35) and Shimiya the *kakpu*? guard? are the three constables (testifying) that Imshennaya was afraid of the gods. (38) When the tablet was wr[i]tte⟨n⟩, Arihaya was standing by.

three seals; signature of scribe.

Notes

The wife of a slave interferes in a fight between two men and inflicts a bodily injury on one of the combatants. The injured man brings suit against her and she is declared guilty, upon refusing to undergo an ordeal with eye witnesses. The judges impose a fine of live-stock, and upon obtaining the consent of her master, are invested with the right of amputating her finger.

3. *i-te-lu-ma:* plural according to sense; cf. verb in l. 14.

5. {*u*}: scribal addition.

6. Imshennaya's action was doubtless prompted by a personal interest in Arihaya. Dt. 25 suggests that she was his wife.

a-ḫi-ia: Saarisalo translates 'my brother', which is hardly possible, because Akapshenni himself is the plaintiff, and if 'brother' were meant, the brother would have to be named in accordance

with legal exactitude. For *aḫu* as a part of the body; cf. (H IX 10:8) *la-ḫu*^{meš}*-šu i-na* ^{is}*ḫaṭṭi ma-ḫi-iṣ*: (9) *ù dá-ma*^{meš} *mu-uš-šur* 10) *a-aḫ-šu ù qí-in-ṣí-šu* (11) *i-na* ^{is}*ḫaṭṭi-ma ma-ḫi-iṣ*: 'his jaw with a stick had been beaten and blood let (cf. l. 18). His loins and legs with a stick had been beaten'. *aḫu* can mean 'side', 'leg', 'loin' and perhaps 'privates' (to judge from the parallels in Dt. and the Assyrian Code).

9. *ša ú-bi-la: wabâlu* shows a marked preference for the energetic; see KRAMER, 'The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets', *AASOR* XI, p. 99.

15. *it-ta-al-im-ma:* SAARISALO derives this verb from *la›âbu; la›āmu* is also possible without any change in meaning.

16. *a-ḫa-šu*$_4$*: ZU* = *šu*$_4$. This correspondence, required also in N 164:10, is not included in THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syllabaire accadien,* Paris, 1926.

18. *dá-[m]a mu-uš-šu-rù:* The final *u* is an overhanging vowel; cf. l. 9 of the passage cited in the note to l. 6.

21. *i-ši-šu-mi:* imperative I_1 of *našû*. Note the suffix *-šu* for *-šu-nu-ti*. Confusion of number is not uncommon in these texts; e.g., *it-tap-ru-uš* (l. 29) 'they sent *them*' and *ki-ma emûqi!*^{meš}*-šu-ma* (H IX 24:16 'as *their* allotment'.

22. *a-šar:* = *ištu*; cf. GADD, *RA* XXIII, p. 107; see also note to l. 29.

id-du-ra: The final *a* is an overhanging vowel.

23ff. It is worthy of note that no similar fine is mentioned in Dt. 25^{11-12} or in section 8 of the Assyrian Code. Imshennaya is the wife of a slave belonging to Haishteshup (ll. 30ff.). The fine was probably to be paid by the latter. See note to l. 30.

24 ⟨*I*⟩: this vertical stroke is omitted by haplography, because the preceeding sign ends in a vertical stroke.

29. *a-šar*: = *ana*; cf. note to l. 22.

it-tap-ru-uš: for *iltapruš* (*šapâru*). The change *lt›tt* also takes place in *it-ti-il-tu*$_4$ for *il-ti-il-tu*$_4$; see *RA* XXXI, p. 56. For the singular instead of the plural ac^c. suffix, see note to l. 21.

30. Note that the court finds it necessary to get Haishteshup's permission to mutilate Imshennaya, because the latter is his personal property. Perhaps Haishteshup is offered the alternative of either paying the fine (ll. 24–25) or having Imshennaya lose a finger.

31–35. *il-ba-nu ki-i i-ka*$_4$*-ša-du ù pu-ur-sà:* lit. 'the finger,

since it reached (him) cut (it)'. Reading the opening words as *ù pá-nu,* SAARISALO translates 'whether she shall be pardoned decide!'. If it were a question of pardoning, the injured plaintiff would have been asked to do so and not the unscathed Haishteshup. The difficulty with reading *ù* as part of *ù-ba-nu* is not insurmountable, for *ù* in the Nuzi tablets occurs now and then other than as the conjunction; e.g., N 127:16. Observe that according to Biblical law, the guilty woman loses her whole hand, whereas according to the Assyrian Code and Nuzi usage, only a finger.

35. *NU QA AK PU*: SAARISALO reads *nu-qa-ri-bu* and translates 'gardener'. *NU* is to be read *PAP!* = *maṣṣaru* 'guard'; cf. *PAP!*$^{a-ri}$ (G 2:2) = *maṣṣari*, where *PAP!* has the form of *NU*. *QA-AK-PU* is possibly a Hurrian word, and if so must be normalized *kakpu*, since all stops in Hurrian are voiceless.

36. *ma-za!-at-tù-uḫ-li*: A wedge is added to *za* making the sign appear like *ḪA*.

38. *i-š*[*a*]$_7$*-aṭ-ṭá-*⟨*ru*⟩; *SA* = *ša*$_7$, another correspondence not given in THUREAU-DANGIN's *Syllabaire*. Cf. note to l. 16. ⟨*ru*⟩ is a scribal omission.

ZUR HISTORISCHEN GEOGRAPHIE SÜDJUDÄAS.

MARTIN NOTH

(KÖNIGSBERG I. PR.)

1. DAS LAND „GOSEN".

An zwei Stellen des Buches Josua (10[41]; 11[16]) kommt ein einigermaßen rätselhaftes „Land Gosen" (אֶרֶץ גֹּשֶׁן bezw. אֶרֶץ הַגֹּשֶׁן) vor, das in seiner geschichtlichen Bedeutung, seiner Lage und seinem Umfang bisher unerklärt geblieben ist. Es begegnet in beiden Fällen in Zusammenhängen, die durch eine Aufzählung von Landschaften und Orten das Gebiet ganz oder teilweise umschreiben wollen, das von den israelitischen Stämmen im palästinischen Kulturlande besiedelt worden ist. Schon die Seltenheit seines Vorkommens im Alten Testament spricht dafür, daß wir es nicht mit einem vagen Begriff zu tun haben, der etwa von späten und des Tatbestandes nicht mehr oder nur noch mangelhaft kundigen Schriftstellern bei der Beschreibung des israelitischen Kulturlandbesitzes konventionell verwandt wurde, sondern daß es sich hier um eine konkrete Größe handelt, die sich vielleicht noch genauer fixierten läßt.

Es empfiehlt sich, von Jos. 11[16] auszugehen. Hier beginnt die Schlußbemerkung zu der bis dahin im Josuabuche erzählten Geschichte von der kriegerischen Eroberung des Westjordanlandes, und es wird in diesem Verse zunächst das gesamte eroberte Gebiet umrissen, allerdings auf sehr ungleichmäßige Weise. Wenn wir von der in der Mitte genannten ערבה (Jordangraben) absehen, so wird am Ende des Verses nur ganz summarisch das Gebiet der nachmals zum Reiche Israel gehörigen Stämme bezeichnet mit den Worten: das Gebirge Israel und sein „Niederland" (שְׁפֵלָתוֹ). Genauer ausgeführt wird hingegen im ersten Teile des Verses die Beschreibung des viel kleineren Siedlungslandes der südlichen, später judäischen Stämme in folgender Weise: das Gebirge und der ganze Negeb und das ganze Land Gosen und das „Niederland" (שפלה). Entweder also ist der Verfasser dieser Aufzählung selbst Judäer und geht daher bei der Schilderung seiner engeren Heimat mehr ins

einzelne, um dafür die übrigen Teile des israelitischen Westjordanlandes nur um so kürzer zu behandeln. Oder aber wir haben es hier ursprünglich mit einer Zusammenfassung der Landschaften des judäischen Südens zu tun, die erst sekundär für den durch den jetzigen Zusammenhang gegebenen Zweck unvollkommen und unvollständig zu einer Beschreibung des gesamten israelitischen Westjordanlandes erweitert wurde.

Uns interessieren jetzt nur die vier Namen, die in der ersten Hälfte des Verses stehen. Drei davon sind wohlbekannt und werden auch sonst häufig einzeln oder gemeinsam genannt. Ja, die Reihe „Gebirge, Schephela, Negeb"[1] ist geradezu etwa zur Zeit der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbearbeitung zu einer stehenden Formel für die einzelnen Teile des judäischen Landes geworden[2], die im allgemeinen dem geographischen Tatbestand ja auch gut entspricht. Wenn nun an unserer Josuastelle als vierter Teil noch „das ganze Land Gosen" hinzukommt, so entsteht die Frage, ob die genannte dreigliedrige Reihe etwa nicht ganz vollständig ist, sondern eine Lücke läßt, die hier durch die Nennung „des ganzen Landes Gosen" ausgefüllt wird. Man könnte an den Ostabfall des judäischen Gebirges, die „Wüste Juda",[3] denken, die in der dreigliedrigen Reihe nicht berücksichtigt ist. Doch da der Zusammenhang von Jos. 11^{16} den von Israeliten eingenommenen, ehemals kanaanäischen Landbesitz im Auge hat, ist ein Weglassen der „Wüste Juda" nur angemessen, ganz abgesehen davon, daß dieser Landstrich im Alten Testament die eindeutige und sonst allgemein gebrauchte Bezeichnung מדבר hat

[1] Die Reihenfolge in der Aufzählung wechselt.

[2] So z.B. Ri. 1^{9}. Das Festgeprägte dieser Redewendung zeigt sich besonders schön an Stellen wie Jer. 17^{26}; 32^{44}; 33^{13}, wo mit der politisch-geographischen Einteilung des Reiches Juda in „Städte Judas, Jerusalem, Land Benjamin" verbunden ist, die mit dieser ersteren sich überschneidende landschaftliche Einteilung in „Schephela, Gebirge, Negeb" (vgl. auch Sach, 7^{7}). Ähnlich wie in Jos. 11^{16} bildet diese judäische Landschaftsaufzählung den Kern einer Beschreibung des gesamten israelitischen Kulturlandbesitzes an folgenden Stellen: Dtn. 1^{7} (wo nur am Anfang die ʿAraba und am Schluß der „Meeresstrand" hinzugefügt ist) und auch Jos. 12^{8} (wo zur Charakterisierung des israelitischen Westjordanlandes die dreiteilige Reihe durch drei weitere Glieder [die ʿAraba, die Wüste (scil. Juda) und das nicht genauer fixierbare אשדות] aufgefüllt ist). Vgl. noch Jos. 9^{1}, wo das Westjordanland in Gebirge, Schephela und Meeresstrand aufgeteilt wird.

[3] Die „Wüste Juda" ist pflanzengeographisch betrachtet eine wirkliche Wüste; vgl. R. Gradmann, *ZDPV* 57 (1934), S. 166.

und einen Eigennamen als Landschaft begreiflicherweise nicht besitzt, sondern höchstens in seinen einzelnen Teilen nach den Städten im Kulturland benannt wird, die dort ihre Weidegebiete haben.[1] „Das ganze Land Gosen" ist gewiß nicht hier in der Wüste Juda zu suchen.

Wohl aber ist auf etwas anderes hinzuweisen. So eindeutig in der palästinischen Landschaft die Grenze zwischen dem Gebirge im Osten und der Schephela im Westen markiert ist, so wenig klar ist die Abgrenzung zwischen dem Gebirge im Norden und dem Negeb im Süden. Der eigentliche Negeb ist offenbar jene überaus regenarme[2] Fläche, deren städtischer Mittelpunkt in alter und neuer Zeit Beerseba ist und die in sich nördlich von *bir es-sèbaʿ* und von *tell el-milḥ* je eine Zunge des Berglandes hinein ersteckt. Wie viel von dem südlich daran sich anschließenden trockenen Hügelland man im Alten Testament noch zum Negeb rechnete, ist wohl nicht mehr auszumachen. Im Negeb wohnen die Amalekiter (Num. 13^{29}); im Negeb liegen die Städte Beerseba = *tell el emschāsch* (2. Sam. 24^{7}; vgl. Jos. 15^{21}) und Arad = *tell ʿarād* (Num. 21^{1}; 33^{40}; vgl. Ri. 1^{16}), auch Gerar, für das der *tell esch-scherīʿa* in Betracht kommt[3] (Gen. 20^{1}). Die genaueste Auskunft über die nördliche Begrenzung des Negeb gibt die judäische Ortsliste in Jos. 15^{21-63}, genauer gesagt, ihre redaktionelle Bearbeitung, die nach dem oben behandelten Schema eine Dreiteilung der Ortsliste in die Landschaften Negeb, Schephela und Gebirge vorgenommen hat (Jos. $15^{21.33.48}$) und zum Negeb nur den südlichsten Gau mit Beerseba als wichtigstem Ort rechnet, während die nördlich und nordöstlich anschließenden Gaue, die Jos. 15^{48-51} und 15^{55-57} behandelt werden, schon zum „Gebirge" zählen. Wenn 1. Sam. 27^{10} vom Negeb Judas, vom Negeb der Jerachmeeliter und vom Negeb der Keniter und 1. Sam. 30^{14} vom Negeb der „Kreter" und vom Negeb Kalebs die Rede ist, so handelt es sich offenbar um Besitzanteile dieser weiter nördlich wohnenden Stämme an diesem südlichen „Trockenlande", die daher ihren Ursprung haben mögen, daß diese Stämme aus diesem südlichen Bereich des Halbnomadentums in ihre späteren festen Wohnsitze weiter im Norden vorgerückt sind. Auch

1 Vgl. den מדבר von Ziph (1. Sam. $23^{14.15}$; 26^{2}) und den מדבר von Maon (1. Sam. 23^{24}).

2 Das Wort Negeb bezeichnet wohl etymologisch das „trockene" Land.

3 Vgl. zuletzt ALT, *JPOS* XII (1932), S. 140.

heute noch wird ja der Negeb von Beerseba teilweise von den judäischen Bauern des großen Dorfes *eḍ-ḍāherīje* bewirtschaftet. Wir werden also die Nordgrenze des eigentlichen Negeb mit dem südlichen Rande des Berglandes ungefähr gleichzusetzen haben.[1]

Auf der anderen Seite aber wird das eigentliche Gebirge auch nicht immer im Alten Testament bis zu dieser soeben genannten Grenze gerechnet. Wenn in Jos. 15^{19} = Ri. 1^{15} die Stadt Kirjath-Sepher = Debir in „das Land des Negeb" verlegt wird, so wird hier anscheinend die Grenze zwischen Gebirge und Negeb viel weiter nördlich angesetzt; denn wo auch immer diese Stadt gelegen haben mag, in dem von uns soeben umgrenzten Negeb hat sie wohl noch niemand gesucht; sie hat jedenfalls weiter nördlich im Bergland gelegen, und der Redaktor der judäischen Ortsliste von Jos. 15, der in V. 48 die Bemerkung „im Gebirge" hinzusetzte und sogleich im folgenden Verse die Glosse[2] „das ist Debir" entweder vorfand oder seinerseits einfügte, hat jedenfalls Kirjath-Sepher = Debir in das „Gebirge" versetzt.

Dieses Schwanken der Überlieferung in der Abgrenzung zwischen Gebirge und Negeb hat in der Gestalt der Landshaft selbst ihren einfachen Grund. Wenn man der großen Straße von Hebron nach Süden folgt, kommt man wenige Kilometer vor *eḍ-ḍāherīje* aus dem eigentlichen Gebirge mit seinen starken Höhenunterschieden von Bergen und Tälern heraus hinab in ein etwas flacheres und übersichtlicheres Land, das auch nach Westen nicht mehr so scharf wie das Gebirge selbst gegen die Schephela hin abgesetzt ist. Aus diesem Bereich gelangt man dann südlich von *eḍ-ḍāherīje* durch einen abermaligen Abstieg hinunter in das ganz flache Land des Negeb. Man ist also auf dem Wege zwischen Hebron (Gebirge) und Beerseba (Negeb) in der Gegend von *eḍ-ḍāherīje* in einem Gebiet, das nicht eigentlich mehr Gebirge, aber auch noch nicht wirklich Negeb ist. Es ist von hier aus verständlich, daß diese Gegend bei der etwas groben Dreiteilung des judäischen Landes in Gebirge, Schephela und Negeb bald zum Gebirge, bald zum Negeb gerechnet wurde.

[1] Die erstern Vorhöhen des Berglandes mag man zum Negeb gerechnet haben etwa mit den Ortslagen von Madmanna (= *umm dēmne*) und Sansanna (= *chirbet esch-schamsānijāt*; vgl. ALT, *PJB* 29 [1933], S. 15); diese Orte werden Jos. 15^{31} zum Gau von Beerseba und damit zum Negeb gezählt.

[2] S. 45 und 47, Anm. 2.

Sollte nun nicht etwa der Ausdruck „das ganze Land Gosen" in Jos. 11[16] die hier klaffende Lücke ausfüllen und gerade diese Gegend zwischen Gebirge und Negeb meinen?

Einer positiven Beantwortung dieser Frage würde die andere Stelle im Buche Josua, an der „das ganze Land Gosen" genannt wird (10[41]), nicht im Wege stehen. Hier handelt es sich um ein Stück der zusammenfassenden Schlußbemerkung zu den Überlieferungen von Jos. 10 über Auseinandersetzungen der israelitischen Stämme mit südpalästinischen Stadtkönigen und Stadtstaaten. Weder dieses Kapitel noch jene Schlußbemerkung bilden überlieferungsmäßig und literarisch eine Einheit.[1] Doch sei hier eine genauere Analyse[2] unterlassen, da sie für das, was hier interessiert, nicht unbedingt erforderlich ist; denn in jedem Falle soll in V. 41 Südpalästina als ganzes in groben Zügen umrissen werden. Zu diesem Zwecke werden einige Grenzpunkte angegeben, und zwar offenbar Kades Barnea für den Süden, Gaza für den Westen und Gibeon, das der Ausgangspunkt des in Jos. 10 Berichteten ist, für den Norden. Dazwischen steht in seltsamer Weise[3] „das ganze Land Gosen", das also innerhalb dieser Grenzpunkte gesucht werden müßte; das aber würde ja unserem oben aus Jos. 11[16] gefolgerten Ansatz ohne weiteres entsprechen. Allenfalls könnte „das ganze Land Gosen" — seine Ursprünglichkeit vorausgesetzt — sogar ein Ersatz für den fehlenden östlichen Grenzpunkt sein sollen; denn nimmt man an, daß in der Formulierung von Jos. 10[41] wie in Jos. 11[16] sachgemäß von der „Wüste Juda" abgesehen wird, so würde, wie ein Blick auf die Karte lehrt, „das ganze Land Gosen" nach unserer obigen Lokaliserung in der Tat am östlichen Rande des zu beschreibenden Gebietes liegen, und

[1] Für die Schlußbemerkung geht das schon aus dem Nebeneinander von V. 40 und V. 41 hervor, die formal und sachlich Varianten sind.

[2] Vgl. dazu jetzt K. ELLIGER, *Josua in Judäa* (*PJB* 30 [1934], S. 47ff.).

[3] Die Formulierung in V. 41 ist allerdings hart, und der Ausdruck „das ganze Land Gosen" wirkt in der Reihe der mit „von ... bis" eingeführten Grenzpunkte wie ein Fremdkörper. Es scheint mir nicht ausgeschlossen, daß der Ausdruck hier eine Glosse ist und eigentlich in V. 40 gehört, wo er — sei es ursprünglich, sei es sekundär — die Reihe „Gebirge, Negeb, Schephela" ergänzen würde, ebenso wie in Jos. 11[16], nur mit dem Unterschied, daß hier noch die אשורות am Schluß der Reihe angefügt sind, in denen man nach dem sonstigen Vorkommen des Wortes die gebirgigen Ränder des Toten Meeres vermuten könnte.

zwar — durchaus passend — dem westlichen Grenzpunkt Gaza gerade gegenüber. Doch sind das nur Vermutungen, und etwas Konkretes und Sicheres läßt sich aus Jos. 10[41] für die Lage „des ganzen Landes Gosen" in keinem Falle entnehmen.

Um so mehr lehrt dafür Jos. 15[51], wo „Gosen" zwar nicht als Land, aber als Ortschaft vorkommt, und zwar exakt in dem Gebiet, auf das wir für das Land Gosen schon durch Jos. 11[16] geführt wurden. Es handelt sich um eine Ortschaft in dem Gau, der Jos 15[48-51] beschrieben wird und der das Gebiet rings um das heutige *eḍ-ḍāhirīje* einnimmt,[1] westlich bis zum Rande der Schephela, südlich bis nahe an den Abfall des Berglandes zum flachen Negeb heran, östlich bis zur Grenze des festbesiedelten Kulturlandes und im Norden fast bis an jene Linie heran, die wir oben als den Südrand des eigentlichen Gebirges bezeichnen zu können glaubten; d. h. dieser Gau deckt sich in ganz merkwürdiger Weise mit dem, was sich uns oben als der vermutliche Umfang „des ganzen Landes Gosen" ergeben hat. Ich zweifle nicht daran, daß diese Übereinstimmung kein Zufall ist, sondern daß das Gosen von Jos. 15[51] identisch ist mit dem Gosen, das die Grundlage des uns interessierenden Ausdrucks bildet. Leider ist über die Lage des Gosen von Jos. 15[51] bisher noch nichts ermittelt worden, und ohne neue Entdeckungen im Gelände kann darüber auch, soviel ich sehe, vorläufig nichts ermittelt werden. Nicht einmal aus der Reihenfolge der Orte in Jos. 15[48-51] ist irgend etwas zu erschließen, da irgend ein Anordnungsprinzip in der Aufzählung schlechterdings nicht erkennbar ist[2]. Für uns genügt es aber auch, daß wenigstens der Bereich, innerhalb dessen dieses Gosen zu suchen ist, festliegt.

Der sachliche Zusammenhang zwischen „dem ganzen Land Gosen" und diesem Ort Gosen muß gewiß so gedacht werden, daß wir ein städtisches Zentrum vor uns haben mit einem dazu gehörigen Territorium, einem „Land". Eine genaue formale und sachliche Parallele zu dem hier vorliegenden Tatbestand haben wir in dem

[1] ALBRIGHT (*ZAW* N.F. 6 [1929], S. 2 und *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* [1932], S. 87) hält vermutungsweise die drei letzten Namen dieser Reihe (darunter Gosen) für an falscher Stelle stehend, jedoch ohne einleuchtenden Grund.

[2] Auch K. ELLIGER (*a. a. O.*, S. 64) kann, obwohl er die Reihenfolge für „nicht völlig willkürlich hält", ein System darin nicht nachweisen.

Zusammenhang zwischen „dem ganzen Land Hepher" (1. Kön. 4^{10}) und dem durch Jos. 12^{17} bezeugten Ort Hepher; auch hier handelt es sich bei dem ersteren Ausdruck um das Territorium der Stadt Hepher.[1] Das Vorhandensein von Städten mit Stadtterritorien aber hat in der vorisraelitischen, kanaanäischen Ordnung der Dinge in Palästina, wie sie vor allem durch die Amarna-Tafeln uns bekannt ist, seinen Ursprung; ebenso wie für „das ganze Land Hepher"[2] wird es also gewiß auch für „das ganze Land Gosen" gelten, daß es sich von Hause aus um einen kanaanäischen Stadtstaat handelt, der dann dem Verband der israelitischen Stämme eingegliedert wurde und schließlich vielleicht nur noch in der inneren Einteilung des Reiches Juda in Erscheinung trat; denn da die Gliederung des Reiches Juda in Gaue offenbar an ältere territoriale Ordnungen anknüpfte,[3] könnte man vermuten, daß der in Jos. 15^{48-51} umschriebene Gau ungefähr das Territorium des alten Stadtstaates Gosen dartsellt.[4]

Eine Schwierigkeit besteht nur insofern, als man von Gosen als einer kanaanäischen Stadt entsprechende archäologische Überreste in Form eines *tell* erwarten sollte. Nun ist das judäische Gebirge südlich von Hebron an *tulūl* ohnehin arm genug, und die Gegend um *eḍ-ḍāherīja* herum ganz besonders; und wenn man auch in dem sicher nur sehr spärlich besiedelten südjudäischen Bergland an die Größe einer kanaanäischen Stadt trotz eines relativ ausgedehnten Territoriums nicht allzu hohe Anforderungen wird stellen dürfen, so wird man doch erwarten müssen, daß ihre Spuren nicht völlig verwischt sind, sondern in der Form eines *tell* noch heute in Erscheinung treten. Doch ist die Tatsache, daß eine passende und billigen archäologischen Anforderungen genügende Ortslage für dieses Gosen vorerst noch nicht aufzuweisen ist, gewiß kein entscheidendes Argument gegen die obigen Schlußfolgerungen.[5]

[1] Vgl. dazu A. ALT, *PJB* 28 (1932), S. 27ff. Auch an das Nebeneinander von „(Stadt) Tappuah" und „Land Tappuah" in Jos. 17^{8} kann erinnert werden. Zu der hier vorliegenden Bedeutung des Wortes ארץ vgl. im übrigen L. ROST, *Festschrift Otto Procksch* (1934), S. 134f.

[2] Jos. 12^{17} ist Hepher ausdrücklich als kanaanäische Königsstadt überliefert; vgl. auch das Vorkommen von Hepher zusammen mit anderen Kanaanäerstädten in der Genealogie des Stammes Manasse, Num. 26^{32}f.

[3] Vgl. A. ALT, *PJB* 21 (1929), S. 113ff.

[4] Vgl. wieder „das ganze Land Hepher" in 1. Kön. 4^{10}.

[5] Allenfalls könnte man für Gosen an den *tell bēt mirsim* denken. Wenn

Wenn, wie gezeigt, „das ganze Land Gosen" in der kanaanäischen Periode Palästinas seinen Ursprung hat, dann entsteht die Frage, ob es nicht in den literarischen Nachrichten über das kanaanäische Palästina noch aufzufinden ist. Bei dieser Frage drängt sich natürlich der Gedanke an das einmal in den Amarna-Tafeln genannte „Land Gari"[1] auf, dem A. ALT in dieser Zeitschrift eine besondere Behandlung gewidmet hat.[2] Es ist mir nicht zweifelhaft, daß ALT mit seinen Vorgängern Recht hat, wenn er das „Land Gari" im Süden Palätinas sucht. Der Zusammenhang, in dem es auftritt, weist nun gerade in die Gegend, die uns hier beschäftigt. Zwei der Orte des Landes Gari kehren in Jos. 15^{48-51} wieder (Ḫinianabi = ענב [עין] = *ʿanāb*; Ḫawini = ענים = *ḫirbet ḫuwēn* [*et-taḥta*]),[3] zwei liegen etwas weiter

ALBRIGHT (*ZAW* N. F. 6 [1929] S. 2f.; *Arch. of Pal.* [1932], S. 77ff.) die Gegend des *tell bēt mirsim* mit in den Bereich des Jos. 15^{48-51} umschriebenen Gaus einbezieht, so ist das Recht dazu nicht unbedingt zu bestreiten; denn wenn auch *tell bēt mirsim* ein ganzes Stück tiefer und westlicher liegt als die sicher festlegbaren Orte dieses Gaues, so sind doch gerade in dieser Gegend die einzelnen Landschaften, wie schon gesagt, nicht so deutlich und scharf von einander abgesetzt, daß man danach die einzelnen Orte zu festen Gruppen zusammenfassen könnte. Nun kommt aber, wie unten gezeigt werden wird, in Jos. 15^{48-51} das von ALBRIGHT für den *tell bēt mirsim* vorgeschlagene Kirjath-Sepher = Debir gar nicht vor, und wenn man schon von den hier genannten und nicht anderweitig festgelegten Orten einen mit *tell bēt mirsim* identifizieren wollte, dann käme nach dem Gesagten Gosen in erster Linie dafür in Frage als eine Stadt mit kanaanäischer Vergangenheit, die nach Jos. 15^{51} bis an das Ende der israelitischen Königszeit besiedelt war, was dem archäologischen Befund auf dem *tell bēt mirsim* entsprechen würde. Andrerseits freilich wird es immer nahe liegen, die Gegend von *tell bēt mirsim* in den Jos. 15^{37-41} beschriebenen südlichsten Gau der Schephela einzubeziehen und ihn mit einem der hier genannten Orte zu identifizieren. Gegen den neuen Vorschlag ELLIGERS (*PJB* 30 [1934], S. 66ff.), der die alte Kanaanäerstadt Eglon auf *tell bēt mirsim* suchen will, ist wohl kaum etwas Stichhaltiges einzuwenden, da Eglon nach Jos. 15^{39} am Ende der judäischen Königszeit noch bestand, die literarische Überlieferung also dem archäologischen Befund entspricht. Die Ortslage von Gosen wäre dann also erst noch zu suchen.

[1] 256,23 KNUDTZON. [2] *JPOS.* XII (1932), S. 126–141.

[3] Vielleicht ist auch Araru in diesem Zusammenhang zu nennen. Seine Gleichsetzung mit dem *ערערה (bezw. *ערער) von Jos. 15^{22} und damit mit der heutigen *ḫirbet ʿarʿara* (ALT, *a.a.O.*, S. 133) scheint mir nicht so sicher zu sein. Da ערער u. drgl. als palästinischer Ortsname öfter vorkommt, könnte das ערער von 1. Sam. 30^{28} von jenem ערערה zu trennen sein. Da in 1. Sam. 30^{28} Jattir unmittelbar vorausgeht und Esthemoa an zweiter Stelle (nur ein sonst nicht bekanntes שמוע steht noch dazwischen) folgt, d. h. zwei Orte des Gaus von

nördlich (Udumu = דומה = *ed-dōme*; Aduri = אדורום = *dūra*); die übrigen Orte sind teils in ihrer örtlichen Ansetzung, teils in ihrer Lesung unsicher.[1] Mögen nun die genannten Orte alle innerhalb des Landes Gari liegen, sollen oder mögen sie teilweise nur in seiner Nachbarschaft gesucht werden müssen,[2] im südjudäischen Bergland ist das „Land Gari" dann gewiß anzusetzen. Nun hat ALT nach früheren vergeblichen Versuchen Anderer, den Namen und die Lage von Gari mit sonst durch die Überlieferung bekannten Erscheinungen gleichzusetzen,[3] den Vorschlag gemacht, Gari nach Form und Inhalt mit dem biblischen Gerar gleichzusetzen. Freilich ergibt sich dabei die Notwendigkeit, dem Lande Gari-Gerar eine unwahrscheinlich große Ausdehnung über verschiedene Landschaftsgebiete zu geben, und bei der von ALT, *a. a. O.*, S. 140, gebilligten Ansetzung von Gerar auf *tell esch-scherīʿa* rückt das Land Gari-Gerar von den in dem Amarna-Brief genannten Einzelorten räumlich und landschaftsmäßig so weit ab, daß die Gleichung Gari = Gerar mir fraglich erscheint. Wenn man überhaupt die im Zusammenhang mit dem Lande Gari genannten Einzelorte in eine sachliche, d. h. räumliche Verbindung mit diesem Lande bringen darf,[4] dann bleibt gar nichts anders übrig,

Jos. 15[48-51], liegt es nahe, dieses ערער im Bereich dieses Gaues zu suchen und dann auch das Araru des Landes Gari mit diesem ערער zu identifizieren.

[1] Über Zarḳi und Jabišiba kann gar nichts gesagt werden. Magdalim mit ALT auf dem *tell el-medschādil* anzusetzen, ist gewiß möglich, aber bei der Häufigkeit dieses Ortsnamens natürlich nicht sicher. Der Vorschlag von ALT, *Meištu* mit dem ממשת der Krugstempel und dem heutigen *kurnub* gleichzusetzen, empfiehlt sich angesichts der damit gegebenen ungeheuer weiten räumlichen Entfernung dieses Ortes von den anderen wohl kaum. Zudem ist die Lesung dieses Namens ja ganz unsicher. Vielleicht wäre die Vermutung möglich, daß *ME* hier als Pluralzeichen gemeint ist und andeuten soll, daß das Stadt-Ideogramm eigentlich doppelt geschrieben werden müßte; dann ergäbe sich die Möglichkeit *aluer-millaḫ* zu lesen, womit עיר המלח wiedergeben sein könnte (= *tell el-milḥ*); doch das ist natürlich eine reine Vermutung. Aber auch dieser Ort läge dann schon reichlich weit ab von den übrigen.

[2] Da der Absender des Briefes wohl in Mittelpalästina beheimatet ist und die Lage in Südpalästina wohl nur vom Hörensagen auf Grund ihm zugekommener Nachrichten kennt, wären einige Ungenauigkeiten über die territorialen Verhältnisse nicht weiter verwunderlich.

[3] Ältere Auffassungen vgl. bei WEBER, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln (*VAB*), S. 1319.

[4] Das Nächstliegende wird es doch immer bleiben, daß nach der Meinung des Briefschreibers die aufgeführten Orte im Lande Gari liegen sollen, selbst wenn ihm dabei einige Ungenauigkeiten unterlaufen sein sollten: vgl. S. 46 Anm. 5.

als das Land Gari im südjudäischen Bergland zu suchen; denn dahin weisen eindeutig die einigermaßen sicher festlegbaren Orte, von denen nur Aduri ein wenig, aber auch nicht weit abliegt. Aber auch bei Annahme der Vorschläge von ALT, die mit Araru und Meištu sehr weit in den Süden führen, würde dieselbe Gegend unter der obigen Voraussetzung immer noch das Kernstück des Landes Gari bleiben, und eine Veranlassung, mit dem Lande Gari nach Westen oder Südwesten in die Schephela und in die Ebene hinabzugehen, besteht in keinem Falle. Man kommt also mit dem Lande Gari genau in den Bereich des Landes Gosen und wird zu der Vermutung gedrängt, daß diese beiden „Länder" einander gleichzusetzen seien, umso mehr, als in der ausgehenden Bronzezeit im südjudäischen Bergland für das Nebeneinander zweier ansehnlicherer territorialer Gebilde gewiß kein Raum war.

Es bleibt noch die Frage, ob nicht überhaupt die Namen Gosen[1] und Gari miteinander znsammenhängen. Die Ähnlichkeit des Anfangs beider Namenformen verführt zu dieser Vermutung. Für die zweite Worthälfte könnte man zu der allerdings an sich bedenklichen Vermutung seine Zuflucht nehmen, daß in dem nur einmal überlieferten Namen Gari ein Schreibfehler vorliege. Diese Möglichkeit besteht gewiß, und die obigen sachlichen Erwägungen könnten diese Annahme wohl einigermaßen rechtfertigen. Andrerseits könnte man vielleicht fragen, ob nicht für das Zeichen *RI* hier der allerdings ganz ungewöhnliche Lautwert *ša* anzusetzen sei.[2] Doch soll es mit dem kurzen Hinweis auf diese naheliegenden Erwägungen sein Bewenden haben.

2. Die Stadt Kirjath-Sepher = Debir.

Mit der Frage nach dem Lande Gosen hängt die Frage nach der Lage der Stadt Kirjath-Sepher = Debir in einigen Punkten zusammen. Deshalb sei auch diese zweite Frage hier kurz behandelt, obwohl zu ihrer Beantwortung leichter etwas Negatives als etwas Positives gesagt werden kann.

[1] Die überlieferte Vokalisation dieses Namens kann sekundär sein und auf Angleichung an den Namen des anderen „Landes Gosen" in Ägypten beruhen,

[2] Vgl. R. E. BRÜNNOW, *A classified List of all . . . cuneiform ideographs* (1889) Nr. 2552. In גשן könnte am Schluß die Endung *zōn* vorliegen; zu dem Nebeneinandervorkommen desselben Namens mit und ohne diese Endung vgl. W. BORÉE, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930), S. 61f.

Die alttestamentlichen Nachrichten über diese Stadt[1] sind nicht eben reichhaltig. In Jos. 15^{15-19} = Ri. 1^{11-15} wird in der Form der Sage überliefert, wie die mit den in Hebron sich festsetzenden Kalibbitern verwandten oder als ein Unterteil zu ihnen gehörigen Kenizziter die (kanaanäische) Stadt Kirjath-Sepher = Debir erobern und besetzen und wie sie sich gegenüber den Kalibbitern für ihren Wasserbedarf das Nutzungsrecht an „den oberen und unteren (Wasser-)*gullōth*" sichern. Der ganze Zusammenhang hier und besonders die zuletzt genannte Einzelheit lassen vermuten, daß wir die Stadt nicht allzu weit von Hebron entfernt zu suchen haben werden. — Die Nennung von Debir in Jos. 10^{38}f zeigt übereinstimmend damit nur wieder, daß wir es bei Debir mit einer kanaanäischen Stadt zu tun haben und daß ihre Eroberung durch (im weiteren Sinne) israelitische Stämme im zeitlichen und sachlichen Zusammenhang mit der Eroberung von Hebron erfolgte.[2] — Jos. 11^{21} werden die Städte genannt, aus denen Josua die „Enakiter" vertrieb, und zwar in folgender Reihenfolge: Hebron-Debir-Anab. — Mit der Aufführung von Debir unter den in einer undurchsichtigen Reihenfolge genannten „Priesterstädten" (Jos. 21^{15} = 1. Chr. 6^{43}) ist nichts anzufangen, solange über Alter, Herkunft und Bedeutung dieses Systems der Priesterstädte nichts Sicheres ermittelt ist. — Die konkretesten Angaben über Kirjath-Sepher = Debir haben wir offenbar in Jos. 15^{15}ff. = Ri. 1^{11}ff. und Jos. 11^{21} vor uns; von ihnen muß ausgegangen werden bei dem Versuch, etwas über die Lage dieser Stadt festzustellen.

In den neuesten Erörterungen der Frage ist man freilich allein ausgegangen von dem vermeintlichen Vorkommen von Kirjath-Sepher = Debir in Jos. 15^{49}, d. h. in der Liste der Gaue des Reiches Juda.[3] Das wäre dann allerdings die sicherste Angabe über die Gegend, in der man Kirjath-Sepher = Debir zu suchen hätte. Freilich ist man genötigt, zu diesem Zwecke den Text in Jos. 15^{49} zu ändern; das

[1] Außeralttestamentlich haben wir nur die Erwähnung von „Beth-Sepher" (in dieser ungenauen Form) neben „Kirjath-Anab" in der literarischen Streitschrift des Pap. Anast. I (vgl. *PJB* 30 [1934], S. 38 Anm. 2); diese Stelle aber besagt nichts über die alttestamentliche Überlieferung hinaus, zeigt nur, daß die Angabe Jos. 15^{15b} = Ri. 1^{11b} zutreffend ist (die Stadt „hieß früher Kirjath-Sepher").

[2] Davon abhängig Jos. 12^{13}; dazu sowie zu dem ganzen Abschnitt Jos. 10^{28-39}, vgl. jetzt ELLIGER, *PJB* 30 (1934), S. 47ff.

[3] Vgl. ALT, Judas Gaue unter Josia (*PJB* 21 [1925], S. 100-116).

Recht zu dieser Textänderung wird von ALBRIGHT[1] mit einer kurzen Bemerkung festgestellt, während ELLIGER[2] zur Textfrage sich gar nicht äußert. Das Recht aber, hier den Text zu ändern, das für die gesamte darauf aufgebaute Argumentation über die Lage von Kirjath-Sepher = Debir bei ALBRIGHT und ELLIGER grundlegend ist, muß nachgeprüft werden.

Jos. 15[49] steht: „Kirjath-Sanna, das ist Debir". Da es sich hier um ein offizielles Dokument handelt, in dem die Orte der einzelnen judäischen Gaue amtlich aufgeführt werden, ist eine erklären wollende, gelehrte Bemerkung in diesem Zusammenhang nicht am Platze. Da man nun nur etwas Unbekanntes durch etwas Bekanntes kann erklären wollen, nicht umgekehrt, ist hier der Passus „das ist Debir" gewiß ein nachträglicher Zusatz. Der Glossator hielt offenbar das dastehende Kirjath-Sanna für eine andere Form des Namens Kirjath-Sepher[3], den er in dieser Liste vermißte, und machte auf Grund dessen seinen Zusatz „das ist Debir"[4]. Nun fehlt in Wirklichkeit jede Veranlassung zu der Annahme, daß Kirjath-Sanne nur eine Nebenform von Kirjath-Sepher sei. Daß aber Kirjath-Sepher ursprünglich im Text dagestanden habe, ist eine völlig unbegründete Vermutung. Denn erstens gilt auch hier der methodische Grundsatz, daß im allgemeinen die *lectio difficilior* vorzuziehen ist,[5] der ungewöhnliche und singuläre

[1] *ZAW NF* 6 (1929), S. 2; *Archaeology of Palestine* (1932) S. 78.

[2] *PJB* 30 (1934), S. 63f.

[3] Wie noch HOLZINGER, KAUTZSCH 4 I (1922), S. 354 Anm.

[4] Diesen Zusatz fanden Septuaginta und Peschitto schon vor, und von ihm aus rückschließend haben sie dann für Kirjath-Sanna Kirjath-Sepher eingesetzt. Diese Textänderung war auf Grund eines diesen beiden Übersetzungen vorliegenden hebräischen Textes, wie wir ihn heute noch lesen, so naheliegend, daß sie einer weiteren Erklärung nicht bedarf. Ein Zeugnis für einen anderen hebräischen Text als Vorlage dieser Übersetzungen haben wir hier offenbar nicht.

[5] Die von FR. DELITZSCH (*Die Lese- und Schreibefehler im Alten Testament* [1920] § 99b) ausgesprochene, von ALBRIGHT (*a. a. O.* S. 2) aufgenommene Vermutung, Kirjath-Sanna sei versehentlich dem unmittelbar vorhergehenden Namen Danna angeglichen worden, hat wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Vgl. das Nebeneinander von Madmanna und Sansanna in Jos. 15[31], das in keiner Weise textlich zu beanstanden ist. Kirjath-Sepher ist ein so einfacher und durchsichtiger Name, daß er zu nachträglicher Entstellung wenig Anlaß bot. Wenn schon Kirjath-Sanna auf einer sekundären Angleichung an das vorangehende Danna beruhen sollte, dann hat an seiner Stelle jedenfalls etwas anderes dagestanden als Kirjath-Sepher.

Name also gegenüber dem geläufigen den Anspruch darauf hat, für ursprünglich gehalten zu werden; sodann aber ist Kirjath-Sepher ja der kanaanäische Name dieser Stadt,[1] und in einem Dokument aus der israelitischen Königszeit wäre in jedem Falle der spätere Name Debir zu erwarten.[2] Schließlich aber ergibt sich auch aus den obigen Eröterungen zum „Lande Gosen", daß Kirjath-Sepher = Debir in der Reihe der Jos. 15^{48-51} genannten Orte nicht gerade zu erwarten ist. Wenn der hier umschriebene Gau, wie wir oben vermuteten, historisch etwa das ehemalige Territorium der kanaanäischen Stadt Gosen repräsentiert, so ist eine zweite kanaanäische Stadt mit ihrem Territorium in so enger Nachbarschaft in dem gewiß nur spärlich besiedelten judäischen Bergland nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Alle diese Erwägungen sprechen eindeutig dafür, daß in Jos. 15^{49} entsprechend dem jetzt vorliegenden Text der uns sonst nicht bekannte Ort Kirjath-Sanna genannt ist mit der sekundären und falsch deutenden Glosse „das ist Debir", daß also von Kirjath-Sepher = Debir hier keine Rede ist.

Es ergibt sich daraus, daß Debir am Ende der Königszeit nicht mehr existierte.[3] Die Stadt war bei der Landnahme von den

[1] Vgl. das o. S. 43 Anm. 3 angeführte ägyptische Zeugnis.

[2] Ein ähnlicher Fall wie Jos. 15^{49} liegt in V. 54 vor; hier lesen wir im jetzigen Text: „Kirjath-Arba, das ist Hebron". Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß hier ursprünglich nur Hebron gestanden hat; denn Hebron ist der israelitische Name der Stadt, wie nicht weiter belegt zu werden braucht. Hier hat offenbar derselbe gelehrte Glossator, dem wir in V. 49 begegneten, seinerseits auf Grund von Stellen wie Ri. 1^{10} u. a. hinzugefügt „Kirjath-Arba, das ist". Die verschiedene Stellung der Glossen erklärt sich sehr leicht daraus, daß derselbe Glossator hier planmäßig und gleichmäßig gearbeitet hat; er bringt jeweils erst den alten und dann den neuen Namen der Stadt. Er mußte seine Glossen ungleichmäßig anbringen, weil er einen vermeintlich ungleichmäßigen Text vorfand: Kirjath-Sanna (nach seiner Meinung = Kirjath-Sepher; der alte Name) und andererseits Hebron (der spätere Name). Ähnlich ist in V. 60 dem offenbar ursprünglichen Kirjath-Jearim die Glosse „Kirjath-Baal, das ist . . ." vorangestellt.

[3] Damit entfällt die Möglichkeit, Debir mit ALBRIGHT auf dem *tell bēt mirsim* anzusetzen. Nicht nur, daß nun der Argumentation ALBRIGHTS die Grundlage fehlt und nichts wesentlich Positives mehr für seine Gleichung angeführt werden kann; sondern die literarische Bezeugung widerspricht nunmehr dem archäologischen Tatbestand. Denn die Stadt auf dem *tell bēt mirsim* ist bis zum letzten Ende der judäischen Königszeit besiedelt gewesen. Das *argumentum e silentio* auf Grund der Liste von Jos. 15 ist zwingend; denn in dieser sind alle zu ihrer Zeit existierenden judäischen Ortschaften genannt. — Ebenso ist aber auch der

Kenizzitern erobert und dann offenbar von ihnen neu besiedelt worden — nur daraus erklärt sich das Vorhandensein von Überlieferungen über sie, die jedenfalls erst längere Zeit nach der Landnahme ihre endgültige Form erhalten haben; — dann aber hat sie bei irgend einer Gelegenheit[2] ein Ende gefunden, von dem die Überlieferung nichts meldet.

Zur Bestimmung ihrer Lage stehen uns nur die oben zusammengestellten wenigen alttestamentlichen Nachrichten zur Verfügung; sie lassen vermuten, daß wir Debir in nicht allzu großer Entfernung von Hebron und jedenfalls wohl noch innerhalb derselben Landschaft, d. h. im Gebirge[3], zu suchen haben und daß Debir dann am ehesten auf Grund der geschichtlichen Beziehungen zu Hebron im Bereich des judäischen Gaus von Hebron (Jos 15^{52-54}) lag, der südwestlich bis zum Rande des eigentlichen Gebirges, bis nach Duma (*ed-dōme*, westlich der Fahrstraße nahe nördlich *eḍ-ḍāherīje*) reichte. Wahrscheinlich stellt dieser Gau das Gebiet der kalibbitisch-kenizzitischen Siedlung dar. Sodann wird man erwarten müssen, daß die konkrete Angabe von Jos. 15^{19} = Ri. 1^{15} über „die oberen und unteren (Wasser-)*gullōth*"[4] durch den lokalen Befund in der Umgebung von

Beweisführung von ELLIGER, *a.a.O.*, damit der Boden entzogen. Auch gegen seinen Vorschlag, Debir auf *ḫirbet zānūta* anzusetzen, spricht übrigens der archäologische Tatbestand, wie er selbst, S. 65 Anm. 3 sagt. Die Steinruine *ḫirbet zānūta* könnte allenfalls an der Stelle einer eisenzeitlichen Ortschaft stehen; daß hier schwerlich jemals eine bronzezeitliche Stadt gelegen hat, zeigt der Befund an Ort und Stelle ziemlich deutlich. Der Hinweis auf den Befund an der Stelle des alten Hebron beweist hier m. E. wenig. Denn nach meiner Erinnerung fehlt bei *ḫirbet zānūta* nicht nur das charakteristische *tell*-Profil sondern überhaupt jede bemerkenswerte Schuttablagerung.

[2] ELLIGER weist *ZDPV* 57 (1934), S. 146 mit Recht auf die Ereignisse des Jahres 701 hin, die mancherlei vom alten Siedlungsbestand auf judäischem Boden zerstört haben, was nachher nicht wieder aufgebaut worden ist. So erklärt ELLIGER sehr einleuchtend das Fehlen mehrerer aus älterer Überlieferung bekannter Orte in der judäischen Ortsliste von Jos. 15^{19}. Auch Debir könnte sehr wohl zu den Orten gehören, deren Besiedlung mit dem Jahre 701 ein — wenigstens vorläufiges — Ende fand.

[3] Zwar verlegt Jos. 15^{19} = Ri. 1^{15} Kirjath-Sepher = Debir in „das Land des Negeb". Aber wir sahen schon oben, wie wenig fest dieser Begriff ist.

[4] Leider ist über die spezielle Bedeutung des Wortes גֻּלֹּת nichts Genaues bekannt. Daß Quellen gemeint sind, liegt nach dem Zusammenhang bei weitem am nächsten. Handelt es sich vielleicht um einen lokalen Ausdruck für „Quellen"? — KYLE (bei ALBRIGHT, *ZAW NF* 6 [1929], S. 3) hat auf zwei

Debir eine einleuchtende Erklärung findet. Und schließlich darf aus Jos. 11[21] entnommen werden, daß Debir ungefähr auf der Linie zwischen Hebron und Anab (= *ʿanāb* westlich *eḍ-ḍāherīje*) gelegen hat.

Da auf dem Gebirge südlich und südwestlich von Hebron alte Ortslagen nur sehr spärlich gesät sind, ist die Auswahl im vorliegenden Falle nicht sehr groß. Wie mir scheint, kommt eigentlich nur eine Ortslage ernstlich in Frage, die den obigen Anforderungen wirklich entspricht, nämlich *tell* bezw. *chirbet ṭarrāme*.[1] Sie liegt in der Luftlinie reichlich 8 km südwestlich von Hebron; wenn man der Fahrstraße von Hebron nach Beerseba folgt, sieht man sie schon kurz hinter Hebron als hohe Kuppe am Horizonte liegen, und wenn man dann mit der Fahrstraße den breiten *sēl ed-dilbe* durchquert hat, sieht man sie im Zuge des diese Talebene südlich begrenzenden Bergrückens unmittelbar rechts der Straße liegen.[2] „Die oberen und unteren (Wasser-)*gullōth*" erklären sich von hier aus leicht als die beiden Quellgebiete im *sēl ed-dilbe*, die von dem im übrigen vor allem nach Süden und Osten zu ungewöhnlich aussichtsreichen Gipfel des *tell ṭarrāme* aus sichtbar sind.[3] Die Lage dieser Quellen beiderseits des Weges nach Hebron würde es auch gut verständlich machen, daß die Kenizziter von Debir deren Besitz gegen die offenbar stärkeren Kalibbiter der Gegend von Hebron behaupten mußten. Daß gerade dieses besondere und eigenartige Überlieferungselement bei der Ansetzung von Debir auf dem *tell ṭarrāme* eine so anschauliche und plausible Erklärung findet, spricht m. E. stark für diese These.

Schwierigkeiten scheint nur der archäologische Befund an Ort und Stelle zu machen, soweit der Scherbenbelag in Frage kommt.

Quellen in der Gegend von *tell bēt mirsim* (eine 3 km oberhalb, eine 1 km unterhalb) aufmerksam gemacht und diesen Tatbestand für die Ansetzung von Kirjath-Sepher = Debir auf *tell bēt mirsim* ins Feld geführt. Aber in welchem Verhältnis sollten diese Quellen zu den Kalibbitern von Hebron stehen, wie es die Überlieferung doch fordert?

[1] ALT, *PJB* 28 (1932), S. 17 schreibt *chirbet eḍ-ḍarrāme*, *PJB* 30 (1934), S. 84, berichtigt in *chirbet eṭ-ṭarrāme*. Ortskundige Leute sagten mehrfach *tell ṭarrāme*.

[2] Zur Lage des *tell* und zur Ungenauigkeit der englischen Karte in dieser Gegend vgl. ALT *a. a. O.*, S. 16f.

[3] Die „untere" Quelle ist die *ʿēn ed-dilbe* nahe östlich der Straße, die „obere" Quelle liegt westlich ein Stück abseits der Straße und führt auf der englischen Karte den Namen „ʿAin Mâjûr".

Die Gipfelfläche trägt die Steinruine byzantinischer Bauten mit byzantinischer Keramik, und nur ganz wenige eisenzeitliche Keramik fand sich an den Abhängen. Im übrigen aber kann es kaum einem Zweifel unterliegen, daß wir es hier mit einem regelrechten *tell* zu tun haben. Die Schuttablagerung ist ziemlich hoch, und schon von weitem zeigt sich deutlich über der dunkleren Farbe des natürlich gewachsenen Hügels auf dem Gipfel eine hohe Kuppe in der charakteristischen helleren, gräulichen Färbung einer solchen künstlichen Schuttablagerung. Dem entspricht die Tatsache, daß an der Peripherie an mehreren Stellen Stücke von Bruchsteinmauern sichtbar sind, die offenbar die alte Ringmauer der Ortschaft darstellen. Und wenn schon eisenzeitliche Keramik sich hier vereinzelt findet,[1] so ist das Ganze doch schwerlich eine israelitische Gründung der Eisenzeit; denn diese pflegen ganz anders auszusehen.[2] Die regelrechte *tell*-Form spricht für eine ursprünglich kanaanäische Stadt; und wenn die Keramik der Bronzezeit völlig und die der Eisenzeit auch fast ganz fehlt, so würde sich das daraus zur Genüge erklären, daß der Ort ohne Zerstörung seiner Ringmauer schon in der Eisenzeit verlassen und erst später wieder besiedelt wurde, so daß alle seine Überreste, auch seine Keramik, innerhalb der Ringmauer begraben wurden und dort noch ruhen. Ein längeres Unbesiedeltsein erklärt auch, dass der alte Name an Ort und Stelle völlig vergessen ist.

[1] Vgl. auch ALT, *a.a.O.*, S. 17. [2] Vgl. NOTH, *PJB* 30 (1934), S. 32ff.

كتاب

باعث النفوس الى زيارة القدس المحروس*

مما عني بجمعه وتأليفه الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة مفتي المسلمين بقية الصالحين برهان الدنيا والدين ابراهيم بن الشيخ تاج الدنيا والدين [بن] عبد الرحمان بن سباع القراري البدري الانصاري عرف بابن الفركاح طيب الله ثراه وجعل الجنة مأواه ورضي الله عن ايمة المسلمين اجمعين آمين[1]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب يسر وتمم بالخير يا كريم الحمد لله رب العالمين واشهد ان لا آله الا الله وحده لا شريك له واشهد ان محمداً عبده ورسوله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وازواجه وذريته اجمعين وسلم تسليما دائما ابداً الى يوم الدين ورضي الله عن اصحابه وانصاره والتابعين

اما بعد فهذا منتخب في فضائل البيت المقدس وقبر خليل الله ابراهيم (صلعم) غالبه من كتاب المستقصى للحافظ[2] بهاء الدين بن عساكر (رحه) والقليل منه من كتاب الشيخ ابي المعالي المشرف بن المرجا المقدسي (رحه) وما[3] نقلته من كتاب ابي المعالي فهو مبيّن انه من كلامه والباقي من المستقصى وقد حذفت الاسانيد من ذلك كله لما اقتضته المصلحة في ذلك وهذا المنتخب ينتفع به ان شاء الله تعالى من امعن[4] النظر وحسّنه واتبع من القول احسنه وكشفت عنه حجب العناد وجليت له سبل *العُبّاد من العِباد[5] ووفق *للمنهج السديد[6] او كان له قلب او القى السمع وهو

* For editor's prefatory note and comment see *JPOS.* XIV, pp. 284–293. The following abbreviations should be noted in the text:- رحه = رحمه الله, رحت = رحمه الله تعالى, رضه = رضي الله عنه, رضها = رضي الله عنها, صلعم = صلى الله عليه وسلم, صله = صلى الله عليه, صلها = صلى الله عليها, عصس = عليه الصلاة والسلام, عم = عليه السلام.

1 Beginning of Y longest, L next. [بن] missing from Y here, but cf. ending.

2 L الحافظ; the full title is الجامع المستقصى لفضائل المسجد الاقصى.

3 L واما ما. 4 L and M انعم. 5 L العبادة. 6 L and النهج الشديد.

شهيـــد والله اسأل ان لا يخيّب رجائي من حصول النفع به بمنّه وكرمه

وقـد رتبته على ثلاثة عشر فصلاً الفصل الاول في ابتداء بناء المسجد الاقصى الفصل الثاني في فضل شدّ الرحال اليه وفضل اتيانه[1] واسراجه ومن اين يدخل بيت المقدس ومن اين يدخل مسجدها وفضل اتيان بيت لحم[2] والصلوة فيها الفصل الثالث في فضل الصلوة في بيت المقدس وفضل الحجّ والصلوة في مسجد المدينة المشرفـة والمسجد الاقصى كل في عام واحد الفصل الرابع في فضل الاحرام من بيت المقدس وفضل الاذان فيه الفصل الخامس في فضل الصدقة فيه والصيام الفصل السادس في فضل الصخرة المباركة وانها من الجنة الفصل السابع في فضل البلاطه السودآء ومن اين تدخل[3] الصخرة الفصل الثامن في قبة المعراج وقبة النبي (صلعم) وباب الرحمـة ومحراب زكريا (عم) والصخور الـتي في مؤخر الجامـــع وباب السكينة وباب حطّة ومحراب عمر (رضه) وبقية المحاريب وباب النبي (صلعم) وطورزيتا وقبة السلسلة وباب التوبة الفصل التاسع في ماء[4] بيت المقدس وعين سلوان وجبّ الورقة الفصل العاشر في الساهرة وفضل من مات في بيت المقدس الفصل الحادي عشر في من رأى ان يدوّر تلك المواضع ومن لم يدوّر الفصل الثاني عشر في جامع لفضائل[5] بيت المقدس الفصل الثالث عشر في فضائل قـبر ابراهيم الخليل (صلعم) وما اتصل به

الفصل الاول

في ابتداء بناء المسجد الاقصى — روى البخاري في صحيحـه عن ابي ذرّ (رضه) قال قلت يا رسول الله اي مسجد وضـع في الارض اولاً[6] قال المسجد الحرام قلت ثم اي قال المسجد الاقصى قلت كم كان بينهما قال اربعون سنة ثم قال اينما ادركتك الصلوة فصلّ[7] فان الفضل به كذا نقلته من البخاري ورواه الحافظ بهـاء الدين في كتابه المستقصى بسنده (رحه) وعن ابي ذرّ قال قلت يا رسول الله اي مسجد وضـــع في الارض اولاً قال المسجد الحرام قلت ثم اي قال المسجد

1 M ابنائه. 2 M الحرم. 3 L and M يدخل. 4 Y في ماء في.
5 L — الفضائل ل ; M الفضائل بيت. 6 M اوّل. 7 M بعد فصلي.

الاقصى قلت كم بينهما قال اربعون سنة وزاد الفراء ثم قال فاينما ادركتك الصلوة فصلّ فهو مسجد وهذا حديث صحيح اخرجاه في الصحيحين واخرجه النسائي والقزويني كذا نقلته من باب اي مسجد وضع اولاً من جمع فضائل بيت المقدس[1]

ثم روى بعد ذلك في باب بناء بيت المقدس على اساس قديم وعن كعب الاحبار (رضه) قال بنى سليمان (عم) بيت المقدس على اساس قديم كما بنى ابراهيم الخليل (عم) الكعبة على اساس قديم قال والاساس القديم الذي كان لبيت المقدس اسسه سام بن نوح (عم) ثم بناه داود وولده سليمان (عم) على ذلك الاساس قلت *وقد يقال[2] ينبغي ان يكون الذي اسسه سام على بناء قبله *للحديث الصحيح المتقدم[3] فانه روى الازرقي[4] عن مجاهد (رضه) قال لقد خلق الله عز وجل موضع هذا البيت يعني الكعبة البيت الحرام قبل ان يخلق شيئاً من الارض بألفي سنة[5] وان قواعده لفي الارض السابعة السفلى

ثم روى عن عليّ بن الحسين (رضه) ان بيت الحرام من بناء الملائكة ثم روى عن ابن عباس (رضه) ان آدم (صله) اول من اسس البيت وصلى فيه وطاف به ثم انه درس مكان البيت بسبب الطوفان حتى بعث الله تعالى ابراهيم واسمعيل (صله) فرفعا قواعده فاذا كان الامر كذلك وكان بينه وبين المسجد الاقصى اربعون سنة وكان ابتداء المسجد الاقصى قبل سام فانه قال في كتاب المغني في غريب المهذّب[6] انه كان بين آدم ونوح (عصس) الف سنة ومائتا سنة ونبّه الامام الخطابي (رحه) في كتاب الاعلام له *على ان بنى[7] المسجد الاقصى بعض اولياء الله تعالى

1 M in this tradition inserts ثم قال once improperly; has وبعد for the first جمع الفضائل for جماع ابواب الفضائل and القزويني for الفراوي ; النسائي for النساء ; ثم قال. L from الارض has only وعاد الحديث, omitting even اولاً. 2 Only Y.

3 L الحديث صحيح ; M omits ل. 4 M رزقي.

5 M and L بالفي عام ; Y بألف سنة.

6 See IBN KHALLIKĀN, I, p. 187, note 6. The author is Abu 'l-Majd Ismāʿīl ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Saʿīd ibn Baṭīsh, d. Aleppo 655/1257. He was one of the teachers of Ibn Khallikān himself. The work is *Explanation of the difficulties in the Muhaddab* of Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī, a treatise on the doctrines of the Shāfiʿites (see IBN KHALLIKĀN, I, p. 9). Ash-Shīrāzī was a pupil of aṭ-Ṭabarī.

7 Thus Y; others only بنا.

قبل داود وسليمان ثم بناه داود وسليمان وزادا فيه ووسعاه فلهذا اضيف اليهما بناءه والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم .

الفصل الثاني

في شدّ الرحال الى بيت المقدس وفضل اتيانه واسراجه ومن اين يدخل[1] مدينة بيت المقدس ومن اين يدخل مسجدها وفضل اتيان بيت لحم[2] والصلوة فيها

عن ابي سعيد الخدري (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) لا تشدّ الرحال الا الى ثلاثة مساجد مسجد المدينة ومسجد ابراهيم ومسجد بيت المقدس وقال رواه البخاري ومسلم ثم ذكر في رواية اخرى المسجد الحرام والمسجد الاقصى ومسجدي وفي رواية عن ابي هريرة (رضه) عن النبي (صلعم) قال تشد الرحال الى ثلاثة مساجد المسجد الحرام ومسجد الرسول (صلعم) والمسجد الاقصى وفي حديث آخر ان النبي (صلعم) قال لا تعمل المطى الا الى ثلاثة مساجد وذكرها وفي رواية انما تضرب اكباد المطي الى ثلاثة مساجد وذكرها

وفي حديث عن ابن عباس (رضه) قال رسول الله (صلعم) لا تشد الرحال الا الى ثلاثة مساجد المسجد الحرام ومسجد المدينة والمسجد الاقصى[3] فصلاة في المسجد الحرام بمائة الف صلوة وصلوة في مسجدي بألف صلاة وفي بعض الرواة كالف صلوة وصلوة في المسجد الاقصى بعشرة آلاف صلوة وفي حديث عن النبي (صلعم) لا تشد الرحال الا الى اربعة مساجد مسجد الحرام ومسجدي هذا والمسجد الاقصى ومسجد الجند[4] نقلته كله من شدّ الرحال

1 Y + اليه يعني. P omits first بيت المقدس. 2 M الحرام.

3 L and P يعني به بيت المقدس.

4 P دمشق ; L الجنة. This is الجَنَد in Yemen, as I was led to discover by a marginal note in M²: الجَنَد بالتحريك بلد باليمن صحاح باليمن الجند موضع طاؤوس. cf. the interesting statement in YĀQŪT, (Wüstenfeld), I, p. ١٣٧ ...قال عمارة وبالجند مسجد بناه معاذ بن جبل (رضه) ... قال : ورأيت الناس يحجون اليه كما يحجون الى البيت الحرام

I do not know the مسجد القبائل and المسجد الذي يجمع فيه below.

وعن ذي الاصابع[1] انه قال يارسول الله ارأيت ان ابتلينا بالبقاء بعدك فاين تأمرنا قال عليك ببيت المقدس لعل الله يرزقك ذرية يغدون اليه ويروحون قال ابو ايوب يعني مسجد بيت المقدس *رواه في آخر بشارة[2] المصطفى بفتح بيت المقدس وروى عن ميمونة مولاة رسول الله (صلعم) قالت قلت يا رسول الله افتنا في بيت المقدس قال ايتوه فصلوا فيه قالت وكيف والروم اذ ذاك فيه قال ان لم تستطيعوا فابعثوا بزيت يسرج[3] في قناديله رواه ابو داود ورواه القزويني نقلته من اول فضل الصلوة في بيت المقدس وروى عن ابي ذرّ (رضه) قال قلت يا رسول الله اخبرنا عن بيت المقدس قال ارض المحشر والمنشر ايتوه فصلوا فيه نقلته من اثناء[4] فضل الصلوة في بيت المقدس

وعن انس بن مالك (رضه) قال ومن اتى مسجد بيت المقدس غفر له ورفع له اربع درجات نقلته من اثر رواه عنه في فضل الصلوة في بيت المقدس وسيأتي ان شاء الله تعالى في فضل الصلوة فيه اثران في هذا المعنى وعن كعب الاحبار (رضه) قال ان لله عز وجل باباً مفتوحاً في السماء الدنيا بحذاء بيت المقدس ينزل منه كل ليلة[5] سبعون الف ملك يستغفرون لمن اتى بيت المقدس يصلي فيه نقلته من باب نزول الملائكة على بيت المقدس وروى انس بن مالك (رضه) *قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) من[6] زار بيت المقدس محتسباً اعطاه الله تعالى ثواب الف شهيد وقال قال رسول الله (صلعم) من زار عالماً فكأنما زار بيت المقدس ومن زار بيت المقدس لله محتسباً حرم الله لحمه وجسده على النار وعن كعب (رحه) ومن اتى بيت المقدس لحاجة[7] لا يسأل الله غيرها اعطاه الله اياها نقلته من باب زيارة القدس

وعن خُليد بن دعلج (رحه) ان صفية زوج النبي (صلعم) اتت بيت المقدس وصلت فيه وصعدت الى طورزيتا فصلت فيه وقامت على طرف الجبل فقالت

1 Is this the poet ذو الاصبع العدواني? See the كتاب المرصّع of IBN AL AṮĪR (ed. Seybold). 2 M and M² = Y, correct as a quoted chapter heading. L فهو. P = Y but omits بفتح having (صلعم) instead. Y has يرحون, P يرجون just above

3 P يسبع corrected Persian hand to يسرج

4 L كتاب. P ايتاء and badly confuses preceding ascription. 5 L يوم.

6 L only ومن. 7 L omits لحاجة, slight confusion resulting.

ها هنا يتفرق الناس يوم القيٰمة الى الجنة والى النار نقلته من باب طورزيتا وعن ميمونة بنت[1] الحارث زوج النبي (صلعم) (رضها) قالت يا رسول الله افتنا في بيت المقدس قال ارض المحشر والمنشر ايتوه فصلوا فيه فان صلوة فيه كألف صلوة فيما سواه قالت ارأيت يا رسول من لم يُطق محملاً اليه قال فليهدى[2] اليه زيتاً يسرج فيه[3] فانه من اهدى له كان كمن صلى فيه اخرجه القزويني نقلته من باب اسراج بيت المقدس

وعن كعب (رحه) انه لما فرغ سليمان (عم) من بناء بيت المقدس وضع القربان في رحبة المسجد ثم قام على الصخرة ثم قال بعد ثناء وحمد اللهم واسألك لمن دخل هذا المسجد خمس خصال ألا يدخله مذنب لم يتعمده الا لطلب التوبة ان تقبل توبته وتتوب عليه وتغفر له ولا يدخله خائف لم يتعمده الا لطلب الامن ان تؤمنه من خوفه وتغفر له ذنبه ولا يدخل اليه سقيم لم يتعمده الا لطلب الشفاء ان تشفيه من سقمه وتغفر ذنبه ولا يدخله مقحط لم يتعمده الا لطلب الاستسقآء ان تسقي بلاده وان لا تصرف بصرك عمن دخله حتى يخرج منه اللهم ان اجبت دعوتي واعطيتني مسئلي فاجعل علامة ذلك ان تتقبل قرباني فنزلت نار من السماء فاحتملت القربان فصعدت الى السماء نقلته من آخر باب بناء سليمان (عم) بيت المقدس

وعن عبدالله بن عمر[4] (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) لما بنى سليمان البيت سأل ربه عز وجل ثلثا فاعطاه اثنتين وانا ارجو ان يكون اعطاه الثالثة سأله ملكاً لا ينبغي لاحد من بعده فاعطاه ذلك وسأله حكماً وعلماً لا ينبغي لاحد من بعده فاعطاه ذلك وسأله ان لا يأتي احد هذا البيت فيصلي فيه الا رجع من ذنوبه كيوم ولدته امه وانا ارجو ان يكون قد اعطاه ذلك *وعن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص ان سليمان لما فرغ من البناء وقبل الله منه قربانه دعا الله بدعوات قال اللهم ايما عبد مؤمن بك زارك في هذا البيت تائباً اليك ينتصل من خطاياه وذنوبه ان تقبل توبته وتخرجه من خطاياه كيوم ولدته امه وفي رواية وتنزعه من خطاياه[5] وعنه ايضاً عن النبي

1 Y بيت (!). 2 L فليهد, general application.

3 L في قناديله, and omits to كان(ف). P في قناديله, then : وعن ميمونة رسول الله and repeats the tradition with slightly differnt words. 4 P + بن الخطاب.

5 Y omits.

(صلعم) قال لما فرغ سليمان (عم) من بناء بيت المقدس سأل الله عز وجل ثلث خصال حكماً يوافق حكمه وملكاً لا ينبغي لاحد من بعده ولا يأتي هذا البيت احد لا ينزعه اليه الا الصلوة فيه ان تخرجه من ذنوبه كيوم ولدته امه فقال النبي (صلعم) اما اثنتان فقد اعطاهما واما الثالثة فانا ارجو ان قد اعطيهما فقال دُعاء نبي ورجاء نبي

وفي رواية عن عبد الله بن عمرو[1] ايضاً عن رسول الله (صلعم) ان سليمان بن داود (عم) لما فرغ من بنيان مسجد بيت المقدس سأل الله حكماً يصادف حكمه وملكاً لا ينبغي لاحد من بعده ولا يأتي هذا المسجد احد لا يريد الا الصلوة فيه إلا خرج من خطيئته كيوم ولدته امه فقال رسول الله (صلعم) اما اثنتان فقد اعطيهما وانا ارجو ان يكون قد اعطي الثالثة رواه النسائي ورواه ابن ماجة[2] وعن ابن العوام انه قال ذكر لنا ان نبي الله سليمان (عم) لما فرغ من بناء بيت المقدس ذبح ثلاثة آلاف بقرة وسبعة آلاف شاة ثم قال اللهم من اتاه من ذي ذنب فاغفر ذنبه او ذي ضرّ فاكشف ضرّه قال فلا يأتيه احد الا اصاب من دعوة سليمان *بن داود (صلعم) وكثيراً[3] نقلته من باب دعاء سليمان (عم) حين فرغ من بناء بيت المقدس

وروى البيهقي (رحه) في باب الاسرآء من كتاب دلائل النبوة بسنده وعن شداد بن اوس (رضه) قال قلنا يا رسول الله كيف اسرى بك قال صليت باصحابي صلوة العتمة بمكة معتماً[4] فاتاني جبريل بدابة ابيض او قال بيضاء فوق الحمار دون البغل فقال اركب فاستصعبت علي *فزيرها فمسكها بأذنها[5] ثم حملني عليها *فانطلقت تهوي بنا يقع حافرها حيث ادرك طرفها[6] حتى بلغنا أرضاً ذات نخيل فانزلني فقال صلّ فصليت ثم ركبنا فقال اتدري في اين صليت فقلت الله اعلم قال صليت بيثرب صليت بطيبة فانطلقت تهوي بنا يقع حافرها حيث ادرك طرفها[7] ثم بلغنا ارضاً فقال انزل فصلّ او قال انزل فنزلت ثم قال صلّ فصليت ثم ركبنا فقال اتدري اين صليت قلت الله اعلم قال صليت بمدين عند شجرة موسى[8] (عم) ثم انطلقت تهوي

[1] Y عمر. L omits this tradition. [2] I. e., al-Qazwīnī. [3] L omits.
[4] P مقيما, and لاصحابي above. [5] MSS. slight differences. M² فقادها corrected to فزادها, margin, different hand. P فاستصعب عليّ قرارها. perhaps meant فاستصعب عليّ قرادها. [6] L omits. [7] Y طرفها ادرك. [8] L + بن عمران.

بنا يقع حافرها حيث ادرك طرفها ثم بلغنا ارضاً بدت لنا قصورها فقال انزل فنزلت فقال صل فصليت ثم ركبنا فقال اتدري اين صليت قلت الله اعلم قال صليت ببيت لحم حيث ولد عيسى (عم) المسيح بن مريم ثم انطلق بي حتى دخلنا المدينة من بابها اليماني فاتى قبلة المسجد فربط فيه دابته ودخلنا المسجد من باب فيه تميل الشمس والقمر فصليت في[1] المسجد حيث شاء الله تعالى واخذني من العطش اشد ما اخذني فاتيت بإناثين في احدهما لبن وفي الآخر عسل[2] ارسل اليّ بهما جميعاً فعدلت بينهما ثم هداني الله عز وجل فاخذت اللبن فشربت حتى *قرعت به جبهتي[3] وبين يديّ شيخ متكيء على مثواة له فقال اخذ صاحبك الفطرة انه ليهدى

ثم انطلق حتى اتينا الوادي *فيه المدينة[4] فاذا جهنم تكشف عن مثل زراني قلت يا رسول الله كيف وجدتها قال مثل الحمة السخنة ثم انصرف بي فمررنا بعير لقريش بمكان كذا وكذا قد اضلوا[5] بعيراً لهم قد جمعه فلان فسلمت عليهم فقال بعضهم هذا صوت محمد ثم اتيت اصحابي بمكة[6] فاتاني ابو بكر (رضه) فقال يا رسول الله اين كنت الليلة فقد التمستك في مظانك[7] فقلت اعلم[8] اني اتيت بيت المقدس الليلة فقال يا رسول الله انه مسيرة شهر فصفه لي قال ففتح لي صراط كاني انظر اليه لا يسأل عن شيء الا انبأته عنه فقال ابو بكر (رضه) اشهد انك رسول الله فقال المشركون انظروا الى ابن ابي كبشة يزعم انه اتى بيت المقدس الليلة قال فقال (صلعم) ان من اية ما اقول لكم اني مررت بعير لكم بمكان كذا وكذا وقد اضلوا بعيراً لهم فجمعه فلان مسيرهم ينزلون بكذا ويأتونكم[9] يوم كذا وكذا يقدمهم جمل آدم عليه مسح اسود *وعرارتان سوداوان[10] فلما كان ذلك اليوم اشرف الناس ينتظرون حتى كان قريباً من نصف النهار اقبلت العير يقدمهم ذلك الجمل الذي وصفه رسول الله (صلعم) هكذا رأيته في رواية الامام البيهقي (رحه) ثم قال عقبه هذا اسناد صحيح ورأيت

1 L من. 2 In some accounts, a third vessel of wine.

3 MSS. beside Y فرغت منه, P only فرغت. But Y although the last word is unclear, certainly has the idiom قرعت به جبهتي. L has مشراة for مثواة.

4 Y omits; MSS. slight differences. 5 L اظلوا; below, اطلوا.

6 L and P + قبل الصبح. 7 L مضافك; M مضانك. P has for فصفه لي: انصف الحال!

8 MSS. slight differences; L + يا ابا بكر. 9 L يأتوكم. 10 L omits.

هذا الحديث في كتاب فضل الخيل[1] منقول عن رواية الطبري وغيره وفيه بداية بيضاء من غير شك[2] وفيه اولاً حتى بلغنا ارضاً ذات نخيل فقال انزل فنزلت ثم قال لي صل[3] فصليت ثم فيه بعد قوله حيث ادرك طرفها حتى بلغنا ارضاً بيضاء فقال لي انزل فنزلت ثم قال لي صل فصليت وفيه ثم مررنا[4] بارض بدت لنا قصورها فقال انزل فنزلت ثم قال صل فصليت ثم ركبنا فقال اتدري اين صليت فقلت الله اعلم قال صليت ببيت لحم حيث ولد عيسى بن مريم (عم) الحديث

الفصل الثالث

في فضل الصلوة في بيت المقدس وفضل الحج والصلوة في مسجد المدينة والمسجد الاقصى في عام واحد

روي عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص (رضه) قال سمعت رسول الله (صلعم) يقول صلوة في بيت المقدس خير من الف صلوة فيما سواه الا المسجد الحرام ومسجدي هذا وعن ابي الدرداء (رضه) عن النبي (صلعم) انه قال فضل الصلوة في المسجد الحرام يزيد[5] على غيره بمائة الف صلوة وفي مسجدي الف صلوة وفي مسجد بيت المقدس خمس مائة صلوة وفي حديث آخر عن ابي المهاجر قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) الصلوة في بيت المقدس بخمس مائة صلوة[6] الجماعة فيها تضاعف خمساً وعشرين وعن ابي هريرة (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) من صلى في بيت المقدس غفرت له ذنوبه كلها وعن انس بن مالك (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) صلوة الرجل في بيته بصلوة وصلوته في مسجد القبائل بخمس وعشرين وصلوته في المسجد الذي يجمع[7] فيه بخمس مائة صلوة وصلوته في المسجد الاقصى بخمسين الف صلوة وصلوته في مسجدي هذا بخمسين الف صلوة وصلوته بالمسجد الحرام بمائة الف صلوة

وعن انس (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) من صلى ببيت المقدس

[1] L الجبل (!) The book is extant. See BROCKELMANN. II, p. 74.
[2] I. e., without uncertainty as to بيضاء or ابيض.
[3] L صلّي, as several times in the اسرآء story. [4] L بدنا (!)
[5] L omits, end line. P omits. [6] Y omits. [7] L تجمع.

خمس[1] صلوات نافلة كل صلوة اربع ركعات يقرأ في الخمس صلوات عشر الف مرة قل هو الله احد فقد اشترى نفسه من الله تبارك وتعالى ليس للنار[2] عليه سلطان وفي حديث عن ابن عباس (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) صلوة في المسجد الحرام بمائة الف صلوة وصلوة في مسجدي بخمسين[3] الف صلوة وصلوة في المسجد الاقصى بعشرين الف صلوة

وعن ابي امامه الباهلي (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) من حجّ واعتمر وصلى ببيت المقدس وجاهد ورابط فقد استكمل جميع سُنّتي وعن مكحول (رحت) قال من خرج الى بيت المقدس *لغير حاجة[4] الا للصلوة فيه فصلى فيه خمس صلوات صبحاً وظهراً وعصراً ومغرباً وعشاء خرج من خطئته كيوم ولدته امه *وفي رواية اخرى عنه من صلى في بيت المقدس ظهراً وعصراً ومغرباً وعشاء ثم صلى الغداة خرج من ذنوبه كيوم ولدته امه[5]

وعن مكحول ايضاً انه قال من زار بيت المقدس سوقاً اليها دخل الجنة مدللاً وزار جميع الانبياء في الجنة وغبطوه بمنزلته من الله عز وجل وايما رفقة خرجوا يريدون بيت المقدس يشيّعهم عشرة آلاف من الملائكة يستغفرون لهم ويصلون عليهم ولهم مثل اعمالهم *اذا انتهوا[6] الى بيت المقدس ولهم بكل يوم يقيمون فيه صلوة سبعين[7] ملكاً، ومن دخل بيت المقدس طاهراً من الكبائر تلقاه الله بمائة رحمة ما منها رحمة الا ولو قسمت على جميع الخلائق لوسعتهم ومن صلى في بيت المقدس ركعتين يقرأ فيهما بفاتحة الكتاب وقل هو الله احد خرج من ذنوبه كيوم ولدته امه وكان له بكل شعرة من جسده حسنة ومن صلى في بيت المقدس اربع ركعات مرّ على الصراط كالبراق[8] واعطى اماناً من الفزع الاكبر يوم القيمة ومن صلى *في بيت المقدس[9] ست ركعات اعطي مائة دعوة مستجابة ادناها براءة من النار ووجبت له الجنة ومن صلى في بيت المقدس ثمان ركعات كان رفيق ابراهيم خليل الرحمان

1 L omits. 2 L للناس (!) 3 Y بصلوة ; others بالف صلوة.
4 L لا يريد. 5 L omits.
6 L حتى ينتهون and omits preceding words. 7 L سبعون.
8 L + الخاطف. 9 L omits, as several times in this connection.

(صلعم[!]) ومن صلى في بيت المقدس عشر ركعات كان رفيق داود وسليمان (عم) في الجنة ومن استغفر للمؤمنين والمؤمنات في بيت المقدس ثلاث مرات كان له مثل حسناتهم ودخل على كل مؤمن ومؤمنة من دعائه سبعون مغفرة وغفرت له ذنوبه كلها

وعن محمد بن شعيب (رحه) قال قلت لعثمان بن عطآ الخراساني ما تقول في الصلوة في بيت المقدس قال نعم اتيه فصلّ فيه فان داود (عم) اسسه وبناه ولده سليمان (عم) وبلطه بالذهب والفضة لبنة ذهب ولبنة فضة[1] وليس فيه شبر الا وقد سجد عليه ملك او نبي فلعل جبهتك ان توافي جبهة ملك او نبي وعن سفيان الثوري (رحه) انه سأله رجل بمكة فقال له يا ابا عبد الله ما تقول في الصلوة في هذه البلدة قال بمائة الف صلوة قال ففي مسجد رسول الله (صلعم) قال بخمسين الف صلوة قال ففي مسجد بيت المقدس قال باربعين الف[2] صلوة قال ففي مسجد دمشق قال بثلاثين الف صلوة

وروى عن ابن عباس (رضه) انه قال من حج وصلى في مسجدي ومسجد الاقصى في عام واحد خرج من ذنوبه كيوم ولدته امه *وقال هذا حديث[3] غريب نقلته من فضل الصلوة في المساجد الثلاثة وفي كتاب ابن المرجا (رحه) عن ابي الحسن بن مسلم (رحه) في خبر عنه انه قال كان يأتي[4] الى شيوخنا يعني سهل بن عبدالله وغيره اربعة رفقآء *بكري وعمري وعثماني وعلوي[5] فيسلمون عليهم ثم يمضون الى عبّادان فيصومون بها شهر رمضان فاذا افطروا ذهبوا الى مكة فحجوا[6] مع الناس ثم يجئون[7] من مكة الى بيت المقدس فيصلون به *هذا دأبهم في[8] كل سنة ذكره قبيل[9] باب نزول المائدة

الفصل الرابع

في فضل الاحرام من بيت المقدس والآذان فيه — عن أم سلمة

(رضها) قالت قال رسول الله (صلعم) من اهلّ بحجّ او عمرة من المسجد الاقصى

1 L من فضله (!) 2 L + ، ز (!) 3 L omits.
4 L يأت. 5 L ابو بكر وعمر وعثمان وعلي (!); others like Y.
6 L فيحجوا. 7 L يجئوا. 8 L هكذا. 9 L قبل.

الى المسجد الحرام غمر[1] له ما تقدم من ذنوبه وما تأخر او فوجبت له الجنة ذكره من رواية الدارقطني وفي رواية اخرى عنها (رضها) قالت قال رسول الله (صلعم) من احرم من بيت المقدس بحجّ او عمرة خرج من ذنوبه كيوم ولدته امه *وفي رواية اخرى غفر الله له ما تقدم من ذنبه ثم قال رواه ابو داءود ورواه القزويني *وعن ام حكيم من اهلّ بعمرة من بيت المقدس غفر له وعن ابن عمر قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) من احرم من بيت المقدس وقدم مكة مغفور له[2] وعن ابي عمر ايضاً (رضه) من احرم معتمراً في شهر رمضان من بيت المقدس عدلت غزوات مع رسول الله (صلعم)

وعن جابر (رضه) ان رجل قال يا رسول الله اي الخلق اولا[3] دخولاً الى الجنة قال الانبيآء قال يا نبي الله ثم من قال ثم الشهداء قال يا نبي الله ثم من قال مؤذنوا (!) بيت المقدس قال يا نبي الله ثم من قال ثم مؤذنوا (!) المسجد الحرام قال يا نبي الله ثم من قال ثم مؤذنوا (!) مسجدي هذا ثم قال يا نبي الله ثم من قال ثم سائر المؤذنين على قدر اعمالهم[4]

الفصل الخامس

في فضل الصدقة[5] ببيت المقدس والصيام فيه وشهود الموسم — عن

الحسن البصري (رحت) انه قال من تصدق في بيت المقدس بدرهم كان *فدائه من النار[6] ومن تصدق برغيف كان كمن تصدق بجبال الارض ذهباً *وعن مقاتل[7] (رحه) انه قال من صام يوماً في بيت المقدس كان له براءة من النار وفي كتاب ابن المرجا عن السدى (رحه) انه قال الياس والخضر (عم) يصومان شهر رمضان في بيت المقدس ويوافيان الموسم كل عام ذكره قبيل باب فضل من اسرج ببيت المقدس

1 L غفر. 2 Y omits; L has وفد for وقدم. M and M² وقدم. P قدم.

3 Y omits; more correct اولى.

4 Y omits part of tradition about المسجد الحرام. Both Y and L omit that about Jerusalem! L has several times مؤذنون for the construct! I chose the order here, Jerusalem first, because of support of M and M² and the *Itḥāf*. Reynolds. p. 60.

5 L الصلوة (!) 6 Y قد اومن النار (!) 7 L وعنه.

الفصل السادس

في فضل الصخرة وانها من الجنة — عن رافع بن عمرو المزني (رضه)

قال سمعت رسول الله (صلعم) يقول الصخرة والعجوة من الجنة وعن عليّ بن ابي طالب (رضه) *قال سمعت رسول الله (صلعم)[1] يقول سيد البقاع بيت المقدس وسيد الصخور صخرة بيت المقدس وعن ابن عباس (رضه) قال صخرة[2] بيت المقدس من صخور الجنة وعن كعب (رحه) قال ان الكعبة بميزان البيت المعمور في السماء السابعة الذي تحجه ملائكة الله ولو وقعت منه احجار[3] لوقعت على احجار البيت وان الجنة في السماء السابعة بميزان البيت المقدّس والصخرة ولو وقع منها حجر لوقع على الصخرة ولذلك دعيت *اورشليم ودعيت[4] الجنة دار السلام

وعن وهب (رحه) قال قال الله تعالى لصخرة بيت المقدس فيك جنتي وناري وفيك جزائي[5] وعقابي *فطوبى لمن زارك ثم طوبى لمن زارك ثم طوبى لمن زارك[6] وعن عبادة بن الصامت (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) الصخرة صخرة بيت المقدس نخلة والنخلة على نهر من انهار الجنة وتحت النخلة آسية إمرأة فرعون ومريم ابنة عمران تنظمان سموط اهل الجنة الى يوم القيٰمة وعن ابي هريرة (رضه) عن النبي (صلعم) قال الانهار كلها والسحاب والرياح من تحت صخرة بيت المقدس وفي رواية قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) ان المياه العذبة والرياح اللواقح تخرج من اصل صخرة بيت المقدس وعن ابيّ بن كعب (رضه) انه قال ما من ماء عذب *الا تخرج[7] من تلك الصخرة التي ببيت المقدس وعن نوف البكالي[8] قال الصخرة يخرج منها اربعة انهار الجنة سيحان وجيحان والفرات والنيل

وعن كعب (رحه) قال قال الله عز وجل لصخرة بيت المقدس انتِ عرشي الادنى ومن تحتك بسطت الارض ومنك ارتفعت الى السماء ومن تحتك جعلت

[1] Y omits; L has كرم الله وجهه for (رضه). [2] L صخور.
[3] L حجراً, and same next occurence. [4] L omits; Y margin: اي بيتاً مباركاً.
[5] Y omits. [6] Y in margin.
[7] L الا يخرج; Y ..والا. L has above المياة for المياه, and ينتظمان for تنتظمان.
[8] Y نوفل; L الكتاني. See *Tahḏīb at-Tahḏīb*, X. p. 490.

كل ماء عذب يطلع على رؤوس الجبال وعن ابي هريرة (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) لما أسرى بي الى بيت المقدس اتى بي جبريل (عم) الى بيت المقدس وذهب بي الى الصخرة فقال من هاهنا عرج ربك الى السماء فالهمني الله ان قلت نحن بموضع عرج منه ربي فصليت بالنبيين ثم عرج بي الى السماء نقلته من باب تواضع الصخرة وقوله عرج بي ليس المراد منه ما يفهم مثله في حقنا بل امر يليق بجلال الله سبحانه وتعالى

وعن ابي ادريس الخولاني (رضه) قال يحوّل الله تعالى صخرة بيت المقدس يوم القيٰمة مرجانة بيضاء كعرض السماء والارض ثم يضع عليها عرشه ويضع ميزانه ويقضي بين عباده ويصيرون منها الى الجنة والنار وعن ابي اسحق[1] البحتري القاضي قال تكره الصلوة في سبع مواطن على الكعبة وعلى صخرة بيت المقدس وعلى طور زيتا وعلى طور سيناء وعلى الصفا والمروة وعلى الجمرة وجبل عرفة

وعن ابي الحسن[2] عليّ بن احمد الواحدي قال في قوله تعالى ثم اذا دعاكم دعوة من الارض اذا انتم تخرجون يدعو اسرافيل من صخرة بيت المقدس حين ينفخ في الصور بامر الله تعالى للبعث بعد الموت

وعن ابي سعيد الخدري (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) ليلة اسرى بي الى بيت المقدس غربي الصخرة وعن عبد الله ابن السلام (رضه) قال من صلى في بيت المقدس الف ركعة عن يمين الصخرة وعن يسارها دخل الجنة قبل موته يعني يراها في منامه وعن الخوشبي (رحه) قال *اذا دخلتم الصخرة فوضعوها عن ايمانكم وعن كعب الاحبار (رضه)[3] قال من اتى بيت المقدس فصلى عن يمين الصخرة *او يسارها[4] ودعا عند موضع السلسلة وتصدق بما قلّ او كثر استجيب دعاءه وكشف الله كربه وخرج من ذنوبه مثل يوم ولدته امه وان سأل الله تعالى الشهادة اعطاه اياها *وقال ابو[5] المعالي المشرف بن المرجا في باب ما يستحبّ من الدعاء اذا دخل

[1] L omits. [2] Y الحسين.
[3] Y in margin. The following قال is not in the MSS.
[4] L وعن شمالها. [5] L وعن ابي.

الصخرة يستحب لمن دخل الصخرة[1] ان يجعلها عن يمينه حتى يكون بخلاف الطواف حول بيت الله الحرام ويجيء الى الموضع يدعو الناس فيه[1] فيضع يده عليها ولا يقبلها ثم يدعو ثم قال[1] وان احب ان ينزل تحت الصخرة فليفعل ولكن ينبغي له ان يقدم النية ويتوب الى الله تعالى ويجتهد في الصلوة *والصواب في الدعاء[1] فاذا نزل صلى *ما بدا له[1] ودعا بالادعية المقدم ذكرها *واحب له ان يجتهد في الدعاء تحت الصخرة[1] فان الدعاء في ذلك الموضع مستجاب ان شاء الله تعالى *قلت الادعية المشارة اليها ليس فيها خصوصية بهذه الموضع لكن انها ادعية ان شاء تعالى واينما دعا به العبد استجاب له به[2]

وعن كعب (رحه) انه قال احب الشام الى الله تعالى القدس واحب القدس الى الله الصخرة والطور *نقلته من باب بيت المقدس صفوة الله من بلاده[3]

وعن زيد ابن اسلم[4] (رضه) ان مفتاح صخرة بيت المقدس كان يكون عند سليمان بن داود (صلهما) لا يأمن عليه احداً فقام ذات يوم ليفتحه فعسر عليه فاستعان عليه بالانس فعسر عليهم فاستعان بالجن فعسر عليهم فجلس كئيباً حزيناً يظن ان ربه قد منعه بيته فاذا هو كذلك اذا اقبل شيخ يتكىء على عصى له وقد طعن في السن وكان من جلساء داود (عم) فقال يا نبي الله اراك حزيناً فقال قمت لهذا الباب لافتحه فعسر علي واستعنت عليه بالانس فلم يفتحه ثم استعنت عليه بالجن فلم يفتحه فقال الشيخ الا اعلمك كلمات كان ابوك داود يقولهن عند كربه فيكشف الله عنه ذلك قال بلى قال قل الهم بنورك اهتديت وبفضلك استغنيت[5] وبك اصبحت وامسيت ذنوبي بين يديك فاستغفرك واتوب اليك يا حنان يا منان فلما قالهن (!) سليمان انفتح له الباب قال ابو المعالي فيستحب له ان يدعو بهذا الدعاء اذا دخل من باب الصخرة وكذلك من باب المسجد *نقلته من باب دعاء سليمان لما تغلقت ابواب مسجد بيت المقدس[6]

[1] L omits.

[2] From واينما. restored from L, with support of quotation from the Baʿith by the *Itḥāf*, Reynolds. p. 75. But L has lost the fore part of the tradition, to واينما.

[3] L only وهو صفوة (الخ).

[4] L السلمي.

[5] Y doubtful; P استغيث; M, M², and L استغنيت — more appraprate here.

[6] L omits.

وروى ابو المعالي عن [1] محمد بن شهاب الزهري (رحه) قال لم يبعث الله عز وجل منذ هبط آدم الى الدنيا نبياً الا جعل قبلته صخرة بيت المقدس ولقد صلى اليها نبينا (صلعم) ستة عشر شهراً *رواه في باب كم صلى النبي (صلعم) والمسلمون الى بيت المقدس[1]

الفصل السابع

في البلاطة السوداء ومن اين تدخل الصخرة

عن ابراهيم بن مهران قال حدثتنا بجيلة[2] وكانت ملازمة صخرة بيت المقدس قالت *لم اعلم يوماً الا وقد دخل عليّ من الباب الشامي رجل عليه هيئة السفر فدخل[3] فقلت الخضر (عم) ثم صلى ركعتين واربعاً ثم خرج فتعلقته بطرف ثوبه فقلت يا هذا رأيتك قد فعلت شيئاً لم ادر[4] لاي شيء فعلته قال لها اني رجل من اهل اليمن واني خرجت اريد هذا البيت فمررت بوهب بن منبه فقال لي الى اين تريد فقلت اريد بيت المقدس قال فاذا دخلت المسجد فادخل الصخرة من باب الشامي ثم تقدم الى القبلة فاذا على يمينك عموداً واسطوانة فانظر بين العمودين والاسطوانتين رخامة سوداء فانها على باب من ابواب الجنة فصل عليها وادع الله عز وجل فان الدعاء عليها مستجاب وعن ابي عثمان الانصاري (رضه) انه كان يجيء الليل[5] بعد انصرافه من القيام[6] في شهر رمضان ويصلي *في الليل[1] على البلاطة السوداء نقلته[7] من باب فضل الصخرة ليلة الرجفة

الفصل الثامن

في قبة المعراج[8] وقبة النبي (صلعم) وباب الرحمة ومحراب زكريا (عم) والصخور التي في مؤخر الجامع وباب السكينة وباب حطة ومحراب عمر (رضه) وبقية المحاريب وباب النبي (صلعم) وطور زيتا وقبة السلسلة وباب التوبة

قال المشرف (رحه) يستحبّ ان يقصد قبة المعرج

[1] L omits. [2] Y نخيلة. [3] L كنت ذات يوم جالسة, and diff. phrasing.
[4] L ادري. [5] Y بالليل. [6] P التواريح (?)
[7] L omits, and to end chapter. [8] Y المجرج, and several times so below.

فيصلي فيها ويجتهد في الدعاء فهو *موضع مجمع على اجابة الدعاء فيه ويستحب ان يقصد الى قبة النبي (صلعم) وراء قبة المعراج ويصلي فيها ويجتهد في الدعاء[1] ثم قال ثم يقصد باب الرحمة فيصلي فيه من داخل الحائط ثم يدعو قال ويسأل الله[2] في ذلك الجنة ويستعيذ به من النار ويكثر من ذلك فان الوادي وراءه وادي جهنم وهذا الموضع الذي قال الله تعالى فضرب بينهم بسور[3] له باب باطنه فيه الرحمة وظاهره من قبله العذاب قال ثم يمضي الى محراب زكرياء (عم) فيصلي فيه ويفعل مثل ذلك ويجتهد في الدعاء عنده ويسأل الله الجنة ويستعيذ به من النار لانه في سور المسجد ايضاً ثم يمضي الى الصخور التي في مؤخر[4] الجامع مما يلي باب الاسباط فيصلي في الموضع الذي يقال له كرسي سليمان (عم) ويستقبل القبلة ويجتهد في الدعاء فهذا الموضع الذي دعا فيه سليمان (عم) لما فرغ من بناء المسجد واستجاب الله له فيه[5]

ثم يمضي[6] الى باب السكينة فيفعل مثل ذلك وكذلك عند باب حطة ثم يدخل في المسجد الداخلاني (!) المسقّف ويقصد باب عمر (رضه) ويصلي عنده *ويجتهد في الدعاء[7] وكذلك عند محراب معاوية وفي جميع المحاريب التي داخل المسجد وينزل الى باب النبي (صلعم) فيصلي فيه ويدعو ثم يمضي الى محراب مريم (عم) *ويجتهد في الدعاء فان الدعاء فيه مستجاب ويصلي فيه ويقرأ سورة مريم لما فيها من ذكرها ويسجد فيها كما فعل عمر (رضه) في محراب داود (عم) قرأ فيه بسورة ص *ويسجد فيها لما كان فيها من ذكر داود[9] ويصلي ما بدا له ويجتهد في الدعاء فانه مستجاب *قد جربه غير واحد من الناس فوجدوه كذلك[9] وافضل[10] الدعاء فيه دعاء عيسى (عم) الذي دعا به حين رفعه الله اليه من طور زيتا *وينبغي له اذا فعل ذلك ان[11] يتوب الى الله تعالى ويقلع عن الذنوب ويشكر الله على ما وفقه من زيارة هذا الموضع الشريف *ويجتهد في الطاعة والصلوة والدعاء والصدقة[12] فان في ذلك

[1] M in margin; L different phrasing. [2] L shortens the request.
[3] L بصور. [4] M inserts صخور.
[5] P shortens; L phrases differently. [6] M يتوجه. [7] L omits.
[8] L only وهو يعرف بمهد عيسى ويصلي بسورة مريم موضع متعبدها. [9] L omits.
[10] L واصل. [11] L واذا صلى ودعا. [12] L ويتصدق فيه.

فضلاً كبيراً فاذا فعل ذلك خرج من ذنوبه وصار كهيئه يوم ولدته امه *فليستأنف العمل[4] وينزل الى الموضع الذي خرقه جبريل (عم) باصبعه وشدّ فيه البراق وهو خارج باب النبي (صلعم) *فيجتهد في الدعاء ويسأل الله تعالى[1] من خيري الدنيا والاخرة فان اراد ان يطلع الى الساهرة وهي طور زيتا فليفعل فان فيه اثر عن صفيّة (رضها) زوج النبي (صلعم) انهـــا اتت بيت المقدس فصعدت الى طور زيتا ويجتهد[2] في الدعاء

وعن كعب ان النبي (صلعم) ليلة اسرى به وقف البراق في الموقف الذي كان يقف الانبياء فيه من قبل ثم دخل من باب النبي (صلعم) وجبريل امامه *فضاء له فيه ضوء كما تضيء الشمس[4] ثم تقدم جبريل امامه حتى كان من شامي الصخرة فاذن جبريل (عم) ونزلت الملائكة من السماء وحشر الله جل ثناءه وتقدست اسماءه له المرسلين واقام الصلوة ثم تقدم جبريل فصلى النبي (صلعم) بالملائكة والمرسلين ثم تقدم قدام ذلك الموضع فوضعت له مرقاة من ذهب ومرقاة من فضة وهو المعراج حتى عرج جبريل والنبي (صلعم) الى السماء قال عبد الرحمان وهي القبة الدنيا عن يمين الصخرة ومن[3] اتى القبة قاصداً وله حاجـة من حوائج الدنيـا والاخرة وصلى فيهـا ركعتين او اربعاً تبين له سرعـة اجابته وعرف بركة الموضع والنبي (صلعم) صلى فيها فيقال لها قبة النبي (صلعم) وعن ابي[4] حذيفة مؤذن بيت المقدس عن جدته انها رأت صفية زوج النبي (صلعم) وكعب يقول لها يا ام المؤمنين صلي[5] هاهنا فان النبي (صلعم) صلى بالنبيين حين اسرى به الى السماء صلى بهم ههنا ونشروا له واومى ابو حذيفة بيـــده الى القبة القصوى في دُبر الصخرة

وعن وهب بن منبه (رحه) قال لمـا كثر الشر في بني اسرائيل وشهادات الزور اعطى الله عز وجـل داءود سلسلة لفصل الخطاب وكانت سلسلة من ذهب معلّقة من السماء الى الارض بحيال الصخرة التي ببيت المقدس الحديث وعن احمـد بن محمد بن كعب (رحه) ان داءود (عم) سأل الله تعالى ان يجعل له برهاناً يعرف

1 L ويتضرع and diff. phrasing.
2 L واجتهدت (!)
3 L diff. phrasing in following.
4 L omits.
5 Y صلّ (!) ; L diff. phrasing.

به الصادق من الكاذب فانزل الله عز وجل سلسلة من نور من السماء معلقة في *الموضع يعني في[4] القبة التي *في شرقي[1] الصخرة بين السماء والارض (الحديث) قال والقبة بنيت من بعد بناها عبد الملك في الموضع الذي سميت قبة السلسلة في شرقي الصخرة وهي القبة التي لقي فيها النبي (صلعم) حور العين ليلة اسرى به والقبة التي شامي الصخرة بنيت ايضاً بعد ثم اشار المصنف الى ان ينبغي[2] الدعاء عند قبة السلسلة والله اعلم

*قال روي في باب بيت المقدس صفوة من الله[4] وعن كعب (رحه) انه قال احب الشام الى الله تعالى بيت المقدس واحب القدس الى الله تعالى الصخرة والطور وعن ابن عباس (رضه) في قوله تعالى واذ قلنا اُدخلوا[3] هذه القرية يريد بيت المقدس فكلوا منها حيث شئتم رغدا يريد الا حساب عليكم وادخلوا[3] الباب سُجّدا يريد باب بيت المقدس وقوله حطة[4] يريد لا اله الا الله لانها كلمة تحط الذنوب وفيه كان يقال من صلى عند باب حطة ركعتين كان له من الثواب بعدد من قيل له من بني اسرائيل ادخل فلم يدخل وعن عبد الرحمان ابن محمد بن منصور بن ثابت *بن استنباذ[4] قال حدثني ابي عن ابيه عن جده قال كان في زمان بني اسرائيل اذا اذنب احدهم الذنب كتب على جبهته خطيئته وعلى عتبة باب داره الا ان فلاناً اذنب في ليلة كذا وكذا *فيبعدونه ويدحرونه[5] فيأتي الى باب التوبة وهو الباب الذي عند محراب مريم[6] (عم) الذي كان يأتيها رزقها منه فيبكي ويتضرع ويقيم حيناً فان تاب الله عليه مُحيَ ذلك عن جبيته فيقربه بنو اسرائيل وان لم يتب عليه ابعدوه ودحروه

وعن عبد الله بن عمر (رضه) قال ان السور الذي ذكره[7] الله في القرآن فضرب بينهم بسور له باب باطنه فيه الرحمة[8] وظاهره من قبله العذاب وادي جهنم وعن زياد بن ابي سودة قال رُؤي عبادة بن الصامت وهو على سور بيت المقدس الشرقي وهو يبكي فقيل له ما يُبكيك يا ابا الوليد قال من هاهنا اخبرنا رسول الله

1 L هي شرقية ; Y في شرقية. 2 L inserts ان يكثر من.
3 Qurʾān II, 55 ; IV, 153 4 L omits. 5 L فيطررونه.
6 Y omits. 7 MSS. ذكر. 8 L inserts المسجد.

(صلعم) انه رأى جهنم *وفي رواية انه رأى فيه جهنم يعني وادي جهنم[1] وفي رواية سمعت رسول الله (صلعم) يقول هـــذا وادي جهنم

الفصل التاسع

في عين سلوان وماء بيت المقدس وجبّ الورقة — عن ابي هريرة

(رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) ان الله تعالى اختار من المدائن اربعة مكة وهي البلدة ومدينة وهي النخلة وبيت المقدس وهي الزيتونة ودمشق وهي التينة واختار من الثغور اربعة اسكندرية مصر[2] وقزوين خراسان وعبادان العراق وعسقلان الشام واختار من العيون اربعة يقول في *محكرم(!) كتابه[3] فيها[4] عينان تجريان وفيها[4] عينان نضاختان فاما الـــتي تجريان فعين بيسان وعين سلوان واما النضاختان فعين زمزم وعين عكا[5] واختار من الانهار اربعة سيحان وجيحان والنيل والفرات[6] وعن خالد بن المعدان قال زمزم وعين سلوان التي ببيت المقدس عين من عيون الجنة وعنه قال عينان من عيون الجنة في الدنيا زمزم وسلوان وعن يزيد الرقاشي قال من اراد ان يشرب ماء في جوف الليل فليقل يا ماء ماء بيت المقدس يقريك السلام ثم يشرب فانه امان باذن الله تعالى

وعن شريك بن حباشة النميري انه ذهب يستقي من جبّ سلوان الذي في بيت المقدس فانقطع دَلوه فنزل الجبّ ليخرجه *فبينما هـــو يطلبه في ذلك اذا[7] هـو بشجرة فتناول ورقة من الشجرة واذا هو ليست من شجرة الدنيا فاتى بها عمر بن الخطاب (رضه) فقال اشهد انّ هـذا هو الحق سمعت رسول الله (صلعم) يقول يدخل رجل من الامة قبل موته الجنة فاخذها عمر فجعلها بين دفتي المصحف وعن عطية بن قيس (رضه) ان رسول الله (صلعم) قال ليدخلن الجنة رجل من امتي يمشي

[1] L omits. [2] Y مصر (!) [3] L قوله تعالى.

[4] Y فيهما, and inserts قال before second.

[5] Y كمة but correctly in chap. xi. [6] L الفراة and diff. order.

[7] L only فاذا. The wondrous stories of the Well of the Leaf are found in many places. See LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 292, under the well "al-Kalt," from Yāqūt. This is identified as the well near the entrance to the Mosque al-Aqṣa. See also *JPOS*, IX, pp. 64ff.

على رجليه وهو حيّ فقدمت رفقة بيت المقدس يصلون فيه في خلافه عمر (رضه) فانطلق رجل من بني تميم يقال له شريك بن حباشة فسقى اصحابه فوقع دلوه في الجبّ فنزل ليأخذه فوجد باباً في الجبّ يفتح الى جنان فدخل من الباب الى الجنان يمشي فيها وأخذ ورقة من شجرها فجعلها خلف اذنه ثم خرج الى الجب فارتقى فاتى صاحب بيت المقدس فاخبره بالذي رأى في الجنان ودخوله فيها فارسل معه الى الجبّ فنزل ونزل معه اناسٌ فلم يجدوا باباً ولم يصلوا[1] الى الجنان فكتب بذلك الى عمر[2] فكتب عمر يصدق حديثه يقول يدخل رجل من هذه الامة الجنة يمشي على قدميه وهو حي *وقال في كتابه[3] أُنظروا الورقة فان هي يبست وتغيرت فليست هي من شجر الجنة فان الجنة لا يتغير شيء منها وذكر في حديثه ان الورقة لا تتغير

وفي رواية انه لما نزل الجب تبدى له شخص فقال له أُنطلق معي فاخذ بيده في الجب ثم ادخله الجنة فاخذ شريك ورقات ثم ردّه الى موضعه فخرج فاتى اصحابه فرفع امره الى عمر (رضه) فقال كعب ان رجلاً من الامة سيدخل الجنة وهو حي بينكم فقال انظروا الورقات فان تغيرن فليس من ورق الجنة وان لم يتغيرْن فهن من ورق الجنة قال عطية فلم تكن الورقات يتغيرن وفي هذه الرواية انه شريك بن حباشة *الذي دخل الجنة واخذ الورقات[4] وعن جماعة ادركوا[5] شريك بن حباشة يسكن سلمية قال فكنّا نأتيه فنسأله فيخبرنا بدخوله الجنة وما رأى فيها وعن اخذه الورقات منها وانه لم يبق معه الا ورقة واحدة إذ خرها لنفسه فكنا نسأله ان يريناها فيدعو بمصحفه فيخرجها من بين[6] ورق مصحفه خضراء وتَرِقُ[4] فيقبلها ثم يضعها على عينيه ثم يردها فيضعها بين الورق قال فلما احتضر اوصى ان تجعل بين كفنه وصدره قالوا وكان آخر عهدنا بها ان وضعوها على صدره ثم وضع عليها اكفانه ثم ذكر انهم شبهوها بورق الدراقن بمنزلة الكف محدودة[7] الرأس

1 L يصلون. 2 L inserts بن الخطاب (رضه).
3 L وكتب عمر (رضه) اليهم. 4 L omits. 5 L انهم وردوا.
6 L Y omits. 7 Y محدود.

الفصل العاشر

في الساهرة وفضل من مات ببيت المقدس — عن حذيفة وابن عباس

وعلي[1] (رضهم) قالوا كنا جلوساً ذات يوم عند رسول الله (صلعم) قال يحشر الناس الحديث وفيه فينتهون[2] الى ارض يقال لها الساهرة وان هي ناحية بيت المقدس تسع الناس وتحملهم باذن الله تعالى وعن *ابي عبلة[3] في قول الله عز وجل *فاذاهم بالساهرة قال البقيع الذي الى جانب الطور طور زيتا[4] وعن ابي بكر بن ابراهيم قال *حديث مستفاض معروف ببيت المقدس ان[5] الساهرة على جبل طور زيتا موضع فيه مقابر قريب من مصلى عمر معروف بالساهرة

وعن ابي هريرة (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) من مات في بيت المقدس فكأنما مات في السماء وعن كعب المسلم[6] قال يقول الله عز وجل في التوراة[7] لبيت المقدس من مات فيك فكأنما مات في السماء ومن مات حولك فكأنما مات فيك وعن كعب الاحبار (رحه) قال من دفن في بيت المقدس فقد جاور الصراط وعنه انه قال مقبور بيت المقدس لا يعذب[8] وعن وهب بن منبه (رحه) قال من دفن في بيت المقدس نجا من فتنة القبر وضَيْقه وعن خليد ابن دعلج قال سمعت الحسن يقول من دفن في بيت المقدس في زيتون الملّة[9] فكأنما دفن في سماء الدنيا قال خليد فما عرفت الملة حتى قدمت بيت المقدس وعن عبد الرحمان[10] بن عديّ المازني قال سألني عبد الرزاق عن منزلي *فاخبرته اني من[11] بيت المقدس فقال هل تعرف زيتون الملة قال قلت نعم قال بلغني انها روضة من رياض الجنة

وعن احمد بن خلف الهمداني قال حدثني صديق لي من اهل الصدق والعفاف انه خرج الى الرملة في مهمّ فبات في قرية العنب[12] في الفندق ورأى في منامه كان

1 L inserts بن ابي طالب. 2 L سينتهوا. 3 Y عيلة.
4 Qurʾān LXXIX, 14; XXVIII, 30. 5 L only انما
6 L كعب بن مسلم. Probably كعب بن مالك الانصاري. 7 Y التورية.
8 Y تعذب ; and margin, different hand : لا يعذب انظر فضل الله يؤتيه من يشاء.
9 I. e., Gethsemane. 10 L الرحيم. 11 L فقلت في.
12 Now Abu Ghōsh.

ورد تابوت فيه ميت وقد لقيه قبل دخوله القرية طائفتان طائفة قالوا نحن ملائكة الرحمة وطائفة اخرى قالوا نحن ملائكة العذاب فتقاتلا على اخذه فغلبت ملائكة الرحمة ملائكة العذاب وقالوا قد دخل ارض القدس ليس لكم عليه سلطان فلما كان السحر وفتح باب الفندق فاذا قوم قد وردوا بتابوت فيه ميت[1] من مصر فقلت للقوم *الذين معه[2] من هذا الميت فذكروا انه رجل له جنبة من السلطان من اهل الاقدار اوصى بان يدفن في بيت المقدس قال فرجعت الى بيت المقدس حتى صليت عليه وحضرت دفنه رحمه الله تعالى

الفصل الحادي عشر

في من رأى يدوّر في المواضع المتقدمة[3] ومن لم يدوّر[4] — عن جعفر بن مسافر انه قال رأيت مؤمل[5] بن اسماعيل ببيت المقدس اعطى قوماً شيئاً[6] ودوّروا به تلك المواضع فقال له ابنه يا ابت قد دخل وكيع بن الجراح (رضه) ولم يدور[7] هذه المواضع فقال يا بنيّ كل انسان يفعل ما اراد

الفصل الثاني عشر

في *جامع لفضائل بيت[8] المقدس — عن ابي امامة (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) انزل عليّ القرآن في ثلاثة امكنة مكة ومدينة والشام *قال الوليد يعني بيت المقدس[9] وعن ابي الفتح سليم الرازي قال في قوله تعالى واسئل[10] من ارسلنا قبلك من رسلنا أجعلنا من دون الرحمان آلهة يعبدون جاء في التفسير ان النبي (صلعم) ليلة اسرى به جمع له الانبياء في بيت المقدس[11] وقيل له سلهم فلم يشكك ولم يسأل نقلته من باب ما جاء ان الشام مهاجر خليل الرحمان وانه من الاماكن المختارة لنزول القرآن

1 L. ميتاً. 2 L omits. 3 L. المقدم ذكرها. 4 Y يدر
5 L. مأمل. 6 L. شيء. 7 Y يدر. 8 MSS. slight difference.
9 Y omits. This is al-Walīd ibn Muslim.
10 L واسأل; Qurʾān XLIII, 44. 11 Y inserts فانهم.

وعن عائشة (رضها) ان النبي (صلعم) قال ان مكة بلد عظّمه الله وعظم حرمته خلق مكة وحفّها بالملائكة قبل ان يخلق شيئاً من الارض[1] بالف عام ووصلها بالمدينة *ووصل المدينة[2] ببيت المقدس ثم خلق الارض كلها بعد بالف عام خلقاً واحداً وعن عليّ ابن ابي طالب (رضه) قال كانت الارض يومئذ كلها ماء وبعث الله ريحاً فمسحت الماء مسحاً[2] فظهرت على الارض[3] زبدة فقسمها اربع قطع خلق من قطعة الاولة(!) مكة والثانية المدينة والثالثة بيت المقدس والرابعة الكوفة* نقلتها من اوائل جماع فضائل بيت المقدس[2]

وعن عبد الله بن عمر (رضه) قال ان الحرم لحرم في السماوات السابعة[4] بمقداره في الارض *وان بيت المقدس لمقدسة في السماوات السابعة بمقداره في الارض نقلته من باب القدس مقدسة[5] وعن ابي هريرة (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) اربع مدائن في الدنيا من الجنة مكة والمدينة وبيت المقدس ودمشق وعن معاذ *بن جبل[5] (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) *ان الله عز وجل قال[2] يا روشليم انتِ صفوتي من بلادي وانا سائق اليك صفوتي من عبادي من كان مولده فيك فاختار عليك فبذنب يصيبه ومن مولده في غيرك فاختارك على مولده فبرحمة مني وفيه روشليم انتِ مقدسة بنوري وفيك محشر عبادي ازفك يوم القيامة كالعروس الى بعلها ومن دخلك استغنى من الزيت والقمح. روشليم اسم لبيت المقدس وعن خالد بن معدان انه قال قام معاوية بن ابي سفيان على منبر بيت المقدس وهو يقول ما بين حائطي هذا المسجد احبّ الى الله تعالى من سائر الارضين وعن كعب (رضه) قال قال الله عز وجل لبيت المقدس انت جنتي وقدسي وصفوتي من بلادي من سكنك فبرحمة مني ومن خرج منك[6] فبسخط مني عليه وعن وهب ابن منبه (رضه) قال اهل بيت المقدس جيران الله عز وجل وحق على الله تعالى ان لا يعذب جيرانه

[1] Y inserts يومئذ كلها, which I have put below between الارض and ماء. Though without corroboration it makes the text smooth. [2] L omits.
[3] L الماء. [4] Y and L السبع; Y also next occurence.
[5] L omits, several times glaringly here.
[6] Y inserts between lines بغير سبب.

وعن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص[1] (رضه) قال نظر موسى (عم) وهو ببيت المقدس نور ربّ العزّة ينزل ويصعد الى بيت المقدس وعن ابن عباس (رضه) قال باب مفتوح من الجنة يخرج من خلاله نور[2] من جنان الجنة فيسقط على مسجدها وجبالها وصخورها وصخرة بيت المقدس من الجنة وعن كعب (رضه) قال باب مفتوح من السماء من ابواب الجنة ينزل منه الحنان والرحمة على بيت المقدس كل صباح حتى تقوم الساعة والطل الذي ينزل على بيت المقدس شفاء *من كل داء[3] لانه من جنان الجنة وعن مقاتل (رحه) ان كل ليلة ينزل سبعون الف ملك من السماء الى مسجد بيت المقدس يهلّون لله ويقدسون الله ويسبحون الله ويحمدون الله لا يعودون اليه الى *ان تقوم الساعة[4] وعن انس بن مالك (رضه) انه قال ان الجنة تحنّ شوقاً الى بيت المقدس وصخرة بيت المقدس من جنة الفردوس وهي صُرّة[5] الارض *نقلته من باب بيت بلد محفوظ[3]

وروى الحافظ بهاء الدين عن مقاتل (رحه) انه قال صخرة بيت المقدس وسط الارضين واذا قال العبد المؤمن لصاحبه انطلق بنا الى بيت المقدس يقول الله عز وجل يا ملائكتي اشهدوا اني قد غفرت لهما قبل ان يخرجا *هذا اذا كانا لا يصرّان على الذنوب[3] وروى *بهاء الدين (رحه)[3] عن مقاتل ايضاً (رحه) انه قال بلغني ان رسول الله (صلعم) قال صلوة في مكة بمائة الف صلوة وصلوة في مسجدي بخمسين الف صلوة وصلوة في مسجد[3] بيت المقدس بخمس وعشرين الف صلوة وقال ان الله تعالى تكفّل لمن سكن بيت المقدس بالرزق وان فاته المال ومن مات مقيما محتسباً في بيت المقدس فكانما مات في السماء فمن مات حول بيت المقدس فكانما مات في بيت المقدس وما نقص في الارض زيد في الارض التي حول بيت المقدس *والمياه العذبة كلها تخرج من تحت صخرة بيت المقدس[3] واول الارض التي بارك الله فيها ارض بيت المقدس ويجعل الرب جل جلاله مقامه يوم القيامة في ارض بيت المقدس وجعل صفوته من الارضين كلها ارض بيت المقدس والارض التي

[1] Y العاصي, as generally where the name occurs.
[2] L omits, several times glaringly here. [3] L omits.
[4] L يوم القيامة. [5] Y صخرة (!)

ذكرها الله تعالى في القرآن فقال الى الارض المقدسة[1] التي باركنا فيها العالمين هي ارض بيت المقدس وقال الله تعالى لموسى انطلق الى بيت المقدس فان فيها ناري ونوري وتنوري يعني وفار(!) التنور[2] وكلّم الله موسى في ارض بيت المقدس وتجلى سبحانه وتعالى للجبل في ارض بيت المقدس ورأى موسى نور رب العزة في ارض بيت المقدس وصخرة بيت المقدس هي وسط الارضين كلها *واذا قال الرجل للرجل انطلق بنا الى بيت المقدس ففعلا يقول الله تعالى طوبى للقائل والمقول له[3]

وروي ايضاً عن مقاتل (رحه) انه قال تاب الله تعالى على داءود وسليمان (عم) في ارض بيت المقدس وغفر الله تعالى خطايا بني اسرائيل في بيت المقدس وردّ الله على سليمان ملكه ببيت المقدس وبشر الله تعالى ابراهيم وسارة باسحق ببيت المقدس وبشر الله تعالى زكريا بيحي (عم) ببيت المقدس *وسخر الله تعالى لداءود الجبال والطير ببيت المقدس[3] وتسوّرت الملائكة على داءود المحراب ببيت المقدس *وكانت الانبيآء (عم) تقرّب القربان ببيت المقدس[3] وتهبط الملائكة كل ليلة الى بيت المقدس وأوتيت مريم (عم) فاكهة الشتاء[4] في الصيف وفاكهة الصيف في الشتآء في بيت المقدس واجرى الله تعالى نهراً من الاردن[5] الى بيت المقدس وانبتَ الله تعالى النخلة لمريم ببيت المقدس[6] وتكلّم عيسى (عم) في المهد صبيّاً[3] ببيت المقدس وولد عيسى (عم) ببيت المقدس ورفعه الله الى السماء من بيت المقدس وينزل عيسى (عم) من السماء ببيت المقدس وانزل عليه المائدة في ارض بيت المقدس ويغلب يأجوج ومأجوج على الارض كلها غير بيت المقدس ويهلكهم الله تعالى في ارض بيت المقدس وينظر الله تعالى في كل يوم بخير الى بيت المقدس واعطى الله تعالى

[1] L omits. Cf. Sūras VII, 133 ; XXI, 71 ; LXXXI.

[2] Cf. Sūras XI, 42 ; XXIII, 27 ; LXXXI, 6, and the note from GEIGER to the first reference in RODWELL's Translation of the Qurʾān. The great candelabra of 500 lamp sin the Dome of the Rock was also called a *tannūr*. Cf. the אתון־נורא of Dan. 3. [3] L omits. [4] L inserts في بيت المقدس, misled by في.

[5] L الارجوان. On the "wunderbare Strom" of Ezekiel, Joel, Zechariah. Psalms, New Testament, and Jewish and Muslim traditions, see HERMANN's *Commentary on Ezekiel.*, p. 294f, a note for which I am indebted to TORREY, *Pseudo-Ezekiel, p.* 97.

[6] L plus وولد عيسى في بيت المقدس here instead of below. See LE STRANGE, *op. cit., p.* 301.

للنبي (صلعم) البراق فحملته[1] الى بيت المقدس واوصى آدم (عم) حين مات[2] بارض الهند ان يدفن في بيت المقدس واوصى ابراهيم واسحق اذا ماتا ان يدفنا[3] في ارض بيت المقدس وماتت مريم (عم) ببيت المقدس وهاجر ابراهيم (عم) من كوثاربا(!) الى بيت المقدس وتكون الهجرة في آخر الزمان الى بيت المقدس ورفع التابوت والسكينة من ارض بيت المقدس وهبطت السلسلة من السماء الى بيت المقدس ورفعت السلسلة من بيت المقدس

وصلى النبي (صلعم) والمسلمون زماناً[4] الى بيت المقدس ورأى النبي (صلعم) ليلة اسرى به مالكاً[5] حازن النار في بيت المقدس وركب النبي (صلعم) البراق الى بيت المقدس واسرى به الى بيت المقدس وصلى بالنبيين والمرسلين[6]. في بيت المقدس والمحشر والمنشر الى بيت المقدس ويأتي الله تعالى في ظلل من الغمام والملائكة الى بيت المقدس وتزف الجنة يوم القيامة الى ارض بيت المقدس ويصير الخلق كلهم تراباً غير الثقلين ببيت المقدس والحساب يوم القيامة ببيت المقدس *وتوضع الموازين يوم القيامة ببيت المقدس[7] وينصب الصراط على جهنم الى الجنة بارض بيت المقدس وصفوف الملائكة يوم القيامة ببيت المقدس وينفخ اسرافيل في الصور[8] على صخرة بيت المقدس ينادي ايها العظام البالية واللحوم المسترقة[9] والعروق المنقطعة اخرجوا الى حسابكم تنفخ فيكم ارواحكم وتجازون باعمالكم *هذا يومكم الذي كنتم توعدون[6] ويتفرق الناس من بيت المقدس الى الجنة والنار وكذلك[6] قوله تعالى يومئذ يتفرقون ويومئذ تعرضون فريق في الجنة وفريق في السعير[10]

وكفل زكريا مريم (عم) ببيت المقدس ويقتل عيسى (عم)(!) الدجال[11] في ارض بيت المقدس وفهم الله تعالى سليمان (عم) منطق الطير ببيت المقدس وسأل سليمان ربه ملكاً لا ينبغي لاحد من بعده فاعطاه ذلك في بيت المقدس *وسأل سليمان ان

1 L فحمله. 2 L قاب (!) 3 L ان يدفنان.
4 L ليلة اسرى به, wrongly omitting below. 5 L مالك. Sūra XLIII, 77.
6 L omits. 7 L after next sentence. 8 L السور.
9 L المتمزقة ; Y المترقة. P omits tradition. مسترقة means weak, thin, emaciated. See Sūras XXXVI, 78 ; XXXVII, 16 ; II, 260.
10 L النار. Sūras XXX, 13 ; LXIX, 18 ; XXI, 103. 11 Y الدخال.

يغفر الله تعالى لمن صلى في بيت المقدس[1] والحوت الذي الارضون على ظهره رأسه في مطلع الشمس وذنبه في المغرب ووسطه تحت صخرة[1] بيت المقدس ومن سرّه ان يمشي في روضة من رياض الجنة فليمش في صخرة بيت المقدس

وقوله تعالى ونجّيناهم[2] ولوطاً الى الارض الـــتي باركنا فيها العالمين هي بيت المقدس وقوله تعالى ولقـــد بوأنا بني اسرائيل مُبوّأ صدق[3] قال هي بيت المقدس وقوله تعالى ولقـد كتبنا في الزبور *من بعـــد الذكر[4] ان الارض يرثهـا عبادي الصالحون هي بيت المقدس وقـوله تعالى سبحان[5] الذي اسرى بعبده ليلاً من المسجد الحرام الى المسجد الاقصى هـــو بيت المقدس وقوله تعالى لبني اسرائيل *ادخلوا هذا القرية وكلوا منهـا حيث شئتم رغـداً هي بيت المقدس[6] وقوله تعالى ووعـدناكم جانب الطور الايمن هـــو بيت المقدس وقوله تعالى وجعلنا[7] ابن مريم وامه آيةً وآويناهما الى ربوة ذات قرار معين هي بيت المقدس وقرّب نوح (عم) القربان على صخرة بيت المقدس وفدى الله تعالى اسحق من الذبح ببيت المقدس وقوله *تعالى يا قـــوم[1] ادخلوا الارض الذي كتب الله لكم هي بيت المقدس وقرب آدم (صلعم)(!) القربان ببيت المقـدس وشدّد الله تعالى لداود ملـــكه في بيت المقدس وألان[8] له الحديد ببيت المقدس وتقبّل الله من امرأة عمران نذرها في بيت المقدس ووهب لداود ذنبه ببيت المقدس وايّد الله عيسى (عم) بروح القـــدس في بيت المقدس واتى الله تعالى يحي (عم) الحكم صبيّاً ببيت المقدس وكان *عيسى (عم)[9] يحي الموتى ويصنع العجائب في بيت المقدس ولا يبقى مؤمن ولا مؤمنة الا ينزل بيت المقدس وصرّة الارض بيت المقـدس ومن صلى في بيت المقـدس فكأنما صلى في السماء الدنيا وتخرب الارضون كلهـا ويعمر بيت المقدس[10] ويحشر الله تعالى محمداً (صلعم) وامته الى بيت المقدس واول ما انحسر ماء الطوفان عن صخرة بيت المقدس

[1] L omits. [2] Sūra XXI, 71. [3] Sūra X, 93.
[4] Sūra XVII, 105. L omits. [5] Sūra XVII, 1.
[6] L omits here, shorter form below.
[7] Sūra XXIV, 52. Traditional spot variously located; see LE STRANGE, *op. cit.*, p. 235. [8] Sūra XXXIV, 10; XXI, 80.
[9] Y omits (!) L عيسى; others (عم) عيسى.
[10] L inserts ويحشر الله الانبياء الى بيت المقدس.

ويحشر الله تعالى الخلائق الى بيت المقدس وجمع[1] الله تعالى الانبياء (عم) لرسول الله (صلعم) وصلى بهم اماماً[2] ببيت المقدس *وتصف الملائكة حول بيت المقدس[3] ويغفر الله لمن اتى بيت المقدس واتى رسول الله (صلعم) ومعه جبريل وميكايل الى بيت المقدس وتشجر النار في بيت المقدس* وباب السماء مفتوح في بيت المقدس[4]

ويحشر الله تعالى مؤذني[5] المسجد الحرام ومؤذني[5] المسجد الاقصى ومؤذني[5] مسجد الرسول (صلعم) قبل المؤذنين[5] الى الجنة الا بلال مؤذن رسول الله (صلعم) ودعا سليمان (عم) لمؤذني[6] بيت المقدس ومن اتاه متوسلا ان يغفر الله له *غفر له[4] وحملت النخلة لمريم (عم) رطباً جنياً في بيت المقدس وتطير ارواح المؤمنين[5] الى اجسادهم في بيت المقدس *وقال النبي (صلعم) ان خيار امتي سيهاجر هجرة بعد هجرة الى بيت المقدس[4] ومن توضأ واسبغ الوضوء وصلى ركعتين او اربعا *في بيت المقدس[4] غفر له ما كان قبل ذلك ومن صلى ببيت المقدس خرج من ذنوبه كيوم ولدته امه وكان له من كل شعرة من جسده مائة نور *عند الله تعالى[7] يوم القيامة وكانت له حجة مبرورة متقبلة واعطاه الله قلباً شاكراً ولساناً ذاكراً وعصمه من المعاصي وحشره[8] مع الانبياء (صلعج)[7] ومن صبر ببيت المقدس *سنة على لاوايها وشدتها[9] جاءه الله تعالى برزقه من بين يديه ومن خلفه وعن يمينه وعن شماله ومن فوقه ومن تحته يأكل رغداً ويدخل الجنة ان شاء الله تعالى

واول بقعة بنيت في الارض كلها موضع صخرة بيت المقدس وقال الله تعالى لسليمان (عم) حين فرغ من بناء بيت المقدس *يا سليمان سلني[10] اعطيك قال يارب اسألك ان تغفر لي ذنوبي قال الله تعالى كل ذلك لك قال يا رب واسألك ما لا ينبغي لاحد من بعدي انك انت الوهاب قال الله تعالى كل ذلك لك قال يا رب واسألك

1 L وتحشر. 2 L and M omit.

3 L instead وينفخ في السور (!) النفخة الثانية من بيت المقدس. 4 L omits.

5 L four times مؤذنون (!) M has in the first passage المسجد لرسول

6 I formerly changed this to لمن زار. But the MSS. require as given here; this is merely further emphasis on the merits of Jerusalem muezzins.

7 L omits; صلى الله عليهم جميعاً 8 L وحشرته. 9 L only لشدائدها.

10 L only اسألني. L has minor diff. in the passage; also الوها for لايد,الوهاب for لايريد, and confusion resulting from repetition of واسألك يا ربّ once too much.

لمن جاء الى هذا البيت لا يريد الا الصلوة فيه ان يخرج من ذنوبه كيوم ولدته امه قال الله تعالى كل ذلك لك قال واسألك لمن جاءه سقيم ان تشفيه قال الله تعالى كل ذلك لك قال واسألك ان تكون عينك عليه الى يوم القيامة قال الله تعالى كل ذلك لك

قال فينظر الله تعالى بالرحمة كل يوم الى بيت المقدس وتظهر عصا[1] موسى في آخر الزمان في بيت المقدس وبشر الله تعالى مريم بعيسى في بيت المقدس وفضّل الله تعالى مريم على نساء العالمين في بيت المقدس وتهبط الملائكة كل ليلة الى بيت المقدس ويمنع الله تعالى *عدوّ الله[7] الدجال من الدخول[8] الى بيت المقدس ويغلب على الارضين كلها الا بيت المقدس ومكة والمدينة وتاب الله على آدم (عم) ببيت المقدس *ومن تصدق برغيف في بيت المقدس فكأنما تصدق بوزن جبال الارض كلها ذهباً ومن تصدق بدرهم ببيت المقدس كان فداءه من النار[4] ومن صام يوماً ببيت المقدس كان له براءة من النار وصفوة الله من بلاده بيت المقدس وفيها صفوة من عباده ومنها بسطت[5] الارض ومنها تطوى[6]

قال ويطّلع الله تعالى كل صباح الى بيت المقدس فيدرّ عليهم من رحمته وحسناته ثم يدره على سائر البلدان قال والطل الذي ينزل على بيت المقدس شفاء من كل داء لانه من جنان الجنة وما يسكن احد في بيت المقدس حتى يشفع له سبعون الف ملك الى الله تعالى *قال ويقول الله تعالى للقبور في بيت المقدس تجاورني في داري الا وان الجنة داري ولا يجاورني فيها الا السخاء والحلم وقال النبي (صلعم) لابي عبيدة عمر بن الجراح النجأ(!) الى بيت المقدس اذا ظهرت الفتن قال يا رسول الله فان لم ادرك بيت المقدس قال فابذل مالك واحرز دينك وكذلك[7] قال عليّ بن ابي طالب لصعصعة نعم المسكن عند ظهور الفتن بيت المقدس القائم فيها كالمجاهد في سبيل الله تعالى *وليأتينّ على الناس زمان يقول احدهم ليتني تبنة في لبنة في بيت المقدس[7] واحبّ الشام الى الله تعالى بيت المقدس واحبّ جبالها اليه الصخرة وهي آخر الارضين خراباً باربعين عاماً قال وهي روضة من رياض الجنة ويقول الله تعالى

1 L عصاة. 2 Sūras XXI, 91; LXVI, 12. 3 Y المدخول.
4 L runs the two together, ending برأة من النار, dittography from below.
5 L بسط. 6 Sūra XXI, 104. 7 L omits.

لصخرة بيت المقدس وعزتي وجـــلالي لاضمنّ عليك عرشي ولاحشرن اليك خلقي ولاجرينّ انهارك نهراً من لبن ونهراً من عسل ونهراً من خمر[1] انا يومئـــذ ربهم وملكهم[2]

قال ومن شرب من اربعة اعين حرم الله تعالى بدنه على النار من عين البقر التي بعكا ومن عين الفلوس التي ببيسان ومن عين سلوان الـتي ببيت المقدس ومن عين زمزم التي بمكة *المشرفة والله اعلم[3]

الفصل الثالث عشر

*في فضل زيارة قبر الخليل ابراهيم (صلعم) وما اتصل به من قبور الانبياء (عصس)[4] — والذي نقلته فيـه[5] من كتاب ابي[6] المعالي عن ابي هريرة (رضه) قال قال رسول الله (صلعم) لما اسرى بي الى بيت المقدس مر بي جبريل الى قبر الخليل (صلعم) فقال أنزل فصلّ ههنا ركعتين فان ههنا قبر ابيك ابراهيم وفي حديث اخرى عن رسول الله (صلعم) انه قال ان ابراهيم (عم) ولد بالعراق في موضع يقال له كوتاربا فهجروه[7] واخرجوه منها ثم سار[8] الى فلسطين الاردنّ فهم ان يدعو عليهم فاوحى الله تعالى لا تدعي على اهل العراق فاني جعلت شيئاً من خزائن رحمتي فيهم واسكنت الرحمة في قلوبهم[9]

وعن كعب الاحبار (رضه) قال اول من مات ودفن في حبرى سارة دفنها ابراهيم (عم) وهي زوجته وفيه انه طلب ابرَاهيم (صلعم) من ملك ذلك الموضع ان يبيعه موضعاً يدفن فيه من مات من اهله فقال *له الملك[10] قد ابحتك فادفن حيث شيئت من ارضي فابى الا بالثمن وكان قـد طلب منـه المغارة فقال بعتك باربع مائة درهم في كل درهم خمسة دراهم كل مائة درهم[11] ضرب ملك واراد ان يشدد[10] عليه لكيلا يجد[10] فيرجع الى قوله فخرج من عنده فجاءه جبريل (عم) بذلك فدفعها الى

1 L adds ونهر من ماء.
2 L وداود ملكهم (!)
3 L شرفها الله تعالى وعظمها.
4 في فضل ابراهيم الخليل (عم) وما اتصل به : M, M², P, L ; عليهم الصلاة والسلام
5 L هو.
6 L ابو (!)
7 L فهدروه.
8 Y صار.
9 Needless to say, an ʿAbbasid coloring!
10 L omits.
11 Y pointed as indicative.

الملك وحمل سارة الى المغارة فدفنت فيها ثم توفي ابراهيم (صلعم)(!) فدفن بحذائها ثم توفيت ربقة[1] زوجة اسحق فدفنت فيها ثم توفي اسحق (عم) فدفن فيها بحيال زوجته ثم توفي يعقوب (عم) فدفن عند باب المغارة ثم توفيت ليقا فدفنت بحذاء يعقوب فاجتمع اولاد العيص واخوته وقالوا ندع باب المغارة مفتوحاً فكل من مات منّا دفناه فتشاجروا فرفع احد اخوة العيص يده فلطم العيص لطمة فسقط رأسه في المغارة[2] فحملوا جثته ودفن بلا راس وبقي رأسه في المغارة وسدوا باب المغارة وحوّطوا على المغارة حائطاً وعملوا فيه علامات القبور في كل موضع وكتبوا عليها هذا قبر ابراهيم هذا قبر سارة هذا قبر اسحق هذا قبر ربقة هذا قبر يعقوب هذا قبر زوجته ليقا وخرجوا عنه واطبقوا باباً فكان من جائز(!) به يطوف ولا يصل اليه احد حتى جاءت الروم بعد ذلك ففتحوا له باباً ودخلوا اليه وبنوا فيه كنيسة

وفي بعض الكتب ان ابراهيم (صلعم) لما نجاه الله من النار خرج من ارض بابل الى ارض المقدسة ومعه سارة وابن اخيه لوط ورهط من قومه حتى وردوا حرّان فاقامو ابها زماناً ثم خرجوا الى الاردن ودفعوا الى مدينة بها جبار وهو الذي تعرّض[3] لسارة ومنعها الله تعالى منه قال وخرج ذلك الجبار من تلك المدينة وورثها الله تعالى ابراهيم (عم) فاثرى بها ابراهيم[4] وانمى الله تعالى ماله *وزدّ(!) عليه الرزق[4] فقاسم *ابراهيم ابن اخيه[4] لوطاً (عم) فاعطاه[5] نصفها ومات ابراهيم فدفن في حبرون قرية[4] الجبابرة وفيها دفنت سارة في مزرعة كان قد اشتراها ابراهيم (عم) وعن عبدالله بن مسلم قال عاش اسحق مائة وثمانين سنة ولما مات قبر[6] في المزرعة التي اشتراها ابراهيم عند قبر ابراهيم وكذلك العيص ويعقوب ماتا ودفنا في المزرعة عند قبر ابراهيم وكان عمرهما مائة سنة[4] وتسعة[7] واربعين سنة

وعن ابن عباس (رضه) قال لما اراد الله ان يقبض روح خليله ابراهيم (صلعم) اوحى الله عز وجل الى الدنيا اني دافن فيك خليلي فاضطربت اضطراباً

1 L ليقه. 2 L inserts وسدّوا باب المغارة, omitting below.
3 L عرض له في. 4 L omits. 5 L adds الله.
6 L omits, then inserts دفن after ابراهيم.
7 REYNOLDS, *op. cit.*, p. 284, 147 years; confusion unpointed سعة ؟

شديداً وتشامخت جبالها وتواضعت منها بقعة يقال لها حبرى فقال الله لهـا[1] يا حبرى انتِ شعوعي انتِ شعشوعي[2] انت قدسي[3] فيك خزانة علمي وعليك انزل رحمتي وبركاتي واليك احشر خيار عبادي من ولد خليلي فطوبى لمن وضع جبهتـه فيك لي ساجداً اسقيه من حضرة قدسي وآمنه افزاع قيامتي واسكنه الجنة برحمتي *فطوباك ثم طوباك ثم طوباك[4] ادفن فيك خليلي

وعن كعب (رحت) قال ان سليمان بن داود (عم) لما فرغ من بناء مسجد[1] بيت المقدس اوحى الله تعالى اليه ان ابنِ على قبر خليلي ابراهيم (صلعم) (!) بناء ليعرف فخرج سليمان فبنى على موضع يسمّى[5] الرامة فاوحى الله اليه ليس هو هـــذا ولـكن انظر الى النور المتدلي من السماء الى الارض فنظر فاذا النور على بقعة يقال لهـــا حبرى فعلم ان ذلك المقصود فبنى على ذلك

وعن وهب *بن منبه (رحه)[1] انه قال اذا كان آخر الزمان حيل بين الناس وبين الحج فمن لم يحجّ ولحق فعليه بقبر ابراهيم (صلعم) (!) فان زيارته تعدل حجة وعنه[6] ايضاً انه قال من زار قبر ابراهيم (عم) في عمره مرة لا يعنيه الا ذلك حشر يوم القيامة آمناً من الفزع الاكبر ووقي من[1] فتّاني[7] القبر وكان حقاً على الله تعالى ان يجمع بينه وبين ابراهيم (عم) في دار السلام وعن كعب (رحه) من زار بيت المقدس وقصد قبر ابراهيم (عم) لصلوة فيه فصلى فيه خمس صلوات ثم سأل الله عز وجل شيئاً اعطاه وغفرت ذنوبه كلها ومن زار قبر ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب وربقة وليقا اعطي بتلك الزيارة[1] الكرامة الدائمة والرزق الواسعة (!) في دنياه ويبلغه الله تعالى بذلك[1] منازل الابرار ولا يرجع الى منزله الا وقـد غفرت ذنوبه ولا يخرج من الدنيا حتى يرى ابراهيم (عم) فيبشره ان الله تعالى قد غفر له

وروى المألف[8] (رحه) عن عبدالله بن سلام (رضه) قال ان الزيارة الى قـبر ابراهيم (صلعم) (!) والصلوة عنده حجّ[9] الفقراء ودرجات الاغنيـاء ويستحبّ لمن

[1] L omits.
[2] Y شعشوعي, correct in other MSS. and in *Muthīr al-Gharām* of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ.
[3] L adds انت بيت قدسي.
[4] L فطوبى لك ثم طوبى لك.
[5] L يقال له.
[6] L وعن وهب بن منبه.
[7] See LANE, *Lexicon*, p. 2336.
[8] for المؤلف, L المصنف.
[9] L اعبه.

اراد زيارة الخليل (صلعم) (!) واسحق ويعقوب (عم) ان يخلص النيّة ويسأل الله التوفيق والمعونة ويصلي ركعتين ويسأل الله تعالى بعدهما *العصمة ويحذر ان يطلع على خليل الله (صلعم) (!) على معصية ولا سوء ادب[1] في زيارته فان الانبياء (عم) احياء في قبورهم ثم يقصد المكان باخبات[2] وسكون وذكر واستغفار ثم يدخل المسجد فيبدأ بادخال رجله اليمنى ويقول باسم الله[3] وسلام على رسول الله (صلعم) اللهم صل على محمد وعلى آل محمد واغفر لي وارحمني وافتح لي ابواب رحمتك وللمسلمين ويصلي ركعتين تحيّة المسجد ثم يدخل على قبر الخليل (صلعم) (!) ويستقبله من اي ناحية شاء ثم يسلّم عليه فيقول السلام عليك ايها النبي ورحمة الله وبركاته *السلام على خليل الله ورحمة الله وبركاته[4] ثم يصلي[5] على النبي (صلعم) *ويدعو الله بما شاء[4] يقول هذا كله وهو واقف مستقبل القبر ويكره له[4] ان يضع يده على القبر وان يعانقه الا[4] يقف ويسلم عليه كما يسلم *على الحي[6] بوقار *وقرار واحترام[4] وسكون كانه مشاهده (صلعم) (!) ويستحب[4] ان يكثر عنده الدعاء ويتوسل به الى الله تعالى فانه ما توسل به احد الا *اجابه الله تعالى[7]

قال فاذا فرغتَ من ذلك مضيت الى قبر اسحق (عم) وفعلت عنده كما فعلت عند قبر[8] ابراهيم (عم) من الصلوة والسلام على النبي (صلعم) والدعاء واذا فرغ من زيارة قبر اسحق (عم) جاء[9] الى قبر يعقوب *اسرائيل الله[4] (عم) وفعل كفعله المتقدم ويستحب ان يجتهد في الدعاء فانه يقال ان الدعاء عنده مستجاب وقد جرّبه غير واحد فوجدوا عنده الاجابة فاذا فرغ من ذلك يمضي الى قبر سارة ويسلم عليها ويدعو عندها ويصلي على النبي (صلعم) وكذلك يفعل عند قبر ربقة زوجة اسحق وكذلك عند ليقا هذا هو المستحبّ ان يبدأ بزيارة الرجال قبل النساء وكيف ما فعل اجزاءه فاذا فرغ من ذلك يمضي الى قبر يوسف الصديق[4] (عم) هو خارج المغارة في بطن الوادي ويسلم ويصلي على النبي (صلعم) وعلى آله واصحابه[4] ويدعو

1 L only حاجة فانها تقضي ولا يسوء ادبه. 2 L باذاب. 3 L adds الصلوة.
4 L omits. 5 L adds ركعتين ويسلم. 6 L الحي على الحي.
7 L قنى الله حاجته, and adds: وسيدنا محمد رسول الله (صلعم) ما توسل به احد الا بلغه الله مناه.
8 Y omits. 9 L امضى.

وروى عن *ابي بكر بن احمد بن عمرو بن جابر[1] انه قال وقد سئل عن قبر الخليل (صلعم) (!) وعن تصحيح[2] صحته فقال ما رأيت احداً من الشيوخ الذين لحقتهم من اهل[2] العلم الا وهم يصححون ان القبر قبر ابراهيم الخليل واسحق ويعقوب وازواجهم (صسعج)[2a] ويقولون ما يطعن في ذلك الا رجل *مبتدع منكوس[3] قال وكان النبي (صلعم) قد اقطع القرية وحبرون باسرها لتميم الداري (رضه) قبل ان يفتح الله تعالى على المسلمين الشام وكتب له بذلك كتاباً وجاء به[2] الى ابي بكر الصديق[2] (رضه) فاجاز له كتاب رسول الله (صلعم) وكذلك جاء به[2] الى عمر بن الخطاب (رضه) فاجاز له بعد الفتوح ما اجاز له رسول الله (صلعم)

ثم روى عن ابي هند الداري قال قدمنا على رسول الله (صلعم) ونحن ستة نفر تميم بن اوس واخوه نُعَيم بن اوس ويزيد بن قيس وابو[5] عبد الله بن عبد الله وهو صاحب الحديث واخوه الطيب بن عبد الله فسماه *رسول الله[6] (صلعم) عبد الرحمان وفاكهة بن النعمان فاسلمنا وسألنا رسول الله (صلعم) ان يقطعنا ارضاً من الشام فقال رسول الله (صلعم) سلوا حيث شئتم فقال ابو هند فنهضنا من عنده الى موضع نتشاور فيه اين نسأل فقال تميم ارى[7] ان نسأله بيت المقدس وكورتها فقال ابو هند رأيت ملك العجم اليوم اليس هو بيت المقدس قال تميم نعم ثم قال ابو هند فكذلك يكون ملك العرب واخاف ان لا يتمّ لنا هذا فقال تميم فنسأله *بيت جبريل[8] وكورتها فقال ابو هند هذا اكبر واكثر فقال تميم فاين ترى ان نسأله قال ارى[9] ان نسأله القرى التي *تصنع فيها حصرنا مع ما فيها[10] من آثار ابراهيم (عم) فقال

1 I formerly took this to be two names because of L's confusion : وعن ابي بكر بن احمد وابي عمرو بن جابر. But other MSS., and the *Muthīr* show it to be one. The MSS., *Bāʿith* and *Muthīr*, however, read عمر, عمرو, عامر, variously.

2 L omits. 2a صلوات الله وسلامه عليهم جميعاً

3 Restored from L and Berlin Catalogue MS. No. 6094 (4); cf. also ABN BAṬŪṬA (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Paris, 1853, I, p. 116f.).

4 L من اهل البدع. 5 M وابى. With Abu Hind, seven, not six.

6 L النبي. 7 L الداري ارا. 8 M² بيت حبرون (!) 9 Y بنوى

10 M تصنع فيها حصر نافع ما فيها (!) I take حصر as plural from حصيرة, *mat.* This is somewhat dialectical—but there are numerous instances of rather popular usage in the *Bāʿith*.

رسول الله (صلعم) يا تميم اتحبُّ ان تخبرني بما كنتم فيه او انا اخبركم قال تميم بل تخبرنا يا رسول الله فنزداد ايماناً وايقاناً[1] فقال *رسول الله (صلعم) اردتَ انت يا تميم امراً واراد هذا غيره ونعم *الراي رآه[2]

قال فدعا رسول الله (صلعم) بقطعة من جلد[3] ادم فكتب كتاباً نسخته بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم هذا ذكر ما وهب محمد رسول الله (صلعم) للداريين[4] اذا *اعطاه الله تعالى[5] الارض وهب لهم بيت عين[6] وحبرون والمرطوم وبيت ابراهيم بمن فيهم لهم ابداً اشهد عباس ابن عبد المطلب وجهم بن قيس وشرحبيل بن حسنة

قال فلما هاجر رسول الله (صلعم) الى المدينة قدمنا عليه فسألناه ان يجدّد لنا كتاباً آخر فكتب لنا كتاباً نسخته بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم هذا ما انطى محمد رسول الله (صلعم) تميم الداري واصحابه اني انطيتكم بيت عين وحبرون والمرطوم وبيت ابراهيم بذمتهم وجميع ما فيهم نطيّة بت[7] ونفدت وسلمت ذلك لهم ولاعقابهم من بعدهم ابد الابد[8] فمن آذاهم فيه آذاه الله شهد[9] ابو بكر بن ابي قحافة *وعمر بن الخطاب[10] وعثمان ابن عفان وعلي بن ابي طالب ومعاوية بن ابي سفيان (رضهم)[11]

فلما قبض رسول الله (صلعم) وولى ابو بكر (رضه) وجند الجنود الى الشام كتب لنا[12] كتاباً نسخته بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم من ابي بكر الصديق الى ابي عبيدة عامر بن الجراح السلام عليك فاني احمد الله اليك[13] الذي لا اله الا هو اما بعد فامنع من كان يؤمن بالله واليوم الآخر من الفساد في قرى الداريين وان كان اهلها قد

1 L omits.

2 Y تميم, evidently wrong; all others الرأي رأى. REYNOLDS, *op. cit.*, if he is to be trusted at all, indicates that Shams ud-Dīn as-Suyūṭī had here in the *Itḥāf* ابي هند, which would fit admirably. M²'s *Beit Ḥabrūn* as Tamīm's wish above is only an attempt to solve the little problem which had crept into all the MSS.

3 Y inserts من. 4 M² ends here; P more defective, ending above after قبر ليقا with counsel of thanks for privilege of pilgrimage.

5 L اعطاهم 6 L عينون. 7 L and M نت. 8 M الابدين.

9 M adds بذلك. 10 Y شهد عمر الخطاب (!)

11 M omits. L inserts after Sufyān something like كتبنا.

12 Y الينا. It is hard to see advantage to the Dārī clan in some provisions of this letter. 13 L and M omit.

خلوا عنها واراد الداريين يزرعونها فليزرعوها[1] فاذا رجع اليها اهلها فهي لهم *واحق بهم والسلام عليك[2]

*ثم قال الشيخ الامام العلامة ناصر السنة مؤيد الشريعة برهان الدين ابو اسحق بن الشيخ الامام العلامة تاج الدين ابي محمد ابن عبـــد الرحمان بن ابراهيم السباع الفزاري الشافعي ادام الله حراسته ونفع بفوائده[3] هذا آخر ما تيسر تعليقه وجمعه في فضائل بيت المقدس نسأل الله تعالى ان ينفعنا به في الدنيا والاخرة انه ولي التوفيق لا اله الا هو عليه توكلنا وهو رب العرش العظيم ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم ووقع الفراغ من تعليقه بعد حمد الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه في عشيّة نهار الخميس سابع شهر ربيع الاول من شهور سنة اثنين وثمانين وثمانمائة[4] اللهم اختم بخير وافتح بخير انك على كل شيء قدير

م م م

[1] M, L, Y فليزرعونها. Berlin 6093 (4) فليزرعوها. L preceding this: الداريون يزرعونها; Berlin: الربوان ان يزرعوها. (Berlin dated 1720).

[2] L دون غيرهم, and ends briefly—giving us, however, the name of the MS. copyist: خطاب بن شعبان بن سرور الجلاوي المقدسي الوفائي الكتبي.

[3] M only (عم) مصنفه.

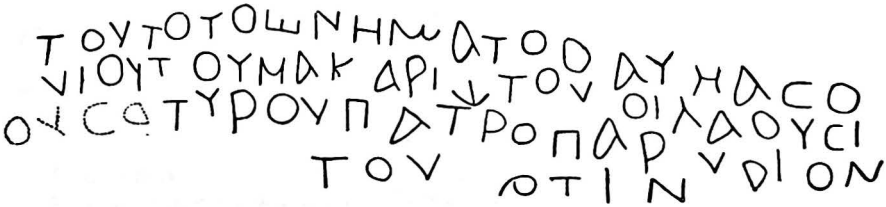
[4] I.e., according to WÜSTENFELD's *Vergleichungstabellen*, June 20, 1477 A.D.

EINE GRIECHISCHE INSCHRIFT AUS SEPPHORIS

M. SCHWABE

(JERUSALEM)

Im Nachlaß von G. ORFALI, dem hochverdienten Erforscher von Kapernaum, fand sich der Abklatsch einer unveröffentlichten Inschrift aus Sepphoris, dem talmudischen ציפורי.[1] Sie stand auf einem Türsturz[2] von ungefähr 90 cm Breite und 21 cm Höhe. Die Zeilen sind mit Ausnahme der letzten so angeordnet, daß Zeilenanfang und -ende tiefer stehen als die ungefähre Mitte, also leicht bogenförmig. Die Buchstaben sind 2–3 cm hoch. Der Anfang von Zeile 3 ist wohl auf dem Stein schadhaft, jedenfalls auf dem Abklatsch sehr undeutlich. Von ORFALI, der die Buchstaben z. T. mit Kohle nachzuziehen versucht hat, ist Z. 3 vor dem ersten τ keiner nachgezogen, aber die Zeilenlänge von v. 3, der am Ende über v. 2 hinausreicht, macht es, abgesehen von erkennbaren Buchstaben, wahrscheinlich, daß sie auch am Anfang voll und sogar etwas größer als v. 2 war. Auch daß am Anfang von v. 4 zwei Buchstaben zu ergänzen sind, deutet auf die Beschädigung der linken unteren Ecke der Inschrift. Die Abschrift ergibt folgendes:



In Umschrift:

Τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα το(ῦ) Θαυμασ(τ)ο(ῦ)
υἱοῦ τοῦ μακαριω(τά)του Οἰλαουσί-
ο̣υ̣ Σ̣ατύρου πατρὸ(ς) παρ(ὰ) υ(ἱ)δίων
[αὐ]τοῦ ἔτ(ε)ι ν'

[1] Der Abklatsch gelangte in die Hände meines verehrten Kollegen SUKENIK, der ihn mir liebenswürdigerweise zur Publikation übergab. Ich spreche ihm hier meinen Dank aus.

[2] Das geht aus einer Bemerkung ORFALIS auf dem Abklatsch hervor.

Dieses Grabmal des Thaumastos,
des Sohnes des seligen Hilausios,
(des Sohnes) des Satyros, dem Vater von seinen
Söhnchen im Jahre 50.

Es handelt sich um eine Grabschrift, die wahrscheinlich über dem Eingang zu einem größeren Grabbau angebracht war, wie sie sich im hellenistischen Orient, besonders in Syrien, häufig gefunden haben. Die Worte *ΤΟΘΑΥΜΑCΟ* ließen sich auch als zu *τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα* gehöriges Adjektiv fassen und *τὸ θαυμάσ(ι)ον* lesen. Aber, soweit ich sehe, ist eine solche rühmende Bezeichnung des Denkmals im Munde derer, die es dem Toten errichten, nicht zu belegen.[3] Akzeptiert man aber diese Interpretation, so wäre Satyros der Begrabene. Daß erst der Vater und dann der Sohn mit Namen genannt wird, ist sehr ungewöhnlich, aber nicht unmöglich.[4] *πατρός* würde sich so gut an Satyros, eben den Vater, dem die Kinder das Denkmal setzen, anschließen. Aber die in der Umschrift gegebene Auffassung hat die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Der Steinmetz ist offenbar unter dem Einfluß der vorhergehenden Neutra zu der unvollkommenen Schreibung *το θαυμασο* gekommen. Nomina propria von diesem Stamm sind häufig und früh belegt. Iris' Vater heißt *Θαύμας* bei HESIOD, *Theog.* 265, einen *Θαυμασίας* cf. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, 4, 6, 19, ein Schüler Plotins heißt so (PORPHYRIUS, *Vita Plotini* 13). Unsere Inschrift gestattet statt des in der Umschrift eingesetzten *Θαυμασ(τ)οῦ* ebensogut *Θαυμασ(ί)ου*.[5] Eine Christin Thaumasta (v. l. Thaumasia) in Arelate (cf. bei DIEHL *ILCV* zu 2891 A, *CIL* XII 938), einen Taumastus aus Spanien, *ibid.* zu 1430, eine Daumasia, *ibid.* zu 3007 B. In PREISIGKES *Namenbuch* werden die Formen *Θαυμασία*, *Θαυμασιᾶς*, *Θαυμαστή* und *Θαυμαστός* als aus dem 1.–3. Jahrh. n. Chr,

[3] *Τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα* in Palästina cf. KLEIN, *Corpus* No. 147, in Syrien *passim*. Der Ausdruck *τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα τὸ θαυμαστόν* erinnert an die innere Mosaikinschrift der Diaconia der Propyläenkirche in Gerasa vom Jahre 565 n. Chr., wo Psalm 65[5,6] in der mit falscher Versteilung gegebenen Übersetzung der LXX steht; *ἅγιος ὁ ναός σου θαυμαστὸς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*. (cf. *Churches at Jerash* by J. W. CROWFOOT, Brit. School of Arch. in Jerus., Suppl. Pap. 3. 1931, p. 15 und Tafel IV).

[4] cf. z. B. DUNAND, Nouvelles inscriptions du Djebel Druze et du Hauran. *Rev. Bibl.* 1933 p. 243 No. 183: *Εὐνόμου υἱὸς Ἱέριος καὶ Σαδάλλας Σαρεδάθου κτλ.*

[5] Verwendung ähnlich klingender Namen im hellenisierten (südl.) Syrien beweist No. 204 der *Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped. to Syria* 1904–5 Div. III (= *PAES*, LITTMANN): *(Θ)αναμος Θαιμάλλου.*

und in der byz. Zeit belegt s.v. angeführt.[6] Der Name des Vaters steckt dann in *OIΛAOYCIOY*. Der erste Buchtsabe ist nicht sicher, er kann sowohl als *O* wie als Θ aufgefaßt werden. *Οἰλαούσιος* ist, wenn man *οι* als vulgär diphthongisiertes *ι* auffaßt,[7] als *Ἰλαούσιος* zu verstehen.[8] Für die Form *Θιλαούσιος*, die auch als *Θηλαούσιος* mit üblicher Schreibung von *ι* statt *η* (cf. *PAES*, LITTMANN, *Index*, p. 482) verstanden werden kann, läßt sich auf den zweimal belegten Frauennamen *Θιλακλεῖς* (PREISIGKE, *SB* I, 5124, 343, 348) auf einem Papyrus aus Tebtunis vom Jahre 192 n. Chr. verweisen. Satyros, der Vater des Hilausios und Großvater des Toten, der ohne Prädikation genannt wird, trägt einen heidnisch klingenden Namen,[9] aber das beweist nichts für das Heidentum des Trägers. Das folgende *πατρο* ist gewiß nicht zu dem vorhergehenden *Σατύρου* zu ziehen ; gerade der Ausdruck *παρ' ν(ἱ)δίων* läßt verstehen, daß die Kinder ihr Sohnesverhältnis betonen wollen. Der Genetiv bietet keinen Anstoß. Entweder setzt ihn der Steinmetz oder der Verfasser der Inschrift unter dem Einfluß der vorhergehenden Genetive ein, oder wir haben einen Fall des in den ersten Jahrhunderten n. Chr. häufigen Dativschwundes vor uns. Die Formen der obliquen Kasus treten in dieser Zeit auch für einander ein.[10] Aber auch an einen metaplastisch[11] gebildeten Dativ *πατρο* (= *πατρῷ*) läßt sich denken. Die Söhne sind mit der nur bei ARISTOPHANES (*Wespen*, 1356) belegten

[6] Daß in den von dieser Wurzel gebildeten Eigennamen, nicht nur in Bildungen wie *Θώμας* und ähnlichen die semitische Wurzel תאם im Ohre der hellenisierten Orientalen mitklingt, ist sehr wahrscheinlich (cf. WUTHNOW, *Sem. Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri* p. 53. 174).

[7] Wechsel zwischen *ι* und *οι* ist in den ersten Jahrhunderten n. Chr. gewöhnlich, cf. *PAES*, LITTMANN, p. 483; MAYSER, *Grammatik*, I p. 110 sq.

[8] *ἵλαος* wäre hier als Charakterbezeichnung Namenbildungselement geworden. Das Bildungssuffix *ουσιος* ist befremdend, aber im hellenisierten Orient wohl denkbar. Der Poseidonsohn *Ἱλάων* bei HESYCHIUS und die Glosse *ibid. Ἱλάονες φάλητες* haben nichts mit unserem Namen zu tun. *Ἱλάειρα* als Artemisbeinamen legt den Gebrauch des Stammes für Menschennamen nahe. Daß ein semitischer Name assoziativ mitwirkt (cf., e.g., *Ιλασαμισος* von אלה WUTHNOW, *ibid.*, s. v., p. 58) ist nicht ausgeschlossen.

[9] Alle bei PREISIGKE, *SB* I, vorkommenden *Σάτυροι* sind vorchristlich und heidnisch. Aber ein christlicher Satirio findet sich bei DIEHL, *ICLV* 1175 (aus dem 5. Jh.), ein Saturus, *ib.* 2040, ein Saturius, *ib.* 1555, Satyrus, *ib.* zu 2609 A.

[10] Vgl. MAYSER, *Grammatik der ptolemäischen Papyri* I, p. 138.

[11] cf. *ibid.*, p. 286 sq.

Diminutivform bezeichnet. Sie müssen nicht unbedingt kleine Kinder sein, in deren Namen ein Verwandter das Denkmal errichtet und die Inschrift formuliert. Die Form kann auch der Ausdruck liebevoller Verbundenheit mit dem Toten sein.[12] Das an sich überflüßige Pronomen *αὐτοῦ* findet sich häufig auf Inschriften Syriens, z. B. *PAES*, Div. III. No. 167 (*γυνὴ αὐτοῦ*); 725: *Οτεραδη καὶ Μεγαιθία ἀδελφὴ γυνηκὶ αὐτῶν.*

Von den auf dem Stein genannten drei Männern dreier Generationen bekommt nur der Vater des Toten das ehrende Prädikat *μακαριω(τά)του*. Das Epitheton *μακάριος* allein beweist noch nicht mit Sicherheit, daß Hilausios Christ ist.[13] Die Ehrenbezeichung der Märtyrer *μακάριος* (in lateinischen Inschriften beatus, beatissimus) wird freilich schon von ORIGENES (*περὶ εὐχῆς* t. II p. 399 v. 9 sq. KOETSCHAU)[14] allen Toten gegeben, ist aber vor dem 5. Jh. kaum häufig auf christlichen Inschriften anzutreffen. Auf den Inschriften Syriens (*PAES*, Div. III) findet sich das Wort überhaupt nicht, in PRENTICES Sammlung (Part III of the *Public. of an Americ. Arch. Exp. to Syria in* 1899–1900) nur einmal auf einer Asylgrenzinschrift (No. 29) vom Jahre 554 n. Chr.[15], in den Inschriften der Palästina

[12] Anzunehmen, daß Enkel ihrem Großvater das Grab errichten und *υἱδίων* hier Enkel bedeutet, verbietet das zugesetzte *πατρο*. Enkel, die Grab und Inschrift errichten, cf. *Rev. Bibl.* XLI (1932) p. 574 No. 117: *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Ὀραίλου υἱονοί.* Daß die Buchstabengruppe *ΠΑΡΥΑΙΩΝ* nicht *παῤ ὐδίων* (=*ἰδίων*) zu transkribieren ist, ist klar. Belegt ist meines Wissens nur *ἐξ(ἀπὸ) ἰδίων.* Außerdem verbietet das folgende *αὐτοῦ* diese Erklärung.

[13] Cf. MOULTON and MILLIGAN, *Vocab. of the Gr. Test.*, s. v., W. BAUER, *Wörterb. z. N. T.*, s. v. EUSEBIUS, *h. e.* VI, 11, 6 wird *μακάριος* von einem Lebenden gesagt (*διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου*). cf. *Scholia* in Aristoph. PLUT. 555: *τὸ μακάριος καὶ μακαριστὸς ἐπὶ ζώντων καὶ ἀποθανόντων.* Der Superlativ ist besonders gebräuchlich bei kirchlichen Funktionären, cf. *Cod. Just.* I 1, 7 *μακαριωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ.* Aber vgl. auch JULIAN, *Ep. ad. Ath.*, 271a (HERTLEIN) (t. I, 1 p. 216 v. 17. c. 3. BIDEZ): *καὶ τὸν μακαρίτην ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν Γάλλον.* Die Form *μάκαρ* ist bei Nichtchristen im Hauran belegt: WADDINGTON, *Inscr. Gr. et Lat. de la Syrie* 2247: *Χαῖρε μάκαρ Βάναθε σὺν ἱεροῖς τέκνοις* (cf. CABROL: *Dict. d'Arch. chrét.*, VII, 1 p. 678). Über den Gebrauch von *μακάριος* auf christlichen Inschriften cf. LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes*, p. XXXI.; *ibid.* No. 325: + *στήλη τοῦ μακαριωτ(άτου) Θεοδοσίου.*

[14] Zitiert von JALABERT und MOUTERDE in CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne* VII, 1 p. 678.

[15] No. 406 derselben Sammlung ist nicht heranzuziehen, da es zweifelhaft ist, ob v. 2 zu v. 1 gehört. No. 261 ist ein Segensspruch auf einem Türsturz,

Tertia jedoch bei ALT von Anfang des 6. Jh. an häufig (z. B. No. 16, 18–23, 25, 27, 28). Aber obgleich die Inschrift durch kein christliches Symbol als christlich gekennzeichnet ist, muß man damit rechnen, daß Thaumastos und sein Vater Christen waren. Von den zwölf christlichen Grabinschriften aus Transjordanien, die ALT in *ZDPV*, LI, (1928), p. 218 sq. publiziert hat, und von denen nur drei datiert sind, (No. 1 vom Jahre 476/7 p. C., No. 2 569/70 p. C., No. 7 582/3 p. C.), hat nur No. 10 das Seligkeitsprädikat. Der unter No. 10 Begrabene ist der einzige kirchliche Würdenträger unter den Toten und wird deshalb so hervorgehoben. Alle zwölf Inschriften bewahren ein festes Formelschema und sind wahrscheinlich allesamt — trotz Fehlens besonderer christlicher Kennzeichen — christlich. Das Seligkeitsprädikat — man achte auf den Superlativ[16] — ist wohl auch in unserer Inschrift als christliches Symptom zu fassen, falls sich keine chronologischen Schwierigkeiten im Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte des Christentums in Palästina ergeben. Daß *μακάριος* im Süden Palästinas nur vom 6. Jh. an auf christlichen Inschriften belegt ist, zwingt noch nicht zu einer so späten Ansetzung unserer Inschrift, die aus dem Norden des Landes stammt. In Ägypten ist *μακάριος* als ehrendes Beiwort des Verstorbenen auf Steinen und Papyri nur vom fünften Jahrhundert an belegt (cf. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.).

Die letzte, am Anfang lädierte Zeile der Inschrift bietet mancherlei Schwierigkeiten. Der Wortrest *τον* ist deutlich und die Ergänzung zu *αὐτοῦ* scheint sicher. *ΤΟΥ* könnte auch im Notfalle, wenn man ein beschädigtes N annimmt, zu [*ἑ*]*τῶν* ergänzt werden, aber die Zahl, die danach zu erwarten wäre, fehlt. Daß sie durch Beschädigung verschwunden ist, ist nicht anzunehmen, da die folgenden vier Buchstaben heil scheinen. Zwischen den beiden Worten der letzten Zeile hat offenbar der Steinmetz aus Gründen der Symmetrie in der abschließenden Zeile ein Spatium gelassen. Außerdem wäre die

in dem *μακάριος* im Sinne der üblichen Seligpreisung gebraucht ist. Auf lateinischen Märtyrerinschriften ist beatissimus gewöhnlich; die älteste mit dieser Prädikation ist *CIL* VIII, 21517 aus Mauretanien vom Jahre 329 (KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, p. 213).

[16] *μακαριώτατος* auf einer durch Kreuze gekennzeichneten christlichen Inschrift des Rauhen Kilikien, cf. *Monumenta Asiae minoris antiqua vol. III. Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien*, hsgb. von JOS. KEIL und ADOLPH WILHELM, No. 566. *μακάριος* auf einer christl. Inschrift, *ibid.* No. 130. Hier findet sich *μακάριος* auf jüdischen Inschriften, *ibid.* No. 205 (*τοῦ μακαρίου ἱερέων*) und No. 237.

Angabe der Zahl der Jahre des Toten an dieser Stelle sehr ungewöhlich, denn nach der gewohnten Anordnung der Inschriftelemente wird sie eher nach dem Namen des Toten oder einem sein Ableben bezeichnenden Verbum erwartet. Die Form des viertletzten Buchstaben hat weder in der Inschrift selbst noch sonstwo meines Wissens eine Parallele.[17] Es liegt nahe, anzunehmen, daß der ungeschickte Steinmetz, der in der Inschrift demselben Buchstaben sehr verschiedene Formen gab — siehe besonders die Formen des *M* und *A* — ein *E* entstellt hat, so daß wir *ετιν* zu lesen hätten, d. h. *ἔτι*(= *ἔτει*) *ν'*.[18]

Wenn die Inschrift christlich ist, was wir mit Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen dürfen, so kommt für ihre Ansetzung nur das 4.–7. Jh. — wir sehen vorläufig von paläographischen Argumenten ab — in Betracht.[19] In diese Jahrhunderte führt uns nur die diokletianische Ära,[20] die, am 29. VIII. 284 beginnend, unsere Inschrift auf das Jahr 334/335 datieren würde. Freilich ist diese Ära, die besonders in Ägypten, aber auch sonst im Orient verwandt wird, in Palästina so früh nicht die übliche, sondern die 105/6 beginnende von Bostra. Eine so frühe Ansetzung unserer Inschrift braucht nicht in Betracht gezogen zu werden.[21] Die Ära von Maiumas, der Hafenstadt von Gaza, die im Gegensatz zu dem anfänglich antichristlichen Gaza ein Mittelpunkt des sich durchsetzenden Bekenntnisses wurde und gegen Ende des 5. Jh. beginnt (cf. KAUFMANN, *l. c.*, p. 50), würde die Inschrift in die erste Hälfte des 6. Jh. verweisen. Aber wie käme das nördliche Sepphoris dazu, eine lokale Ära des Südens zu benutzen?

Eine Datierung der Inschrift zu versuchen auf Grund rein

[17] An ein Kompendium von *ἐστίν* ist nicht zu denken. Ich habe die Kopula nur einmal in ähnlicher Verbindung gefunden, aber in einer hexametrischen Grabschrift, *PAES, ib.* 735: *Ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος τό[δε-⏑⏑-⏑] νος ἐστὶν μνῆμα. . . .*

[18] Vgl. die Inschrift *Rev. Bibl.* 1933 p. 243 No. 183; *ἔτι ονδ'* oder *PAES*, No. 670 vom Jahre 392 p. C. mit *ἔτι απζ'* am Schluß.

[19] Christliche Inschriften verschwinden in Palästina um die Mitte des 7. Jh. infolge der Araberinvasion; cf. ALT: *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia* p. 57 u. *ZDPV* (1928) LI p. 229.

[20] cf. KAUFMANN: *l. c.*, p. 49 sq., CABROL: *Dict. d'Arch. chrét. V*[1] s. v. *ère* E. BICKERMANN, *Chronologie* (in GERCKE-NORDEN, *Einl.*[3]) Bd. III, Heft 5 p. 22 sq.

[21] Auch an die Ära von Eleutheropolis (cf. CABROL, *Dict. d'Arch. chr. V*[1] p. 367 sq.) ist nicht zu denken.

paläographischer Indizien verbietet sich von selbst.[22] Sogar zwei Inschriften, die aus demselben Orte (Ghōr eṣ-Sāfi) stammen und aus denselben Jahren sind, die erste (*Rev. Bibl.* XL (1931), p. 95 sq.) aus dem Jahre 387/8, die zweite *Rev. Bibl.* XXXVI (1927), p. 401 sq.) vom Jahre 389/90, zeigen verschiedene Schriftcharaktere und wären ohne Datierung gewiß nicht als kontemporär erkannt worden.[23] Von den zwei Perioden, die PRENTICE in seiner syrischen Inschriftensammlung p. 3 bestimmt, würde unsere Inschrift sicher zur zweiten gehören, der von 324 bis 609 n. Chr. Der ebendort betonten paläographisch deutlich scheidbaren Epoche, die um 480 etwa beginnt und durch Gebrauch von besonderen Formen des *A M* $\overset{\upsilon}{o}$ und ähnlichem sich charakterisiert, in der aber auch die älteren Buchstabenformen weiter gebraucht werden, muß die Inschrift nicht angehören, da sie keine dieser Formen zeigt, sie kann es nur. Ein Vergleich der Buchstabenformen unserer Inschrift mit denen des s ü d l i c h e n Syriens, die sicher datiert sind aus der Zeit von 300 bis 400 und etwas später (*PAES*, *Div.* III, Section A und B *passim*), lehren jedenfalls, daß unsere Inschrift keine Form enthält, die denen dieser Periode widerspricht, vielmehr läßt sich gerade ein häufiger Wechsel von Formen des *αδηυχω*, der in unserer Inschrift auffällt, in den Inschriften des südlichen Syrien im 4. Jh. nachweisen. Besonders interessant ist in dieser Beziehung *PAES*, *Div.* III No. 262 vom Jahre 344. Zieht man die nach ALT (cf. *PJB* (1926) XXII p. 61, ibid. XXVIII (1932) p. 86) beinahe gleichzeitige Synagogeninschrift von Sepphoris zum Vergleich heran,[24] so fällt der Unterschied des *A* auf, das auf der jüdischen Inschrift mit einer Ausnahme die späte Form hat).[25]

Dem Stein hat man, soweit ich weiß, nichts Vergleichbares aus Galiläa im allgemeinen und Sepphoris im besonderen zur Seite zu

[22] Vgl. die Mahnungen von JALABERT und MOUTERDE zur Zurückhaltung in dieser Beziehung bei CABROL, *Dict. d'Arch. chrét.* VII, 1 p. 626.

[23] Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *Rev. Bibl.*, XL (1931), p. 98.

[24] Ich habe diese Inschrift auf Grund einer Photographie und eines Abklatsches neu publiziert und interpretiert in der *Festschrift für David Yellin* (*Minchath David*, Jerusalem, 1935 p. 100 sq.). Hier gehe ich auf sie nicht näher ein.

[25] Der übrige Buchstabenbestand zeigt die älteren Formen, die freilich auch in PRENTICES von 480 etwa beginnender paläographischer Epoche weiter gebraucht werden. Aber die oben versuchte Datierung unserer Inschrift kann natürlich durch solche Indizien nicht gestützt werden, besonders, da ALTS Datierung der Synagogeninschrift nicht als erwiesen angesehen werden darf. Ich setze sie, *l.c.*, p. 112 in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts.

stellen. Im ganzen westjordanischen Palästina fehlen, abgesehen von Gaza und Umgebung, dem Süden und Jerusalem, christliche Grabsteine fast ganz,[26] auch solche, die das alte heidnische Formular bewahren und die man auf Grund anderer Indizien für das Christentum in Anspruch nehmen könnte. Daß es Christen, wenn auch vielleicht nicht offen sich bekennende, in Galiläa, besonders in nicht rein jüdischen Punkten, vor Konstantin gegeben hat, darf trotz des gleich zu erwähnenden Epiphanioszeugnisses nicht bezweifelt werden. Das Fehlen epigraphischer Dokumente ist kein Gegenbeweis. Im Territorium von Damaskus ist das Christentum — freilich ein sektiererisches — schon für das Jahr 318/9 durch eine Kircheninschrift bezeugt.[27] Im Süden des Toten Meeres ist ein nach den beigegebenen Symbolen sicher christliche Inschrift vom Jahre 387/8 gefunden worden.[28] In Umm-ed-Djemāl, südlich von Bostra und südw. vom Ḥaurān, ist eine 344 datierte, private Grabschrift gefunden worden, die zugleich die Existenz eines christlichen Gemeindefriedhofes bezeugt (*PAES* III A 3, No. 262). Von Sepphoris, dem Fundort unserer Inschrift, wissen wir, daß es ein starker jüdischer Mittelpunkt war. Zeugnisse über das Eindringen des Christentums haben wir bis Konstantin nicht. Erst dieser Kaiser gibt nach dem bekannten Zeugnis bei EPIPHANIOS (*Panar. haer.* 30,4,1 sq. p. 338,12sq. HOLL) dem Josephus von Tiberias die Vollmacht, außer in Tiberias und Kapernaum in Sepphoris eine Kirche zu bauen. Daß sie wirklich zu Ende gebaut worden ist im Gegensatz zu der in Tiberias, sagt EPIPHANIOS ausdrücklich (*ib.* 30, 12,9 p. 348, 26 HOLL). Wenn, wie ALT (*PJB.* (1926), XXII, p. 62,1) annimmt, dieser Eingriff den 352)[28a] von dem Cäsar Constantius Gallus niedergeschlagenen Judenaufstand (SOCRATES, *h. e.* II 33) in Diocäsarea veranlaßt hat, so hätten wir für diese christliche Aktion einen terminus ante quem. Wenn Joseph daran ging, eine Kirche zu bauen, könnte man annehmen, daß unter den Bewohnern von Sepphoris vorher Christen waren, die vielleicht erst nach diesem Eingriff ihren Glauben öffentlich bekannten. Aber ein ausdrückliches Zeugnis des EPIPHANIOS, *ibid.*, 30,11,9 (p. 347, 10 sq. HOLL) besagt, daß es in Diocäsarea überhaupt keine Christen bis dahin gegeben

[26] cf. ALT, *PJB.*, *XXXII* (1932), p. 101. [27] ID., *ib.* p. 89 und die dort angegebene Literatur. [28] *Rev. Bibl.* XL, (1931) p. 95 sq.

[28a] Cf. GRAETZ, *Gesch.*[3] IV 316 (ib. p. 456); SEECK, *Unterg. d. ant. Welt* IV, 125; PW VII 1097. HONIGMANN setzt irrtümlich, *ib.*, 1548 s.v. Sepphoris, den Aufstand ins Jahr 339; cf. auch KLEIN, *Beiträge*, p. 41.

hatte.[29] Die zerstörte und schnell wieder aufgebaute Stadt ist 374 Verbannungsort ägyptischer Bischöfe. THEODORET bezeichnet sie (*Hist. eccl.* IV, 19) in der Zeit des Valens als von christusmörderischen Juden bewohnt. Daß die Stadt im Jahre 373 noch ganz von Juden bewohnt war, beweist der Brief des alexandrinischen Bischofs Petrus II an die aus Alexandrien verschickten Bischöfe bei FECUNDUS von Hermiane (*Pro defensione trium capitulorum* 11,2 zitiert von HARNACK *Mission und Ausbr.*[3] II 107,3). In der von HARNACK, *ib.*, p. 110 sq. gegebenen Liste von Ortschaften, an denen Christen vor 325 bezeugt sind, fehlt natürlich Diocäsarea.

Demnach legen die Nachrichten über Auftreten von Christen in Sepphoris nahe, die Inschrift nicht früher als gegen Ende des 4. Jahrh. zu datieren. Freilich könnten in der Umgebung der jüdischen Stadt schon vorher Christen gesessen haben, ebenso heimliche Anhänger der neuen Religion. Letztere sind sogar innerhalb der Stadt vorher denkbar. Die Inschrift war auch durch kein Symbol als christliche kenntlich, und das Epitheton *μακαριώτατος* dürfte in dieser Zeit nicht aufgefallen sein. Daß wir gerade einen Toten von den Christen vor uns haben, die mit Joseph von Tiberias nach Sepphoris gekommen sind, ist schwer anzunehmen. Gegen diese frühe Datierung spricht außer allen historischen Momenten die Tatsache, daß die diokletianische Ära erst im 6. Jh., nach BICKERMANN, *l. c.*, (cf. oben Anm. 20) im 5. Jh., gebräuchlich geworden ist. Die niedrige Zahl *ν'* läßt eher an das Alter des Toten denken. Dann müßte man allerdings annehmen, daß der Steinmetz *ἔτι ν'* irrtümlich statt *ἐτῶν ν'* geschrieben hat.[30] Dann wäre die Inschrift undatiert. Falls es sich wirklich um eine Datierung handelt, bliebe noch zu erwägen, ob wir es nicht mit einer bisher unbekannten Stadtära von Sepphoris zu tun haben. Diocäsarea wurde 352 gelegentlich des Judenaufstandes von Gallus gänzlich zerstört. Danach wurde die Stadt neu aufgebaut.

[29] Vgl. HARNACK, *Mission u. Ausbr. d. Christent.*[3] II p. 107. Der Wortlaut des Epiphanios läßt gewiß die Annahme zu, daß in den nicht jüdischen oder nicht rein jüdischen Punkten Galiläas Christen lebten. Cf. besonders die Worte 30. 11, 10 (p. 347, 15): *τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα ἐν Τιβεριάδι καὶ ἐν Διοκαισαρείᾳ τῇ καὶ Σεπφουρίν καὶ ἐν Ναζαρὲτ καὶ ἐν Καπερναούμ φυλάσσεται ⟨τὸ⟩ παρ' αὐτοῖς [τοῦ] μὴ εἶναι ἀλλόεθνον.* Das Wort *μάλιστα* scheint einzuschränken.

[30] Irrtümer der Art auf Steinen kommen vor. Cf. *PAES*, No. 429 *εἴτε λ'* statt *ἐτῶν λ'*. Für diese und andere wertvolle Bemerkungen bin ich Herrn M. AVI-YONAH zu Dank verpflichtet.

Vielleicht ist das Jahr 50 unserer Inschrift das 50. Jahr der neuen Stadt. Wir kämen so in die Zeit nach 402. Seit dem Jahre 374, in dem Bischöfe dorthin verbannt wurden, konnte sich eine christliche Gemeinde dort entwickelt haben. Epigraphische Momente würden einer solchen Datierung nicht widersprechen. Aber Sicherheit können nur weitere Inschriftenfunde der Gegend bringen. Jedenfalls verdient die Inschrift, die vielerlei Fragen aufgibt, Interesse. Ich hoffe, daß sie, durch diesen ersten Versuch ihrer Erklärung zur Diskussion gestellt, es wirklich finden wird.

NOTE ON THE DUWEIR EWER

S. YEIVIN

(TEL-AVIV)

The painted ewer from the rubbish heap outside the Canaanite-Egyptian temple of the New Kingdom period at Lachish, bearing a short and fragmentary legend in characters of the Sinaito-Canaanite script, has already aroused a great deal of interest, considering the fact that it only came to light last spring.[1]

There is one point, however, on which all those who have written—so far—on the subject seem to agree, namely, that the inscription is to be read from left to right.[2] Again, these attempts at deciphering take it for granted that the first three letters on the left are to be read מתן (*MTN*) "gift".[3]

All the same, it seemed incredible that an inscripton in a Semitic script, in which one could recognize at a glance a good Hebrew word, would be written from left to right, more especially so since the parent script (Egyptian), too, did not employ, properly speaking, any system of writing but from right to left.[4]

It was reasonable, therefore, to search for a method by which the inscription could be read from right to left. Once taking this for granted the solution became obvious (especially if one considered

[1] I should like to express my indebtedness to Mr. JAMES L. STARKEY, director of the Wellcome Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East, excavating at Lachish, to whose courtesy I owe the permission to discuss the ostracon.

[2] TH. H. GASTER, *QS*, 1934, 176–178: E. BURROWS, *ibid.*, pp. 179–180; also the former in "The Times" of 13. 6. 34 and A. GARDINER in "The Times" of 14. 6. 34. (the last two quoted from GASTER's article in *QS*).

[3] See note 2 above. This article was finished before I saw the October issue of *QS*; though I knew—through written communications—about the identification of the word *MTN*, I did not know at the time that both GARDINER and BURROWS have also read the word *ʾLT* at the end of the line.

[4] Hieratic is written exclusively from right to left, and this is the script that matters, when one has to consider the daily method of the ancient Egyptians. It is true that hieroglyphic inscriptions run also from left to right, but such arrangements are usually due to ornamental reasons; otherwise hieroglyphic inscriptions, too, are written from right to left.

a flattened drawing): the line is to be read *not looking* from *outside* the pot *on to its shoulder*—toward the neck, but *looking from the neck outwards*—toward the circumference (see *Pl. IV*). Then the inscription runs from right to left as it should.[5]

The correctness of this hypothesis is confirmed at once by two further features of the inscription. Looking at the last sign but one on the left (reading properly from right to left) it now becomes evident that this sign is the proto-Sinaitic[6] ל (*L*).[7] Consequently, we now have a good Hebrew word also at the left end of the inscription: אלת (*ʾLT*) "goddess". When looking now at the inscribed line one is struck by the fourth sign from the left (the one preceding the א). This way up it resembles a כ (*K*), and fits into a likely interpretation of the inscription. Taking the last word אלת as a vocative, one should expect the preceding word to end in the second person sing. suffix (either pronominal or possessive), which is כ (*K*).

Now the sixth sign counting from the right is no doubt the same letter כ (*K*),[8] slightly changed and misshapen owing to the cramped space left between the fifth sign and the horns of the animal figure on the left of the sixth sign. There is little doubt that the fifth sign from the right is to be identified with the proto-Sinaitic ש (*Š*).[9] The fourth sign from the right, three superimposed

[5] Of course, the natural way to look at an inscription on the shoulder of a pot would be from the outside; and seeing that the word *MTN* could be read the correct way up, or upside down—indifferently, it seemed a confirmation of the hypothesis that the whole line is to be read from left to right. BURROWS, *QS*, October 1934, p. 179, comments on the upside-down shape of one character at least.

The "ewer" was, no doubt, first painted, while the inscription seems to have been traced on it subsequently, though apparently not after a long lapse. The painter and scribe who inscribed the dedicatory line, either at the behest of the donor to the temple (or on his own behalf, if he was the donor), probably held the ewer between his knees and looked down on its shoulder, hence the rather curious way of writing from the neck outwards.

[6] The use of this term seems preferable to the genarally accepted "Sinaitic", since this latter term denotes in the world of Semitic epigraphy the late Aramaic-Nabataean inscriptions of the Sinai peninsula (especially in the Wâdî-l-Mukattab). See J. LEIBOVICH, *Les inscriptions proto-sinaïtiques, Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte*, t. XXIV, p. III. [7] See *op. cit.*, Fig. 14 on p. 33.

[8] That the two signs are probably identical has been recognized by Dr. ALAN H. GARDINER, according to a written communication from Mr. J. L. STARKEY.

[9] See note 7.

dots, indicates, no doubt, the end of a word (cf. the verse endings in the Bible).[10]

All that there is of the line is now, therefore, completely deciphered: תכ אלת · · · · · · · · · שכ ⁝ מתן which one can tentatively reconstruct as: · אלת · תך[עזר פעל / עבד] · שכ[ר · מתן meaning: "The gift of a remuneration for thy help (action, work), O goddess!"

The idea is, of course, that the jar contained a dedicatory gift, a thank-offering brought by some devotee of the Deity, as an expression of his gratitude for the help rendered to him in the hour of his need.[11]

Additional Note

Since this was written, a new fragmentary bowl has been discovered at Lachish, inscribed with a short legend in this Sinaito-Canaanite script. The new legend contains three new signs, one of which is certainly a *B* (ב).

[10] It might be objected that on the interpretation here offered there should have been such separation signs also after the ending *TK* and the word *ʾLT*. However it seems that such separation signs were needed only where no other indication of separation existed. In the case of the ending *TK*, as well as in the case of the word *ʾLT*, there was no need to insert such separation signs, since the words were already separated by the intervening horns etc. of the painted animal frieze. This answers also Gaster's objection to the absence of separating dots between *TK* and *ʾLT*. See *QS*, 1934, p. 177.

[11] There is also a second possible solution, which, as a matter of fact, presented itself before the one offered above, namely: "The gift of N. N. (taking the two letters *ŠK*. . . as the beginning of a n. pr.) [before (or to)] thee, O goddess!" This solution, however, seems less likely than the one offered in the text; for, apart from the fact that no Biblical n. pr. begins with *ŠK* (with the exception of the late שְׁכַנְיָה, שְׁכַנְיָהוּ, Ez. 8^{3}; 8^{5}; 10^{2}; Neh. 3^{29}; 6^{18}; 12^{3}; I Chr. 3^{21-22}; II Chr. 31^{15}; and this may be in several instances a textual corruption of שְׁבַנְיָה), there does not seem to be any Semitic preposition—*on, to, before* or the like—which would end in *T*, except the late Aramaic לָוָת, which is not likely to occur here. See also my discussion of this and the Gezer and Beth-Shemesh ostraca in *BJPES* II—*3/4*, pp. 7—9.

The second inscribed ostracon from Lachish (season 1933—1934) is very interesting, too, inasmuch as it seems to give us a Palestinian rendering of Egyptian hieratic of the *Tell-el-ʿAmarna* age (see *QS*, 1934. pl. VIII, Fig. 3).

THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE OF EL-ḤAMMEH.

E. L. Sukenik
(Jerusalem)

Introduction

The synagogue of el-Ḥammeh was discovered in the spring of the year 1932 by officials of the Department of Antiquities of the Palestine Government. The Department cleared the southern part of the mosaic floor and brought to light an Aramaic inscription and parts of another, but the work was not continued. The Hebrew University then applied to the Department for a permit to excavate the site, which was granted by the Archaeological Advisory Board at its meeting on June 1, 1932. Funds for excavation were contributed by a Jewish resident of Palestine who wishes to remain anonymous, and the balance required was supplied by the University.

Operations were begun by us on the 31st October and completed on the 15th November. Our workers were drawn from the *Hashomer Haza'ir* group, stationed at the settlement of Kinnereth, and from among the local Arabs.

We succeeded in exposing the entire area of the Synagogue and its annexes, about 700 square metres in all, as well as in clearing the central part of the Theatre, and digging a few trenches near the remains of the Roman bath at Ḥammet Selîm. Interesting excursions were also made during this time to the nearby ruins of Gadara and to the hot springs upon the left bank of the Yarmûk above el-Ḥammeh.

Before covering up the site, we repaired all the damaged parts of the mosaic floor and overlaid it with straw mats. Over these we then deposited layers of "zifzif" and earth. It is hoped that in the not too distant future a building will be erected over these remains for their preservation and the convenience of visitors.

SULEIMAN Bey NASSIF, who spent a few days with us, earned the gratitude of all by the concern he showed for our comfort. Quarters were allotted to us in the buildings erected by him.

We were also honoured by visits from Mr. M. A. YOUNG, then Officer Administering the Government of Palestine, accompanied by other officials of the Government; Dr. M. SCHLOESSINGER, then Acting Chancellor of the Hebrew University, and Dr. I. J. KLIGLER and Dr. L. A. MAYER, of the Hebrew University; and Mr. J. H. ILIFFE of the Department of Antiquities. We were also visited by a party from the American School of Oriental Research, headed by Dr. N. GLUECK, and a party of pilots of the Imperial Airways, headed by Mr. R. DE HAAS.

The visits of settlers and groups of children from the Jewish colonies about the Sea of Galilee provided variety. We were adequately compensated for the demands they made on our time by the satisfaction we got from the genuine interest they displayed in the relics of the past.

The writer was assisted in the work by Mr. J. PINKERFELD, architect, of Tel Aviv, by Mr. N. REISS, draughtsman of the Archaeological Department of the Hebrew University, and by Mr. J. SCHWEIG of Jerusalem, who skilfully did the photographic work.

CHAPTER I

THE SITE, ITS HISTORY AND ITS REMAINS
(Plate I)

The plain of el-Ḥammeh is a semicircular widening of the gorge of the River Yarmûk. It is bounded by steep walls of rock on its west, north and east sides, and by gentler ascents, leading up to Umm Qeis, the ruins of ancient Gadara, on the south. Along its east, south and west borders flows the Yarmûk (Fig. 1).

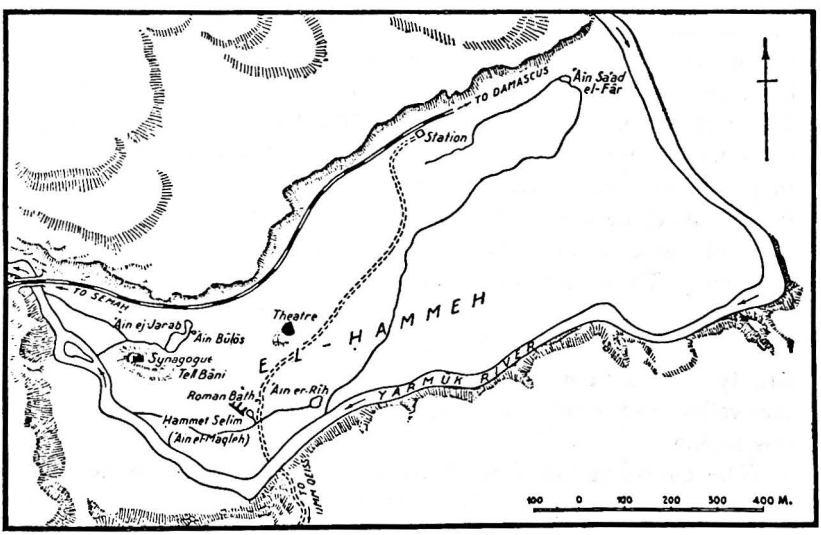


Fig. 1. The Plain of el-Ḥammeh (according to SCHUMACHER)

According to SCHUMACHER's measurements,[1] the plain is 1450 m. long, its average width 500 m. and its total area 72.5 hectares. It lies at an average depth of 146 metres below the level of the

[1] G. SCHUMACHER, "Beschreibung des Dschōlān", *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Palästina Vereins,* Vol. IX (1886), p. 296; IDEM, *The Jaulān,* London, 1888, p. 152.

Mediterranean Sea,[1] and therefore in a wider sense forms part of the Jordan Valley depression.

The mountains about el-Ḥammeh consist of calcareous rock of the Upper Cretaceous formation. The gorge of the Yarmûk contains in addition basalt and rubble of the Diluvial Age. The large masses of travertine that cover the entire plain of el-Ḥammeh are of late diluvial and alluvial origin, and are still being formed. The first geological survey of the ground was made in 1885 by NOETLING,[2] who is the author of the geological map reproduced herewith. (Fig. 2). The relation between diluvial and alluvial formations given by NOETLING has been somewhat modified by the results of PICARD's exploration of the region in 1932.[3]

Marching upstream along the Yarmûk from the mountain edge of the Jordan Valley above ed-Duweir up to el-Ḥammeh, one may observe that, whereas the bed of the stream is of limestone, the gorge is flanked by walls of basalt, of a height of from 15 to 30 m. which in places reach down to within 1–2 m. of the level of the stream. This thick layer of so-called Ruqqâd lava has been cut through by the diluvial erosion of the Yarmûk as with a saw (see Profiles A–D). In places there are pockets of gravel of the Lower Diluvium some metres thick, between the limestone and basalt strata. The limestone of the Cretaceous formation is greatly broken up, dislocated and bent. These tectonic disturbances by which the basin of el-Ḥammeh came into being, were not shared by the gravel and basalt. From this circumstance NOETLING deduced that "the basin was already formed in its details before the Ruqqâd lava flowed down the valley and before hot springs bubbled out of the ground in this region."

The course of the Yarmûk from el-Ḥammeh to its issue out of the mountains reveals the following evolution. Following the formation of Palestine during the Tertiary Period and the consolidation of the previous chalk formation, there began, at the beginning

[1] C. STEUERNAGEL, "Der ʿAdschlūn", *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal. Vereins*, Vol. XLIX (1927), p. 128.

[2] F. NOETLING, "Geologische Skizze der Umgebung von el-Ḥammi", *ibid.*, Vol. X (1886), pp. 59ff.

[3] L. PICARD, "Zur Geologie des mittleren Jordantales", *ibid.*, Vol. LV. (1932), pp. 221ff.

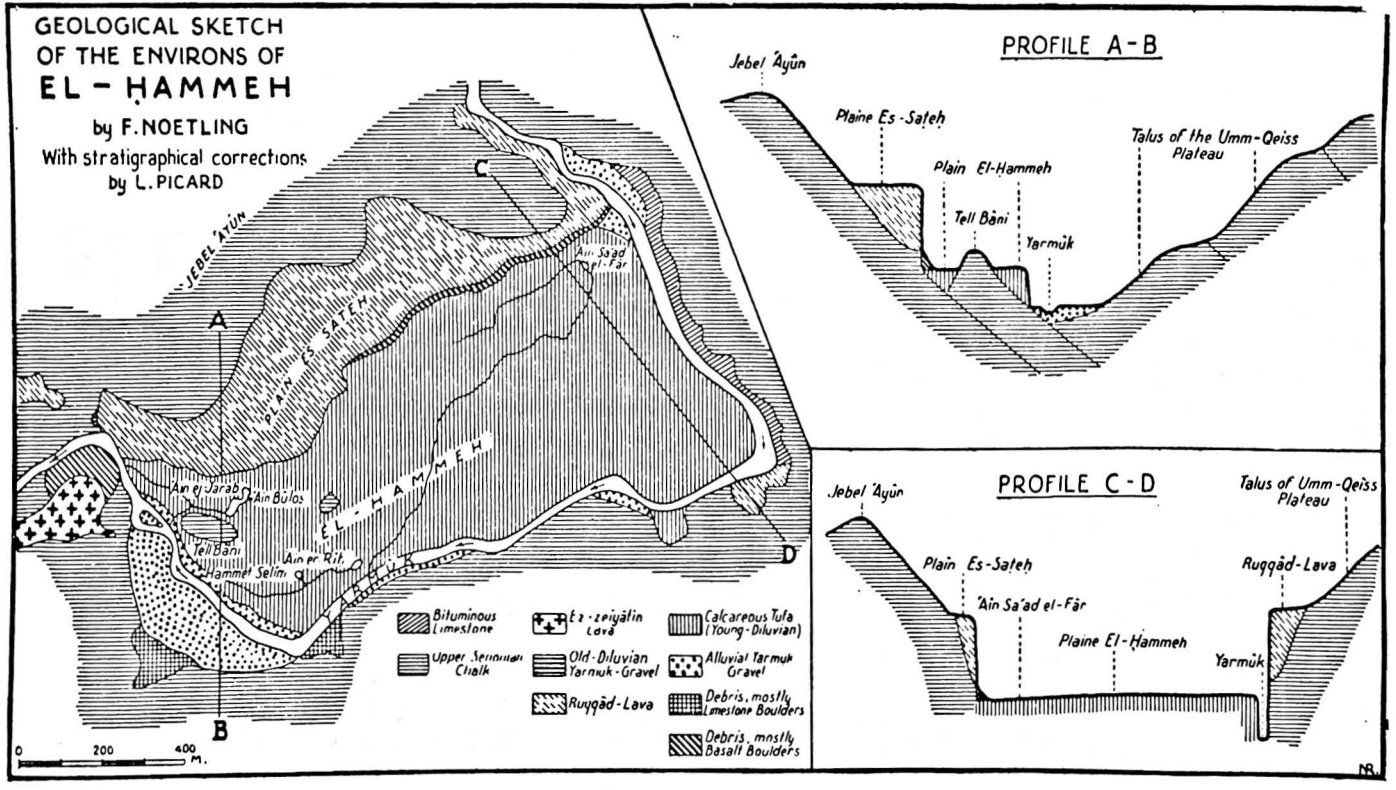


Fig. 2. Geological Sketch of el-Ḥammeh

of the Diluvial Age, an era of violent movements of the earth's crust. It was as a result of these that the region of the Jordan Valley collapsed into a huge depression, the "Jordan Valley Depression." At the same time minor depressions developed in the neighbourhood, one of which is the basin of el-Ḥammeh. In the following period, which still belongs to the Lower Diluvial, destructive erosion ate into the loosened soft limestone of the Cretaceous formation. The middle course of the Yarmûk had consequently already been deepened to a level not many metres above the present bottom of the valley. The course of the Early Diluvial valley bottom was preserved until a very late date in an extraordinary manner, namely by a stream of Ruqqâd lava flowing into the valley at that time, covering the gravel of the Early Diluvial valley bottom and filling the hollow with a layer of basalt 30 metres thick. It was with great difficulty that the stream, during the ensuing Late Diluvial era, dug into this hard, resistent mass. Having once dug a bed into it, however, it naturally was prevented by the consistency of the rock from leaving it, so that it continued to cut a trench between two sharp parallel walls right down to the Early Diluvial gravel, and still further down to the limestone rock. In this part of its course, i.e. below el-Ḥammeh, therefore, the bed of the stream lies already 2–3 metres below the basalt; whilst in the basin of el-Ḥammeh itself, where as early as the Diluvial period the stream was able to carry on its erosive action largely outside the basalt layer, i.e., in the soft limestone, its bed is now 15 m below the base of the basalt.

The origin of the hot springs of el-Ḥammeh is no doubt genetically connected with the volcanic activity of the Early Diluvial. The hot springs are only the final stage of the volcanic activity that was once, during the Early Diluvial, capable of covering the entire Ḥaurân and parts of Jôlân with large masses of lava, of which the layer of Ruqqâd-lava rock at el-Ḥammeh is a part. The travertine sediments of the thermal springs have covered the entire plain of el-Ḥammeh. They must date from at least Late Diluvial times, since they only appear below the eroded basalt and only reach a few metres above the modern river-oasis (see Profile C–D). The travertine masses of el-Ḥammeh and Beisân are therefore of the same age.[1]

[1] The foregoing geological data were kindly supplied by my colleague, Dr. L. Picard.

At the western end of this plain, on the right bank of the Yarmûk, four hot springs issue from the ground. The most westerly of them, known as Ḥammet ej-Jarab (*Pl. IIa*), bubbles up, releasing a good deal of gas, from several holes in the bottom of an oval basin; whence the water flows westwards into the Yarmûk. The temperature of the water in the basin is about 40° C. It is beautifully clear, of a deep blue colour, but smells and tastes strongly of hydrogen sulphide. Less than two metres away is ʿAin Bûlos, a spring of cold, sweet water, which flows into the basin of Ḥammet ej-Jarab. The difference in temperature between the two springs is 15° C.

220 metres southeast of Ḥammet ej-Jarab is situated Ḥammet Selîm, or el-Maqleh. It is the hottest spring in the valley, having a temperature of almost 50° C., and is reputed to be therapeutically the most efficacious. The water, like that of Ḥammet ej-Jarab, bubbles up from the bottom of a round basin, is crystal-clear and of a blue colour, and smells very strongly of hydrogen sulphide. It flows down in cascades to join the channel of Ḥammet er-Rîḥ.

The thermal spring called Ḥammet er-Rîḥ is situated 150 m. to the east of the preceding and only about 25 m. north of the section of the Yarmûk which skirts the southern edge of the plain. It too wells up from the bottom of a basin. Its temperature is about 34° C. Instead of flowing southward into the river by the shortest way, its waters pursue a westward course and join the Yarmûk, after its northward bend, at a distance of 150 metres from the source. On the way, as indicated above, they are joined by the outflow of Ḥammet Selîm.

In the northeast corner of the plain, (*Pl. IIb*), about 1 km from Ḥammet ej-Jarab, is a hot spring, ʿAin Saʿad el-Fâr, also called ʿAin es-Sakhneh. Its temperature is about 29° C. It is colourless and odourless, and has not the foul taste of the others. It follows a course right across the greater part of the plain and empties into the Yarmûk east of Ḥammet Selîm.

The gorge both above and below the plain, and especially the view of the plain from the mountains, are of surpassing beauty. Even more beautiful than el-Ḥammeh, however, is the landscape at the second group of hot springs about $2^1/_2$ km to the northeast, on the left bank of the Yarmûk. Though less celebrated than the waters of el-Ḥammeh, these also possess therapeutic value. The

photograph (*Pl. IIIa*) shows one of these springs turning a flour-mill with its current. The springs of this group all fall into the Yarmûk from a height of some score of metres in picturesque cascades (*Pl. III. b*). The left wall of the canyon at Muḫaybeh abounds in stalactite caves (*Pl. IV a*). All in all, this is one of the most picturesque spots in Palestine.

In view of the fertility of the plain and the abundance of water, it is not surprising to find that it was occupied early in the historical period. Near its western end rises a hillock called *Tell Bâni*[1] by the Arabs. Early Bronze Age pottery was found here by ALBRIGHT in 1929,[2] and during our excavation we picked up a large number of Early and Middle Bronze sherds at various spots on the mound. No trace of Late Bronze pottery was found upon the surface. Most numerous were the specimens of Early Bronze pottery with a thick red burnish and others with criss-cross lines; the Middle Bronze Age was less well represented. The site would therefore seem to have been inhabited mainly in the Early Bronze and at the beginning of the Middle Bronze periods. The same conclusion was reached by FISHER and GLUECK,[3] who made soundings in the tell immediately after our excavations of the Synagogue.

Although, therefore, it cannot be definitely asserted until systematic excavations have been carried out, it seems that there was no occupation in the Late Bronze Period. This circumstance is unfavourable to ROWE's identification of the Ḥammat mentioned in the Egyptian stela of Seti I at Beisân (1.15) with this spot.[4]

For the same reason, and on account of the context as well,

[1] The name *Tell el-Ḥammeh*, which is met with in Palestine literature in connection with this place, is not employed by the people there. The plain is called *el-Ḥammeh (el-Ḥammi)* and the mound *Tell Bâni*; *bani* is the Aramaic בני, באני, which in turn is an adaptation of Greek *βαλανεῖον*, "bath", "bathing".

[2] W. F. ALBRIGHT, "New Israelite and Pre-Israelite Sites," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 35, p. 12.

[3] N. GLUECK, "The Archaeological Exploration of el-Ḥammeh on the Yarmûk", *ibid.*, 49, pp. 22f.

[4] A. ROWE, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 26; against this cf. ALBRIGHT *l.c.*, and *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Vol. VI, pp 42 f.

the view of the Babylonian Râbâ (d. 352) that חַמַּת (Jos. 19) זו חמי גדר (B. Meg. 6a) is certainly wrong, and the opinion of the Palestinian R. Yôḥânân[1] (d. 279), *ibid.*, is far more plausible: ("חמת means Tiberias. And why is it called חמת? On account of the hot springs (חמי) of Tiberias").

What is certain is that it is the locality with which we are dealing that is meant by חמי גדר in the text just cited, or חמתה דגדר in Y. Erub. 23c, 1. 36; Qidd. 64d, 1.20; or simply חמתה in the phrase בני גדר . . . . . וחמתה, e.g. Y. ʿErub. 23d bot., or חמתן in the parallel B. 60a; or חמת גדר (so for ח'גרר) Y. Sabb. 16c, etc., or מי גדר B., *ibid.*, 109a.[2]

In Talmudic times, it was evidently a celebrated resort. We find the Patriarch R. Judah (d. *circa* end of second century C.E.) there (Y. Sabb. 7a),[3] and we also find him (Y. Erubin 23d) laying down the law for visits from Migdal (i.e., מגדל גדר) to Ḥammath and vice versa, and from Gadara to Ḥammath and vice versa, on the Sabbath.[4] The fact, moreover, that in the former case the Patriarch's decision was based upon the evidence of an old shepherd regarding the previous practice of the inhabitants in the matter goes to show that Jews had been living at Ḥammath at least for some time. How well the spa was patronised may also be seen from the following conversation between R. Meir (middle of the second century C.E.) and a heretic (Qohel. Rabbah to 5:10, s. 1)[5]:

Heret.: Who will provide food for them (the resurrected)?

R.M.: Have you ever visited Ḥammath-by-Gadara?—Yes.—Both during

1 חמת זו טבריא. ולמה נקרא שמה חמת? — על שום חמי טבריא.

2 The Talmudic references to this place are discussed by H. GRAETZ, "Notizen zur Topographie Palästinas", *Monatschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums*, V. XXIX (1880), pp. 487 ff; S. KRAUSS, *Bad u. Badewesen im Talmud* (Sonderabdruck aus "*Haḳedem*", Vols. I, II, (1908) pp. 26 ff); S. KLEIN, *Die Barajta der vierundzwanzig Priesterabteilungen*, 1909, pp. 79 ff.

3 עולין היינו עם רבי לחמת גדר וכו׳

4 אמר רבי ירמיה מששה ברועה אחד זקן שבא ואמר לפני רבי: זכור אני שהיו בני מגדל עולין לחמתה ומהלכין את כל חמתה ומגיעין לחצר החיצונה עד הגשר. והתיר רבי שיהיו בני מגדל עולין לחמתה ומהלכין את כל חמתה ומגיעין לחצר החיצונה עד הגשר. ועוד התיר רבי שיהיו בני גדר יורדין לחמתה ועולין לגדר ובני חמתה אינן עולין לגדר.

5 א"ל: אזלת לחמת גרר (read גדר) מימיך? — א"ל אין. א"ל: בענתה ודלא בענתה? — א"ל: בענתה ודלה בענתה. א"ל: ואיך הוו מזונין חמן שכיחין? — א"ל: שכיחין. בענתה או דלא בענתה? — א"ל: בענתה ודלא בענתה. דבגין אוכלוסין מייתין לזבין ולזבון. א"ל: כך מאן דמייתי אוכלוסייא מייתי מזוניהן דכתיב בשלמה: "ברבות הטובה רבו אוכליה וכו׳".

the busy season and the dead season?—Both.—And how was the place off for food?—There was enough.—Both in the busy season and the dead season?—Both in the busy season and in the dead season; for because of the people, food is brought thither to be sold.—Well, He who will bring the people will bring the food. For as Solomon has written: "When goods increase, they are increased that eat them". (Qoh. 5:10).

Thus both "the season" and "the crowds" of Ḥammath were far-famed. As regards the former, it may be remarked that the climate of the valley is delightful in winter, but unpleasantly hot the summer.

A typical feature of Roman bath life is mentioned incidentally in connection with Hammath. In Y. Sabb. 5d, R. Ḥama bar Ḥanîna (late third century C.E.) relates[1] how his father and he went up to חמת גדר "and we were served eggs as small as crab-apples and delicious as sweetmeats."[2]

Outside the rabbinic literature, there are still earlier references to the place.[3] The earliest of all is in Strabo (63–19 B.C.), who states (Lib. XVI 764, 45) that in the district of Gadara there was a kind of noxious swamp-water that caused the cattle that drank of it to lose their horns and hoofs.[4] JOSEPHUS mentions Gadara several times without hinting at the hot springs in its neighbourhood. EUSEBIUS[5] knows of a place of hot springs called *Ἀμαθά* or *Ἐμμαθά* below Gadara, whilst JEROME[6] makes the same statement about "villa in vicina Gadarae nomine Ammatha ubi calidae aquae erumpunt." Origen in Joh. 4[41] says, "Gadara is a town of Judaea near which are the famous hot springs".[7] A Greek writer of the end of the

1 והביאו לפנינו בצים קטנים כחזורין וטעמן יפה כפנקריסין.

2 Cf. DECHENT, "Heilbäder und Badeleben in Palästina," (*Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Pal. Ver.*, Vol. VII (1884). pp. 173 ff) to the effect that lettuce, eggs and sea-fish were eaten at thermal baths, also Mart. V. 70 and SENECA, ep. 56, who state that there were cookshops around the baths.

3 Cf. RELAND, *Palaestina*, p. 775; DECHENT. *l.c.*; SCHÜRER, *Geschichte d. jüdischen Volkes*[4], Vol. II. p. 158; ABEL, "Exploration de la Vallée des Jourdain," *Revue Biblique*, 1911, pp. 428 f.; *idem*, *Geographie de la Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 458f.

4 *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Γαδαρίδι ὕδωρ μοχθηρὸν λιμναῖον οὗ τὰ γευσάμενα κτήνη τρίχας καὶ ὁπλὰς καὶ κέρατα ἀποβάλλει.*

5 Onomasticon, *ad voc. Αἰμάθ* and *Γάδαρα* (ed. Klostermann, pp. 22, 74).

6 *op. cit.*, pp. 23,75.

7 *Γάδαρα γὰρ πόλις μέν ἐστιν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, περὶ ἣν τὰ διαβόητα θερμὰ τυγχάνει.*

fourth century[1] states that the thermal baths of Gadara were second only to those of Baïae in the whole Roman empire. He also relates how his master (the neo-Platonist Jamblichus, c. 350 C.E.) had discussions with his apostles while bathing there; just as writers and philosophers used to dispute and dictate at the baths in Rome. From one of his stories about his master we learn that two of the most highly prized springs were called Eros and Anteros. The name of Eros was borne by a number of springs in antiquity, and this is not the only indication we have that the life of the baths was essentially pagan. Epiphanius[2] relates of his time that an annual festive gathering (*πανήγυρις*) was held there, which he regarded as a device of Satan.

The next mention of the place occurs in the sixth century, when Gadara was already the seat of a bishop and the baths were called the Springs of Elijah (Thermae Heliae). The writer ANTONINUS MARTYR states that they were especially beneficial to lepers. There was also a guesthouse (*xenodochium*) there for pilgrims.[3]

With the Arab conquest this name too disappears and gives place to *el-Ḥammah* or *el-Ḥammi*. The beautiful Roman bath-houses are in ruins, but the fame of the waters is hardly diminished.

AL-MUQADDASI,[4] the famous Arab geographer of the tenth century, after describing the thermal baths of Tiberias, writes as follows:

> "And in this district there is a place of hot water called el-Ḥammeh, (Cod. C الحمى) which is exceedingly hot. If one bathe in them three days and then in other, cold water, he will, by the grace of God, be

[1] EUNAPIUS, *Vita Jamblichi (apud* Reland, p. 775)... *ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδαρα. θερμὰ δέ ἐστι λουτρὰ τῆς Συρίας, τῶν γε κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐν Βαΐαις δεύτερα.*

[2] *Haeres.*, XXX, 7.

[3] GEYER, *Itin. Hierosol.*, 163: *ad milia tria* (of Gadara) *sunt aquas calidas quae appellantur thermas Heliae, ubi leprosi mundantur, qui e xenodochio habent de publicum delicias.*

[4] AL-MUQADDASI (ed. de Goeje), p. 185,7:

وفي هذه الكورة ماء مسخن يسمى الحمة حار من اغتسل فيه ثلاثة ايام ثم اغتسل ماء اخر بارد وبه جرب او قروح او باسور او اي علة تكون برأ باذن الله وسمعت الطبرانيين يذكرون انه كان عليها بما يدور بيوت كل بيت لعلة فكل من به تلك العلة واغتسل فيه برأ الى وقت ارسطاطاليس ثم سأل ملك ذلك الزمان هدم هذه البيوت لئلا يستغنوا عن الاطباء وصحت لي هذه الحكاية لان كل من دخله من اصحاب العلل وجب ان يخوض الماء كله ليوافق موضع شفائه.

healed of any scab, swelling, fistula or other ailment with which he may be afflicted.

"I have heard it said by the people of Tiberias that the water was formerly surrounded by houses, each one for a particular ailment, so that those afflicted with that ailment went thither to bathe and were cured, and so it continued down to the time of Aristotle. The latter, however requested the sovereign of those times to demolish those houses, that people might not consider the physicians superfluous. This story has been verified by me, for any afflicted person entering the water must wade through all of it in order to cover the part that is adapted to his own healing."

YÂQÛT, the celebrated Arab geographer of the thirteenth century, refers to el-Ḥammeh in two passages:

(1)[1] "ʿAli b. Abu Bakr al-Harawi says: 'The hot springs of Tiberias, which are said to be among the wonders of the world, are not those before the gate of Tiberias by the side of the lake, for I have seen many like them in the world. But what is indeed one of the wonders of the world is a spot in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, east of a village called al-Ḥuseiniyye[1] in a valley. It is an ancient structure said to have been erected by Solomon, the son of David, in the shape of a, temple (هيكل), in front of which the waters issue. It used to issue from twelve springs, of which each one was specialised for a particular disease, and if anyone afflicted with that disease bathed in it he was healed, by the grace of God. The water is exceedingly hot, clear, sweet and of a pleasant odour, and people go thither to be healed. And there are springs which flow into a large hot receptacle in which people swim, and its benefits are evident. That which I have seen there is only comparable to الشرمية,[2] which is mentioned in its place.'"[3]

[1] YÂQÛT (ed. Wüstenfeid), III, 509, l. 22 sq.

قال علي بن ابى بكر الهروى اما حمامات طبرية التي يقال عنها انها من عجائب الدنيا فليست هذه التي على باب طبرية على جانب بحيرتها فان مثل هذه كثيراً رأينا في الدنيا واما التي من عجائب الدنيا فهو موضع في اعمال طبرية شرقي قرية يقال لها الحسينية في واد وهي عمارة قديمة يقال انها من عمارة سليمان بن داود وهو هيكل يخرج الماء من صدره وقد كان يخرج من اثنتي عشرة عينا كل عين مخصوصة بمرض اذا اغتسل فيها صاحب ذلك المرض برئ باذن الله تعالى والماء شديد الحرارة جداً صاف عذب طيب الرائحة ويقصده المرضى يستشفون به وعيون تصب في موضع كبير حر يسبح الناس فيه ومنفعته ظاهرة وما رأينا ما يشابهه الا الشرميه المذكور في موضعه.

[2] Text: الحسية corrected in notes; cf. AL-QAZWÎNÎ's citation of the same passage.

[3] "No place by that name is known"—editor's note. The text is no doubt corrupt.

[4] The passage is reproduced in QAZWÎNÎ, *Athâr al-Bilâd*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 145,7.

(2) [1] in Article طبريه (= Tiberias), he says:

"And in its vicinity there is a hot spring in which leprous people bathe, and in a part thereof next to the Jordan Valley and between it and Beisân are the hot springs of Solomon b. David, which are said to be beneficial for every illness."

The cosmographer DIMISHQI, writing at the beginning of the fourteenth century,[2] states that

"From the hot springs too, that rise at a village called Jadar—and where there are waters for healing every sort of disease that men suffer from—there comes down a great river that joins the Jordan, after it has left the Lake of Tiberias, at a place called al-Majâmiʿ in the Ghôr."

The Jewish scholar ESTORI HA-PARḤI (early fourteenth century) mentions Ḥammath several times in his geography of Palestine, '*Kaphtor wa-Pheraḥ*'. On p. 193[3] (ed. Luncz) he says:

"To this day חמתן lies below (Gadara) close to the hot springs and is called el-Ḥammi (אל-חמי). It is shaped like an oval hall (אכסדרה, ἐξέδρα) two thousand cubits in length and open on the west side, and the Yarmûk enters it on the eastern side in a southerly direction, coming from the mountains of Gôlân. The valley lies to the north of Gadara at the foot of the wall, and the basins of the hot springs are in the north [a mistake for "south"] of the valley; and a bowshot away to the west they join the Yarmûk and descend into the Jordan by a sort of gateway or opening."

The spot was rediscovered at the beginning of the 19th century by SEETZEN, who set out thither from Gadara but was prevented by floods from crossing the Yarmûk. He could, however, see the steam rising from the springs.

In 1812 BURCKHARDT, setting out from Semakh, was actually able to visit the place and write a detailed description of it. Since then it has been visited and described frequently.[4]

[1] YAQÛT (ed. Wüstenfeld) III, 510, l. 11:
وبقربها حمة يقتمس فيها الجرب وبها مما يلي الغور بينها وبين بيسان حمة سليمان بن داوود (عم) ويزعمون انها نافعة من كل داء

[2] AD-DIMISHQI (ed. Mehren), p. 108:
ويخرج من الحمة التي لقرية يقال لها جدر و فى هذه العين منافع كثيرة لامراض كثيرة في الناس يخرج من الحمة نهر كبير يلتقي هو والخارج من بحيرة طبرية الى مكان يقال له المجامع في الغور

[3] עד היום חמתן למטה סמוך אל החמים וקורין לה אל־חמי. והיא עשויה אכסדרה עגולה כאלפים אמה, פתוחה למערב והירמוך נכנס לתוכה מן המזרח ובא מן הגולן בין ההרים. והבקעה היא לצפון גדר תחת החומה ובריכות החמים הם לצפון הבקעה וכמטחוי קשת למערב נפגשים עם ירמך, יורדים אל הירדן לכמו שעה ודומה זה אל שער או אל פתח.

[4] C. RITTER, *Vergleichende Erdkunde der Sinai-Halbinsel, von Palästina und Syrien*, Vol. II, 1, p. 377.

El-Ḥammeh, though east of the Sea of Galilee, is included neither under the French Mandate for Syria nor under the British Mandate for Transjordan, but under the British Mandate for Palestine, forming, as it does, a sort of wedge between the Ḥedjaz Railway, which serves as the southern limit of the former, and the Yarmûk, which is the northern frontier of Transjordan. After a long period of neglect, its once famous springs have entered upon a new era with the granting by the Palestine Government of a concession for their exploitation to Suleiman Naṣṣīf Bey; the latter is displaying much energy and initiative in attracting guests thither by constructing new basins and providing modern hygienic facilities and accommodation (hotels, villas) for those wishing to take advantage of the healing virtues of their waters.

The Talmudic literature knows of a spot by the name of מגדל גדר, B. Taʿan. 20a, or just מגדל (cf. above, p. 9) near Ḥammath. GRAETZ,[1] apparently with reason, identified it with the מגדל צבעייא which appears in Qohel Rabbah to I:8 as a place of healing.[2] On a hillock twenty to twenty-five minutes' walk to the southeast of the hot springs of Muḫaybeh[3] which have already been mentioned, and to which I was directed by the people of the place,[4] I found some foundations of buildings, cisterns etc. (*Pl. IV b*). The potsherds scattered over the place are of the Roman and Byzantine periods, and near the hill there is a road which leads to Gadara. As there are no ruins anywhere else in the vicinity of the springs of Muḫaybeh, I am inclined to locate Migdal (= Tower) by Gadara at this site. The name may have been given to it on account of its elevated position, or else there may have been an actual tower there, for there are the foundations of a large edifice on this hill.

Fragments of Roman and later architecture are scattered all over the western half of the plain. Close to Ḥammet Selîm are the

[1] "Notizen zur Topographie Palästinas," "*Monatschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft d. Judentums,*" XXIX (1880), pp. 487 ff.; see also KLEIN, *Die Barajta der vierundzwanzig Priesterabteilungen,* pp. 76 ff.

[2] ר׳ יונתן נשר שעריה אזל להרא מגדלא דצבעייא מתאסייא. צבעייא means "the bathers".

[3] DALMAN (*Palästinajahrbuch,* VIII (1913), p. 54) rightly remarked, that this place should be located near the springs of Muḫaybeh and not between el-Ḥammeh and Gadara, as KLEIN (*op. cit.*) in the attached map did.

[4] The place is called by the people of Muḫaybeh *Dûr Dawaid.*

remains of a massive vault of the Roman bath-house. BUCKINGHAM,[1] who visited el-Ḥammeh in 1816, gives a sketch of the building as he saw it (Fig. 3). Although some of the details may be due to inaccurate observation, the picture when compared with the present state of the ruins, enables one to form an idea of their progressive deterioration. The whole of the upper story is no longer extant. SCHUMACHER's plan[2] also indicates more extensive remains than are now to be found of this edifice. Nature, through earthquakes and

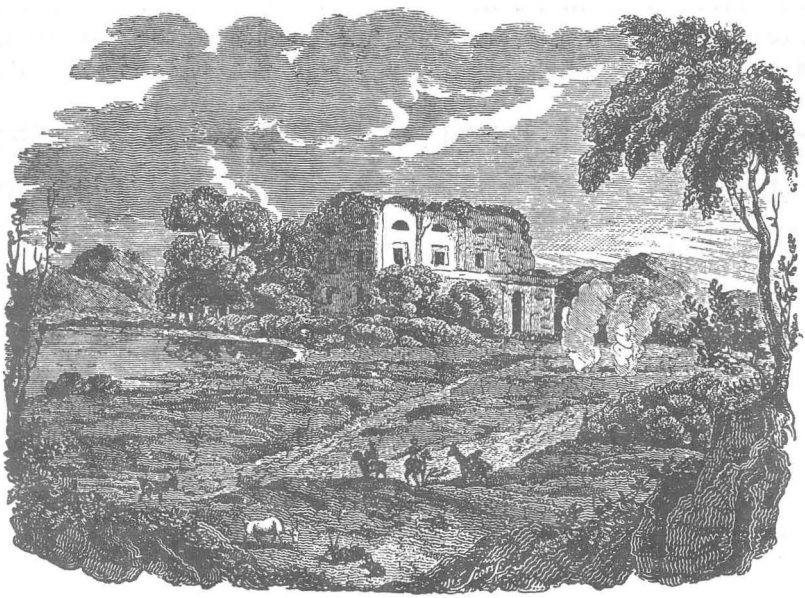


Fig. 3. el-Ḥammeh. remains of Roman bath (from BUCKINGHAM, *Travels* etc.)

other causes, and man, by utilising the ancient masonry anew for his own purposes, have contributed alike to effacing the traces of antiquity. By clearing the section of the interior under the still extant vault, and digging trenches to ascertain the length of the walls, we were able to obtain a notion of the tremendous proportions of the complete building. The numerous scattered shafts, capitals and bases apparently also belong to it. No doubt systematic

[1] J. S. BUCKINGHAM, *Travels in the countries of Bashan and Gilead, east of the river Jordan; including a visit to the cities of Geraza and Gamala in the Decapolis.* London 1821, p. 441.

[2] *The Jauldn,* plan of el-Ḥammeh.

excavation can reveal a good many other parts of this once imposing pile.

Plate Va shows part of the superstructure of a building still standing near Ḥammet Selîm. Our sounding near this ruin revealed a large hall whose southern end was rounded and seems to have been surmounted by a dome (Fig. 4). There is an opening in the wall at this end, and to the left of this is a vaulted niche. Within this niche we found a smaller recess which must have served as a closet. Digging in the débris in front of this niche, we found hot water at a depth of 5.20 m. This hall was therefore the

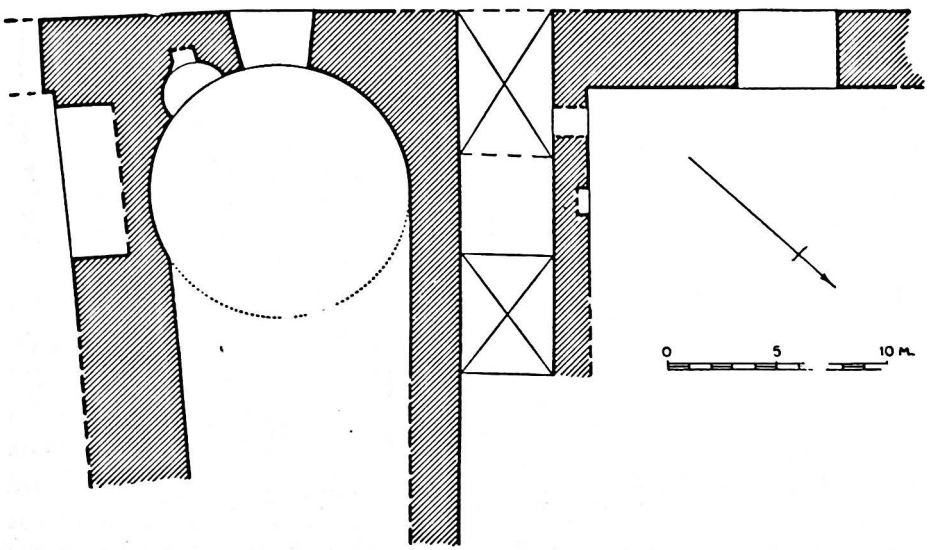


Fig. 4. el-Ḥammeh. Plan of Caldarium.

caldarium. West of it, we found a row of chambers roofed with cruciform vaults alternating with smaller roofless chambers. Contiguous with these cells, and communicating with them by a small doorway, was an extensive hall. The southern wall of this hall was 3.80 m. thick, and contained a doorway 4.60 m. wide. Assuming that this doorway occupied the middle of the wall, the width of the hall would be 18.40 m. We were unable to reach the western wall or the other end of the hall owing to the large piles of collapsed masonry. It looks as if this hall were the *apodyterium.*

At various spots about Ḥammet Selîm, depressions are to be

seen in the ground, indicating that the ceilings of chambers below the surface of the ground had fallen in. One such depression, about 46 m. northeast of the southern end of the *caldarium*, was dug out by us. We found a handsomely built barrel-vaulted passage, 2 m. wide and 3.70 m. high, which looks as though it served for communication between two buildings (Fig.5). We cleared a section 5 m. long until we came to a low opening without doors which was secondarily blocked with masonry. We only had time to break through a part of this partition and to ascertain that the floor of the adjoining

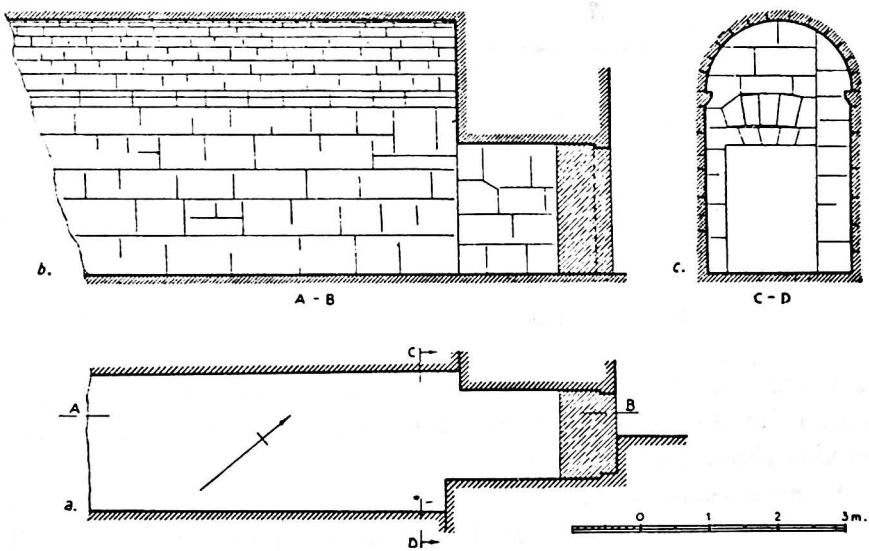


Fig. 5. el-Ḥammeh. Roman bath, Plan and Section through the passage.

room was higher than that of the passageway. 47 m. to the north of the *caldarium* we dug out another of these depressions and found remains of another vaulted passage interrupted by a transverse wall with a doorway.

Besides the mound (*Tell Bâni*) to which we have referred further back, there is a smaller hillock to the east of it, about eleven metres high. It seems to be entirely artificial, and was evidently erected to serve as a site for the Roman theatre which stands on its eastern slope. (The top of this hillock is now occupied by a police station).

A plan of this building (*Pl. Vb*) was sketched by SCHUMACHER.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 154, Fig. 54.

But while the latter was evidently able to see more of it than is now above the ground (Fig. 6), we had the advantage of being able to clear the middle part of the *cavea* — the only portion surviving — and the stage, and are consequently in a position to correct SCHUMACHER's diagram. The cavea consisted of 15 rows of seats (Fig. 7) (SCHUMACHER's plan only shows 12); the seats are 60–70 cm. deep (Fig. 9a). There were no gangways running either between or through the rows. The audience faced northeast, and so never had the sun in their eyes after midday (SCHUMACHER's orientation is not exact). The seating capacity was from 1500 to 2000. The highest of the extant rows[1] is 6,60 m. above the orchestra (Fig. 7); the radius of the orchestra is about 13 m. Between the orchestra and the stage were side-entrances (*parodoi*) about 3.60 m. wide.

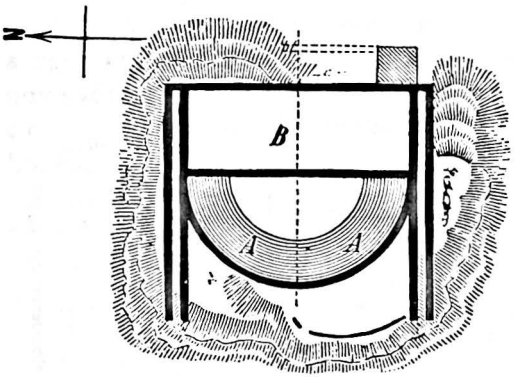


Fig. 6. El-Ḥammeh. Plan of Theatre (according to SCHUMACHER)

In our excavation we were able to trace part of the front and back walls of the stage, as well as the outer, northwestern corner. The height of the latter above the stage was about 1.50 m. The stage was as long as the diameter of the orchestra and 5.80 m. deep.[2] Its front edge was 1.80 m. above the orchestra, but its floor was inclined so that it was 0.50 m. higher at the back. On clearing the débris from the seats, we discovered a number of mason's marks,[3] which are reproduced in Fig. 8; the number underneath each mark is that of the row, counting from the bottom.

About the theatre are scattered sundry fragments of architecture

[1] The heights were measured from the rock bottom of the orchestra, but the latter may have been paved.

[2] SCHUMACHER, not having excavated, added this space to the stage.

[3] These signs are to be compared with similar ones found by SCHUMACHER, (*Northern ʿAjlûn*, p. 73), on building stones from the Western Theatre at Umm Qeis.

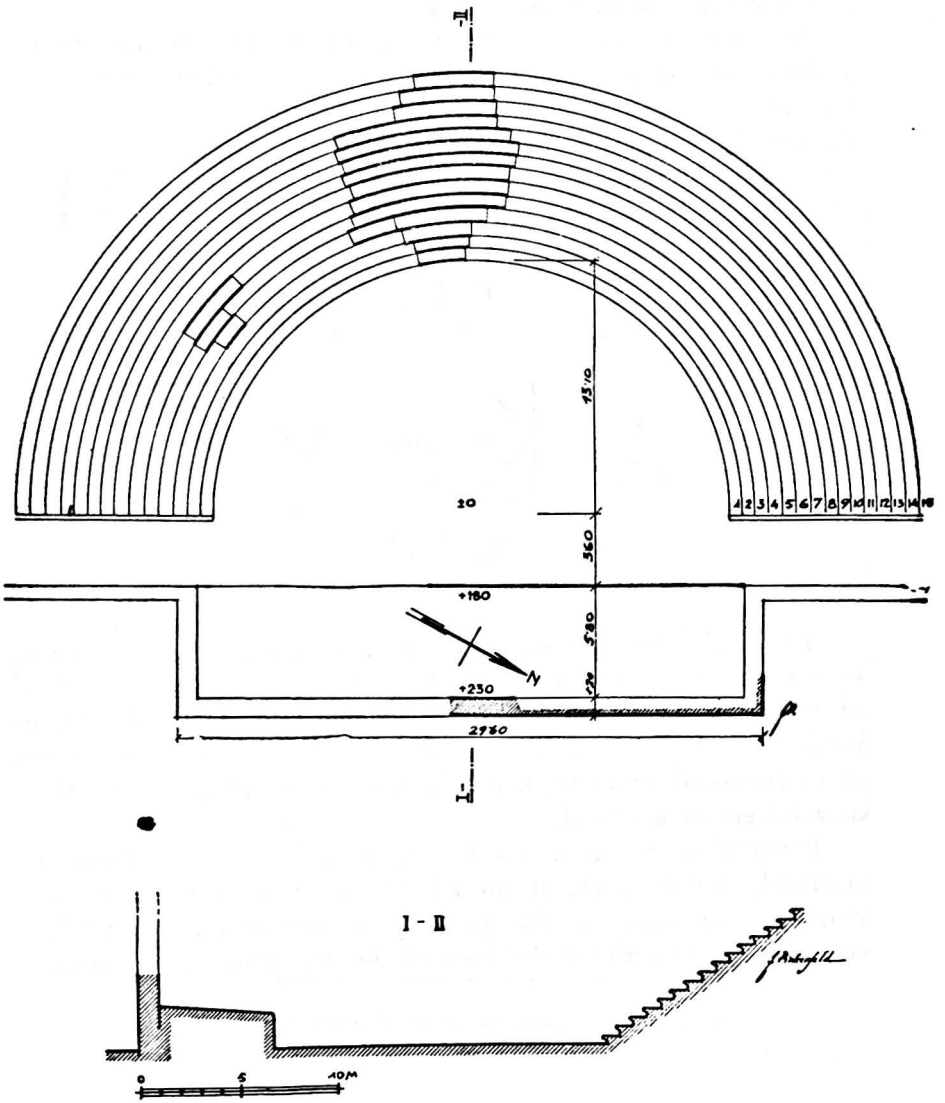


Fig. 7. el-Ḥammeh. Theatre, Plan and Section.

but it is now difficult to determine exactly where they belong. They seem to be derived from the stage and its entablature and from the top row of seats (Fig. 9).

SCHUMACHER was able to recognise next to the stage the remains of the dressing-rooms and wardrobes, as well as a double supporting wall on the east and west sides of the building. Our clearing of the site did not reveal any trace of these features.

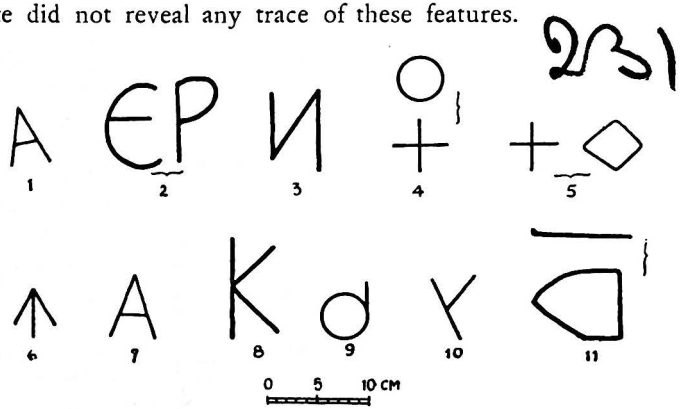


Fig. 8. el-Ḥammeh. Theatre, masons' marks.

Tell Bâni, where the ruins of the synagogue of Ḥammath stand, rises from the plain to a height of about 26 metres above the level of the plain on its south side and about 20 m. above that on its north side. On its summit SCHUMACHER[1] could discern the outlines of an elongated structure, which he guessed might have been those of a temple or a citadel.

It would seem that in the Roman period the hill itself was not occupied; which made it an all the more attractive site for a synagogue in view of the pagan character of the town.[2] The synagogue was built on the crest of the hill, more to the west.

[1] *The Jaulân*, p. 152.

[2] Cf. SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1930, London 1934, pp. 49 f.

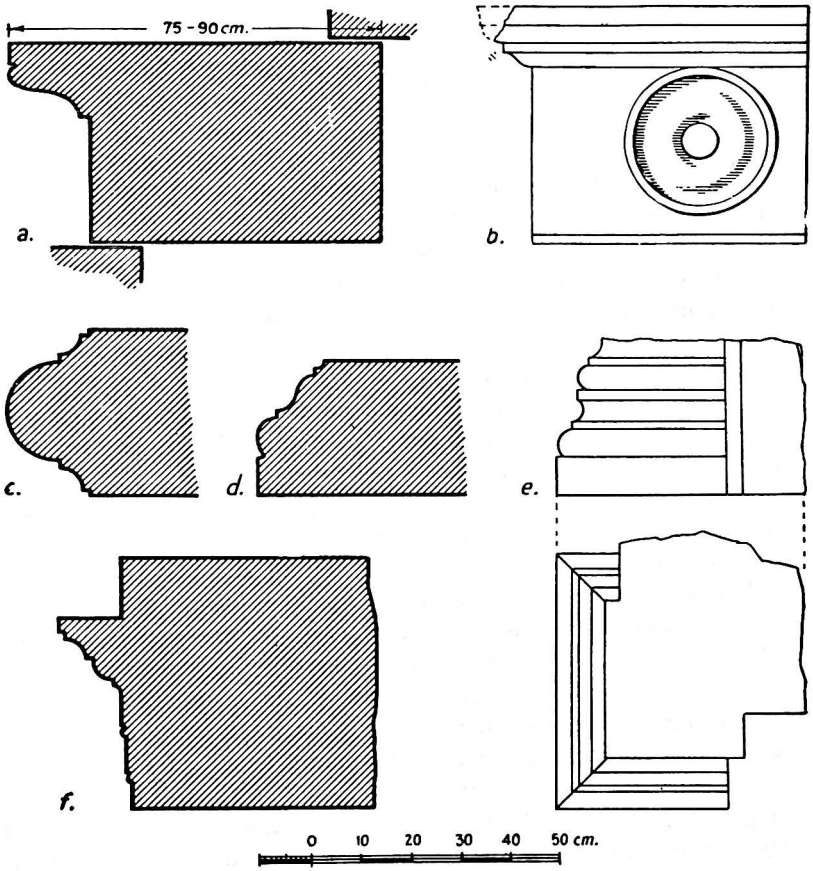


Fig. 9. el-Ḥammeh. Theatre, architectural fragments.

CHAPTER II.

STRUCTURE OF THE SYNAGOGUE
(Plates VI, VII)

The synagogue structure comprises the synagogue proper, several rooms attached to it on the east, and a narrow court on the south and west. The synagogue proper, which, like the other ancient synagogues of Palestine, is built in the style of a basilica, measures about 13 m. square; two rows of columns, running north and south, divide the interior into a nave and two narrow aisles. The former is 7.80 m. wide, the east aisle 3 m. and the west aisle 2.40 m. These two rows of columns are joined by a third, which stands about 1.80 m. away from the north wall. Thus the nave is surrounded by narrow passageways on three sides, as in the synagogues of Capernaum, Chorazin and other places.

The columns are devoid of bases, and do not stand upon a stylobate but are sunk into sockets below the level of the floor. At the northeast and northwest corners of the colonnade, corner pillars were found *in situ*, as were also the lowest drums of the northernmost column of the eastern row and the westernmost one of the transverse row. The corner pillars were no doubt originally covered with stucco. In places there remain against the walls parts of the low benches which served as seats for the worshippers, and which originally no doubt lined the entire length of the walls.

Against the middle part of the south wall rises a platform (Fig. 10) with steps leading up to the apse, which served in Palestinian synagogues of the Byzantine period (at Beth Alpha, for example) as a repository for the Ark of the Law. The apse measures 4.50 m. length by 2.10 m. width. The area containing the Ark was originally partitioned off by a screen *(Pl. VIIIa)*. On the east side of the platform we found a square depression cut into the building stones to receive the base of the pillar, and continuous therewith a long groove for the slabs of this screen. It is evident from a number of fragments which were found scattered in and

about the apse area that this partition, unlike the remainder of the structure, was made of marble. One of these fragments is a portion of a pillar which fits into the square socket just mentioned. In one side it has a vertical groove—similar to the horizontal one in the platform stones—into which, no doubt, the outer edge of a terminal slab of the screen was inserted. Parts of these fragments are adorned with a wreath and bear the remains of a Greek inscription. To this screen also belong a few capitals, similar to those found in the corresponding area of the ancient synagogue of Ḥammath by–Tiberias[1], which were formerly attached to small pillars.

The main entrance to the synagogue was at the southeast corner of the whole complex, in the east wall *(Pl. VIIIb)*. Here one entered a narrow forecourt, widening slightly inward. Its right side was lined by a bench. This forecourt led into a vestibule, likewise widening to the west. Thick pillars on either side of the respective entrances to the forecourt and the vestibule evidently served to support arches. Three steps at the right end of the west side of the vestibule lead into the basilica at its southeast corner.

The forecourt and vestibule also served as an approach to the annex. The annex consists of four rooms; of which two adjoin the east wall of the basilica and the other two lie east of these, from which they are separated by a narrow

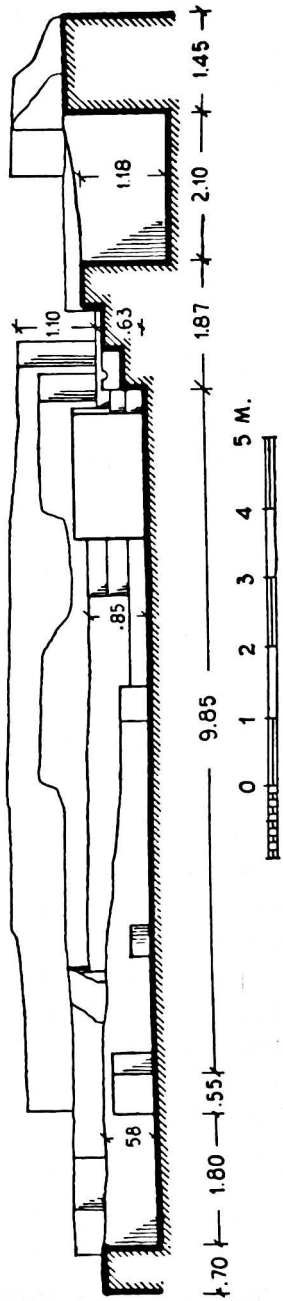


Fig. 10. el-Ḥammeh. Synagogue, Section from North to South.

[1] N. SLOUSCHZ קובץ החברה העברית לחקירת א״י ותיקוחיה, Vol. I, p. 7, Fig. IV; p. 25, Fig. XIII.

court running north and south. From the forecourt, a door on the north leads into a roughly square chamber, measuring 4.90 by 4.70 m. This leads into another chamber, measuring 4.70 by about 5.50 m., from which a door leads out into the narrow court. The latter can also be entered by a gate from the vestibule. Of the two chambers adjoining the basilica, only the larger southern one, measuring 6.65 m. by 3.65 m., communicates directly with the basilica. A broad bench is built against its inner east wall and a narrow one against its inner south and west wall. It also communicates directly with the vestibule of the synagogue, the narrow court and the smaller northern chamber. The latter, which adjoins the northwest corner of the basilica, measures approximately 2.80 m. square. It has no direct communication with the basilica, but has another entrance from the narrow court.

On the south and west sides, the basilica was bordered by still another narrow court. This was approached by a door in the middle of the west side of the synagogue and by another in its south side, to the west of the apse. For some unknown purpose, the south end of the court was partitioned off by means of a diagonal wall.

The extant remains of the synagogue do not allow of any further conclusions with regard to architectural details. Two capitals *(Pl. XIa)* which were found inside the basilica, do not seem to fit into the architectural scheme, and we cannot say whether they were brought thither before or after the destruction of the synagogue. If they ever formed part of the structure, they were re-used capitals. The entire area of the ruins was strewn with flat and convex earthenware roof-tiles. They are of the same type as those found at Beth Alpha, and were no doubt arranged in the same manner.[1]

The purposes served by the annex and the question of the women's gallery will be discussed further on.

[1] See SUKENIK, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, pp.13ff., Diags. 8–10.

CHAPTER III.

THE MOSAIC FLOOR
(Plates VI, VII)

The basilica and its vestibule were paved with a coloured mosaic; but the latter was found in rather poor condition, much of it having been broken or completely wrecked. However, the surviving fragments, especially those of the nave, suffice to suggest a complete restoration of its panels.

The mosaic of the vestibule is in the poorest state of all. The limited section which remains preserved at the foot of the steps, leading into the building, contains a row of squares in black and white. However, it is possible that these squares constituted the border only, and that the centre contained some other design. The chamber communicating with the basilica was also paved with flagstones, of which there are still remains next to its western and northern walls.

The mosaic of the synagogue proper now lacks particularly parts of the floor of the two lateral aisles, a portion of the pavement in front of the platform, and a piece in the northern part of the synagogue, on both sides of the transverse row of columns.

The mosaic pavement of the nave, comprising three panels, was surrounded by a border consisting, from the inside outward, of strips of the following: guilloche *(Pl. IX b)*, wave-crest (Vitruvian scroll), plait and crowsteps. The guilloche, which is closest to the panels proper, also runs between the panels, marking them off from each other.

In the centre of the southern panel (see *Frontispiece*), in front of the apse, there is an inscription of ten lines enclosed in a wreath. The wreath is tied at the bottom with a red cord in a neat bow having two loops. The ends of the cord fall gracefully below and to the sides, and terminate in ivy leaves. The upper left side of the inscription, as well as the adjacent portion of the mosaic, has suffered considerably from the fire which once burnt

the synagogue and blackened the tesserae. The inscription is flanked by lions with heavy manes, tails gracefully held above their backs with the tips bent backward, and red tongues protruding. The animals are represented in motion, having just taken a step forward with the leg that is farther from the observer, against which the genitals are exposed. The figure of the lion to the right of the inscription has been preserved practically complete, but of that on the opposite side only the upper part remains. Behind each lion stands a cypress tree (*Cupressus sempervirens, v. pyramidalis*). The trees are rather well done, showing both root, trunk, foliage and fruit. Of the left cypress, which is artistically superior to its fellow, the top part is unfortunately missing. Both trees incline inwards.

At the foot of the next panel there are two long inscriptions enclosed in one *tabula ansata*. They are of unequal length, are separated by two black lines, and consist of four lines each. At the end of the first and beginning of the second inscription, traces of the fire mentioned above are especially noticeable. The rest of the area of this panel, north of the inscribed portion, is filled in with intersecting diagonal strips of fleurons,[1] forming equal squares, containing alternately flowers of four petals and pomegranates attached to their stems *(Pl. Xa)*.

The field of the third panel is decorated with geometric designs: superimposed squares and oblongs of different sizes and in both upright and diagonal positions. Some of the squares contain cable-knots of the type termed "Solomon's key" or "duplex sign". In the lower part of this panel we found another inscription of five lines likewise enclosed in a *tabula ansata*. The upper right hand corner, the *ansa* and part of the border of this side, and a section of the lower centre of the inscription are missing. Inasmuch as this inscription was placed not in the centre of the panel like the others in this floor, but to the right of it, it is reasonable to suppose that the now missing left side of this panel also contained an inscription. (Fig. 11).

As noted above, the greater part of the mosaic of the narrow west

[1] Similar fleurons, but without pomegranates are also found in the mosaic of the Church recently excavated in eṭ-Ṭâbgha (see A. M. SCHNEIDER, Die Brotvermehrungskirche von eṭ-Ṭâbgha am Genesarethsee und ihre Mosaiken, *Collectanea Hierosolymitana*, Vol. IV, Paderborn 1934, Plate 25.

aisle is destroyed. Near its southern end, however, there remain a fragment of the border and the right ansa of a *tabula ansata*,

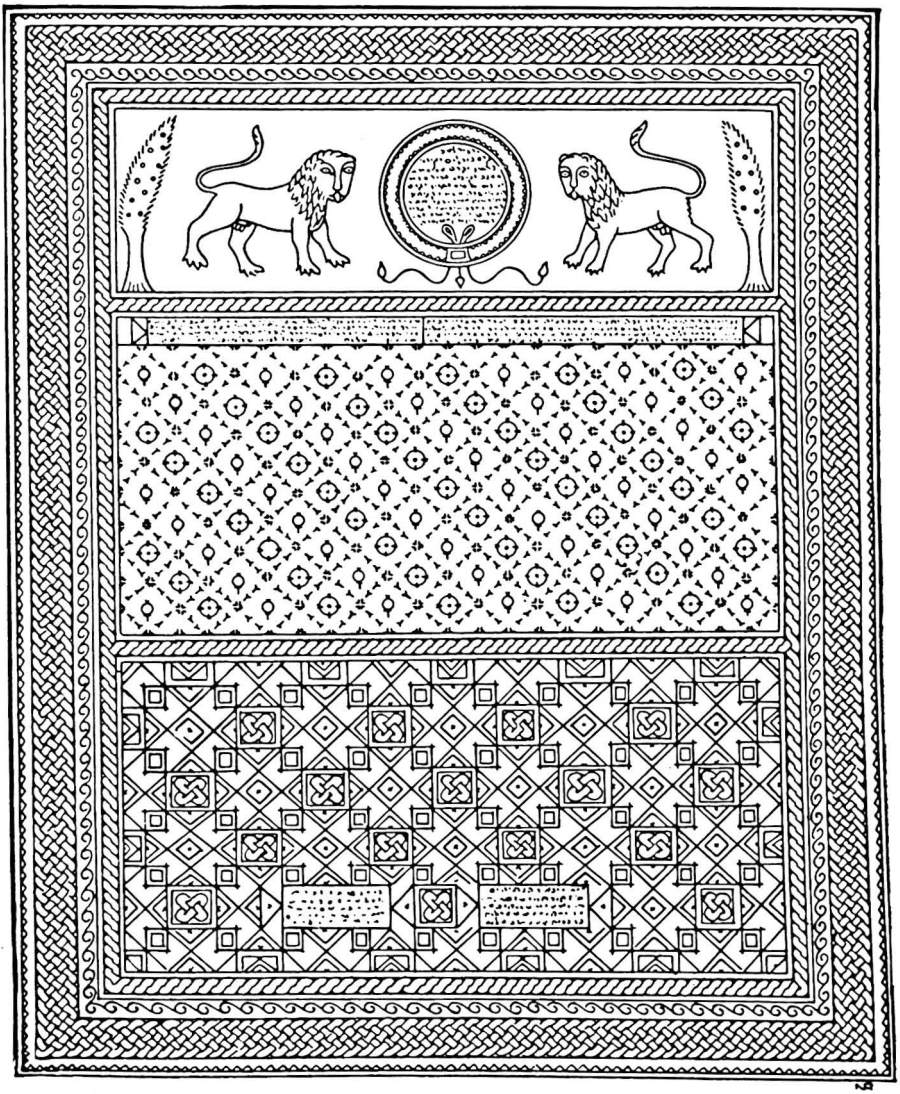


Fig. 11. el-Ḥammeh. Synagogue, Reconstruction of mosaic pavement in the nave.

indicating that an inscription once existed here also, although no other trace of it was found. On the northern side of this aisle

there remained an outer portion of the mosaic, which was here decorated with intersecting diagonal lines, forming squares.

The mosaic floor of the east aisle was found in better condition, its middle part being intact. This was composed of five rows of circles[1] covering almost the same area as that occupied by the second panel in the floor of the nave *(Pl. Xb)*. The pavement north and south of the circles contains rectangles wherein appear pomegranates attached to their stems.

In the narrow passage between the northern row of columns and the wall were the remains of a simple mosaic of crossed lines etc.

The two narrow panels that flank the apse consist of carpet designs which are quite artistic *(Pl. XIa)*. At their ends these carpets have vases from which branches wind towards the centre of the panels.

A word remains to be said on the technique of the mosaic floor. As it was broken in many places, we had an opportunity of studying its structure. It consists of (1) a relatively thick layer of gravel (the *statumen*); (2) a thinner one (25 mm.) of rough mortarc the *rudus*); (3) a still thinner one (17 mm.) of fine mortar (the *nucleus*); in which (4) the tesserae are imbedded (Fig. 12). The workmanship

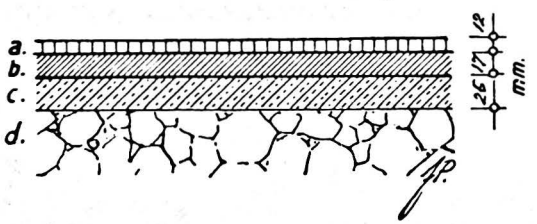


Fig. 12. el-Ḥammeh. Synagogue, Constitution of Mosaic.

is quite good, but lacks variety. Only four colours are employed, in several shades: red in four shades, yellow in three, brown in two, and pink in one. All the cubes are of naturally coloured limestone except the brick-red, which are very friable and are evidently made of an artificial substance. Their surface was darker than the core and polished.

The tesserae in the nave were from 7 to 10 mm. square; and those of the aisles from 15 to 17 mm. square.

[1] The same pattern is also to be seen in the mosaic of the sacristy of the eṭ-Ṭâbgha church, see SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, Plate 29.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSCRIPTIONS

The epigraphic material discovered at this site exceeds in quantity that found at any other synagogue hitherto excavated with the exception of that at ʿAin Dûk (Naʿaran).

One important detail, thus far unique among Palestinian synagogue inscriptions, is the specification of the amount donated. Judging from the place of honour assigned to the commemoration of the gift of five gold denarii in I, it is to be inferred that it was a considerable amount for those days. It will be seen that the sums recorded in the remaining inscriptions are considerably smaller. It will also be noticed that the contributions mentioned in each inscription are arranged in descending order of magnitude.

I

As stated above, an inscription was found in the centre of the first panel of the mosaic in front of the Ark of the Law. Its ten lines are completely preserved; and, although the upper part has suffered some damage from the flaming rafters falling upon it from the roof when the building was burnt down, making it difficult to distinguish between the black tesserae of which the letters are composed and the originally white, but now gray ones of the background, we have been enabled to determine the reading of even this portion, thanks to a special cleaning process.

As may be seen from Fig. 13, the letters are not of equal size throughout. Those of the first three lines average about 4 cm. in height, but those of each of the next three are larger than those of its predecessor. From this point downward the characters grow progressively smaller, evidently because the mosaic-maker found that he had very little space left in which to finish. The execution, though not elegant, is fair. ד and ר, generally practically identical,

are here, as at Kafr Kanna and Sepphoris, differentiated in most cases by the former having an upward projection at each end of its horizontal bar instead of only one at the left end of it, like the ר. In some instances the artist has also attempted to distinguish the ח from the ה both by providing them with two and one upward projections respectively, as in the case of ד and ר, and by leaving a space between the left post of the ה and its lintel while making them contiguous in the ח. Nevertheless, he was careless enough to produce a number of *hes* bearing both graphic earmarks of ח and

Fig. 13. El-Ḥamme. Synagogue, Mosaic Inscription I.

one *ḥet* (in חמישה line 8) with those of ה. ו and י are quite indistinguishable; so that it is impossible to decide by graphical criteria alone whether the transcription of the Greek (κύριος) κύρις is to be read as קורים or as קירים. Incidentally, the second syllable of this word is written both as רו(י)ם and רם. In line 6 he is guilty of the dittography of הנגון for הגון. (But see below *ad loc.*)

The inscription (Fig. 13) reads as follows:

1. ודכיר לטב
2. קירס הופלים וקירה
3. פרוטון וקירס סלוסטיס
4. חתנה וקומס פרורוס ברה
5. וקירים פוטים חתנה וקירס
6. חנינה ברה הנון ובניהון
7. דמיצותון תדירן בכל אתר
8. דהבון הכה חמישה דינרין
9. דהב מלך עלמה יתן ברכתה
10. בעמלהון אמן אמן סלה

Translation:

1. And remembered be for good
2. Kyris Hoples, and Kyra
3. Protone, and Kyris Sallustius
4. his son-in-law, and Comes Phroros his son
5. and Kyris Photios his son-in-law, and Kyris
6. Ḥaninah his son—they and their children—
7. whose acts of charity are constant everywhere
8. (and) who have given here five denarii
9. (of) gold. May the King of the Universe bestow the blessing
10. upon their work. Amen. Amen. Selah.

Line 1.

ודכיר לטב—This is the invariable introductory phrase in inscriptions commemorating donations to synagogues;[1] except that the superfluous ו, which is present in all the inscriptions of this synagogue, is absent from many others. The function of this ו is that of an emphatic particle as in the phrase ולאלמפתח that occurs in several inscriptions of the period immediately preceding the destruction of Jerusalem.[2]

[1] SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, pp. 72ff.

[2] SUKENIK, "Funerary Tablet of Uzziah, King of Judah," *PEF Quarterly Statement*, 1931, pp. 217ff; 'A Tomb-cave in the Kedron Valley' *Tarbiz*, VI, pp. 190–6.

The singular דכיר agrees in number with the nearest subject, as in III: 1. Where the nearest subject is a plural, דכירין is used; e.g., III:4. In IV: 1, however, the amount of space seems to require the restoration ודכירין for two singular subjects.

Line 2.

קירס—Transcription of κύρις = κύριος "Mr."; first found in an inscription on a column of the synagogue of Beit Jibrin.[1]

הופליס = Ὅπλης, "armed", or "armourer".[2]

קירה—Transcription of κύρα = κυρία = "Madame".

A Jewess κύρα Δόμνα figures on a marble tablet from the synagogue of Ascalon.[3]

Line 3.

פרוטון—a feminine name Πρωτώνη derived from the masculine Πρώτων (cf. III: 1, קליניק for Καλονίκη), apparently denotes the first-born of the family, and is comparable to the names בכור and בכורה which are common among Oriental Jews.[4] Cf. Πρωτᾶς, found on an ossuary.[5] Jewesses named Πρωτοῦς are known from Arsinoe in Egypt (72–73 C.E.).[6] The masculine name פרטא also appears in the Talmudic literature.[7] In the same category fall certain names which appear in the Jewish catacomb at Monteverde, Πρῖμος (masculine), Πρίμα (feminine), the Greek transcription of the Roman names *Primus* and *Prima*.[8] פרוטון, the only woman mentioned in this inscription, was no doubt the wife of Hoples, the head of the family.

[1] SUKENIK, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[2] PAPE-BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s.v.

[3] Another Jewess, . . . κύρας Ῥουᾶς, is mentioned in an inscription on a column, which apparently belonged to a synagogue found at Alexandria; see CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. VII, pp. 144ff.

[4] Another explanation of this name is "Prince" (cf. PAPE-BENSELER, *op. cit.*, s. v.).

[5] *Revue Biblique*, Vol. IX (1900), pp. 106ff.

[6] WESSELY, Arsinoitische Verwaltungsurkunden vom J. 72/73 nach Chr. (*Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde*, Heft IV, 1905, pp. 58ff.); SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, Vol. III[4], p. 47; FUCHS, *Die Juden Ägyptens in ptolemäischer und römischer Zeit*, p, 147.

[7] Mishna Giṭṭin III, 4; B. Kethuboth 100a, Y. Megilla 75b etc.

[8] MÜLLER-BEES, *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde*, Nos. 88, 129.

סלוסטים = Latin *Sallustius*, *Salustius*; Greek *Σαλούστιος*.[1]

Line 4.

וקומס The title *Κόμης*, *comes*, originally signifying "companion" (to the emperor or some high official), was employed in the Byzantine period in a general honorific sense for the incumbent of an important imperial office. In rabbinic literature we have קומס תיסוורין (Y. Sanh. 30 b), *Κόμης θησαυρῶν*, *comes thesaurorum*, "treasurer"; (פלטין =) קומים פנטון, *Κόμης παλατίων*, *comes palatii*, "*major domus*"; קומים אסטבלאטי (Esther R. II, to 1:12), *Κόμης στάβλων*, *comes sacri stabuli*, "Keeper of the Stables."[2]

Names of other Jews bearing this title appear in two Palestinian inscriptions. One, on a synagogue lintel found at Sepphoris (Fig. 14), is very carelessly executed and consequently ambiguous.[3] We recently

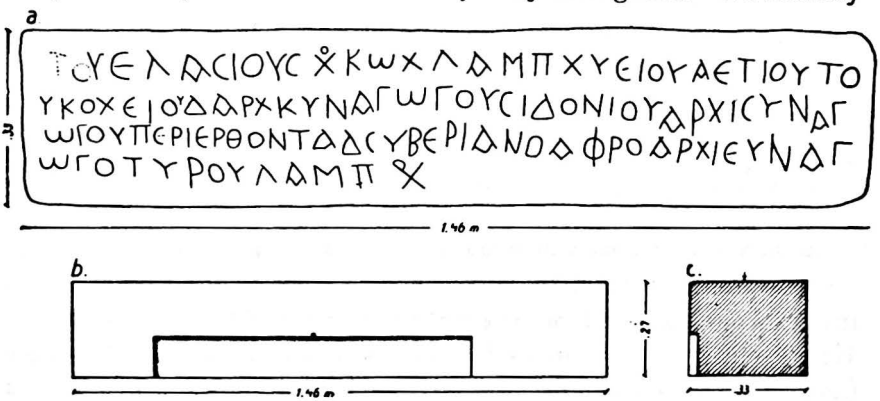


Fig. 14. Sepphoris: (a) Inscription, (b) Elevation, (c) Section; the arrow indicates the place of the inscription.

prepared a new squeeze and photograph, which have been studied by my colleague Dr. M. SCHWABE. Dr. SCHWABE's reading and

[1] Cf. the names *Σαλούτιος* and *Salutia*, MÜLLER-BEES, *op. cit.*, Nos. 66,31 and note, p. 39.

[2] Cf. S. KRAUSS, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, Vol. I, pp. 299ff.

[3] This inscription was first copied by EWING (*PEF. Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 354, No. 186) and commented upon by LAMMENS, *Musée Belge*, Vol. VI (1902), pp. 55ff.) and by DALMAN (apud KLEIN, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 100, No. 182). See also CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Études d'archeologie orient.*, Vol. II, p. 34; KLEIN (מאמרים שונים לחקירת ארץ ישראל, pp. 50f.), *idem*, ידיעות המכון למדעי היהדות, Vol. 2, p. 44, No. 27, and ALT, *Palästinajahrbuch*, Vol. XXII (1926), p. 61.

interpretation, which seem to me to be a considerable advance upon previous attempts, are given herewith.[1]

1. *Τοῦ (Γ)ελασίου σχο(λαστικοῦ) κώ(μητος) λαμπ(ροτάτου) ὑειοῦ. Ἀετίου το–*

2. *ῦ κό(μητος) Ἐιούδ(α) ἀρχισυναγώγου Σιδονίου ἀρχισυναγ–*

3. *ώγου περιε(λ)θόντα (τά)δε ὑ(π)ὲρ Ἰάνο(υ) Ἄφρο(υ) ἀρχισυναγ–*

4. *ώγου Τύρου λαμπρ(οτάτου).*

Translation:

1. By Gelasios the *scholastikos*, the most illustrious *comes*, the son of Aëtios the

2. *comes*, by Judah the *archisynagogos*, by Sidonios the *archisynag-*

3. *ogos*—these enclosures to the well-being (or, in honour) of Janes (John) Aphros (or Aphrodisias) the *archisynag-*

4. *ogos* of Tyre (or "the Tyrian"), the most illustrious.

Alternative Translation: (reading in line 2 *Ἐιουδ(αίου) ἀρχ.* or *Ἐιουδαρχισυναγώγου*)

1. By Gelasios the *scholastikos*, the most illustrious *comes*, the son of Aëtios the

2. *comes*, the *archisynagogos* of the Judaeans(?), the archisynagogos of the Sidonians (?) —

3. these enclosures to the well-being of Janes (John) the *archisynagogos* of the Africans

4. from Tyre, the most illustrious.

The other inscription, now in the Louvre (AO 3095), was inscribed on the lintel of a tomb discovered on Mount Carmel near Haifa,[2] which is therein designated as *τόπος Ναμώσα Μαναήμου (μανα) λαμπροτάτου κόμιτος καὶ πρεσβευτῆο* "Resting-place of Namosa Menahem, the most illustrious comes and legate." (*Pl. XIb*).

פרורום—transcription of the name *Φροῦρος* or perhaps *Φερώρας* The latter appears as the name of Antipater's son, and as that of Herod's younger brother.[3]

Line 5.

פוטים—*Φώτιος* corresponds to Hebrew יאיר, מאיר or נהוראי.

[1] For a full discussion and justification see his article in the David Yellin *Jubilee Volume*. Jerusalem 1935.

[2] DUSSAUD, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques au Musée du Louvre*, pp. 89 f., No. 119; JUSTER, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain*. Vol. II, p. 249, note 1 (falsely said to have been discovered at Jaffa).

[3] JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* XIV, 7, 3 etc.; *Bellum*, I, 5, 9 etc.

Line 6.

חנינה. The only Hebrew-Aramaic name among the members of this family.

הנגון ובנידון. The first word has a superfluous נ, which may be due to dittography; but it is also possible that the first נ was miswritten for י, for *scriptio plena* is here the rule. For the phrase compare "them (the congregation), their wives and their children" in the well-known prayer מי שבירך.

Line 7.

דמיצותון "whose acts of charity". מצוה in the sense of "charity" is exceedingly common in Aggadic literature; cf. Lev. R. s. 3:1 בר מצוותא, "a charitable man"; *ibid.*, s. 34:14, where the phrase פלג מצוה occurs three times in the sense of "distribute alms".

Line 8.

דדהבון. The initial י of the verb יהב is sometimes omitted after ד; cf. דהב II:1.

הכה. This is the usual spelling in inscriptions and in the Jerusalem Talmud.

חמישה דינרין דדהב. The gold denarius (*aureus denarius* or *aureus solidus*) was equivalent to 24 silver ones. Note the construction with דהב in apposition to דינרין. חמישה is a Hebraism (for Aram. חמשה), unless the constr. st. חמישת was meant.

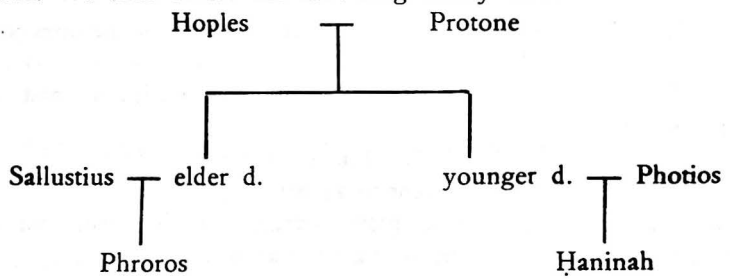
Lines 9–10.

מלך עלמה. This is the first direct mention of the Deity in a synagogue inscription. It recurs, in the identical formula, in the other three. Cf. מלכא דעלמא in the (Babylonian) Aramaic prayer יקום פורקן which is recited as a sort of prelude to the Hebrew מי שבירך.

ברכתה is to be read ברכתָה, not ברכתֵה, as is evident from the many cases where there is no antecedent to which the pronominal suffix could be referred; e.g., IV:4. The determined state of the noun is always kept distinct from the undetermined state in Palestinian Aramaic, and retains its original force; hence ברכתה is to be rendered "*the* blessing". The entire phrase goes back to Deut. 28[8]: יצו יהוה . . . את הברכה . . . ובכל משלח ידך. Curiously, it is just the Hebrew synagogue inscription of Kafr Birʿim that has

תבא ברכה במע(ש)יו and the Hebrew prayer מי שבירך that has וישלח ברכה והצלחה בכל מעשי ידיהם. The Hebrew formula was evidently altered in accordance with the idiomatic usage of a later age, whilst the Aramaic faithfully rendered the original.

It appears, then, that the persons named in this inscription all belonged to one family, which donated the sum of five gold denarii to the synagogue. The two parents are mentioned first, then their son-in-law Sallustius. Regarding Phroros, Photios and Ḥaninah, the ambiguity of the pronominal suffixes makes it doubtful whose son or son-in-law each of them was. Perhaps the simplest solution is that suggested by my friend Dr. H. L. Ginsberg, namely, that Hoples and Protone had two daughters but no sons, and therefore the inscription mentions only their sons-in-law Sallustius and Photios and their grandsons Phroros and Ḥaninah. We thus obtain the following family tree:



With the exception of Ḥaninah, all the personal names are Greek and Latin. This and the Greek and Latin titles *kyris*, *kyra* and *comes*, are all no doubt to be ascribed to the proximity of the Decapolis, the cities of which were strongholds of Hellenistic culture. Greek nomenclature and Greek titles likewise characterize the synagogue inscriptions of Beit Jibrīn (Eleutheropolis), Ascalon and Gaza. The personal names in the remaining inscriptions of our synagogue are also largely Greek.

One other point remains to be discussed, namely, the double circle within which the inscription is enclosed. It is clear that it was intended to represent a wreath (*stephanos*) with its knot (*lemniskos*), such as were customarily awarded in the Hellenistic world to the victors in contests and to citizens who had distinguished themselves in the service of the state or as public benefactors. Various Jewish inscriptions from this cultural sphere record decisions

of Jewish communities to confer such honors.[1] The crowns were made of gold, olive leaves, laurel, etc.[2] It was also the custom to place such ornaments on the heads of bridegroom and bride, but after the destruction of the Temple "the bridegroom's crown and the bride's crown were prohibited" by the religious authorities.[3] In the Sabbath morning service it is said of Moses: "A crown of glory Thou didst place upon his head, when he stood before Thee on Mount Sinai."[4]

The content of the remaining inscriptions in this pavement is similar to the foregoing one, although they are not as clear. They differ only in that the sums of money specified as donations are smaller. Their importance lies, however, in the mention of Jews from other localities who also contributed to the cost of building this synagogue. It is quite likely that these were individuals who had come to use the baths of Ḥammath by Gadara, which were so famous during this period.

II

At the top of the second panel, a single *tabula ansata* encloses, side by side and separated by a double line, two long inscriptions of four lines each (Fig. 15). That to the right of the line is 2.58 m. long; that to the left, 2.20 m. Both are in all probability by the same mosaic-maker as the preceding, and their workmanship is characterized by the same qualities and defects. Owing, however, to the smallness of the space in proportion to the number of letters, the writing is here very crowded, and this lack of space caused the artist to commit several mistakes, such as the omission of words and letters and the miswriting of one letter for another. The reading of the inscriptions is rendered still more difficult by the fact that the space about the dividing line is blackened from the fire which destroyed the building, whilst part of the top line of the left-hand text and sundry smaller bits of both texts are missing.

1 KRAUSS, *Synagogale Altertümer*, p. 163; JUSTER, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 436ff.

2 In the Talmudic literature are mentioned כליל דזית, wreath of olive-branches כלילא דורדא, wreath of roses and כלילא דחילפי, wreath of ḥilfa (a kind of heavy plant, this wreath being a figure of speech for old age).

3 Mishna, Soṭah IX, 14.

4 כליל תפארת בראשו נתת לו בעמדו לפניך על הר סיני.

The right-hand inscription reads as follows:

1. ור[כיר לט]ב רב תנחום הלוי ב[ר חל]יפה דהב
חד טרימיסין ודכיר לטב מוניקה דסוסי(ת)ה צפוריה
2. וק[ירוס פ]טריק ד(כ)פר עקביה ויוסה בר דוסתי
דמן כפר נחום דיהבון תלתיהון תלת גרמין מלך
3. ע[למה ית]ן ברכתה בעמל[הון] אמן אמן סלה שלום
ודכיר לטב יודן ארדה מן חימאים(?) דיהב תלת
4. ו[דכירין לט]ב ארבילאי דיהבון מחי(ת)הון מלך
עלמ(ה) יתן ברכתה בעמלהון אמן אמן סלה.

Translation:

1. And r[emembered be for] good Rab (*sic*!) Tanḥûm the Levite, the s[on of Ḥal]îpha, who has donated one tremissis; and remembered be for good Monikos of Sûsîtha (?), the Sepphorite

2. and [Kyros Pa]tricius, of (Ke)phar ʿAqabyah, and Yôse, the son of Dositheus, of Capernaum, who have, all three, donated three scruples. May the King

3. of the Un[iverse best]ow the blessing upon their work. Amen! Amen! Selah! Peace! And remembered be for good Yûdân . . . . of . . . . who has donated three (i.e., 3 scruples?);

4. and remembered be for good the people of Arbela who have donated of their cloths. May the King of the Universe bestow blessing upon their work. Amen! Amen! Selah!

Line 1.

רב תנחום. The title רב is surprising; for, as is well known, it was only bestowed upon scholars ordained in Babylonia, whereas Palestinian doctors — including the numerous immigrants from Babylonia who in the third century graduated from the college of Rabbi Yoḥanan at Tiberias — retained, at least down to the end of the Byzantine era, that of רבי. Outside the Talmudic literature, this is confirmed (a) by synagogue inscriptions from Sepphoris: רבי יודן [בר תנ]חום;[1]

[1] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Letters*, 1909, p. 677.

ʿAin Dûk (Naʿarân): חליפו ברת רבי ספרה;[1] Beth Alpha:[2] .... רבי ...., and ʿEsfiya:[3] ברבי .....; and (b) by Jewish epitaphs from Jaffa: e.g., יודן ברה דרבי טרפון בירבי,[4] בירבי[5] ... etc. Can our Tanḥûm bar Ḥalîpha have been an alumnus of a Babylonian academy who settled, or sojourned, in this neighbourhood? Both his name and that of his father are unfavorable to such an explanation, as they are otherwise not known to have been borne by Babylonian Jews, but are frequent among Palestinian Amoras and in Palestine inscriptions; cf., the examples just cited and Greek *Θαρούμ*;[6] also our Inscr. IV, line 1. The simplest solution would be to assume that the mosaicist, as elsewhere in this inscription, omitted a letter—viz. י—through inadvertence.

הלוי. This habit of specifying a person's Levitical or Aaronide descent has survived in Jewish synagogue and tombstone epigraphy to this day. It is also illustrated by the legend engraved on the lintel of a synagogue of Kafr

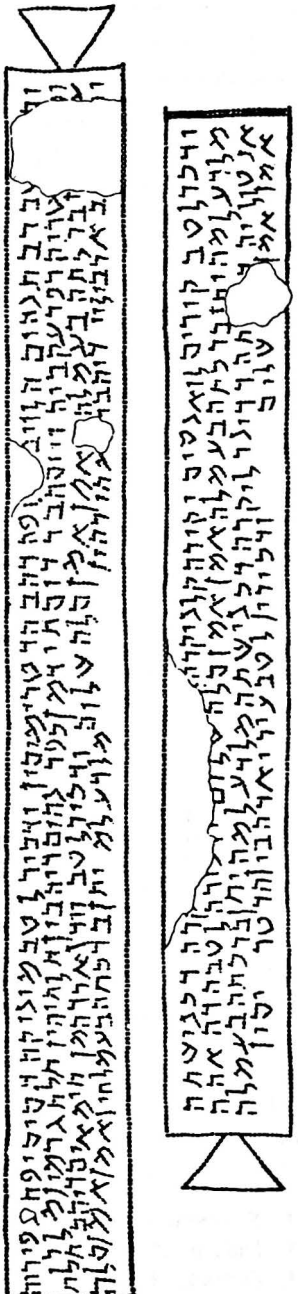


Fig. 15. el-Ḥammeh Synagogue, Mosaic inscriptions II and III.

[1] VINCENT-CARRIÈRE, "La Synagogue de Noarah", *Revue Biblique*, 1921, pp. 519ff.

[2] SUKENIK, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, p. 44.

[3] M. AVI-YONAH, "A sixth-century synagogue at ʿIsfiya", *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. III. p. 129.

[4] EUTING, *Epigraphische Miszellen*, *l. c.*, p. 680, No. 47.

[5] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, "Inscriptions de la nécropole juive de Joppé", *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. IV, p. 146, No. 17.

[6] *Idem*, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 137.

Birʿim: יוסה הלוי,[1] and by a mosaic inscription of ʿAin Dûk (Naʿarân): פינחס כהנה.[2]

ב[ר חל]יפה. The restoration is practically certain; there is probably even a trace of the tail of the ל. The name, in its various forms, occurs very frequently in literature and epigraphy as that of various Palestinians.

דהב = דידהב in l. 3; cf. דהבון, Inscr. I, line 8.

טרימיסין = *Τριμίσσιον* = Lat. *tremissis* (or *triens*), one-third of a (gold) denarius; so, too טרימיסיא Lam. Rabbathi s. v. רבתי בגויים (Lam. 1:1), par. חד מאתינס No. 8; טרימיסין (so to be read for סרימיסין), Y. GITTIN 47b. Although R. Tanḥûm's contribution is considerably less than that of the others, he is named first, no doubt in deference to his learning.

ודכיר. See above on I:1.

מוניקה. An Aramaicised form of the Greek proper name *Μόνικος* (lit., "only child").

סוסיפה is most probably miswritten for סוסיתה, which is familar from Palestinian sources as the name of a town in Jaulān (Gaulanitis). As a common noun סוסיתה means "mare"; hence the town of that name is by some identified with Hippos ("horse"), one of the cities of the Decapolis. Others point to Sûsîyeh, south-east of Qalʿat al-Ḥuṣn as the remains of the Talmudic סוסיתה. These two combinations are mutually exclusive, as Sûsîyeh is much too small a site for the important town of Hippos.

פוריה[צ]. The tail of the צ is still preserved. Thus our Monikos will have been a Sepphorite—or else a native of Ṣaffûreh in Jaulān, who settled at Sûsîtha.

Line 3.

ו[קירוס פ]טריק. The restoration of פ is practically certain; cf. in Talmudic literature פטריקי and אפטוריקא[3] = Patric(i)us, and the feminine *Πατρική*[4] in a Jewish epitaph. The rest of the restoration is also probable, as the curved stroke after the ו seems to belong to a ק.

[1] SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, p. 71.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 57. [3] Y. YOMAH, 41d; Num. R. ch. 12, 4.

[4] EUTING, *Epigraphische Miszellen*, (*Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, XXXV.* XXXVI), p. 684, No. 73.

ד(כ)פר עקביה. The כ was omitted through inadvertence. כפר עקביה is mentioned in Y. Nazir, 57d, in connection with R. Abba bar Cohen, a scholar of the late third century, but there is no indication of its location.[1] Nevertheless it can hardly be anything other than the modern Kafr (or Khirbet) ʿAqib, near the northern end of the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. This is the first occurrence of the name in an inscription.

ויוסה בר דוסתי. *Yose* is a very common abbreviation of *Yoseph*, and is known from both literature and inscriptions. The spelling יוסה is characteristically Palestinian, for Babylonian writings prefer יוסי. דוסתי = *Δοσίθεος*, which is equivalent to Hebrew נתנאל, יונתן, etc., enjoyed a great vogue among the Jews of Palestine,[2] Egypt,[3] and probably other countries as well. This is the second occurrence of it in Palestine epigraphy, the first being in the fuller form of דוסתס on an ossuary from the last two centuries preceding the destruction of Jerusalem.[4]

כפר נחום is of course the Capernaum familiar from the New Testament. In Rabbinic literature it can be traced down to the middle of the second century C.E.; cf. Qohel. Rabbah to 1:8; 7:26. A Byzantine writer relates that in the days of Julian the Apostate Jews from Tiberias, Sepphoris, Capernaum, etc. came down to Jerusalem to participate in the rebuilding of the Temple.[5] Our inscription, containing the first epigraphic mention of Capernaum, brings the record down to the fifth century.

דיהבון תלתידון תלת גרמין probably means "who have contributed three scruples each." The Yerushalmi, Sheq. 46d. and the Midrashim and Pseudo-Jonathan to Ex. 30:13 have preserved a tradition to the effect that the half-shekel of the biblical text was equivalent to six גרמ(י)סין, and it is a commonplace that the Talmudic authorities regarded the "holy shekel" as equivalent to

[1] Kafr ʿAqib, about thirteen kilometres north of Jerusalem, with which it is identified by KLEIN (ארץ ישראל p. 36,) cannot very well have been either the scene of the teaching of a Galilean scholar in the late third century or the home of a contributor to a synagogue in Jaulān about the fifth century.

[2] See KRAUSS, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter*, p. 192.

[3] FUCHS, *Die Juden Ägyptens*, p. 144.

[4] SUKENIK, "A Jewish Hypogeum near Jerusalem", *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. VIII. pp. 113ff.

[5] THEODORET, V, 15, *apud* A. COURET, *La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs*, p. 68.

two shekels, or one *sela*ʿ, of their own time. But the *sela*ʿ, according to the Baraita of R. Ḥiyya, Y. Qidd. 58d, was worth four silver denarii. Accordingly, 6 scruples = 1/2 *sela*ʿ = 2 silver denarii, so that 3 scruples = 1 silver denarius. Instead of חד דינר, however, our epigraphist wrote "3 scruples". This must be because, contrary to the earlier practice of the Talmud, דינר without further specification was at this time and place understood to mean a *gold* denarius (cf. Inscr. III) weighing four scruples. The *solidus Constantinus* containing four scruples, is designated *τετραγραμμαῖος* in a papyrus document of the year 359.[1] In the Syro-Roman Statute-Book, the gold denarius is simply called *denarius*.[2]

גרמין is an Aramaic plural of *γράμμα* which, like *δεῖγμα* (דוגמא) and *πρόσταγμα* (פרוסטגמא) in Hebrew, is treated as a feminine; hence the feminine numeral תלת. גרמ(י)סין on the other hand (v. s.), is evidently from **γράμμος* and, accordingly, the accompanying numeral is masculine (שתה, שיתא). *γράμμα* is equivalent to the Latin *scrupulum*, a unit of weight equal to 1/24 of an ounce. We have seen, however, that "scruple" as a unit of currency means either one-third of a silver denarius, or one-fourth of a gold denarius.

מלך ע[למה יתן] ברכתה בעמלה[ון]. For the restoration see I : 4.

יודן ארדה מן הימאים דידהב תלת. This phrase bristles with difficulties. The rare biblical name ארד, and ארך—"tall", are equally unsatisfactory; the latter would have to be either Hebrew הארוך or Aramaic אריכא (the real name of the great second-century scholar רב was, of course, אבא אריכא).

המן is also meaningless, and it is no help to correct it to דמן, as no place by the name of חימאים or חימאים is known. It is further remarkable that the denomination of the coin should have been left out after תלת, though it might be meant to be understood from the foregoing to be גרמין. It is therefore from sheer perplexity, and with all reserve, that I suggest that the mosaic-maker may have jumbled the letters, and that the first three words should be יזדן דמן אריח.

A place called אריח in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee is known from several passages. It is supposed to have been

[1] PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realencycl.* Vol. VII, col. 1708. [2] *Ibid.*, *s. v.* aureus.

identical with בית ירח, the site of which we are enabled by the contexts in which it occurs to locate with certainty at Khirbet Kerak, at the southwestern corner of the Sea of Galilee, just above the issue of the Jordan.[1]

Line 4.

ודכ[ירין לט]ב ארבילי. The restoration is certain. The rabbinical literature makes frequent mention of an ארבל in Galilee; with which cf. Ἄρβηλ 1 Mk. 9[2]. Ἄρβηλα JOSEPHUS, *Wars*, XII,11,1; 14,15,4. This Arbel is certainly to be identified with Khirbet Irbid, near Ḥattîn (at which, by the way, the ruins of an ancient synagogue may still be seen). It was apparently an important Jewish centre and known for its linen wares and cereals.[2] The ארבילי of our inscriptions may, however, though less probably, have dwelt at Irbid in Transjordan.

מחיתהון. Of the left shank of the ת only a faint trace remains, מחיתא—"web" is otherwise only known from Babylonian sources, but the verb מחא "to weave" is common Aramaic. We have already seen that Arbel was a centre of linen manufacture. The donated articles were probably not put to any direct use in the synanogue, but sold.

מלך עלמ(ה). The mosaicist has carelessly omitted the ה of עלמה.

III

The left-hand inscription (Fig. 15) reads:

1. ודכ(י)ר לטב קירים ליאנטים וקירה קלניק דה[בון
. . . . . לי]קרה דכנישתה
2. מלך עלמה יתן ברכתה בעמלה אמן אמן סלה
שלום ודכירה לטב חדה אתה
3. אנטוליה ד[יהב]ה חד דינר ליקרה דכנישתה מלך
עלמה יתן ברכתה בעמלה
4. אמן אמן [סלה] שלום ודכירין לטב עיריא דהבון
חד טר(ימ)יסין

[1] SUKENIK, "The Ancient City of Philoteria", *JPOS*, Vol. II, pp. 101ff.
[2] A. NEUBAUER, *La géographie du Talmud*, pp. 219f.

Translation:

1. And remembered be for good Kyris Leontios and Kyra Kalonike, [who have donated . . . denarii in ho]nour of the synagogue.

2. May the King of the Universe bestow blessing upon his work. Amen. Amen. Selah. Peace. And remembered be for good one woman

3. Anatolia, [who has donate]d one denarius in honour of the synagogue. May the King of the Universe bestow blessing upon her work.

4. Amen. Amen. [Selah.] Peace. And remembered be for good the wakeful who have donated one tr(em)issis.

Line 1.

ודכר. A slip for ודכיר.

קירים ליאנטים וקירה קלניק. The titles קירים and קירה as in I. ליאנטים = *Λεόντιος* or *Λεόντις*.[1] This name, as well as Leo and *Λέος*, is also found in Jewish epitaphs at Rome.[2] The corresponding feminine name *Λεόντις* was borne by a Jewess of Thebes, Egypt, in the second century B.C.,[3] and the variant *Λεοντία* by another at Rome.[4] קלניק = *Καλονίκη* or *Καλλινίκη*.

[דינרין . . . דה[בון . . . . That the denomination was the denarius appears from l. 3.

Line 2.

בעמלה. We should have expected בעמלהון. Perhaps Leontios and Kalonike were husband and wife and for this reason treated as one.

חדה אתה. This is a more grammatical reading than הדה אתה; still it is conceivable that הדה was intended and אתה is contracted from, or a mistake for, אתתה, in which case we should have to translate "the (well-known) woman", *illa mulier*.

Line 3.

אנטוליה = *Ἀνατολία*, in a Byzantine church mosaic found near the Third Wall of Jerusalem.[5] In a Christian Palestinian text, how-

1 PAPE-BENSELER, *op. cit.*, p. 784. 2 MÜLLER-BEES, *op. cit.*, No. 144. and 132.
3 FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 146. 4 MÜLLER-BEES, *op. cit.*, No. 23.
5 SUKENIK-MAYER, *The Third Wall of Jerusalem*, pp. 46f., Fig. 39.

ever, אנטוליא is the rendering of *Νατάλια*.[1] Cf. also the masculine proper names אבא אנטולי (Y. Demai, 24d), and *Ἐντόλιος* in a Jewish inscription of Alexandria.[2]

Line 4.

עיריא, "the wakeful" i.e., those who have experienced an inward urge; cf. the favorite phrase of the Chronicler; העיר יהוה את רוח פ׳. A somewhat similar conception underlies the following Aggadic interpretation of Ct. 5 : 2, in Canticles Rabbah *ad loc.*: אני ישנה—מבית המקדש, ולבי ער—לבתי כנסיות ובתי מדרשות.

טר(ימי)סין—see on II : 1. The space that ought to be occupied by ימי has for some reason been left blank.

IV

(Pl. XIIa)

Near the bottom of the fourth panel, to the right of the vertical axis of symmetry, is a *tabula ansata* containing an inscription. There was presumably another of the same size and shape in a corresponding position on the left, but this part of the floor has not been preserved. The surviving *tabula ansata* is 1.25 m long

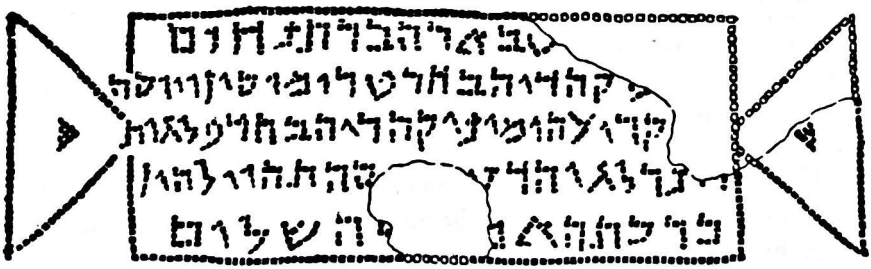


Fig. 16. el-Ḥammeh Synagogue, Mosaic inscription IV

and 0.35 m. high. The upper right-hand corner of the *tabula* and a piece of the right-hand *ansa* are missing. The lettering was evidently executed by a different workman from the others. It is superior to theirs: ה and ח, ד and ר, being carefully distinguished throughout. The inscription (Fig. 16) consists of the following five lines:

[1] F. SCHULTHESS, *Grammatik d. christlich-pal. Aramäisch*, p. 27, § 54, note 3.
[2] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'arch. orient.*, Vol. VII, pp. 144f.

1. [ודכיר ל]טב אדה בר תנחום
2. [בר מוני]קה דיהב חד טרימיסין ויוסה
3. [בר] קרוצה ומוניקה דיהב(ו) חד פלגות
4. [די]נר לגו הדן [פסיפ]סה תהוי להון
5. ברכתה אמ[ן סל]ה שלום

Translation:

1. [And remembered for] good be Ada, the son of Tanḥûm
2. the son of Moni]kos, who has contributed one tremissis, and Yôse,

3. the son of Qaroṣah(?) and Monikos, who have contributed (one)-half
4. denarius towards th[is mosai]c. May theirs be
5. the blessing. Am[en. Sel]ah. Peace.

Line 1.

אדה — the name of several Palestinian and Babylonian Amoras. תנחום. See on II: 1.

Line 2.

בר מוני]קה]. The restoration is certain. The tails of a נ and a י are still extant; cf. also l. 3. The mention of both father and grandfather is paralleled by inscriptions from Kafr Kanna:[1] יוסה בר תנחום בר בוטה; Khirbet Kanef: יוסה בר חלפי בר חנ[ינא];[2] and Capernaum: חלפי בר זבידה בר יוחנן.[3]

ויוסה had to be written in small characters, and partly outside the frame, owing to the artist having miscalculated the amount of space he would need.

Line 3.

[בר] קרוצה ומוניקה seems to be the most plausible restoration. קרוצה, otherwise unknown as a proper name, denotes as an appelative a kind of mosquito or gnat.

[1] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, "La mosaïque hébraïque de Kefr Kenna," *Recueil d'arch. orient.*, Vol. IV, pp. 345ff. [2] SUKENIK, *Journal of the Jewish Pal. Expl. Society*, 1934-35, pp. 74ff. [3] SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues*, p. 72.

דיהב חד פלגות is ungrammatical. דיהב, referring to two persons, ought to be דיהבו or דיהבון and is masculine, while פלגו is feminine. Besides, "one" is superfluous before "half". The explanation for all this is that the artisan thoughtlessly added דיהב חד after מוניקה as in line 2. Note that פלגות again encroaches upon the margin. There was a currency unit, the *semis* or *semissis*, which was half a *solidus* (denarius).

Line 4.

לגו. literally "into"

הדן, more commonly spelled הדין.

[פסיפ]סה. פסיפס = ψῆφος, properly "tessera", is the usual word for "mosaic"; cf. טימי פסיפסה (Naʿarân),[1] "the cost of the mosaic"; [הדין פסיפ]סה (Beth Alpha),[2] "this mosaic".

תהוי להון ברכתה וכו'. Cf. from Kafr Kanna:[3] תהי להון ברכתה; from Capernaum:[4] ת(ה)י לא (=לה) ברכתה; from Gischala: תאה (=תהא) לה ברכתה.[5]

Line 5.

אמ[ן סל]ה וכו'. The usual formula is אמן אמן סלה, but there is only room for the restoration of three letters here.

V

Near the southern end of the west aisle there are remains of a *tabula ansata* which once contained an inscription. Of the inscription itself nothing remains.

[1] IDEM. *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[2] IDEM, *The Ancient Syn. of Beth-Alpha*, p. 44.
[3] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *l.c.*
[4] SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues*, p. 72.
[5] RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 779.

CHAPTER V

THE SCREEN

As stated in Chapter I, a number of fragments which formerly belonged to the screen dividing the apse from the prayer hall, were found scattered in the region of the apse. The state in which they were found shows clearly that the screen was wantonly destroyed. The fragments are, with one exception, of white marble.

Fig. 17 represents a limestone pillar with vertical grooves on two opposite sides for the support of marble slabs.

The marble fragments are shown in Fig. 18:

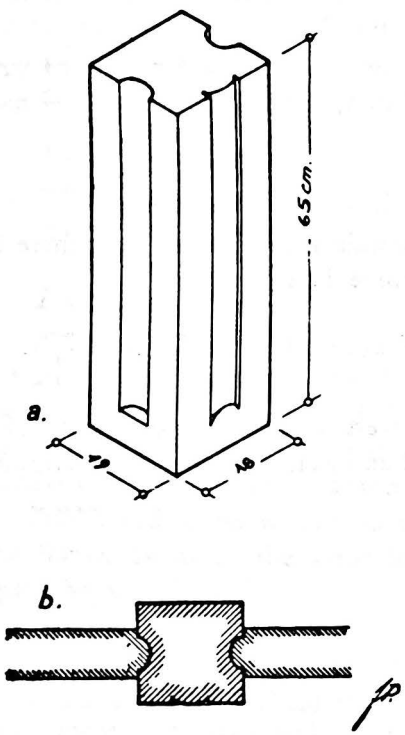


Fig. 17
el-Ḥammeh. Screen pillar.

a., fragment of a square pillar; front (width 17 cm.) carved: on one side (12 cm. wide) a vertical groove for the insertion of a slab.

b., a portion of a slab (26 cm. high by 36 cm. by 3 cm.) with corner of a frame enclosing other carving.

c., upper portion of a small column (diam. 12.5 cm.) surmounted by a round capital, with eggs carved on the neck; grooved on one side.

d., part of a small column (diam. 12.5 cm.), grooved on one side.

e., fragment of slab (2.5 cm. thick), carving resembling that of *b.*

f., base of small engaged column; width 13 cm.

Three consecutive fragments (*Pl. XIIb*), from a slab which was ornamented with a wreath enclosing a shell (or rosette) and inscribed with Greek writing, were found. Their preserved length is 46 cm., height 25 cm. and thickness

5.5 cm. They preserved the following letters: *ΟΣΠΑΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ*; which is perhaps to be restored e.g. as *υἱ]ὸς Παρηγορίου*, i.e., X, the son

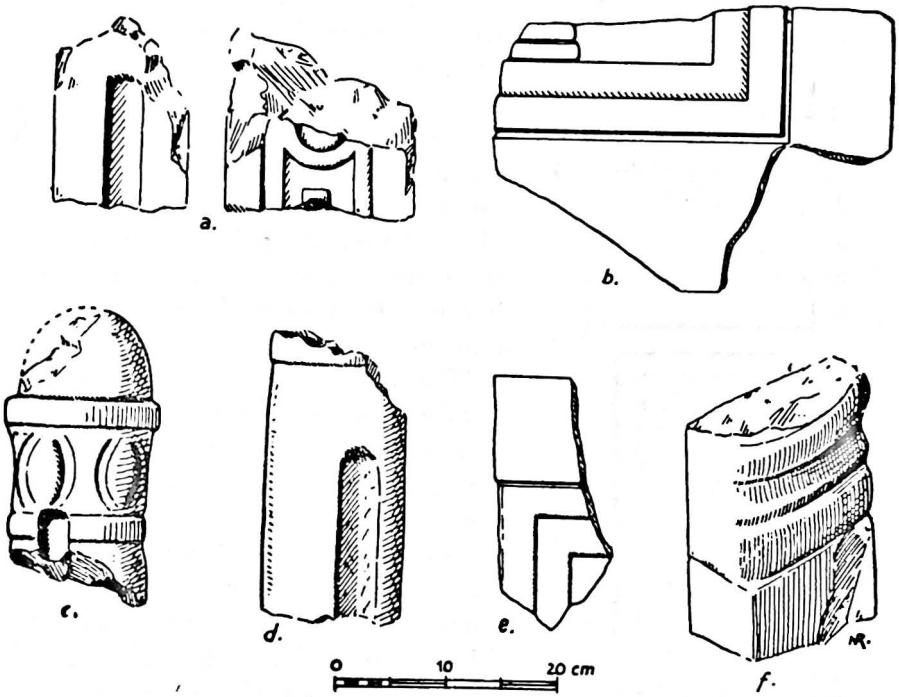


Fig. 18. el-Ḥammeh. Marble Screen fragments.

of Paregorios. The name *Παρηγόριος*, (cf. פריגרי, name of an Amora, Y. Ter. 47d). which is equivalent to Hebrew תנחום, נחום, נחמן, מנחם etc., occurs a number of times elsewhere in Jewish epigraphy.[1]

Apparently another son of Paregorios is referred to in a further fragment of a slab, (30 cm. by 14 cm. by 3.5 cm.), the legend of which may perhaps be restored as: Y *υἱὸς Παρη]γορίου καὶ τόν*(?)[.

A smaller fragment (16 cm. by 19 cm. by 4.5 cm.) whose left edge is thinned so as to fit into a vertical groove in a pillar, is inscribed *καὶ τόν*[. Still another (11 cm. by 16 cm. by 4.5 cm.) bears the letters]*ου κ*(*αὶ*)[. Other fragments preserved only a few letters, from which it is impossible to extract any meaning.

[1] Cf. Euting, *Epigraphische Miscellen* (Sitzungsbericht d. Kön-Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Vols. XXXV. XXXVI) No. 94; ALT, 'Ein jüdischer Grabstein aus Joppe', *Palästinajahrbuch* 1922/23, pp. 100ff.; also bibliography there.

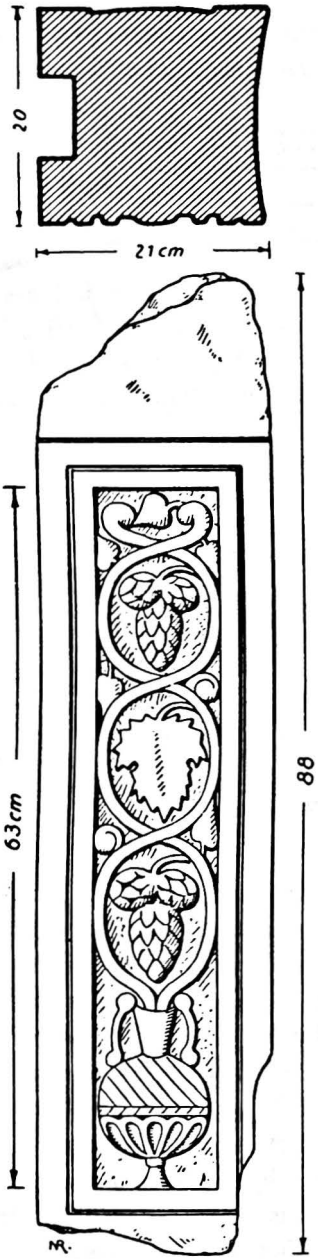


Fig. 19. Beit Jibrīn. Screen pillar.

Of the other synagogue screens known, only that of Ḥammath-by-Tiberias,[1] which is in a much better state of preservation, was discovered by actual excavation; the remainder can only be inferred to have belonged to ancient synagogues, though that with certainty. Some of these are, like ours, inscribed, and this was evidently the rule. As they are published in various works, and not always well reproduced, they are here shown afresh, along with some hitherto unedited ones.

The parts of the screen of Ḥammath-by-Tiberias were found mostly in a small chamber by the southern wall of the basilica; this was no doubt its wall of orientation, by which the Ark of the Law stood. The objects found include a small marble column 0.90 m. high, and 0.30 m. in diameter, crowned by a capital of lotus; this column apparently stood free in some part of the screen *(Pl. XIIIa)*. A small square pillar, about 1 m. high by 18 cm. wide, an oblong carved down its front side and vertical grooves (designed to support slabs) down its lateral faces, is surmounted by a capital shaped somewhat like a crown and having a number of grooves running down from its wider middle to its narrower base. An oblong slab, 61 cm. long by 19 cm: wide, is ornamented with a superficially incised seven-branched candlestick with a *shofar* to its left. Above are what appear to be acanthus

[1] N. Slouschz, קובץ החברה העברית לחקירת א'י ועתיקותיה, חפירות החברה בחמת של טבריה Vol. I, pp. 5ff.

leaves, and at the very top three concentric circles. The motif of the seven-branched candlestick recurs on three sides of a small capital, 15.5 cm. high, ornamented with acanthus leaves *(Pl. XIIIb)*. To the same screen belongs a marble slab about 1 m. long, 51 cm. wide, decorated with a vase from which issues a cluster of grapes *(Pl. XIVa)*.

To the screen of this synagogue may also have belonged a fragment of a slab, 45 cm. high, by 70 m. long, which was found not inside but in the vicinity of the synagogue *(Pl. XIVb)*. It is handsomely carved with a floral scroll bearing pomegranates and grapes.

These are the most extensive remains of a synagogue screen yet found, but unfortunately even they do not enable a reconstruction of a complete screen.

A small pillar, formerly built into a house at Beit Jibrīn together with a synagogue inscription, and now kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum,[1] may also have belonged to a synagogue screen. On its front side an attractive double interlacing vine rises from an amphora. (Fig. 19).

The candlestick motif reappears again on fragments of a marble slab said to come from Ashdod (Fig. 20).[2] A frame of Lesbian cyma encloses a wreath tied with a knot whose two ends expand into floral motifs. Inside the wreath is a seven-branched candlestick flanked on the left by a *shofar* and on the right by a *lulab*. Above the frame is a legend in Greek followed by the Hebrew word שלום. The Greek, of which only the right-hand half is preserved, is restored by DALMAN[3] as follows: [*εἴη ἐπ' Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ἀγ*]*αθὸν καὶ ἡ εὐλογία* (*ἀμή*)*ν* "May there be upon Israel the good and the blessing. Amen"

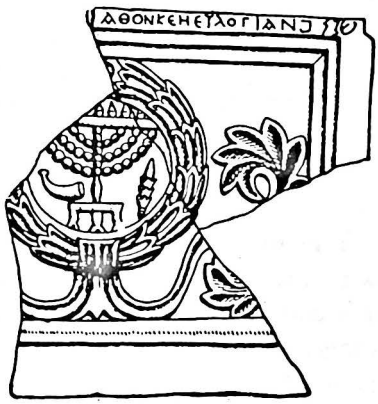


Fig. 20. Ashdod.
Slab from synagogue Screen.

[1] SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, p. 72.
[2] KOHL-WATZINGER, *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*, p. 160, Fig. 291.
[3] *apud* S. KLEIN, *Jüdisch.-Pal. Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 85.

(cf. Pr. 24[25]). The end of the Greek line is actually *ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ*, which, however, is ungrammatical.

A fragment, 15 cm. long by 18 cm. high by 15 cm. thick, found near Gaza is now in the archaeological collection of the Hebrew University. Unlike the others, this was a lattice-screen such as is found in churches. The fragment is broken off at the bottom; and a socket in the top of the solid upper part evidently received a tenon from a higher-placed piece. In the upper left-hand corner of the fragment there are traces of Greek lettering. Superficially incised is a seven-branched candlestick flanked by a *shofar* on the left and a *lulab* on the right *(Pl. XVIIb)*.

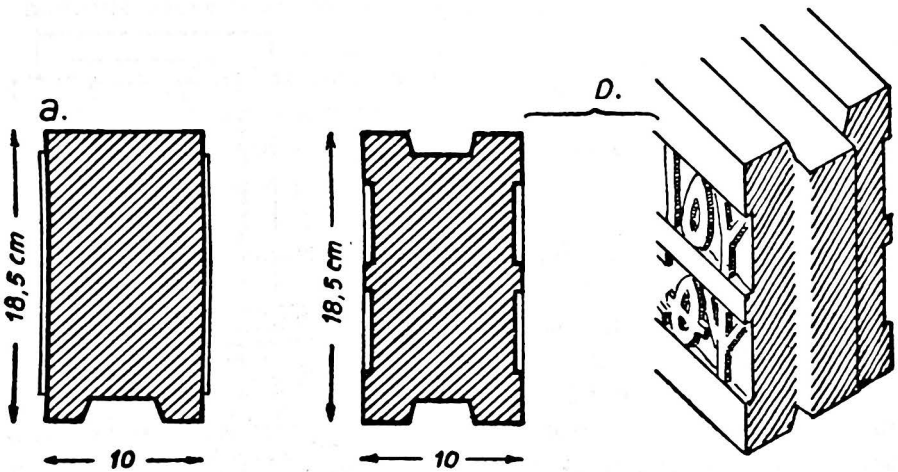


Fig. 21. Parts of synagogue screen from Ascalon

The inscriptions which presumably graced all these screens are exemplified by that preserved on fragments of such a railing from the vicinity of Ascalon now in the small collection of the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut, Jerusalem (Fig. 21 and *Pls. XV–XVI*).[1]

[1] They were first published with drawings by G. DALMAN *(Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 1903, pp. 17ff.). DALMAN's illustrations were also included by CLERMONT-GANNEAU in his article "Sur diverses inscriptions de Palestine publiées par M. Dalman" (*Recueil d'archéologie Orientale*, vol. VI, pp. 167ff.). A photograph of the slab bearing the Menorah was published by THOMSEN (*Kompendium d. palästinischen Altertumskunde*, p. 60, Fig. 28) and SUKENIK (*Ancient Syn.*, Pl. XIV). The photographs of the inscribed stones are here published for the first time. I am indebted to the authorities of the Evangelisches Institut for allowing me to photograph these inscriptions.

According to the men who sold these stones to the Institut, they were found in a grave near Ascalon. The slabs bearing the inscription served as a lintel for the door of the tomb, and the ornamented one as a doorpost. Inasmuch as they are all equal in height and thickness, it is clear that they came from the same structure. They probably belonged to a synagogue in Ascalon or its vicinity.

The three stones are of polished marble. Judging from the fact that the decorations and the inscription cover both faces, it appears that both sides were free. Through the middle of the under surface of the engraved stone a groove runs lengthwise. The other stones have such grooves along both their upper and under surfaces. These were designed to receive the slabs of the screen. From them we may also infer that the engraved stone was placed in the uppermost part of the railing and the others lower down (for evidently there were vertical slabs both above and below them).

The decorated stone is 44 cm. long, 10 thick and 18.5 wide. On either upright side of it is carved a seven-branched *menorah* standing on a base of three feet. To the right of it, above the base, there is a ram's horn (*shofar*) and to the left a palm-branch (*lulab*) and citrus fruit (*ethrog*). The lulab stands on the same level as the *menorah*, and extends almost to the top of the branches. Both the latter and the base are carved in schematic fashion simply by means of double lines, without any attempt to bring out the details of the structure of the *menorah* by the use of segmentation and flowers, as in the one found at Ḥammath-by-Tiberias and those pictured on the mosaic floors. The upper ends of the branches are connected by a horizontal bar, on the top of which the individual lamps are represented in the simplest style. It should be noted that whereas in the case of the one *menorah* the artist provided the necessary seven lamps, the complex arrangement of the field of the other left him space for but five. The *shofar* to the right of the *menorah* is composed of segments, apparently in order to give some effect of roundness. Such segments also make up the lower end of the *lulab*, where the willow and myrtle-boughs were tied around it. The *ethrog* is placed next to the *lulab*, between the branches and the base of the *menorah (Pl. XV)*.

Besides the *lulab* on the one hand and the other *shofar* on the

other, there is a conventional vine-branch which interlaces so as to form circles. The latter contain rosettes, which are again conventionalized. A row of knobs with circumscribed circles alternating with rhombuses constitutes the upper border, and a branch with its leeves the lower one. The spaces between the aforementioned circles are likewise filled in with leaves.

The other two fragments have a two-line Greek inscription on both sides, with a narrow bar between the lines (Fig. 21, *Pl. XVI*). The stones are of unequal length, measuring 42 and 57 cm. respectively. The letters, which are 5 cm. high, are flush with the face of the stone, the spaces being hollowed out. DALMAN, taking the two lines on each surface of the inscription consecutively, read and translated as follows:

A–B { *Θ[εοσε]βης] κυρα Λομνα Ιου[λια κυ]ρ[ιου Μαριν[ου] Νοννου ευχαρ[ιστων]*
τω Θ[ε]ω κ[αι] τω αγ[ιω Ἡλι]α υπερ σωτερ[ιας] κυρ[ιου] Κομμο[δου.]

A′–B′ { *προσφερωμεν κυρ[ιω Αν]τονιν[ω] Ελικιου εγκ[ωμι]α υπερ σωτερ[ιας] ζοην, ετους ψ.*

"Die gottesfürchtige Herrin Domna Julia, Tochter des Herrn Marinos Nonnos, dankt Gott und dem heiligen Elias (?) für das Heil des Herrn Kommodos. Laßt uns darbringen dem Herrn Antoninos, Sohn des Elikias, Lob für die Rettung des Lebens (?) im Jahre 709".

He moreover offered the hypothesis that this "Kyra Domna" was identifiable with the empress Julia Domna, and "Kyrios Kommodos" with the emperor Commodus. Accordingly, he understood the date to refer to the Seleucid era, corresponding to 397 A. D. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, however, correctly pointed out that this date is too early for both the style and the palaeography of the inscription. In addition he proposed a different, and undoubtedly preferable sequence of the lines: the continuation of the first line of the obverse is the first line of the reverse; then follow the two lower lines in the same order. His reading is given here with the change of a single word, as will be noted.

A–B l. 1 + A′–B′ l. 1 { *Θ(εῷ) β(οηοῦντι). Κύρα Δόμνα Ἰου(λιανοῦ) καὶ κύρ(ος) Μάρι Νόννου εὐχαρ(ιστοῦντες) προςφέρωμεν.....*
Κῦρος [. . . n. pr. patronym.? *ἐγ]γόνιν Ἑλικίου*

A–B l. 2 + A′–B′ l. 2 { *τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ [τόπῳ προσήνεγκα] ὑπὲρ σωτερ(ίασ).*
Κῦρος Κόμ(μοδος) [προσήν]εγκα ὑπὲρ σωτερίας. ζοήν.
ἔτους ϑψ.

Translation:

1. To the Helping God, we, Kyra Domna, daughter of Ju(lian?) and Kyros Mari, son of Nonnos, in gratitude present. Kyros . . . . . the son of . . . . . , the grandson of Helikios,

2. has presented to God and to the Holy Place for his salvation. Kyros Commodus has presented for his salvation . . . . life. Year 709.

Instead of *Θεῷ βοηϑοῦντι* other derivatives of *Θεός* and *βοηϑεῖν* are of course possible.

The restoration *τόπῳ* is in accordance with recent progress in Jewish epigraphy. When CLERMONT-GANNEAU wrote, thirty years ago, it was hardly possible to choose between this word and *οἴκῳ*, which was chosen by him.

ζοήν is probably the concluding word of some benediction upon the donors like those which are familiar from Hebrew and Aramaic synagogue inscriptions. For the phraseology, cf. a Jewish inscription of the late Byzantine era on the monolithic column in the vestibule of the closed gate under the Mosque of al-Aqṣa, on the Temple Mount: יונה ושבתיה אשתו מן סקליא חזקו בחיים.[1]

As for the date, CLERMONTGANNEAU is no doubt right in making it refer to the era of Ascalon (104 B.C.), and therefore equivalent to 604 A.D.

For *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας* cf. an inscription here published for the first time, on a column found at Ascalon (*Pl. XVIIa*), now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum:[2]

1) *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μενα-* 2) *μοῦ κ(αὶ) Μαιρώνα σηβίου αὐ-*
3) *τοῦ κ(αὶ) Σαμούλου υἱοῦ* 4) *αὐτῶν*

"For the salvation of Menaḥem and his wife Mairona and their son Samuel."

Μεναμοῦ is of course contracted from *Μεναεμοῦ*, מנחם, and

[1] DE VOLNEY, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, vol. II, pp. 325f.; EUTING, *op. cit.*, p. 683, No. 68; SUKENIK, הכתבות היהודיות בהר הבית, ציון, Vol. IV, pp. 136ff.

[2] I have to thank the Department of Antiquities of the Palestine Government for furnishing me with a squeeze and photograph of the inscription and according me permission to publish it.

Σαμούλου from *Σαμουήλου*, שמואל. For *Μαιρώνα*, the name of his wife, cf. *Μαῖρα*, meaning "the scintillating".[1]

Σηβίου in Byzantine (and modern) Greek differs only graphically from *συβίου*, a contraction of *συμβίου*; cf. Talmudic Hebrew סיבול (also סינבול) or סיבול(י)ת = *σύμβολα* "pooled resources".

Likewise from Ascalon, and apparently also from an apse-screen, is a fragment from a marble slab with a Hebrew inscription of four lines found by CLERMONT-GANNEAU in 1878, and now kept in the Musée du Louvre (A O 1274).[2] Its dimensions are: height 26 cm. width 29 cm. The execution of the writing resembles that in the inscriptions at the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut discussed above. The letters are formed by the hollowing out of the intervening spaces, and the lines are divided by horizontal bars. The damaged condition of the inscription preclude a connected reading.

1. . . . .
2. ב ב לחדוחז
3. דשמיהו
4. שתלמ?

In line 3 the complex דשמיה "of Heaven" may be discerned. The preceding word may have been something like ליקרה "for the glory" and the sense of the text as a whole will then have been approximately: "remembered be for good N N, who offered . . . for the glory of Heaven".

From Ascalon also was a fragment of marble, presumably from an apse-screen, with a Hebrew inscription, found in the Palestine Exploration Fund excavations at Ascalon in the years 1920 and 1921. The fragment, formerly kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (Inv. No. 916) has unfortunately disappeared, and only a copy of it in the catalogue is now to be found there.[3] It was 13 cm. high by 17 cm. broad, and read

1. משמר
2. משמר ש(?)
3. . . משמר א

[1] PAPE-BENSELER; *Wörterbuch d. griechischen Eigennamen.* s. v.

[2] DUSSAUD, *Les monuments Palestiniens et Judaïques*, p. 71, No. 86.

[3] SUKENIK, ציון, שלש כתבות יהודיות עתיקות מארץ ישראל, Vol. I, pp. 16ff.

This is evidently part of a list of the 24 Priestly Orders (I Chron. 24[17-18]). The ש of line 2 and the א of line 3 enable a complete restoration of the three lines as follows.

1. משמר [ישוע]
2. משמר ש[כניהו]
3. משמר א[לישיב]

There are *piyyuṭim* on the 24 Priestly Orders, e.g. that of Ḳalir for recital on the 9th of Ab, and this inscription evidently likewise served the purpose of keeping alive the memory of the organisation

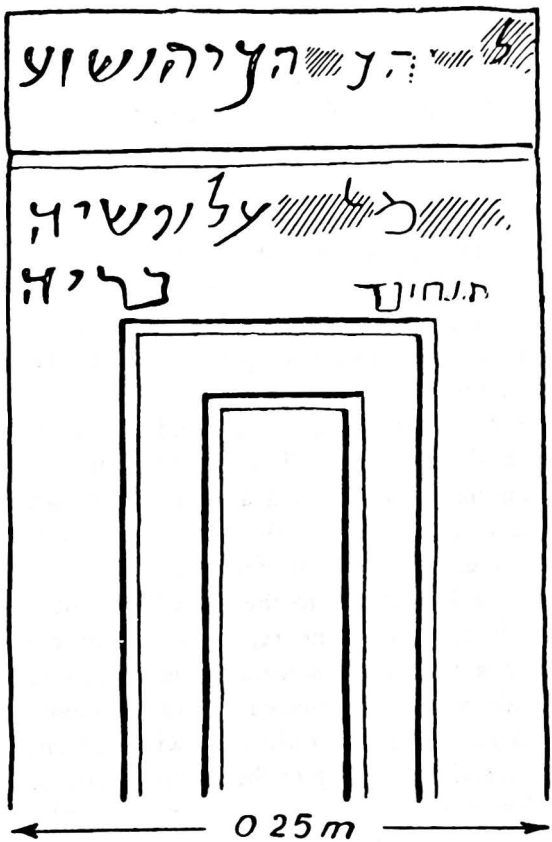


Fig. 22. Beersheba. Fragment of Screen-pillar.

of the priests in the time of the Temple. Although all the other apse-screen inscriptions we know are votive inscriptions, the screen, on account of its prominent position, was also an appropriate place for such a tablet as this.

I am indebted to Père L. H. VINCENT for the knowledge of an inscribed fragment of a screen-pillar at Beersheba, which was copied by him in 1904 (Fig. 22). It was then built into a window in the house of Amīn Effendi. Not much of the inscription remains; what is left seems to read as follows:

1. ה? יהושוע ל יהב . . ???
2. על נפשיה מל
3. בריה תנחום

Line 1 and ll. 2 and 3b are by two different hands, whilst line 3a is by still a third hand. At the end of line 1 is the name יהושוע—Joshua. At the end of line 2—על נפשיה, lit. "upon his soul", which may be equivalent to על חיוהי "for his life" in Palmyrene votive inscriptions. Line 3a has the very common Palestinian name Tanḥum, and line 3b בריה which means "his son".

Lines 2 and 3b are reminiscent of the blessing invoked upon the donors and the members of their families in the Ḥammath-by-Gadara inscription No. 1. The practice is paralleled at an earlier date in the Palmyrene votive inscriptions which we have already cited for comparison.

Line 1 is not only by a different hand from the rest, but is ruled off by a double line. The spelling of the suffix of the third person singular masc. in ll. 2 and 3b is not paralleled in other ancient synagogue inscriptions. Does it indicate a later date? The ductus, at any rate, does not call for one.

Lastly, there is in addition to the Gaza fragment discussed above an inscribed slab from the same region which may very well also be derived from a synagogue screen. This tablet measuring 17 cm. high, 23 cm. wide, was first published by Père GERMER-DURAND,[1] who, thinking that *ἅγιος τόπος* was only used with reference to churches, interpreted the inscription, despite the Hebrew names, as a Christian document. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, however, pointed out, that the names are Jewish and that nothing in the inscription speaks against Jewish authorship. His restoration *ὑπὲρ σωτηρί]ας* is a formula which recurs in a number of other synagogue inscriptions and

[1] *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 248; GLERMOMT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. IV, pp. 139ff.

ἅγιος τόπος has since proved to be in perfect agreement with Jewish custom. The inscription, commemorating the renovation of the *κόγχη*, i. e., the recess where the Torah shrine rested, is an appropriate legend for an apse-screen. Following partly the restoration of CLERMONT-GANNEAU, it may be read and interpreted as follows:

[*ὑπὲρ σωτηρί*]*ας Ἰακώ*(*βου*) *Λαζάρ-*
[*ου* n. pr. *υἱὸ*]*ς ἵνα εὐχαριστο*(*ῦ*)*ν-*
[*τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ*] *τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου ἀνενέ-*
[*ωσεν τὸ κτίσ*]*μα τῆς κώνχ*(*η*)*ς σὺν*
[*τῷ καγκέλλῳ ἀπ*]*ὸ θεμελί*(*ων*) *μ*(*ηνὸς*) *μαρτίου ἰν*(*δικτιῶνος* . . . .

For the salvation of Jacob the son of Lazarus, X, his son, in gratitude to God has renovated the structure of the apse of this holy place together with its screen from the ground up in the month of March, indiction. . . .

ἵνα will then be followed by a confusion of the subjunctive *εὐχαριστῇ* and the infinitive *εὐχαριστεῖν*; but it must be admitted that *ἵνα* with the infinitive is very rare at this period. It goes without saying that other restorations than those offered are also possible.

CHAPTER VI

Small Finds

The excavation did not yield many small finds. Most numerous were the coins which were found both in the area of the synagogue and in the partial clearing of the theatre and in the soundings at the Roman bath.

Fig. 23
el-Ḥammeh. Ring with legend.

The oldest coins found in the synagogue area were two copper ones of the Hellenistic period, probably of Antiochus IV. The Roman period is represented by a silver coin, apparently of Trajan, and by a small copper one of Constantine the Great, and one of Arcadius. The majority, as might be expected, are Byzantine, mainly of the reign of Justin II. These were minted as follows: 5 at Constantinople, 6 at Nicomedia, 2 at Antioch, and 2 at Cyzicus. Phocas is represented by 3 copper coins, 2 of the mint of Nicomedia and 1 of Thessalonica. The last Byzantine sovereign who ruled over Palestine, Heraclius, is also represented by one copper coin. The Arab period is represented by 4 Omayyad specimens and 1 Mameluke; three of these coins being struck at Damascus, one of them with a hexagon.

No coins older than the Roman period were found at the theatre. The oldest is from the reign of Alexander Severus, then follows one of Diocletian with the legend IMP. C. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS AVG. on the obverse and CONCORDIA MILITVM on the reverse. There is a coin of Nysa-Scythopolis of Gordian III and three of Constantine with the legend IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. on the obverse

Fig. 24. el-Ḥammeh.
Signet with engraved bezel.

and JOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG. NN. on the reverse. The Byzantine period is not represented at all and the Arab period by only a few illegible coins. Are we to conclude that the theatre was abandoned during the Byzantine period?

The few coins found in the trenches which we dug at the Roman bath were very much corroded, but Roman, Byzantine and Arab specimens could be distinguished.

There were further found in the synagogue area one ring with the legend *Χε* (i.e., *Χριστὲ*) *βοήθ(ε)ι Ἀνδρέᾳ* (O Christ, help Andrew) engraved on its bezel (Fig. 23) and another, which evidently served as a signet, on whose bezel are deeply incised one above the other an eagle, a lion and a serpent (Fig. 24).

Fig. 25
el-Ḥammeh.
Christian oil-lamp.

There was also a Byzantine lamp with a cross (Fig. 25) and fragments of glass vessels including stems of glass oil-lamps.

CHAPTER VII

General Survey of the Synagogue

The Gallery

The remains of the synagogue are practically confined to the foundation. Consequently no data are available for a restoration of the superstructure. It may, however, confidently be inferred that the basilica was provided with a gallery for women worshippers, from the massive pillars at the north-east and north-west corners of the colonnade, features which are shared by our synagogue with those of Chorazin, Capernaum and some other sites. The gallery did not run along the side where the Torah shrine stood, in our case the south side. It was apparently approached from the small chamber attached to the north-east corner of the basilica. As may be seen from the plan, this small chamber had a small entrance of its own from the narrow court, and on the other hand, in contrast to the adjoining large chamber, had no direct communication with the basilica. An internal staircase may still be seen at the synagogue of Chorazin, at the northern end of the annex on its west side, and it seems there was also one at Beth Alpha in the annex at the south-west end of the basilica. At the synagogue of Capernaum, on the other hand, we find two staircases built against the sides of the small annex which is at the north-west corner.

The separation of the sexes at worship, though not specifically prescribed in the Rabbinic sources, is already attested by Philo (*apud* Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, 8:12).[1] Moreover the account in Yer. Sukkah 55b of the destruction of the Jewish Community Centre (the "Diplostoon") at Alexandria during the Jewish rebellion in the reign of the Emperor Trajan makes the women of the congregation refer to themselves as עיליא, "(those of) the upper story", and to the men as ארעיא, "(those of) the lower story").[2] These expressions obviously fit very well with conditions in Palestine, where most synagogue ruins

[1] Cf. J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, Paris 1914, I., p. 458 n.

[2] Cf. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues*, p. 48, n. 1.

have preserved unmistakable traces of a gallery. However, the practice need not have been the same everywhere. To this day in small Jewish places of worship only a part of the hall separated from the rest by a screen or lattice serves as מזרח נשים.

The above should be borne in mind in connection with the synagogue at Dura-Europos, dating from about 245–6 A. D., where the extant remains are such as to preclude a gallery having ever existed. Besides the main entrance, in the centre of the east wall, there are traces of a smaller one at its southern end, which may have served as an approach to a partitioned women's section in the corner of the hall. Nevertheless, the possibility must also be admitted that no provision was made at all for women worshippers in the synagogue of Dura-Europos; for women are by Jewish law exempt from the duty of prayer. Individual women desirous of participating in divine services could follow them from the court, or possibly from a pew reserved for them inside. It is worth noting that even Maimonides (12th century) in his הילכות תפילה says nothing about a special section for female worshippers.

THE APSE

An architectural feature which is characteristic of the period of our synagogue is the apse. An apse, the purpose of which was to serve as a permanent repository for the Ark of the Law, was also found in the ancient synagogue of Beth Alpha and at that of Jerash, and one may also have existed at ʿAin Dûk (Naʿarân). Outside Palestine, synagogue-apses were found at Elche,[1] Stobi,[2] Aegina,[3] and Ephesus.[4] As I have shown elsewhere,[5] those synagogues which were originally built with a special recess in the wall of orientation for the permanent accommodation of the Ark belong to the later type; for those of the earlier type (Capernaum, Chorazin, etc.) at

[1] KOHL-WATZINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 141. From the fact that the floor of the apse was lower than the level of the mosaic, the authors (*ibid.*, n. 2) conclude that it did not belong to the synagogue but to the structure that previously stood on its site. In view of the identical situation at el-Ḥammeh, however, this argument is not conclusive.

[2] See SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues*, p. 79f.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 44f.

[4] SUKENIK, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, p. 53, n. 3.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 50; *Ancient Synagogues*, p. 52f.

first had no provision for housing the Ark in the main hall.. The Talmudic sources make it clear that the Ark was anciently only brought into the synagogue when required for use.[1] The basilicas or synagogues of the earlier period, however, exhibit special structures next to the main portals and blocking them—a sure sign that they are secondary. The later period, when synagogues were planned from the outset with the purpose of having a large Torah shrine as a feature of the prayer-hall, i.e., with a special recess or apse for the purpose in the wall of orientation, began at about the end of the fourth century.

A sort of intermediate stage is represented by the synagogue recently excavated at Dura-Europos (Fig. 26). There we find in

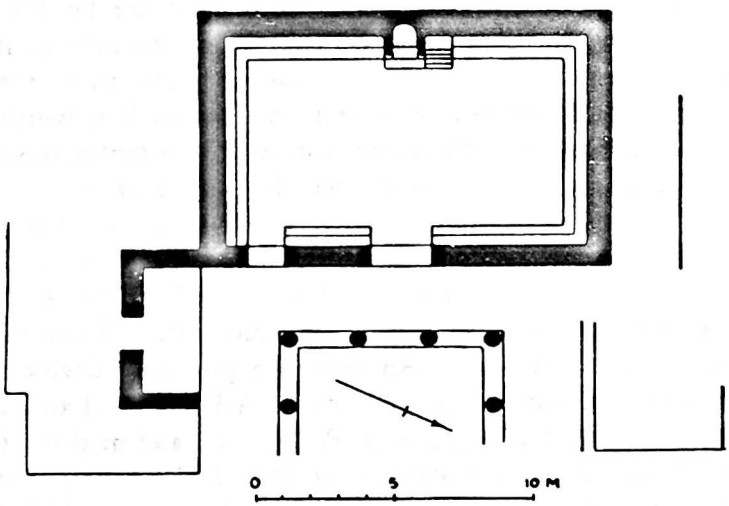


Fig. 26. Sketch-plan of the Synagogue at Dura-Europos.

the middle of the west wall an elaborate niche, forming a sort of aedicula approached by two steps. Two features speak against its having served as a permanent station for the Ark of the Law: a) its small size, which presupposes a portable, not a stationary, shrine, and b) the fairly elaborate decoration of the interior, which presupposes visibility. The natural conclusion is that it used to receive a portable Torah shrine which was brought in from some repository outside the hall during the ceremony of the reading of the Law.

[1] *Beth Alpha*, p. 50, n. 1.

There is also a small niche in the wall of orientation (in this case the south wall) of the synagogue of Irbid in Galilee. In the light of the situation at Dura-Europos, it is now unnecessary to assume, as was previously done, that it is a *miḥrâb* which was hollowed out after the Arab conquest by Moslems who used the place as a mosque.

It may well be that the spacious recess for the permanent accommodation of a stationary Ark is directly descended from the small niche; for beyond certain limits of size, a niche necessarily becomes a protruding apse.

This permanent receptacle for the Ark of the Law was apparently a standing feature of synagogues in the early mediaeval Orient. The name for it was היכל, no doubt an imitation of Syriac *haikla*, Arabic *hêkal*, which to this day designate a chapel in a Christian church. We find this use of היכל in Maimonides, **Hilkhot** Tefillah 11:2; and this is also the meaning of היכל in the mediaeval proverb הכל תלוי במזל, ואפילו ספר תורה שבהיכל: "Everything is subject to chance, even a scroll of the Law in the Apse."[1]

The floor of the apse in the synagogue of Ḥammath-by-Gadara is 1.18 m. lower than the highest of the three steps by which the apse is approached, and is paved with a simple mosaic. In the Beth Alpha synagogue there is likewise a cavity in the platform, but it only occupies the middle front part of the apse. At the latter site, this hollow, whose walls and floor were plastered but not paved, was found to contain a number of copper coins, and the obvious conclusion is that it served as a sort of treasury or secret chamber. The same no doubt applies to that at el-Ḥammeh.

[1] That this use of היכל is post-Talmudic has been pointed out by several scholars. S. KRAUSS, *Synagogale Altertümer*, pp. 367f., claims this meaning for it in Y. Taʿan. 67a: רבן יוחנן בן זכיי כד הוה בעי ייחות מיטרה הוה אמר לספריה קום לך קומי היכלא בגין דרבי בעי מספרא (מסכרא) ולית בחייליה מצטער (rd. with I. LOEW *ap.* KRAUSS: "When Rabban Yoḥanan b. Zakkai wanted it to rain, he used to say to his assistant (lit. "scribe"), "Station thyself before the היכל (and say): 'For my master wishes to let blood and has not the strength to fast.' And forthwith it would rain.—As Rabban Yoḥanan lived the greater part of his life in Jerusalem, prior to the destruction of the Temple, it is risky to make היכל in this passage, alone in the whole Talmudic literature, refer to anything but the Temple.

The Bema

Of another feature of interior architecture connected with the ritual, the *Bema*, no traces could be found. It may have been of wood and therefore have perished. To date, the only sites in Palestine where a *bema* was actually found are Beth Alpha and Capernaum. At Beth Alpha it stood near the south-east corner of the nave, not far from the apse. The *bema* had not been taken into account

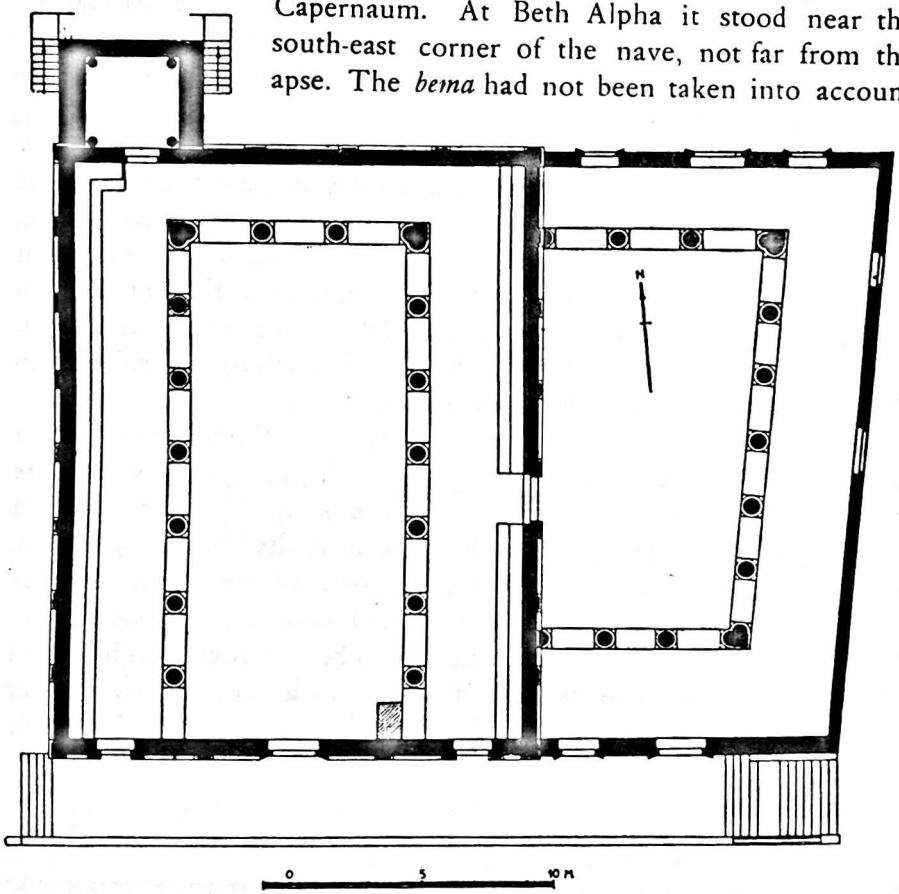


Fig. 27. Plan of the Synagogue at Capernaum.

in the planning and execution of the floor. At Capernaum only the recent clearing of débris by the Franciscans revealed the *bema*, likewise in the south-east corner of the basilica (Fig. 27). At Jerash, on the other hand, traces of a panel projecting from the south aisle into the nave may indicate that this part of the floor was intended

to be occupied by a *bema*. In that case, its position in relation to the apse was the same as at Beth Alpha, except that it stood a little further off.

At Dura-Europos, however *(Pl. XVIII)*, there is "something in the nature of a *bema* to the north of the niche."[1] The prevailing custom to-day of having the *bema* in the centre of the hall is not attested to in antiquity.

ANNEXES

The number of annexed chambers is larger than usual. It has already been suggested that the smallest one may have served as entrance to the gallery. The others may have served one or more of the following purposes: caretaker's dwelling (cf. Bab. Yoma 11 b; Erub 55b: בית הכנסת שיש בו בית דירה לחזן); school-house for children; guest-house for poor strangers.

The existence of a guest-house attached to a synagogue is first attested in the famous synagogue inscription of Theodotos from the Ophel: *καὶ τὸν ξενῶνα*; and this may also be meant by *καὶ τὸ τρίκλεινον κτλ* in the Stobi synagogue inscription. In the rabbinic literature, too, we find:

1) B. Pes. 101a: למה ליה לקדושי בני כנישתא? לאפוקי אורחין ידי חובתן, דאכלו ושתו וגנו בבי כנישתא (What is the use of performing kiddush in the synagogue [since it does not exempt one from doing so again at the place where one eats]? For the sake of the strangers, who eat, drink and sleep in the synagogue.)

2) In Gen. R. Sc. 91, R. Meir tells his innkeeper that his brother is lodging in the synagogue.[2]

[1] C. H. KRAELING, *BASOR* No. 54, p. 19.

[2] In *JPOS* 1933, pp. 1–3, I. BEN ZEVI published an inscription found on a lintel from er-Râmeh on the Acre-Safad road, which he read as follow:

דכירין לטב רב(י) אליעזר בר טדיאור ובניו דבנין (בית דה) דאורחתוה

and rendered: דמיך קדם דתרעא

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

Is dead (or buried) in front of the gate."

This was re-examined by S. KLEIN (*MGWJ*, 1933, 553ff.), who, on the basis of a photograph supplied him by BEN ZEVI, read:

(1) דכירין לטב רבי אלעזר בר טדיאור ובנוי דבנין בית דה דאורחותה

(2) דמן קדם | wreath | לתרעא יהי חולקהון [עם צדיקיא]

Entrance and Orientation

The entrance and the orientation of the synagogue are both peculiar.

In the older type of synagogue the entrance was in the wall of orientation; in the younger type, in the wall opposite that of orientation, the latter being marked by an apse. Here, since the hall was built athwart the very narrow ridge of the hill and at its western end, there was no room for a forecourt or annexes on any but its easterns ide. Accordingly the main entrance was constructed in the east wall, at its southern end. A similar deviation due to the conformation of the ground is found in a synagogue of the older type at Irbid, where the south wall actually leans against the rock. A consequence of the exceptional position of the entrance at

and translated:

(1) „Gedacht seien zum Guten Rabbi Elieser, Sohn Theodors (?), und seine Söhne, die gebaut haben dieses Fremdenhaus

(2) das vor dem Tore (steht). Ihr Teil sei (mit den Gerechten)."

Linguistically, of course, בנין—which can only be an active or passive participle; בית—in the construct state (absol. בי determ. ביתה); דה—which is feminine with a masculine noun; and such a locution as קדם דחרמא or קדם לתרמא, are bad.

But apart from the barbarisms, both these readings make poor sense. Mr. Ben Zevi's assumption that a "dedication-stone" would state where the donor was buried is in any case highly improbable; and besides, if his tomb was so situated that one had to pass close to it in order to enter the guest-house, the latter would be permanently impracticable to members of the priestly caste. Klein, on the other hand, who rightly regards the stone as a synagogue lintel, makes the equally improbable assumptions a) that an inscription over the entrance to the synagogue proper would commemorate, not the donor of the basilica, but that of an annex, and b) that it would contain a direction to the guest-house, which, moreover, the reader must *ex hypothesi* already have passed.

Fortunately the inscription itself—which leaves much to be desired as regards preservation—is innocent of these offences against idiom and logic. בית דה does not exist at all; of דבנין only the first two letters survive; of דמיך קדם דחרמא or דמן קדם לתרמא only תרמא can be made out with some degree of probability; whilst [עם צדיקיא] יהי חולקהון is non-existent. Most important of all, there is no such word as אורחתוה or אורחתוה in the inscription. Line 1 concludes with four perfectly clear letters חתנה preceeded by a space. The marks before the space are no doubt traces of a proper name, and the last two words of this line certainly meant "his son-in-law X"; cf. סלוספים חתנה, *supra* Inscription I.

these two sites is their atypical architecture. The wall of orientation and that opposite it are the terminal walls of the basilica, for which the most obvious façade is one with a large middle portal and two small lateral doors leading into the nave and aisles respectively. Where the terrain has necessitated making the entrance in one of the side walls, this feature disappears together with its raison d'être, and only a single doorway is found.

Evidently, then, there was no fixed rule saying in which side of a synagogue the entrance was to be made. Nor is any pertinent regulation recorded in the Talmudic literature except for one passage, Tos. Megilla 4:22: אין פותחין פתחי בתי כנסת אלא במזרח "Entrances to synagogues are to be made in the east side." BACHER[1] has surmised that this isolated regulation contemplates synagogues in Babylonia and other countries east of Palestine (which should be orientated to the west); in his opinion there are several other traces of Babylonian redaction in the Tosephta. The rule is in fact observed in most synagogues in Trans-Jordan and in that of Dura-Europos.

KRAUSS's alternative explanation[2] is very forced. According to him (although he himself quotes some ancient examples of a reading בונין) the words אין פותחין וכו' are to be taken literally to mean "(existing) synagogue doors are to be opened only to the east", and are a dislocated regulation for the ancient fasting-procession to the town square of which occasion the Mishnah Ta'an. 2:1 speaks; „Und wir erfahren nun indirekt, daß sich der freie Platz im Osten der Synagoge befand." Surely the location of the town squares (רחוב, רחוב העיר, רחובה שלעיר), whose existence is attested in earliest Biblical times (e.g., Ju. 19: 15, 17, 20), was independent of that of the synagogue; and they would seem in fact to have been situated of preference near the town gates (Neh. 8[1], 3[16]; 2 Chr. 32[6]), if any existed. On the other hand, it would be equally absurd to suppose that there was a regulation requiring a synagogue to be built only to the west of one of the town squares.

The southern orientation of the synagogue is exceptional for Trans-Jordan, where a western orientation is found both in the early,

[1] Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, IV, 639.

[2] *Synagogale Altertümer*, pp. 323ff.

type synagogue of ed-Dikkeh and in the later types of Umm el-Qanâṭir and Jerash; cf. also Dura-Europos. Besides, as we have seen, the terrain at Ḥammath-by-Gadara if anything favours a westward orientation. In B. Erub. 22b the theoretical possibility is contemplated of regarding "the Descent of Gadara" (מחתנא דגדר) as a natural eastward limit of Palestine for halachic purposes.[1] Can such considerations have played a part in determining the lay out of our synagogue? The evidence of course does not warrant a positive decision either way.[2]

Mosaic Floor

Peculiar also is the mosaic floor of the synagogue, by the absence of representations of Bible scenes (cf. Jerash, Naʿarân, Beth Alpha), the Cycle of the Zodiac (Naʿarân, Beth Alpha, ʿEsfîyeh), ritual appurtenances (Naʿarân, Beth Alpha, ʿEsfîyeh, Jerash), and in fact of all representations of living creatures with the exception of the two lions flanking Inscription I, which are so reminiscent of modern synagogues.

Date

In addition to the architectural feature of the apse, the title *Comes* occuring in Inscr. I may serve as an indication of the period of construction. It is known that after the year 433 Jews were, by the Code of Theodosius, excluded from all public offices and dignities in the Byzantine Empire.[3] Hence the synagogue cannot have been erected later than the first half of the fifth century. The units of currency mentioned in the inscriptions, on the other hand, preclude any dating earlier than the fourth century.

1 אילימא משום דמקיף לה (לארץ ישראל, i.e.) סולמא דצור מהך גיסא ומחתנא דגדר מהך גיסא

2 That the orientation of a synagogue was in no case arbitrary appears from the recent find at ʿEsfieh on Mt. Carmel. I had previously suggested *Beth Alpha*, p. 11, note 2; *Ancient Synagogues*, pp. 50ff, that the reason why the synagogue of the neighbouring Khirbeth Semâka was orientated to the east was that the proximity of the sea gave the impression of being far to the west of Jerusalem. The similar orientation of the ʿEsfîyeh synagogue is no doubt due to the same cause.

3 Judaeum esse comitem non licet, *Nov. Theod.* III *apud* Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, vol. II p. 249, n. 1.

The portion of the mosaic floor that was charred by fire, and the marble screen which was smashed to pieces, bear witness to deliberate destruction by an angry mob. After Christianity had become the dominant and official religion of the Byzantine realm, it was perhaps inevitable that its votaries should give vent to the anger which the sight of a synagogue in the most prominent part of the settlement provoked in them. The lamp with a cross, and the ring with the legend *Χ(ριστ)έ, βοήθ(ε)ι Ἀνδρέᾳ*, which were found in the area of the synagogue, are relics of the Jews' successors to this site.

APPENDIX

On some Synagogues in the Jaulān

I

UMM EL-QANÂṬIR

The ruin of Umm el-Qanâṭir lies on the east slope of Wâdi esh-Shebîb, a deep tributary valley of Wâdi es-Samak. A narrow path, partly hewn out of the rock, winds up the side of the valley to a place where a powerful spring issues from the ground under two great arches constructed of large basalt blocks (*Pl. XIXa*). Before one of the arches, which is preserved almost intact, stands a terebinth. A number of hewn basalt blocks are strewn about in front of it. Among than I noticed, on a visit in the autumn of 1928, a stone with an inscription enclosed in a *tabula ansata*. All the letters were blurred, but it was possible to recognise the script as Greek. The site of the ancient city is on a terrace to the north of the spring. Looking westward from here, a magnificent view can be seen of the Sea of Galilee and the mountains of Lower Galilee.

Among these ruins are the remains of an ancient synagogue, of which a considerable portion of the façade—in this case the east wall—including the main entrance, is still standing (*Pl. XIXb*). Of the architectural remains strewn about in front of the building, two stones with reliefs of an eagle and a lion, respectively, both apparently belonging to the façade, are worthy of note. Interesting also is a capital, which strongly suggests the so-called basket capitals of the Byzantine period. From this capital, as well as from the style of ornamentation of the rest of the synagogue, Watzinger[1] rightly concluded that the ruin of Umm el-Qanâṭir is of a later date than the other synagogue ruins excavated in Galilee by the German expedition in 1905.

Watzinger's conclusion regarding the date is further confirmed

[1] *Antike Syn. in Galilāa*, p. 134

by the fact that the façade and main entrance are on the east side, i. e., on that *opposite* the wall of orientation; as contrasted with synagogues of the older type, where the façade is on the side of orientation (Fig. 28).[1]

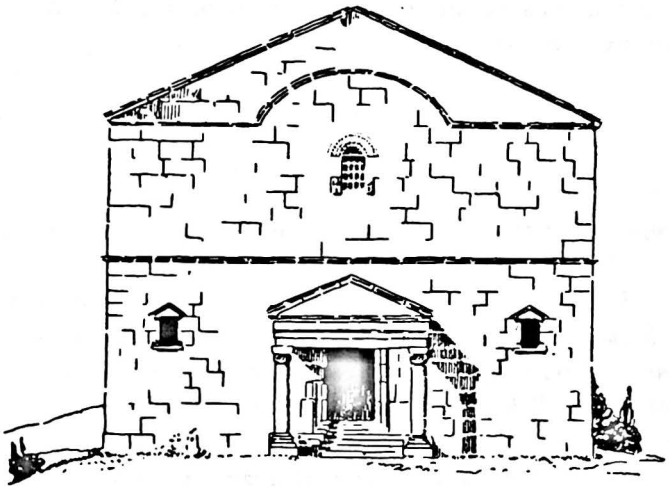


Fig. 28. Reconstructed Façade of the Synagogue at Umm el-Qanâṭir (after KOHL-WATZINGER).

What the ancient name of this site was we do not know. The Arabic Umm el-Qanâṭir, "mother of arches", is evidently derived from the arches over the spring. KLEIN's suggestion[2] that שמעון קמטריא. Yer. Ber. 12d top, derived his surname from this locality is therefore highly improbable. קמטרא is a fairly frequent loanword from the Greek *κάμτρα* or *κάμπτρα'* "chest", in Mishnah, Talmud and Targum, and קמטריא as a family name may mean "cabinet maker"; cf. the proper name קבוטר (other reading קבוטל) M. Yoma 1:6 etc.= *κιβωτάριος* "joiner" (also in Aramaic as a common name קבוטריא, "joiners", Yer. ʿAbodah Żarah, 40c, l. 72).

GILDEMEISTER's hypothesis[3] that it is the site of ancient Gamala also seems unlikely.

[1] SUKENIK, *Anc. syn. of Beth-Alpha*, p. 50

[2] S. KLEIN עבר הירדן היהודי, p. 50

[3] GILDEMEISTER, *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, Vol. VIII p. 242f.

It is an interesting fact that for קולפא דקנסיר, Zohar, Gen. 57b, which is named as a bay (קולפא = *κολφυς, κόλπος*) the happenings at which the miracle-worker R. Simeon b. Yoḥai was able to see from the gate of Tiberias, the Maʿarikh (sixteenth century) has קנטיר; which he glosses as follows: קנטיר שם מקום מעבר לים טבריה; עד היום נקרא כן (קנטיר a locality on the other side of the Sea of Tiberias, still known by that name).

II

KHIRBET KÂNEF

The remains of this synagogue were discovered by Sir Laurence Oliphant in 1885. In the following year he published a brief report of his discovery with a few illustrations in the P.E.F. *Quarterly Statement*, 1886, pp. 73ff. Among these was included a copy of an Aramaic inscription, without any discussion. In 1913 G. Dalman republished Oliphant's copy with a transcript and a short commentary.[1] His reading was adopted by Klein several years later.[2] Klein subsequently published it again, with a slight change.[3]

Since Oliphant, then, only the inscription of this synagogue has been dealt with. In the middle of November 1932, after the completion of our excavation of the synagogue of Ḥammath-by-Gadara, I found an opportunity of paying a short visit to these ruins, together with Mr. R. de Haas and the other member of the Hebrew University expedition to el-Ḥammeh.

Khirbet Kânef is located on the ridge of the mountains between Wâdis Shebîb and Shuqeif. At the present time a small settlement of Beduin of the Dhiâb tribe occupies the ruin. West of this settlement on the edge of the declivity facing the Sea of Galilee and its environs, stood the ancient synagogue (*Pl. XXa*).

On the site of the ancient structure a stone building has been erected, in which is stored the grain reaped by the Beduin tenants of the local landowner, a wealthy Damascene. Of the synagogue there remains *in situ* the north-east corner, which has been included

1 "Inschriften aus Palästina", *ZDPV*, 1914, pp. 135ff.

2 *Jüd.-Pal. Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), 82.

3 p. 33 כתבי האוניברסיטה העבריה בירושלים: ידיעות המכון למדעי היהדות, חוברת ב,

in the modern building (*Pl. XXb*). This corner comprises the foundation and five additional courses of the wall. They are of basalt blocks of unequal size, but well cut, and hold together without cement. At the north side (16.30 m. long) a stone floor appears, which seems to be the only surviving part of the synagogue's paved court. It is possible that the entrance to the modern building near the east corner of this wall is simply being re-used, and that it once led from the court into the synagogue. Many well-hewn and well-dressed basalt stones lie about this side, and undoubtedly belong to the ancient structure.

Of the west wall there remains *in situ* only the foundation-course to the extent of 11 m. No part of the upper courses has survived in place. In front of the wall there are still a few steps, and in one corner the remains of a pavement, 1.35 m. lower than that of the north side of the court. Among the numerous stones strewn about there are some drums of columns, a lintel, door-posts, jambs, and various decorated stones (Fig. 29). One may consequently

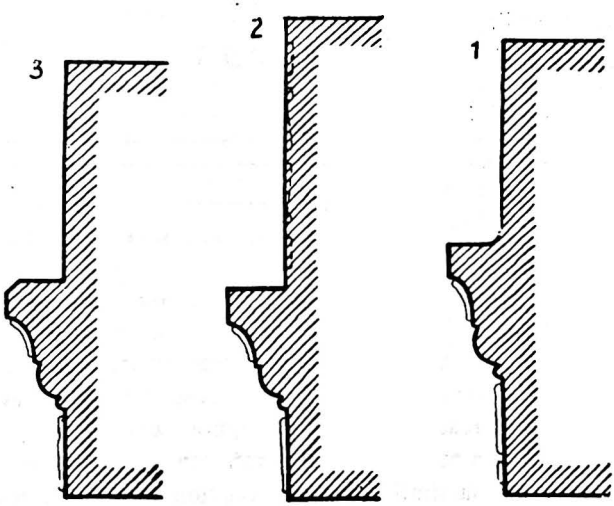


Fig. 29. Khirbet Kânef. Sections of decorated stones.

conclude that the façade of the synagogue was here on the west side, as was customary in Transjordanian synagogues. It seems to me that

a kind of small porch was built in front of this façade, and that some steps led up from it to the synagogue. During the short time at our disposal we were, of course, unable to examine all the heavy stones piled up on top of one another at this point. Their fall was undoubtedly due to an earthquake which destroyed the entire building.

The most interesting of the stones of the façade is the lintel bearing the inscription (*Pl. XXIa*, Fig. 29,1). Its length is 0.40 m., and its height 0.82 m. A narrow ledge divides the smooth upper part from the lower engraved one. The ledge as well as the decorated parts, except for the last guilloche, extend down to the right end of the stone. The lintel did not consist of this one stone only, but had another attached to it at the left side. The decoration consists of rows of leaves, eggs, a string of beads, a vine-branch with leaves and grape-clusters, and a closed guilloche. The upper right hand corner of the lintel is broken. The upper part bears one of the lines of an inscription (Fig. 30). The length of the

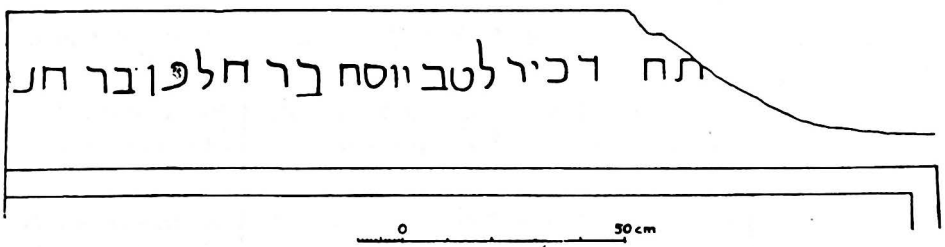


Fig. 30. Khirbet Kânef. Synagogue Inscription on lintel.

remaining part of the inscription is 1.58 m., and the height of the letters 5.5–6.5 cm. The inscription reads:

[ברכ]תה דכיר לטב יוסה בר חלפו בר חנ....

....the blessing. Remembered for good Yose bar Ḥalfo bar Ḥan..

Klein's second reading of the inscription was:

[י]הה דכיר לטב יוסה בר חל[ב]ו בר חנן

However, from the facsimile of the inscription given here it is clear that the first two letters constitute the end of a dedication, which concluded with the common word ברכתה. Likewise, one can see that the name of the father of Yose was Ḥalfo, one of the forms of the names based on the root חלף such as Ḥalafta, Ḥalifo, etc.

It is true that the upper part of the third letter of this name is somewhat worn away, but it is otherwise complete. There is no resemblance between it and the form of the *bet* as it appears here, so that KLEIN's conjecture that this "Yoseh b. Ḥelbo" is the son of the Amora R. Ḥelbo b. Ḥanan, "who cites traditions in the Palestinian Talmud in the name of Rab" is devoid of foundation. It should also be noted that the last name is apparently not Ḥanan but Ḥaninah or Ḥananiah. The facsimile also renders KLEIN's note with regard to the spelling of the word דכיר gratuitous. The lost ending of the inscription, containing perhaps the nature of the donation and an additional blessing, was probably inscribed on the left half of the lintel and on the adjacent stones of the wall.

There is another stone lying near the lintel which was decorated with the same motives (*Pl. XXIb*, Fig. 29,2). The height of this stone was 1 m., and its width 80 cm. Judging from the upright position of the amphora out of which the vine-branch rises, one may infer that the decoration runs upward. This must, therefore, belong to one of the doorposts of the inscribed lintel. Only the part of the stone which actually served as door-jamb is ornamented.

Another engraved stone lies near these, but it is difficult to ascertain its place in the façade (*Pl. XXIIa*, Fig. 29,3). It measures 87 cm. in height and 57 in width. The lower part, which is somewhat worn away, bears the same ornamentation as the other two stones. In addition, its upper part has two interlaced squares, circumscribed by a circle and inscribed with a rosette.

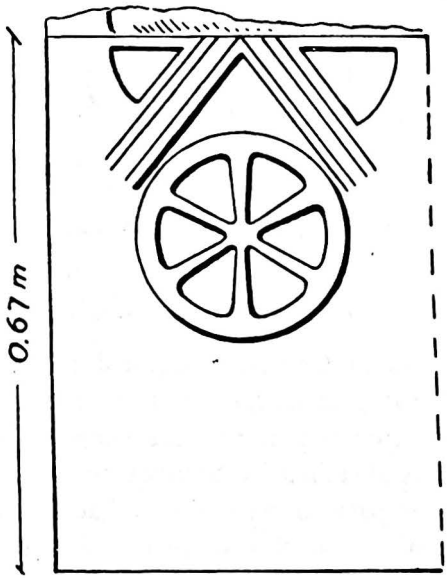


Fig. 31. Khirbet Kânef. Decorated stone from synagogue

In the south wall of the modern building we found a stone which showed traces of carving in the form of a gable, inside which was inscribed a wheel (Fig. 31). Apparently

this too belonged to the synagogue. As for the decorated stone of which Oliphant published an illustration *(Pl. XXIIb)* in his article, we were unable to find it there again.

This ruin deserves a thorough exploration. Considering the size of the pile of stones lying near it, it is possible that we might even succeed in getting a fair conception of the entire façade. There may also be some inscriptions hidden among them.

III

ER-RAFÎD

er-Rafîd is an extensive ruin above the left bank of the Jordan. It was first described by SCHUMACHER,[1] who also published several drawings of the architectural remains which he found. WATZINGER in the preface to the account of the German excavations of syna-

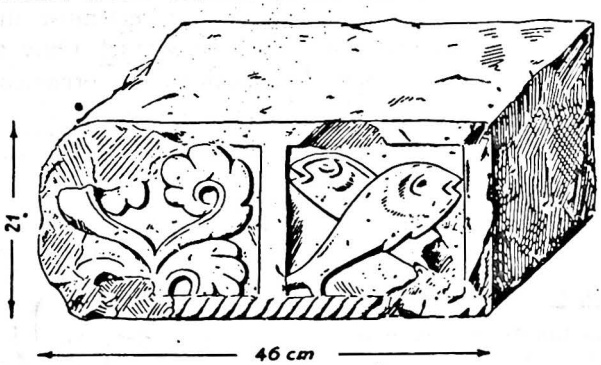


Fig. 32. er-Rāfîd, Synagogue, Fragment of Zodiac Frieze.

gogues in Galilee,[2] suggested that the ruins of er-Rafîd, like those excavated at ed-Dikkeh further to the south, were synagogue ruins. This supposition receives support from the fact that on one of the stones sketched by SCHUMACHER a pair of fishes are carved in relief.[3] A comparison with the zodiac frieze of Kefr Bir'im[4] makes it very probable that this stone constituted the *pisces* of a similar relief.

1 "Von Tiberias zum Ḥūle-See", *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Pal. Vereins*, 1890, pp. 65ff. 2 *op. cit.*, p. 2. 3 *l.c.*, Fig. 10

4 SUKENIK, *Anc. Syn. of Beth-Alpha*, p. 57 Fig. 50.

Er-Rafîd was reached by us on Sept. 28, 1933, at the end of a four hours' ride on horseback from Ṭābgha. We found only one Beduin family living there in a hut. Unfortunately we were only able to stay there a little over two hours as we had to return early on account of the bad weather. We were not able in this short space of time to locate the synagogue among the many other ruins, but we managed to examine a number of architectural fragments belonging to it. Some of these have already been described by SCHUMACHER, but others were not found by him. The stone with the fishes (Fig. 32) we found built into a straw bin, together with other ancient remains: viz. the base and pedestal of a column in one piece (Fig. 33), a portion of an Ionic capital (Fig. 34), part of a lintel (Fig. 35a), a fluted frieze-stone (Fig. 35b) a fragment of a frieze ornamented with a vine (Fig. 35c) and two small bases (Fig. 35d,e).

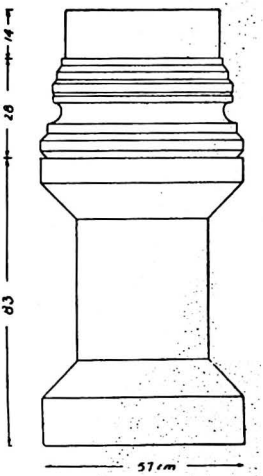


Fig. 33. er-Rafîd. Synagogue, Base and Pedestal of a column.

More important than all these were three carved stones which were found lying on the ground in about the centre of the ruins *(Pl. XXIII)*.

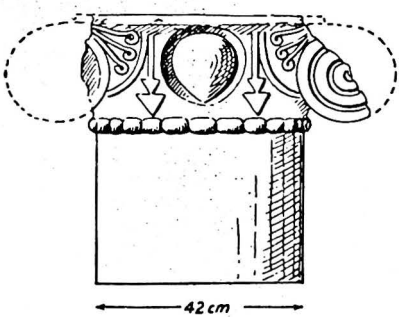


Fig. 34. er-Rafîd. Synagogue, Ionic capital.

a. The greater part of a stone decorated in its lower middle with a shell surrounded by guilloche, astragal and egg-and-dart, and crowned by a gable. The blank spaces were originally occupied by carvings of living creatures, which at one time were deliberately defaced. Within the gable there are traces of a face view of a standing bird. To the right of the bird part of an animal, apparently a lion, is visible and, to the left, the outline of some unidentifiable beast.

b. A smaller stone, almost completely preserved, ornamented with the same elements as (a) but now entirely lacking the animal figures which probably also decorated its upper part.

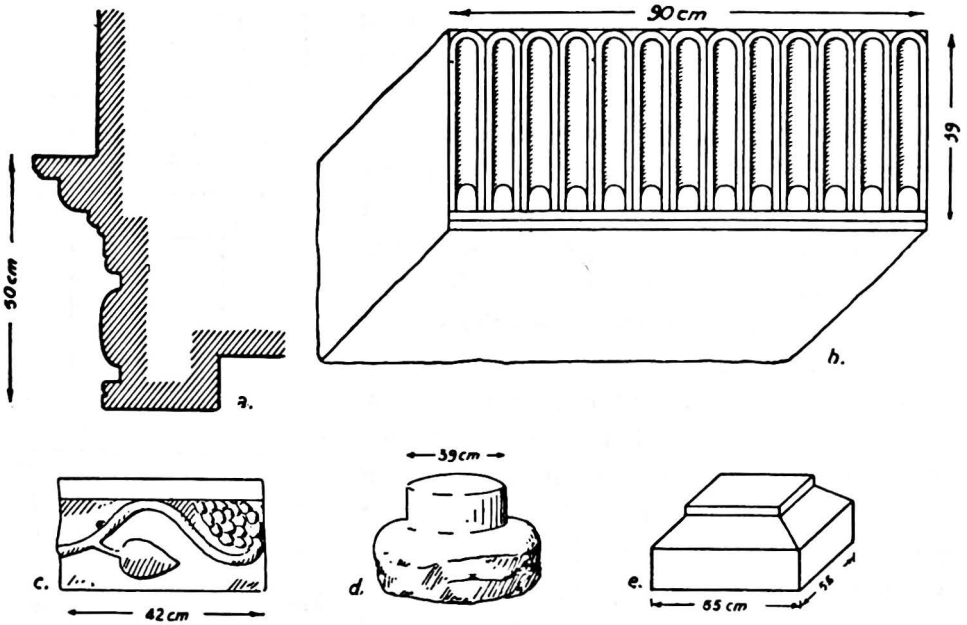
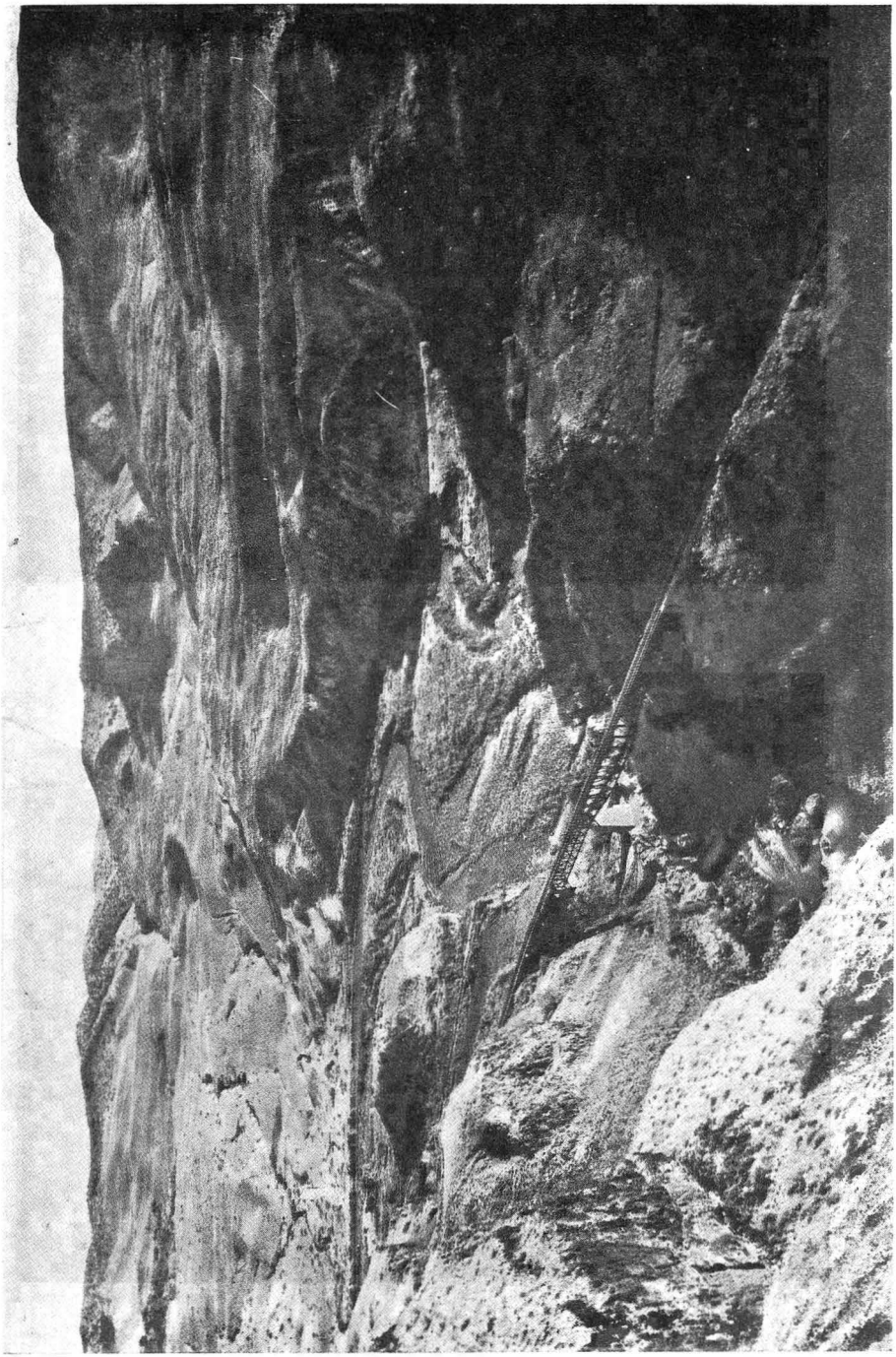


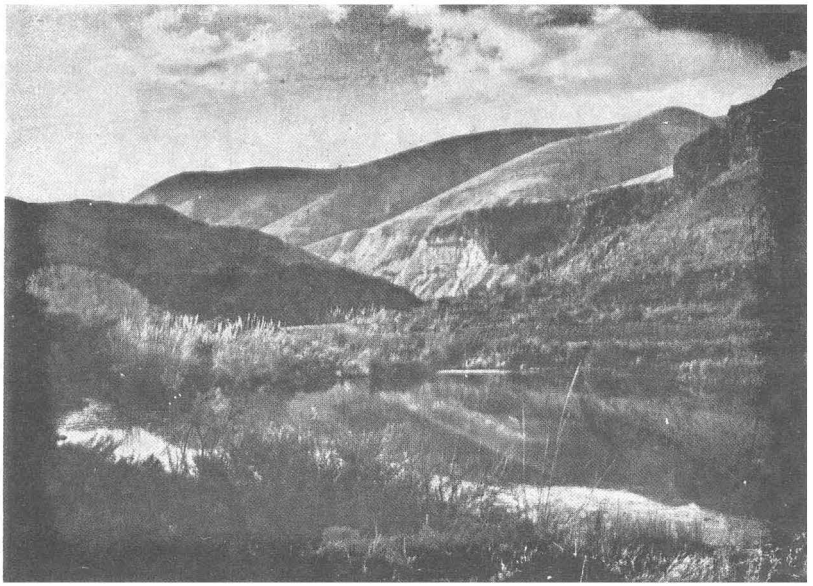
Fig. 35. er-Rafîd. Synagogue, Architectural Fragments.

c. A still smaller stone ornamented with a shell inclosed in a guilloche.

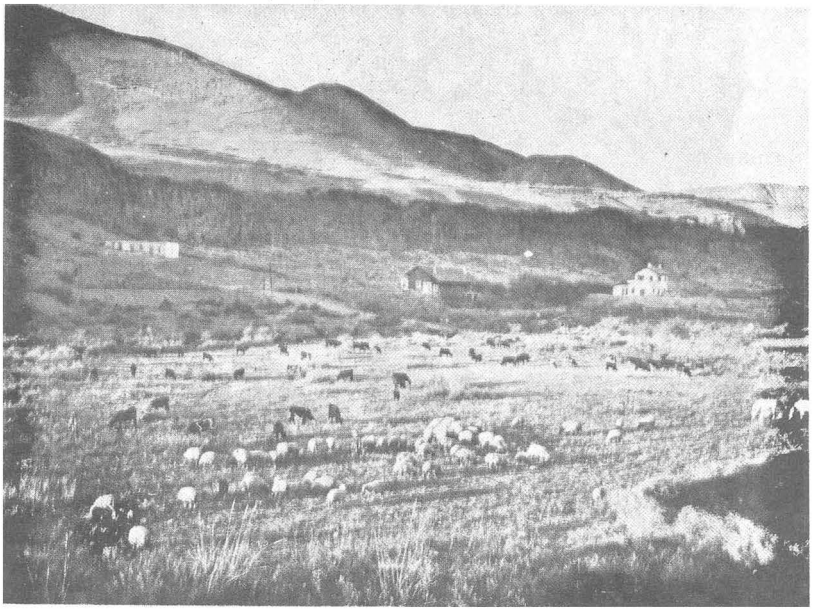
A thorough exploration, even without excavation, will surely reveal many other parts remaining of the synagogue of er-Rafîd.



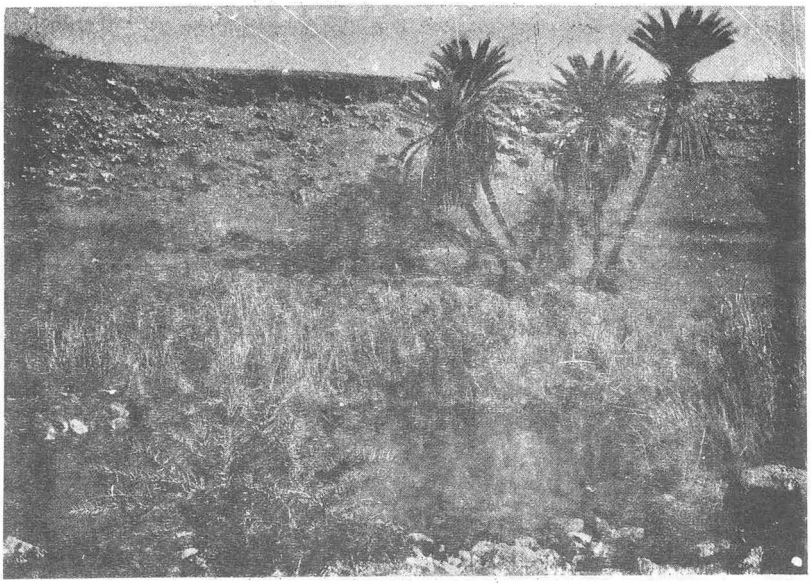
General view of el-Ḥammeh from the North. Below is seen the Yarmūk River crossed by the bridge of the Ḥijāz Railway; on the left appears the hill upon which the Synagogue stood; on the top of the mountains in the centre is the site of ancient Gadara.



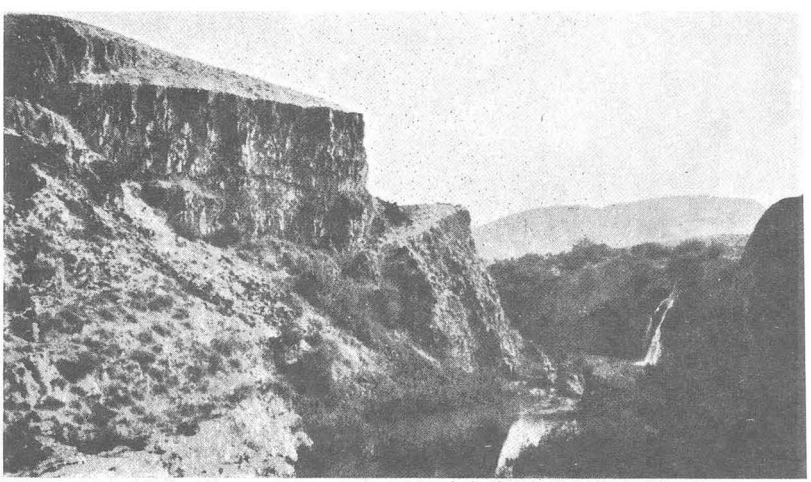
a. el-Ḥammeh: Hot spring "Ḥammet ej-Jarab".



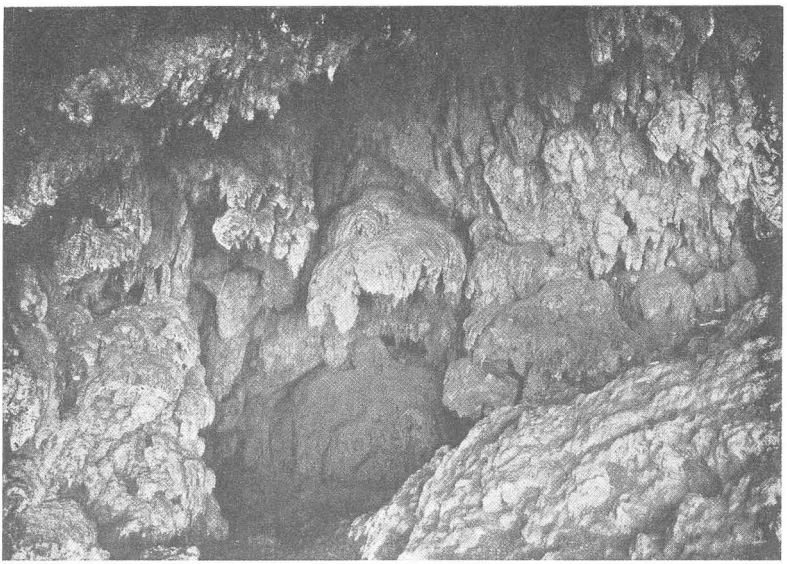
b. el-Ḥammeh: View near the railway station.



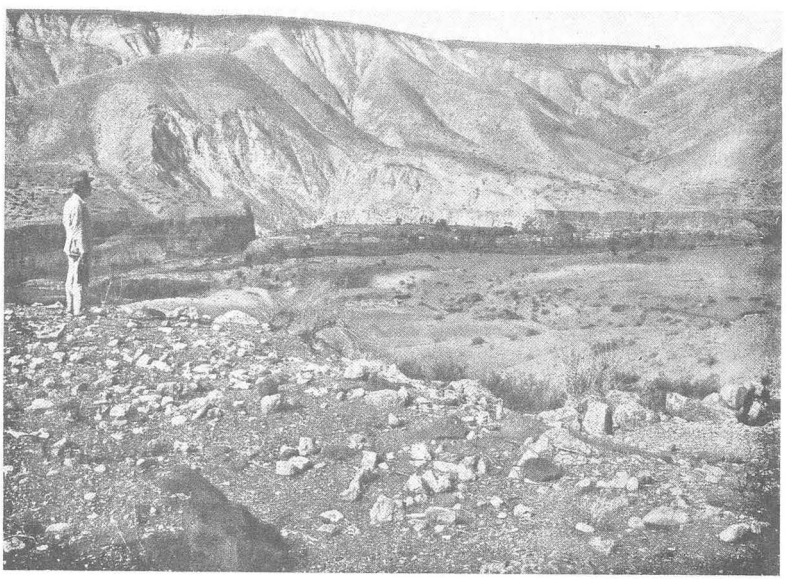
a. Muḫaybeh: Hot spring.



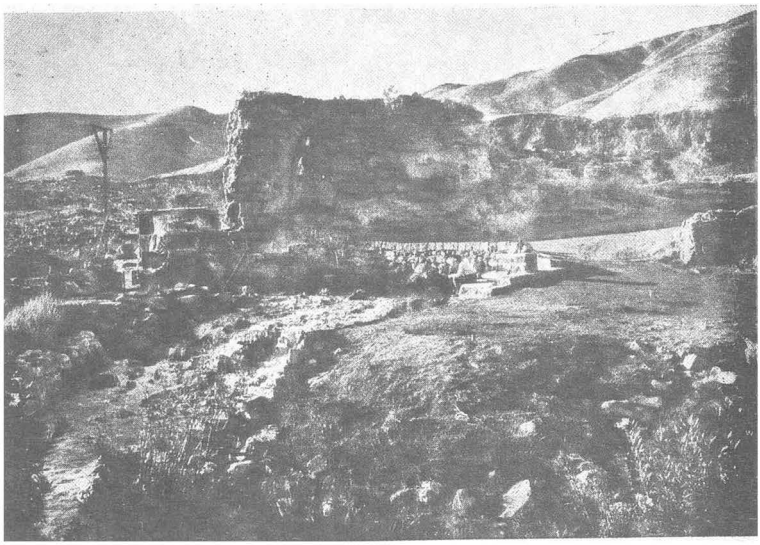
b. Muḫaybeh: Waterfalls along the Yarmûk River.



a. Muḫaybeh: Cavern near the Yarmûk

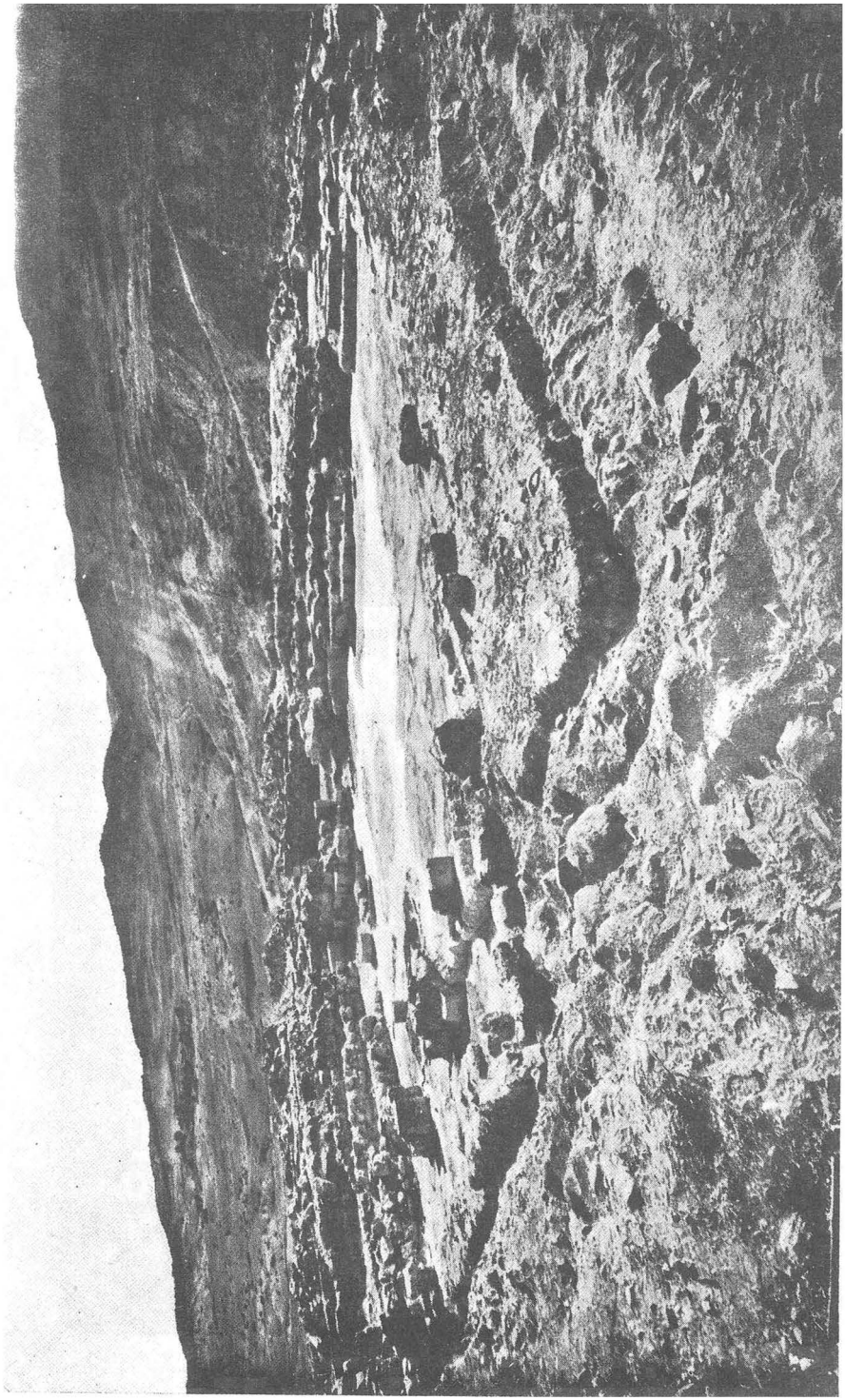


b. Muḫaybeh: Ruins of Migdal-by-Gadara.



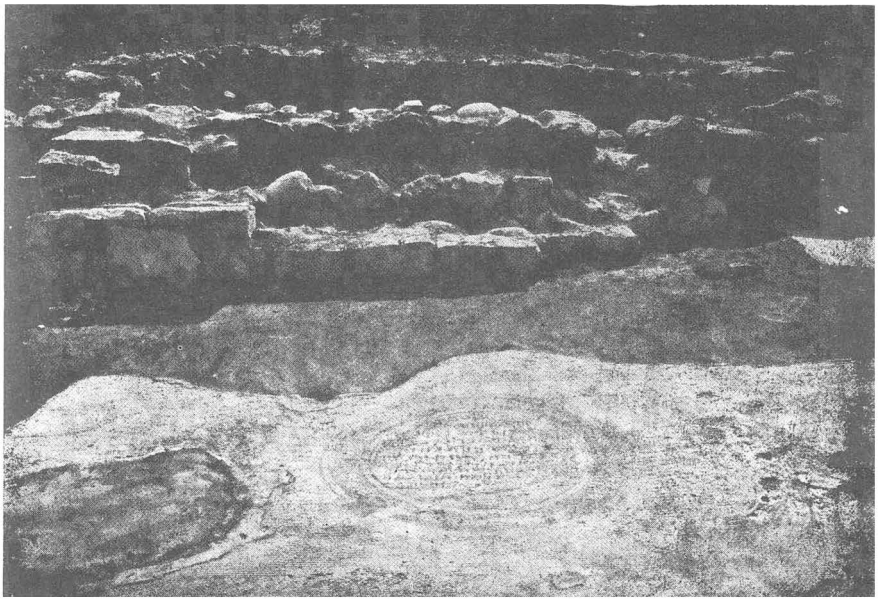
a. el-Ḥammeh: Remains of Roman bath.

b. el-Ḥammeh: Remains of theatre.

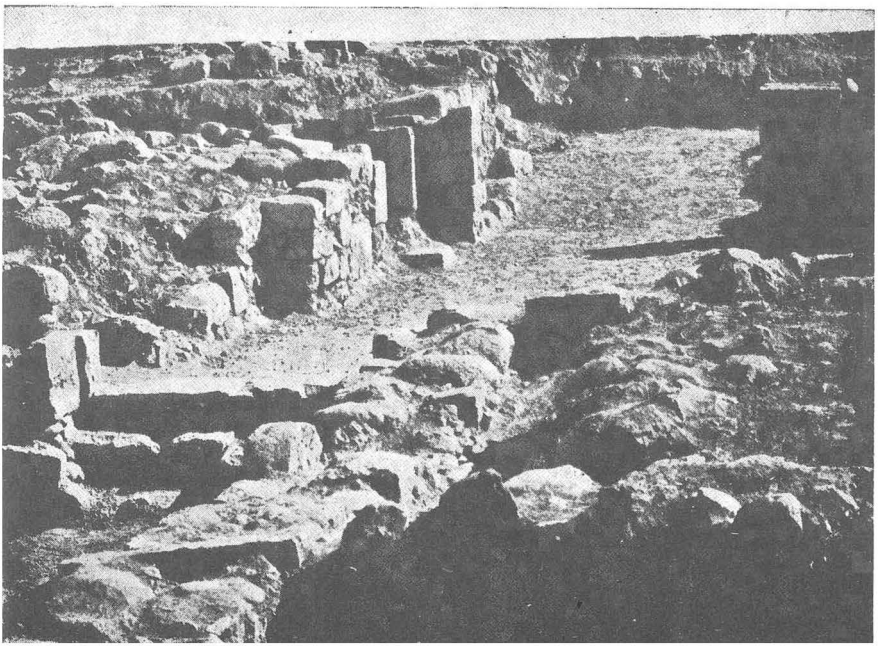


el-Ḥammeh: General view of the Synagogue after excavation.

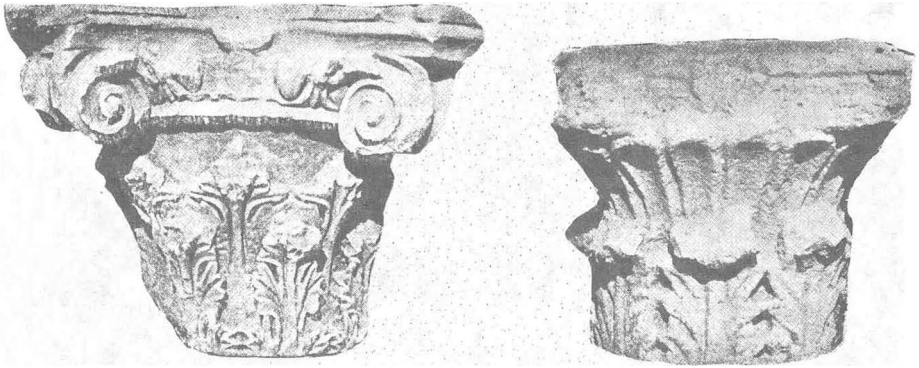
Plate VII see after Plate XII



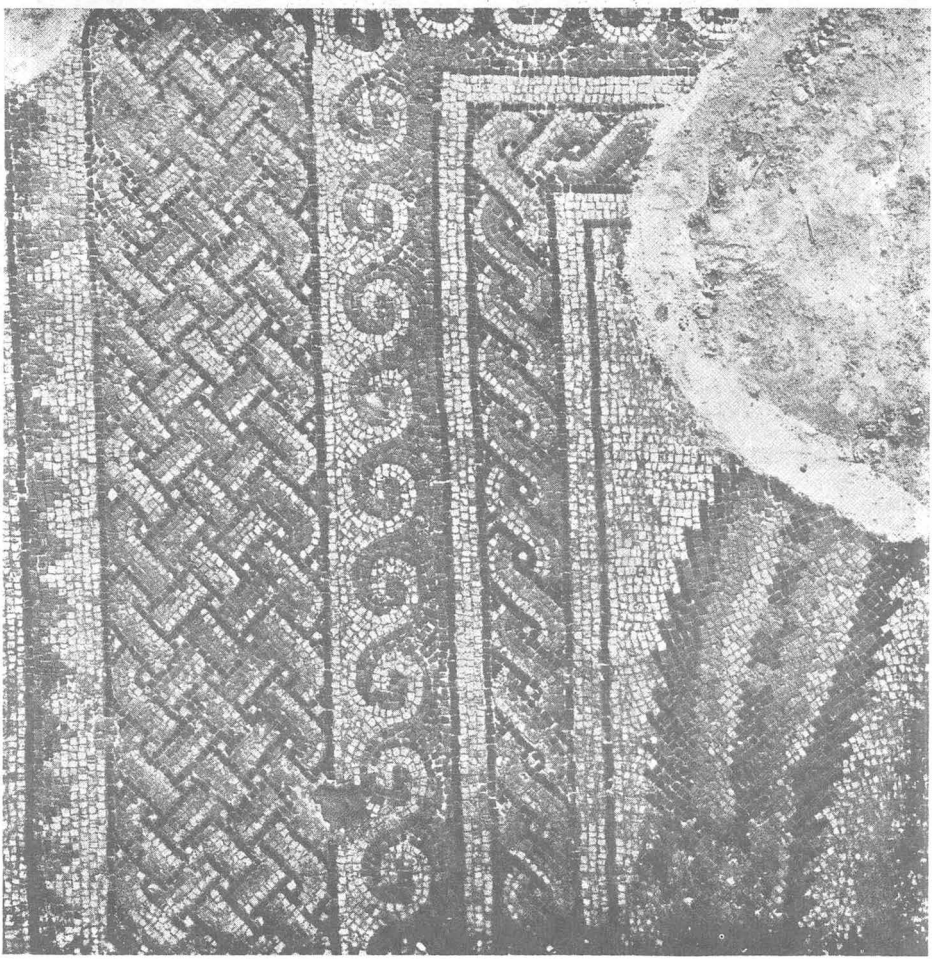
a. el-Ḥammeh: View of the platform leading to apse.



b. el-Ḥammeh: Atrium and east entrance of Synagogue.

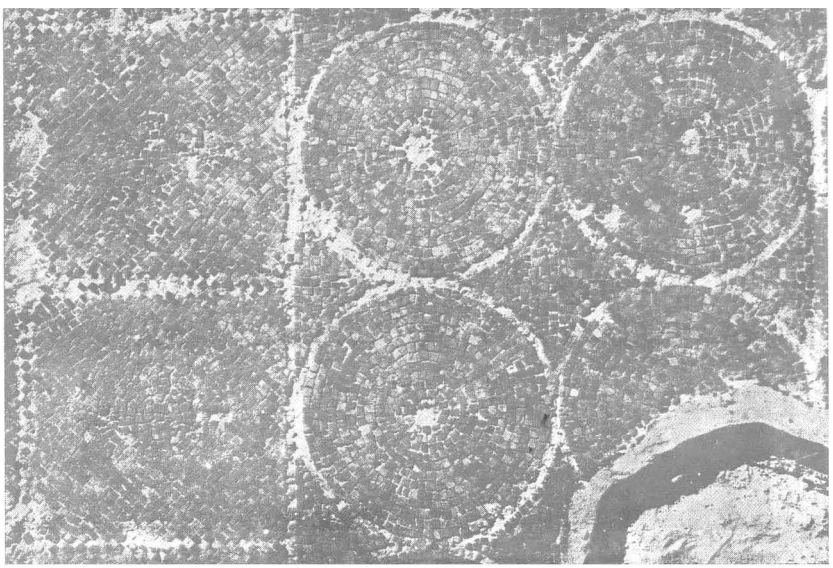


a. el-Ḥammeh: Capitals found in the area of Synagogue.

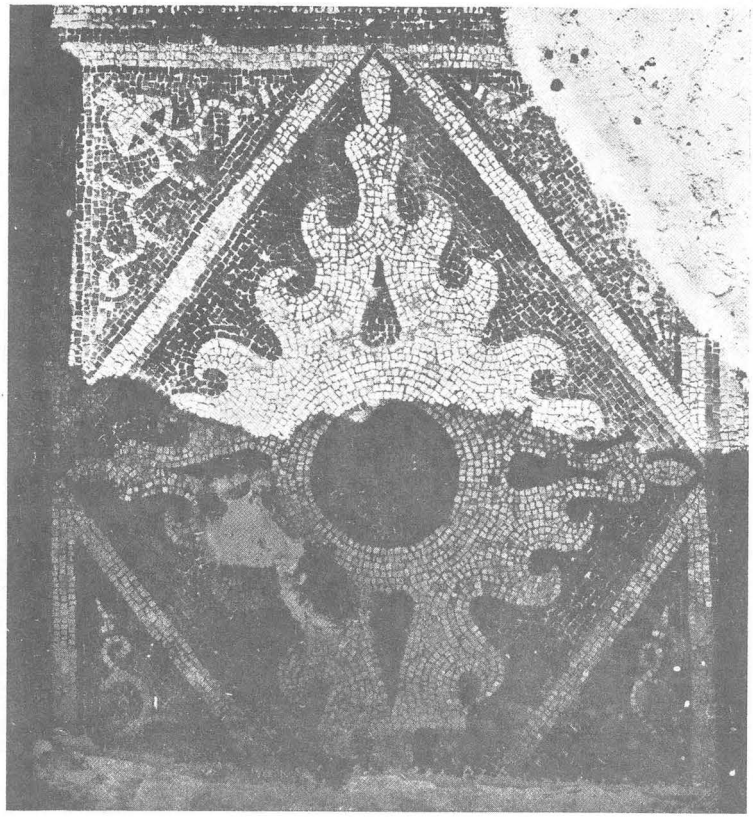


b. el-Ḥammeh: Corner of first panel of Synagogue-mosaic, showing border.

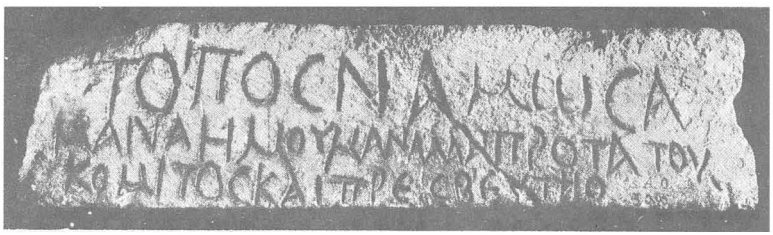
a. el-Ḥammeh: Part of mosaic in east aisle of Synagogue.



b. el-Ḥammeh: Second and third panel of Synagogue-mosaic.

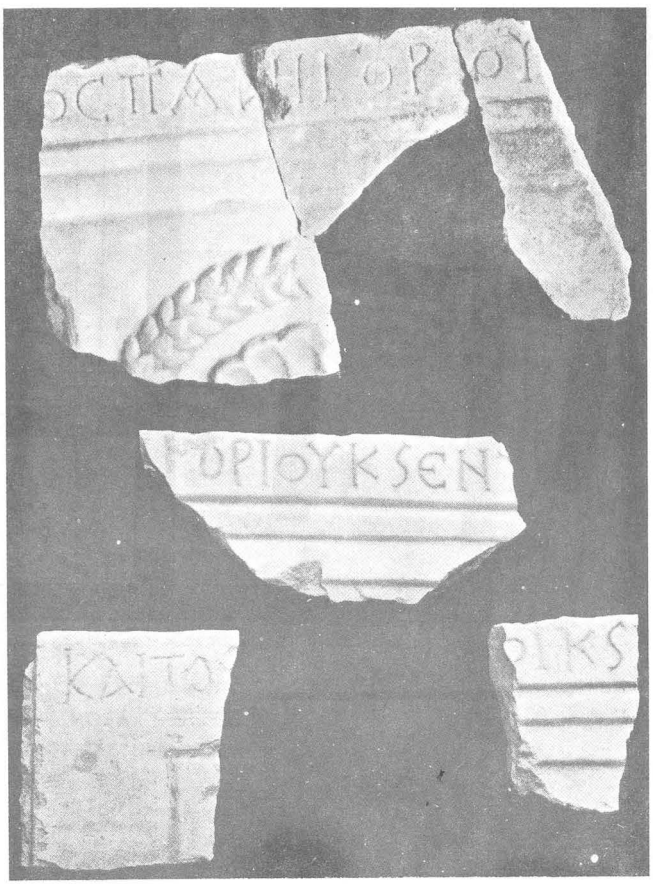


a. el-Ḥammeh: Synagogue, carpet design on mosaic.

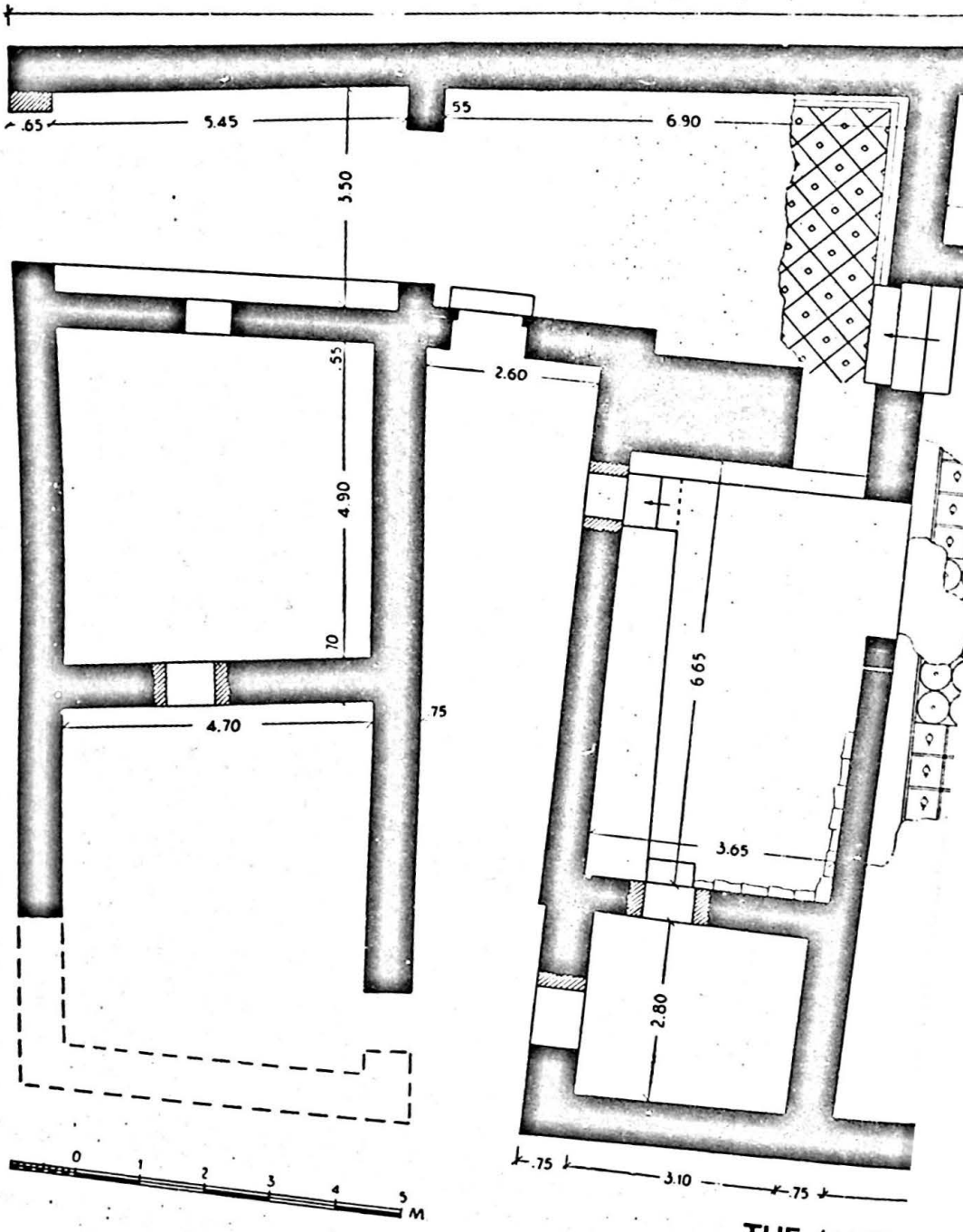


b. Ḥaifa: Jewish tombstone.

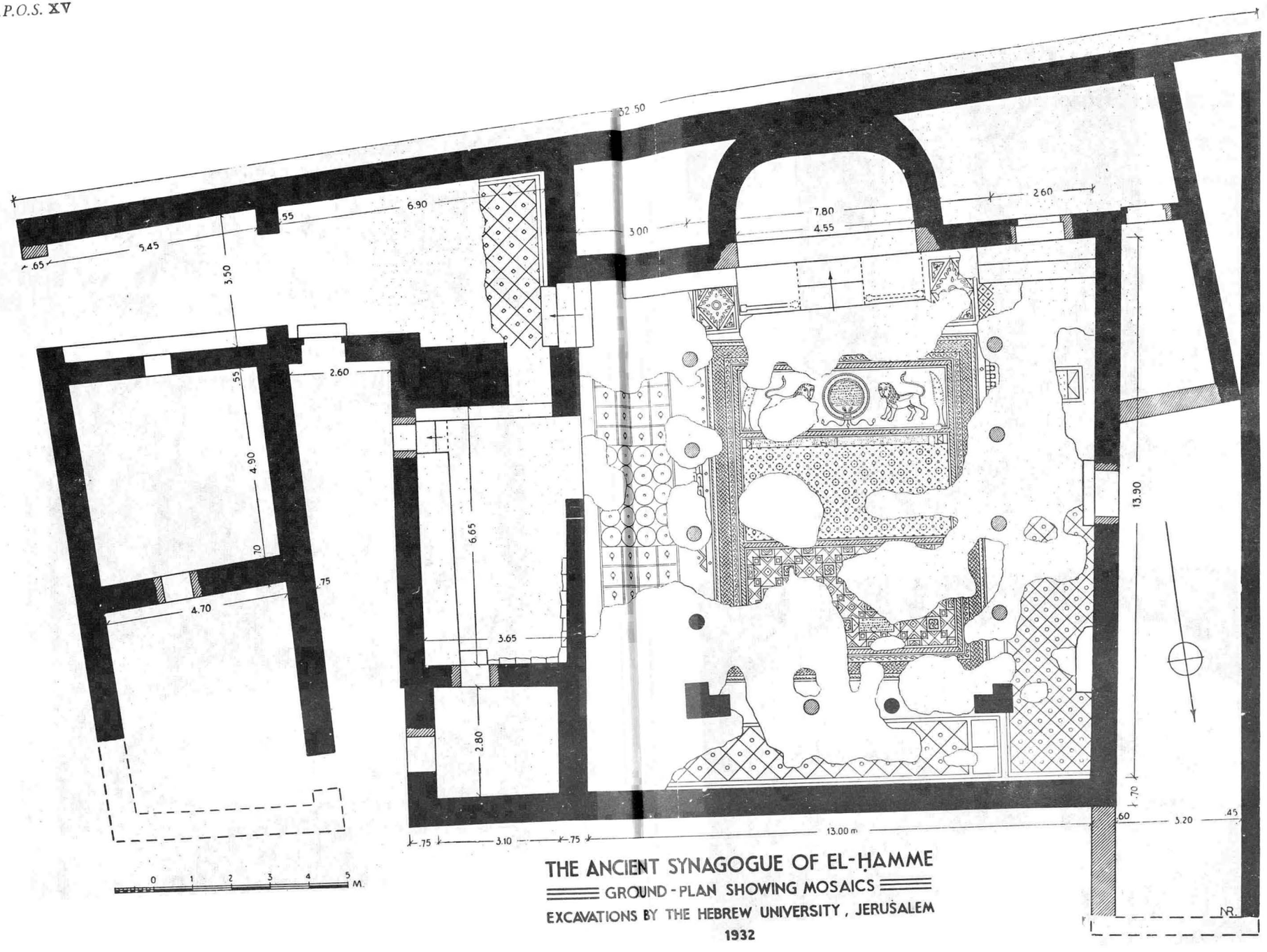
a. el-Ḥammeh: Synagogue, mosaic inscription IV.



b. el-Ḥammeh: Inscribed marble fragments from synagogue screen.



THE ANCIE
GRO
EXCAVATIONS

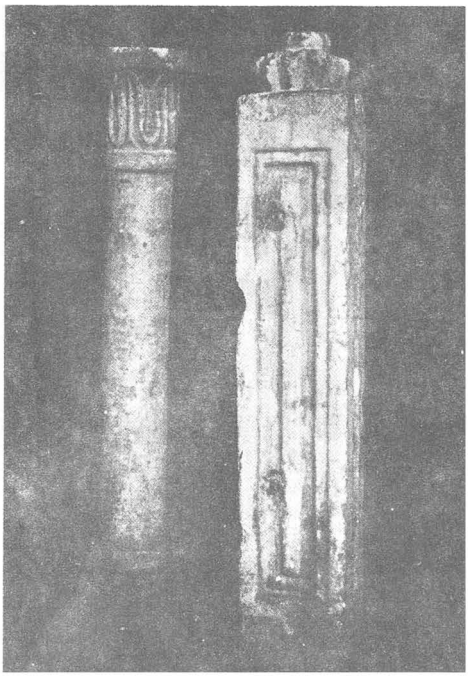


THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE OF EL-ḤAMME

GROUND-PLAN SHOWING MOSAICS

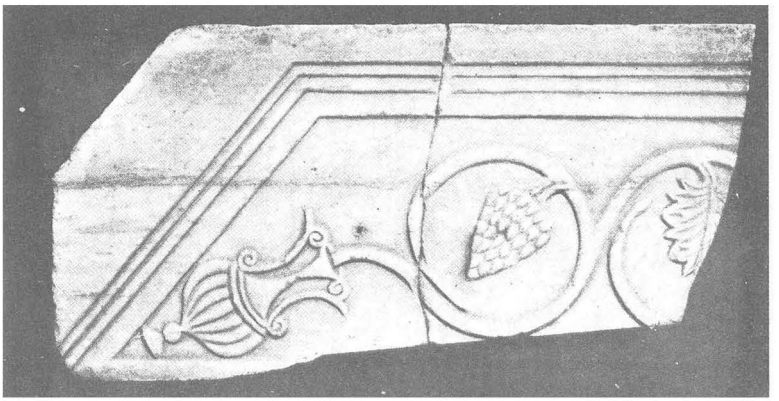
EXCAVATIONS BY THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY, JERUSALEM

1932



a. Ḥammath-by-Tiberias: Remains of synagogue screen.

b. Ḥammath-by-Tiberias: Marble capital from synagogue screen.

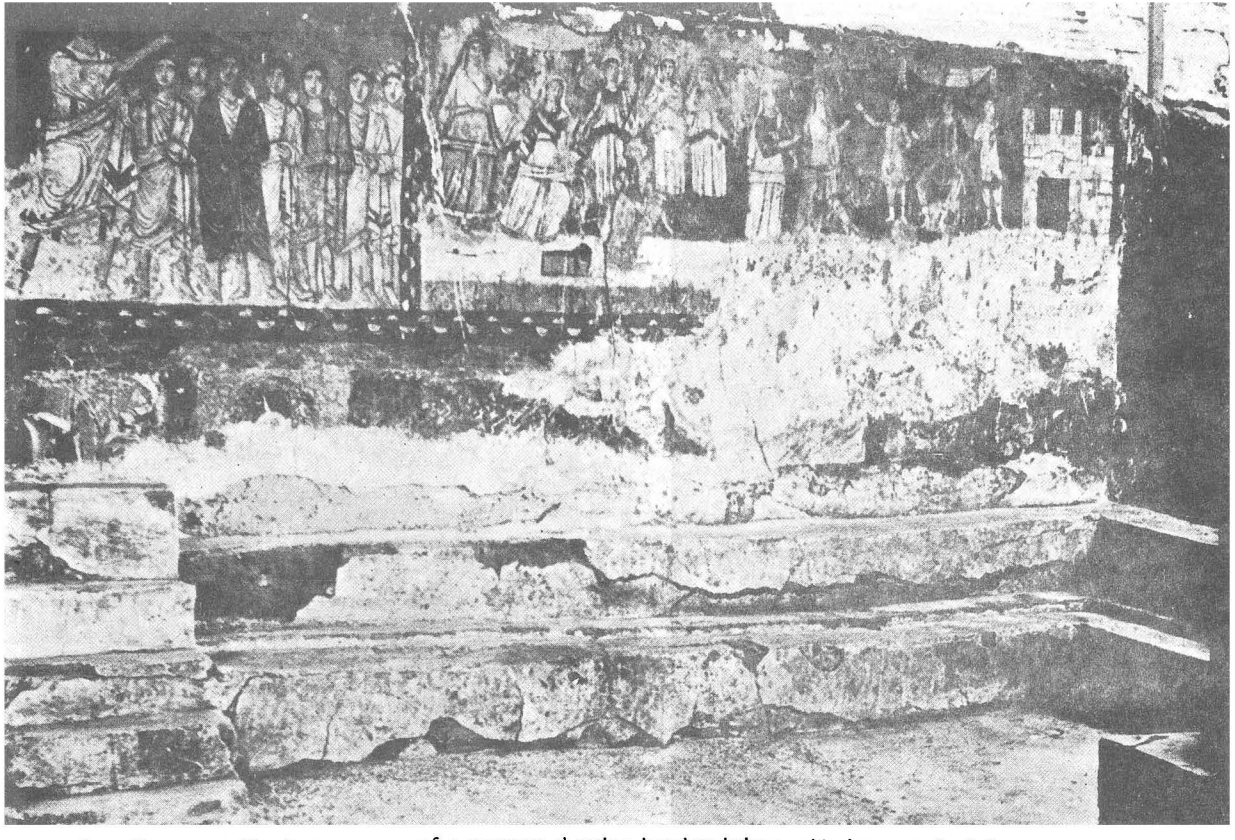


Ḥammath-by-Tiberias: Ornamented marble fragments from synagogue screen.

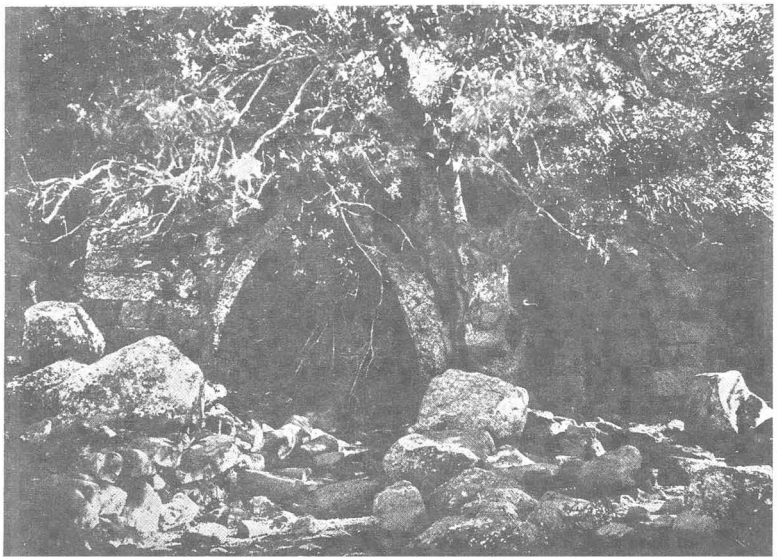
Ascalon: Ornamented marble blocks from synagogue screen.

Ascalon: Inscribed marble blocks from synagogue screen.

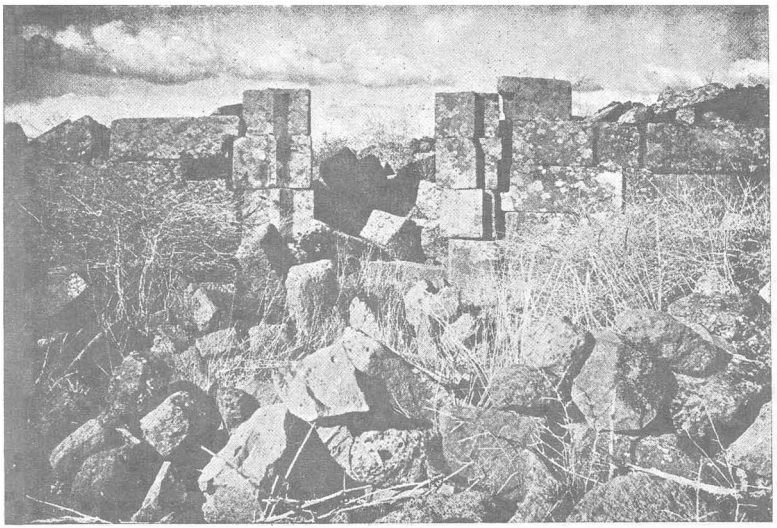
a. Ascalon: Inscribed column from synagogue.



Dura-Europos: Northwest corner of synagogue showing benches below, with *bema* on the left. Above the benches, the frescoes show on the left Samuel anointing David and on the right, Moses being saved from the waters of the Nile and later being presented before Pharaoh.

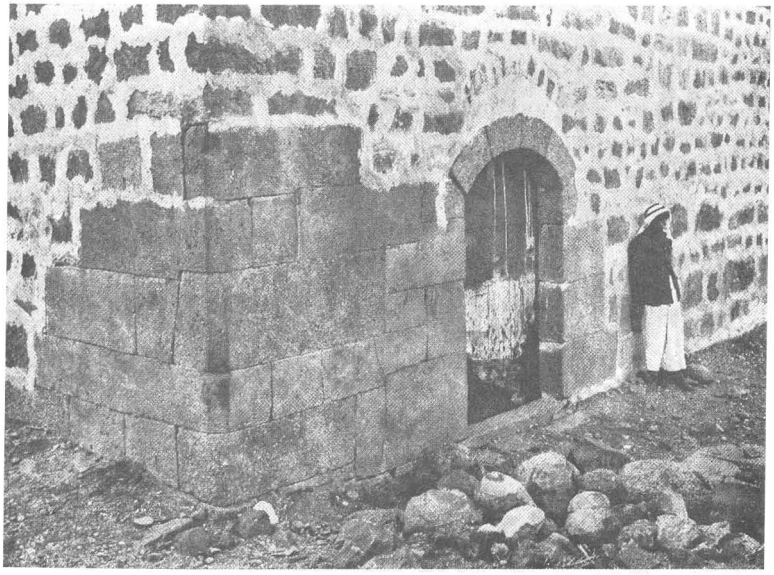


a. Umm el-Qanâṭir: Arch built over spring

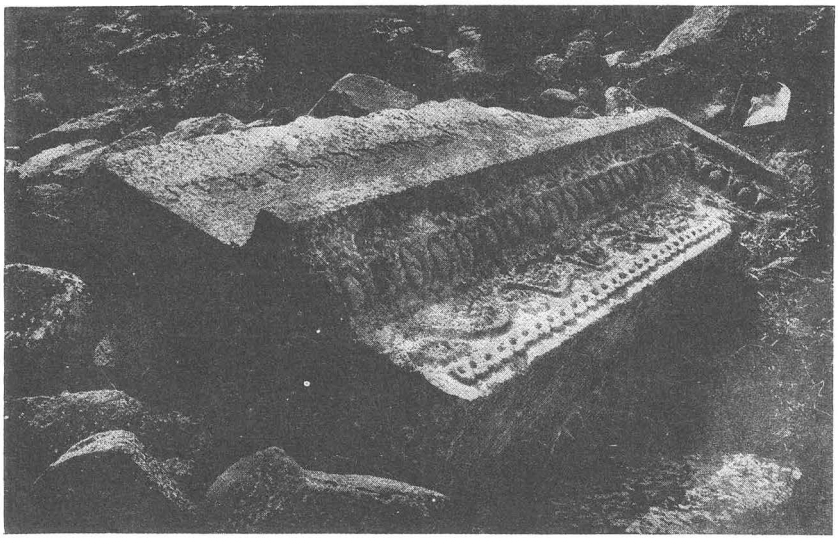


b. Umm el-Qanâṭir: View of ruins of Synagogue.

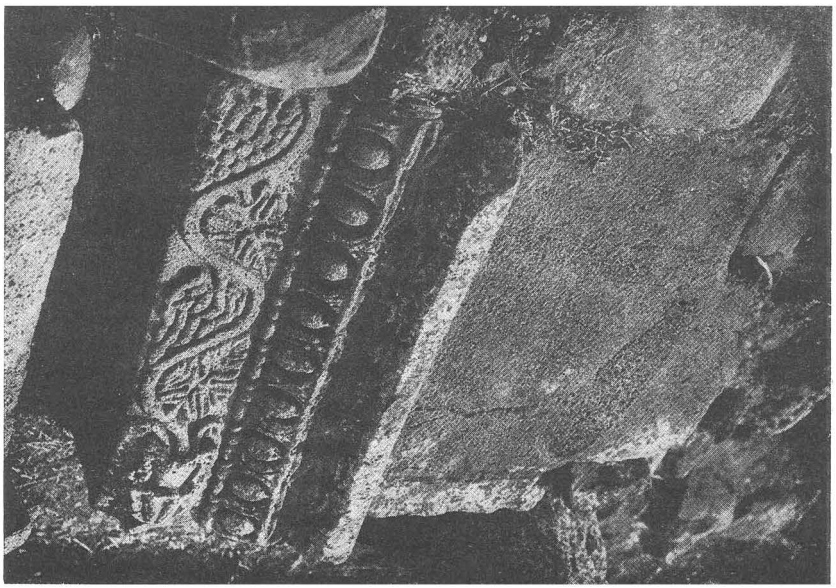
a. Khirbet Kânef: Summit upon which the Synagogue stood.



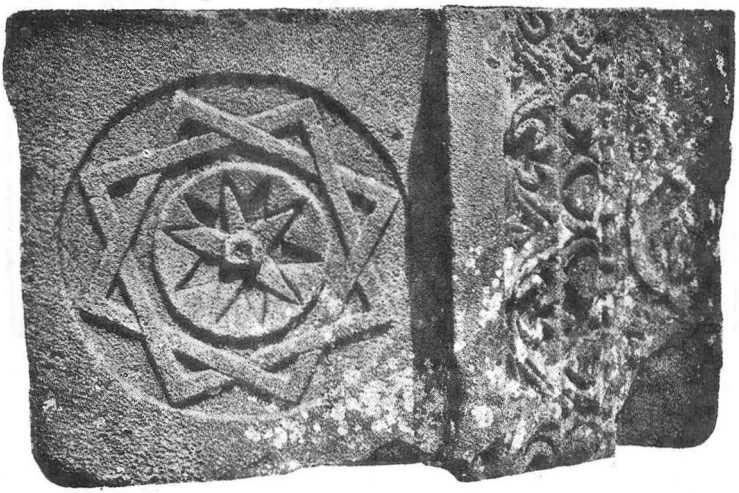
b. Khirbet Kânef: Part of Synagogue structure included in modern building.



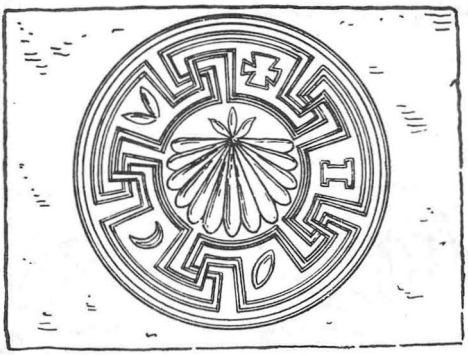
a. Khirbet Kânef: Part of inscribed Synagogue lintel.



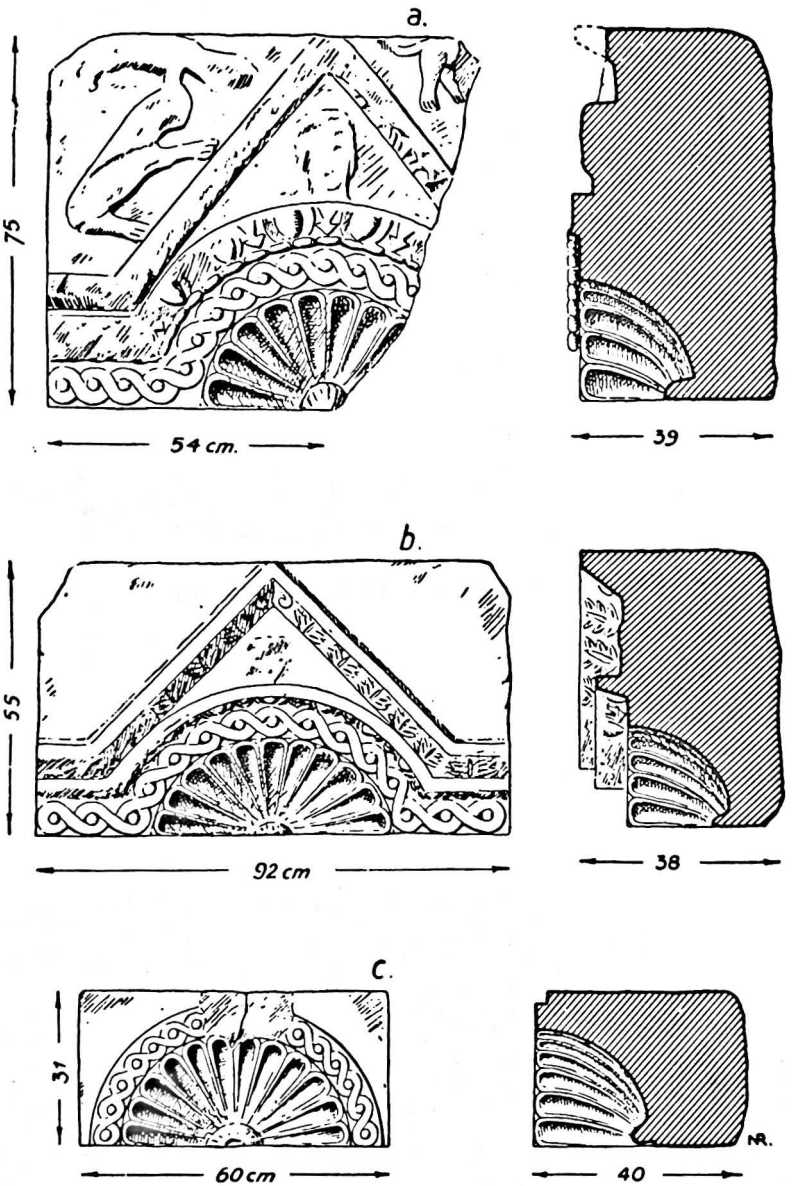
b. Khirbet Kânef: Door-post of Synagogue.



a. Khirbet Kânef: Ornamented stone from Synagogue.



b. Khirbet Kânef: Ornamented stone from Synagogue.



er-Rafīd: Architectural fragments from Synagogue.

THE EWIRIŻAR LETTER

A Reply

In *JPOS* 1934, p. 243ff, we published a new philological and historical study of the Ras Shamra document *R.S.* 1932, 4475 first edited by É. DHORME, *Syria* XIV, p. 235ff. The letter reads: (1) *ṯḥm. 'iwržr* (2) *l. plsy* (3) *r g m* / (4) *yšlm.lk* / (5) *l. trḡds* (6) *w.l.klby* (7) *šmʿt.ḫṭ'i* (8) *nḫṭᵓu.ht* (9) *hm.'inmm* (10) *nḫṭᵓu.w.ᵓak* (11) *ʿmy.w.yd* (12) *'ilm.p.kmtm* (13) *ʿz.m'id* (14) *'im.nṯkp* (Rev.) (15 *mʿnk.* (16) *w.mnm* (17) *rgm.d.tšmʿ* (18) *ṯmt.w.šṯ* (19) *b.spr.ʿmy* / — This DHORME rendered: "(1) Message d'Our-shar (2) à *Plsy* (3) dis: / (4) salut à toi! / (5) Concernant *Trʿds* (6) et concernant Kalbi, (7) j'ai entendu que vraiment (8) ils ont été emmenés. En (9) eux, il n'y a pas de culpabilité, (10) (pourtant) ils ont été emmenés. Donc renvoie-les (11) près de moi. C'est que la main (12) des dieux, dans leur famille, (13) est très forte. (14) Est-ce que nous allons être ruinés (Rev.) (15) à cause de toi? (16) Et à leur sujet (17) dis ce que tu entendras (18) là-bas et mets(-le) (19) dans une lettre à moi." — This interpretation was — tentatively, as we expressly stated — corrected by us as follows: "(1) Message of Ewiriżar (2) to Palsiya. (3) S A Y: / (4) May it be well with you! / (5) Regarding Tarḡudas and (regarding) Kulibiya— (7) Order of Arrest: (8) Arrest th- (9) em wherever they be; (10) Arrest [them] and send [them] (11) to me. Indeed, the love (12) of the gods is *here* like death: (13) very fierce, (14) terrible, mighty. (Rev.) (15 Thine answer, and any (17) report that thou mayest hear (18) *there*, thou shalt put (19) into a letter to me. /"

Now, in *Syria* XV, p. 395f, DHORME, after citing only a few of the divergences of our rendering from his and refuting them to his own satisfaction, concludes that there is nothing to be learned from our interpretation. He accordingly re-examines the text, as he claims, quite apart from our work, and offers the following revised version: "(1) Message d'Ewir-shar: (2-3) A *Plsy* dis: (4) Salut à toi! (5-9) Au sujet de *Trʿds* et de *Klby*, j'ai entendu que vraiment ils ont été emmenés. (9-10) Où ont-ils été emmenés? (10-11) Envoie-moi donc (des nouvelles)! (11-13) La main des dieux est ici, car la peste est très forte. (14-15) Est-ce que ta demeure est tranquille? (16-19) Dis tout ce que tu entendras là-bas et mets-le dans une lettre pour moi."

The attentive reader will be surprised to find a number of coincidences between the editor's own modifications of the interpretation of the *editio princeps* and our "worthless" ones. It is true that he acknowledges his indebtedness to VIROLLEAUD, *Syria* 1934, p. 83, for the sender's name Ewir-shar, but it will be seen that the same identification is made by us (actually, the priority is due to

ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* No. 54, *April* 1934); and in simply transliterating the fourth name, *Klby*, instead of vocalising it according to the Semitic as at first, he was probably influenced by the reasons adduced by us for believing that all four names are Ḫurrian. Again, for the whole of ll. 11-13, DHORME owns being indebted to ALBRIGHT, but *p* = Heb. *pô* is also given by us. Further, he refers to us himself for the proof that *mnm* = Akkad. *ménumme* (instead of *mnhm* "from them", as he originally understood it); though he might have added that the equation, if not the Phoenician examples, was also proposed by ALBRIGHT. Strangest of all, however, is not the explicit and still oftener implicit approval of features in a translation which "ne me paraissait pas une amélioration", but the way our opponent gives out as his own discovery the affinity of *'inmm*—which he formerly analysed as אין מום, "there is no blemish"— with Akkadian *yánumma*: he got it from us. It is true that he assigns to *'inmm* a sense, "whither?", that has less support—both in the Akkadian homologue, in the Arabic one which we cite in addition, and in the reduplication of the element *má*—than that of "anywhere" which is attributed to it by us.

Now as regards those points on which DHORME's new version does not agree with ours. In ll. 11-13, the interpretation he adopts from ALBRIGHT must be admitted deserving of consideration. We are no fundamentalist exponents of our first attempt, and while our philological commentary shows that our own rendering is not so ridiculous as DHORME makes out, it is just possible that we may end by accepting ALBRIGHT's suggestion. But DHORME's own renderings are still far from plausible.

For the *n*-conjugation form *nḫt'u*, 11, 8, 10, DHORME, ignoring the references we give to prove that passive *niqṭals* are comparatively rare in the Old Testament, maintains that a passive meaning is possible at this early date in view of the employment of the *n*-form as a passive in the Tell el-ʿAmârna letters. The Tell el-ʿAmârna letters, it will be remembered, are written in Akkadian; and DHORME does not cite any examples of the *nqtl* of a *Canaanite* verb in the EA tablets with such a signification, and neither have we been able to find any in his treatment of the Canaanite "forme réflexe (nota bene!) *nifʿal*" in the TA correspondence, *Rev. Bibl.* XI, 1914, p. 44f: not that even they would prove anything conclusively for Canaanite in an Akkadian context. But as a matter of fact DHORME does not give there any instances of Akkadian passive *nqtl* either; for *yinnapiš*, EA 250:33, does not mean "il a été fait" but "it happened", literally "it made itself". Even assuming, however, that there are some occurences of Akkadian *n*-forms with passive meaning in these texts, they only attest the Akkadian usage, which is not under discussion; whereas the native Canaanite sprachgefühl *is* very much in evidence in the, for Akkadian unheard of, "imparfait passif (du *qal*)" which is discussed by DHORME *ibid.* 1913, p. 382f. For a true idea of the extent to which the latter is employed in EA letters from Syria, however, one should consult the imposing lists in F. M. Th. BÖHL, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kanaanismen*, 1909, pp. 60-63. These leave no doubt whatsoever but that the almost exclusively reflexive or similar associations of his own *nqtl* inhibited the Canaanite—whether

always or only nearly always ought to be investigated[1]—from recalling the Akkadian *n*-conjugation in connection with passive *qal* notions and, since the Akkadian permansive only suggested his own passive *qal* perfect or participle, placed him under the necessity of introducing his own passive imperfect into the language of diplomacy. Consequently, even if we were able to admit that the sense modification of *ś 'l* in the Biblical Hebrew *niqṭal* was "totalement différent" from that postulated by us for *nḫt'u*, that would not even balance the difficulty of the passive meaning in DHORME's rendering. But this is not all. DHORME does not mention that we point out that his exegesis involves in addition the following improbabilities: 1) an infinitive absolute ending in *i*, instead of *u* as elsewhere:[2] 2) a *qal* infinitive absolute with a *nqtl* finite, which *never* occurs in Hebrew (see the references in our philological commentary); and 3) a plural verb with a dual subject in Ugaritic.

In ll. 8–9, we are not quite certain whether he takes *ht*, which he states to be an emphatic particle (and we admit that elsewere it is that), with the preceding word or with the following. If the former, *nḫt'u*, according to his interpretation, is doubly emphasised: both by the foregoing *ḫt'i* and by the following *ht*; which is not very convincing. If the latter, then *hm* is at least doubly stressed: by *ht* and by the fact that the subject of a verb which already indicates the person by its form is never additionally expressed by a pronoun except for emphasis. (Apart from that, a subject that precedes its verb, especially in an interrogative sentence, is ipso facto emphatic.) Accordingly, DHORME ought to have translated: "*Eux*, où ont-ils été emmenés?" (Where have *they* been taken to? — Wohin sind *die* [not "sie"] weggeführt worden?). In the alleged context, however, such emphasis is as unnatural as could well be imagined. —On *'inmm* see above.

In l. 14 DHORME makes *'im* an interrogative particle introducing a single direct question. Hebrew *'im*, however can only introduce either an indirect question or, like Arab. *'am*, the second member of a double direct question. —As for *nṯkp*, the root meaning "to rest, lie" is shown by I 'AB 5 : 19 to be *śkb*, not *ṯkp*. Even without this text, such a combination is precluded by a glance in Gesenius-Buhl at the Aramaic, Arabic and Akkadian equivalents of Heb. *śkb*.

In ll. 16-19 he takes *rgm* as an imperative; and as no proof of the likelihood of the assumed word order in an early Semitic dialect is forthcoming, he is presumably drawing on a good classical background *(et quidquid, nuntiā,*

[1] E. EBELING, *D. Verbum d. El-Amarna-Briefe*, is unfortunatly not accessible to us.

[2] We ourselves make *ḫt'i* a genitive governed by *śmʿt*. DHORME finds difficulty in understanding how the latter word can mean "order"; well, in I Sam. 15 : 4, and still more clearly *ibid.* 23 : 8, the *qiṭṭal* of *śmʿ* means very much the same thing as "to order"; and so does the *hiqṭīl* elsewhere, namely, IK 15 : 29; Jer. 51 : 27. *śmʿt* can be vocalised as a *qattâlat* formation (like Heb. *baqqâśāh*, for example) in order to emphasise its semantic affinity with the intensive conjugation of the verb, but this is not at all necessary.

audiveris). But as for his wonderment at the disappearance of the *w* in our rendering, he does not seem to have read our commentary, where it is explained that *w.št*=וְשַׁתָּ, with *waw* concecutive. The legitimacy of *waw* consecutive in Hebrew, like *fa-* in Arabic, introducing the apodosis to a formal or virtual condition does not need to be proved: cf. any good grammar. Seeing, however, that the Hebrew equivalent of *mnm* is כל, we will refer specifically to:

Jud. 19:30a: כל הרואה ואמר;

I Sam. 2:13b-14a: כל איש זבח זבח ובא נער הכהן ... והכה;

II Sam. 20:12b: כל הבא עליו ועמד; and probably also II Sam. 5:8a; כל מכה יבוסי וְיִגַּע בצנור[ו את]·הפסחים (see *ZAW* 1933, p. 308).

H. L. Ginsberg B. Maisler

BOOK REVIEWS

Géographie de la Palestine par F.-M. ABEL, tome I: *Géographie physique et historique*. Pp. xxvi + 506 with 17 plates and 12 folding maps. Paris, Gabalda, 1933.

This monumental work will place students of ancient Palestine forever under the distinguished author's debt. The first volume is sufficient to make the importance of the entire work clear; when it is finished we shall have a standard geography of Palestine in the fullest sense of the term. It incorporates the results of careful research over a period of more than a third of a century, and shows the scientific scholarship of the Dominican École Biblique at its best.

The volume before us is entirely devoted to the physical and regional (historical) geography of the Holy Land and the surrounding regions; the second volume will treat the topography of the centres of human occupation (towns and villages, etc.). The scientific spirit of the author appears in a particularly favorable light after the clear, comprehensive, and (so far as a layman can judge) accurate description of the geology and palaeogeography of the land (pp. 23-58). He does not seem to have overlooked any of the available works of the most recent students, including BLAKE, PICARD and DUBERTRET. There viewer is not aware of a single significant geological theory or discovery which is not alluded to, except perhaps the geochronology of the Jordan Valley. Since the latter question is at present only in its first stages of investigation, it is probably just as well that he does not consider it.

The following four chapters (pp. 59-179) are devoted to the physical geography of the country, including chapters on the orography (III), the valleys, plains, and deserts (IV), the climate (V), and the hydrography (VI). In these discussions he has imbedded a vast mass of data, mainly from his own study and observation. It is unfortunate that the author is unacquainted with many Hebrew publications, including those of BRAWER, as well as the more recent investigations of the Hebrew University expeditions. Reference might have been made much more frequently to the observations of DALMAN and ALT. It must, however, be emphasized here, as elsewhere, that the distinguished author is well-known for the individuality and independence of his method, and that failure to quote does not indicate ignorance of a pertinent treatment. For example, it is quite certain that Père ABEL is familiar with the theories of ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON regarding cycles of rainfall in ancient Palestine (especi-

ally in *Palestine and its Transformation*, 1912). Yet, so far as we can see, he does not mention them, evidently because he considers them as without foundation. Since the reviewer also rejects HUNTINGTON's views, considering their supposed archaeological and documentary foundation as entirely erroneous, he is quite in sympathy with ABEL's silence. Yet the author might have spared a few pages for the purpose of exhibiting the weakness of theories which have exerted great influence on historians and geographers all over the world.

In Chapters VII–IX (pp. 180–234), Père ABEL treats the mineralogy, the phytogeography (flora), and the zoögeography (fauna) of Palestine. The treatment is very complete (in outline, of course) and accurate, utilizing practically all recent work, aside from a few Hebrew publications.

The second part of the book is devoted to regional and historical geography (pp. 235–506), including a discussion of the nomenclature and the localization of Palestine, its neighbouring lands, its mountains, valleys, plains, deserts, springs, rivers, and lakes. It is incomparably the best treatment of this material in existence. The author's almost unequalled control of the epigraphic and documentary sources relating to nomenclature, makes it possible for him to furnish a nearly exhaustive discussion of topographical questions. His command of biblical, Graeco-Roman, Crusader, and other Western sources is most adequate. In dealing with Egyptian sources he is dependent upon GAUTHIER, who frequently leads him astray. For cuneiform materials he depends almost exclusively on the publications of DHORME, whose competence assures the reliability of these data. Failure to use the topographical work of Jewish scholars since HILDESHEIMER, notably of S. KLEIN, has seriously handicapped him in treating rabbinic sources, where his documentation is thus poorest.

The author's transcription of Arabic place-names is excellent on the whole; misprints are comparatively few, in spite of the distance between Jerusalem and Paris. Diacritical marks are occasionally omitted, but there are very few superfluous ones (cf. *Kurnūb*, pp. 152, 419, etc., for *Kurnub*). Aside from the publications of DALMAN and ALT, no works on the topography of Palestine are so free from errors of this kind.

The following observations do not pretend to be exhaustive, but merely to supplement the author's statements here and there, particularly from the standpoint of the ancient Orient. We will begin with p. 235.

P. 237. The author employs the vocalized Egyptian forms given by GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, which follows the antiquated LEPSIUS system. Thus the Egyptian name of the Amorite land appears as *Amar* or *Amaour*, whereas the correct vocalization

is *Amur*, corresponding to cuneiform *Amurrû*. It would have been much better to follow the consonantal spelling of the school of ERMAN and SETHE. For the vocalization of Egyptian syllabic orthography see now the reviewer's study of the subject (New Haven, 1934).

P. 238. The Semitic etymology of the name *Kenaʿan*, cuneiform *Kinaḫna*, and *Amurrû* is no longer accepted by most scholars. *Kinaḫna* is quite un-Semitic in form, resembling southeast-Anatolian place-names such as *Karaḫna*. *Amurrû* is the Accadian word for "west," borrowed from Sumerian, as shown already by the parallelism with words like *agubbû*, "holy water," from *agubba*, *labuttû*, "inspector," from *nubanda*, etc. The Sumerian original is unfortuntely not phonetically certain, since the writing *Im-mar-TU* leaves the pronunciation doubtful (*Immarru?*).

P. 244. The land of Aram and Mount Tibar were almost certainly situated in the Zagros region, east of the Tigris. The Semitic name *Aram* belongs to a tribal group, not to a land. The entire question of the origin of the people and language of the Aramaeans is obscure; the reviewer believes that the language arose in the valley of the upper Euphrates and contiguous regions during the third millennium, and that the Aramaean tribes (or most of them) were originally Arab.—On p. 245 the *Narʾima* of the Amarna Tablets should be *Naḫrima*.—On p. 246 the Egyptian *Aramaou* is shown by the spelling to be simply a scribal transposition of *Amaoura*, i. e., *Amura*, the land of the Amorites, so it cannot be used to prove Egyptian knowledge of the name *Aram* in the thirteenth century B.C.

The tribute paid by Mariʾ of Damascus (p. 248) is very interesting. The presence of 5000 talents of iron (with only 3000 talents of copper, though copper was mined in Syria) almost certainly indicates that the princes of Damascus then controlled the iron mines of Lebanon (for which see the reviewer's *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*[2], p. 215, n. 75).

The least satisfactory part of the author's topography is his discussion of Edom (pp. 281–5) and Mount Seir (pp. 389–91). He maintains that Mount Seir must be located on the western side of the ʿArabah, while the kingdom of Edom lay on the eastern side. Both districts, he thinks, were inhabited by Edomites, while the western district was occupied by the Horites before the Edomite invasion. Unfortunately, this region is totally destitute of Bronze Age sites, just as its lack of water would lead us to expect. Nor are Iron Age sites to be found, aside from a small Judaean fortress at ʿAin el-Qudeirât. The recent explorations of Professor GLUECK (*BASOR* 55, 18–20) have established the dearth of sedentary occupation in this district during these ages. On the eastern side of the ʿArabah in the region from the Wâdī el-Hésā to the edge of the Neqb south of Petra, GLUECK has found numerous sites of Edomite

towns and fortresses, showing that the kingdom of Edom was located here (*BASOR* 55, 3–17). Against these facts the arguments which may be adduced from collocation of names in the Bible and the Amarna letters are of little weight. That the name *Sēʿîr* means "wooded region" is shown by the fact that the Egyptians of the New Empire borrowed the Canaanite word for "thicket" *(śaʿâru)* and the name Seir *(Śaʿâr)*, both of which have the same vocalization, which is identical with that of Arab. *šaʿâr*, "thicket" and of Assyr. *Śaʾár (Saʾarri)*, "Seir." NOELDEKE pointed out long ago that the form *śēʿîr* is diminutive. These points are concisely treated by the reviewer in his *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (1934), p. 38. It is only Edom proper which was ever wooded in historical times.

HROZNÝ's rechauffage of the troglodyte theory of the name *Ḫurri* = Hor(ite) (p. 281) has convinced no one in his field, since the objections are altogether too serious. The word *ḫurru-ḥōr*, "hole, cave," has an excellent Semitic etymology, whereas the forms *ḫurr-*, *ḫurw-*, *ḫurl-* which underly the various cuneiform spellings of the gentilic, defy Semitic interpretation. Nor is it credible that the name of the Aramaic city Urhai (Edessa) is derived from *Ḫurru* or the reverse.

P. 284. Read *Â-rammu* or *Ai-rammu* for *Malikrammu*.

P. 288, n. 3. DOUGHERTY's attempt to show that the name *Ya-a-ma-nu* (i.e., *Yâwan* in Neo-Babylonian orthography) in a sixth century text published by him, represents *Yáman* (Yemen) is impossible, since the former is the normal form of the name *Yâwan*, *Yâwana*, Ionia, in this case referring to Cyprus, as is also shown by the fact that *Yâwan* was a source of copper. Pûṭu-Yâwan is almost certainly Cyrene.

P. 294. The location of Bâzu seems now to be fixed in eastern Arabia; see THEO BAUER, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XLII, 182–4, and SCHAWE, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, IX, 59. It is unlikely that the Assyrian Bazu-Bezu has anything to do with Bûz.

P. 295. It is increasingly improbable that there is any connection in name between the Nabayâti, Hebrew Nebāyôt, and the Nabataeans, whose name appears as *Nabaṭu* in their own inscriptions, and *Anbâṭ* (collective) in Arabic tradition. Assyrian *Nabaṭu* is the same name, though the tribes of the name may be distinct. The name *Nabaṭ*, *Nebaṭ* was a common hypocoristicon in Hebrew and Arabic.

P. 297. GARDINER has proved long since that the *Qdm* of the Sinuhe story was located east of Byblus, i.e., in eastern Syria, not east of the Dead Sea.

P. 308. It is a pity that the author has not drawn on the rich materials in KLEIN's topographical publications, which supplement and correct HILDESHEIMER at many points. The same applies to all discussion of talmudic material.

P. 321. It is increasingly likely that the Greek reading should be substituted for the Hebrew text in Gen. 34^2 and Jos. 9^7, since Hurrian names are so common in cuneiform documents of the Amarna Age from Palestine. The reviewer is inclined to suppose that there has been even more confusion between the names "Hivite" and "Horite," the former being Semitic and the latter non-Semitic; see his forthcoming paper on "The Horites in Palestine" (*Festschrift for G. L. Robinson*).

P. 325. The author is clearly right in identifying the Girgashites with the Hittite *Qaraqiša* (for the vocalization see the reviewer's *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 58, No. 6), which also appears in cuneiform Hittite as *Kar(a)kiša*. Since *k* and *g* interchange in the Anatolian languages, this equation offers no phonetic difficulty, the Masoretic vocalization being quite uncertain.

P. 329 f. The vocalization *Ḫûru* (not *Ḫaru*) is proved by the material brought together by the reviewer, *Vocalization*, pp. 38 (V. A. 8), 53–4 (XIII. A. 5–6), and by SPEISER, *AASOR* XIII, 18 ff.

The author's suggestions on p. 398 f., with regard to possible connections between certain place-names in Northern Palestine and the Mandaeans, are most ingenious, but the resemblances are presumably accidental. He compares Yiftaḥ-el with Ptahil, Kefr Mendā with the name of the sect, Bilâd er-Rûḥā with the Rûhâ de-Qudšâ, and the Niṭuftâ with Bêt Neṭôfa(ḥ). The *tertium comparationis* is, however, lacking.

It seems to the reviewer most unlikely that the famous plain *(biqʿah)* of Arbel is the meadow south of Irbid and east of the Qurûn Haṭṭîn (p. 410 f.). This term probably indicates the Plain of Esdraelon itself, especially the region around ʿAffûleh, as pointed out some years ago by J. PRESS. Eusebius mentions an Arbela situated on the great plain, nine miles from Legio (Lejjûn). This plain was renowned for its fertility, it may truly be named *biqʿah* (which could not apply to the Merj Ḥaṭṭîn), and the localization there of the last great battle of eschatological history would agree with the Armageddon of the Apocalypse.

P. 434. The name *ʾĒtām* cannot be identified with Eg. *ḫtm*, "fortress," because of the initial consonant of the latter. Heb. *aleph* corresponds only to Eg.' (the reed leaf), never to *ḫ*.

P. 462 ff. For a further development of Père ABEL's admirable discussion of the name of the Līṭânī (Litas) see his paper in *JPOS* XIII, 156–8. In the same paper (pp. 149–156) there is a similar treatment of the names of the Orontes.

P. 493 f. On the question of the location of Merom and the Waters of Merom see also the reviewer's observations in *BASOR* 35, 8.

The excellence of the first volume justifies us in looking with eagerness for the appearance of the second volume, which will deal

with the identification of towns and with their history and topography. The distinguished author has placed all students of ancient Palestine, including specialists on the subject, under a profound obligation. The *Géographie de la Palestine* is a standard work in the fullest sense of the term.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

Leitfaden für den Selbstunterricht in der arabischen Sprache. Von ST. H. STEPHAN. XXII, 152. Jerusalem, Steimatzky Publishing Company, 1935. 150 mils = 3 shillings.

It is very gratifying that a native of the Syro-Palestinian area has undertaken a work of this kind. Mr. STEPHAN is well-known to the readers of this *Journal*, in which have appeared many of his monographs and articles. He has always evinced an interest in the grammatical analysis of colloquial Arabic, and his remarks in his review of BAUER's *Wörterbuch des palästinischen Arabisch (J.P.O.S.*, XIII pp. 249–251*)* led us to believe that he would sooner or later add something from the native side to the studies of European scholars.

His book consists of a short introduction to grammar, and a glossary of useful words and phrases. The foreword explains that it is the spoken Arabic of Palestine that is being presented. The first part is too brief and inadequate in its treatment to be of real service for "Selbstunterricht." Case relationships receive attempted explanation in terms of Latin grammar. The fact is that colloquial Arabic is a simple language whose structure and relationships may just as well be explained directly to the student without the use of such terms as "Dativ", "Ablativ", and "Genitiv". The so-called oblique cases do not exist in spoken Arabic, their relationship being expressed instead by prepositions. Hence, the proper way to explain this matter is by a list of prepositions and their uses.

Other objections are: the construct-state relationship is not clearly explained; nothing is said about defined and undefined nouns and adjectives; the words "Nisbe" and "*afʿal*", which could not possibly be understood by a beginner, are used without explanation of their meaning; in the treatment of negation *ma* and *la* are mentioned, but nothing is said about *mush* (or *mish*); the use of the Arabic "Aorist" to render the European infinitive, one of the first needs of the beginner, is not explained; not a word is said about Arabic vowels and the influence of consonants upon them; there is not a hint in the text of the various dialects of Palestine and Syria; the paper cover of the book says the brand of Arabic

taught within is "Palästinensisch-syrisch", whilst the foreword mentions only "Selbstunterricht des palästinensischen Dialekts".

The main part of the book consists of "die allernötigsten Wörter und Ausdrücke des täglichen Lebens in gedrängter Form". Here STEPHAN is at his best, and has compiled some very valuable material. The arrangement is alphabetical, but wherever possible the individual word serves as a subject under which are grouped important expressions having to do with that subject. One of the best entries is "Behörde", under which one finds twenty-four words and phrases having to do with the affairs and departments of government in Palestine. No other book offers so exactly and correctly this very useful information. Similarly excellent is the list of "Früchte".

One feature of the transliteration seems to the reviewer a mistake. This is the arbitrarily uniform rendering of the Arabic short *fatḥa* by the Latin letter *a*, except in the feminine ending. STEPHAN is doubtless influenced in this by the usage of the Palestine Government, which has produced such monstrosities as *Tall Bait Mirsim* and *Jarash* instead of *Tell B.M.* and *Jerash*. Likewise in the book before us, we see *banzīn* for *benzīn*, *badle* for *bedle*, *afandi* for *effendi*, *laban* for *leben*, etc.

There are too many misprints, as is, unfortunately, often the case with books made in Palestine. BAUER's *Wörterbuch des palästinischen Arabisch* is a gratifying exception.

Despite the inadequacy of the book for self-instruction, it none the less has many valuable points, and should be in the hands of everyone interested in learning colloquial Arabic, especially since the price is so reasonable, being less than a third than of BAUER's *Wörterbuch*.

W. F. STINESPRING

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PALESTINE IN THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL PERIOD[1]

W. F. ALBRIGHT

(JERUSALEM)

It will soon be fifteen years since Professor A. T. CLAY of Yale University founded the Palestine Oriental Society. I was then in Jerusalem, and was present at both the preliminary meeting called by Professor CLAY on Jan. 9th, 1920, in order to interest the scholars and scholarly minded people of Jerusalem in the proposed Society, and the general meeting held March 22nd. The founder's task was not easy. Few people then in Jerusalem had any experience

[1] This paper was given as the annual presidential address at the meeting of the Society on Nov. 29th, 1934. Aside from the introductory remarks, the paper has been expanded and brought up to the level of knowledge in July, 1935, thus incorporating some more recent material. None of the basic contentions of the original address has been changed. Attention is called to the accompanying chart (p. 200), illustrating the data discussed here; I wish to thank my student, Mr. G. E. WRIGHT, for help in its preparation.—Note the following abbreviations: AAA = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*; AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*; AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*; *Annual* = *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; APB = ALBRIGHT, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (3rd. ed., New York, 1935); BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; BJPES = *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*; EB = *Early Bronze*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; *Journal* = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; JSOR = *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*; LB = Late Bronze; MB = Middle Bronze; MJ = *Museum Journal* (of the University of Pennsylvania Museum); NCEB = ENGBERG and SHIPTON, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo* (Chicago, 1934); QS = *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*; RB = *Revue Biblique*; RLV = EBERT, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*; TBM I = *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, I (*Annual* XII); TBM I A = *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, I A (*Annual* XIII); ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*; ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*; ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

in the organization and operation of a learned society, and there were many who felt that the American organization which was urged by Professor CLAY, modelled on the American Oriental Society, might do for the New World, but was hardly the thing for Palestine. However, his contagious enthusiasm and his persistence in soliciting support and subscriptions won the day and the society was launched.

The Society had a great advantage from the outset in being supported loyally by the three principal archaeological and oriental institutes then existing in Jerusalem, the British, French, and American Schools, and it possessed a great asset in the secretary and editor of its *Journal*, Canon HERBERT DANBY, to whose faithful and competent editorship and whose general popularity in all circles the society owes a great debt. I shall naturally not speak of my own modest services, which consisted mostly in assisting DANBY and in helping to pacify certain groups which were bent on dragging the society into politics. In spite of a few incidents which might have had repercussions, we have succeeded in avoiding the pitfalls of politics, and our society is known to all who are really *au courant* with its activities, as strictly neutral.

In recent years the society has faced a number of situations when the future looked rather discouraging, both because of loss of leaders and reduction of membership. Then came Dr. CANAAN, who has injected so wholesome a tonic into the sluggish veins of our organization—this tonic consisting of his own indomitable energy and enthusiasm—that our future is now brighter than the past has ever been. Dr. CANAAN has enlarged the membership and has kept unremittingly after delinquent subscribers; he has improved the quality of the *Journal* by soliciting papers from distinguished scholars in Palestine and abroad; he has improved the average quality of our meetings in the same way. I can testify with a whole heart to the improvement that has been evident in many directions—an improvement that we owe mainly to Dr. CANAAN.

The treasury is at present in a very wholesome state, the *Journal* improves both in quantity and quality—having been increased this year from the previous average of 240 pages to a new high of 320 pages—, and the meetings are both frequent and well-attended. What more can one expect of a learned society? There is no reason why the society should not continue to flourish, since Palestine

will long remain a centre of biblical and archaeological study, and the learned institutions established here are likely to grow stronger rather than weaker in coming years. Moreover, both in the Jewish and the Arabic sections of the population there are groups of scholars who will inevitably seek to interchange ideas and discoveries with the foreign institutions in Jerusalem.

I cannot but feel that our society has already played an important rôle in bridging the gulfs between divergent political and religious groups, since it has accustomed many of the leaders of thought in Palestine to the non-partisan study of historical questions underlying the divergences. If we are prudent and employ a great deal of tact, there can be little doubt that our society will continue to play this rôle, one which may even be of more value in the long run than the obvious function of stimulating and coordinating research which the society fills so successfully.

During the past year we have suffered one serious loss by the death of Père ALEXIS MALLON, who was for many years one of the most faithful members of the society, as well as a past president, vice-president, and director. Since M. NEUVILLE has already described his life and work, I need not dwell on them here. Nearly eleven years ago we were associated in the exploration of the southern Dead Sea valley, and I had ample opportunity to become acquainted with his excellent qualities. Since then we have more and more frequently found ourselves on opposite sides of scholarly debates, but it is a pleasure to testify to the fact that his opposition was always loyal and conditioned by his devotion to scientific truth as he saw it.

Thirteen years ago the Society did me the honour of electing me its third president. On that occasion I presented an address on the subject, "Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period."[2] Since no field of research in the domains covered by the Society has been so illumined by the advance of knowledge as has this one, I shall take the liberty of addressing you on the same subject again.

[2] Delivered Jan. 24th, 1922, printed in the *Journal*, II, 110–38.

Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period: Introduction

At the end of 1921 our knowledge of Palestinian archaeology may be said to have retrogressed when compared with the state of affairs in 1914. In the first place, there was really only one Palestinian archaeologist in the country who had been here before the War, and who could speak with authority, and that was Père Vincent, who has long been the master of our guild. In the second place, the chronological results which seemed to have accrued from pre-War excavations, were so conflicting—indeed were so mutually exclusive—that it was hard to make them the basis of any cultural history whatsoever. When authorities like Macalister placed the culture that we now know to have been associated with the preexilic monarchy of Judah after the Exile, and when the leading German expert referred the Canaanite culture of the Hyksos Age to the monarchy of Israel, some eight centuries later, only chaos could result when a synthesis was attempted. In the third place, excavation had only been resumed for a little over a year, and the only work which had any direct bearing on the Bronze Age was the sounding made by Garstang and Phythian-Adams at Ascalon. It is small wonder then, that when I tried to prepare a synthesis of the state of our knowledge of the period which began with the first sedentary occupation of the country, and which closed with the end of the Hyksos Age in the sixteenth century B.C., most of the material had to be drawn from documentary sources. In retrospect it is interesting to note that the innovations which I then introduced on the basis of inscriptional material were in part right, but in part wrong,[3] whereas most of my contentions with regard to the interpretation of the available archaeological material were

[3] Among erroneous views then advanced, on the basis of previous work of mine, originally published in large part elsewhere, were my theories with regard to a synchronism between Menes and Narâm-Sin and to Sargon's invasion of Palestine. My reduction of Egyptian chronology (see below, n. 48) has proved to be approximately correct, as also my view of the relations between Palestine and Egypt in early times. My treatment of the ethnic and linguistic relationships of the Amorites and Hittites, though then quite new, is being proved increasingly to be right. On the other hand I was clearly wrong with regard to the Horite-Hurrian question. It is superfluous to list detailed observations which have since been generally accepted.

correct, even when they were rejected by the next students of ancient Palestine to write on the subjects in question.[4]

During these thirteen years three main bodies of relevant documentary material have been discovered and published: the so-called *Ächtungstexte*, the inventories of the temple-treasure of Qaṭna (el-Mišrifeh), and the mythological texts of Ugarit (Râs eš-Šamrah). The *Ächtungstexte* date from about 2000 B.C. (the end of the Eleventh Dynasty), and throw a great deal of light on the ethnic composition and the social and political organization of Palestine and Syria in the period of transition from Early to Middle Bronze.[5] The inventories of Qaṭna date from between the seventeenth (?) and the fourteenth centuries, but undoubtedly refer in large part to the period preceding the Egyptian conquest of Syria in the second half of the sixteenth century.[6] The mythological texts of Ugarit were written down in their present form not later than the fourteenth century—probably not after the fifteenth—but were composed in substantially their present text between the eighteenth and the fifteenth centuries.[7] A few other tablets from Ugarit certainly belong to the age before 1500, but their exact chronology is still uncertain.[8]

[4] This applies particularly to my reaction against the low chronology of Palestinian archaeologists before the War, a reaction which was endorsed by VINCENT and opposed by MALLON and others; the treatment then given of the chronology of Tell el-Ḥesī, Megiddo and Jericho was surprisingly near the truth, so far as we know it now.

[5] See SETHE, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker, und Dinge*, etc. (Berlin, 1926); the *Journal*, VIII, 223–56, and ALBRIGHT, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (1934), p. 7, where additional references to the literature are given. That SETHE's dating was correct becomes clearer all the time.

[6] See VIROLLEAUD, *Syria*, IX, 90 ff., XI, 311 ff. One inventory is written in Old Babylonian characters, a fact which makes a date after the seventeenth century out of the question. The tenor and contents of the inventories themselves are against a date after the Egyptian conquest: there are no Egyptian loanwords, and the Accadian term *šakkanakku* is used for "viceroy" instead of the Amarna *râbiṣu* or *ḫazânu*. We must probably assign some of the personages mentioned in them to the Hyksos Age; cf. n. 107.

[7] See the original publications, nearly all by VIROLLEAUD, in *Syria* XII–XVI (1930–35), as well as the monographs by BAUER (*Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, Halle, 1932), FRIEDRICH (*Ras Schamra*, Leipzig, 1933), and JACK (*The Ras Schamra Tablets*, Edinburgh, 1935). For the writer's views see the *Journal*, XII, 185–203; XIV, 101–40. For the date of composition see BASOR, No. 50, 19; *Journal*, XIV, 111.

[8] One is written in Old Babylonian characters, and must thus date from the seventeenth century or earlier.

A considerable amount of indirect light is shed on the cultural history of Syria and Palestine by cuneiform tablets found in Mesopotamia, and the relevant material has greatly increased since 1921. Of particular importance is the remarkable progress made in the publication and the study of the Old Assyrian documents from Cappadocia, over a thousand of which have been published, while fully as many more await publication.[9] These texts, dating from the twentieth century B.C., throw a vivid light on conditions of trade and culture in Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia, and are unquestionably invaluable for our comprehension of the state of civilization in contemporary Canaan. The number of Old Babylonian documents from the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, between 2100 and 1800 B.C., has also increased greatly, and TH. BAUER's excellent collection of the West-Semitic personal names in these texts has been of the greatest value for the student of the languages of the West at that time.[10] The discovery this past winter of some 1600 tablets from the temple of Ishtar at Mari (Tell el-Ḥarîrī) on the Middle Euphrates, dating apparently from about 2000 B.C. or a little earlier, should be of extraordinary importance, since Mari may geographically be reckoned to Syria in more than one respect.[11]

Our knowledge of the Horites (Ḫurrians) and their culture is due largely to material found in the tablets of Boghazköi (Ḫattusas, capital of the ancient Hittite empire in Asia Minor) and Ugarit,[12] as well as in those of Nuzi in southeastern Assyria.[13] Since the importance of the Horites in the ethnic pattern of Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age is being increasingly recognized, this material is of direct value for our purpose.[14]

[9] The best publication is that of LEWY in his *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, Leipzig, 1930–35).

[10] Cf. TH. BAUER, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (1926), and my review, AOF III, 124 ff., with BAUER's rejoinder to his critics, ZA XXXVIII, 145–70.

[11] See PARROT, *Syria*, XVI, 110 f.

[12] See THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syria*, XII, 249–66.

[13] For a general discussion see especially CHIERA and SPEISER, *Annual*, VI, 75–90.; XIII, 13 ff.

[14] The Horite question is discussed by the writer in the G. L. ROBINSON Volume, *From the Pyramids to Paul* (New York, 1935), pp. 9–26.

PALESTINE IN THE CHALCOLITHIC AGE[15]

Nothing whatever was known about this age until the beginning of the excavation of Tuleilât el-Ghassûl in the southern Jordan Valley by Père MALLON, six years ago, on behalf of the Pontifical Biblical Institute. It is quite true that there has been a vigourous debate with regard to the age of this culture, but the problem may be regarded as practically settled by the latest excavations at Jericho and Beth-shan, in addition to the arguments previously advanced, which should have been decisive in themselves.[16] Shortly after the beginning of work at Ghassûl, MACDONALD undertook excavations at numerous small sites of temporary occupation in the Wâdī Ghazzeh, in the extreme south of Palestine; here also undoubted signs of pre-EB occupation were found in abundance.[17] In 1932 GUY, ENGBERG, and SHIPTON excavated an exceedingly important sequence of seven strata on the southeast slope of the hill of Megiddo, three of which belong to the end of the Chalcolithic, as will be seen.[18] In the autumn of 1933 FITZGERALD excavated strata XI–XVIII on the south side of the mound of Beth-shan; the earliest three layers are definitely chalcolithic, antedating the earliest remains yet found at Megiddo, as we shall see.[19] Finally, in the first months of 1935 GARSTANG has recovered a remarkable sequence of

[15] The terms "Chalcolithic" and "Early Bronze" are used here in a conventional way, without implying any definite theory or fact about the use of bronze or copper. It would certainly be preferable to use "Copper Age" for "Bronze Age." Our line of demarcation between the two periods is primarily based on ceramic criteria, but has the advantage of being roughly equivalent to the line between Predynastic and Dynastic in Egypt, as will be seen.

[16] For the excavation of Tuleilât el-Ghassûl see the reports by MALLON in *Biblica*, 1930–33, and KÖPPEL, *Biblica*, 1935, 241 ff.; the definitive publication of the results of the first three campaigns appeared in 1934, under the title, *Teleilāt Ghassūl I*, reviewed in great detail by VINCENT, RB, 1935, 69–104, 220–44. For the writer's position with regard to the chronology of the site see BASOR 42, 14 f., 48, 10–13; *Annual*, XII, 3, XIII, 57 f. For MALLON's reply see *Biblica*, 1933, 202–11.

[17] STARKEY, HARDING, and MACDONALD, *Beth-pelet II* (1932), 1–21; cf. BASOR 48, 11 ff.

[18] See ENGBERG and SHIPTON, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo* (Chicago, 1934), with VINCENT's detailed review, RB, 1934, 403 ff.

[19] See FITZGERALD, MJ XXIV, 5–22.

COMPARATIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL TABLE (TO 1500 B.C.)

Egypt	Megiddo	Beth-shan	Ghassûl	Jericho	et-Tell-Ai	B.C.
				Neolithic ware		
			(I) (II) III IV	Chalco-lithic ware		
						3500
rzean		XVIII XVII				
		XVI				
	VI VI V					
mainean						
		XV		EB I ware		3000
n. I		XIV				
		XIII				
n. II	IV					
	III					
n. III	II		Tell Beit Mirsim		Temple	
n. IV	I					
		XII				2500
n. V				Hirbet Ker-ak ware		
		XI				
n. VI			J	Tomb A	1933-4 cemetery	
		sherds				
n. IX						
	Tombs 1101 Lower	s	I	sherds		
n. XI						
n. XII			H	(Spätkan-aanitisch)		2000
	Shaft-tombs			sherds		
			G	s		
n. XIII						
			F			
n. XV		X	E	Early Hyk-sos ware		
yksos)	Hyksos ware					
			D	Late Hyk-sos ware		
n. XVIII						
	LB ware	sherds	C	Middle Pal.		1500

mesolithic, neolithic, chalcolithic, and Early Bronze strata at Jericho, where the Chalcolithic falls into its proper place in an inclusive stratigraphical series.[20] Meanwhile, numerous other sites of the Ghassulian period have been discovered and several of them excavated: we may mention particularly the caves of Umm el-Qaṭâfah and Umm el-Qalʿah in Judaea, excavated by NEUVILLE; a burial grotto near Ḫuḍeirah in the Plain of Sharon, excavated at the end of 1934 by SUKENIK; a number of Ghassulian deposits in caves in the north of Palestine; two sites north of Jerusalem and one or more in the Jordan Valley.[21] Remains of the late Chalcolithic have been found at several sites in the Plain of Esdraelon and elsewhere.[22]

The great duration of the Chalcolithic in the Near East is proved by discoveries in Mesopotamia and Syria since 1900, and particularly during the past few years. Excavations at Susa and other sites in Susiana, at Erech (Warka), Ur, Lagash (Tello), Kish, Jemdet Naṣr, Tell el-ʿObeid, and Sāmarrā in Babylonia, at Tepe Gawra and Tell Billah, Nineveh, and Arpachîyah in Assyria, at Tell Ḥalâf, Til Barsip (Tell el-Aḥmar), and elsewhere in Northwestern Mesopotamia, at Carchemish, Hamath, Sakche-gözü, Ugarit (Râs eš-Šamrah), Byblus, and elsewhere in Syria, have made this fact abundantly clear.[23] We can now follow with certainty the broad lines of a

[20] Already summarily described in numerous news reports, confirmed from private sources. I wish to thank Professor GARSTANG here for giving me permission to quote certain other stratigraphical discoveries of his.

[21] The impressive list of additional "Ghassuloid" sites given by KÖPPEL, *Biblica*, 1935, 246, is considerably reduced if we eliminate all those which have not yielded any Ghassulian pottery.

[22] Near Megiddo we have Tell Abū Zureiq, examined by GUY (NCEB 61, n. 15) and ʿAffûleh, recorded by MAISLER, BJPES, No. 3, 21 f. (MAISLER was the first to correct the erroneous date given there on the basis of the new material from Megiddo).

[23] The correlation of this vast material is now under way, thanks particularly to the stratigraphic observations of JORDAN and NÖLDEKE at Warka, of WOOLLEY at Ur, of SPEISER and BACHE at Tepe Gawra, and especially of MALLOWAN at Arpachîyah. It is now certain that the sequence of cultures is as given in the text, and not as maintained by DE GENOUILLAC and more doubtfully by CONTENAU, on the basis of the excavations at Tello and Tepe Giyân. Under no condition can we date Susa I after Tell el-ʿObeid, as these scholars hold; Susa I is rather parallel with a late stage of the Tell Ḥalâf culture, and probably antedates the Sāmarrā culture. HERZFELD's Persepolis culture is probably still older, as he holds (cf. his *Iranische Denkmäler*, I,A, 1932; BREASTED, *The Oriental In-*

development which cannot have occupied less than two thousand years before the beginning of the so-called Dynastic Age in Babylonia, about 3000 B.C., and we can distinguish, going backward, numerous phases such as the Jemdet Naṣr and Warka periods (second half of the fourth millennium), the ʿObeid, Sāmarrā, and Tell Ḥalâf periods of painted pottery, with many subdivisions, and still older phases of culture, mostly characterized by monochrome pottery. In Syria the discovery of three main strata antedating the Early Bronze at Ugarit, strata roughly paralleling the Mesopotamian periods, has conclusively proved that sedentary human occupation goes back to quite as remote an age as in Mesopotamia.

In Egypt, also, we have a prolonged sequence of chalcolithic, predynastic cultures, to which PETRIE has given the name Tasian, Badarian, Amratian, Gerzean, and Semainean, after characteristic sites.[24] The site of Maʿâdī south of Cairo exhibits a culture which resembles the Ghassulian with particular closeness,[25] and must be older than the Gerzean culture, since the latter originated in Northern Egypt, as shown by SCHARFF.[26] PETRIE has also equated the culture of the Wâdī Ghazzeh which most closely resembles that of Ghassûl with an early stage of Egyptian Predynastic, before the Gerzean.[27] It follows that a date for the Ghassulian after the middle of the fourth millennium is practically excluded by Egyptian parallels.

The most recent excavation at Jericho has yielded very important evidence for the latest stage of the Mesolithic and the subsequent Tahunian culture, but we must await GARSTANG's detailed publication of his results before discussing them. The Mesolithic

stitute, 1933, p. 315). For the latest and best comparative treatment of the painted pottery of Mesopotamia see MALLOWAN and ROSE, *Prehistoric Assyria*, (London, 1935, also in *Iraq*, Vol. II).

[24] The best recent comparative study is still that of SCHARFF, *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Vorgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1927); CHILDE's *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (London, 1934) is excellent. For PETRIE's nomenclature see *Ancient Egypt* 1931, 78–81, where he defines it most clearly.

[25] See MENGHIN and AMER, *The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi* (Cairo, 1932), and MALLON's review, *Biblica*, 1933, 124 f. The closest resemblances with Ghassulian are in the flint artifacts, which exhibit striking parallelism in range and form.

[26] See SCHARFF, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff. PETRIE authorizes me to quote him as placing the Maʿâdi culture before the Gerzean, but probably after the Badarian.

[27] *Beth-pelet* II, 15.

at the base of the mound of Jericho is at all events later than the Natufian, discovered and studied in detail by Miss GARROD. The Tahunian culture is definitely neolithic, perhaps chalcolithic, as maintained by NEUVILLE, its discoverer[28]; its remains have hitherto been found only in caves and open-air stations, except at Jericho. Flint arrow-heads and hatchets with ground edges, as well as crude pottery, indicate that its bearers were relatively advanced on the road toward civilization. We should expect it to be the culture of the builders of the megalithic cemeteries which abound in Transjordan and occur more sparingly in Western Palestine, but the evidence so far gathered by NEUVILLE and others is not altogether favourable to this view.[29]

NEUVILLE believes that the Tahunian culture was roughly synchronous with the Ghassulian, but the fact that the two flint industries are so radically different, though the respective sites are so closely interspersed over a considerable area, makes this attitude decidedly improbable. However, there is an unmistakable relation between the Tahunian as described by him and the Early Bronze ("Canaanite") of the third millennium, so we evidently have to deal with a complicated course of development, a course which has many parallels in other lands and times. The Ghassulian may easily be, as maintained by NEUVILLE and MALLON, an intrusive culture, after whose close the old influences advanced again from comparatively inaccessible mountains or deserts, where they may have found refuge.

From what direction the Ghassulian culture came is not yet certain, since there are no close analogies in chalcolithic Mesopotamia, and only one important station belonging to a related culture has hitherto been found in northeastern Africa—and that in Lower Egypt. As a typical irrigation culture, it must have come either from the direction of Mesopotamia and Syria, or from that of Egypt. Since the former is impossible, and the latter has strong indications in its favor, we must accept Egypt as the probable source of this culture. As seen above, the Ghassulian most closely resembles an early stage of Egyptian predynastic history, before sequence-date 40, and thus

[28] See his latest treatment in RB, 1934, 255 f.

[29] It is perfectly possible that dolmens were occasionally reused as tombs in later times. So far practically no dolmens have yielded any pottery at all.

probably before 3500 B.C. As will be seen below, it certainly came to an end in Palestine before the middle of the fourth millennium.

Located at some distance from the Jordan, in an area now absolutely waterless during most of the year, in an open village scattered over an extensive area, founded on the plain of the Ghôr, at a level several metres below the present surface of the plain, Tuleilât el-Ghassûl carries us far back into the past, to a time when climatic conditions in Palestine were decidedly different from what they are now. Then the Jordan had not cut its channel so deep into the Zôr, lateral water-courses were more numerous, and formed perennial brooks more frequently. No settlement of the Bronze Age hitherto known in Palestine was built in a place so unsuited for habitation under modern conditions. But six thousand years ago conditions of climate and hydrography were certainly different in Palestine, just as in Europe and northeastern Africa.

Thanks to the supplementary evidence found by SUKENIK near Ḫuḍeirah we can form a very adequate picture of the Ghassulian culture. Flourishing towns in alluvial plains, containing rectangular houses built on stone foundations, with walls either of adobe lumps or of reeds smeared with mud, curving up toward a peak in the longitudinal axis, seem to have been characteristic of it. The rounded lumps of sun-dried mud or clay which are characteristic of Ghassûl, resemble somewhat the bricks of the oldest stratum of Beth-shan, which followed it closely in time, as well as the bricks of the earliest painted-pottery culture of southern Babylonia, over 4000 B.C.[30] They are thus another important argument for the relative antiquity of Ghassûl. But the most extraordinary characteristic of the latter are the strange-appearing polychrome wall-frescoes, with bizarre geometric designs, not in the least like anything previously known in the Near East. To argue from these frescoes that the Ghassulian culture must be late is unjustified,[31] especially since HERZFELD has recently found painted frescoes on house-walls in a village near Persepolis from one of the earliest painted-pottery phases, which must, therefore, date from before 4000 B.C. The pottery of the Ghassulian is remarkably advanced, when compared with the earliest

[30] From the excavations of JORDAN and NÖLDEKE at Warka.

[31] Contrast UNGER, *Biblica*, 1932, 284 ff.

pottery previously known in Palestine, but just as crude when compared with the beautiful painted ware from the fifth millennium in Northern Mesopotamia (Tell Ḥalâf and Arpachîyah). The use of a crude wheel is paralleled by the oldest painted pottery of Mesopotamia, and thus offers no difficulty in itself.[32]

Nothing whatever is known about the race of the builders of Tuleilât el-Ghassûl; the few indications so far given by the excavators from the scanty and poor material at their disposal do not permit a judgment. We are not warranted in considering them as non-Semites, in any event. The spread of their culture was probably limited on the north by the mountains of southern Syria, since nothing resembling it has yet been found north of Galilee and all the earliest remains of Byblus, Ugarit, Hamath, and the mounds of the Aleppo district are radically different.

Next in date to the Ghassulian phase of Palestinian culture comes the earliest level of occupation at Beth-shan—stratum XVIII—, so far as our present evidence goes. The Beth-shan pottery from stratum XVIII and the underlying pits in the rock exhibits loop-handles which in part resemble the vertical lug-handles of Ghassûl quite closely; ledge-handles had not yet come into use, at least for general purposes. We have already referred to the small bricks with rounded tops, which have an unmistakable affinity to the rounded bricks of Ghassûl. The two cultures also agree in a very extensive use of moulded and thumb-indented bands, raised to imitate cords. Most of the forms are, however, different. In stratum XVII at Beth-shan the ledge-handle decorated along its edge with thumb-impressions, makes its first appearance, accompanied by the first sherds and vases of gray-burnished ware, which becomes characteristic of the last phase of the Chalcolithic in Palestine, particularly in the north. Strata XVIII–XVII at Beth-shan presumably belong to the third quarter of the fourth millennium, since the following period of dark-gray burnished ware falls roughly into the last quarter of that millennium, as we shall presently see. This

[32] Nor can we lay any stress on the appearance of true bronze in our site (assuming that the bronze objects from Ghassûl and Umm el-Qaṭâfah belong to the context, as is probable), since bronze has been discovered in extremely early deposits in Babylonia, and the bronze in question may owe its tin admixture to the composition of the ore.

again compels us to push the Ghassulian back into the first half of the fourth millennium—possibly even earlier (see above on the contemporary cultures of Mesopotamia and Egypt).

Stratum XVI at Beth-shan brings us into the full expansion of the gray-burnished-bowl period, accompanied by thumb-indented ledge-handles and by apsidal houses. Copper implements were also discovered in this level. That Beth-shan XVI is older than Megiddo VII–IV, where the gray-burnished bowls appear, also side by side with thumb-indented ledge-handles, seems to be proved by the fact that the former are obviously nearer the metallic prototypes which must be assumed for these carinated forms.[33] The former show sharper angles, more graceful curves, and the horizontal rows of projecting knobs are much better placed architectonically. That Beth-shan XVI cannot be placed after Megiddo IV is indicated by the fact that the pushed-up ledge-handle, which already occurs in Megiddo IV, does not appear at Beth-shan until stratum XIV. Other types agree with this indication, so our relative chronology can hardly be wrong.

Gray-burnished ware also appears in the second half of the fourth millennium in the Warka culture of Babylonia and related cultures of Northern Mesopotamia.[34] Its appearance in the lower strata of Hamath on the Orontes is probably coeval.[35] The same ware has also been found in sporadic work elsewhere on the Syrian coast and in Palestine, some of which has been referred to by ENGBERG and SHIPTON in their publication. Its direction of movement seems to have been from northwest to southeast, since it was at home in the neolithic Aegean, as well as in Malta. In Northern Syria and Mesopotamia it is relatively abundant, but less important in Babylonia, so that an eastern origin cannot well be defended. Until more of the available material has been published, and a

[33] FITZGERALD (MJ XXIV, 22) is also inclined to place Beth-shan XVI before Megiddo VII, though natural caution prevents him from stating this conclusion as categorically as I feel compelled to do. A slight overlap is, of course, quite possible, since the pottery published as coming from this stratum may easily belong almost entirely to the end of its occupation.

[34] Cf. MALLOWAN, *op. cit.*, p. 24 f. The exact place of the gray-burnished ware of Tell Ḥalâf is still obscure.

[35] Cf. provisionally AJA, 1934, 198 b.

closer comparative study of forms and fabric can be made, any more precise conclusion would be premature.

With this gray-burnished ware came the apsidal house, which was so characteristic of Early Bronze house construction in Greece and Malta, as well as in other parts of Europe and Anatolia.[36] At Megiddo the apsidal construction appears in stratum IV, while at Beth-shan it is already found in XVI, so that we have it both at the beginning and at the end of the gray-burnished age as at present known. The coincidence of pottery and house-construction is enough to establish a strong influence from the general direction of the northwest in the second half of the fourth millennium, but ethnic deductions would be decidedly premature.

Mesopotamian influences are also found, notably in the seal-cylinder impressions on vases, all from stratum V of Megiddo. Six have been discovered so far,[37] and the similarity to seal-cylinders of the Warka and Jemdet Naṣr periods in Mesopotamia is unmistakable, as has been pointed out by FRANKFORT, ENGBERG, and SHIPTON, as well as by VINCENT, CHRISTIAN, and others.[38] It may be added that the designs on the Egyptian seal-cylinders of the First Dynasty are, typologically speaking, distinctly later, so that the carved seal-cylinder seems to have migrated from Mesopotamia to Egypt via Palestine, in the latest predynastic age. While a certain lag must naturally be allowed, the double coincidence of gray-burnished ware and cylinder-motifs between Megiddo V and the Warka culture suggests that the duration of the lag must be comparatively short, and the archaeological synchronisms between Egyptian Protodynastic and the beginning of the Early Bronze of Palestine, to be discussed next, prove that it was actually short. The date of the Warka period must be approximately in the third quarter of the fourth millennium B.C., as follows from the fact that the Dynasty of Accad ruled Babylonia between cir. 2700 and 2500, so that the date of the Royal Tombs of Ur can hardly be placed later than the thirtieth century B.C. Allowing a certain time for

[36] Cf. the literature cited in the article "Apsidenbau" in RLV I, 201 f.

[37] See NCEB 31 ff.; QS, 1934, 90 ff.

[38] Cf. BASOR 57, 29; VINCENT, RB, 1934, 420 ff.; CHRISTIAN, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1935, 137 ff., *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1934, 659.

the evolution of the classical Sumerian culture before this date, as well as for the still earlier Jemdet Naṣr stage, we are forced back before the thirty-third century for the Warka culture.[39] On the other hand, Megiddo V antedates the First Dynasty in Egypt (see below), so must be dated before the twenty-ninth century B.C., at the very lowest, and probably at least a century or two earlier. The lag is reduced, accordingly, to not more than two or three centuries at the outside, unless we adopt a preposterously high chronology for the earliest history of Babylonia.

While there is no direct evidence for the ethnic composition of the population of Palestine in the Late Chalcolithic, before 3000 B.C., it is probable that the Northwest-Semitic element, speaking an early form of Canaanite (Hebrew), was already dominant.[40] This we may infer from the fact that the names of the towns already known to have been occupied, are all Semitic, and in part even apparently Canaanite; cf. *Bêt-šan*, *Yerîḥô*, *Megiddô*, *Bêt-yeraḥ*.[41] It is interesting to note that the apparent domination of a culture derived from Africa in the earlier Chalcolithic has been replaced by a culture under strong northern influence, both from the northwest and the northeast.

Palestine in the Early Bronze Age

Up to two years ago, the chronology of the Early Bronze of Palestine was involved in seemingly impenetrable obscurity, and the wildest datings were quite possible. Now, thanks to Megiddo, Beth-shan, and especially to Ai, this uncertainty has been replaced by a clear understanding of the sequence of cultures and an approximate chronology, though a great deal still remains to be done in detail. The date of the beginning of the period is fixed approximately by the extensive and mutually corroboratory material from the Royal

[39] See the writer, AJA, 1934, 609.

[40] We use the term "Northwest Semitic" here instead of "North Semitic" or "West Semitic," so as to be entirely clear; the term is meant to include all Hebrew and Aramaic dialects.

[41] Cf. *Annual*, VI, 73 f.

Tombs of Abydos and the Canaanite sanctuary at Ai, excavated in the autumn of 1934 by Mme. MARQUET.[42]

The Canaanite pottery from the Royal Tombs of Abydos was published by PETRIE more than thirty years ago, and has been discussed most fully by FRANKFORT, who has added some photographs of the originals, including one piece which was not included by PETRIE in his publication.[43] In 1932 I used part of this material as a basis for my chronology of the beginning of the Early Bronze in Palestine.[44] Now, thanks to vastly increased comparative material from Palestine, and to STARKEY's acute observations, the number of parallels has greatly increased. The most important single type for our purposes is now the red-burnished, one-handled jug with a high stump-base, which represents the earliest phase of the stump-based jugs and juglets which are so common in Tomb A at Jericho. The examples from the Royal Tombs probably come from the Syrian coast, where recent excavation (not yet published) has brought similar forms and ware to light, also in a very early context. In Megiddo we find the same vases (type 8 B and C) in strata II and IV, with closely related forms in III–I. In Beth-shan we find the type surviving in modified form, closely analogous to some from Tomb A at Jericho, in strata XII–XI, from the middle of the third millennium (see below). The examples from the Royal Tombs come from the reign of Semempses, whose minimum date must be placed in the twenty-eighth century B.C.[45] The painted decoration on the Syrian vases is identical in outline with incised decoration from the sanctuary of Ai, excavated by Mme. MARQUET; FRANKFORT's analogies are much more remote.[46]

Some of the alabastra from the Canaanite sanctuary at Ai, dug by Mme. MARQUET, are, as recognized first by STARKEY, identical

[42] See provisionally AJA, 1935, 140 f.; BASOR, No. 57, 28. I wish to take this opportunity again to thank Mme. MARQUET for her courtesy and generosity in permitting me to mention this material.

[43] See PETRIE, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, I, pl. XXXVIII: 9; II, pl. LIV; *Abydos*, I, pl. VIII; FRANKFORT, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, 105 ff.

[44] *Annual*, XII, § 6.

[45] For the chronology see below, n. 48.

[46] *Op. cit.*, p. 108 f. The cream-ware vase from Gezer bears unmistakable resemblance, both in form and decoration, to Ghassulian pottery, though it cannot be assigned definitely to the latter category, and is presumably later in date.

in form with Early Dynastic alabastra in Egypt. The closest parallels, however, are with alabaster bowls of the Second and Third Dynasties, now collected and discussed by REISNER in his monumental *Mycerinus*.[47] Since these bowls ceased to be made in the Fourth Dynasty, there can be no doubt that they were imported into Palestine before the end of the Third, though they may have been preserved in the sanctuary at Ai for many generations before its destruction. Among other vases found in the same sanctuary were many with flat bottom and steep sloping sides, also like Early Dynastic Egyptian vases in stone and pottery.

Since we may now fix the date of the beginning of the First Dynasty with high probability in the thirtieth or twenty-ninth centuries—say about 2900 in round numbers—while the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (the Pyramid Age proper) seems to fall in the twenty-sixth century, shortly before 2500 B.C.,[48] it follows that the Syrian vases found in the Royal Tombs probably date from about the twenty-ninth century, while the Egyptian alabastra in the sanctuary at Ai belong to the twenty-sixth century at the latest. So far the earliest pottery found at Ai is characteristically Early Bronze, though that from Mme. MARQUET's first phase may easily antedate the sanctuary by two or three centuries. It should be stressed at this point that the typical shallow bowl with flat bottom and inverted rim, found all over Palestine in the Early Bronze, was probably originally imitated in clay from the imported Egyptian stone vases of similar shape. Since this type begins at Megiddo in stratum IV, the latter is probably later than the first appearance of such stone bowls in

[47] See REISNER, *op. cit.*, p. 159 f. and fig. 35 (type 2—X), p. 170 f. and fig. 41 (type 3—X). Not quite so closely parallel are the corresponding examples from the First Dynasty, p. 148 ff. and fig. 30 (type 1—X). Sir FLINDERS PETRIE tells me that the material of the Ai bowls is gypsum, not calcite [suggesting an origin in Lower Egypt].

[48] For this Egyptian chronology see ALBRIGHT, *Annual*, VI, 72 f., XII, 2 f.; SCHARFF, *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Vorgeschichte*, p. 46 ff. The writer's views were worked out over a period of years and are based on detailed first-hand study of the Egyptian sources, especially of the Palermo Stone and of the Turin Papyrus, and are not lightly thrown out. Every subsequent examination of the basis of this reckoning has corroborated it. ENGBERG and SHIPTON, from a purely archaeological point of view, conclude that the date of the First Dynasty must be lowered to 3000 B.C. or a little later (NCEB 65).

Egypt, that is, according to REISNER, later than Athothis (Zer), in the early twenty-ninth century (approximately).[49] In Beth-shan it begins with the earlier stratum XIV, which exhibits forms more nearly resembling the Egyptian prototype. As we shall see, there is no objection to placing stratum XIV of Beth-shan about the twenty-ninth to the twenty-eighth century and stratum IV of Megiddo somewhat later, so our sequence of types is quite in order.

From the discussion in the Appendix it will be clear that the latest date for the end of stratum J at Tell Beit Mirsim and the roughly contemporary cultures or Tomb A at Jericho and the 1933–4 cemetery at Ai is the twenty-first century, with the twenty-second more likely. We must, therefore, locate the remaining EB stages between the twenty-seventh and the twenty-second centuries, an interval of about five centuries. The period covered by Tomb A has been reasonably estimated by GARSTANG at over a century, which would require a date somewhere about the twenty-fourth—twenty-second centuries.[50] Before the stratum parallel to Tomb A at Jericho comes one synchronizing roughly with the period of Ḫirbet Kerak ware at Beth-shan, i.e., strata XII–XI, especially the former. This stratum must, therefore, be dated not far from the middle of the third millennium, perhaps between 2500 and 2300 B.C. (the latter being the latest possible date). The preceding period of "grain-wash" pottery, which covers strata XV–XIII at Beth-shan, and VII–III at Megiddo, thus ended about 2500 B.C., roughly speaking, having begun in the Chalcolithic. As noted above, the shift from thumb-indented to pushed-up ledge-handles, which took place in stratum IV at Megiddo, may be dated about the twenty-eighth century B.C. At Ai it occurs before the sanctuary.

The closest Palestinian parallels in form to the Egyptian drawings of vases imported by Saḥurêʿ of the Fifth Dynasty (cir. 2400 B.C.) from Byblus or the vicinity,[51] are perhaps types II A and B of Megiddo (strata I–III). The parallels offered by these vases are close enough to suggest a common origin in the Early Bronze, but are unhappily not close enough to yield any more positive result. We must, accordingly, content ourselves for the present with a

[49] *Mycerinus*, p. 148, below. [50] AAA XIX, 20, 42.

[51] See BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śaʒḥu-reʿ*, I, fig. 12, II, pl. 3, above; FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

relative chronology for the period between cir. 2800 and cir. 2100 B.C. Like similar relative chronologies, an error of a century or two is always possible, especially in the middle of the period. If our minimum Egyptian chronology should unexpectedly prove too low, we shall have to raise the upper end of the Early Bronze by a corresponding figure.

In the light of the ceramic and stone material alone, we are justified in regarding the Palestinian culture of EB I (cir. thirtieth–twenty-sixth centuries) as strongly under Egyptian influence, just as was demonstrably the case in other respects at Byblus. Egyptian expeditions into Asia are attested for the reigns of Athothis, Usaphais, and Semempses of the First Dynasty, though we have no proof that any of them actually invaded Palestine proper.[52] While Byblus was naturally particularly important for Egypt because of the cedar trade, it is only reasonable to suppose that the Canaanite towns of the coastal plain were also strongly influenced by the superior Egyptian culture. That this was true is proved conclusively by Mme. MARQUET's brilliant discoveries at Ai in the heart of the hill-country, where she found numerous alabastra and other objects of Egyptian manufacture in a Canaanite sanctuary from the latter part of our period (see above). Unfortunately, there are no inscriptions giving details of the Egyptian campaigns in Asia, but a well-known carved ivory from the latter part of the First Dynasty reproduces a Canaanite in the costume which he presumably wore in battle—a fringed loin-cloth, reaching nearly to the knees.[53]

Along with the importation of cosmetics or perfumes from Palestine and Syria into Egypt, there probably went that of oil and wine, though details naturally escape us.[54] It is very interesting to note that at least two Canaanite words were borrowed by the Egyptians at this time: *kꜣmw* for *karmu*, "vineyard,"[55] and *qmḥw* for *qamḥu*, "wheaten bread." The former was borrowed before the

[52] Cf. *Journal*, II, 118; OLMSTEAD, *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 53 f.

[53] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. XVII: 30.

[54] FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, p. 107 ff.

[55] See *Journal*, VIII, 231, n. 1; ALBRIGHT, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 8.

reign of Nebka (*Ḫʿ-šḫm-wʾ*),[56] the last king of the Second Dynasty (in whose reign Egyptian inscriptions begin at Byblus), while the latter was taken over before the Pyramid Age. The vine was naturally far more at home in Palestine than in Egypt, even then, and wheat also formed a much more important part of daily food in Palestine than in Egypt. It is probable that other indications of reciprocal influence, both in culture and in language, will become known as our knowledge increases.

In the second phase of EB, during the Pyramid Age proper, Palestine developed rapidly in population and civilization. It is clear that the invasion of nomads which flooded Western Asia, and even entered Egypt during the last two centuries of the third millennium, had not yet broken over Palestine, though a more or less steady infiltration from the desert must be considered as inevitable. Though the ceramic culture of this age is definitely under northern influence, coming from Anatolia, Cyprus, and Syria, there can be no doubt that Egypt still exercised a dominant influence. From the reign of Snefru to the end of the Sixth Dynasty there was hardly any interruption in the close relations subsisting between Egypt and Byblus, to judge from the impressive list of royal names attested by inscriptions found at Byblus.[57]

The development in culture which is illustrated by the remarkable construction of the palace on the summit of the acropolis at Ai, cleared by YEIVIN and Mme. MARQUET,[58] as well as by the beautiful pottery of the Ḫirbet Kerak (Beth-yeraḥ) class, discovered at Ḫirbet Kerak and Beth-shan, presupposes an expansion of commerce. The background for this development is given by the great wealth and elaborate building operations of the Pyramid Age in Egypt, and by the political and commercial expansion of Accad during the Dynasty of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, in the twenty-seventh and twenty-sixth centuries B.C.[59] The former view of most Assyriologists and historians, that the kings of the Dynasty of Accad invaded Phoenicia and Palestine, perhaps even reaching Egypt, can

[56] See GRIFFITH, *Royal Tombs*, II, 54a and original texts there referred to; SETHE in GARSTANG, *Mahasna*, p. 21.

[57] See MONTET, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 271; NELSON, *Berytus*, I, 19 ff.

[58] See BJPES, No. 4, 28–30; YEIVIN, QS, 1934, 189–91.

[59] For the chronology of the Dynasty of Accad see now the writer's observations, AJA, 1934, 606 f.

no longer be regarded as probable, though the evidence against it is negative and inconclusive.[60] My identification of Magan with Egypt and of its prince Manium or Manum (the *um* is the Accadian nominative ending) with Menes must be abandoned for geographical and chronological reasons, though there can be no doubt that the old term *Magan* was applied to Egypt in later Assyrian times.[61] The plausible indentification of the Yarmuti which was conquered by Sargon I, with the Yarimuta of the Amarna Tablets still remains uncertain. However, it is certain that Sargon conquered the Upper Euphrates valley and claimed dominion over the Cedar Mountains of Syria and the Silver Mountains of Anatolia. Moreover it is probable that later traditions of marvellous exploits in the far West, of campaigns in Cappadocia and of a voyage to the lands beyond the Upper Sea, are not altogether destitute of foundation. The great influence of Accadian civilization on Syria and Canaanite culture is demonstrated by the spread of innumerable elements, material, religious, and linguistic, to the West during the third millennium. Many of the Accadian loan-words found in Canaanite, both Northern and Southern, must have been borrowed during this period.[62] The same is clearly true of the temple-plan of the Sumerian goddess Nin-egal, Accadian Bêlat-ekallim, the chief deity of Qaṭna in central Syria.[63] If the Accadian romance of the King of Battle rests on a solid foundation of tradition, the kings of the Dynasty of Accad paid special attention to the encouragement and protection of commerce in Anatolia, necessarily including Syria, which lay between Babylonia and the former.[64] That commerce between Babylonia and neighbouring lands was then active is pro-

[60] Against the historicity of the historical traditions and sagas from the Dynasty of Accad see especially LANDSBERGER, ZA XXXV, 215 ff. and GÜTERBOCK, ZA XLII, 11 ff.; a more moderate view is held by the writer, JSOR VII, 1 ff.; JAOS XLV, 236 ff.

[61] See also JAOS XLV, 237 ff., but note that PEAKE has recently (*Antiquity*, II, 452–7) shown that the copper used in early Babylonia came largely from the Jebel Maʿâdin in ʿOmân, southeastern Arabia, which seems to prove that Magan was then the name of ʿOmân.

[62] The writer expects to discuss this question elsewhere; cf. his observations in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, X: 2, xvii f. and JPOS XIV, 110.

[63] DU MESNIL, *Syria*, XI, 146 ff.; WATZINGER, *Denkmäler*, I, 30.

[64] See the latest treatment of the *šar tamḫari* epic by GÜTERBOCK, ZA XLII, 86 ff., with reference to previous treatments, including that of the writer.

ved by the inscriptions of the Accad Dynasty.[65] I have elsewhere pointed out that the geographical location of Beth-yerah proves it to have possessed commercial importance, since the lack of adequate agricultural land in the vicinity would make its relative size an enigma if it were not for its position on a trade-route.[66]

While it is probable that the pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty controlled parts of Palestine, there is no definite evidence of such rule. In the Fifth Dynasty, however, the evidence becomes explicit, though its sporadic nature makes it dangerous to generalize. Probably from the middle of the dynasty (twenty-fourth century) comes the well-known representation of the capture of a Canaanite town by Anta[67]; the accompanying inscription seems to have named several places among those which he took, but only two, *Nd'ʒ* (*Nd-ilu*, perhaps *Lôḏ-ilu*)[68] and *ʿÊn*-[ ] are preserved. A third name may possibly be represented by the signs *Yḥś*[ ], which recur in the same spelling on a seal-cylinder from Tell Beit Mirsim, which has *Yḥśt*.[69] All three are in any case Northwest Semitic, presumably Canaanite. From the early part of the next dynasty (twenty-third century) comes the biography of Weni, general of Phiops I, who describes his campaigns in Palestine and Syria. The Egyptian use of the prehistoric archaism, "Sand-dwellers", for the Asiatics and the modern failure to understand the significance of Egyptian relations with Byblus before the excavations of MONTET and DUNAND,

[65] Cf. the inscription of Sargon published by LEGRAIN, *Royal Inscriptions from Nippur and Babylon*, especially p. 13, and the business documents of the period, particularly those recently published by MEEK. The Gudea inscriptions, belonging to the period between the fall of Accad and the rise of the Third Dynasty of Ur, give a vivid idea of the vast extent of Babylonian trade and exploitation of natural resources.

[66] Cf. *Sellin Festschrift* p., 8; *Annual*, VI, 30 f.

[67] PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, pl. IV.

[68] Cf. *Journal*, VIII, 229, *Vocalization*, p. 9, n. 23. In the light of the observation, BASOR, No. 56, 11, that *Lûz* (properly *Lôz*) may have been the original name of Ha-ʿai (which means simply "the ruin"), it is possible that *Nd'ʒ* is represented today by et-Tell east of Bethel, which was occupied as early as the First Dynasty, as shown by Mme. MARQUET's excavations.

[69] See BASOR, No. 47, 8, fig. 3., and the brief discussion on p. 9. The cylinder in question comes from stratum E and cannot be later than the seventeenth century, though it may naturally go back to the eighteenth and have been reused. Cf. n. 73, below.

have led to an erroneous appreciation of the data given by Weni. It is now clear that the expedition by land against the *Ḥrʾw-šʿ* was directed against Palestine, and probably followed the same route along the Coastal Plain which was later employed by the pharaohs of the New Empire. The expedition by sea to the "Land of the Gazelle-nose," expressly located "to the north of the Land of the Sand-dwellers," was directed to Syria proper, not to Galilee, and presumably referred originally to some promontory in the neighbourhood of Byblus.[70] The great levy from all Egypt, from Nubia, and from Libya, numbering "many myriads," proves the relatively large scale on which the expedition to Palestine was conceived. The five expeditions for the purpose of crushing Palestinian rebels are sufficient to show that importance was attached to a permanent conquest. Finally, the allusion in the triumphal poem to the destruction of fortresses, burning them with fire,[71] cutting down fig-trees and vineyards, the slaughter of "many myriads" of enemy, and the capture of many more, establishes the fact that the campaign was directed against a sedentary population, living in fortresses, which had to be besieged in the usual way. While, therefore, we cannot generalize, we can certainly say that some of the stronger kings of the Pyramid Age did endeavour to hold Palestine and Phoenicia in subjection, however disorganized the results may have been.

We are probably correct in ascribing the original composition of the mythological poems of Ugarit to this general age, perhaps to the very period under consideration, EB II, since this was the most flourishing age of Canaanite culture. Though the poems appear in a linguistic form which excludes a date before the eighteenth century B.C., roughly speaking,[72] their original composition doubtless goes back to an older age, when mimation was still in use, just as is true of nearly all Accadian mythological epics. Composition during the Hyksos Age or later is practically excluded by the fact

[70] The frequently expressed view that this promontory is Mt. Carmel, can hardly be maintained, since the sea-voyage points to a more northern region. Contrast the writer's remarks in the *Journal*, II, 119.

[71] SETHE, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, I, 103, reads the broken word in line 25 as *ṯs.t*, "troops," but a word for "towns" must surely be inserted. The destruction of towns is referred to in line 24.

[72] See *Journal*, XIV, 110.

that Canaan was then prevailingly under non-Semitic domination, and it is unlikely that the Ugaritic scribes who copied our texts had anything to do with their composition. Failure to mention the horse, which was introduced about the eighteenth century, suggests a previous date. The dominant rôle played by the sea in these poems is again proof that they originated in a coastal region. The Negebite theory is totally devoid of solid basis, and should be eliminated, but the remarkable homogeneity of culture throughout Palestine and Phoenicia proper, and the fact that Canaanite was then spoken over much, if not all this area would naturally carry with them a common literature and mythology.

EB III, the age of Tomb A of Jericho, may provisionally be dated between the twenty-fourth and the twenty-first centuries B.C. During this age there was a great irruption of nomadic tribes into all parts of Mesopotamia, southern and northern, as far as the Zagros and Elam proper, as well as into Lower Egypt.[73] It is clear that Palestine cannot have escaped being overrun by these nomads, whom

[73] For the invasion of Lower Egypt by Asiatics about 2100 B.C. see especially FRANKFORT, JEA XII, 80 ff., whose conclusions, however, with regard to the nature of Egyptian relations with Asia in the preceding period have proved to be wrong. Nor can we follow him in his discussion of the two cylinders treated on pp. 92 ff., which belong to the Second Intermediate Period (between 1800 and 1600 B.C.), not to the First. The cylinder which he reproduces in fig. 6 has been correctly compared with the cylinder of fig. 7, but it has nothing to do with the seal of *T-ru-ru* (which *may* belong to the First Intermediate). Nor can the name *Ḫndy* or *Rndy* (which may be only a space-filler) be identified with *Ḫndw* of the First Intermediate. The guilloches cannot be separated from the similar ornamentation of Syrian cylinders of the Late Bronze Age, and the same is true of other details. Yet FRANKFORT is definitely correct in separating these two seals from the class of Late Bronze "Syro-Hittite" cylinders. His only mistake consists in assigning them to the late third millennium, whereas they are really from MB II, between 1800 and 1600. In a number of important respects they closely resemble the cylinder from Tell Beit Mirsim E, referred to above, n. 69. This cylinder resembles FRANKFORT's second one very closely in the treatment of the figures (see the heliographic reproduction in DE CLERCQ, *Antiquités assyriennes*, I, pl. XXXV, 389), which have the same proportions, the same modelling, and the same dress (a tight loin-cloth, which gives the appearance of nudity). Even more striking superficially is the vertical row of three birds (three falcons in the cylinder DE CLERCQ, one goose and two falcons in the T.B.M. cylinder). In the field we have in both the crouching ibex (or gazelle ?), the crouching monkey, and the goose. The treatment of the hieroglyphic reed-leaf is also the same. To the same general period belongs

we may call "Amorites," following the Accadian usage of the time,[74] though it does not necessarily follow that these Amorites were ethnically and culturally the direct ancestors of the Amorites of the Bible. A new wave of sedentary occupation of the hill-country and of Transjordan began in this period, a fact which suggests that the incoming tribes began to settle down in new sites, not content merely with occupation of conquered places. If this deduction is correct, we have an interesting parallel to the Israelite Conquest nearly a thousand years later.[75] The material preserved in the *Ächtungstexte* which I have discussed in a paper published seven years ago in the *Journal*,[76] adds evidence for a radical change in the character of the population shortly before. In these documents we find a marked difference between the Canaanite towns of the Coastland, such as Byblus, Ullaza, ʿIrqatum, and perhaps Yarimuta and *Dmʾpw*, on the one hand, and the other places mentioned, on the other. In the former group we have either no chiefs mentioned, or only one (ʿIrqatum); the second group consists either of towns with several chiefs (such as Ashkelon and Jerusalem) or of tribes with several chiefs. Nearly all the tribal and personal names in the second group are definitely Amorite, exhibiting collective formations, endings in *ânu,* and, in general, names of types which also occur in the contemporary cuneiform texts of Mesopotamia.[77] The name of Jerusalem is Canaanite.[78] Now the custom of having several

also a cylinder published by SIDNEY SMITH, JEA VIII, 207 f. (pl. XXIII, 1), and ascribed by him erroneously to the second half of the seventh century, whereas it belongs actually to our period (or a little later). The Egyptian crown of the two truths with the ram's horn (which BUDGE referred to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty or later!) is also found on the sphinx of the cylinder DE CLERCQ, and occurs rather frequently on "Syro-Hittite" cylinders of the Late Bronze. The cuneiform inscription, read doubtfully *Iakba-bieda* or *Iakba-hieda* by SMITH, should probably be read *Ya-ak-ku-ub-e-da* (the final element seems to be the same as in the West-Semitic name *Zimri-ed(d)a).* It may be added that the seal of Atanaḫ-ilî son of Ḫabsum *(mâr Ḫa-ab-si-im)* from Taanach is definitely earlier, both because it copies the style of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the Cappadocian tablets rather than that of the First Dynasty of Babylon (as in the case of the cylinders just described), and because it furnishes a typically "Cappadocian" personal name; it may be dated between 2000 and 1800 B.C.

[74] Cf. *Journal,* VIII, 251 ff. [75] Cf. BASOR, No. 58, 14 ff.

[76] *Journal,* VIII, 223 ff. [77] *Loc. cit.*, also ALBRIGHT, *Vocalization* p. 7 f.

[78] The name *Yerûšalêm* was explained in the *Journal,* VIII, 247 f., as derived

chiefs is not consistent with sedentary culture, but was well known to the Midianites a thousand years later, and is also attested of the nomads by Assyrian and Classical sources in still later times. The large percentage of tribal names is to be judged in the same way as among the Israelites of the Early Iron Age, or among the Arabs who settled in central Palestine after the Crusades, and who were divided into tribal groups such as the Benī Ḥasan, Benī Murrah, Benī Sâlim, etc.

We may regard it as virtually certain that the remarkable decline of Palestinian culture toward the end of the third millennium, (a decline which continued into the early second, and was not checked until the nineteenth century), is largely to be explained as due to the influx of barbarous tribes from the desert (see also below). The same thing happened between the fourteenth and the eleventh centuries B.C., when the Hebrews invaded the land, and similar phenomena have recurred at irregular intervals ever since. It was probably during MB I that the Hebrew Patriarchs entered the country from Northern Mesopotamia, though their exact chronology eludes us.[79]

PALESTINE IN THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

In the Appendix we shall discuss the sequence of ceramic cultures and their chronology during this age, so we can dispense with details here. After a period of transition corresponding to the I stratum at Tell Beit Mirsim, about the twenty-first century B.C., we find ourselves again in a homogeneous phase of culture, which we may term MB I proper—our H stratum at Tell Beit Mirsim, and the "Late Copper Age" of PETRIE and STARKEY. This culture is remarkably uniform in southern and central Palestine, where it has been found in numerous sites, extending from Tell el-ʿAjjûl and Tell Beit Mirsim to Jericho and Bethel. In Transjordan we have

from an original **Warawa-Šalim*, "god Šalim has founded." However, in view of the fact that the perfect tense does not appear before the theophorous element in such early names, this should be corrected to **Yarû-Šalim*, probably meaning "Let the god Šalim found". *Yĕrûšalēm* would be the only possible Hebrew equivalent of this form. It may be added that the Canaanite god Šalim is now well known, thanks to the tablets of Ugarit.

[79] Cf. APB[8], 129 ff, 239 ff.

a parallel, but rather different culture, though it is possible that Ader A is actually contemporary with stratum I of Tell Beit Mirsim, and that Ader B precedes the latter a little.[80] In any case, though a culture closely similar to Tell Beit Mirsim I has been found in northern Transjordan, there is so far no exact parallel to either I or H in the south, suggesting that there was a pronounced lag in the culture of southern Transjordan, which was wiped out by a new irruption of nomads before it reached stage H.[81] Since no traces of anything later than the initial, transitional phase of MB have been found on any but two or three of the many sites in this region discovered and examined by GLUECK,[82] we may, therefore, date the period of general destruction here about the twentieth century (but not later than the nineteenth).

The ceramic culture of MB I is unquestionably derived from Syria and probably in the last analysis from Northern Mesopotamia,[83] a fact which may be interpreted to mean that the Amorite occupation of Mesopotamia in the twenty-second and twenty-first centuries B.C. led to the creation of a focus of Amorite culture there, from which cultural elements streamed back into Syria and Palestine. This is demonstrably true of the use of Accadian cuneiform in the West[84]; it is also true of numerous objects and motives, which then came into Syria and Palestine from Mesopotamia. That the West was at that time so open to Mesopotamian influence is undoubtedly to be explained by the close ties of language and custom which then bound the various regions occupied by the Amorites.

The romance of Sinuhe presumably reflects quite accurately the state of culture in Palestine and southern Syria during the early twentieth century, when the process of settlement was not much further advanced than in the time of the *Ächtungstexte*, a generation

[80] Cf. BASOR, No. 53, 14 f.

[81] The dress, weapons, and other details of the life of the West-Semitic nomads of this period are known from the famous representation of Abi-šar at Benī-Ḥasan (for the Semitic form of the name *'bš3* see ALBRIGHT, *Vocalization*, p. 8).

[82] Cf. BASOR, No. 51, 9 ff., No. 55, 3 ff. (especially p. 16 f.).

[83] Cf. *Annual*, XIII, 66 f.

[84] The script and orthography of the Amarna Tablets and contemporary texts from Palestine and Syria are derived from the cuneiform of the First Dynasty of Babylon, though Mesopotamian usage diverged increasingly from that norm. We must not forget that two, at least, of the Amorite kings of the First Dynasty included the title "king of Amurrû" in their titulary.

or two before. Since this has often been discussed elsewhere, we need not enter into details now. That the pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty claimed, and often held the suzerainty over palestine and Phoenicia, extending their sphere of influence as far as Ugarit and Qaṭna, may now be considered certain. I advanced this view strongly in my paper on the present subject thirteen years ago, and there have been so many confirmatory discoveries that its correctness is now established.[85] Again I must stress the fact that the imperial organization of the Middle Empire must have been very loose in comparison with the practice in the New Empire, after the Hyksos had revolutionized the art of warfare and internationalized political relations. But the Palestine of the Twelfth Dynasty was poor and thinly peopled when compared with the Palestine of the Pyramid Age or of LB, so it is not surprising that the hieroglyphic inscriptions very rarely allude to it. Another reason, elsewhere adduced, is also a partial explanation; most of our knowledge of the Nubian wars and interests of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty comes from inscriptions found in Nubia, so we must await the discovery of Egyptian inscriptions of this age in Palestine for details with regard to Egyptian activities here at that time.[86]

Palestine was then known to the Egyptians as *Rzânu* (Retenu), a name which is presumably Semitic, since it has no Egyptian etymology and has a good Amorite form.[87] The importance of Rzânu as a possible focus of state-formation has been stressed by ALT, though his arguments are of unequal value, and the reference to Ḫbdadum, "brother of the prince of Rzânu," in an inscription from the reign of Amenemmes III, found by PETRIE at Sinai, does not necessarily prove that Rzânu was then a state occupying a large area.[87] The possibility that the Egyptians did not oppose the establishment of a relatively large state in Palestine under native rulers, remains, and the date in the late nineteenth century favours it. It is also quite possible that ALT is correct in identifying Rzânu with Lydda.[88] Slightly earlier in the same century we find that

85 Cf. ALBRIGHT, *Sellin Festschrift* (1927), p. 3 ff.; JEA XIV, 286 f., *Journal*, VIII, 224–7; SCHAEFFER and MONTET, *Syria*, XV, 113 f., 131 f.

86 Cf. especially *Journal*, VIII, 227 and JEA XIV, 287.

87 See ALT, ZDPV XLVII, 169 ff.

88 ALT, *loc. cit.*; ALBRIGHT, *Journal*, VIII, 229, n. 3, *Vocalization*, p. 9, n. 23.

Sakmum (Shechem) was the focus of a rebellion against Egypt, which was quelled by Sesostris III.[89]

In the nineteenth century there was a revival of culture in Syria, illustrated especially by the rich tombs of the native princes of Byblus, under Egyptian suzerainty, as well as by contemporary finds at Qaṭna and Ugarit.[90] This revival brought with it the beautiful new pottery, characterized especially by carinated bowls, with metallic prototypes, which we find at Tell Beit Mirsim in strata G and F, as well as at contemporary Aphek (Râs el-ʿÊn) and Jericho (see Appendix). The source of this pottery appears to be in Syria, though Mesopotamia has a good claim. In this initial stage of MB II (which was first defined by the writer at Tell Beit Mirsim, in 1930), the country seems still to have been thinly peopled, a fact which would account for the comparative rarity of deposits from it. Eastern Palestine was by now almost depopulated, in any event (see above). In the course of the eighteenth century, the pottery of this phase was replaced by the perfected forms of Tell Beit Mirsim E, which represents the earlier phase of MB II proper. This advance seems to have preceded the Hyksos irruption, since both STARKEY and I have secured proof that the phase in question began before the construction of the earthworks of the early Hyksos age at Lachish and Tell Beit Mirsim.[91]

We must now consider the question of the Hyksos, on which very important material has been obtained since my first paper was written. Since our space is limited, and since the full treatment of the problem would require a long discussion, I may refer to a forthcoming study elsewhere. Here I shall restrict myself to a few remarks, calculated mainly to supplement and to correct my treatment thirteen years ago. Most of the observations there made for the first time still appear to be correct.

For the relative chronology of MB II pottery the most important material comes from Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell el-ʿAjjûl, and Jericho; Gezer, Beth-shemesh, and Megiddo provide some valuable supplementary tomb-groups with scarabs. The first two sites remain, however, the only ones where adequate stratigraphical data are

[89] See *Journal*, VIII, 226 f., 234 f.

[90] *Syria*, VIII, 191, IX, 10 f., XV, 131 f.

[91] STARKEY, QS, 1934, 168; ALBRIGHT, BASOR, No. 47, 8.

available in publications.[92] Strata E and D at Tell Beit Mirsim seem to span the entire Hyksos period, probably beginning just before it and ending just after its close. As I have shown in TBM I A, PETRIE's Palaces II–IV at Tell el-ʿAjjûl are coeval with the Hyksos age. The principal differences which were found to distinguish the earlier and later parts of this age at Tell Beit Mirsim, also hold of the earlier and later phases of the Lower Palace at Jericho, so we may be confident that they are general, and not merely local. The most important difference is that burnished slip was employed much more extensively in the earlier part of the period. In TBM I and I A, I have also shown that E extends from the second half of the eighteenth century to the latter part of the seventeenth, while D covers the first half of the sixteenth, probably extending back into the end of the seventeenth. Palaces II–IV at Tell el-ʿAjjûl must be dated rather later than I was inclined to do in TBM I A (and very much later than PETRIE does). To list only a few of the points supporting a date after the middle of the seventeenth century for Palace II, we may mention: 1. the long period of abandonment between Palaces I and II (which is difficult to understand unless the writer's minimum estimate of three generations is raised to well over a century); 2. the relative scarcity of burnished slip at Tell el-ʿAjjûl, which does not favour an early date for the Hyksos pottery there; 3. the rarity of Tell el-Yahūdîyeh vases of the piriform type, which tend to be earlier than the flat-based ones, themselves fairly common there. It follows that Tell el-ʿAjjûl was not occupied by the Hyksos, in all probability, until a comparatively late phase of their rule, and that all Hyksos objects found there are also comparatively late—mostly from the sixteenth century.

In my earlier paper I advanced the theory that the earthworks or rectangular ramparts of *terre pisée* at Mišrifeh (Qaṭna) in Syria, and the similar remains in Egypt were of Hyksos origin.[93] Though this view was then attacked by HALL and MALLON, among others,[94] it has stood the test of further research very well, and has since

[92] See ALBRIGHT, *Annual*, XII–XIII (*Tell Beit Mirsim* I and I A); PETRIE, *Gaza* I–IV.

[93] *Journal*, II, 122 f.; see the writer's expansion of this brief statement in JSOR X, 245–54.

[94] Cf. JSOR X, 252 f.

been confirmed bv so much additional material that it may be considered as certain. To the illustrations then given, we may now add those from the stratigraphical excavations carried on by PETRIE at Tell el-Fârʿah, by STARKEY at Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), by GARSTANG at Hazor (Tell el-Qedaḥ), by WELTER at Shechem (Balâṭah), by the writer at Tell Beit Mirsim, and DU MESNIL at Qaṭna and Tell el-Yahūdîyeh.[95] Similar rectangular ramparts also exist at Kadesh on the Orontes and at Dan (Tell el-Qâḍī), though definitive proof of their date is still lacking. After PETRIE's ingenious demonstration, with respect to Tell el-Yahūdîyeh, there can be no doubt that the earthwork ramparts were intended to protect chariotry, which could not find any room at all in a typical Canaanite fortress or town.[96] The weapon employed by these chariot-warriors was a bow with a longer range than the ordinary early Egyptian bow—that is, it must have been a composite bow, introduced into Egypt, via Palestine, in the Hyksos age, together with horses and fast chariots. The very idea of constructing rectangular earthworks of large extent must have come from Central Europe or Transcaspia, in both of which regions they were at home from the Neolithic onward. My view that earthworks, chariots, and horses were brought into the Near East by the Indo-Iranians who swept over Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine before the sixteenth century B.C., has not been absolutely proved, but the evidence in its favour increases steadily.[97] Since I have discussed the question at length elsewhere, detailed treatment here is unnecessary.

[95] Note the following references (all since 1929): PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, 1929, 1 ff., *Beth-pelet* I, 17; STARKEY, QS, 1934, 167 f.; GARSTANG, AAA, XIV, 37 f. (with which cf. AJA XXXIII, 138); WELTER, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1932, 294 (cf. AJA XXXIII, 139); ALBRIGHT, BASOR, No. 47, 8; DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, XXIX, 155 ff. (cf. DUSSAUD, *Syria*, IX, 168). Cf. further OLMSTEAD, *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 115 ff., and SPEISER, *Annual*, XIII, 30, n. 67.

[96] PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 3–16.

[97] Cf. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VI, 217 ff. The evidence for the important rôle played by the horse in Hyksos times has been greatly increased by the results of PETRIE's excavations a Tell el-ʿAjjûl (cf. *Gaza* I, 3–5, II, 5, IV, 15; ALBRIGHT and DUMONT, JAOS LIV, 113 f.). The best recent study of the rôle of the horse in the ancient Near East is found in ULRICH POPPLOW's *Pferd und Wagen im alten Orient* (Berlin diss., 1934). It is now clear that nearly all representations of animals like horses in Western Asia before 2000 B.C. are to

Were these Indo-Iranians, the Manda of the cuneiform texts, the Hyksos nucleus, or even the leaders of the movement? Up to the present there is not a scrap of solid evidence for this view, though it was held by no less an authority than the late EDUARD MEYER.[98] I believe that the Indo-Iranians must have formed one of the different peoples who seem to have joined in the irruption into Western Asia, and that they were chiefly responsible for its success, but that the leaders belonged in the main to another, more civilized people—a conclusion suggested by the failure of the Hyksos movement to interrupt the development of culture in Palestine as drastically as might be expected. Before we take up this question, it will be advisable to make a rapid survey of the present material for chronology and sequence of rulers.

Thanks to very recent discoveries, we are in a position to give much more precise dates for the Hyksos conquest of Phoenicia and Egypt than was possible a few years ago. SETHE's brilliant exegesis of the famous "Four Hundred Year Stela," followed closely by MONTET's rediscovery of this monument,[99] has established the fact that the beginning of the era must fall four hundred years before a date just preceding the accession of Ramesses I (1320–1319, according to the new astronomical chronology of BORCHARDT),[100] that is, just before 1720 B.C. SETHE maintained that this era, starting with the reign of the Hyksos prince ʿÂ-paḥtey-Sûtaḫ, began in fact with the Hyksos occupation of Tanis. The significance of this conclusion has just become evident since MONTET and GARDINER have proved the correctness of the old identification of Tanis and

be explained as mules (both *Maultiere* and *Maulesel*) and onagers (HILZHEIMER, *Antiquity* IX, 133 ff.). The wild horse was known and may occasionally have been domesticated, but it was not used to any extent for military purposes until after 2000 B.C. The first reference to horse-drawn chariots seems to be in the inscription of Anittas of Kussar, now known from LEWY's researches to have flourished about the twentieth century B.C. A contemporary seal-cylinder seems to represent a horse-drawn chariot for the first time, but the chariot is awkwardly constructed and drawn by four horses. We cannot, therefore, deny the Hyksos a dominant rôle in bringing the swift horse-drawn chariot into Western Asia and Egypt.

[98] Unfortunately, this view has also been held by GEMOLL and other logopoeists, a fact which induces suspicion.

[99] ZÄS LXV (1930), 85 ff.

[100] ZÄS LXX (1934), 97 ff.

Avaris, long rejected by the latter.[101] Avaris-Tanis was the Hyksos capital, as well as its cult-centre, and the date of its foundation by the Hyksos must fall shortly before 1720 B.C. If we could regard the Hebrew tradition (preserved in Num. 13:22) that Hebron was built seven years before Tanis as historically reliable, we could date the latter event (which must be connected in some way with the Hyksos movement, as recognized by EDUARD MEYER), about 1730, or a little earlier, but we cannot be too confident of this.[102] The best we can say is that the foundation of Hebron, probably by the Hyksos, took place a short time before the foundation of Tanis, presumably by the Hyksos. In the next paragraph we shall see that the date is supported by other indications.

Among the most important recent discoveries at Byblus, is that of a bas-relief of the Phoenician prince Antina or Antena[103] with the name of the reigning pharaoh, Nefer-ḥotpe I, as pointed out by MONTET.[104] This pharaoh reigned at Thebes about 1740–30 B.C., according to EDUARD MEYER, whose date agrees best with the evidence from the Turin Papyrus and other sources. In no case can his reign be placed before the middle of the eighteenth century. Before his reign the Hyksos cannot have put an end to Egyptian hegemony in Byblus, much less have invaded Egypt, where their irruption would inevitably have broken all contact between Thebes and Byblus.

There were two principal groups of Hyksos rulers whose names

[101] JEA XIX (1933), 122 ff.

[102] See the discussion BASOR, No. 58, 16 f.

[103] The name is variously written, but the best orthography is clearly *'n-ti-n* on a scarab published by NEWBERRY, JEA, XIV, 109; the next-to-the-last sign, which NEWBERRY did not recognize, is the hieroglyph for "bread," and the orthography is thus identical with that cited in ALBRIGHT, *Vocalization*, p. 32, II, 1. (cf. p. 10, § 19). Scarabs of Antena are now known from various places, including two published by NEWBERRY (*loc. cit.*) and one recently discovered on the Syrian coast, far north of Byblus. MONTET's explanation of the name as a Semitic *Yinnaten* is quite out of the question, since the initial is *'aleph*, not *yod*. Antena followed the Semitic princes Yakîn-ilum, Abî-šemu and Yapâ-šemu-abî, all contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty. After them, but before Antena came probably the prince *'ꜣn(?)-y(?)-p* (see *Journal*, VIII, 226, n. 1; MONTET's reading of the scarab is wrong), whose name may represent Semitic *Ilum-yapd(i)*, according to the principles employed in the transcription of the *Ächtungstexte*.

[104] *Kemi*, I (1928), 90 ff.

occur in scarabs and inscriptions as "foreign princes": those with Semitic names, such as ʿAnat-Har[105] and Yaʿqob-Har; the Apophids and others with non-Semitic names, such as Ḫayana[106] and *Smqn*. PETRIE and WEILL have placed ʿAnat-Har before the others, on the basis of scarab-types.[107] That this is correct seems to be proved by the occurrence of a corrupt (imitated) scarab of Yaʿqob-Har in the burned débris of a house from the last phase of stratum E at Tell Beit Mirsim, dating from somewhere in the seventeenth century, probably about the third quarter. BORCHARDT's recent discovery of a Memphite stela containing the names of sixty generations of a Memphite priestly family, to which are added numerous names of contemporary kings,[108] shows that the last two generations of priests before Amosis I were contemporary with the Hyksos kings *Šrk* and an Apophis, proving that the Apophids continued to occupy the throne down to the very end of Hyksos domination in Egypt, in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. This situation tempts one to infer that the first invaders of Egypt, in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, were Semitic nomads (Hebrews?), perhaps forced out of Palestine by the primary stage of the Hyksos irruption. However this may be, the Semitic princes were soon followed by

[105] The probable vocalization of the name was *ʿAnati-Har*; cf. APB,[3] 212, n. 47, and AJSL XLI, 284. The *ʿAnata* of the Turin Papyrus is perhaps a hypocoristicon of it. [106] ALBRIGHT, *Vocalization*, p. 11.

[107] See PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, 1931, 3–4, and WEILL, *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien, passim*, esp. p. 817 ff., both of whom place ʿAnat-Har and *Smqn* first in the Hyksos series, after a careful typological study of the scarabs. PETRIE places Ḫayana next, followed by Yaʿqob-Har and Apophis I; WEILL places Yaʿqob-Har next, followed by Ḫayana and Apophis I. A typological arrangement is likely to be only roughly correct, so there is no difficulty in arranging the names in a slightly different order. It is by no means improbable that the Hyksos king *Bbnm*, known to us only from the Turin Papyrus, and there said to be the successor of ʿAnata, is identical with the king *Nap-lim-ma*, *Na-ap-lim-ma*, and *Pa-ap-lim-ma* of the great temple-inventory of Qaṭna (VIROLLEAUD's reading *ši* for *lim* is unlikely; cf. "Hittite" *Indi-limma* on a seal of the early second millennium), since *Nablimma* is a most natural dissimilation of *Bablimma* (*Paplimma*—the Hurrians did not distinguish between *b* and *p*). It is curious that *Bbnm's* successor in the Turin Papyrus has a name which begins exactly like that of *Antena* of Byblus in hieroglyphic transcription.

[108] See BORCHARDT, *Ein Stammbaum memphitischer Priester*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, XXIV (1932), 618–22.

a non-Semitic group or groups, to which we may now turn our attention.

The most recent efforts to show that these non-Semitic Hyksos names are of Ḫurrian origin cannot be said to be successful, since none of the equations proposed by GUSTAVS and others is at all convincing.[109] Yet our knowledge of Ḫurrian personal names from the middle of the second millennium is now so full that lack of success here cannot be attributed to paucity of material. As a matter of fact, we now have an entirely satisfactory combination, thanks to recently published material from Ugarit. Last year THUREAU-DANGIN published a tablet containing a list of purple-makers or workers, mostly either Northwest Semites or bearers of names ending in *na*. The latter, including two others found in Accadian texts from Ugarit, are: *Aktena*, *Danana*, *Gallana*, *[Ḫ]inaqana*, *Maḫizana*, *Maḫnina*, *Nazik(g)ana*, *Rabana*, *Ragana*, *Šamukena*, *Šumeyana*, *Ziqarana*, *Zukriyana*.[110] Similar names ending in *n* appear in two alphabetic lists of names, where we find nearly thirty, some of which look very Semitic, while others appear equally un-Semitic.[111] We will list only the well-preserved ones, marking the names which look Semitic with an asterisk: *Bʿyn, Lṣn, *Ḫdyn, Tgšn, Tgyn, Nryn, *Xlmn, *Ḥṣbn, Lgn, ʾAbn, Ḫrʾan, ʾAbdʿn, ʿn, Gʿyn, Xrn, Prdn, Štn, ʾAnnyn, Ksln, ʾAgmn, Tbdn*. Others in the list, such as *ʾAbmn*,[112] *Šlmn, Qdmn, Nʿmn* (Son of *ʿAbd-elîm*), and *Ṣdqn*, are presumably Semitic.[113] Since the Accadian list also includes non-Semitic names like *Manteni* and *Ḫarueṣnni*, one cannot be too sure

[109] See GUSTAVS, ZÄS LXIV, 55 f., and on the whole problem of Hyksos and Ḫurrians see SPEISER, *Annual*, XIII, 46 ff. That the Ḫurrians played an important rôle in the Hyksos movement may be regarded as exceedingly probable, *a priori*.

[110] *Syria*, XV, 137 ff.

[111] *Syria*, XV, 246, 250; Ras Shamra 1929, No. 10 (to which Dr. B. MAISLER has called my attention). [*Syria*, XVI, No. 2., which has just been received, offers further material: a new Ugaritic name *P(?)anumena* (cf. the ending *mn* in *Xlmn*, *'Agmn*, *'Abmn*, *Šlmn*, *'Idmn*, *Nʿmn*, the last of which is certainly Semitic), p. 188 ff.; the vocalization *Nuriyanu* for *'Nryn* in the list above, p. 194 f.; numerous equations, mostly impossible, offered by GASTER, pp. 225–7.]

[112] Cf. *'Aḫmn*, which must be biblical *'Aḫiman* (BASOR, No. 55, 28). However, the latter name, belonging to one of the three traditional heroes of Hebron in pre-Israelite days, may easily be non-Semitic, after all.

[113] Dr. MAISLER would go much farther, and regard most of these names as Semitic, but the writer confesses to increasing scepticism.

that even the non-Semitic names in *n* all end in *na*. The consonants *ʿayin*, *ṣadê*, and *ʾa* may easily reflect non-Semitic sounds like *gh*, *ch* (*č*), and the like. The names of the Byblian princes (*A*)*nten*(*a*) and his father *R*(*a*)*yan*(*a*), mentioned above, certainly belong to the same non-Semitic type, a fact which proves that they were already introduced into the Syrian coastal plain by the eighteenth century B.C.[114] The Hyksos name *Smqn* is unmistakably identical with *Samukena* (for the ending cf. also *Ṣdqn*, if non-Semitic),[115] while *Ḫayana* shares the ending *yana* with many of the above names. These names are not Ḫurrian, in spite of THUREAU-DANGIN's comparisons, since none of them is identical with a single one of the already known Ḫurrian names, which now number many hundreds, all showing characteristic features of Ḫurrian nomenclature, which appear over the entire region of Ḫurrian diffusion. It is difficult to see how they can be Semitic, though it is true that several names ending in *n* in the same list are certainly Semitic. The name *Ḫdyn* is hard to separate from *Ḫadianu*, name of the father of Kapara, prince of Gozan in the eleventh century B.C., while *Ḫayana* resembles *Ḫayan*(*i*), name of the son of Gab(b)ar who ruled in Northern Syria in the ninth century. If the latter name is shortened from *Gabbarud-Kalparunda*,[116] we have a definite link with the South-Anatolians, a connection for which much is to be said.[116a] Nor is the common assumption that Ḫadianu and Kapara were Aramaeans proved.

In favour of a movement from Anatolia at this time may be adduced certain northern features in the culture of the Middle Bronze II which cannot be attributed to Mesopotamian or Indo-

[114] It is not impossible that other names in *na* belong here, and place-names like *Kinaḫna* (cf. Anatolian *Karaḫna*), *Kupna*, *Abina*, etc., may possibly come into this category. It is, however, remarkable that all the certain names of our type have a vowel before final *na*.

[115] The *ṣ* in these names was probably pronounced *s*, in accordance with the North-Mesopotamian usage.

[116] For this name see SACHAU, ZA VI, 432 ff.

[116a] Another link is the name of Ḫayani's son Kilamuwa, which is unquestionably South-Anatolian (*Journal*, VI, 84, n. 21). At Ugarit itself a seal with the names *Matrunna* and *Aplaḫanda* has been found (ALBRIGHT, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, V, 229 ff.; DUSSAUD, *Babyloniaca*, XI, 166 ff.); the latter is unquestionably South Anatolian. For the question of the spread of the South-Anatolian language into northern Syria see also FRIEDRICH, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, I, 359 ff.

Iranian influence, such as the use of sloping revetments in fortress walls and the construction of hearth-houses somewhat similar to the megaron in plan.[117] It is interesting to note that this influence from the northwest followed that of the earthwork-people, coming from the northeast.

My contention that the entrance of Hittites, Horites, Jebusites, Perizzites, and other non-Semitic peoples into Palestine took place in connection with the Hyksos movement, though not generally adopted at first, has become more and more probable, especially after the publication and interpretation of the *Ächtungstexte* proved that Palestine and southern Syria were predominantly Semitic about 2000 B.C., and the continued discovery of Amurrû names from the same general period brought no clear examples of non-Semitic ones. The linguistic contentions of my earlier paper, though then new, have been urged by others since, quite independently for the most part, and several of my views have now been generally accepted.[118]

There can be no doubt that Palestine reached a high point in its artistic development during the climax of the Hyksos period, presumably under Ḫayana and his first successors. This is shown not only by the exquisitely formed and finished vases of the time, but also by jewelry, faience and ivory work, carvings, and by the glyptic art of scarabs and seal-cylinders, which vastly surpasses what we find in the Late Bronze Age. We may suppose that this artistic excellence was partly due to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a feudal aristocracy, with the encouragement to commerce which was given by the large extent of the Hyksos Empire, however loose its imperial structure may have been.

The political and social character of this period of Palestinian history has been well stressed by ALT in various places; with most of his views I can only agree.[119] There was also a dark side to Middle Canaanite culture, in which the oppression of serfs and the conflation of orgiastic religious rites drawn from many sources

[117] Cf. WATZINGER, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, I, 53 f., 57 f.

[118] Cf. GÖTZE, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens*, *passim*, and HROZNY, *Archiv Orientální*, IV, 114 f., etc. (to be compared with *Journal*, II, 125–7).

[119] ZDPV XLVII, 184; *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 6–8. Cf. ALBRIGHT, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXIX, 446.

produced dark growths, eventually helping to stifle the civilization on which they grew.[120]

It will be interesting to see what surprises another thirteen years of progress in our knowledge of the earliest history of Palestine will yield. We can safely predict that innumerable details will be filled in, making the archaeological picture more and more complete. Increased refinement in archaeological method and new interpretations of the data found, will almost certainly widen the scope of our information and enable us to present a clearer reconstruction of the life and society of the time. Unexpected epigraphical discoveries in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and especially in Syria, will surely be made, giving us access to entirely new historical vistas. And every discovery made either in Palestine or in one of the neighbouring lands will help to build up the intelligible picture of ancient oriental life and history toward which we are striving.

APPENDIX: THE CHRONOLOGY OF MIDDLE BRONZE I

In TBM I, §§10 ff. and TBM I A, §§6 ff., I presented a detailed analysis of the pottery from the successive strata of MB I, with an elaborate comparative study and an effort to fix the chronology of the period; see the Table of Archaeological Periods, TBM I A, p. 44. While the strata distinguished in the third campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim were found again in the much larger contiguous area excavated in the fourth campaign, the latter provided so much new material that a more accurate separation between types belonging to each stratum and types which entered it intrusively from lower strata (in the form of sherds, not of entire vases), became possible. Since the various slight modifications necessary in my first monograph are presented in detail in the second no further observation is necessary here, except to stress the fact that our strata were continuous over a large area, though often very thin at a given locus.

While no competent scholar has suggested that our observations were at fault, no less an authority than Père VINCENT stated in his review (RB, 1933, 468): "je ne puis m'empêcher de l'estimer [la stratification de T.B.M.] trop complexe et difficilement applicable à

[120] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 449, and APB[3] 87 ff., 93 ff.

l'analyse des autres sites palestiniens." This impression was created partly by the minuteness of our classification, but largely by the fact that the ceramic groups I, H, G–F were new to Palestinian archaeologists, and it seemed rash to introduce three brand new periods into the series already known, especially since transitional, but still typical EB (now EB III) pottery was then believed by most students to come down to about 1800 B.C., when MB II was believed to begin. VINCENT was followed closely in this respect by the reviewer (MEURDRAC) in *Syria* XV, 211. GARSTANG, in his first detailed report of his work in the cemetery of Jericho, also brought Tomb A down to the period immediately preceding the Hyksos period, i.e., to 2000–1800 B.C., in agreement with VINCENT (AAA XIX, 42 f.). The same position was taken by FITZGERALD, after his excavation of strata XI–XII at Beth-shan, and his failure to find clear traces of intervening strata between the Ḫirbet Kerak period and MB II (MJ XXIV, 15 f.). On the other hand, ENGBERG and SHIPTON have followed our chronology, though somewhat hesitantly (NCEB 56–8).

Subsequent discoveries elsewhere have proved conclusively that Tell Beit Mirsim shared in the common development of culture in southern and central Palestine, just as one would expect from its geographical location, which was not at all secluded in antiquity. GARSTANG's latest work at Jericho has not only proved that WATZINGER's stratigraphy, which agreed with our results at Tell Beit Mirsim, was correct, but it has also yielded a sequence of levels containing the same pottery as our I, H, G–F, in the same chronological relation.[121] That I and H are not local, but are characteristic of southern Palestine, has now been proved by their appearance at Jericho, at Bethel,[122] at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish),[123] with partial agreements at Tell el-ʿAjjûl (where the series of pottery begins with our class H), and elsewhere in different parts of this region. Close parallels are also found at Megiddo, where certain shaft tombs (NCEB 66 ff.) correspond roughly to T.B.M. I, while

[121] I wish to express my hearty thanks to Professor GARSTANG for giving me the opportunity to study his stratigraphic series, in spite of my absence from the country during most of his excavations in early 1935, as well as for permitting me to quote the result here.

[122] BASOR, No. 56, 4 f.

[123] STARKEY, QS, 1934, 165; cf. AJA XXXIX, 139 b.

the slightly earlier tombs 1101–2 Lower (pp. 52–7) fall between our J and I. The absolute dates, on the basis of our revised chronology, must be pushed back a century or two before the tentative dates assigned by ENGBERG and SHIPTON.

That Tell Beit Mirsim I and H are proved to be typical for southern Palestine and not local has been stressed elsewhere, but the archaic MB II culture represented by G and F has hitherto remained somewhat isolated, though I was able to point to a closely analogous culture at Tell el-ʿAjjûl (TBM I A § 23). Now, however, we have the same culture at Jericho, in the same sequence, besides having vases and sherds belonging to it, but not stratigraphically fixed. Most significant, however, is the fact that the same culture appears in an extensive deposit recently found at Aphek (Râs el-ʿÊn on the ʿAujā) and studied by ILIFFE and Mrs. CROWFOOT.[124] The identity of the latter with T.B.M. G–F was immediately recognized by I. BEN DOR, who saw the sherds before the writer. It goes without saying that the culture in question must also now be recognized as continuous over southern Palestine, as will be clear to anyone who will take the trouble to draw a quadrilateral with its four corners at the four sites named, and to place the sketch over the map of southern Palestine.

The absolute chronology must, unfortunately, be fixed in part by dead reckoning. As far back as somewhere in phase G–F of Tell Beit Mirsim, our chronological discussions in TBM I and TBM I A are still entirely valid. It is certain that Tell Beit Mirsim E and the contemporary culture elsewhere began before the Hyksos irruption, and consequently well before 1700, probably not later than cir. 1750 (see above, p. 222). It is reasonably certain that the G–F culture flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century, but there is no specific evidence indicating an earlier date for its emergence in Palestine. The evidence from the tombs of Byblus is rather ambiguous. However, since we found two building phases in stratum G, it is very unlikely that the two strata together occupied less than a century, and improbable that a ceramic culture of shorter duration could have spread so uniformly over most of southern Palestine. This dead reckoning brings us to the second half of the nineteenth century, at the latest, for the

[124] cf. AJA XXXIX, 142 b.

beginning of Tell Beit Mirsim G. Similarly, we can hardly allow less than two centuries for the preceding two ceramic stages, T.B.M. H and I, with the transition from E.B. proper (Tomb A at Jericho, etc.) to the latter. We thus arrive at a minimum date in the twenty-first century B.C. for the end of the Tomb A culture, but with a likelihood that our estimate is too conservative, so that a date in the twenty-second century B.C. is safer. To any archaeologist who is familiar with the average time occupied by a given ceramic culture in the history of Palestine, our results can only appear conservative.[125]

[125] I wish to express my indebtedness to Dr. I. Ben Dor and Prof. J.W. Flight for help in connection with the preparation of this paper.

THE CURSE IN PALESTINIAN FOLKLORE*

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

A curse is a wish expressed in words that some evil may befall a certain person, or it is an insult to his honour and prestige. The difference between these two kinds will be explained in the course of our discussion. Curses and blessings were known to all nations and were used from time immemorial. It is, therefore, important to see whether the forms and the underlying ideas of the maledictions of today resemble those of the ancient Semites. The task of this paper is to describe present conditions, leaving comparative and analytical work for more competent persons.

The three monotheistic religions[1] have strongly forbidden the use of curses. But human nature—especially that of primitive nations—follows its natural impulse rather than heavenly orders. It has been and still is an outstanding characteristic of the Oriental speech to be that of a dreamer or worshipper, and not that of a business man or politician.[2] The son of the East uses in his daily language expressions denoting extreme poles.

There are probably no languages so rich in beautiful blessings and good wishes, as well as in curses as the Semitic ones. No one is, therefore, justified in judging the psychology and character of the Orientals only from the point of view of his many imprecations, but the numberless blessings and prayers must also be taken into consideration. All greetings, good wishes, congratulations, condo-

* In this paper the macron (*ā*) indicates accented long vowels and the circumflex (*â*) unaccented long vowels. This system is the opposite of the Littmann system, but will not cause confusion if borne in mind (Editor).

[1] Some Mohammedan traditions about this belief are: ليس المومن بالطعان ولا اللعان ولا البذي (عن ابن مسعود) ; لعن المومن كقتله (عن البخاري ومسلم) ; لا تلاعنوا بلعنة الله ولا بغضبه (عن سمره بن جندب), MUHYI-D-DÎN EN-NAWÂWÎ, *kitāb el-ʾadkār el-muntaḫab min kalām sayid el-ʾabrār*, p. 197.

[2] A. M. RIHBANY, *The Syrian Christ*, pp. 81 ff.

lences and farewell expressions are short prayers in which the Almighty is asked to bestow good health, prosperity, recovery, etc., to the person addressed.

Inhabitants of cities make more use of imprecations than do peasants, and these more than the Bedouin. Porters *(ʿattāleh)*, donkey-drivers *(ḥammārah)*, boatmen *(baḥrīyeh)* and drivers *(ʿarbadjīyeh, sauwāqah)* are notorious users of imprecations. Women make more use of curses than men. A proverb teaches "Hell is plastered with the tongues of women" *(djhannam imhallaṭah biʾalsinat en-niswān)*.[3] Children of the lower class weave such expressions into their daily speech. A very deplorable custom is the way some relatives enjoy teaching their young children such expressions. Thus a father feels happy and proud to hear his one year old son say *ʾabūk*, an abbreviation of *allâh yilʿan ʾabūk*.[4]

In daily speech one meets many curses and insults which have lost their original meaning and have come to denote astonishment or an exclamation. In admiring the eloquence, beauty or ability of a person one may hear the expression *yiḫrib bētuh mā ʾanṭaquh, ašlabuh* or *ašṭaruh*. Of a clever man one hears *ʾamma ibn ḥarām*[5] (what a bastard)! Although this is a strong insult, it is not misunderstood when used as an exclamation. Women have to add one of the following words when admiring a child: *yā ḫanzīr* (O pig), *tfū ʿalēk* (may you be spat at), *djaḥšūn* (small donkey), etc. This is done to neutralize the evil eye and never with the intention to curse.

Curses may be directed against human beings, the devil, plants,[6] animals[7] and inanimate objects.[8] The following examples illustrate the last four categories: *allâh yilʿan ʾiblīs*, "May God curse the

[3] S. ʿAbbūd, *5000 arabische Sprichwörter aus Palästina*, No. 1662.

[4] Fr. Dunkel, Verwünschungen und Flüche bei den Arabern in Palästina, *Das Heilige Land*, vol. 74, p. 67.

[5] These expressions are used only by the lower class. A Bedouin expression is *allâh yihdim bētak mā ʾaḥlāk*, "May God destroy your house, how sweet you are." Bulus Salmân, *ḫamsat ʾaʿwām fī šarqi-l-ʾurdun*, p. 115.

[6] Deut. 28^{18}; Mark 11^{14}; Luke 13^{6}. [7] Gen. 3^{14}; Deut. $28^{24.33}$.

[8] Some Mohammedan traditions belonging to this category are: لا تسبوا الحمى فانها تذهب خطايا بني ادم (عن جابر), "Do not curse the fever, for it takes away the sins of the human race"; الريح من ريح الله تاتي بالرحمه وتاتي بالعذاب فاذا رايتموها فلا تسبوها وسلوا الله خيراً واستعيذوا بالله من شرها (عن ابي هريرة), "The wind is from God's spirit. It brings mercy as well as torture. Do not curse it when you behold

devil"; *allâh yiḫzi-š-šīṭān*,[9] "May God put Satan to shame." The name of the devil, *eš-šīṭān,* should never be uttered without adding *laʿnat allâh ʿalēh*, "May God's curse rest upon him."

Some curses directed against plants are: *allâh yilʿanuh mā aqsa ḥaṭabuh*, "May God curse it, how hard is its wood"; *yiḫrib bētuh mā aqwa rīḥtuh*, "May (God) ruin its house, how strong is its perfume." Some curses directed against animals are: *yilʿan illi ḫallafūk mā aḥranak*, "May (God) curse those who have begotten you, how stubborn you (O donkey) are"; *el-qōm itliffhâ*, "May the enemies take her (a mare)." Examples directed against inanimate objects are: *inšallâh rōḥah bala radjʿah*, "I hope you (O ball) will go and never return"; *yilʿan dīnuh mā aṯqaluh,* "May (God) curse its religion, how heavy it is";[10] *iḥtaraq dīnha ʿala īmānha, uhī tighlī*; "Her religion and her confession have been burnt from (continuous) boiling" is said of boiling water or of a food which has been boiling for a long time.

Curses directed against inanimate objects are a clear proof of the primitive idea still prevalent in Palestine about the animation of such objects. They are spoken of as living, having parents, possessing the ability to multiply, confessing a religion, etc. There are many examples in daily speech pointing to this idea.

The few examples already mentioned make it clear that we have to do with different categories. They are best divided into two groups: the direct and the indirect curses. Both were known to the ancient Semites.

DIRECT CURSES:

This class may be studied under two categories. Many of the inhabitants of Palestine use the term *masabbeh* in the sense of *daʿweh*. Some even do not differentiate materially between *laʿneh*, *masabbeh* and *šatīmeh*.

it, but ask God to give you mercy and to protect you against the evil it carries"; (عن زيدين خالد الجهني) لا تسبوا الديك فانه يوقظ للصلاة , "Do not curse the cock, for he awakens (you) for prayer." محي الدين ابي زكريا النووي ، رياض الصالحين من كلام سيد المرسلين . وجه ٥٦٣ و ٥٦٤

[9] CANAAN, *Dāmonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, p. 41.

[10] See also JAUSSEN, *Naplouse*, pp. 138 ff.

1. *Ad-daʿweh* (pl. *daʿwāt* and *daʿāweh*).[11] This kind of curses belongs to the same category as blessings. Both represent prayers[12] in which the Almighty is asked to give or to withhold something from a person. *Daʿweh* and *duʿāʾ* (prayer) come from the same root. The difference between these two antagonistic prayers lies in the "something" which is wished to befall a person. While in the one case it is mercy, help, and support of the Almighty, in the other it is destruction, woes and misfortune. The similarity between blessings and imprecations of this category is still more apparent if we remember that every blessing may be changed into a curse and a curse into a blessing, by using the negation of the respective formula. Thus the negation of a blessing becomes a prayer in which God is asked not to help, not to bless, not to let prosper, etc. The following examples, in which the negation *lā* which changes the blessing into a curse is placed between two dashes, illustrate this idea:

Allāh-lā-yhannīk fīhā, "May God not give you to enjoy it (house)";

Allāh-lā-yfardjīk bāb el-ḫēr, "May God not show you the door to prosperity."

Allāh-lā-yiftaḥ ʿalēk, "May God not open to you (the doors of success)."

The negation of a curse becomes a blessing. Some examples are:

Allāh-lā-yišammet el-ʾaʿdā fīk, "May God not allow enemies rejoice over you."

Allāh-lā-yiwaṭṭilak djāh, "May God not lower (take away) any of your honours."

Allāh-lā-yiksirlak ḫāṭir, "May God not break your heart."

A subdivision of the *daʿweh* is the *laʿneh.* The classical language gives the following definitions to the different words of this root: لعنه = طرده وابعده من الخير واخزاه وسبّه, "he drove and sent him away from the good (gifts), put him to disgrace, and insulted him"; اللعن من الله = ابعاد العبد بسخطه,[13] "The driving away of the servant by His anger"; اللعن من الانسان = الدعاء بسخطه, "The prayer (that God) may be discontented with him"; اللعنة = ابعاد الله العبد من رحمته في الدنيا بانقطاع التوفيق وفي العقبى بلا بتلا بالعقوبة, "The driving away of the servant by God from

[11] *Muḥīṭ* says: دعا الله يدعوه دعاء ودعوى رغب اليه اي ابتهل اليه بالسوال ورغب في ما عنده من الخير , دعا فلان بالخير ودعا على فلان بالشر

[12] CHANTEPIE de la SAUSSAYE, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte,* II, p. 334.

[13] The term *ʾabʿadahu-llāh* means in the classical language "May God curse him."

His grace in this world in cutting away every success from him, and in the world to come in punishing him with the deserved requital." *Al-laʿneh* meant in pre-Islamic time the expulsion of a person from his family or tribe.[14] This idea is at present only indirectly understood. الملعنة (pl. ملاعن) = موضع التبرز, "A public privy"; it means also the object of curse; اللعين = المخزي والمهلك والشيطان, "The accursed one, the destroyer, Satan."[15]

A characteristic of every *daʿwah* is that the name of some supernatural power is mentioned or is understood (*muqaddar*). The name of God is mentioned more often than other names. The word *allāh* is as a rule present, but sometimes it is understood though not spoken. Thus in *yilʿan abūk ʿala abu abūk,* the word *allāh* is understood though not pronounced.[16] Some even dispense with the verb *yilʿan*, and say *abūk ʿala abu abūk.* The underlying idea for using the Holy Name will be discussed later. The heaviest *laʿnāt* are those using the word *ḥaraqa*, to burn, for burning in hell is the severest heavenly punishment.[17]

2. *El-masabbeh*[18] *(eš-šatīmeh)*[19] is an insult attributing to a person a vile adjective. The verb *šatuma (šatama)* means "to revile, to vilify, to have an ugly hateful face." *Sabba* means "to cut, to wound, to slander, to hock (a horse)." In these insults no supernatural power is addressed. *Et-taḥqīr* and *ed-damm* are expressions lowering the dignity of a person.

INDIRECT CURSES:

This kind of insult is met with in two forms:

1 It may be connected with a "condition" (*šarṭ*) as *allâh yuqṣuf*

[14] *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* III, 395; J. PEDERSEN, *Der Eid bei den Semiten.*

[15] *Muḥīṭ,* II, 1902, 1903.

[16] The ancient Semites had the same custom. Most of their blessings and curses were made in the name of one of their deities: I Chr. 16[2], II Kg. 2[24], I Kg. 8[14], Num. 5[16], Ps. 129[8], Jer. 34[15], Judg. 17[2], I Sam. 15[13], II Sam. 2[5].

[17] Although *raḥḥama* means originally "to ask the mercy of God" (*Muḥīṭ,* p. 764), it is used at present by the peasants and Bedouin in the sense of "to curse"; *raḥḥam ʿalēh,* "he cursed him."

[18] *Muḥīṭ,* I, 910: سبه شتمه وايضاً بمعنى اغتابه , وسب الفرس عقره

[19] *Muḥīṭ,* I, 1051, says: الشتم وصف الغير بما فيه نقص وازدرا . شتم الرجل شتامة كان شتيما اي كريه الوجه

ʿumrī in ma ḥakēt ed-dughrī,[20] "May God cut my life short if I do not say the truth." A Bedouin judge may open the trial of a case with the words *allâh yilʿan illī byaʿraf el-ḥaqq ubiḫfīh*, "May God curse the person who knows the truth and hides it." This "condition" may form a part of an oath, as *wallâh el-ʿaẓīm innī ma baḥkî illaʿl-ḥaqq wil-kāḏib idjāzīh allâh,* "By the almighty God I shall speak only the truth and the liar shall be punished by God." A person who loses something will call out in the evening when all the inhabitants of the village or the members of the tribe have returned home, saying: *yā man raʾâ yuḏkur allâh, ʾauwalkum Muḥammad, ṯānīkum ʿAlî, ṯāliṯkum Fāṭmeh bint en-nabî willî yunkur yiqṭaʿ māluh wiʿyāluh yḥlib el barghūṯ min qillet er-rghūṯ*[21] *uyiqṭaʿ mōqad nāruh wil-marah illi tdjīb unaššāšet el-ʿasīb*,[22] "Let him he who has seen the lost object call upon God. Your first is Mohammed, your second is ʿAlî, and your third is Fāṭmeh, the daughter of the Prophet. The one who denies (the truth), may God cut off his property, and (the members) of his family. May he milk the flee because of the absence of animals giving milk. May He cut off the hearth of his fire,[23] and (kill) the wife who gives birth to children, and (kill) the mare."

This cry contains some of the strongest known curses. When somebody knows anything about the lost object and does not intend to speak, he shuts his ears in order not to hear the call and thus not become the object of the curse.[24]

The "condition" may form a part of a contract. Only a few score years ago the terms of a contract were followed by curses directed against the person who breaks them.[25]

2. Some proverbs express, when used in the proper way, an insult. Such are:

[20] *Dughri* is a Turkish loan word.

[21] *Muḥīṭ*, I, 795, says الرغوث كل مرضعه

[22] *Muḥīṭ*, II, 1934: المسيب الذنب او منبت الشعر منه . يعسوب شبهت به الخيل المضمرة
Naššāšet el-ʿasīb means literally the female animal that can move her tail. See also *JPOS*, XIV, 60.

[23] It means "may he be deprived of the honour of offering hospitality to strangers."

[24] Heard from the Ṣaqr tribe.

[25] Ez. 12^{18}, 17^{20} point to a similar custom.

Your blood is as heavy as the blood of bugs (= a clumsy parasite).[26]

He spits and licks his own saliva (= stinginess).[27]

No one will betray (the person with whom he has partaken) bread and salt except a bastard (a treacherous person).[28]

He does not know the difference between an ا (the letter ʾalif) and a minaret (= stupidity).[29]

The older he gets the more stupid he becomes.[30]

Your brain is cleaner than chinaware after it is washed.[31]

(You are) like a mule. You are made happy by the tinkling (of the bells hanging from the neck), i.e. you are dull and foolish.[32]

You are like the cough which does not sit except on the breast, i.e. you are harmful.[33]

Nobody beats a woman except a dirty person.[34]

N.N. has never measured a heap of grain, nor did he ever give a girl into marriage, (he is worthless).[35]

N.N. is neither (a person of) dignity (who can accept guests) nor is he of any help[36] in a raid.[37]

The bad (lit. the black) as well as the good (lit. the white) men of this crowd are dogs, i.e. mean.[38]

(He has) a large head, but the (his) intelligence is stupid.[39]

Rascals do not sleep and do not let others sleep, and one's heart is always weary of them.[40]

26 *Dammuh aṯqal min damm el-baqq.*

27 *Biyubzuq ubilḥas bṣāqtuh (bzāqtuh).*

28 *Mā biḫūn el-ʿēš wil-milḥ illd͡ʒbn el-ḥarām.*

29 *Mā biyaʿrafš el-ʾalif min el-mēdaneh.*

30 *Kull mā kibir kull mā ḫirif.*

31 *ʿAqlak anẓaf min eṣ-ṣīni baʿd el-ghasīl.*

32 *Miṯl el-baghl biyfraḥ laṭ-ṭanṭaneh.*

33 *Miṯl es-s(u)ʿāl mā biyuqʿud illd ʿaṣ-ṣidr.*

34 *Mā biyuḍrub el-marah illa͡ʒl-ḫara.*

35 *Fulān lā ʿumruh kaiyal ʿurmeh walā djauwaz ḥurmeh.*

36 الـده = الرتبه والمنصب , *Muḥīṭ*, 938.

37 *Fulān lā hū siddeh walā lal-haddeh.*

38 *Haddjamāʿah ʾaswadhum kalb wabyaḍhum kalb.* Another version is *qāl ēš ʾaḥsan el-kalb el-abyaḍ willd͡ʒl-kalb el-aswad? qāluh alldh yilʿan abūhim ʾiṯnēnhim klāb wlād kalb.*

39 *Rās kbīr wil-ʿaql habīl.*

40 *ʾAwlād el-ḥarām lā bināmū walā biḫallūk itnām wil-qalb minnhum taʿbān.*

N.N. is like an owl. He predicts (lit. shrieks) only ruin.[41]

The person who consults a woman (and follows her advice) is (nothing but) dirt.[42]

CALLING UPON A SUPERNATURAL POWER :—

It was already mentioned that in every *daʿweh* a supernatural power is called upon to punish the enemy. These powers are either good or evil. In examining the first group one sees that God is more called upon than any other power, for He is the most powerful. The following proverb expresses well this belief: *allâh yīdjī ʿala-lli byīdjī ʿalēnâ*, "May God be (lit. come) against the person who is against us" (Ṣafad). The Palestinian has always tried to revenge himself for every injustice inflicted upon him. But he recognizes that his vengeance is nothing compared with that of God, who has and still is the greatest avenger.[43] The Almighty is adressed in a *daʿweh* as the right and the severe judge.[44] A proverb teaches *el-ʾīd illî ma btiqdar itʿuḍḍhâ būs-hâ widʾī ʿalēhâ bil-kasr,* "Kiss the hand which you cannot bite and (at the same time) ask God to break it."[45] The Palestinian still considers his personal enemies as the enemies of his God.[46] This idea is a very old one and is well illustrated in several passages of the Bible.[47]

In examining Palestinian folklore more closely we arrive at a further conclusion, namely that the "deities" of one region first help the inhabitants of that region, whom they regard as their subjects, against the injustices of any person of another region who honours other "deities." The present writer has described this belief at another place.[48] Thus the enemies of a district or of a Bedouin tribe are at the same time the enemies of his god. And his god often fights with the god of his enemies. By "deity" we understand the *ʾawliâ*. The simple Palestinian goes even one step further and believes unknowingly that the God of the Christian

41 *Fulān miṯl el-būm mā bizʿaq illa bil-ḫarāb.*

42 *Illi bišāwir el-marah ḫara.*

43 Deut. 32^{39}, I Sam. 2^{6}, II Kg. 5^{7}, Hos. 6^{1}, Job 20^{26}, Rom. 12^{19}.

44 Job 9^{15}, Ps. 35^{1}, 43^{1}, 119^{154}, Lam. 3^{59}.

45 EINSLER, *Mosaik*, p 49.

46 A. M. RIHBANY, *op. cit.*, 93.

47 Ps. 139^{19-22}, II Chr. 19^{2}.

48 *JPOS*, XIV, p. 79.

may differ in some ways from the gods of the Mohammedans and Jews. This folk-belief is quickly fading away. Such an idea is plainly seen in an amulet containing a specifically Christian medallion, a Jewish amulet and a Qurʿān verse, which is believed to secure the help of the gods of the three different confessions. The writer possess a *masheh*[49] which bears in Arabic the names of God يا حافظ يا كافي يا شافي, "O Protector, O Sufficient, O Healer," and in Hebrew the words אלה עליך עזו on one side and on the other צקרכל לוצקצית לנוקז. A chain of blue beads carried by children against the evil eye and the *qarīneh* shows a Jewish amulet[50] and a Christian medallion.[51] The first is inscribed on one side only with the words יהוה הכהכיה רעב ורב טאב which run horizontally, and רפאל גבריאל מיכאל נוריאל ארגמן אוריאל on the periphery. The second shows on one side St. George with the Dragon and the inscription "S. Georgius Equitum Patronus." The second side represents a sailing ship in an agitated sea with the words "Securitas in Tempestate."[52] Many Mohammedans give their children at special occasions Christian names, hoping that the patrons of those names will protect the life of the child.

The above considerations give us the clue why the religion and the deity of others are cursed. The oppressed person asks his god to curse the god of the oppressor, who is thought to be another deity. The Oriental mind argues: If the god of the oppressor were good he would not allow his subjects to treat the servants of our god badly. It is a pity that such imprecations are used at present very loosely. An excited and vexed person is said "to lose his religious belief."[53] He finds that "cursing the religion (of others) at its proper time is a praise-song."[54]

Curses in which a *welî* is called by name are few; note the following: *zīḥuh yā Masīḥ udjurruh yā Ḫaḍr*, "Take him away, O Christ, and drag him off, O Ḫaḍr"; *haiy yā sīdî yā Rfāʿî tšaḥḥduh ʿēnêh*,

[49] *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, pp. 52, 91.

[50] It is a round piece of copper 4 cm. in diameter.

[51] A round piece of copper, 2.75 cm. in diameter.

[52] It represents Christ and his disciples on the Sea of Galilee.

[53] *Ṭiliʿ dīnuh*; *ṭlʿ* is often used to express death, or extreme fatigue i.e. *ṭilʿat rūḥuh*.

[54] The whole proverb is *kull šī fī waqtuh mnīḥ ḥittā masabbet ed-dīn fī waqtha tasbīḥ*, "Everything made in its proper time is good, even cursing.....". Another proverb is *masabbet ed-dīn ilhā ʿdzeh*, "Cursing religion is at time needed."

"Hallo, O my Lord Rifāʿî, let him beg for his eyes (= become blind)"; *haiy yā sīdî yā Ḫauwāṣ tiʿidmuh ulāduh*, "Hallo, O my Lord, Ḫauwāṣ, bereave him of his children." Sometimes such a curse may take the form of a vow: *smāṭak yā Ḫauwāṣ in qaṣaft ʿumruh*, "I shall bring you, O Ḫauwāṣ, a sheep if you cut off his life."

The Palestinian goes even to the shrine of a saint and implores him to punish the enemy. A widely known way of bringing one's own case before a saint is practiced by the Mohammedans of the Hebron and Jerusalem districts. The oppressed person goes to the sanctuary of Abraham in Hebron, writes his case on a piece of paper and throws this letter in *ghār sayidnâ Ibrāhīm*. He implores the Patriarch to punish the oppressor. In this way they believe they have thrown their burden on the saint and have directed his wrath to the enemy (*birmu-l-ḥiml ʿalâ Ḫalīl allah ubiḥīlûh*[55] *ʿal-ʿaduw*).[56]

Others go to the sanctuary of an irritable saint *(niziq)* and try to irritate him against the enemy in one of the following ways: turning over the mats of the shrine, turning an opened Qurʿān and placing it on the tomb, "strangling" him, i.e, binding the *rāsīyeh* with a rope. If the saint does not settle the case justly the oppressed tries to provoke the anger of the saint in more radical ways.[57] He undresses completely and wrapping himself in the mat of the sanctuary asks the saint to help him in punishing the oppressor.[58]

Curses, in which Satan or a demon are resorted to, are few in number. A list of such maledictions given at the outset may help in the analysis: *Iblīs yāḫḏak (yirkabak)*,[59] "May Satan take (ride upon) you"; *qird yiśtāluh*, "May Satan drag him"; *ṭāʿūn yifikk ḥanakak*[60] (*yiliffak*,[61] *ykattetak*[62]), "May the angel of death loosen your jaw, (wrap you up, give you chills)"; *ḫānūq* (*ḫunnāq*) *yuḫunqak*, "May the angel of diphtheria strangle you"; *zōbaʿah tiḥimlak*, "May the demon of whirlwind carry you away"; *ḍarabān yṭuqqak*, "May a

[55] Unknown in this sense to *Muḥīṭ*. [56] Jerusalem and Arṭās.

[57] *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 128, 129.

[58] Heard in Jerusalem. [59] Compare with Ps. 109^6, Zech. 3^1.

[60] A loose jaw is a symptom of death.

[61] A corpse is wrapped in a white sheet.

[62] Unknown in this sense to HAVA. *Katt* means "to whisper, to number, to walk slowly with short steps, to boil, to groan, to vex, to thwart, to pour out."

suppurating affection burst you"; *mōt yiqardfak*, "May death throw you away"; *djhannam tiblaʿuh* (*tiḥirquh*), "May hell swallow (burn) him"; *ʿUzrāʾīn yuqbuḍ rōḥuh*, "May the angel of death grasp his soul"; *abu mizrāq yiliffak*, "May the djinni causing colic wrap you"; *djʿām illi yidjʿamak*, "May the djinni causing a fatal intestinal disease cause you to have colic."

The present Orientals believe that the greater number of all diseases are caused by demons.[63] Calling upon a disease to befall a person means calling the causing factor, namely the respective *djinn*. This is clearly seen in the external form of such imprecations, where a disease is addressed and asked—exactly as the case is with a supernatural power—to fall upon the enemy. Although these maledictions do not contain the direct name of Satan or a demon they belong to the true *daʿāweh*.[64]

In analyzing the above mentioned imprecations we see that they may be grouped into one of the following four categories:

1. Where Satan himself is asked to do the injury,
2. where one of the demons is requested to fall upon the enemy,
3. where death or hell are mentioned, and
4. where the angel of death "ʿUzrāʾīl" is resorted to.

It is interesting to note that the word *qird*, which means literally "monkey", is used as a synonym of "Satan."[65] EL-BUSTĀNI writes in *Muḥīṭ el-muḥīṭ*, p. 1686, وبعض العامة يستعمل القرد بمعنى الشيطان.

The demons mentioned in the above examples have given their names to diseases and have lost their original meaning. Thus *ṭāʿūn*, *ḫānūq*,[66] *zōbaʿah* and probably *ḍarabān*[67] were originally names of demons and are at present used only to denote diseases. The demon *eṭ-ṭāʿūn* appears as a horseman carrying a spear. Every one who is wounded by him gets a pest-boil.[68] *Zōbaʿah* is still known among the inhabitants of Palestine as the name of a *djinn*. *Muḥīṭ*

[63] CANAAN, *Dāmonenglaube*, p. 41.

[64] To this category belong the curses where a dreaded poisonous animal is asked to attack the cursed person. *Naʿʿāmeh tiqṭaʿ zarad ḍahrak*, "May a *Naʿʿameh* (a kind of serpent, not known to *muḥīṭ*) break your spinal column."

[65] *Dāmonenglaube*, p. 15. [66] Unknown to *muḥīṭ* as the name of a *djinn*.

[67] Unknown to the classical language as the name of a *djinn*.

[68] *Adjdzmāṭāri kabīr*, 1884, p. 217, gives a special prayer. The priest uses a spear to cure this disease.

writes on p. 853, الزوبعة . زعموا انها اسم شيطان او رئيس للجن قيل ومنها سميت الاعصار (وهي ريح تثير الغبار وترتفع الى السماء كانها عامود) . زوبعة . ويقال لها ايضاً ام زوبعة وابو زوبعة زعموا ان فيها شيطاناً مارداً يثور . ج . زوابع

The appellation *Ḍarabān* (a purulent inflamation), *Abu mizrāq*,[69] the carrier of a spear[70] (a fatal intestinal affection, probably ileus) and *Djiʿām*[71] (a fatal disease of cattle with gastro-intestinal symptoms) are probably also names of demons.

As death marks the end of life with all its activities, it is abhorred. Hell, the dwelling-place of Satan, is the most hated place. Wishing a person to be burnt or swallowed by hell means wishing him God's everlasting curse. *ʿUzraʾīl* (*ʿUzraʾîn*) is the angel of death.[72] He belongs to the four angels of praise and not to the evil spirits. As he is the messenger of death the inhabitants of Palestine dread him.

Objects Mentioned In Imprecations :

An analysis of the hundreds of curses which I have been able to gather show that they are directed against the most important factors in the life of a person: his health, family, honour, religion, and property.[73] It may be advisable for the sake of comparison to place opposite the Biblical imprecations of each category those which are used at present in Palestine. It is a mistake to think that the few examples of maledictions and insults found in the Bible[74] are all the curses which were known and used at those times. The decipherment of cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts has yielded a great many more. The great number of Palestinian imprecations are in reality not as numerous as they appear at first sight, for most of them are nothing but variations of one and the same formula with small external changes: *madjḏūb*, *mafqūʿ*, *madjnūn*, *habīleh*, *maḫwūt*,

[69] *El-ʾazraq* means a desperate foe.

[70] *Mizrāq* is a short spear. The *djinn* with this name was thought to carry a spear.

[71] *Muḥīṭ*, p. 261, explains the word as داء يعرض للابل وغيرها من رعي النشر

[72] Ex. 12[28], II Sam. 24[15,16], II Kg. 19[25], Is. 37[36].

[73] The different categories of curses mentioned by Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p. 89, come under these four subdivisions.

[74] See H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, *Göttinger Handkommentar z. A.T.* (Ps. 109).

maš'ūr denote differens degrees of madness. Instead of *'abūk* one of the following expressions may be used: *illî djābak*, *bazarak*, *ḫallafak*, *ḫirīk* or *rabbāk*. For death one of the following verbs may be used: *qabar*, *qaṣaf*, *qaza'*, *mauwat*, or the expressions *yiṭli' rūḥak*, *yiḫsif manāfsak*, *'adjīb 'azāk*, *yi'dimnî haṭ-ṭūl*, (*hal-liḥyeh*, *šabābak*), etc. are used.

Disease is one of the greatest punishments. It is a curse of the Almighty through which a person becomes inhabited by demons. This is not the proper place to dwell more fully on this subject. Imprecations of this category may be *da'wāt* or *šatā'im*. Examples of both categories may follow[75] after the list of Biblical parallels has been given:

The Lord shall smite thee with fever and with an inflammation and with extreme burning (Deut. 28^{22}, see also Lev. 26^{16}).

The Lord shall smite thee with madness (Deut. 28^{22}; see also Zech. 12^{22}).

Thou fool (Math. 5^{22}).

The Lord shall smite thee with astonishment of heart (Deut. 28^{28}).

The Lord shall smite thee with consumption (Deut. 28^{22}; see also Lev. 26^{16}).

He gave their life over to the pestilence (Ps. 78^{50}).

Make their loins continually shake (Ps. 69^{3}).

The Lord will smite thee with the botch of Egypt and with the emerods and with the scab and with the itch (Deut. $28^{27,35}$).

In Arabic we have:

Allâh yidj'al maraḍ iṣībak mā ḥadâ ya'rafluh dawâ,[76] "May God make a disease, whose cure nobody knows, befall you."

Allâh yiblīk bidjamī' el-'āhāt, "May God afflict you with all scourges."

Allâh yihrî laḥmak 'ān 'aẓmak, "May God make your flesh wear away from your bones."

Allâh yiḥirmak 'āfîtak, "May God deprive you of your good health."

Allâh yiḥriq dammak, "May God burn your blood (befall you with a consuming fever)."

Ḥaṣbeh tidjmad 'ala qalbak, "May measles (settle and) freeze on your heart."

[75] For some old Arabic curses belonging to this category see GOLDZIHER, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, p. 119.

[76] FR. DUNKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 65; JAUSSEN, *Naplouse*, pp. 239 ff.

Samm hārî uḥabb ḥmārî,[77] "May a poison rot and an eruption cover you" (Ramallah).

Damawî yiqubbak, "May a blood (= flow) dry you up (or take you away)."

Wadjaʿ yiḫlaʿ nīʿak, "May a disease dislocate your jaw, i.e. kill you."

Rīḥ yunfuḫ baṭnak, "May wind[78] blow up your abdomen."

Nuqṭah tidjmad ʿala qalbak, "May a drop of blood freeze on your heart."[79]

Ẓafar[80] *yiḫlaʿ nīʿuh* (*būzuh*), "May a bony growth in the upper maxilla pluck out his jaw."

More examples of the second category in which complete or partial blindness, lameness, and baldness are mentioned will be described below. Death often forms the subject of imprecations. Some Biblical parallels are:

Let his children become fatherless (Ps. 109^{9}).

Your children shall be fatherless (Ex. 22^{24}).

Let his days be few (Ps. 109^{8}).

Cf. the Arabic parallels:

Allah yiḫsif manāfsak, "May God destroy your respiratory organs."

Allah yiṭliʿ rūḥak min ʿēnēk[81], "May God take your soul out of your eyes." i.e., may you suffer agonies in your death and be aware of this condition.

Allah yiʿdimnî haš-šārib[82], "May God deprive me (through your death) of this moustache".

Yā allah rōḥah balâ raddeh unōmeh balâ mḫaddeh, "O Lord, may he go and never come back, and sleep without a cushion."[83]

Yā rabb itfarriḥnî ibʿazāh, "O Lord, may I enjoy the wailing of his death."

Still worse are the curses directed against the family. The father, mother, ancestors, and children are the main objects of such imprecations. The mother and father are regarded by every Oriental

77 It was explained as an eruption larger than that of measles.

78 *Rīḥ sudad* = ileus.

79 *Nuqṭah* means apoplexy and angina pectoris.

80 *Muḥīṭ*, p. 1314.

81 *Allâh yiqaṣṣer adjalak* and not *adjralak* with DUNKEL.

82 A bad adjective is added.

83 For a dead person does not need a cushion.

as holy and untouchable. Every imprecation directed against them attacks at the same time their sons and grandsons. This is still truer of curses directed against the ancestors of a whole tribe. The following proverb shows clearly that whatever others may think of one's parents they remain the beloved and honoured parents to whom one owes one's existence and honour: *sibb abûy-l-qabīḥ la'asibb abūk el-mlīḥ*, "Curse my bad father and I shall curse your good father." Therefore, a proverb teaches, *'alf 'ēn tibkî walâ 'ēn immî*, "May a thousand eyes weep but not the eye of my mother." Cursing dead parents, especially those who have died recently, excites the anger of their children, for *edj-djurḥ lissâh byidmî*,[84] "The wound (inflicted by death) is still bleeding."

From the many passages in the Old and New Testament forbidding the cursing of father and mother, and from the severe punishment—death—of every person who commits this sin, we are safe in concluding that this sort of imprecation was widely known among the ancient Semites.[85] Biblical examples are:

Your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless (Ex. 22^{24}).

Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow (Ps. 109^{9}; see also Job 5^{4}; Ps. 109^{12}).

Note the following modern examples:

Allâh yiḥriq illî faṭas[86] *fî dār 'abūk* "May, God burn (in hell) those who have died in your father's house."

Allâh yiḥriq djdūd djdūdak (*'abūk 'alâ immak*, or *qar'et 'abūk*), "May God burn the ancestors of your ancestors (your father together with your mother, the skull of your father)."

Yā mal'ūn 'abūk 'alâ-l-ḥamūleh illî aṭlaqatak," O thou whose father and the family which delivered you are cursed."

Allâh yil'an il-baṭn illî ḥamalak, "May God curse the womb (lit. the abdomen) which bore you." (Blessing Luke 12, 28).

Yā allâh qaṭī'ah tqarrqir[87] *ahlak mâ tḫallî ḥada*, "O God, may abolishment take away your family leaving nobody."

[84] Another saying is *edj-djurḥ lissâ mā 'admalš.*

[85] Ex. 21^{17}, Lev. 20^{9}, Deut. 27^{16}, Prov. 20^{20}, Math. 15^{4}, Mark 7^{10}. According to the *Mishnah* (H. DANBY's translation) "He that curses his father or mother is not culpable unless he curses them with any of the special names of God" (Sanh. 7^{8}; Shebuoth 4^{13}).

[86] *Fṭiseh* = carrion.

[87] Unknown to *Muḥīṭ* in this sense. A characteristic curse of this category is *allah yil'an illi 'aššarak willi baššarak.*

Allâh yia'ttim ulādak, "May God make your children orphans."

Allâh yiḥirmak mēmtak, "May God deprive you of your mother."[88]

Sterility and death of children, in other words a marriage without offspring, especially male, is a severe punishment.[89] A man's honour is best expressed by calling him not by his own name, but by that of his oldest son preceded by the word *'abū* (father).[90] Woe to the wife who is not blessed with male offspring, for it is not until she has become the mother of at least one son that the wife attains her full dignity,[91] and becomes in some degree protected against the hardships of polygamy.[92] Therefore, a curse wishing the death of the children is felt by the mother, as a heavy blow. If such a curse is operative it deprives the mother of all her social and family rights, of her only support and pride. For the father it means the death of his name, the loss of his bulwark and the defender of his house. Some Biblical examples of this category are :

Let his property be cut off: and in the generation following let their name be blotted out (Ps. 109^{13}).

Let them be before the Lord continually, that He may cut off the memory of them from the earth (Ps. 109^{15}).

Their fruit shall thou destroy from the earth, and their seed from among the children of men (Ps. 21^{10}; 37^{28}; 34^{16}; Jer. 44^{11}; Deut. 28^{41}).

Thou shalt betroth a wife and another shall lie with her (Deut. 28^{30}).

Cursed be the fruit of thy body. (Deut. 28^{18}).

Compare the following Arabic illustrations:

allâh yiqṭa' nasl immak min es-sab' zīdjān, "May God cut the posterity of thy mother from seven husbands."

[88] Other expressions are: *yā rēt allâh yidj'al maratak tiṭli' ṣandūqhá min ed-dār qarīb,* "May God cause your wife to carry her trunk out of this house soon". This saying explains a widespread custom. When a childless woman loses her husband she has, as a rule, to go back to her father's house, taking her few possessions with her. *Inšallah bitrabbú fī šnénar,* "May they (your children) be brought up in Schneller's school." *Šnēnar* is a corruption of Schneller, the name of the founder of the Syrian Orphanage. This modern curse was heard in Ramallah.

[89] *Jew. Encycl.*, IV, p. 30.

[90] *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries,* p. 119.

[91] Gen. 16^4, 30^1, I Sam. 1^6 ff.

[92] CANAAN, *Unwritten Laws Affecting the Arab Woman of Palestine, JPOS,* XI, 195.

Allâh la yifarrḥak fīhum, "May God not grant you to enjoy them" i.e. your children.

Rētak tuqbur el-ghālî ʿala qalbak, yā allâh, "O God, may thou bury those precious to your heart."[93]

Not so heavily felt are the curses directed against the political leaders of a village or a tribe, the *šiūḫ* and the *maḫātīr*. As a rule the inhabitants of most villages are grouped in several quarters. The families of one quarter (*ḥamūleh*) are generally related to each other and are therefore bound together by closer ties than they are to the families of the other quarters. Although in a quarrel arising between two neighbouring villages all the inhabitants of one village unite together against the enemies, the inhabitants of the other village, in quarrels between two quarters of one and the same village the people of the one fight those of the other as their bitterest enemies. This idea is well expressed in the proverb *anâ waḫūy ʿalaبn ʿammî wanâ wibn ʿammî ʿalaل-gharīb*, "I and my brother (unite to fight) against my cousin, but I and my cousin (unite to fight) against the stranger." Thus the inhabitants of a quarter or clan regard their *muḫtār* or their *šēḫ* as their political leader and the bearer of their dignity. On the other hand the *muḫtār* or the *šēḫ* of a neighbouring quarter is the political leader of their enemies, their oppressor. A curse directed against such a person attacks more or less all the members of that quarter or clan. Some Biblical orders forbidding the cursing of political heads are:

Thou shalt not curse the ruler of thy people (Ex. 22[28]; see also Ecc. 10[20]).

Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people (Acts 25[5]).

Some Palestinian imprecations of this category are:

Allâh yilʿan abu muḫtār baladak wabu šēḫ baladak, "May God curse the father of the *muḫtār* and the father of the *šēḫ* of thy village."

Allâh yiḫzî šēḫ hal-ḥamūleh el-hāmleh, "May God disgrace the *šēḫ* of this base clan."

The third category of maledictions aims at the honour of the cursed person. The simplest insults of this kind are those in which a man is called a child or a woman,[94] when a *madanî* (city dweller),

[93] JAUSSEN, *Naplouse*, 241.

[94] For the belief in the inferiority of the women see *JPOS*, vol. XI, 173 ff.

a Bedouin,[95] and a gypsy are compared with a *fellāḥ*, and when a man is asked to do the work of a woman. Women are considered as performing only the lowliest duties.[96] Peasants are looked at as ignorant, hard-headed, and impudent. This is clearly expressed in the following proverbs: *qālû ʃlal-fallāḥ ḫōḏ et-tayāseh nuṣṣhâ qāl lā wallâh illâ kullhâ* (*anâ ṣāḥib iʿyāl*), "They asked the *fellāḥ* to take half of the stupidity. He answered: No, by God, I will take it all (for I have a large family);" *el-fallāḥ fallāḥ ulau itʿaššâ ʃl-ʿaṣr*, "The peasant remains a peasant even if he takes his supper (some say *itghaddâ*, lunch) in the afternoon"; *rūs kbār uʿqūl ighlāẓ*,[97] "(The peasants have) big heads and stiff minds." Some despised professions dishonour a person and may be used as insults. Such are those of a barber,[97a] street sweeper, water-carrier and the keeper of and workers in a public bath. "Hewer of wood" and "drawer of water" were despised professions. Only servants and slaves performed such work.[98] A person who journeyed barefoot was as a rule despised as the poorest of the poor. No coffee was offered to him.[99] An exception is made only when such a person flees from an enemy. It is an insult to say of one that he has "become a proverb and a byword among people," (*ṣār quwālīyeh bēn en-nās*).[100]

Honour looked at from an Oriental point of view may be analyzed from two sides: the honour of a person (*šarafuh*) connected with his or his family's moral character, and that due to his bodily perfection. As the second category will be described later only a few facts will be mentioned in this connexion at present. If several members of one and the same family are affected with different bodily defects, the people say *yā suttār hâḏa ghaḍab*, "O Protector, this is (God's) wrath." God, knowing that such a person may do mischief, curses him with a bodily ailment. The following proverbs[101]

95 *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, III, 395.

96 Such work is grinding wheat (Ex. 11^{5}, Judg. 16^{21}, Is. 47^{2}), fetching water (Gen. $24^{14.17}$, John $4^{7.15}$), sweeping the house and the courtyard, etc., *JPOS*, XI, 17 ff.

97 Degrading curses are known in the Bible, Gen. 9^{25}, Jos. 9^{23}.

97a So in Yemen we meet with the same custom, *S.D.F.* GOITEIN, *Von den Juden Jemens*, p. 87.

98 Deut. 28^{11}, Jos. $9^{21.27}$.

99 Heard from MR. O.S. EL-BARGHŪTHÎ.

100 Deut. 28^{27}, I Kg. $9^{7.8}$, Jer. 24^{9}, 25^{9}, Ps. 44^{14}.

101 T. KOWALSKI, Nase und Niesen im arabischen Volksglauben und Sprachgebrauche, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXI, 205, has given several verses which describe the deformity of the nose and its loss as a curse.

explain better than any description the popular ideas connected with such faults[102]:

Kull dū ʿāhah djabbār, "Every person with a deformity is a tyrant."

Rabbnâ mā ʾammanōš ʿa-šaʿrah fī widjhû tay ʾammnuh ʿa-ghēr šī, "God has not entrusted him with a hair in his face, how can he entrust him with anything else."

Aqraʿ balâ ʿanādeh zaiy fāris balâ bulādeh,[103] "A bald-headed person without stubbornness is (as rare) as a horseman without a gun."

Aqraʿ lâ tnāqir waʿwar lā tdjākir, "Do not quarrel with a bald-headed and do not tease a one-eyed person."

In (i)tṣabbaḥt bil-aqraʿ mā bitšūf ḫēr, "If you meet a bald-headed man as the first person in the morning, you will have no luck (that day)."[104]

Lauw fī aʿwar fis-samâ laʾafsad el-malāykeh, "If there was a one-eyed person in heaven he would have corrupted (even) the angels."[105]

Mā bisthî illa_n-naẓar, "Nobody is ashamed except (the person with) eye-sight."[106]

Balâ ʾahwan min balâ wil-kirsāḥ ʾahwan min el-ʿama,[107] "A misfortune may be (still) better than another one, and lameness is an easier (condition) than blindness."

Aʿūdu billāhi min ṯalāṯeh : el-aqraʿ in ḥakk wil-aʿwar in djakk wil-aʿradj in dakk, "I implore God to protect me against three: the bald-headed when he scratches, the one-eyed when he blinks, and the lame when he hobbles."

The above mentioned proverbs apply the following moral defects to the blind, the one-eyed and the bald-headed (and the beardless):

102 *JPOS*, XI, 26-28.

103 The old fashioned gun had a flint. It denotes also a piece of steel used in connection with a flint to strike fire. A variant of the proverb is *ʾaqraʿ balâ djaqāmeh miṯl ṯōr balâ ʿalāmeh*, "A bald-headed person without insolence is (as rare) as an ox without a brand."

104 See also Sūreh LXXX, 1.

105 The same belief exists about animals. A proverb says, "If the mole had the power to see it would have ruined the world," *el-ḫlund* (classical *ḫuld*) *lauw šāf lakān ʾaḫrab ed-dunyâ*.

106 *JPOS*, XII, 169; CANAAN, *Light and Darkness*, *JPOS*, XI, 27.

107 A variant is *eṭ-ṭaraš ʾahwan min el-ʿamâ*, "Deafness is easier than blindness."

obstinacy, unfaithfulness, corruption, shamelessness, and impudicity.[108] Therefore whenever a Palestinian meets such a person he often exclaims *aʿūḏu billāh*, in order to protect himself. Owing to this belief every Oriental counts it a great insult to be charged with one of these infirmities.[109] Among Biblical imprecations of this category are: The Lord shall smite thee with blindness (Deut. 28[28]).

Thou shalt grope at noonday, as the blind gropeth in darkness (Deut. 28[29]).

They meet with darkness in the day time, grope in the noonday as in the night (Job 5[14]; see also Ps. 69[23]; Is. 59,[10]).

Among Palestinian maledictions are:

Allâh yiʿmīk (*yiʿmî baṣarak*), "May God make you blind (make your sight blind)."

Yâ damawîyeh tghammeḍ ʿênēk, "O may a bloodflow close your eyes."

Yiqʿidak el-qurneh wyiṭʿamak el-luqmeh,[110] "(May God) make you sit in the corner (=become blind) and give you (only) a morsel as food (=become very poor)."[111]

Kasḥah tiksaḥak, "May lameness cripple you."

Aqraʿ en-naḥs (*aʿwar el-kalb*), "(O thou) unlucky (and ill-luck bringing) bald-headed man, (O thou one-eyed dog)."

Adjrūdî, "O thou hairless person."[112]

Blindness is used at present, as in Biblical times,[113] to denote wickedness and stubbornness of the heart. This is well illustrated in the curse, *allâh yiʿmi qalbak dunyâ wʾāḫreh*, "May God blind your heart in this world and in that to come."

Every Oriental felt and still feels that the growth of hair on his face is the external sign of manhood. This is why these places are always spoken of in a respectful way. A man in difficulty, who

108 *El- ʾaʿwar djiqim*, "The one-eyes is insolent"; Num. 10[31].

109 The Jews believed that the blindness of Isaac was the result of the curse mentioned in Gen. 20[6]; HEMPEL, *Die israelitische Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch*, *ZDMG*, 79, 20 ff.

110 Some other sayings are: *Allâh yiʿattimhâ ʿalēk*; *allâh yuḏurbak fī sawdâ ʿénēk*; *allâh yiblīh bikās el-ʿamâ*; *yā rēt kīf mā tdūr itlāqīhâ fī widjhak sōdâ.*

111 S. ʿABBÛD, *op. cit.*, No. 5119.

112 Other proverbs are: *lā trāfiq adjrūdî walâ tšāwir yahūdî*; *lā tāḫuḏ qarʿâ walā bint binthâ bidjīk baʿd ez-zamān qurʿān.*

113 Is. 56[10], Math. 15[14], 23[16], Rom. 11[25].

asks an influential person for help, addresses him, as a rule, with the words *daḫīl ʿalâ ḏaqnak* (*šawārbak*), "I emplore you by (the honour of) your beard (moustaches)." In order to emphasize what a person is saying he touches his moustache and says *wiḥyāt haš-šārib innî laʾaʿmal hēk uhēk*, "By the life of this moustache I shall do this and that." Due to the respect and honour connected with these parts they have become the object of blessing as well as of curses (cf. 11 Kg. 2^{23}). We shall return to this subject later.

Ḫara fi hal-liḥyeh (*fi widjh han-naḥs*),[114] "Dung upon this beard (this unlucky face)."

Tfū ʿahaš-šārib, "May this moustache be spat at."

Allâh yiḫzî hal-liḥyeh, "May God disgrace this beard."

A good wish, heard all over Palestine, is *allâh yibaiyeḍ widjhak*, "May God whiten your face."[115] To whiten[116] means to raise in honour, reputation, rank, and the like.[117] To wish a person the contrary means to curse him; *allâh yisauwed widjhak*. "May God blacken your face," means to lower the honour, the name, and the dignity of a person.[118] One of the strongest expressions is *es-sawād ghašâk*, which means the complete loss of honour and dignity. The Palestinian speaks also of a black heart, *el-ʿama, mâ aswad qalbuh*, "May blindness befall him, how black is his heart," meaning how wicked he is. Of such a person the proverb says "there is nothing white in him except his teeth,"[119] i.e. his character, deeds, and his heart are black.

Another way of insulting the honour of a person is to compare him to an abhorred animal. Palestinian folklore counts several animals in this category: the dog, which is regarded as impure,[120] the pig, which is the type of filthiness,[121] the he-goat and the donkey,

[114] The same expression is used in Mal. 2^{8}.

[115] CANAAN, *Light and Darkness in Palestinian Folklore*, *JPOS*, XI, 33.

[116] Similar ideas about white and black existed in Biblical times: Dan. 12^{6}, Jer. 8^{21}, Joel 2^{6}, Nah. 2^{6}, Math. 17^{2}, 28^{3}, Mark 9^{2}, 16^{5}, Luke 9^{29}, John 20^{12}. Compare also the Qurʾān, Sūreh III, 106, 107.

[117] The same expressions were also known to the ancient Arabs, Qurʾān XX, 2; XXVII, 32.

[118] Lam. $4^{7.8}$.

[119] *Mā fihūš ʾiši ʾabyaḍ illâ snānuh*, S. ʿABBÛD, *op. cit*, No. 4039.

[120] Jes. 66^{3}, Math. 7^{9}. A proverb says, "The dog is the cousin of the pig."

[121] The Almighty has changed several human beings into pigs (Sūreh II, 173; V, 63; VI, 145).

which are the synonyms of stupidity and foolishness[122], and the owl and the raven, which are regarded as the messengers of death. There are several Mohammedan traditions stating that angels never enter a place housing a dog,[123] a belief which shows that the above mentioned idea is not a new one. Throughout the whole East, "dog" is the severest term of reproach for impure and profane persons and for fierce and cruel enemies.[124] In this sense the Jews used it to reproach the gentiles.[125] The wanton nature of the dog is another of its characteristics, and a whore is still likened to a dog, *mâ btistiḥî mitl el-kalb*,[126] "She is not ashamed like a dog." Evildoers are compared with dogs.[127] The pig is to every Mohammedan the uncleanest[128] and most voracious animal.

To compare a person with one of these animals is to wound him deeply in his dignity. The same idea prevailed in Biblical times.[129] Palestinian insults of this kind are: *kalb ibn kalb*,[130] "A dog, son of a dog"; *yā ḥmār ibn eḥmār*, "O donkey, son of a donkey"; *tfū ʿalēk, ḫanzīr*, "May you be spat at, you pig"; *yā tēs* (*teisūn*), "O he-goat"; *mitl el-(i)ghrāb mā bitnādî illa bil-ḫarāb*, "(You are) like the raven, as you only announce ruin."

The worst curses and insults are those which attack the most sensitive point in the moral character of a person, namely, his chastity. The great pride of every Palestinian is the complete chastity of every member of his family. Whenever a girl or a woman falls and loses her honour (*ʿarḍhâ*) she is slain in order to wash away this stain, thus keeping the name of the family pure[131]. The

122 The camel belongs to this category. A proverb says, *edj-djamal djamal ulauw ḥammalūh djōhar.*

123 The only dogs which a Mohammedan may possess are a hunting dog, a dog to guard the sheep, and one to protect the tents, houses or fields. The following traditions point to this belief: من اقتنى كلبا ليس بكلب صيد ولا ماشيه ولا ارض فانه ينقص من اجره قيراطان كل يوم (عن عائشه); قال جبرايل للنبي انا لا ندخل بيتاً فيه كلب (عن عائشه); لا تدخل الملائكة بيتا فيه كلب او صورة (عن ابي طلحه); محي الدين ابي زكريا يحيى بن شرف النووي رياض الصالحين من كلام سيد المرسلين وجه ٥٥٢، ٥٥٣ و ٥٥٤

124 I Sam. 24^{14}, II Sam. 9^{8}.

125 Rev. 22^{15}.

126 Deut. 23^{18}.

127 Ps. $22^{16.20}$, Phil. 3^{2}.

128 Ps. 80^{14}, Prov. 11^{12}, II Pet. 2^{22}. See also *Ddiratul-maʿdrif*, VII, 482.

129 I Sam. 17^{43}, II Sam. 3^{8}, 16^{9}, II Kg. 8^{13}, Ps. $59^{6.14}$, Is. 56^{11}, Math. 15^{26}.

130 *Ibn miyet kalb, kalbūn, andjas min kalb. Ibn miyet kalb* means that the ancestors to the hundredth forefather were dogs.

131 Gen. 38^{24}, Deut. 22^{21}.

greatest disgrace for anyone is to be called *ibn harām* or *bandūq*,[132] bastard. Only a *bandūq* is neglected and not salted after birth.[133] In certain parts of Syria to say to a person that he was not "salted" upon birth is to invite trouble.[134] The mere accusation of a Bedouin women of the Negeb of having committed adultery is called *sabb*, which word means on such an occasion not only "to insult," but also to accuse of committing adultery.[135] The accuser has either to prove the truth of his statement or to suffer a heavy punishment. The different expressions for "whore" are all used in curses. Curses may express every act connected with sexual life, both normal and abnormal. Many terms are Turkish loan words.[136] Whoredom was greatly abhorred by all writers of the Bible.[137] Some imprecations of this sort are: *Allâh yifḍaḥ ʿarḍak*, "May God disgrace your repute"; *qaḥbeh*, "Prostitute"; *karaḫanjî*, "Owner of a brothel"; *daiyūs*[138], "Vilifier"; *ibn ez-zānieh* (*eš-šarmūṭah*[139]), "Son of a whore (prostitute)"; *ibn el-fādjreh*, "Son of the wicked (immoral)"; *mamḥûn*, "Male pervert"; *qauwād*, "Procurer." Every one of these insults may be used in its simple form or preceded by one of the expressions *yā ibn*, *yā ʾaḫ*, *yā ʾuḫt*, *yā bint*.

Another category of insults directed against the honour are those which charge the cursed person with a vice (robbing, drinking, addiction to narcotics, infidelity, untruthfulness, etc.) or which compare him with a dirty object (shoe, dung, privy, etc.). Some examples are: *yā ḥarāmî* (*naššāl*), "O robber (pickpocket)"; *yā sukardjî*, "O drunkard"; *yā ḥaššāš*, "O ḥašîš addict"; *kāfir*, "Infidel"; *mqaṭṭaʿ mwaṣṣal*, "rascal"; *yābn eṣ-ṣurmāy*, "O son of the shoe"; *ḫara ʾibn ḫara*, "Dung son of dung."

Curses directed against property are not numerous. The house—the shelter and stronghold of the peasant—is the object of most

132 Ez. 16[11].

133 CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition, JPOS*, VII, 163.

134 RIHBANY, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

135 ʿÁRIF EL-ʿÁRIF, *el-qaḍāʾu ʿinda-l-ʿarab*, 137.

136 JAUSSEN, *Naplouse*, gives a long list of such insults.

137 Ex. 22[16], Lev. 19[29], 20[11.17], 21[7.9.14], 23[2.17], Jud. 11[1], II Kg. 23[7].

138 Classically it is دَيّوث. *Muḥīṭ* explains it as الرجل الذي لا يغار على امرأته ممن يدخل عليها.

139 *Šarmaṭa* = to tear some thing in pieces. *Šarmūṭah* is a woman whose character is torn in pieces.

curses of this type. In another place[140] the present writer has already shown the great importance of the house and the great role it plays in the life of the Palestinian. Any curse directed against it means the loss of one's most important earthly possession. The two Arabic expressions for house, *dār* and *bēt*, are used at present, as they have always been used by the Semites, to indicate also the members of the family. Thus many curses connected with "house" are directed at the same time against its inhabitants.[141] Some Biblical examples are:

Cursed be the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life (Gen. 3^{17}; see also Mi. 6^{15}).

Cursed be the flocks of thy sheep (Deut. $28^{18\cdot31}$).

Ye have built houses of hewn stones, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them (Am. 5^{11}).

Let their children beg their bread (Ps. 109^{10}; Hag. 1^{6}).[142]

Among Palestinian maledictions of this category are: *allâh yiḫrib bētak*, "May God ruin your house"; *allâh yisakkir dār abūk ʿal-balāṭ uʿal-fār*, "May God close your father's house on the (bare) floor, and on the mouse," (these two curses mean also the death of the inhabitants of the house); *allâh yihidd dār abūk ʿas-sâsāt*, "May God pull down the house of thy father to the very foundations"; *allâh yiḫsifhâ*, "May God destroy it (= the house)"; *inšallâh btibnīhâ ughērak bifraḥû fīhâ*, "May God will that you build it and others enjoy it"; *allâh yiblāhâ bḥarīqah*,[143] (*bsaḥaṭuh, bḍarbatuh*), "May God strike it with fire (with his wrath, scourges; this curse is directed against fields and gardens)"; *allâh yilʿan el-ʾarḍ illî māšî ʿalēhâ*, "May God curse the ground on which you walk"; *allâh yidjʿalak turkuḍ wir-rghīf yurkuḍ*, "May God make you run and the loaf of bread run (before you, i.e. you shall not be able to earn your daily bread)"[144]; *allâh, yā rētak mâ tilḥaq en-nāʿim*, "O God, may you never be able to grasp the fine (meal = the flour)"; *inšallâh el-qōm tāḫḏik*, "May the enemies take you (= the mare)."[145]

140 CANAAN, *The Palestinian Arab House, its Architecture and Folklore*, p. 85.

141 *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.

142 Lev. $26^{16\cdot20}$, Deut. $28^{10.33.38.39.42}$, Zeph. 1^{18}.

143 Heard in Jaffa.

144 A proverb says, *byurkuḍ wara_r-rghīf wir-rghīf quddāmuh.*

145 Heard in Beisān.

Among Bedouin curses are: *yiqṭaʿ rbāṭak uḥibāṭak*, "May God destroy your tent and your pasture (for animals)"; *ʿasa marāḥak ʾaḫḍar*, "May the grazing pasture of your herds remain green (i.e. ungrazed as a result of the death of all your animals)"; *allâh yiqṭaʿak min kull mâ yimīl iluh faiy*, "May God deprive you of all that throws a shadow."[146]

External Form of Curses and Gestures

The most important verbs used in curses are: *laʿana*, "to curse"; *ghaḍiba*,[147] "to be angry"; *ḫaza*, "to put to shame"; *ḫaiyaba*, "to disappoint"; *faḍaḥa*,[148] "to disgrace"; *saḫaṭa*, "to be disappointed with, to hate, to change into a lower being"[149] and *djāza*, "to punish."[150] But a curse may be expressed also by other verbs pointing to ruin (*ḫarāb*), and to disease (*ʿamâ*, *karsaḥa*,[151] *kasara*, *warrama*, *harâ*, *balâ*, etc.). The worst curses are those containing the verb *ḥaraqa*, "to burn."

Every one of these verbs may be used in the simple form of *ʾism el-mafʿūl*, "passive participle," as *malʿūn*, *maḫẓî*, *maḥrūq el-wâldēn*, *mafḍūḥ el-ʿarḍ*, etc. Insults connected with sexual life where the insulted plays a passive part as well as insults directed against health are also used in this form: *mʿarras*, *maṭḥūl*, *mablî*, *madjnūn*, etc. Most of the other insults, especially those connected with impurity, have the form of the active principle or noun of agent (*ʾism el-fāʿil*): *qauwād*, *ʿakrūt*, *fādjir*.

An imprecation is often repeated in order to increase its effect. The number of repetitions is usually, but not necessarily, three, five or seven.[152] Seven is the number most used; *allâh yilʿanak sabʿ marrāt*, "May God curse you seven times." Often the oppressed

[146] S. B. SALMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 117. A curse heard in South Syria is *yā allah tiqṭaʿ el-fīrān min bētuh*, "O God, destroy all mice in his house (from starvation, i.e. he should become so poor that no food whatsoever enters his house)."

[147] A good example is *allâh yighḍab ʿalēk qad mâ ḥannet durret immak ʿalēk.*

[148] To make misdeeds known.

[149] Unknown to the classical language.

[150] The classical words لحا and اخفر are unknown to the colloquial language.

[151] Like كسح see WAHRMUND, *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache*, II, 72.

[152] HEMPEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff. M. H. FARBRIDGE, *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism*, pp. 119 ff.

one uses a higher number to give the curse the strongest possible power: *allâh yilʿanak alf marrah*, "May God curse you one thousand times"; *allâh yilʿanak salâlim las-samâ*, "May God curse you ladders (leading) to heaven,"[153] meaning that the curse should be as numerous as the steps of a ladder leading to heaven. An excited person utters in one and the same breath several curses. Some believe that Satan should be cursed seven and a half times. The half curse irritates him more than the seven curses together.[154]

A person may while uttering a curse lift up his hands to heaven. This gesture is characteristic of prayer. In despising a person one often spits at him. Spitting on a person, especially on his face, is still regarded as the worst insult.[155] Saying *tfû* or *tfû ʿalēk* takes the place of spitting. When a peasant woman asks the Almighty to punish her enemy she uncovers her head and beats upon her breast as signs of complete surrender of her case to an avenging Omnipresence. Some of these gestures are characteristic of prayer and others of magic.

Who May Curse?

A tourist may think after spending few months in Palestine that the Orientals are born blasphemers. But as Rihbany correctly says,[156] "If one keeps in mind the juvenile temperament of the Oriental and his habit of turning to God in all circumstances, as unreservedly as a child turns to his father, our judgement of the son of Palestine will be greatly tempered with mercy. Such outbursts have always served the Oriental as a safety valve. He is much more cruel in his words than in his deeds. As a rule the Orientals quarrel[157] much but fight little. And just as the Anglo-Saxon smiles at the wordy fights of the Orientals, the Oriental shudders at the swiftness of the Anglo-Saxon in using his pistol." Curses are generally used only to give weight to what is said. This is well illustrated in the example given by Dunkel, who des-

153 Dēr Ghassāneh.

154 Jerusalem.

155 Deut. 25^{9}, Is. 50^{6}, Math. 26^{17}, 27^{37}.

156 Rihbany, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 95.

157 A wordy quarrel with the use of insults and imprecations is often called *ʿadjʿadjet niswān*, "The squabble of women." Nothing is gained by such a wordy quarrel, *lā qabaḍû walā ṣarafû*, Fr. Dunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

cribes the hearty greeting of two muleteers who had not met for a long time. One greeted the other with the words *yiḫrib bētak yā ʿars, kīf ḥālak yā ḥabībî min zamān mā šuftak*, "May God ruin your house, O rascal. How are you, my friend? I have not seen you for a long time."

The curses of parents[158] are still dreaded[159] for as "their favour is looked at as the favour of God himself,"[160] so also *ghaḍab el-ʾab min ghaḍab er-rabb*, "The wrath of the father comes from God's (own) wrath."[161] Parent's curses always bring ruin.[162] A son who is followed with misfortunes is believed to suffer from a parental curse. Next to the curses of parents come those of old people, priests, and *šēḫs*. Old people enjoy special respect everywhere in the Orient. Priests and *šēḫs* derive their power from their holy profession. The curses of dying persons[163] are also dreaded. Therefore children surround the bed of their dying father, kiss his hands and beg him *traḍḍâ ʿalēnâ*. Or his wife begs him *traḍḍâ ʿalēhum*, "Be pleased with them (and ask God's satisfaction with them)."[164] It is further

158 Gen. 9^{25}, 27^{12}, Sir. 3^{11}.

159 *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 370.

160 *Riḍḍ-l-ʾab min riḍḍ-r-rabb*; see also GOITEIN, *Jemenica*, No. 453.

161 Bedouin fathers utter often the following blessing: *allâh yā waladî yiḥannin ʿalēk uyirḍâ ʿalēk uyiftaḥ fī widjhak wēn mā maddēt wēn mā šaddēt.* A *ḥadīṯ* teaches بر الوالدين يزيد في العمر ; cf. Ex. 20^{12}.

162 E. WESTERMARCK, *The History of Human Marriage*, II, 348—352; O. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, p. 81; cf. Gen. 9^{25-27}, 27^{27-29}, Sir. 3^{11}.

163 WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, pp. 139, 191; cf. Gen. $48^{8\,ff}$, $59^{1\,ff}$.

164 The following prayer expresses beautifully the relation between parents and children: *astaghfiru-llāha-l-ʿaẓīm li waliwâlidaiy — wawālid wālidaiy waṣ-ṣḥāb illi-lhum ḥqūq ʿalaiy — wal-muʾminīn wal-muʾmināt — wal-muslimīn wal-muslimāt — wal-ʾaḥid fīhum wal-ʾamuât — astaghfiru-llāha-l-ʿaẓīm biʿadad mā simʿat udneiy — astaghfiru-llāha-l-ʿaẓīm bi ʿadad mâ naṭaq lisāni — astaghfiru-llāha-l-ʿaẓīm alf uḫamsmīyeh — waddēthâ (ī)bṣūnīyeh djauharīyeh — qāluh min mīn hal-hadīyeh — qāl min bint :..... — qāl allâh yirḍâ ʿalēhâ uyḥannin ʿalēhâ — iṭilʿūhâ-d-daradjāt — labbsūhâ et-tādjāt — qīmû immhâ wabūhâ min qōm el-kuffār,* "I ask the Almighty God to forgive me and my parents — and the parents of my parents and all friends who have rights over me — (to forgive) all believers, men and women, — and all Mohammedans, men and women, — those living and those dead. — I ask the Almighty God to forgive as many times as my ears have heard (any voice). — I ask ..... as many times as my tongue has uttered (any word). — I ask ..... one thousand and five hundred times. — I sent (this prayer) on a jewelled tray. — They (the angels) asked,

believed that the imprecations of young children are quickly heard. A proverb says "The talk of a year-old baby resembles that of prophets, and the stammering of children is like the speech of *welîs*." This is a beautiful comparison, raising them by virtue of their innocence to the same rank as holy and godly persons.[165] Some think that the curses of children are of no importance.

The imprecations of the blind are said to be quickly answered, for those afflicted with this misfortune are also protected by the Almighty. In Beisān the Bedouin say a blind man is *muttaṣil*, i.e. he has, like a *welî*, some connection with God. The Almighty responds also very quickly to the *daʿweh* of the oppressed, widows and orphans.[166] It is said "there is no separating veil[167] between heaven and the *daʿweh* of the wronged." On the other hand the curses of a person who believes wrongly that he is oppressed will fall back upon him.[168] Thus the *daʿweh* has become the weapon of the wronged against their more powerful enemies.[169] The oppressed accuses the oppressor to God. This is clearly expressed in the exclamations *aškīk lallâh*, "I accuse you to God"; *yā allâh tīdjî ʿalēh mâ aẓlamuh*, "O God, arise against him. How unjust he is"; *allâh yidjāzīk (i)bḥaṭiytnâ*, "May God punish you for the evil we are suffering (from you)."

The following story (Arṭās) illustrates this idea. A poor and pious man who had seven children, was daily wronged and insulted by his rich neighbour. The poor man sought advice from the prophet

'From whom comes this present?.' — He (God) said, 'From N. the daughter of N'. (the name of her mother). — He said, 'May God be pleased with her — bring her up the steps (to heaven) — and clothe her with crowns — take away (the name) of her mother and father from (the list) of unbelievers'."

165 *JPOS*, VII, 167.

166 The blessings of the Bible correspond in this respect exactly with the present custom: Ex. 22^{22}, Deut. 10^{18}, 27^{19}, Is. 1^{17}, Ps. 68^{6}.

167 Some old Arabic sayings expressing this idea are — اتقوا دعوة المظلوم فانها تحمل على الغمام ; اتقوا دعوة المظلوم فانها تصعد الى السماء كانها شرارة ; اتقوا دعوة المظلوم ولو كان كافراً فانه ليس دونه حجاب

168 A *ḥadīṯ* teaches من دعا رجلا بالكفر لو قال عدو الله وليس كذلك الا صار عليه (عن ابي ذرّ), "If a person calls another unjustly an infidel or God's enemy, the curse will return upon him".

169 For the same belief among the ancient Arabs see GOLDZIHER, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I, p. 30.

Moses, asking how long his maltreatment would continue. Moses asked the Almighty, and received the answer, "seventy years more." When the oppressed heard this he sighed and exclaimed *ḥasbunâ‿l-lāh wani'ma‿l-wakīl wani'ma‿l-maulâ wani'ma‿n-naṣīr*, "We shall account to God who is an excellent trustee, an excellent lord and an excellent defender." This invocation was repeated by every one of his seven children. Early in the morning lamentations were heard in the house of his neighbour, for the tyrant had died in the night. Moses, hearing the news, asked God for the explanation. God answered, "There is no veil separating heaven from the prayers and imprecations of the oppressed."

A proverb teaches *ẓālim lâ tkūn min el-la'neh lâ tḫāf*, "Do not be an oppressor and you do not need fear curses." The general belief is that *la'nāt* should not be used, for *el-la'neh mâ bitdjūz 'alâ kalb*, "A curse is not allowed to be said even to a dog." It is different with the other forms of *da'wāt* and insults. A proverb teaches *el-malek (i)bhēbtuh binsabb (i)bghēbtuh*, "Even the king with (all) his majesty is insulted in his absence," meaning that everybody is exposed to insults. Another saying is: "May God curse the person who insults others. They said '(No,) May God curse that one who allows others to insult him'."[170]

WHO IS CURSED?

God and saints should never be cursed.[171] Nevertheless it is done. The causes for cursing a god or religion have been already mentioned. Every one who really understands Oriental life and psychology will find the statement of the Jewish Encylopedia[172] greatly exaggerated: "The Orientals have an ineradicable pronness to curse God, not only on so grave an occasion as the breaking out of war (I Sam. 17^{43}) or under the presence of great calamity (Is. 8^{21}) but on the slightest provocation in daily life." It is true that we often hear the curse *yil'an dīnak*, which is uttered carelessly. Neverthless adults abhor such curses and bitterly scold those who make use of them. While some children were quarrelling in the Nablus road

170 *Allâh yil'an illi bisibb en-nās, qālû allâh yil'an illi biḫalli‿n-nās itsibbuh.*

171 Ex. 22^{28}, Lev. 24^{10} ff.

172 Vol. IV, 390; see also HASTINGS, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 37.

one cursed the religion of the other, and an elderly man standing near by rose up and shouted angrily at the imprecator.[173]

The *ʾawliâ* are sometimes cursed. This happens principally on three occasions: 1. When the living descendants of *ʾawliâ*, in talking about their ancestor, make use of an imprecation, which is meant to be an expression of *dalāl* (coquetry) and not a curse: 2. When a wronged person asks a *welî* to punish the oppressor and the saint does not respond, the wronged person may go to the shrine and perform such acts as are regarded everywhere as insults. They have been described elsewhere in this paper; and 3. The *ʾaʿdjām ʾawliâ* are often insulted by the people; they are regarded as the lowest class of *ʾawliâ*.

Parents should never be cursed.[174] In cursing parents one is at the same time cursing their sons, brothers and their whole family. Such curses attack not only the honour and prestige of the cursed one,[175] but also of his family and tribe. A proverb teaches: "If you want to know if a person is sane or insane, curse his family. If he tries to protect its honour, he is sane, else he is a fool."[176]

It is a shame to insult elderly people. If a stranger dares to curse a leader of a tribe or of a family, he is insulted by the members of that tribe, who happen to hear it. To insult the *šēḫ* means to insult the whole tribe. Mnêzil of the Ṣaqr tribe assured me that their great *šēḫ* is regarded as their king. His orders are blindly obeyed.

Some peasants believe that the worst curses are those directed against the dead. The living may protect themselves against the danger of curses, but the dead are unable to do so (Arṭās). The weak, blind and crippled should also not be cursed.[177] A proverb teaches, "Do not reproach (a sickly person or one with a defect) for you may be affected with (the same) scourge."[178] Another saying is *el-ʿama madjlabeh laš-šafaqah*, "Blindness draws the sympathy." The Bible forbids cursing God, parents, authorities and the deaf.[179]

173 Fr. Dunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

174 Ex. 21^{17}, Lev. 20^{9}, Prov. 20^{20}, 30^{11}.

175 J. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

176 *Ḥuṭṭ el-madjnūn wiqṭaʿ bahluh bitšūf djnūnuh min ʿaqluh.* The translation is free.

177 Lev. 19^{14}.

178 *Lā tʿdyer tibtli* (Arṭās).

179 Lev. 20^{9}, 24^{15}, Eccl. 10^{20}, Prov. 20^{20}, 30^{11}.

The following proverbs shed additional light on the subject: *ʾAṣl eš-šarr šarārah*, "The beginning of evil is a spark (perhaps an unimportant word or act)."

Illî binqul lak binqul ʿannak, "The person who transmits to you (the speech of others) will convey (what he hears) from you (to others)."

Illî bigharbil en-nās binaḫḫlūh, "The person who sifts (with the wheat sieve) others, will be sifted (with the flour sieve) by them."

Mā ṭalʿah illâ warāhâ nazleh walâ kilmeh illâ warāha djawāb, "There is no ascent but is followed by a descent, and there is no word but has its answer."

yā nāqil el-qōl (*el-qīl*) *wil-maqālah yā ḥāmil quffit ez-zbāleh*, "O thou who carrieth what others say, O thou carrier of a basket full of sweepings."

Illî bētuh min qazāz mâ yirmīš (*yuršuqš*) *eḥdjār ʿalâ byūt en-nās*, "A person whose house is made of glass should not throw stones at the houses of others."

Mīn kašaf zēf en-nās fīh mīn yikšif zēfuh, "There are always some who knows how to disclose the character of the person who uncovers the faults of others."

Illî biftaḥ bāb mâ biqdarš isidduh bistâhal es-sabb ulauw kān el-ʾasad djidduh[180] "A person who opens a door (= question) which he can not close again deserves to be insulted even if the lion (= influential man) is his grandfather."

Muftāḥ el-baṭn luqmeh umuftāḥ eš-šarr kilmeh, "The key of the stomach is a morsel and the key of evil is a (mere) word."

WHEN IS A DAʿWEH HEARD?

While a *daʿweh* may be uttered at any time, there are—as in prayers—certain periods when it is thought to be best heard. The Mohammedans believe that the nights of Ramaḍān, the middle of Šaʿbān,[181] the midday of Friday[182] while the main prayer is

[180] Tripoli.

[181] Heard from an ʿAzāzmeh Bedouin.

[182] A *ḥadīṯ* transmitted by Abû Hureirah is: "The best day on which the sun arose is Friday, for Adam was created in it, in it he was cast down, he repented and he died. On Friday resurrection will take place. There is an hour in this day in which no Moslem asks anything from God without being answered "(WILLIAM GOLDSACK, *Selections from Mohammedan Traditions*, p. 60);

taking place, and the nights of Friday are especilly favourable periods for prayers and *daʿāweh*.[183] But still better is *lêlatu ̯l-qadr*[184] (the 27th of Ramaḍān). Many peasants believe that nobody really knows which night of Ramaḍān is *lêlatu ̯l-qadr*. A man of Arṭās assured me that one may spend every night of Ramaḍān awake in expectation of *lêlatu ̯l-qadr*, but God may not grant him this favour, while another person who spends every night of this holy month asleep may be awakened by the Almighty on this blessed night in order to grant him his requests, fulfil his prayers and answer his *daʿāweh*. The Christians say that a prayer and thus also a *daʿweh* are better heard on sundays, feast days, at prayer time and in the night of Epiphany. Some even specify the time in their prayers and *daʿāweh*, *uḥaqq hal-lēleh ̯l-mbārakeh innak tišfî yā allâh ʾibnî*, "By the truth of this blessed night, (I beg Thee,) O God, heal my child"; *uḥaqq han-nhār el-mbārak yā allâh innak tdjāzīh ʿala fʿāluh*, "By the truth of this blessed day (I beg Thee,) O God, to punish him for his (evil) acts."

The Palestinians believe that a prayer uttered at midnight from the top of a roof is more quickly carried to the throne of the Almighty,[185] especially if the person uttering it is naked, bare-headed[186] or if he carries his clothes with the inside turned out-

see also : محي الدين ابي زكريا يحيى النووي : رياض الصالحين من كلام سيد المرسلين وجه ٣٩٦

In the latter book we find other traditions which belong to this subject :

افضل ايامكم ايام الجمعه واكثروا علي من الصلاة فيه وان صلاتكم معروضه علي (عن أوس بن أوس) —

. . . . فاذا خرج الامام حضرت الملائكة يستمعون الذكر (عن ابي هريرة)

The favourable hour on friday falls at the midday prayer :

هي بين ان يجلس الامام الى ان تقضى الصلاة (عن عبد الله بن عمر) .

183 Some believe that every prayer and every *daʿweh* uttered in Ramaḍān before *el-fṭūr* is answered, for such a person by fasting becomes holy (Jerusalem).

184 The following traditions are of importance in this connexion :

ان رويا كم قد تواطأت في السبع الاواخر فمن كان متحريها فليتحرها في السبع الاواخر (عن ابي عمر) —

تحروا ليلة القدر في العشر الاواخر من رمضان (عن عائشة) ; رياض الصالحين من كلام سيد المرسلين وجه ٤٠٦

cf. also *JPOS*, XIV, pp. 77, 78.

185 A woman may open her bosom as a sign of sorrow, and turning her face towards heaven, she may be heard saying: *yā rabbi tiʿdimhâ wlādhâ*, "O my Lord, deprive her of her children."

186 Christian peasants formerly used never to uncover their heads while praying. See also L. Bauer, *Einiges über Gesten der syrischen Araber*, *ZDPV*. XXI, 60.

side.[187] Some carry a baby and preface the exclamation with the words *(i)bdjāh haṭ-ṭifl*,[188] "By the honour of this baby."[189]

In the Beisān district the hours after midnight[190] are believed to be more favourable[191] than those before midnight.[192] This is especially true of the hour when Canopus (Suhēl) appears. The oath containing the words, "By the life of the rising of Suhēl," is regarded by the Ṣaqr as the strongest oath.[193] The person taking such an oath stands in a circle drawn on the ground, with his right leg firmly tied to the thigh, as a sign of absolute submission, for he is regarded as a prisoner of the deity called upon to attest the truth. The whole procedure is probably a vestige of an old Semitic astral cult. Simple insults are not bound to any time, for they have nothing to do with a prayer. The Israelites believed that blessings and curses uttered in special places—as for example from the mountains Ebal and Gerizim[194]—were specially powerful. The Palestinians think that a prayer and a *daʿweh* uttered in the shrine of a holy man are more quickly answered than those said at other places.

187 Heard from Mr. O. S. BARGHŪTHÎ.

188 *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 224.

189 The Bedouin of el-Ghōr respect a child as a *weli*. Whenever a Bedouin wishes to be reconciled with an enemy he carries a child, enters his tent and addresses him, *djāyb lak djāh hal-walad*, "I bring to you the respect of this child." A Bedouin oath of the Negeb is *wallāh wiḥyāt haṭ-ṭfēl*, (ʿÂRIF EL-ʿÂRIF, *op. cit.*, p. 73). When heaven witholds its blessing, the rain, the *šēḫ* of the Bedouin tribe carries his child and lifting him up towards heaven, says, *(i)bḥaqq hal-ghulām isqīnā ghēṯan mughiṯan dāʾiman hāṭilan*, "By the truth of this boy give us a helping, long-lasting, pouring rain" (B. SALMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 162).

190 In Sinai the early morning hours are preferred.

191 The early Arabs used to call the curses of the oppressed which were uttered at such a time سهام الليل, "The arrows of night", GOLDZIHER, *op. cit.*, 31. See also Psalm 91[5].

192 A *ḥadīṯ* transmitted by Abu Hureira says: "Our most exalted Lord comes down to the earthly sphere in the last third of every night and proclaims: 'I will hear those who will call upon me, give those who ask, and forgive those who pray for forgiveness' (M. M. ʿAMÂRAH, *djawāhiru-l-Buḫāri waśarḥu-l-Qasṭallāni*, pp. 75, 76)."

193 The whole oath is *wiḥyāt maṭāliʿ suhēl, wiḥyāt hal-ʿūd wir-rabb el-maʿbūd, uḫāṭṭ Slīmān bin Dāhūd willa māli bir-rdjāl snūd in hal-gharaḍ mā aḫaḏtuh walā ili ʿilm fīh.*

194 Num. 5[16], I Kg. 8[14.31], Jer. 34[15].

THE RESULTS OF IMPRECATIONS :

A curse may injure the person cursed as well as those present. In some cases the absent relatives of the person cursed are also affected. The Palestinians say that "even a mountain can not bear a *laʿneh*, *walâ ̣dj-djabal mâ biḥmil il-laʿneh*. A *daʿweh* (without a *laʿneh*) uttered by one of the parents, an old man, a dying person, and an oppressed or a blind person are sure in their action, especially if the person cursed has deserved such an imprectation.[195] Should he not have deserved it, the *daʿweh* is said[196] "to go around seven tombs, to put on its wooden shoes and to return to its owner."[197] In other words, such a *daʿweh* remains unanswered. This idea is also expressed in the words *mīt daʿweh mâ ḫazqat qamīṣ*, "A hundred curses have not yet torn a shirt."[198] The same idea[199] prevailed among the Hebrews.[200] Active curses soon show their effect on the cursed person, who loses his riches, becomes sick, or loses a member of his family. Sometimes years may elapse before they are fulfilled. But the Oriental is sure that they will be answered. *Msabbāt* are not much dreaded but are greatly disliked,[201] *ṭaʿn el-kalām amarr min ṭaʿn es-shām*, "The stabs of words are severer (lit. more bitter) than the stabs of arrows"; *el-kalām el-qāsî mâ bintasa ubyiqṭaʿ šrūš el-maḥabbeh*, "Pitiless speech is never forgotten and it cuts off the roots of love"; *el-baṭn byūsaʿ dist ṭabīḫ umā byūsaʿš kilmeh*, "The stomach can hold a cauldron of food, but can not hold (is not big enough for) one (single) word." All these proverbs

195 Gen. 27^{12}, Sir. 3^{11}.

196 HASTINGS, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 369; GOITEIN, *Jemenica*, No. 457.

197 *Ed-daʿweh bitdūr bitdūr ʿala sabʿ qbūr btilbis qubqābhd ubtirdjaʿ laṣ-shābhd* (EINSLER, *Mosaik*, No. 164). A variation, heard in Nablus, is *ed-daʿweh bitdūr bitdūr ubtirdjaʿ labāb ed-dāḫūn*. Compare these sayings with the following traditions: ان العبد اذا لعن شيئاً صعدت اللعنة الى السماء فتغلق ابواب السماء دونها ثم تهبط الى الارض فتغلق ابوابها دونها ثم تاخذ يميناً وشمالا فاذا لم تجد مساغا رجعت الى الذي لعن فاذا كان اهلاً لذلك والا رجعت لقائلها ـ كتاب الاذكار المنتخب من كلام سيد الابرار وجه ١٩٧

198 BAUMANN, *ZDPV*, XXXIX, p. 224, No. 581. In Lebanon "thousand" is substituted for "hundred." Another proverb says, *lā tḫāf min el-masabbāt ḫāf min es-saiyʾāt*, "Do not be afraid of curses, be afraid of evil deeds."

199 An old saying teaches: من لعن شيئا ليس باهله رجعت اللعنة عليه

200 Gen. 12^{8}, Prov. 26^{2}.

201 B. SALMĀN, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Prov. 18^{8}, 26^{22}.

show that an insulted person does not forget the injury done to him. The following sayings describe the feelings of most Orientals in this respect, especially those of an irritable character of whom it is said *djildhum djild ašqar*, "Their skin is a red skin," i.e. they can not bear any injustice.[202] *Illī mâ byiqṭaʿ el-kalām fīh lā ḫēr fīh uḍarb es-sēf awlâ fīh*,[203] "A person who is not affected (bettered) by words (reproaches) is worthless. He deserves to be beaten (put aright) by the sword"; *in kān biddak tinsṭiḥ saṭṭiḥ*, "If you are ready to burst do not mind (what is said)"; *qaṭʿ er-rās walaʿt-taʿnīf*, "Rather being beheaded than being blamed"; *mâ byiḥmil edj-djōr illaʿt-ṯōr*, "No one can bear injustice except an ox"; *mīn rādak rīduh umīn ṭalab edj-djafâ zīduh*, "Love the person who likes you. But that one who desires ill-treatment give him more."

TAKING REVENGE:

As long as an insulted person lives he searches for an opportunity to revenge himself. The following folk-sayings express this idea: *el-ʿēb miš ʿal-kasfeh el-ʿēb ʿan-nasweh*, "Disappointment is not a shame, but it is a shame to forget (the injustice)"; *in ʿišt laʾadjāzî ʿaduwî win mutet ʿalēk yā rabbî djazâh*, "If I live I shall punish my enemy, but should I die then his punishment rests upon Thee, O my Lord."[204]

A person insulted by another of a lower class may ignore such an insult. The insulting person is compared with a dog, *ḫallīh iʿauwî zaiyʿl-kalb*, "Let him bark like a dog";[205] *ʿaḍḍnîʿl-kalb dastūrak ʾaʿuḍḍuh*, "The dog has bitten me — pardon me, shall I bite him?"[206] *lauw kull mâ nabaḥ el-kalb alqamtuh (i)bḥadjar laṣār miṯqāl el-ḥadjar (i)bdīnār*,[207] "If every time the dog barks I throw a stone at him, the value of every drachm of stone becomes a *dīnār*." Taking no heed of such insults is the best punishment: *ʾiḏa kān*

[202] It is believed that red horses succumb easily to disease.

[203] A variation makes the second part *uḍarb eṣ-ṣarāmi ʾawla fīh*. A person who is not irritated by insults is said to have the skin of a crocodile, *djilduh djild timsāḥ*.

[204] BAUMANN, *op. cit.*, No. 202.

[205] Ps. 59[14] uses the same expression.

[206] ST. H. STEPHAN, *JPOS*, VII, No. 687.

[207] The classical verse from which this proverb is derived runs لو كل كلب عوى القمته حجراً لاصبح الصخر مثقالا بدينار, a *miṯqāl* is one and a half *dirhim*.

biddak tihrīh uskut uḫallīh (Arṭās), "If you wish to punish (lit. make rotten) him severely; be quiet and leave him alone"; *el-kilmeh illī mâ btunfuḏ yā ḥasret qâyilhâ*, "What a loss to the sayer of a word which does not penetrate (i.e. attain the desired object)." The insulting person is *miṯl el-fāsî biʾīduh*, "Like a person who has farted in his hand."

The belief in the injurious effect of a *daʿweh* on those present and on the relatives of the person cursed is well illustrated in the following story which took place in Beisān and of which I was a witness. The manager of an estate cursed some laborers who while filling sacks with onions, were sitting on the heap of this fruit, thus damaging it. An old man protested very angrily saying, "Why are you cursing me?" "I did not speak to you, I am simply scolding those laborers there," answered the manager. The man said, "They are my children." "I am sorry I did not know they were your children, I thought they were your servants." "Children or servants is all the same. Do you not know that every curse directed against my children or laborers while in my service will injure me?" said the man. He was so excited that he ordered his children and servants to stop work at once.

It is said in Hebron that a curse injures the person cursed, those present as well as the person who uttered it. Every one is affected with one third of the evil effects. An old lady of this city, Imm Djamdjūm, said in explaining this belief: "Nobody throws a stone into a pool of water without sprinkling himself, and all those standing around the pool." The belief in the mischief done by a *daʿweh* has led the Orientals to search for protecting measures.

A person cursed is *maghḍūb ʿalēh*, for a *laʿneh* throws him out of the circle of his family and clan. He is called *el-baʿīd* or *el-ʾabʿad*.[208] This idea was well known to the Israelites.[209] The Bedouin present in an assembly where one is being cursed try therefore to keep away the evil radiating from him by the words *kafānâ šarrak*, "May God protect us from your evil." Such practices are no longer as prevalent as they used to be. But up to the present a cursed son cannot

[208] The various meaning of *bʿd* according to *muḥīṭ* are — الابعد = الخائن
الباعد = الهالك — بعداً له = ابعده الله — البعد = الموت والهلاك واللعن .

[209] Num. $5^{21.27}$, Dout. 29^{18}, Jos. 7^{12}, I Sam. 14^{24}, Jer. 26^{6}. 29^{18}, 24^{18}, 44^{12}.

appear before the face of his father, he cannot sit with him at the same table, nor in the same company, until he is reconciled with him.

Diseases which are in reality nothing but the results of God's wrath, i.e. curses, can be transfered to stones, trees, tombs, and even to a dead person.[210] This idea shows clearly the transmission of curses[211] from the cursed person to others. Examples are: A person suffering from backache will by rubbing his back on the rock of Abû eẓ-Ẓhūr[212] transmit his ailment to the rock; when a person with fever lies on the grave of *eš-šēḫ* Ghānim (Jericho) he loses his fever; the same disease is transmitted to *eš-šēḫ* Ḫrēs[213] by walking seven times around his tomb,[214] or by depositing seven stones on the latter. A dead person may carry away the fever of a suffering person if one places in the coffin a thread which was first laid around the body of the sick.[215]

WAYS OF PROTECTION AGAINST IMPRECATIONS:

For the reasons mentioned above, people try to protect themselves against such transmissions.[216] A proverb prohibits insulting an infidel as long as he is not paying attention (*lâ tsibb el-kāfir uhū ghāfil*) for he cannot take the necessary precautions to protect himself.[217] As the cursing person knows that his imprecations may injure the non-intended persons he tries to protect them by adding the words *bʿīd ʿankum*, "May it be far from you." While uttering these words he looks at the people present. These protect themselves by erecting a dividing wall between them and the cursed person. This is attained by the words *ḥadd allâh bēnna ubēnkum*, "May God be a

210 Lev. 16[5].

211 J. HEMPEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff.

212 *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 83, 115.

213 *Ibid.*, pp. 114 ff; KAHLE, *Gebräuche bei den moslemischen Heiligtümern in Palästina*, *PJB*, VIII, 147.

214 ʿAbd el-Ghanî en-Nábulsî states that the sick used to place stones on the tomb of Aḥmad ed-Dadjānî hoping to be cured.

215 CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 131.

216 Gen. 21[7], I Kg. 2[88], II Kg. 22[19], Ps. 21[7], Jer. 24[9], 26[2], 29[18], Sach. 8[13]; see also HEMPEL, *op. cit.*

217 For the same practice among the early Arabs see GOLDZIHER, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, I, p. 29.

boundary (wall) between us and you (Beisān)." The simplest way of avoiding the danger of curses is by quieting the imprecators: *ṣallî ʿan-nabî*, "Bless the prophet"; *ṣallî ʿal-ʿaḏrâ*, "Bless the Virgin." The mere mention of such holy persons will drive away the evil. It is hoped that the respect paid to these holy persons will calm the quarrellers. If despite this request they continue insulting each other most of those present try to withdraw, saying *allâh yiḥmînâ*, "May God protect us"; *ʾastaghfir allâh el-ʿaẓîm*, "I ask Almighty God to forgive us"; *allâh yikfînâ šarrkum wiyaʿṭînâ ḫêrkum*, "May God protect us against your evil and give us (the reward of) your good deeds"; *la ʿênî šāfatak walâ ʾuḏnî simʿatak*, "Neither did my eye see you nor my ear hear you" (Beisān). A mother who happens to be present with her children leaves the room as soon as possible. In doing so she follows the advice of the proverb, *ibʿid ʿan eš-šarr ughannīluh*, "Go away from the evil and sing for it a song." A father will protect his child with the words *ḫaṭāk es-sauw*, "May the evil pass you." At the same time he embraces his child as if an impending danger were hovering around him. Those who cannot leave the place try to protect themselves from the storm of curses by covering their faces and heads by their *ʿabāyeh*, or by shutting their ears. A mother who cannot leave the place with her children tries to surround them with the verse of the Throne (*ṭhauwiṭhum biʾāyet el-kursî*).[218]

The person cursed tries also to protect himself. He begins to curse his opponent systematically. This custom seems to have been followed by the old Semites.[219] A curse is answered as a rule by another curse, and an insult by a stronger one, for *illî biduqq el-bāb bismaʿ edj-djawāb*, "The one who knocks on the door hears the answer." Of such people it is said, *bitrāšaqu bil-massabāt*, "They stone themselves with insults." A saying describes the tongue of such an imprecator as being as sharp as the scissors of a shoe-maker.[220] Every one implicated in such a wordy quarrel thinks that his honour requires him to stand firm, *mā biḥuṭṭ wāṭî ulauw inšalaʿ bāṭuh*, "He will not give way even if his shoulder (lit. axilla) is dislocated"; *kaššir ubayin niābak uḫallî n-nās ithābak*,

218 Qurʾān, Sūreh II, 254-5, J. PEDERSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 77, Closing the ears was also practiced by the early Arabs (WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, p. 139, note 4).

219 Num. 24^{9}, Ps. 140^{10}.

220 *Lsānuh zaiy maqaṣṣ es-skāfi.*

"Show your teeth and let your canine teeth be seen, so that people may stand in awe of you"; *mā baḥallî ʿalēh sitr mghaṭṭâ*, "I shall not leave him a veil to cover his faults."

The person cursed may not wish "to dirty his tongue" (*yizaffir lsānuh*) so he tries to neutralize the imprecations by using one of the following formulae, uttered in the face of the imprecator: *daʿāwīk tušruṭ ʾawâʿīk*, "May your curses tear your (own) clothes (i.e. injure you);" *šaʿrak ʿaḍahrak udaʿâwīk laʾahlak*, "Your hair is on your back and your maledictions are for your relatives"; *lâ daʿwtak maqbūleh walâ.....*,[221] "Neither is your curse accepted, nor your...."; *es-sauw ʿalēk*, "May the evil befall you"; *ʾabbâ* is an expression used in the Ramallah district. I am unable to find its real meaning and its origin. It is used in the sense of "repent, be quiet."[222]

These precautions are more or less the same as those used against disease or misfortune, conditions which are thought to be caused by demons. The Palestinian always uses one of the following expressions whenever he mentions a disease or a misfortune: *bʿīd ʿan es-sāmʿīn*, "May it be far from the hearers"; *allâh yikfīkum šarrhâ*, "May God protect you against its evil"; *min ghēr maḥall*, "(May it [the disease] come to) another place"; *ʾism eṣ-ṣalīb ḥawālēh*, "May the name of the cross surround him."

On some occasions a father or a chief may incite his son or servant to curse a person, quieting him with the words *el-ḫaṭīyeh ʿalaiyî*, "The sin (of the curse) shall be born by me." The present writer has often heard the expression *rūḥ ilʿan abūh ʿalâ immuh wil-ḫaṭīyeh ʿalaiyî*, "Go, curse his father and his mother and I shall bear the (responsibility of the) sin." In the same way Rebekkah quieted her son Jacob by telling him: "Upon me be the curse."[223]

Blessings bring long life, good health, prosperity, many children and a good name. Curses on the other hand cause many misfortunes and diseases. Nobody can give these heavenly gifts[224] or

[221] The last part of the proverb is so obscene that it has had to be omitted.

[222] I owe this information to the kindness of MR. O.S. BARGHŪTHI. Other expressions used by the Bedouin are: *yarr*, "what is this ?", *ʾiḫs*, "pah" and *harrʿ* (B. SALMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 117).

[223] Gen. 27^{13}, I Sam. 25^{24}.

[224] Gen. 30^{2}, Lev. 26^{4}.

cause these visitations[225] except God.[226] Some people have, thanks to a special favour of the Almighty, acquired a part of this power. This is why the curses and blessings of parents, elders of community,[227] *darâwîš* and *šyūḫ* are more effective than those of common people. If God withdraws His grace from any human being as a punishment he will be followed by *en-naḥs*, "ill-luck." Withholding of blessings is called in years of drought "absence, indifference, neglect, delay, and anger."[228] Ill-luck is regarded as an indirect curse. Some proverbs describing *naḥs* are: *el-manḥūs manḥūs ulauw ʿallaqû ʿalâ ṭīzuh fânūs in ḍaraṭ bitfīh win fasâ binūs*, "The unlucky person remains unlucky even if a lantern is hung on his buttocks[229]; for if he farts loudly he puts it out and if he farts noiselessly the light becomes dim"; *el-manḥūs in rikib ʿadj-ḍjamal biʿuḍḍuh ʃl-kalb*, "The unlucky person is bitten by a dog even if he rides on a camel"; *in ruḥt lal-qbūr bilāqînî alf dâqūr*, "Even if I go to (a cemetery full of) graves, a thousand obstacles will meet me"; *fōq qurquh ʿallaqūluh hal-ḥadjar*, "In addition to his hernia they made him carry this stone"; *el-baḫt el-msaḫḫam šuʾaʿmal fīh lā hū bitbaḫḫar walā hū ṣaḥn adjlīh*, "What can I do with a black (unlucky) fortune? It cannot be driven away by frankincence nor is it a dish I can wash"; *in kān ʿindak naḥs duqq fīh bidēk uridjlēk ʾaḥsan mā yidjīk anḥas minnuh*, "If you have ill-luck hold fast to it with your hands and feet in order that no greater calamity may befall you." Misfortunes may be caused by the curses of an enemy. The sufferer therefore prays *yā rabbî atšardaq (i)brīqî taʾaʿraf ʿaduwî min ṣadīqî*, "O my Lord, let me choke on my saliva in order to distinguish my enemy from my friend."

Heavenly Curses:

Some people cursed by God carry through all their life the stigma of heavenly punishment. They themselves become a curse to others, a *laʿneh*, a *ghaḍab*.[230] The symptoms of such heavenly curses are of different character. Some are not blessed with offspring.

225 Is. 45^{6}.

226 W. H. P. Hatch, *The Cursing of the Fig Tree*; *JPOS*, III, 6; Hempel, *op. cit.*; *JPOS*, XIV, 50 ff.

227 II Sam. 8^{14-55}, Num. 22^{5} f.

228 *Ghéḍah, ghébeh, kanneh, qaʿdeh, ṭūleh.*

229 Lit. anus.

230 Jer. 24^{9}, 25^{18}, 29^{22}, Zach. 8^{13}.

A person who has married several wives for the sole purpose of having children and is not allowed to enjoy such a blessing, is spoken of as *yā suttār el-ghurabâ byūraṯūh*, "O Concealer, strangers will inherit him." He who has only daughters is also cursed by the Almighty, since only by sons are family and clan perpetuated.

A second divine curse is the death of several members of the family within a short time. Death in itself is the greatest curse. An accumulation of several such visitations is a multiplication of the punishment. Bodily defects which in themselves degrade a person, are caused by another kind of divine curse. Although this has already been mentioned, it requires attention. Diseases of this category are complete blindness, the loss of one eye, and baldness. Eyes are the greatest gift, and loss of sight is therefore regarded as a heavy punishment. The Palestinian believes that God will not condemn a person to complete or partial blindness[231] unless He knew in advance what evil life that person is going to live.[232] Such a person is considered as a bad omen, the *aʿwar* (one-eyed) being the worse of the two. An Oriental discontinues his journey[233] if he meets an one-eyed person the first thing in the morning.[234]

The hairy head is a "crown of glory"[235] and the beard is the badge of dignity of manhood.[236] Pure white hair is deemed characteristic of divine majesty[237] and of saints.[238] The Nazirites let their hair grow until it was cut in a sanctuary,[239] as a sign of servitude to the deity or the man of God.[240] These facts explain why a man

231 According to R. A. FADLALLAH ET-ṬABARSÎ, *makârimu-l-ʾaḫlâq*, p. 98, looking at the female genital organs causes blindness and talking during coitus results in dumbness.

232 The maimed and the blind were regarded by the ancient Hebrews as possessing a debased character (*Jew. Encyclop.*, III, article "Blindness").

233 The following things are also regarded as bad omens: stumbling soon after leaving the house; when a person is asked by a passer-by *lawēn rāyiḥ* instead of *ʿala bāb allāh*.

234 S. D. F. GOITEIN, *Jemenica*, No. 267, *ṣabāḥ el-fār wald sabāḥ el-ʾaʿwar*, "It is better to meet a mouse in the morning than a one-eyed person."

235 Prov. 16^{31}, 20^{29}.

236 Sam. $10^{4.5}$.

237 Dan. 7^{9}, Rev. 1^{14}, A proverb says *biʿaiyirni biš-šēb weš-šēb hēbeh*, "You reproach (disgrace) me for (my) white hair, but white hair is (a sign of) dignity".

238 *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 237.

239 The hair of captives was shaved as a sign of indignity, Deut. 21^{12}, Is. 7^{20}.

240 Num. 6^{5}, Judg. 13^{5}, 16^{12}, I Sam. 1^{4}. No blind person could become a priest, Lev. 21^{20}.

is proud of normal hair growth, since it proves the Grace of God. Men with scanty growth on the chin (*liḥyet kūsâ*) are believed to be so mischievous that the devil himself visits them every morning and kneeling before them learns new methods of mischief (Jerusalem). Therefore, the head, the beard, the moustache are used in swearing,[241] in imploring a favour, in reassurance, and in imprecations. Examples are: *wiḥyāt haš-šārib willa baḥilquh laʾawardjīk*,[242] "By the life of this moustache, which I will shave if I do not take revenge upon you (lit. show you)"; *wiḥyāt rāsak*, "By the life of your head"; *salāmet rāsak*, "May (God) preserve your head"; *kurmāl had-daqn*, "(I beseech you) for the sake of this (bearded) chin (to do me this favour)." Cursing these hairy parts is a great degradation,[243] for baldness is regarded as a heavenly curse.[244] Baldness of a city, the loss of all its inhabitants, was also a divine punishment.[245]

The following sayings explain the above mentioned idea: *ṣabāḥ el-qrūd walā ṣabāḥ el-ʾadjrūd*, "Rather the morning of devils than that of a bald-headed person"; *lauw allâh miš ʿārif innak biddak tiḫrib el-kōn lamâ ʾaʿmāk*, "If God did not know that you were going to ruin the universe, He would not have made you blind"; *aqraʿ en-naḥs*, "Unlucky (and ill-luck bringing) bald-headed person"; *el-aʿwar ʿalēh ghaḍab*, "The one-eyed bears (the) wrath (of the Almighty)."

Too tall and too short persons also bear a heavenly curse. The former are believed to be stupid and the latter are said to be mischievous: *ṭawīleh habīleh*, "(He is) long and stupid"; *qaṣīr ḫabīṯ*,[246] "(He is) short and mischievous"; *rāḥ ʿaqluh fī ṭūluh*, "His brain has gone (disappeared) into his length"; *ṭūluh ṭūl naḫleh uʿaqluh ʿaql saḫleh*, "His length is that of a palm tree and his brain is that of a kid"; *ṭawīl ṭawīl ubalâ ghalleh*, "Long, but without any fruit."

The worst divine curse is changing a human being into an animal or a stone. Such punishments seem to have been formerly

241 Math. 5[36].

242 *Bazayin liḥyti in mâ.....*, "I shave my beard if I do not..."

243 II Kg. 2[23], Is. 3[17.24], 15[2], Jer. 47[5], Ez. 7[18].

244 The Hebrews dreaded baldness, as it was often the result of leprosy, Lev. 13[41]. 245 *Djbāl qarʿah* means "mountains without any vegetation".

246 Another proverb is *el-qaṣīr bihizz es-salṭaneh sabʿ marrāt uhû qdʿid maṭraḥuh*, "The short person shakes the empire seven times while he is in his place", i.e. he is clever and mischievous. See ʿAbbūd, *op. cit.* No. 3353.

more common.[247] The monkey, the tortoise and the hedgehog are cursed human beings. The reasons for their transformation have been given by the writer elsewhere. *El-masḫūṭah* (NW of Bēt Djālâ) is the best example of a petrified human assembly. It is a large field of rocks of all sizes. The story of their transformation runs as follows: The peasants of a village celebrated a wedding. The bride was brought from her father's house on a camel. The accompanying crowd sinned so glaringly that God punished them on the spot by changing the whole procession into a field of rocks.[248] Once their shapes could be clearly recognized, but owing to weathering only a few can be identified.[249] *Allâh yisḫaṭak*, "May God change you into a lower being," is a curse often used in Palestine.[250]

It is believed that in our time the Almighty does not change any more human beings into animals, but His curse changes their charcter, feelings, and doings so that they become like animals.[251] Expressions which may perhaps illustrate this belief are: *ʿaqluh aʿwadj zaiy ḏanab el-ḳalb*, "His brain (reasoning) is as crooked as the tail of a dog"; *awsaḫ min al-ḫanzīr*, "He is more dirty than a pig"; *aḫbaṯ min el-ḥaiyeh*, "More cunning than a serpent."

Some natural phenomena are also regarded as *ghaḍab min er-rabb*.[252] This is the case with every severe visitation of nature which takes place suddenly and causes great damage, like an earthquake, drought, sirocco prolonged over a long period. These punishments are throught to be the deserved curse for the sins of adults. The children, therefore, in rainless years ask the Almighty to pity them for they are innocent. While the curses of childlessness, the death of several members of family, and bodily defects are sent to punish one person or one family, the curses detailed just now are a divine punishment affecting a whole country. To this last class we must also count devastating epidemics, which spread rapidly and cause

[247] MUDJĪR ED-DĪN, *al-ʾunsu l-djalīl fī tarīḫ el-quds wal-ḫalīl*, p. 80, says God had changed many Egyptians into stones.

[248] Another instance is mentioned by JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 337.

[249] *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 242.

[250] Sūreh V, 63, speaks of human beings who were changed into animals. At times the devil is asked to change a person, as the following curse shows: *el-qird yimsaḫuh.*

[251] *Byimsaḫ ʿaqilhum uqalbhum uṭabiʿhum.*

[252] Lev. 26^{17}, 17^{10}.

high mortality. At such occasions one may hear the expression *malāk el-mōt biyuḥṣud*, "The angel of death is reaping."[253]

As the Palestinian knows that God's wrath and the punishments connected with it are the severest calamities, he comes to him with his *daʿweh* as he comes with his prayers.[254] But not all afflictions are the results of heavenly curses. God often punishes a person to draw him nearer to Him. *Iftiqād allâh raḥmeh*, "The visitation of God is a mercy."[255] This belief has been discussed by the author elsewhere.[256]

IMPRECATIONS AND MAGIC:

It is clear from the many imprecations[257] which have been mentioned and the practices connected with them, that the Palestinian believes in the supernatural power of maledictions. They are not mere words but active powers.[258]

The same is true of blessings. The degree of the activity of the curse depends upon two points: 1. the social and religious standing of the person who utters them; 2. if the cursed person has deserved them or not. The curse attacks the victim directly more or less in the same way as magic. While describing the supernatural powers which are called upon to attack and injure the enemy the question arises, why does the Palestinian not satisfy himself by calling upon God but also calls upon the powers of the lower world. An examination of Oriental magic gives us the clue. Magic is divided into two categories, the *white* or *heavenly* and the *black* or *diabolical* magic.[259] The second is not only forbidden, but a curse rests upon everyone who practices it; he remains childless. In white magic God or some heavenly power is called upon to help, protect, cure, or punish. In the black form Satan or one of

[253] Compare with the curses of Egypt.

[254] J. PEDERSEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, describes the same custom among the Assyrians.

[255] I Cor. 11[32].

[256] CANAAN, *Modern Palestinian Beliefs relating to God*, *JPOS*, XIV, 69.

[257] KITTEL, *RE für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, XVIII, 148.

[258] WELLHAUSEN und GOLDZIHER have shown that the old Semites cherished the same belief.

[259] DOUTTÉ, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 280, gives a talisman which helps the oppressed person against his oppressor; see also CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 99 ff.

his host is asked for assistance. In imprecations one meets with the same fundamental idea. While a *daʿweh* in which God is asked to punish the oppressor is a kind of white magic, a *daʿweh* in which Satan or a devil is mentioned belongs to black magic.

When the enemy who is cursed is absent, the intrinsic power of the malediction is—as in magic—believed to follow, reach and injure him.[260] Thus a mother curses the murderer of her son who has fled and she is sure that the Almighty will answer her prayer.[261]

As in magic so also in blessings and curses one still meets with more or less the same practices. In magic such acts are still common, but in blessings and maledictions they have become rare. In blessing we still find the custom of placing the hands on the head of the person intended to receive the blessing. In curses the hand is moved in a way indicating expulsion.[262]

The resemblance is still clearer in indirect curses. When a person cannot revenge himself upon his mighty enemy and is afraid to curse him openly, he resorts to the magic curse. A series of curses are written on a piece of paper or on some other material, which is buried under the threshold of the house of the enemy, laid under his bed, or under a carpet of his house.[263] This practice is an old one.[264] These magic curses show an important point of resemblance with pure magic, namely that the object (the written curse) and the subject (the cursed person) have to come more or less into contact with each other.

[260] Deut. 27^{17}.

[261] WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, p. 192.

[262] Josh. 8^{18}, Is. 58^{9}, Prov. 6^{13}, Deut. 25^{9}.

[263] In *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin* some examples are given.

[264] The throwing of the roll of curses by Jeremiah (51^{63}) may represent the same idea.

BYZANTINE JEWRY ON THE EVE OF THE ARAB CONQUEST (565–638)[0]

JOSHUA STARR

(NEW YORK)

The vexed Jewish problem, which Justinian inherited from his predecessors and in turn bequeathed to the succeeding emperors, consisted of nothing short of an irreconcilable hostility between the Jews and their Christian neighbors and rulers. Occasional exceptions to this generalization, as instanced in 577 by the participation of the Jews of Nicomedia in the reception of the patriarch-elect Eutychios,[1] do appear, but only very rarely. The chief phenomena of the sources deal with the details of the repeated betrayal of the empire by this oppressed minority, in a manner which obscures both the underlying causes of this behavior and the general social and cultural aspects of the age. The key to this series of violent outbursts must be sought long before the days of Justinian, deep within the spiritual and economic constitution of the Roman empire. This fundamental problem, however, far transcends the proper scope of the present limited study, which will essay to review the events of the two generations which closed with the Moslems' first conquests.[2] It must, nevertheless, be observed that the best of the Byzantine emperors

[0] Grateful acknowledgement is due Prof. S. BARON, who first directed my attention to Byzantine-Jewish research. The following abbreviations will be employed: *BZ* = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*; *EJ* = *Encyclopedia Judaica*; *JQR* = *Jewish Quarterly Review*; *MGH* = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; *PG* = MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*; *PO* = *Patrologia Orientalis*; *REJ* = *Revue des Études Juives*; *Monats.* = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.*

[1] Eustratios (contemporary biography) Ed. D. PAPEBROCH, *Acta Sanctorum*, Apr., I. Paris-Rome, 1866. c. 73, p. lxiv = *PG*, LXXXVI, pt, 2, 2357. Their greeting consisted of Ps. 118: 26, followed by "Hurrah for the Christian faith!" The exact words are of course rather difficult of credence.

[2] These conquests may be regarded as marking an epoch in Byzantine-Jewish history, despite the fact that the year 565 was considered an appropriate terminus by J. JUSTER, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain.* Paris, 1914. 2 vv.

and their subordinates, while deserving handsomely the tributes paid by historians to their political abilities, were singularly blind to the dangers ensuing from their unsympathetic policy toward Jews, Samaritans, and heretics. Justinian the Great himself ranks almost as the worst of the emperors in this respect.[3] Consequently, it is in no wise remarkable that the four who followed him during our period were cursed with the same ineptitude.

The intolerance of the dominant group was especially in evidence in the three largest cities of the empire. The Jews had been excluded from residence within the confines of Constantinople proper for more than a century.[4] From Alexandria they had been expelled *ca.* 414, and had found their way back before the accession of Justinian.[5] But it is clear that in his days they were prevented from maintaining a synagogue there.[6] We find a hint of the situation prevalent in that city in the clause of the treaty made between ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and the patriarch Cyrus in 641, wherein the conqueror found it necessary to specify that the Jews should be permitted to remain in the city.[7] Another one appears in the ninth century tradition which recalled that the local Jewry once suffered

[3] His treatment of the Jews of N. Africa, and his interference with the Passover celebration, are well known. JUSTER, I, 356, 472. Conversion "out of fear of the prevalent laws" figures in a hymn by the famous Romanos, an older contemporary; P. MAAS, *BZ*, XV, 1906, 32.

[4] Theophanes (9th c.). *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1884, p. 102. See JUSTER, I, 470, n. 2. The official confiscation of their synagogue in 434–5 by Theodosius II was probably either incident to their expulsion or a prelude to it. It is significant that the capital then suffered from extreme congestion. See H. LECLERCQ in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, ed. F. CABROL, Paris, 1910, II, 1393f.

[5] One Jewish resident of the early 6th c. is mentioned by Eutychius (Ibn Bitrīq, 10th c.), *Kitāb at-taʾrīḫ al-majmūʿ*, ed. L. CHEIKHO, *et al.* Beirut-Paris, 1906. I, 192. Cf. JUSTER, II, 176, n. 6, 328. This wealthy and charitable *Ūrīb* was later converted.

[6] Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (*Ca.* 975). Arabic *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, ed. and tr. B. EVETTS. Paris, 1907, *PO*, I, 467. The sect of the Theodosians determined to build a church, "so that they might not be like the Jews." The latter were forbidden by law to erect a new synagogue (*Codex Iustiniani*, 1, 9. 18. JUSTER, I, 472).

[7] John of Nikiu (7th c.). *Chronicle*. Tr. from the Ethiopic version by R. H. CHARLES. London-Oxford, 1919, cxx, 21; p. 194. The syntax allows one to construe the passage as though the Arabs were making a *concession* to the

from an inferior status.[8] With regard to Antioch, the Jews were twice expelled therefrom within a very short span, as will presently be related.[9]

There was, moreover, no dearth of violent forms of hostile expression on both sides. The first emperor of this period, Justin II, was faced in 578 with a combined Jewish-Samaritan uprising in Palestine, a repetition of that which transpired under his predecessor *ca.* 556. In this instance a certain Theophilos was commissioned to quell it. The task was readily performed, and, it is almost unnecessary to add, with duly sanguinary results.[10] That the co-religionists of the defeated groups were not intimidated thereby, in the imperial capital at least, appears from a local affair of the following year. A riot had broken out in Constantinople (over a purely non-Jewish issue), and some Jews, Samaritans, "Manichees", and other heretics took occasion to participate in it. They were consequently rounded up by the prefect together with the orthodox Christian rioters, in an effort to get the situation under control. In the course of the judicial proceedings which he then instituted, he found it advisable, in view of the smoldering embers of popular grievance, to let the Christians off scot-free. As for the Jews and the others, these were put to torture and forced to confess their enmity toward the dominant religion and their low desire for loot. The Jews specifically were hotly berated by the prefect as "a set of murderers and misbelieving heretics." Sentences of execution and banishment terminated the incident.[11]

Christians; see L. CAETANI, *Annali del Islam*, Milan, 1911, IV, 292. However, the historical setting is sufficiently clear to show that it was more likely a stipulation on the part of the former.

For the exaggerated estimates of the contemporary Jewish population there, see CAETANI, *ib.*, 269; I. N. SIMHONI, *EJ*, II, 247; and add Eutychius, II, 26 (E. POCOCKE's Latin tr., *PG*, CXI, 1107).

[8] Ibn Khurdādhbih (9th c.). *Kitāb al-masālik w-al-mamālik* (*Livre des routes et des royaumes*), ed. and tr. M.J. DE GOEJE. Leyden, 1889. [*Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, VI] P. 160, bot.; tr., 123.

[9] *Infra*, nn. 12, 19. It is curious that Athens claimed that Jews were expressly excluded from it; see F. GREGOROVIUS, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1889, I, 201f.

[10] John of Ephesus (contemp.). *Eqqlīsīāstīqā*, pt. 3, ed. W. CURETON. Oxford, 1853, iii, 27; p. 190. Tr. R.P. SMITH. *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History.* Oxford, 1860, p. 209.

[11] *Ibid.*, 31f., pp. 197ff.; tr. 216–221.

Some years later, in 592–3, the entire community of Antioch suffered ignominious punishment for a sacrilege perpetrated by an individual Jew. The emperor Maurice ordered the Jews' heads to be shorn in the center, and they were thus ejected from the city.[12]

It was during the same reign, moreover, that for the first time in Byzantine history, a forcible baptism of the Jews was carried out. This departure from a policy of official toleration of two and a half centuries' standing, was arbitrarily conceived by the emperor's cousin, Domitian, bishop of Melitene and metropolitan of Byzantine Armenia.[13] Undoubtedly it was limited to that province. Such events make it understandable that the Jews in Sykaminon, if not elsewhere also, should have rejoiced upon hearing of the emperor's death.[14]

During this period, we hear also of Jews as members of a mixed band which under the leadership of a Christian, Kyriakos the Wolf, terrorized the neighborhood of Nikopolis (Emmaus) in Palestine. This was an unmistakable symptom of the administrative decay of this province.[15]

During the following reign, that of Phokas, there occurred throughout Asia Minor a great pogrom (608–9). Heretofore the events of this year were considered to be limited to Antioch,

[12] Agapius (10th c.). *Kitāb al-ʿUnwān* (*Histoire universelle*), pt. 2. Ed. and tr. A.A. VASILIEV. *PO*, VIII, 439f, Recorded by F. DÖLGER. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (*565–1453*). Munich-Berlin, 1924. I, pt. 1, p. 13, No. 109.

[13] John of Nikiu, xcix, 2; p. 162. He adds: "But these proved false Christians."

[14] Ascribed to an eye-witness who appears among the *dramatis personae* of a conversionist tract composed 635–40. It was first edited by N. BONWETSCH as *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati.* [*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Göttingen: philolog.-hist. Klasse.* N. S., XII, 3.] Berlin, 1910, p. 63. Cf. *infra*, n. 42.

This Shiqmonah, to use the Jewish name, a community of long standing, is succinctly mentioned about a generation earlier by the pilgrim Antoninus of Piacenza, "Itinerarium", ed. P. GEYER. *Itineraria Hierosolymitana.* Vienna, 1898. iii, p. 160: "in civitatem Sucamina Iudaeorum." Identified with *Khirbet Semmaka* by C.R. CONDER, *Quarterly Statement* of the Pal. Expl. Fund, 1877, 188f. On the remains see L. OLIPHANT, *l. c.*, 1886, 7f.; H. KOHL and C. WATZINGER, *Antike Synagogen in Galilāa*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 135–137.

[15] John Moschos. Leimôn, *PG*, LXXXVII, pt 3, 3032. Tr. in L.H. VINCENT and F.M. ABEL, *Emmaüs*, Paris, 1932, p. 418, cf. 354f.

whither the Jews had now returned.[16] But a comparison of the statements of Agapios of Hierapolis with the previously known sources will show that the disturbance was considerably more widespread. The former relates that a rumor spread charging the Jews with a conspiracy against their Christian neighbors, and that this led to a series of massacres.[17] The local situation in Antioch, however, furnished the victims' co-religionists with an opportunity for defense and retaliation. For that city was then in the throes of a civil war between the orthodox and the combined Nestorian-Monophysite population.[18] It was entirely natural for the Jews to fling themselves into the fray on the side of the heretics, ultimately to suffer defeat at the hands of the imperial army, and consequent expulsion.[19]

Phokas is said by one source to have decreed the compulsory christianization of the Jews throughout his realm.[20] It would, indeed, seem that he had sufficient provocation to do so, and this statement has thus been fully credited by various scholars. But the chronicle in question dates about a century and a half later than the period concerned. Moreover, this particular narrative bears a suspicious resemblance to one related of the *following* reign by a contemporary tract which has been made available comparatively recently. The more reasonable assumption is then that the chronicler is in error, as MAAS immediately saw.[21] This is further confirmed by the author of the tract, who has somewhat to say of the activities of its main character, Jacob, (then a Jew, but subsequently converted) during

[16] See, *e.g.*, A. COURET, *La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs*, Grenoble, 1869, p. 211; followed by J.B. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, London, 1889, II, 200.

[17] Agapius, 449.

[18] John of Nikiu, civ f., p. 166, mentions only the Christian combatants. See A. PERNICE, *L'imperatore Eraclio*, Florence, 1905, p. 23, n. 1.

[19] Theophanes, 296. Michael (12th c.). *Makhtebhānūth zabhnē* (*Chronique*), ed. and tr. J.B. CHABOT, Paris, 1910. IV, 392; tr. II, 379. See S. KRAUSS, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, Vienna, 1914, p. 23.

[20] (Pseudo-) Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (late 8th c.). *Makhtebhānūthā* (*Chronique*), ed. and tr. CHABOT, pp. 4f.; tr. 4. Dated 616–7, i.e., actually in the reign of Heraclius! DÖLGER, 17, no. 160.

[21] *Infra*, n. 43. This work is throughout untrustworthy in matters of dates and events. See F. HAASE, "Untersuchungen zur Chronik des Pseudo-Dionysios von Tell-Mahre." *Oriens Christianus*, series 2, V, 240–270, 1916.

the reign of Phokas, without reference to the outlawry of Judaism, which could hardly be accidental.[22]

The appearance of the Persian invaders at this time shows the Jews generally exempt from the vicissitudes of the Christians. The earliest instance seems to be in Caesarea of Cappadocia, where the latter fled while the former remained (609–10).[23] And beginning with this point, the sources have much to say regarding the savage behavior of the Jews of various localities who took advantage of the occasion to attack their Christian neighbors. It is quite impossible to determine objectively just how much truth there is in these obviously exaggerated accounts. It will best be then to review them in some detail, judging each source on its own merits.

At Tyre a huge plot is said to have been foiled in 610. The local community of 4,000 are alleged to have summoned their coreligionists secretly from Palestine, Cyprus, and Damascus. But when they marched 20,000 (!) strong on the city, they were successfully beaten off. Hundreds of the Tyrian Jews were massacred in retaliation.[24]

At Akko, the aforementioned Jacob, as yet a Jew, reports that, the Christians having for the most part fled before the Persians, the Jews burned and pillaged churches, as well as Christians' homes. They slew many and forcibly converted an ecclesiastic, who had been a notorious Jew-hater.[25]

During the siege of Jerusalem, the Jews served as the allies of the Persians, according to the future patriarch Sophronios.[26] After

[22] *Doctrina*, ed. BONWETSCH, 39f. The suggestion has been made that Jacob is to be viewed as a type, rather than as an authentic individual; A. EHRHARD, *Or. Chr.*, III, 154, 1913. But the acceptance of this view would not weaken the present argument.

[23] Sebeos (7th c.). *Histoire d'Héraclius.* Tr. from the Armenian by F. MACLER. Paris, 1904, p. 63. Bury, 200, n. 2.

[24] Eutychius, I, 218f.; *PG*, CXI, 1084f. See COURET, 245, and H. GRAETZ. *Geschichte der Juden*, 7th ed. Leipzig, 1909. V, 29. Another indication of the contemporary Jewish population of Cyprus is perhaps available in the tale of Daniel, the Jewish magician of Salamis, who was executed by burning *ca.* 637. See Greek text, ed. F. NAU, *Or. Chr.*, III, 70, 1903.

[25] *Doctrina*, 69; cf. the Ethiopic version, ed. and tr. S. GRÉBAUT, *PO*, XIII, 62f.

[26] *Πάρθον ἅμα τοῖς φίλοις Ἑβραίοις*, in an ode published by COURET, "La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, II, 140, 1897. Cf. the 26,000 (!) given as the number of the Jewish participants by P. SYKES, *History of Persia*, 3rd ed. London, 1930, I, 482. See also PERNICE, 64.

the city's fall (614), we learn from an eyewitness, Strategos, or Strategios, of the destruction of churches and the murder of the Christian captives, upon their refusal to accept Judaism in return for their ransom by the Jews.[27] (But why the Armenian historian, Sebeos, should specify the Arians as the victims, is not clear).[28] On the basis of these reports, later sources exaggerate grievously, placing the number of Christians slain by the Jews at no less that 90,000,[29] whereas our eyewitness gives the general total of some 60,000, implying that the great majority are to be credited to the Persians. As might have been expected, as soon as the Persians had departed from the city, the Christians arose and wreaked their vengeance on the Jews.[30]

Elsewhere in Palestine, in the neighborhood of Koziba, a contemporary hagiographer considered the local Jews just as dangerous to the life of a Christian as the Arabs. It is, however, nowhere recorded, despite occasional modern assertions, that the former revealed to the Persian invaders the hiding-place of the monks.[31] With regard to Egypt, these years are practically a blank in Jewish history.[32] The sole datum is an account of the conversion of 375 Jews comprising the community of Tumai in 622.[32a]

[27] F. C. CONYBEARE, "Antiochus Strategos' account of the sack of Jerusalem in A. D. 614." (Tr. from the Georgian version) *English Historical Review*, XXV, 508f., 1910. Cf. the Arabic version, ed P. PEETERS, *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université de St. Joseph*. IX, 20f., 1923. The name and identity of the lost Greek original are quite obscure. See Sophronios, *PG*, LXXXVII, pt. 3, 3809: *ψόγος ἐκνόμων Ἑβραίων*. [28] Sebeos, 68.

[29] Cited by S. VAILHÉ, "Les juifs et la prise de Jérusalem en 614." *Echos d'Orient*, XII, 15–17, 1909. Cf. JUSTER, II, 175, n. 2. Bury, 214, neglects to discount them.

[30] Sebeos, 68. (Cf. the late and untrustworthy Armenian pseudoversion of Michael, tr. E. DULAURIER, *Journal Asiatique*, 4th s., LIII, 1848, 309.) ABEL erroneously reverses the rôles; *Dict. d'arch. chr.*, VII, 2347. Sebeos, 69, also relates that the surviving Jews were shortly thereafter expelled from the city by the Persians.

[31] Antonios, contemp. biographer of St. George the Chozebite, Ed. C. HOUZE, *Analecta Bollandiana*, VII, 134, 1888. Cf. VAILHÉ, *l.c.*; LECLERCQ, *Dict. d'arch. chr.*, VIII, 1969.

[32] E.N. ADLER, *JQR*, IX, 670, 1897, conjectured that a certain Cairo church was converted into a synagogue at this time. This point is incorporated as fact by S.L. SKOSS, *EJ*, VII, 252f., long after it had been shown to be untenable by R. GOTTHEIL, *JQR*, XIX, 508, 1907.

[32a] R. GRIVEAU, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, XIII, 1908, 298–313. Cf. CHEIKHO, *Mél. de l'Univ. S-J*, XIV, 64.

At the end of the next decade, after Heraclius had made peace with Persia, he seems to have been confronted for a short time by the military resistance of the Jews of Edessa, which had been evacuated by the Persians.[33] When he arrived in Palestine, however, he apparently had not been apprised beforehand of the excesses committed by the Jews. For at Tiberias he granted them a solemn promise (*ʿahd*) of immunity from inimical treatment, which had been duly paid for. Before long, however, he heard the grievances of the Christians,[34] and wreaked a bloody vengeance on the Jews.[35] Finally, when in 630 he arrived at Jerusalem,[36] he renewed the Hadrianic decree of exclusion and improved on it by establishing a forbidden zone of three miles in radius around the city.[37]

When the Arabs appeared on the borders of the Empire, beginning about 630, the Jews could hardly be expected to oppose them. The earliest instance of their submission seems to be in connection with Mohammed's brief expeditions in southern Syria after his conquest of Mecca.[38] Some years later, however, the Jews are seen as the active allies of the invaders. The famous theologian,

[33] Sebeos, 94f. KRAUSS, having met this passage in a collection of extracts, devoted an article to it; *Ziyon*, III, 17–21, 1929 (Hebrew). He presented it as indicating an act of benevolence on the part of the emperor. But it is clear that the attempt of the Jews at negotiation with him had failed, and that they had thereupon slipped out of the city in mortal dread. BURY, 246, writes that a massacre took place here, being misled by the work cited above (n. 30); *Jour. As.* LIV, 317 (1849).

There is in Agapius, 466, a variant account in which it is the emperor's brother, Theodoros, who arrived at Edessa. Having been greeted by the insults of the Jews and Persians, a battle took place and they were defeated by him. An imminent massacre of the Jews was averted by the feat of a Jewish leader, Joseph, who slipped out to Tella, obtained a pardon from Heraclius, and returned in time to save his fellows. Cf. Michael, IV, 410, col. 2, ll. 2ff.; tr. II, 410, DÖLGER, 22, no. 195.

[34] Theophanes, 318, relates the conversion of the emperor's Jewish host, Benjamin, who had admitted the charges of the local Christians against him; KRAUSS, *Studien*, 30.

[35] Eutychius, II, 5f.; *PG*, CXI, 1089. DÖLGER, no. 196. PERNICE, 176, n. 2.

[36] Date as computed from Strategos by several scholars, e. g., VASILIEV, *Histoire de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1933, I, 261. For the view favoring 629, see N.H. BAYNES, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 292, 1912, and DÖLGER, 23, no. 199.

[37] Theophanes, *ib.* DÖLGER, no. 197.

[38] DE GOEJE, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie.* 2nd. ed., Leyden, 1900, p. 9: dated 631.

Maximos the Confessor, witnessed the alliance in northern Africa and observed that the Jews were being spurred on by Messianic delusions.[39] Hence, when Heraclius, in 634, determined on a compulsory conversion of the Jews he was prompted principally by forethought for his frontiers in the presence of the new invaders,[40] as two independent sources show.[41]

We possess, thanks to BONWETSCH, a vivid description of the enforcement of the decree in Carthage, as given in the contemporary tract previously cited.[42] When the new praetorian prefect arrived in 634, he first assembled the leaders of the local Jewish community. He led them on to profess their loyal subjection to the emperor, and demanded their immediate conversion as proof of their sincerity. They showed themselves reluctant, and their spokesman was silenced with a slap. They were then forcibly baptised, and Judaism outlawed.[43]

[39] Epistle 14, *PG*, XCI, 540. It was an ironic consequence of Justinian's harshness toward the Jews of that region that they succeeded in converting some of the Berber tribes among whom they took refuge; C. DIEHL, *BZ*, IV, 89, 1895; M. RACHMUTH, *Monats.* L, 47, n. 2, 1906.

[40] N. Africa was not in danger of an Arab invasion before this date; DIEHL, *L'Afrique byzantin*, Paris, 1896, p. 537. Cf. R. P. BLAKE, *Khristianski Vostok*, III, 1915, 192, who arrives at the date 630–3, but on purely literary grounds; cf. DÖLGER, 24, No. 206.

[41] This constitutes the historical kernel of the astrological prediction regarding the menace of the circumcised people, in Heraclius' letter to Dagobert; "Fredegarius," ed. B. KRUSCH, *MGH* [script. rerum Merov., II.], Hannover, 1888, c. 65 (p. 153); cf. *Gesta Dagoberti*, *ib.*, c. 24 (p. 409). DÖLGER, 24, No. 307; cf. 19, No. 168. In Arabic: *PO*, I, 492; Ṭabarī (10th c.). *Kitāb ar-rusul wal mulūk*, ed. DE GOEJE, *et al.* Leyden, 1882–5, I, 1562. Cf. CAETANI, I, 733, n. 1.

[42] Entitled *Διδασκαλία τοῦ Ἰακώβου νεοβαπτίστου*, (supra, n. 9) The Ethiopic version of the first part had, without BONWETSCH's knowledge, been published earlier, with a tr. by S. GRÉBAUT and I. GUIDI, *PO*, III, fasc. 4. See BONWETSCH, *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1921, pp. 21–30. The unpublished Arabic is abstracted by P. SBATH, *Echos d'O.*, XXII, 312f., 332, 1923; cf. CHEIKHO, *l.c.*, 63. The Greek was republished with a comprehensive introduction by NAU, *PO*, VIII, fasc. 5.

[43] Ed. BONWETSCH, lf.; preserved only in the Slavic version. The Arabic tones it down to a persuasive procedure; NAU, 717f. The account is generally identical with the incident related by the Syriac chronicle cited above, n. 20, where it is wrongly assigned to Phokas' time. NAU, 736, considered the former to be the borrower, but his grounds are weaker than those of P. MAAS, *BZ*, XX, 1911, 573–578, who took the contrary stand; cf. J. KULAKOVSKI, *Vizantitski Vremennik*, XXI, 1914, 1–14. KRAUSS' article on this tract, *Ziyon*, II, 28–37, 1937,

There is evidence of the same situation elsewhere also. With regard to Palestine our information is derived from certain Hebrew sources.[44] Yet in Constantinople itself, strange though it be, the decree appears not to have been executed. For the previously mentioned Jacob is quoted as solemnizing a commercial contract with a Christian by an oath "in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," i.e., as a Jew.[45] Both men were at the time clearly aware of the outlawry of Judaism in Africa, the Christian taking pains to provide his Jewish sales-agent with a protective letter.[46] It is, in addition, relevant to note that very shortly after the death of Heraclius, the Jews are encountered as participants in a riot in the capital similar to that of 578.[47] Thus it seems a reasonable inference to suppose that there was neither need nor the necessary administrative energy to enforce the emperor's decree in the capital.

In view of Heraclius' policy, it could hardly be expected that the Jews would do other than actively assist the Arabs in Palestine. In one battle fought east of Gaza in 634, the Jews, it is true,

is particularly disappointing on this question. He first recognizes the historicity of Phokas' decree (p. 29, n. 3), and thereafter contradictorily agrees with MAAS.

[44] A. MARMORSTEIN, "Les signes du Messie." *REJ*, III, 176–186, 1906. An eighth c. writer apparently refers to this as a *shemad* inflicted by "Edom"; L. GINZBERG, *Ginzé Schechter*, New York, 1929, II, 143. Cf. J. MANN, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, IV, 252–254, 1927. These late sources are somewhat confused in assuming that some degree of religious worship was *permitted*. See, however, R. EDELMANN, *Oriens chr.*, 3rd. s., VII, 1932, p. 23.

See also the account of the refugees who fled to Edessa, and finding no haven there, in part submitted to conversion, and in part continued on to Persia (MICHAEL, IV, 413; tr. II, 414).

[45] *Doctrina*, 89f. With this contrast the scruples expressed in a legend styled "Historia conversionis Abramii Iudaei," ed. H. MATAGNE, *Acta Sanct.* Oct., XII, 762–769. His Christian hero when stranded in Constantinople during the same period, rejected at first the offer of an attractive loan made by the Jew, on a religious basis: "Theodorus quem non haberet fidei socium, in mercatura socium renuebat assumere" (p. 765). Cf. E. CASPAR, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LII, 1933, 49–52.

[46] *Doctrina ib.* The intended function of the letter was: *ἵνα μὴ κρατηθῇ καὶ σιανιθῇ εἰς Ἀφρικὴν ὡς Ἰουδαῖος.* To be sure, he was recognized upon his arrival at Carthage, and forcibly baptized (after 100 days imprisonment, according to the versions; *PO*, VIII, 718, III, 558).

[47] Nikephoros (9th c.). "Historia syntomos," *Opuscula historica*, ed. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1880, p. 30; BURY, 285.

suffered death along with the Christians.[48] But elsewhere, in Emesa (635–6),[49] and in Caesarea (638),[50] they are definitely on the side of the victorious invaders, along with numerous Christians.

Having traced this course of events, there remains to be considered the internal aspect; the available material here can be summarized quite briefly. The great Palestinian liturgical poets, Yosé b. Yosé and Eleazar ha-Kalir, flourished in the latter part of this period.[51] The same country also produced about this time two anonymous apocalyptists.[52] Something may also be added regarding the Palestinian communities. The most important of these was Tiberias, which had held that rank for some two centuries before our period. Toward the close of Justinian's reign we find a certain (converted?) calendar expert named Phineas participating in the work of a Christian committee in Alexandria.[53] A later item shows a later local savant (*μέγας νομοδιδάσκαλος*) citing a tradition as to the genealogy of Jesus current in his community.[54] Two lesser contemporary communities existed in Noara or Naaran (near Jericho) and Beth-Ramtha or Livias (Transjordan).[55] The latter was noted for its production of balm and dates, as well as for its manufacture of earthenware.[56] As for the former, excavations have yielded the ruins of a synagogue with inscriptions and mosaics, which seem to be

[48] Anon. 8th c. Syriac chronicle, ed. and tr. J.P.N. LAND. *Anecdota Syriaca*. Leyden, 1862, I, 17; tr. 116.

[49] DE GOEJE, *Mémoire*, 103f. Christians also fought against the Byzantine forces.

[50] *Ib.*, 167. It was taken through the treachery of a Jew. Wāqidī magnifies the local Jewish population to 200,000; *ib.*, 168. Cf. CAETANI, IV, 158–61. For an allusion to a Jew imprisoned there by the Persians, see TER ISRAEL, *Le synaxaire arménien*, tr. G. BAYAN, *PO*, XIX, 70.

[51] S. SPIEGEL, *EJ*, IX, 816–820. H. BRODY, *Jew. Enc.*, VII, 242f. J. MARCUS, *Ḥoreb*, I, 1934, 21–31.

[52] *Supra*, n. 44. I. LEVY, "L'Apocalypse de Zorobabel et le roi de Perse Siroes." *REJ*, LXVIII, 129–160, 1914; LXIX, 108–121, 1919; LXXI, 57–65, 1920. Assigned to 629–636.

[53] Ananias (7th c.) tr. from the Armenian, CONYBEARE, *BZ*, VI, 579, 1897.

[54] *Doctrina*, 41f.; cf. p. xiv. At Akko another local leader is alluded to as the *ἱερεύς*; p. 77, cf. *PO*, XIII, 76.

[55] The latter is identified with the present *Tell er-Rāme*; see P. THOMSEN, *Locu Sancta*, Halle, 1907, p. 38.

[56] References to rabbinic sources in S. KLEIN, *ʿEber hayarden ha-yehūdī*, Vienna, 1925, pp. 12f.

of the fifth century.[57] Both of these places are associated with a Sinaite monk who was converted to Judaism in one of them, *ca.* 614.[58] Antiochos of St. Saba alludes to them as aggressive centres (*ὁρμητήρια*), which in the case of Naaran should perhaps be brought into connection with the fourth-century report that the local Jews harassed the monks in the vicinity.[59] The existence of a community in Askalon is attested by a Greek inscription yielding the date 604–5, which apparently preserves the names of donors of an interesting decorated railing to the local synagogue.[59a]

As early as the beginning of this period, Jewish pilgrims from abroad came to visit Palestine. Antoninus of Piacenza relates that they could be seen at the traditional site of the patriarchal tombs near Hebron, especially on the anniversary of the deaths of Jacob and David. The basilica which stood there was entered through different doors by visitors of the two religions.[60] The same source also relates how the Samaritans of the central region would burn straw over the footsteps of both Jewish and Christian travellers, in

[57] E. L. SUKENIK. *The ancient synagogue of Beth Alpha.* Jerusalem-London, 1932, pp. 52f.

[58] Antiochus, Homily 84, *PG*, LXXXIX, 1689f. Inasmuch as all who have dealt with this episode have, beginning with GRAETZ, V, 408, cited only the Latin tr., the Greek original had best be given here. *Ἐγένετό τις παράδειγμα μοναχὸς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Σινᾶ..... παραχρῆμα ἀναστὰς, καὶ καταλείψας τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος, ἔρχεται εἰς Παλαιστίνην, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Νόαρα καὶ Λιβνάδα, τὰ ὁρμητήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ .... περιετμήθη καὶ ἰουδάϊσε, καὶ γυναῖκα ἔλαβε, καὶ προφανῶς ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐδογμάτιζε. Τοῦτον κἀγὼ ἐθεασάμην .... ὄντινα οἱ ἄνομοι Ἰουδαῖοι δεύτερον Ἀβραὰμ ἐκάλουν.*

[59] Life of Chariton, *Acta Sanct.*, Sept., VII, 578.

[59a] See now SUKENIK, *JPOS*, XV, 1935, 154 f. *ϑ.... β.... Κύρα Δόμνα Ἰου[λιανοῦ ? κ(αὶ) κύ]ρ(ος) Μαρὶ Νόννου εὐχαρ[ιστοῦντες .....] προσφέρωμεν. Κῦρ[ος ..... ἐγ]γόνι(ο)ν Ἑλικίου τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ κ(αὶ) τῷ ἁγ(ίῳ) [τόπῳ προσήνεγκ]α ὑπὲρ σωτερ(ίας). Κῦρ(ος) Κομ [.... προσήν]εγκα ὑπὲρ σωτερ(ίας).... ζόην. Ἔτους ϑψ'.*

On *...]γόνιν* see GERMER-DURAND, *Revue Biblique*, I, 1892, 247, and C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, London, 1896, II, 137. [This inscription is now treated by SUKENIK, *JPOS*, XV, 154ff.].

[60] *Op. cit.*, xxx, pp. 178f. "Ita ut ex omni terra Iudaei conveniant, innumerabilis multitudo, et incensa offerentes multa vel luminaria et munera dantes ad servientes ibidem." Cf. KLEIN, *Ziyon*, VI, 1934, 24, n. 6.

For archaeological light on this basilica at *Rāmet el-Ḫalīl*, see the illustrations and the remarks pertaining to this passage by A.E. MADER, *Das Heilige Land*, LXXIV, 157f., 1930. On the toponymy cf. UNGAR, *Monats.*, LXXIII, 1929, 55–7.

an extremely offensive manner.[61] However, judging from the presence of later interpolations in other parts of this itinerary, it may be that this feature should be assigned to the period of Moslem rule.

As for the communal organization at this time, only a few hints must suffice. As has been seen, at Carthage the praetorian prefect dealt first with the local leaders. In 602 there appears a figure of this type (*prôtos*) in Sykaminon,[62] and another (*rēshānā*) in Heraclius' time in Edessa.[63]

Some interesting items from another sphere can also be gleaned. Justin II, when ill, called in a Jewish physician, Timotheos, despite the protestations of Patriarch John.[64] In commerce, one must refer once more to Jacob. He, as a clothing salesman, contracted in Constantinople to make a tour, with the merchandise entrusted him, of Europe and Africa. His salary was specified as 15 *nomismata* (somewhat less than 50 dollars) per year.[65]

If one turns from these regions to the western portions of the Empire, a much more peaceful condition seems to prevail. It is true that for the mainland of Byzantine Italy, as for Greece, no data are as yet available. But thanks to the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great, the situation in Sardinia and Sicily during the closing decade of the sixth century is somewhat known. The material contained therein has been repeatedly utilized in the standard writings on this period[66]; only a few select points need be drawn from it in the present connection.

[61] *Op. cit.*, vii, p. 164; cf. 198. See A. BÜCHLER, *Gedenkbuch*... D. KAUFMANN, Breslau, 1900, p. 34, n. Cf. H. LAMMENS, *Mél. de l'Univ.* S.-J., V, 1911, 700. The passage regarding Nazareth's beautiful Jewesses, Jesus' school-book, and the form on which he sat, (v, p. 161), was detected to be a late addition by C. W. WILSON in the introd. to A. STEWART's tr. [*Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*] London, 1887, p. iv.

[62] *Doctrina*, 63.

[63] Michael, IV, 410; *supra*, n. 33.

[64] H. DELEHAYE. *Les saints stylites.* Brussels-Paris,. 1923, p. 267. From a contemporary biography of St. Simeon Stylites, jr. Cf. the derivative life by a 10–11th c. writer, ed. C. JANNING, *Acta Sanct.* Maii, V, Paris-Rome, 1866, pp. 376f. = *PG.* LXXXVI, pt. 2, 3160f.

[65] *Doctrina*, 90. Fairly high compared to the figures cited for the following c. by G. OSTROGORSKY, *BZ*, XXXII, 295, 1932.

[66] GRAETZ, V, 44–47. F.H. DUDDEN, *Gregory the Great.* London, 1905. II, 154–158. S. KATZ, *JQR*, n.s., XXIV, 1933, 113–136.

In Cagliari, we find a synagogue in existence and slaves owned by local Jews.[67] In Palermo, the synagogues are referred to in the plural, and they seem to have contained valuable articles (*ornamenta*), as well as the usual scrolls. They were, moreover, located on plots of land of some size, to judge from the use of the term *hortus*. Hospitals are likewise referred to. Here also was the home-port of Nostamnus, a Jewish shipmaster (*portitor*).[68]

It is not to be supposed that Jewish religious and economic life was free from interference on these islands. The Jews were, of course, subject here also to the restrictions contained in the Code of Justinian, as well as to the occasional illegal infringement of their rights. But it may be safely assumed that their lives were not marred by any events such as those which marked this period in the East.[69]

[67] Gregory I. *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. P. EWALD and L. M. HARTMANN. [*MGH*: Epist., I-II.] iv, 9 (I, p. 241); ix, 195 (II, 183). Dated 593 and 599.

[68] *Ibid.* ix, 38, 40 (II, 67f.). Dated 598.

[69] For a recent discussion of our material from the standpoint of the history of antisemitism see J. PARKES, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London, 1934, pp. 259–65, 293f.

BEITRÄGE ZUR HISTORISCHEN GEOGRAPHIE UND TOPOGRAPHIE DES NEGEB

ALBRECHT ALT

(LEIPZIG)

III. SARUHEN, ZIKLAG, HORMA, GERAR

Nach längerer Pause nehme ich hier die Untersuchungen wieder auf, die ich 1931 und 1932 mit Studien über das Bistum Orda und über das Land Gari in dieser Zeitschrift begonnen habe.[1] Eine solche Fortsetzung war von vornherein geplant und durch die Sache selbst gefordert; denn aus jenen früheren Arbeiten hatten sich Fragen ergeben, die dort nur gestellt, aber noch nicht einer abschließenden Lösung zugeführt werden konnten, und ich mußte es für meine Pflicht halten, den einmal beschrittenen Weg nun auch weiter zu gehen. Um so mehr habe ich die Nachsicht der Leser dafür zu erbitten, daß mir die Lieferung der in Aussicht gestellten ferneren Beiträge zum Problemkreis des Negeb wegen anderer Aufgaben so lange nicht möglich war. In der Zwischenzeit ist die historische Geographie und Topographie der nördlichen Nachbarlandschaften des Negeb durch archäologische und literarische Arbeiten vielfach gefördert worden, und es versteht sich von selbst, daß diese Arbeiten wenigstens indirekt auch auf das Gebiet meiner Studien einiges Licht geworfen haben, das ich mir zunutze machen darf.[2] Ganz unmittelbar aber hat kürzlich NOTH in seinem oben S. 35 ff. veröffentlichten Aufsatz zu einer den Negeb berührenden Frage Stellung genommen: er glaubt das uns nur durch Jos. 10^{41}, 11^{16}

[1] *JPOS*, XI (1931) S. 204 ff.; XII (1932) S. 126 ff.

[2] Ich denke dabei besonders an die Ausgrabungen ALBRIGHTS in *tell bēt mirsim* und STARKEYS in *tell ed-duwēr*, sowie an die Aufsätze von NOTH, *ZDPV*, LV (1932) S. 97 ff. und *PJB*, XXX (1934) S. 31 ff., und ELLIGER, *ZDPV*, LVII (1934) S. 81 ff. und *PJB*, XXX (1934) S. 47 ff.

bezeugte Land Gosen, das er in sehr ansprechender Weise, wenn auch ohne zwingende Gründe, für das politische Territorium der in Jos. 15[51] erwähnten, nach ihm vorisraelitischen Stadt Gosen erklärt, in dem nur einmal in einem Amarnabrief genannten Lande Gari wiederzufinden und sucht daraufhin dieses wie jenes unter Ausnützung der in den Texten gegebenen Anhaltspunkte im äußersten Süden des judäischen Gebirges, also noch außerhalb des eigentlichen Negeb, während ich in dem letzten meiner Beiträge nach SELLIN's Vorgang das Land Gari mit der Stadt Gerar und dadurch mit dem Negeb südlich und südwestlich des judäischen Gebirges in Verbindung bringen wollte. Eine sichere Entscheidung zwischen diesen Vorschlägen scheint mir auf grund des überaus spärlichen Quellenmaterials, das uns zur Verfügung steht, kaum möglich, wenn ich auch meine, daß der von mir angenommene lautliche Zusammenhang zwischen Gari und Gerar immer noch leichter vorstellbar ist als der zwischen Gari und Gosen, den NOTH im Sinne seiner Identifikation postuliert, aber nur unter der Voraussetzung einer sehr ungewöhnlichen Schreibung des Namens Gari in jenem Brief einigermaßen zu rechtfertigen vermag, und daß die Deutung, die er dem von dem Lande Gari sprechenden Passus des Briefes gibt, zwar gewiß möglich ist und im ersten Augenblick vielleicht sogar am meisten einleuchtet, aber keineswegs als die allein in Betracht kommende bezeichnet werden kann.[1] Angesichts dieser Unsicherheit wird es das Geratenste sein, das Sonderproblem des Landes Gari zunächst auf sich beruhen zu lassen und nur dann wieder aufzunehmen, wenn sich etwa an einem späteren Punkt der Untersuchung eine Gelegenheit dazu bietet.

Auch dann bleibt die genauere Bestimmung der Lage von Gerar meine nächste Aufgabe; denn nicht erst meine jetzt umstrittene

[1] Am. 256, 22 ff. KNUDTZON. Die Interpretationsfrage betrifft das sachliche Verhältnis zwischen dem Lande Gari und den unmittelbar dahinter einzeln aufgezählten Orten, von denen auch nach meiner Meinung mindestens ein Teil auf der südlichsten Stufe des judäischen Gebirges zu suchen ist. NOTH hält die Zugehörigkeit dieser Orte zu dem politischen Territorium von Gari ohne weiteres für das Nächstliegende und sieht in ihrer Nennung in diesem Zusammenhang eine Bestätigung seiner Identifikation des Landes Gari mit dem Lande Gosen, das ja in der gleichen Gegend lag. Ich hingegen rechne auch heute noch ebenso sehr mit der Möglichkeit, daß die aufgezählten Orte nicht zu Gari gehörten und nur deswegen in unmittelbarem Anschluß daran genannt sind, weil sie mehr oder weniger nahe benachbart und zur Zeit des Briefes in die gleiche politische Bewegung verwickelt waren. Auf Einzelheiten gehe ich hier nicht ein.

Interpretation jener einen Nachricht über das Land Gari, sondern schon die vorausgegangene Studie über Orda als Bischofssitz des *saltus Gerariticus* hat mich dazu geführt, wie Orda selbst so auch Gerar als den älteren Vorort der gleichen Landschaft im Bereich des *wādi esch-scherīʿa* zwischen Beerseba und dem Mittelmeer zu suchen, wozu auch seine Funktion in der Isaaksage der Genesis zu passen schien.[1] Diese Annahme bedarf nun vor allem der Nachprüfung an den sonstigen Angaben unserer Quellen über Gerar, die ich bisher noch nicht herangezogen habe; erst wenn sie sich dabei bewährt, kann sie für gesichert gelten und vielleicht in topographischer Hinsicht sogar noch schärfer gefaßt werden. Da jedoch Gerar das spätere Altertum offenbar nicht mehr als Stadt erlebt hat und infolgedessen im griechischen und römischen Schrifttum keine selbständige Rolle mehr spielen konnte, sind weitere Nachrichten über sein Bestehen in der Hauptsache nur von der israelitischen Literatur im Alten Testament zu erwarten.[2] Was sich von solchen findet, soll im Folgenden zusammengestellt und entsprechend dem Zweck dieser Beiträge unter dem Gesichtspunkt besprochen werden, inwiefern daraus eine noch genauere Bestimmung der Örtlichkeit von Gerar gewonnen werden kann. Daß im Zusammenhang damit sogleich auch einige andere Fragen zur Topographie des Negeb behandelt werden müssen, ist in der Natur der alttestamentlichen Angaben selbst begründet.

In einem sehr wesentlichen und für unser Anliegen wenig erfreulichen Punkt stimmen alle diese Nachrichten mit der bereits behandelten Isaaksage von Genesis 26 überein: sie schließen Gerar vom israelitischen Siedlungs- und Herrschaftsbereich aus und verdanken ihre Existenz in der Regel nur dem Umstand, daß es infolge der Grenzberührung zwischen hier und dort zu Ereignissen kam, die auch vom israelitischen Interesse aus einer Aufzeichnung würdig oder bedürftig erschienen. Die einzige Ausnahme von dieser sonst

[1] *JPOS*, XI (1931) S. 213 ff.; XII (1932) S. 126 ff. 136 ff.

[2] Außerhalb des Alten Testaments könnte man Gerar in dem von Pharao Thutmosis III. in seiner Liste unterworfener Orte Palästinas genannten *Krr* (SETHE, *Urkunden des ägypt. Altertums*, IV, S. 784 Nr. 80) wiedererkennen wollen, wenn es nicht in Anbetracht der sonst zu beobachtenden Begrenzung jener Liste sehr viel wahrscheinlicher wäre, daß damit ein weiter nördlich gelegener Ort gleichen Namens gemeint ist (vgl. ALT, *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina* [1925] S. 15 Anm. 6).

überall zutreffenden Feststellung — und zwar eine Ausnahme, die in Anbetracht der ungewöhnlichen historischen Situation, die sie betrifft, besonders leicht zu verstehen wäre und die Regel nur bestätigen würde — hätten wir in dem uns in 1. Kön. 9[16] erhaltenen Annalenfragment zu sehen, wenn wir mit ALBRIGHT annähmen, daß die bis dahin kanaanäische Stadt, die nach dieser Stelle Salomo von einem Pharao als Mitgift für dessen Tochter erhielt, nicht Geser war, wie der überlieferte Text angibt, sondern Gerar, wofür archäologische und historische Gründe sprechen sollen[1]; dann hätte Gerar wenigstens vorübergehend einem gesamtpalästinischen Reichsgebilde unter israelitischer Führung angehört. Diese Annahme wird jedoch von so erheblichen Schwierigkeiten gedrückt, daß sie kaum für wahrscheinlich gelten darf. Denn die Aufzählung der Festungsbauten Salomos, in die das Fragment über die Schenkung der Stadt durch den Pharao wie eine Glosse eingefügt ist,[2] erstreckt sich in guter geographischer Ordnung von Norden nach Süden über ganz Palästina und hat es an der Einfügungsstelle der Glosse deutlich nicht mit einer so südlichen Gegend wie der von Gerar, sondern mit der Landesmitte und in ihr mit Geser zu tun, wie insbesondere noch die Nennung des unteren Beth-Horon in unmittelbarem Anschluß an Geser beweist.[3] Man müßte also, um ALBRIGHTS Vorschlag textgeschichtlich zu rechtfertigen, die Vermutung zu Hilfe nehmen, jener Autor, der das Fragment über den Eingriff des

[1] *JPOS*, IV (1924) S. 142 ff. Von ALBRIGHTS Bedenken gegen den überlieferten Namen fällt das archäologische, das Fehlen einer den Angaben von 1. Kön. 9[16] entsprechenden Brandschicht aus salomonischer Zeit in den bisherigen Ausgrabungen von Geser, schwerer ins Gewicht als das historische, die meines Erachtens kaum bestehende Schwierigkeit der Annahme eines militärischen Hinweggreifens der Ägypter über Philistäa bis nach Geser unter den damaligen Verhältnissen. — Wie ALBRIGHT neuerdings in dem durch Ausgrabungen ermittelten Vorhandensein einer Brandschicht salomonischer Zeit auf *tell dschemme* (FLINDERS PETRIE, *Gerar* [1928] S. 6) einen Beweis für die Richtigkeit sowohl seiner Konjektur zu 1. Kön. 9[16] als auch seiner Identifikation von Gerar mit *tell dschemme* finden kann (*AASOR*, XII [1932] S. 74 f.), ist schlecht einzusehen; einstweilen sind ja die anderen für Gerar in Betracht kommenden Örtlichkeiten noch nicht daraufhin untersucht worden, ob etwa auch sie eine analoge Brandschicht aufzuweisen haben.

[2] Darum wird die Satzkonstruktion der Festungsliste aus 1. Kön. 9[15] in [17], d. h. hinter dem eingeschobenen Fragment, wieder aufgenommen.

[3] Vgl. ALT, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina* (1930) S. 72 Anm. 79.

Pharao in diesen heterogenen Zusammenhang stellte, habe entweder schon in seiner Vorlage das angeblich originale Gerar zu Geser verschrieben vorgefunden und daraufhin die Kombination mit der salomonischen Festungsliste gewagt, oder er habe seinerseits die einander ähnlich sehenden Namen der Orte verwechselt, wobei ja ebenfalls der Gedanke an das Auftreten von Geser in der ihm bekannten Festungsliste mit im Spiel gewesen sein könnte. Solche Hilfsannahmen ergeben aber natürlich keine tragfähige Grundlage für ALBRIGHTS Konjektur, von der wir daher wohl absehen müssen, wenn sie auch ohne Mühe mit den sonstigen Nachrichten über Gerar in Verbindung gesetzt werden könnte. Scheiden wir sie aus, so gilt unser obiger Satz von der Nichtzugehörigkeit von Gerar zum israelitischen Siedlungs- und Herrschaftsbereich uneingeschränkt; dann dürfen wir aber auch von der israelitischen Literatur nicht mehr als vage Angaben über die Lage des Ortes erwarten und müssen den Nachrichten besondere Beachtung schenken, in denen die Grenzberührung zwischen Gerar und seinen israelitischen Nachbarn deutlicher zum Ausdruck kommt.

Sehr deutlich tritt die Geschiedenheit Gerars von Israel sogleich auf den ersten Blättern der Bibel in Erscheinung, wenn der Jahwist in seiner Völkertafel den Wohnbereich der Kanaanäer sich „von Sidon bis wo es nach Gerar hineingeht" erstrecken läßt[1]; das klingt wie eine festgeprägte geographische Formel und stellt sich auf jeden Fall als kanaanäisch-küstenländisches Gegenstück neben das bekannte israelitisch-binnenländische „von Dan bis Beerseba". Freilich ist die Formel im überlieferten Text mit Zutaten überhäuft: die Beifügung „bis Gaza" scheint den Ausdruck „bis wo es nach Gerar hineingeht" entweder verdeutlichen oder berichtigen zu wollen, und dann folgt sogar noch ein ergänzender Hinweis auf die sagenhafen Orte am Südende des Toten Meeres, der aber das Raumbild der Formel nicht so sehr bereichert als vielmehr einseitig überlastet. Das Ursprüngliche wird die einfache Gegenüberstellung des nördlichen Endpunktes Sidon und des südlichen Endpunktes Gerar sein, aus der für die Lage von Gerar nichts weiter folgt, als daß sie westlich außerhalb des israelitischen Gebiets und nahe dem Südrand des palästinischen Kulturlandes zu suchen ist; ein Ort abseits des Mittelmeeres in der hier stark verbreiterten Küstenebene

[1] Gen. 10^{19}.

würde dem, was die Formel sagen will, ebenso gut entsprechen wie eine Hafenstadt. Hätte hingegen der Doppelausdruck „bis wo es nach Gerar hineingeht — bis Gaza" für original zu gelten, so wäre er am ersten dahin zu verstehen, daß mit ihm zwei annähernd auf der gleichen Linie quer zu der nordsüdlichen Blickrichtung des Autors liegende südliche Grenzpunkte des Kanaanäerlandes gemeint seien; die Nennung zweier südlicher Grenzpunkte gegenüber dem einen Sidon im Norden ließe sich durch den Gedanken an die Breite der Küstenebene dort im Verhältnis zu ihrer Schmalheit hier allenfalls rechtfertigen. So aufgefaßt vertrüge sich die Doppelangabe durchaus mit unserer Vermutung, daß Gerar im Bereich des *wādi esch-scherīʿa* lag, also etwa 20–30 km südöstlich oder ostsüdöstlich von Gaza und nicht allzu fern dem Fuß der Vorberge Judäas; Gerar wäre dann sachlich richtig als binnenländischer Gegenpunkt in einem geographischen Hendiadyoin mit der küstennahen Nachbarstadt Gaza zusammengestellt. Doch bleibt die damit vorausgesetzte Ursprünglichkeit des überlieferten Textes zu unwahrscheinlich, als daß wir uns bei dem Versuch einer genaueren Ortsbestimmung für Gerar auf ihn stützen dürften.[1]

Noch weniger verwertbar ist für uns eine andere Stelle der Genesis, die Gerar mit Orten eines viel ferneren Südens in Verbindung zu bringen, ja geradezu dorthin zu versetzen scheint: „Abraham zog ..... in das Land des Negeb, ließ sich zwischen Kades und Sur nieder und erwarb das Recht eines Schutzgenossen in Gerar".[2] Man hat dieser Angabe zuliebe den Namen Gerar in dem modernen *wādi ed-dschārūr*, nach MUSIL etwa 20 km südlich von Kades (*ʿēn ḳdēs*), wiedererkennen wollen, gelangte damit aber in eine Gegend, die bedenklich weit außerhalb der normalen Grenzen des seßhaften Wohnens liegt und

[1] ALBRIGHT wollte aus der Stelle (unter Voraussetzung der Ursprünglichkeit des Textes) schließen, Gerar müsse hier einen Ort nahe der Küste südlich von Gaza bezeichnen, und verwendete sie daher als (einzigen) literarischen Beweis für seine Identifikation von Gerar mit *tell dschemme*, 13 km südlich von Gaza (*JPOS.* IV [1924] S. 157). Aber was sollte die Nennung zweier südlicher Grenzpunkte, wenn beide auf derselben nordsüdlichen Linie lägen? Und warum sollte dann das südlichere Gerar vor dem nördlicheren Gaza genannt sein, wo doch die Aufzählung der Grenzorte von Norden nach Süden fortschreitet? Auch die Ungleichheit der sprachlichen Formulierung ist der Annahme sehr ungünstig, daß Gerar und Gaza schon von dem ersten Autor der Stelle in einem Atemzug genannt waren. [2] Gen. 20[1].

an die nicht eine einzige andere Nachricht über Gerar denken läßt.[1] Schon die auffällige Häufung der Sätze empfiehlt jedoch sehr viel mehr die Annahme von PROCKSCH, daß sie nicht alle von Hause aus in den Zusammenhang der dann folgenden Erzählung, einer Nachbildung der Isaaksage von Genesis 26, gehören; nur der erste Satz mit dem Landschaftsnamen Negeb und der dritte mit dem Ortsnamen Gerar werden hier heimisch sein, während der mittlere mit der Nennung der weit abgelegenen südlichen Örtlichkeiten Kades und Sur aus einer ganz anderen Sage sekundär an die jetzige Stelle verschlagen worden ist.[2] Unter diesen Umständen bleibt die Lage von Gerar auch hier unbestimmt; seine Verknüpfung mit dem Negeb ist uns ja ohnehin schon bekannt.

Dann gibt es im Alten Testament nur noch einen Text, der Gerar mit einem anderen und zwar mit einem judäischen Ort zusammenbringt, nämlich die Erzählung des Chronisten von einem Einfall des Kuschiters Serah in das Reich Juda zur Zeit des Königs Asa: Serah dringt bis in die Nähe von Maresa vor, wird aber dort geschlagen und bis Gerar zurück verfolgt; die Ausplünderung nicht Gerars selbst, aber der Ortschaften und Zeltlager um Gerar her durch die Judäer bildet den Schluß.[3] Es muß uns wichtig sein, daß wir Gerar hier einmal mit seiner judäischen Nachbarschaft in Verbindung gebracht finden: aber auch da wollen sich ausreichende Anhaltspunkte zur genaueren Feststellung seiner Lage nicht ergeben. Denn da die Erzählung von einem Kriegszug handelt, erklärt sich die Nennung von Maresa (*tell sandaḥanna* bei *bēt dschibrīn*) als Schauplatz des entscheidenden Zusammenstoßes ohne weiteres, wenn es der erste befestigte Punkt im Reiche Juda war, den ein von Südwesten kommender Angreifer erreichte,[4] und erklärt sich ebenso

[1] Daher kam die Verlegenheitsauskunft GUNKELS in seinem Kommentar z. St., es habe zwei Gerar gegeben und in Gen. 20^1 sei das eine mit dem anderen verwechselt.

[2] PROCKSCH, *Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch* (1906) S. 9 Anm. 1; Kommentar z. St. Der richtige Ort für die Erwähnung von Kades und Sur wäre im Zusammenhang der Sage von Hagar und Ismael (Gen. 16^7. ^{14}) zu suchen.

[3] 2. Chron. 14^8 ff..

[4] Dies entspricht dem stark verkleinerten Territorialbestand des Reiches Juda in den ersten Zeiten nach Salomo, den BEYER aus der Liste der Festungen Rehabeams (2. Chron. 11^6 ff.) richtig erschlossen hat (*ZDPV*, LIV [1931] S. 113 ff.); nach ihm bildete die Festung Maresa geradezu den südwestlichen Eckpfeiler des

gut die Nennung von Gerar als Ziel der Verfolgung und als Schauplatz der abschließenden Plünderung, wenn es der erste oder einzige befestigte Punkt des Herrschaftsgebiets war, von dem der Angreifer ausging[1] — gleichgültig wie groß oder klein die Entfernung zwischen beiden Punkten gewesen sein mag, die auf den Märschen hin und her zurückgelegt werden mußte. Immerhin glaube ich sagen zu dürfen, daß die Erzählung bei Voraussetzung der von mir vermuteten Lage von Gerar im Bereich des *wādi esch-scherīʿa* verständlicher wird, als wenn man Gerar anderwärts sucht. Denn der Gedanke an eine nördlichere, Maresa noch näher benachbarte Lage wird durch den Umstand verwehrt, daß der Chronist in Übereinstimmung mit der Isaaksage außer dauernd besiedelten Ortschaften auch Zeltlager in der Umgebung und Botmäßigkeit von Gerar kennt, was uns wieder auf die Grenze zwischen seßhaftem Bauerntum und Halbnomadentum hinweist; mit einer Ansetzung dieser Grenze nördlich des *wādi esch-scherīʿa* wäre der archäologische Befund, von dem noch die Rede sein wird, kaum zu vereinigen. Andererseits nötigt uns aber auch nichts in der Erzählung, Gerar noch weiter im Süden oder Westen zu suchen; der Abstand von rund 30 km zwischen Gerar und Maresa, der sich bei unserer Vermutung ergibt, genügt für die vorausgesetzte territorialgeschichtliche Situation vollauf, und zugleich bleibt dann auch die durch die Isaaksage geforderte nachbarschaftliche Beziehung zwischen Gerar und Beerseba hinreichend gewahrt.

In dieser letzteren Hinsicht wird das Zeugnis der Isaaksage noch sehr verstärkt durch eine andere Nachricht des chronistischen Werkes, die Gerar freilich nicht wieder mit Beerseba, wohl aber mit einem israelitischen Stamm und zwar einem anderen als Juda in Grenzberührung zeigt. Die Notiz besagt, daß ein Teil des Stammes Simeon, der anscheinend noch nicht zum Ackerbau und zur Seßhaftigkeit übergegangen war, zur Zeit des Königs Hiskia von Juda, also gegen Ende des achten Jahrhunderts v. Chr., neue Weideplätze für sein Kleinvieh suchte; am Eingang nach Gerar — so die griechische Übersetzung, während der hebräische Text der Masora sicher falsch Gedor schreibt — im Osten des auch in der

Reiches. Aber auch wenn diese Funktion vielmehr Lachis (falls = *tell ed-duwēr*) zukam, bleibt die Erzählung des Chronisten noch verständlich.

[1] So schon von ALBRIGHT (*a. a. O.*, S. 146 f.) richtig gedeutet.

Isaaksage erwähnten Bachtales von Gerar habe der Stammesteil gefunden, was er brauchte, und sich durch gewaltsame Verdrängung der hamitischen Vorbewohner von ihren Lager- und Wasserplätzen in den Besitz dieses weiten und ruhigen, d. h. politisch neutralen und wohl geradezu herrenlosen Gebietes gesetzt.[1] Die historische Glaubwürdigkeit dieser Nachricht zu bezweifeln liegt trotz ihrer späten Bezeugung kaum ein Anlaß vor; schon daß sie die Existenz halbnomadisch gebliebener Teile des Stammes Simeon neben den seßhaft gewordenen noch für die Zeit Hiskias voraussetzt, klingt unerfindlich,[2] und die Behauptung einer Abwanderung jener Gruppen in der Richtung nach Gerar auf Kosten der dort lebenden, aber offenbar nicht mehr widerstandsfähigen Reste einer hamitischen, also wohl aus dem ägyptischen Machtbereich stammenden Bevölkerung läßt sich nach rückwärts mit dem oben besprochenen Auftreten des Kuschiten Serah als Herrn von Gerar zwei Jahrhunderte früher in Verbindung bringen.[3] Und selbst wer die historische Verwertung der Nachricht um ihrer literarischen Isoliertheit willen unterlassen möchte, wird doch das geographische Bild, das ihr zugrunde liegt, nicht einfach als eine willkürliche Konstruktion des Chronisten oder seiner Quelle abtun können: hier das festbesiedelte Gebiet des Stammes Simeon, dort die alte fremde Stadt Gerar und zwischen beiden im Osten des Tales von Gerar ein nur halbnomadisch bewohntes Weideland, das je nach Umständen seinen Besitzer wechseln konnte. Das ist im Grunde kein anderes Bild als das, dem wir schon in der Isaaksage der Genesis begegnet sind[4]; es muß

[1] 1. Chron. 4^{38} ff.; vgl. ALBRIGHT *a. a. O.*, S. 147 f.

[2] Die gleiche Voraussetzung macht wohl auch die unmittelbar anschließende Notiz über eine Abwanderung von Simeoniten nach Südosten in das Gebirge Seir (1. Chron. 4^{42} f.).

[3] Von Veränderungen im Süden des Reiches Juda zur Zeit Hiskias scheint auch die Notiz über einen erfolgreichen Vorstoß dieses Königs bis in das Gebiet von Gaza in 2. Kön. 18^{8} zu wissen, die nur leider ebenfalls ganz isoliert steht; hier und dort hätte man an die Zeit vor der Katastrophe des Jahres 701 zu denken. Oder sollte die Abwanderung der Simeoniten erst durch diese Katastrophe veranlaßt und ermöglicht sein, die den Negeb vom Reich der Davididen losriß? — Daß sich in 1. Chron. 4^{38} ff. und in 2. Chron. 14^{9} ff. vielmehr die spätere Arabisierung des Negeb spiegeln sollte, wie HÖLSCHER annimmt (*Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit* [1903] S. 19), ist mir sehr unwahrscheinlich.

[4] Der Vergleich mit der Isaaksage liegt um so näher, da diese selbst in Beerseba und damit im Gebiet des Stammes Simeon beheimatet ist, und wird

uns aber von Wert sein, die gleichen Verhältnisse auch noch für so viel spätere Zeit bezeugt zu finden.

Damit ist uns eine neue Möglichkeit zur Abgrenzung des Bereiches, in dem wir Gerar zu suchen haben, an die Hand gegeben: es lag offenbar westlich außerhalb des Siedlungsgebiets des Stammes Simeon, nur durch einen Streifen Weidelandes von ihm getrennt. Hätten wir also im Alten Testament eine Beschreibung der simeonitischen Stammesgrenzen, die wir topographisch deuten könnten, und ließe sich in unmittelbarem Anschluß an ihren Westrand eine Zone im Gelände ausfindig machen, die mindestens bis in die spätere judäische Königszeit unbesiedelt gewesen ist, so wäre die Aussicht groß, daß wir nahe westlich dieser Zone auf die wirkliche Lage von Gerar stießen; die Archäologie hätte dabei das letzte Wort zu sprechen. Aber eine Beschreibung der simeonitischen Grenzen nach der Art derer, die uns im Buche Josua für die Mehrzahl der übrigen Stämme Israels erhalten sind, gibt es für Simeon bekanntlich nicht; in diesem System ist vielmehr das Gebiet von Simeon ganz in das von Juda einbegriffen.[1] Wir müssen uns daher, wenn wir auf das soeben entwickelte Ermittlungsverfahren nicht verzichten wollen, nach literarischen Ersatzstücken für die fehlende Grenzbeschreibung umsehen, die uns als Ausgangspunkte für die weitere Untersuchung dienen können.

Nun haben wir ja in Jos. 19^{2} ff. und in 1. Chron. 4^{28} ff. zwei Ortslisten, die nach ihren Einleitungen Verzeichnisse der simeonitischen Siedlungen sein wollen, und in Jos. 15^{21} ff. sowie in Neh. 11^{25} ff. zwei andere, die mit den erstgenannten so viele Ortsnamen gemeinsam haben, daß wir sie hier mit heranziehen dürfen und müssen, obwohl in ihrem Wortlaut eine Beziehung auf dem Stamm Simeon nicht ausgesprochen ist. Außerdem kommt für uns auch

auch dadurch nicht erschwert, daß sie nicht wie 1. Chron. 4^{38} ff. von einer Abwanderung in der Richtung nach Gerar, sondern scheinbar gerade entgegengesetzt von einer solchen aus Gerar nach Beerseba redet. Denn diese letztere Anordnung ergab sich für die Sage einfach aus ihrer Technik: erst mußte Isaak mit seinem Gegenspieler, dem Dynasten von Gerar, in Verbindung gebracht, also nach Gerar versetzt sein, bevor die Trennung und der schließliche Ausgleich zwischen beiden in Beerseba stattfinden konnte; einem historischen Vorgang brauchte diese örtliche Gestaltung der Sage nicht zu entsprechen.

[1] Das besagen ausdrücklich die redaktionellen Bemerkungen in Jos. $19^{1.\,9}$; vgl. ALT, *Sellin-Festschrift* (1927) S. 13 ff.

noch die in 1. Sam. 30[27] ff. erhaltene Liste der Ortschaften in Betracht, denen David von Ziklag aus Teile der Beute seines Amalekiterfeldzuges schickte, da wenigstens einige ihrer Namen nach den anderen Listen in das simeonitische Gebiet gehören. Bei näherem Zusehen ergibt sich jedoch, daß uns mit dieser scheinbar so reichen Überlieferung in Wirklichkeit nur zwei von einander unabhängige Dokumente gegeben sind. Denn nur die Liste von 1. Sam. 30 steht den übrigen ganz selbständig gegenüber; diese stimmen trotz mancher Unterschiede in der Form, Zahl und Reihenfolge der verzeichneten Ortsnamen so weithin unter einander überein, daß man ihre Herkunft von ein und derselben Vorlage kaum wird bezweifeln können.[1] Und diese beiden Dokumente sind von sehr verschiedenem Alter und Wert. Die Liste von 1. Samuel 30 wird mit dem ganzen Erzählungszusammenhang, dem sie eingefügt ist, entweder schon zur Zeit Davids oder nur wenig später aufgezeichnet worden sein[2]; als Zeugnis für den Siedlungsbestand Südjudäas in einem so frühen Stadium hat sie besonderes Gewicht.[3] Die Vorlage der vier anderen Listen hingegen ist ein viel jüngeres Dokument, nämlich ein in Gaue gegliedertes Ortsverzeichnis für das ganze Reich Juda aus der Zeit des Königs Josia gegen Ende des siebenten Jahrhunderts v. Chr., wie ich vor Jahren an anderer Stelle gezeigt zu haben glaube.[4] Wie jene ältere Liste hat es also auch diese Vorlage, die den sehr viel reicheren Siedlungsbestand eines weit vorgerückten Stadiums wohl ganz vollständig buchen wollte, von Hause aus nicht nur mit dem Gebiet des Stammes Simeon zu tun gehabt; das geht aus dem Gebrauch, der in Jos. 15 und Neh. 11 von ihr gemacht worden ist, noch unzweideutig hervor. Da

[1] Die gegenteilige Ansicht ALBRIGHTS, der die Listen von Jos. 15; 19; 1. Chron. 4; Neh. 11 gegen einander isolieren und verschiedenen Zeiten zuschreiben will (*JPOS*, IV [1924] S. 149 ff.), entbehrt der näheren Begründung und ist meines Erachtens nicht haltbar.

[2] Vgl. ALT, *Staatenbildung*, S. 20 Anm. 7.

[3] Ihr zeitlicher Abstand von den jüngeren Listen macht es verständlich, daß einige ihrer Ortsnamen in diesen nicht wiederkehren; sie können inzwischen abgegangen sein, und es empfiehlt sich daher nicht, mit Hilfe gewaltsamer textkritischer Eingriffe einen Ausgleich mit Namen der jüngeren Listen herzustellen.

[4] *PJB*, XXI (1925) S. 100 ff. Ein Widerspruch gegen diese Deutung und Datierung ist meines Wissens bisher nicht erhoben worden; zu ihrer weiteren Auswertung wäre aber noch manches zu tun.

jedoch von den Gauen, auf die hier die Orte des Reiches Juda verteilt sind, für Simeon nur der im Negeb gelegene erste von Jos. 15^{21} ff. in Betracht kommen kann,[1] so ist zu verstehen, daß spätere Autoren und Redaktoren wie die von Jos. 19 und 1. Chron. 4, wenn sie ohne eigene Nachforschungen die simeonitischen Orte nennen wollten, auf die Namensreihe des ersten Gaues der sozusagen kanonisch gewordenen josianischen Reichsliste zurückgriffen und aus ihr mit mehr oder weniger Geschick die Namen auswählten, die ihnen zu Simeon zu passen schienen. Die durch ein paar Textvarianten nicht ernstlich gestörte Übereinstimmung dieser zwei Exzerpte in der Zahl und Reihenfolge der Ortsnamen macht es übrigens so gut wie sicher, daß wir in ihnen nur den doppelten literarischen Niederschlag ein und derselben, einmal getroffenen und dann vererbten Auswahl aus der Liste von Jos. 15 vor uns haben. Auch Neh. 11^{25} ff. ist offensichtlich ein solches Exzerpt aus Jos. 15, aber unabhängig von den übrigen, wie schon sein Verzicht auf viele ihrer Namen und sein Hinausgreifen über das von ihnen behandelte Sondergebiet zeigt.

Bei solchem Verfahren der literarischen Epigonen kann natürlich sehr leicht der eine oder andere Name aus dem ersten Gau der josianischen Reichsliste unter die nunmehr als simeonitisch bezeichneten Orte geraten sein, der in Wirklichkeit mit Simeon nichts zu tun hatte, und kann umgekehrt mancher keine Aufnahme gefunden haben, der hätte genannt werden sollen.[2] Diese Möglichkeiten müssen uns um so mehr zu denken geben, da wir nicht einmal wissen, ob es die seßhaft gewordenen Simeoniten überhaupt zu einem in sich geschlossenen Siedlungsgebiet gebracht hatten oder ob sie in Gemengelage mit anderen Gruppen im „Negeb von Juda" wohnten.[3] Für die Aufgabe, die wir uns hier gestellt haben, machen

[1] Das lehrt schon die Zugehörigkeit von Horma, das historisch mit Simeon besonders eng verknüpft ist (Ri. 1^{17}; vgl. unten) zu diesem Gau (Jos. 15^{30} 19^{4}; 1. Chron. 4^{30}).

[2] Wie schwankend das Ergebnis bei der sekundären Verwendung solcher Ortslisten für stammesgeographische Zwecke sein konnte, ersieht man am besten aus der ungleichen Verteilung der Orte einer ostjordanischen Liste auf die Stämme Ruben und Gad in Num. $32^{(8.)\,34}$ ff. und Jos. 13^{15} ff..

[3] Dafür ist bemerkenswert, daß von einem besonderen „Negeb von Simeon" nirgends die Rede ist, auch wo die einzelnen Besitzanteile scharf unterschieden werden (1. Sam. 27^{10} 30^{14}; vgl. 30^{29}).

diese Unsicherheiten im Ganzen wenig aus, so sehr auch die Einzelheiten von ihnen betroffen werden; denn auf jeden Fall ergibt der Vergleich zwischen der reicheren „judäischen" Ortsliste von Jos. 15^{21} ff. und der ärmeren „simeonitischen" von Jos. 19^{2} ff. und 1. Chron. 4^{28} ff., daß sich das Minus der letzteren in der Hauptsache nur auf den Anfang der ersteren und damit auf den östlichen Teil des Negeb bezieht. Der ganze Westen, soweit er zum Reiche Juda gehörte, soll nach jenen Exzerpten in Simeon einbegriffen sein, und eben auf diesen Westen, noch genauer auf seine Westgrenze kommt es uns hier um Gerars willen an, zu dem hinüber nach 1. Chron. 4^{38} ff. zur Zeit Hiskias nomadisch gebliebene Simeoniten vordrangen.[1]

Bedenklicher ist für uns gerade im Blick auf diese Frage der Westgrenze der Umstand, daß die Vorlage aller dieser jungen Listen erst aus der Zeit Josias, fast hundert Jahre nach Hiskia, stammt und daher einen anderen Territorialbestand des Reiches Juda voraussetzen kann, als er unter Hiskia gegeben war. In der Zwischenzeit hatten sich Ereignisse abgespielt, die gerade an den äußersten Rändern des Reichsgebiets nicht spurlos vorübergehen konnten: zuerst die Katastrophe des Jahres 701, in der die Davididen durch den Eingriff des assyrischen Großkönigs Sanherib allem Anschein nach die ganze judäische Landschaft und sicher ihren Anteil am Negeb verloren,[2] dann die Rückgewinnung der abgetrennten Gebiete durch die Davididen zu einem nicht genauer bestimmbaren Zeitpunkt, vielleicht unter der Regierung Manasses, schließlich vor allem auch noch die territorialen Expansionsbestrebungen Josias bei und nach dem Zusammenbruch der assyrischen Herrschaft in Palästina, von denen gerade unser Dokument für andere Gegenden im Norden

[1] Gerade diese Stelle rückt ja ebenfalls den Bereich der Simeoniten entschieden an die Westgrenze des Negeb-Gaues heran.

[2] Vgl. *PJB*, XXV (1930) S. 80 ff. — Eine noch frühere Veränderung der politischen Karte wäre im westlichen Negeb zu konstatieren, wenn die Ergänzung der nur ganz fragmentarischen letzten Zeilen (239 f.) der Annalen Tiglathpilesers III., wonach dieser Großkönig fünfzehn Orte von Askalon abgetrennt hätte, um sie seinem arabischen Vertrauensmann Idibi'ilu zu unterstellen, das Richtige trifft. Man hätte sich diese Orte wohl als eine südliche Exklave des Reiches von Askalon vorzustellen analog der nördlichen in der Gegend von Lydda, die Sanherib 701 abtrennte und die später Josia mindestens teilweise besetzte. Waren die fünfzehn Orte vielleicht das ehemalige Gebiet der Hamiten, von denen die Chronik redet?

und Nordwesten des Reiches Juda beredtes Zeugnis ablegt.[1] In Anbetracht dieser großen Fluktuationen dürfen wir bei der Interpretation unserer Listen durchaus nicht ohne weiteres von der Voraussetzung ausgehen, daß die Westgrenze des judäischen oder simeonitischen Negeb, die sich aus ihnen ergibt, für die Zeit Hiskias oder noch früher ebenso gelten müsse wie für die Zeit Josias oder daß sie geradezu mit der alten Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsgrenze des Stammes Simeon zusammenfalle. Sie kann enger, sie kann aber auch viel weiter gezogen sein, und besonders mit dieser letzteren Möglichkeit werden wir rechnen müssen, da nach der wiederholten Verschiebung der Besitzverhältnisse dort im Süden und in der allgemeinen Unsicherheit der politischen Situation zur Zeit Josias für einen so kühnen Politiker wie ihn das Hinausgreifen über den früheren Territorialbestand seines Reiches sehr erleichtert war.[2] Natürlich ist eine gute geographische Abrundung des Gebiets der josianischen Reichsliste nicht zu erwarten, wenn sie aus einer Zeit solcher Annexionen stammt, sondern eher ein unruhiges Hin und Her der Grenzen mit allerlei Vor- und Rücksprüngen, je nachdem ob der alte Besitzstand nur eben wieder erreicht oder durch neue Erwerbungen überschritten war.

Trotzdem würde uns die Feststellung des Grenzverlaufs für die Zeit Josias auf grund seiner Reichsliste keine allzu große Schwierigkeiten machen, wenn wir wenigstens die überwiegende Mehrzahl der dort genannten Orte im Negeb zu lokalisieren vermöchten. Davon sind wir jedoch in Wirklichkeit weit entfernt. Nur ein kleiner Teil der Namen hat sich bis heute erhalten, und nicht jeder Anklang einer modernen Ortsbezeichnung an einen alten Namen gibt uns Gewähr für tatsächliche Identität. Die Häufigkeit des Schwundes alter und des Aufkommens neuer Namen im Negeb kann uns nicht überraschen, da in einem solchen Grenzgebiet zwischen Kulturland und Wüste mit durchgängiger Kontinuität der Besiedlung von vornherein nicht zu rechnen ist und besonders auch der wiederholte Wechsel der Bevölkerung zu einem Abbruch der Namentradition führen konnte, selbst wo ein Ort den Wechsel

[1] *PJB*, XXI (1925) S. 109 ff.

[2] Man bedenke, daß sich zur gleichen Zeit auch das wieder erstarkte Ägypten in Philistäa geltend machte (HERODOT, II, 157); mindestens der westliche Negeb wird davon etwas gespürt haben.

überdauerte.[1] Zudem geben einige der in den Listen genannten Orte durch ihre mit חצר zusammengesetzten Benennungen zu erkennen, daß sie nicht mehr waren als Einzelhöfe oder kleine Gruppen von solchen; und das Gleiche mag von manchem anderen Ort im Negeb gelten, auch wenn es in seinem Namen nicht zum Ausdruck kommt.[2] Von da aus erklärt sich die große Zahl der Orte in einem Gebiet, das man sich wegen seiner Randlage eher spärlich besiedelt denken würde; es handelt sich eben um eine sehr aufgelöste Siedlungsweise mit nur wenigen größeren Ortschaften und vielen verhältnismäßig nahe bei einander liegenden Vorwerken, und das Eigentümliche ist nur, daß die josianische Reichsliste auch die letzteren anscheinend vollständig verzeichnet.[3] Um so weniger ist dann aber zu erwarten, daß jeder hier genannte Ort erhebliche Reste zurückgelassen hat, zumal da ihr geringfügiges Steinmaterial längst neue Verwendung gefunden haben wird und ihre spärliche Keramik durch jüngere Kulturschichten oder durch später aufgewehte Sanddecken überlagert sein kann. Selbst die Siedlungen der römisch-byzantinischen Zeit bieten hier in der Regel, vor allem soweit sie abseits vom Fuß des Gebirges in der Ebene liegen, einen viel dürftigeren Befund als weiter nördlich im Hügel- und Bergland; um wie viel mehr die noch bescheideneren Bauten aus altisraelitischer Zeit[4]! Infolgedessen sieht sich die archäologische Forschung auf die wenigen hohen *tulūl* der Gegend mit ihrem charakteristischen Profil und mit ihrem reicheren keramischen Befund vor allem hingewiesen; sie müssen offenbar die eigentlichen Siedlungszentren des frühen Altertums gewesen sein, die schon bestanden, bevor der Ausbau der kleineren Orte und Gehöfte begann. Daraus ergibt sich für uns die Notwendigkeit, eben diese *tulūl* und möglichst nur

[1] Besonders der Rückzug des seßhaften Bauerntums aus dem Negeb auf das südjudäische Gebirge in den letzten Jahrhunderten mag manchen Namen in Vergessenheit gebracht haben.

[2] Über Einzelhöfe als typische Erscheinung an den Rändern der festbesiedelten Gebiete Palästinas vgl. *PJB*, XXVIII (1932) S. 10 ff.; über solche im westlichen Negeb generell Deut. 2[23] (dazu MAISLER, *JPOS*, XIV [1934] S. 265 mit Anm. 103). — Sind vielleicht auch permanente Zeltlager ohne Hausbauten unter den Orten des Negeb-Gaues verzeichnet?

[3] Das wird auch für die historische Bewertung des Siedlungsbildes der anderen Gaue wichtig sein.

[4] Vgl. *PJB*, XXIX (1933) S. 14 ff.

sie mit denjenigen Orten in Verbindung zu setzen, die auch in der literarischen Überlieferung des Alten Testaments sichtlich als die ältesten und von den Israeliten bei ihrer Landnahme schon vorgefundenen hervortreten, gleichgültig ob die alten Namen noch heute an ihnen haften oder nicht. Erst wenn sich für sie einleuchtende Identifikationen haben gewinnen lassen, wird die schwerere und vielleicht niemals ganz lösbare Aufgabe mit einiger Aussicht auf Erfolg in Angriff genommen werden können, in dieses zunächst noch sehr weitmaschige Netz auch die Fülle der kleineren und jüngeren Orte einzutragen, soweit deren Lage nicht schon im voraus durch Erhaltung ihrer Namen und durch entsprechende archäologische Befunde gesichert ist.

Diese methodischen Vorbehalte, die teils aus unserer Einsicht in die Herkunft und das Wesen der alttestamentlichen Ortslisten, teils aus der Prüfung der archäologischen Tatsachen folgen, waren dem letzten Bearbeiter der alten Topographie des Negeb Sir Flinders Petrie kaum zur Genüge bewußt, und so gelangte er besonders mit Hilfe hemmungsloser Gleichungen zwischen antiken und modernen Ortsnamen ohne jede Rücksicht auf die sprachlichen Gesetze zu einem so phantastischen Gesamtbild der historischen Landschaft, daß ein kritisches Eingehen auf seine Thesen von vornherein aussichtslos wäre.[1] Sehr viel besser begründet sowohl in philologischer wie in archäologischer und historischer Hinsicht war die von Sir Flinders Petrie ganz übersehene Behandlung, die Albright schon vor zehn Jahren in dieser Zeitschrift dem gleichen Gegenstand widmete; seine Kennerschaft in allen hier einschlägigen Fragen kam dieser Arbeit in vollem Maße zu statten.[2] Dennoch bedarf auch sie heute der Revision, nachdem einige ihrer Aufstellungen teils durch Albright selbst, teils durch andere überholt worden sind; gerade für die Westgrenze des judäischen oder simeonitischen Negeb, mit der wir in erster Linie beschäftigt sind, scheint mir eine Nachprüfung besonders notwendig.

Nach Albright wäre der westlichste Ort, den die Listen des Alten Testaments für Juda oder Simeon in Anspruch nehmen, jenes Bethu(e)l von Jos. 19^{4} und 1. Chron. 4^{30}, das in Jos. 15^{30} zu Chesil verschrieben ist und in der davidischen Ortsliste von

[1] *Ancient Egypt*, 1928, S. 97 ff.; *Beth-Pelet*. I (1930) S. 1 f. Taf. II.

[2] *JPOS*, IV (1924) S. 149 ff.

1. Sam. 30[27] in der Form Bethel erscheint. Er glaubte den Namen in dem des Bischofssitzes Bitolion der byzantinischen Zeit wiederzuerkennen und suchte beide, einer Vermutung MUSILS für Bitolion folgend, bei dem Heiligtum des *schēch nūrān* auf seinem weithin sichtbaren Hügel etwa 35 km westlich von Beerseba, nur noch 15 km von der Küste des Mittelmeers entfernt.[1] Es leuchtet ein, was diese Identifikation, wenn sie als richtig erwiesen werden könnte, für unsere Gesamtauffassung der alttestamentlichen Ortslisten bedeuten würde: nur der eigentliche Küstenstreifen mit seinem allernächsten Hinterland bliebe dann von ihnen ausgeschlossen; im übrigen hätten wir volle Freiheit für unsere Ansetzung der dort genannten Orte. Nachdem sich aber ergeben hat, daß Bitolion keinesfalls in der Gegend des *schēch nūrān*, sondern noch mehr als 30 km weiter westsüdwestlich bei dem Heiligtum des *schēch zuwejjid* nahe der Küste an der Hauptstraße von Palästina nach Ägypten gesucht werden muß,[2] ist auch der Gleichsetzung von Bethu(e)l mit *schēch nūrān*, die ja nur auf dem Anklang des biblischen Namens an Bitolion beruhte, die Grundlage entzogen.

Immerhin scheint das Gebiet des Reiches Juda zur Zeit Josias nach den Listen gerade in dieser Breite ziemlich nahe an die Gegend von *schēch nūrān* herangereicht zu haben. Zu dieser Anschauung ist man genötigt, wenn man die Identifikation für richtig hält, die ALBRIGHT neuerdings für einen anderen Ort der Listen vorgeschlagen hat, nämlich die Gleichsetzung des *tell el-fāreʿ*, etwa 29 km westlich von *bīr es-sebaʿ* und 7 km ostsüdöstlich von *schēch nūrān*, mit Saruhen, das zwar nur in Jos. 19[6] in dieser Form überliefert ist, aber durch genau entsprechende Schreibungen in ägyptischen Denkmälern des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. gesichert wird.[3] Nach den Aussagen der ägyptischen Inschriften muß dieser

[1] Ebenda, S. 154 f.

[2] Vgl. DALMAN, *PJB*, XX (1924), S. 57; ALT, *ZDPV*, XLIX (1926), S. 236 ff. 333 ff.

[3] ALBRIGHT, *BASOR*, XXXIII (1929), S. 7; *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (1932), S. 53. 187; vgl. ALT, *PJB*, XXX (1934), S. 18. Die ägyptischen Belege für Šrḥn bei SETHE, *Urkunden des ägypt. Altertums*, IV, S. 4. 648; die Sisakliste meint mit ihrem Šrḥm (W. M. MÜLLER, *Egyptological Researches*, I [1906], Taf. 48 Nr. 125) gewiß denselben Ort. Die abweichenden Schreibungen des Namens in Jos. 15[32] und 1. Chron. 4[31] fallen nicht ins Gewicht; vgl. ALBRIGHT, *a. a. O.*, S. 134 Anm. 6.

Ort ein Hauptbollwerk der Hyksos am Südrand Palästinas gewesen sein; erst durch seine Eroberung nach dreijährigem Kampfe wurde den thebanischen Pharaonen, die die Hyksos aus Ägypten vertrieben hatten, der Vorstoß durch Palästina nach Syrien und bis zum Euphrat möglich, der zur Angliederung dieser Länder an das ägyptische Neue Reich führte. Dem archäologischen Tatbestand, den man hiernach von Saruhen zu erwarten hat, entsprechen aber die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen von Sir FLINDERS PETRIE auf und um *tell el-fāreʿ*, in denen gerade die Hyksoszeit besonders hervortritt, so ausgezeichnet, daß man diesem Identifikationsvorschlag ALBRIGHTS ein hohes Maß von Wahrscheinlichkeit zusprechen muß.[1] Dann greift die josianische Reichsliste mit diesem Brückenkopf immer noch über die tiefe Rinne des *wādi esch-schellāl*, in der man sonst eher eine natürliche Grenze sehen würde, nach Westen hinüber, aber vielleicht auch nicht wesentlich weiter, und die von MUSIL empfohlene Gleichsetzung des *tell el-fāreʿ* mit Gerar, für die es meines Erachtens keine entscheidenden Gründe gibt, wird hinfällig.[2] Gerade bei einem so weit nach Westen vorgeschobenen Punkt haben wir uns dann aber in Erinnerung an die außergewöhnliche Situation zur Zeit Josias zu fragen, ob er zu dem alten, numehr zurückgewonnenen Territorium des Reiches Juda und noch spezieller zu dem angestammten Siedlungsgebiet des israelitischen Bevölkerungsteils im Negeb, also etwa zu Simeon, gehörte oder ob er ein erst jetzt dem Reich der Davididen einverleibter Ort von nichtisraelitischer Vergangenheit war. Schon die geographische Lage des *tell el-fāreʿ* spricht doch wohl für die letztere Annahme, und nicht weniger tut dies seine archäologische Hinterlassenschaft zumal in den Nekropolen, wo sich eine philistäische Schicht der frühen Eisenzeit deutlich zu erkennen gibt. Und die nur allzu spärlichen Nachrichten des Alten Testaments über die Landnahme israelitischer Gruppen im Negeb bestätigen diese Auffassung wenigstens indirekt dadurch, daß sie über eine Eroberung von Saruhen oder andere

[1] Ausgrabungsberichte: *Beth-Pelet* I. II (1930 f.); dazu GALLING, *ZDPV*, LIV (1931), S. 93 ff. Die Identifikation des *tell el-fāreʿ* mit dem Beth-Pelet der alttestamentlichen Listen, die Sir FLINDERS PETRIE vorschlug, beruht auf völlig undiskutierbaren sprachlichen Voraussetzungen.

[2] MUSIL, *Arabia Petraea* II, 2 (1908) S. 245; vgl. DALMAN, *PJB*, XX (1924), S. 63 f., der Gerar noch 14 km weiter südöstlich auf dem natürlichen Hügel (vgl. *PJB*, XXX [1934], S. 18) *tell eṭ-ṭwejjil* bei *bīr eṣ-ṣini* ansetzen wollte.

Beziehungen zwischen ihm und seinen Nachbarn vollständig schweigen, wie ja auch in der Liste der von David mit Beuteanteilen bedachten Orte von Saruhen nicht die Rede ist; doch fehlt einem solchen *argumentum e silentio* natürlich die zwingende Beweiskraft. Der scheinbar naheliegende Einwand aber, daß Saruhen nicht mit dem *tell el-fāreʿ* identifiziert werden könne, da es in den verschiedenen Überlieferungsformen der josianischen Reichsliste trotz gewisser Variationen der Reihenfolge doch immer mit einer später zu besprechenden Gruppe von Orten zusammengestellt ist, die rund 40 km östlich, also bedenklich weit von dem *tell* entfernt liegen, verliert seine Bedeutung, wenn es sich bei Saruhen, wie wir annehmen, um einen Ort außerhalb und abseits des alten geschlossenen Territoriums des Reiches Juda handelt; denn in diesem Falle besagt die Zusammenstellung der Namen eben nichts über das räumliche Verhältnis der Orte zu einander, sondern ist nur ein für den Aufbau der Liste unentbehrlicher Notbehelf.[1] Dann darf aber aus dem Auftreten von Saruhen in diesem Zusammenhang auch nicht auf einen Gesamtverlauf der Westgrenze des Reiches Juda zur Zeit Josias geschlossen werden, der in annähernd gerader Linie von Saruhen zu nördlicheren Grenzpunkten führen müßte; eine mehr oder weniger starke Einbuchtung der Grenze sogleich nördlich von Saruhen nach Osten hin, sei es bis zum Westrand des alten Reichsterritoriums, wie es zur Zeit Hiskias und früher gewesen war, oder doch bis zu einem nicht so weit nach Westen ausgreifenden neugewonnenen Gebiet, wäre in den unreifen Verhältnissen der josianischen Expansionspolitik mindestens ebenso gut denkbar und ein gutes Gegenstück zu dem Stand der Dinge

[1] Diesem Sachverhalt entspräche es natürlich am besten, wenn Saruhen ganz am Schluß der Namenreihe stünde und durch diese Stellung einigermaßen von der Ortsgruppe abgehoben wäre, die ihm unmittelbar vorhergeht. In der Liste von Jos. 19 ist das tatsächlich wenigstens insofern der Fall, als sogleich hinter der Nennung von Saruhen die Summe der bis dahin aufgezählten Orte angegeben wird, was von dem Autor der Liste ja immer als Abschluß einer Gruppe gemeint ist; die von Jos. 19 abhängige Liste in 1. Chron. 4 verzichtet auf die Summierung, behält aber die Anordnung bei. Dunkel bleibt nur, warum in Jos. 19 aus den wenigen hinter Saruhen noch aufgezählten Orten eine besondere Gruppe gebildet ist. Die Liste in Jos. 15 nennt hinter Saruhen nur noch den ersten der in Jos. 19 abseits gestellten Orte; die fehlenden Namen sind dort an eine ganz andere Stelle verschlagen. Neh. 11 hilft nicht weiter.

an der über Ekron bis in die Gegend von Lydda und Joppe vorgeschobenen Nordwestecke des Reiches, die sich in der Liste von Jos. 19[41] ff. zu erkennen gibt.[1] Ohnehin steht ja von vornherein fest und wird auch von ALBRIGHT in der Kartenskizze, die er seiner Abhandlung über den Negeb beigab, anerkannt,[2] daß die Westgrenze der josianischen Reichsliste aus der Gegend des *tell el-fāreʿ* (oder gar von *schēch nūrān*) keinesfalls gerade nach Norden laufen konnte, sondern nach Nordosten abbiegen mußte, um das Territorium von Gaza auszuschließen und auf die nördlicheren judäischen Gaue zu treffen, die nach Westen kaum über das Hügelland der Sephela hinausreichten. Wenn aber die Grenze schon in der Gegend nahe nördlich des *tell el-fāreʿ* den entscheidenden Rücksprung nach Osten machte, so konnte der Bereich des *wādi esch-scherīʿa*, in dem wir Gerar vermuten und den wir uns dann selbst unter Josia außerhalb des judäischen Reichsterritoriums denken müssen, da ja Gerar in den aus dieser Zeit stammenden Listen nicht genannt wird, sehr wohl westlich der Grenze bleiben.

Dann ist nur die Frage, ob sich diese Auffassung auch mit den sonstigen Angaben der Listen in Einklang bringen läßt, und dafür wieder kommt es besonders auf die Lage jener Gruppe von Orten an, mit denen Saruhen, wie wir sahen, wenigstens äußerlich in den Listen verbunden ist. Nur vier von ihren Namen scheinen noch heute an ihrer alten Stelle fortzuleben: das in allen Listen genannte En-Rimmon, heute *chirbet umm er-ramāmīn* bei *tell el-chuwēlfe*, das auch EUSEBIUS als jüdisches Großdorf seiner Zeit am gleichen Platze kennt,[3] ferner das Jos. 15[42] in einen nördlicheren Gau verschlagene, aber Jos. 19[7] und 1. Chron. 4[32] zu Simeon gerechnete und uns auch durch 1. Sam. 30[30] und 1. Chron. 6[44] für den Süden bezeugte (Bor-)Asan, heute *chirbet ʿasan* bei *bīr es-sebaʿ*,[4] und schließlich noch zwei Namen, die uns so nur in Jos. 15[31] überliefert sind, während ihre Formen in den Fassungen von Jos. 19 und 1. Chron. 4 ganz anders aussehen: Madmanna, heute *chirbet umm dēmne*, und Sansanna, heute *chirbet esch-schamsānijjāt*,[5] beide ähnlich wie En-Rimmon und nahe bei einander am Nordrand der großen Bucht von Beerseba

1 Vgl. *PJB*, XXI (1925), S. 110 f. 115 (Annexion vormals philistäischer Gebiete).
2 *A. a. O.*, S. 151. 3 *Onom.*, 88,17 f. KLOSTERMANN.
4 MUSIL, *Arabia Petraea* II, 2 (1908), S. 66.
5 Vgl. *PJB*, XXIX (1933), S. 15.

gelegen, Sansanna noch in den ersten Vorhügeln des judäischen Gebirges, Madmanna schon beträchtlich höher auf einem Ausläufer des Gebirges selbst. Man wird es als ein Zeichen für die Richtigkeit der Namensformen von Jos. 15^{31} ansehen dürfen, daß sich zu ihnen so gut passende moderne Entsprechungen in der geforderten nachbarlichen Lage finden; die sehr viel durchsichtigeren Formen in Jos. 19^{5} und 1. Chron. 4^{31} verdienen kaum den Vorzug und lassen sich als sekundäre Entstellungen verstehen.[1] Alle vier Namen zusammen aber verweisen die ganze Gruppe von Orten, in der sie stehen, in ein und dieselbe Gegend, nämlich teils an den niedrigen Höhenzug, der sich vom südsüdwestlichen Ende des judäischen Gebirges in der gleichen Richtung weiter bis gegen Beerseba hin erstreckt (so En-Rimmon und Bor-Asan), teils in seine östliche Nachbarschaft (so Sansanna und Madmanna). Bedenken wir nun, daß die Orte des Negeb-Gaues in den Listen, wie wohl allgemein anerkannt ist, im Großen und Ganzen von Ost nach West aufgezählt sind und daß die Gruppe, mit der wir uns hier beschäftigen, gerade am Ende der ganzen Aufzählung steht, so werden wir uns der Schlußfolgerung kaum entziehen können, daß dann eben jener Höhenzug die Westgrenze des Gaues gebildet haben wird, soweit nicht wie im Falle von Saruhen durch Josias Expansionspolitik ein Vortragen der Grenze über diese naturgegebene Linie stattgefunden hatte. Dann bleibt das *wādi esch-scherīʿa*, dessen Einzugsgebiet nur der Westabhang des genannten Höhenzuges ist, immer noch außerhalb des altjudäischen oder simeonitischen Territoriums liegen.

Den wünschenswerten Grad von Sicherheit gewinnt unsere Auffassung aber erst dann, wenn wir in der bezeichneten Gegend mindestens auch noch für den zu der gleichen Gruppe im Negeb-Gau gehörigen Ort eine geeignete Stelle ausfindig machen können, der nach anderen Nachrichten des Alten Testaments für den ursprünglichen Vorort seiner Umgebung zu gelten hat: für Horma. Die Überlieferung ist sich darüber einig, daß Horma schon vor der Landnahme der Israeliten als befestigtes Herrschaftszentrum am Südrand Palästinas außerhalb des judäischen Gebirges bestand und darum mit in erster Linie zur Abwehr der Eindringlinge aus der Wüste berufen war.[2] Seine Eroberung wird demgemäß als das

[1] Anders urteilte ALBRIGHT, *a. a. O.*, S. 159 f.

[2] Num. 14^{45} (hier ist die Lage südlich außerhalb des Gebirges besonders deutlich); danach Deut. 1^{44} (mit unklarer Vorstellung von der Örtlichkeit).

entscheidende Ereignis in der Auseinandersetzung der Israeliten mit den vorgefundenen Besitzern der Landschaft betrachtet[1]; ja man kennt sogar noch seinen vorisraelitischen Namen, der erst aus Anlaß und zum Gedächtnis der Vorgänge bei diesem gewaltsamen Besitzwechsel durch Horma ersetzt wurde: Zephath.[2] Während aber sonst entsprechend der Ausweitung aller Erinnerungen an die Zeit der Landnahme ins Nationale der Kampf um Horma als gemeinsame Unternehmung von ganz Israel dargestellt wird, sagt die von diesem Ausweitungsprozeß noch wenig berührte früheste Aufzeichnung in Ri. 1[17] ganz klar, daß es der Stamm Simeon war, der mit Unterstützung Judas die Kanaanäerstadt Zephath vernichtete und so sein Siedlungsgebiet gewann, und wir haben allen Grund, uns mit unseren Vorstellungen von den Wohnsitzen der Simeoniten an diese unverdächtige Nachricht zu halten.[3] Dann ist hier wieder ein Punkt erreicht, an dem wir wie bei Saruhen hoffen können, mit Hilfe archäologischer Untersuchung eine Lücke im historischen Landschaftsbild zu schließen; denn wenn auch die beiden alten Namen Zephath und Horma anscheinend längst aus dem lebendigen Sprachgebrauch der Anwohner verschwunden sind,[4] so sollte man doch erwarten, daß ein Ort in dieser Gegend, der schon vor der Landnahme der Israeliten als feste Stadt bestand und nach Ausweis unserer Listen mindestens bis zur Zeit Josias fortlebte, greifbare Überreste im Gelände zurückgelassen haben müßte. Zumal aus der oben charakterisierten Dürftigkeit der meisten anderen alten Siedlungen des Gebiets sollte sich der *tell* von Zephath und Horma nur um so deutlicher herausheben.

In der Tat sind es denn auch nur sehr wenige Orte in dem bisher von uns umgrenzten Raum, die unter archäologischem

[1] Ri. 1[17]; Jos. 12[14]; Num. 21[8] (hier in sekundärer Zusammenstellung mit Arad).

[2] Ri. 1[17]; danach Num. 21[8] (hier ist der Name Zephath schon verloren). — Zephath ist uns als kanaanäischer Ortsname für eine viel nördlichere Gegend durch die Annalen Thutmosis' III. bezeugt (vgl. *PJB*, XXVII [1931], S. 38 f.; anders, aber schwerlich treffender YEIVIN, *JPOS*, XIV [1934], S. 206 f.); für unser südliches Zephath scheint ein vorisraelitischer Beleg bisher zu fehlen.

[3] Selbst die in ihr behauptete Mitbeteiligung Judas an dem Unternehmen Simeons ist historisch sehr gut vorstellbar, da wir wissen, daß Juda auch später noch einen Anteil am Negeb besaß (1. Sam. 27[10]; vgl. 30[14]).

[4] EUSEBIUS verzeichnet zwar das biblische Horma, aber ohne Lokalisierung oder Identifikation mit einem Ort seiner Zeit (*Onom.* 88, 1 f.).

Gesichtspunkt für die Identifikation mit Zephath und Horma in Betracht gezogen werden können.[1] Einen solchen mit besonders gutem Oberflächenbefund hat seinerzeit ALBRIGHT in seinem mehrfach erwähnten Aufsatz vorgeschlagen: *tell esch-scherīʿa* am gleichnamigen Tal, etwa 20 km nordnordwestlich von *bīr es-sebaʿ*, dessen Keramik nach ALBRIGHTS Beobachtungen mindestens von der Späten Bronzezeit bis in die hellenistisch-römische Periode reicht und der in jeder Hinsicht als das alte Siedlungszentrum jenes Tales erscheint.[2] Aber nichts in den Nachrichten des Alten Testaments über Horma führt meines Erachtens auf eine Lage so weit im Westen jenseits des Hügelzuges, den wir oben auf grund von Ortsnamen der Listen des Negeb-Gaues als die Westgrenze des judäischen oder simeonitischen Territoriums ansprechen zu müssen glaubten; ALBRIGHT selbst bringt für seinen Vorschlag keine besonderen Argumente bei, sondern scheint zu ihm nur durch seine Gesamtansicht über die Erstreckung jenes Gaues nach Westen veranlaßt gewesen zu sein, deren Voraussetzungen sich uns als nicht zutreffend ergeben haben. Man könnte dem entgegenhalten wollen, daß Horma auf *tell esch-scherīʿa* noch längst nicht so weit im Westen liegen würde wie Saruhen auf *tell el-fāreʿ*; unsere Zustimmung zu dieser letzteren Identifikation müßte uns darum auch jener geneigt machen. Doch besteht eben zwischen den beiden Fällen der große Unterschied, daß wir zwar Saruhen ohne Bedenken und sogar mit einem hohen Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit als eine neue Erwerbung Josias außerhalb des altjudäischen Reichsgebiets betrachten können, hingegen Horma nach dem klaren Zeugnis des Alten Testaments innerhalb dieses Gebiets zu suchen haben. Eine so weite Ausbuchtung der Grenze des Negeb-Gaues nach Westen, wie wir sie bei Saruhen aus den angegebenen Gründen für die Zeit Josias — und nur für sie — annehmen, ist daher in dem Falle von Horma nicht zu erwarten und wäre wenigstens erst in Betracht zu ziehen, wenn sich der Versuch einer Ansetzung von Horma östlich jenes Höhenzuges als undurchführbar erwiesen hätte.

[1] Der auf E. ROBINSON zurückgehende Gedanke an eine Lage von Zephath-Horma in der Gegend des *naḳb eṣ-ṣafa* zwischen *kurnub* und *ḥoṣeb* am Abfall des Gebirges zur *ʿaraba* ist weder geographisch noch archäologisch haltbar; vgl. jetzt GLUECK, *BASOR*, LV (1934), S. 18 f.

[2] *A. a. O.*, S. 155 f. Mir selbst sind bei einem Besuch des *tell esch-scherīʿa* im Sommer 1931 Scherben der Späten Bronzezeit nicht zu Gesicht gekommen.

Dort bietet sich als erster möglicher Punkt für Zephath-Horma der noch größere *tell el-chuwēlfe*, der etwa 16 km genau östlich von *tell esch-scherīʿa* zwischen zwei Köpfen des *wādi esch-scherīʿa* nahe dem nördlichen Ende des besagten Höhenzuges in der Linie seiner Verwerfung gegen das östliche Gebirge über der Kreuzung wichtiger Wege sowohl in der Nordsüd- wie in der Westostrichtung liegt. Er zeigt zwar auf seiner Oberfläche keinen Scherbenbelag der Späten Bronze-, sondern nur solchen der Eisenzeit bis gegen das sechste Jahrhundert v. Chr. hinab; aber seine Schutthöhe spricht durchaus dafür, daß noch ältere Schichten hinter der teilweise sichtbaren Ummauerung verborgen vorhanden sind. Darum hat denn auch ALBRIGHT seinerzeit kein Bedenken getragen, diesen *tell* für das nachweisbar schon in der Späten Bronzezeit und vielleicht noch früher existierende Saruhen zu erklären, bevor er den oben besprochenen und gebilligten Vorschlag der Identifikation von Saruhen mit *tell el-fāreʿ* machte.[1] So wäre *tell el-chuwēlfe* jetzt für Zephath-Horma frei, und manches könnte in der Tat für diese Gleichung sprechen. Vor allem ergäbe sich durch sie in der anekdotenhaften Darstellung der Landnahme von Juda und Simeon in Ri. 1^{1-17}, die über Besek und Jerusalem, Hebron und Kirjath-Sepher gerade bis nach Zephath-Horma führt,[2] eine gute geographische Ordnung, gleichgültig ob man Kirjath-Sepher mit ALBRIGHT in dem nur 8 km nordnordöstlich von *tell el-chuwēlfe* an der gleichen Verwerfungslinie gelegenen *tell bēt mirsim* oder mit ELLIGER und NOTH weiter im Osten auf dem Gebirge sucht.[3] Daß Horma dann ziemlich hart an der Nordgrenze, wenn nicht geradezu in der Nordwestecke des Negeb-Gaues läge, also im Verhältnis zu diesem an einer Stelle, die für einen alten Vorort keineswegs normal wäre,[4] kommt als Gegenargument mindestens nicht entscheidend in Betracht; die spätere Gaueinteilung des Reiches Juda brauchte sich ja nicht streng an die ehemalige Abgrenzung des Territoriums zu halten, zumal wenn

[1] *A. a. O.*, S. 158 f.

[2] Die Abschweifung zu den Kenitern in Ri. 1^{16} (Arad) bleibt dabei außer Betracht.

[3] ELLIGER, *PJB*, XXX (1934), S. 63 ff.; NOTH oben S. 44 ff.

[4] Der nördlich angrenzende Gau von Jos. 15^{37-41} reicht mit Migdal-Gad, falls diesem *tell el-medschādil* entspricht, sehr nahe an die Breite des *tell el-chuwēlfe* heran. Ähnlich läuft heute die Grenze zwischen der riesigen Flur von *dūra* im Norden und dem Gebiet der *tijāha* im Süden durch das *wādi el-miḳṣar* wenig nördlich des *tell el-chuwēlfe*.

dieses etwa nach der Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme teilweise noch einmal den Besitzer gewechselt hatte.[1]

Trotzdem halte ich die Identifikation des *tell el-chuwēlfe* mit Zephath-Horma durchaus nicht für sicher, sondern rechne fast noch mehr mit der Möglichkeit, daß er dem in den Listen des Alten Testaments unmittelbar neben Horma genannten Ziklag entspricht, das man bisher kaum mit Recht auf grund eines zweifelhaften Namensanklangs viel weiter westlich in der unbedeutenden byzantinisch-arabischen *chirbet zuḥēlīḳa* 7 km nordnordwestlich von *tell esch-scherīʿa* hat finden wollen.[2] Denn auch dieser Ort kann schwerlich für eine bescheidene neue Siedlung der Landnahmezeit gelten, obwohl es uns an direkten Nachrichten über sein Bestehen schon in der vor-israelitischen Vergangenheit fehlt und seine frühesten Erwähnungen in dem auf uns gekommenen Schrifttum erst der Zeit Davids angehören. Wenn es da aber heißt, daß der Philisterkönig Achis von Gath seinem Gefolgsmann David Ziklag als Lehen und Stützpunkt für militärische Operationen an der Südgrenze seines Herrschaftsgebiets überließ, und wenn dabei noch besonders betont wird, daß Ziklag seitdem dauernd ein Krongut der Davididen blieb,[3] so läßt das viel eher an eine alte kanaanäische Stadt denken, die neuerdings in Abhängigkeit von den Philistern geraten war, als an ein junges judäisches oder simeonitisches Dorf; Orte wie Gerar im Westen,[4] Kegila und Adullam im Norden[5] wären dazu die richtigen Gegenstücke. Dann paßt aber der *tell el-chuwēlfe* wie kaum ein anderer Punkt zu dem Bild, das wir uns von Ziklag zu machen haben. Seine Randlage im Verhältnis zu dem Negeb-Gau der josianischen Liste, die uns im Falle seiner Identifikation mit Zephath-Horma bedenklich erschien, kann nicht mehr überraschen, wenn er eine Stadt trug, die sich zwar den Judäern und Simeoniten, aber nicht den Philistern gegenüber hatte behaupten können,[6] und ebenso

[1] Man vergleiche die Zerschneidung des alten Territoriums von Thappuah durch die späteren Stammesgrenzen zwischen Manasse und Ephraim (Jos. 17^{8}).

[2] Ältere Reste habe ich 1931 im Bereich dieser reichlich flachen Ortslage nirgends beobachtet.

[3] 1. Sam. 27^{6}. [4] Vgl. Gen. 26^{1}. [5] 1 Sam. 22^{1} 23^{1} ff.

[6] Dann ist Ziklag natürlich, obwohl dem Negeb-Gau der josianischen Liste eingegliedert, aus dem echten alten Siedlungsgebiet der Simeoniten auszuschließen, und es zeigt sich, daß jede Kanaanäerstadt in dieser Grenzzone ihr besonderes Schicksal hatte, Ziklag ein anderes als Zephath, Saruhen ein anderes als Gerar.

wird es dann aus der verkehrsgeographischen Position des *tell* verständlich, daß die auf ihm stationierte Söldnertruppe Davids unter seiner Führung ebenso gut gegen die Amalekiter und andere Wüstenstämme im Süden operieren konnte, wie sie nach Achis' Willen gegen den Negeb der Judäer, Jerahmeeliter und Keniter im Südosten operieren sollte;[1] gerade für eine von Norden her in diese Gegenden übergreifende Macht wie die der Philister von Gath bedeutete die Besetzung von Ziklag, wenn dieses auf dem *tell el-ḫuwēlfe* lag, den Gewinn einer Schlüsselstellung, von der aus die südöstlichen Nachbarn leicht beherrscht oder wenigstens überwacht werden konnten.[2] Daß dann Ziklag schließlich auch in die zu erwartende Randlage zu dem uns leider nicht in allen Einzelheiten greifbaren Kreis von Orten kommt, die David von dort aus mit Anteilen seiner Amalekiterbeute bedachte,[3] kann uns in dem Zutrauen zu diesem Identifikationsvorschlag nur bestärken, und das anscheinend frühzeitig eingetretene Absterben des Namens Ziklag ist um so weniger ein Zweifelsgrund, da der *tell el-ḫuwēlfe* von der Mitte des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. an nicht mehr besiedelt war und überdies auch der nichtsemitische Klang des Namens sein Erhaltenbleiben erschwerte.[4]

Die israelitischen Überlieferungen über die Landnahmezeit können unter diesen Umständen von Ziklag nicht reden.

[1] 1. Sam. 27^{8} ff. 30^{9} ff. Davids Züge gegen die Amalekiter verlaufen westlich oder östlich an dem von *tell el-ḫuwēlfe* bis *bīr es-sebaʿ* streichenden Höhenrücken entlang, also westlich des judäischen oder simeonitischen Territoriums im Negeb.

[2] Daß die binnenländische Philisterstadt Gath und nicht das küstennahe Gaza in den östlichen Negeb vorstieß, entspricht den geographischen Verhältnissen.

[3] 1. Sam. 30^{26} ff.. Der Kreis dieser Orte umfaßt allem Anschein nach die ganzen Buchten von *bīr es-sebaʿ* und *wādi el-milḥ* sowie einen breiten Rand des nördlich angrenzenden Gebirges.

[4] Zum Namen vgl. BOREE, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930), S. 116. Weder JOSEPHUS noch EUSEBIUS scheinen den Ort als noch zu ihrer Zeit bestehend zu kennen; die Angabe des letzteren, Ziklag liege im Daromas (*Onom.* 156, 11 f.), ist wohl einfach eine Folgerung aus dem, was das Alte Testament über die Zugehörigkeit von Ziklag zum Negeb sagt (also nicht umgekehrt mit BURROWS, *JPOS*, XII [1932], S. 144 f., zur Abgrenzung des Daromas zu verwenden). Hingegen wäre denkbar, daß das jüdische Großdorf Thala (oder Thella, wie HIERONYMUS in seiner Übersetzung des Onomastikons schreibt), dem EUSEBIUS nach dem nur bei HIERONYMUS erhaltenen vollständigen Text dieselbe Ortsbestimmung gab wie Eremmon = *ḫirbet umm er-ramāmīn* (16 Meilen südlich von

Wenn wir es aber einmal mit dieser Ansetzung von Ziklag versuchen, so stellt sich uns erst recht die Frage, wo in dem dann verbleibenden Raum wir einen geeigneten Ort für Zephath-Horma ausfindig machen können, ohne über den Höhenzug zwischen *tell el-ḫuwēlfe* und *bīr es-sebaʿ* als die von uns vorläufig angenommene Westgrenze des judäischen oder simeonitischen Negeb hinauszugehen und ohne unsere Forderung fallen zu lassen, daß Zephath-Horma als ein schon in vorisraelitischer Zeit befestigter und auch in israelitischer Zeit mindestens noch besiedelter Ort nur in einem *tell* gesucht werden dürfe. Diese beiden Bedingungen und besonders die zuletzt genannte schränken unsere Auswahl sehr empfindlich ein; denn an richtigen *tulūl* im archäologischen Sinn des Wortes ist in dem so begrenzten Gebiet zwischen Gebirge und Wüste kein Überfluß, ja es bleiben uns eigentlich nur zwei zur Verfügung, die nicht durch Erhaltung ihrer ursprünglichen Namen von vornherein mit anderen Orten des Altertums identifiziert sind: *tell es-sebaʿ* oder *tell el-emschāsch*, 5 km östlich von *bīr es-sebaʿ*, und *tell el-milḥ*, noch etwa 20 km östlich davon.[1] Zwar hat man auch für diese *tulūl* längst andere Gleichsetzungen: *tell es-sebaʿ* soll das berühmte alte Beerseba, *tell el-milḥ* das sehr viel weniger bekannte Molada der Negeb-Listen sein; aber weder der eine noch der andere Vorschlag läßt sich meines Erachtens ausreichend begründen. Denn Beerseba tritt uns im Alten Testament ganz vorwiegend nur als großes Wall-

Eleutheropolis; *Onom.* 98,26 f. = 88,17 f.), der großen byzantinisch-arabischen *ḫirbet el-ḫuwēlfe* östlich unterhalb des gleichnamigen *tell* entspricht und geradezu nach ihm benannt ist; die sprachlich nicht zu rechtfertigende Gleichsetzung dieses Thala mit dem Orte Thalcha von Jos. 19[7] LXX, die EUSEBIUS vorträgt, kann hier auf sich beruhen. Daß der neue Name *el-ḫuwēlfe*, der ja gut arabisch ist, schon im Mittelalter fest an seiner jetzigen Stelle haftete, zeigt seine Verwendung bei den arabischen Historikern der Kreuzfahrerzeit (Quellen und Referat bei RÖHRICHT, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* [1898], S. 626 f.).

[1] Die Karten verzeichnen in dem fraglichen Gebiet noch einige andere *tulūl*; aber *tell umm baṭṭīn* ist ein natürlicher Höhenrücken (*PJB*, XXIX [1933], S. 15 Anm. 2), *tell es-saʿwe* ein bloßer Berggipfel (wenn auch mit byzantinischen Ruinen am Abhang; vgl. WOOLLEY, *PEF. Annual*, 1914, S. 47), ebenso allem Anschein nach *tell ṛurr*, und die Siedlungsreste des *tell es-saḳāṭi* bei dem gleichnamigen Brunnen sind jung. Den übrigen Ortslagen, soweit ich sie aus eigener Anschauung kenne, fehlt durchweg die ausgesprochene *tell*-Form, so insbesondere auch der bedeutenden *ḫirbet ḥōra*, bei der WOOLLEY bronzezeitliche Keramik gefunden haben will (*a. a. O.*, S. 48 f.)

fahrtsheiligtum der Israeliten und daneben als judäische oder simeonitische Siedlung entgegen, aber nie als eine feste Stadt, die schon in oder vor der Zeit der Landnahme bestanden hätte oder erst später gegründet worden wäre; auch die bekannte alte Formel „von Dan bis Beerseba" und ihre viel jüngere Nachbildung „von Geba bis Beerseba" setzen dies letztere nicht notwendig voraus.[1] Also braucht der Name Beerseba nicht, wie ich selbst früher annahm,[2] erst durch die Römer bei Gelegenheit der Errichtung eines Kastells an der Stelle des heutigen *bīr es-sebaʿ* von dem *tell* dorthin übertragen worden zu sein, sondern kann schon vorher dort gehaftet haben, gleichgültig wie die benachbarte feste Stadt auf dem *tell* hieß; auch im Falle von Hebron und Mamre, die ähnlich nahe bei einander liegen, teilen ja Stadt und Heiligtum nicht den gleichen Namen, sondern haben je ihre eigene Benennung für sich.[3] Dann wird auch die Tatsache besser verständlich, daß die israelitische Sage, wenn sie von einem in Beerseba geschlossenen Vertrag zwischen Isaak oder Abraham und einem Stadtkönig der Nachbarschaft weiß, den Vertragspartner in Gerar suchen kann, ohne sich durch den Gedanken an die so viel nähere Stadt auf dem *tell es-sebaʿ* stören zu lassen.[4] Archäologisch verhält es sich mit diesem wie mit *tell el-ḥuwēlfe*: nur Keramik der Eisenzeit—freilich herab bis zur hellenistischen Periode—ist auf seiner Oberfläche zu sehen, aber Älteres in den tieferen Schichten zu vermuten. Und was die schon von ROBINSON vorgeschlagene Gleichsetzung des *tell el-milḥ* mit Molada betrifft, so beruht sie ausschließlich auf der völlig unhaltbaren Meinung, als bestünde zwischen dem antiken und dem modernen

[1] Über das Heiligtum jetzt ZIMMERLI, *Geschichte und Tradition von Beerseba im Alten Testament* (theol. Dissertation Göttingen 1932); über die Siedlung vgl. auch 2. Kön. 12[1]. Bei der Formel „von Dan bis Beerseba" ist zu beachten, daß ja auch Dan den Israeliten vor allem als Heiligtum bekannt war.

[2] *PJB*, XXVI (1930), S. 50 f.

[3] Ebenso mag ursprünglich auch das Verhältnis der Namen Lus und Bethel zu einander gewesen sein.

[4] Gen. 26[23] ff. 21[22] ff.. Diese Sage erweckt fast den Eindruck, als läge Beerseba nahe der Grenze des Territoriums von Gerar, aber auf der nicht zu Gerar gehörigen Seite. Dann wäre sein Heiligtum eines jener Grenzheiligtümer, die auch anderwärts im israelitischen Palästina zum Rang weithin berühmter Wallfahrtsstätten erwuchsen (Mamre, Bethel, Gilgal bei Jericho, Thabor, in gewissem Sinne auch Jerusalem); vgl. ALT, *Der Gott der Väter* (1929), S. 58 Anm. 5 und S. 60 Anm. 1.

Namen eine ernsthafte lautliche Ähnlichkeit; schon GUTHE hat daher mit Recht diesen Vorschlag verworfen, zu dem ja auch sachlich die Nachrichten des Alten Testaments über Molada nicht den geringsten Anlaß geben.[1] Auch auf *tell el-milḥ* dominiert die Keramik der frühen Eisenzeit; hinzu kommt dort nur die Hinterlassenschaft des römischen Kastells Moleatha, das eine erhöhte Plattform über dem *tell* einnahm.[2]

So würden sich diese beiden *tulūl* an sich gleich gut für die Identifikation mit Zephath-Horma eignen, wenn nicht die Stelle, die Horma in den alttestamentlichen Listen des Negeb-Gaues einnimmt, den Ausschlag für den einen und gegen den anderen gäbe. Horma steht dort immer nahe dem Ende der ganzen Aufzählung, die wie schon gesagt allem Anschein nach im Osten beginnt und nach Westen hin verläuft, und immer unmittelbar neben Ziklag, was uns erst recht nach Westen verweist. Man müßte also die geographische Anordnung der Listen entweder leugnen oder wenigstens für gründlich gestört erklären, wenn man trotzdem die Gleichsetzung von Zephath-Horma mit *tell el-milḥ*, für die auch sonst kein Zug der Überlieferung besonders spricht,[3] behaupten wollte; die Frage, welcher andere alte Ort in diesem *tell* begraben liegt, bleibt also einstweilen offen und braucht hier nicht weiter verfolgt zu werden.[4] Um so größer wird dann aber die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß wir Zephath-Horma in dem so viel westlicher gelegenen *tell es-sebaʿ* suchen dürfen. Er paßt in der Tat zu allem, was man in Israel aus der Vergangenheit von Zephath-Horma im Gedächtnis behielt: als erster Punkt beim Angriff der aus der südlichen Wüste

[1] *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch* (1903) S. 441. 566; vgl. auch BUHL, *Geographie des alten Palästina* (1896), S. 183, und ALBRIGHT *a. a. O.*, S. 152 f.

[2] *PJB*, XXVI (1930), S. 48 ff.

[3] Daß man die sekundäre Verknüpfung von Horma mit Arad (*tell eʿrād*) in Num. 21[1. 3] nicht als Argument dafür verwerten darf, ist schon oben erwähnt.

[4] Auch die von ALBRIGHT *a. a. O.*, S. 153 f. vorgeschlagene Identifikation des *tell* mit Beth-Pelet erscheint mir nicht erweisbar, solange wir den letzteren Ort nur aus den Listen kennen und über seine Vorgeschichte nichts wissen. Mindestens mit dem gleichen Recht könnte man wegen der Rolle, die Gur-Baal in späterer Zeit einmal als Vorort des östlichen Negeb gespielt zu haben scheint (2. Chron. 26[7]), an dieses und an das damit vermutlich identische Jagur von Jos. 15[21] denken (vgl. *JPOS*, XII [1932], S. 135 Anm. 4); doch bleibt auch das vollkommen unsicher.

Kommenden ebenso wie als letzter Punkt bei der Verfolgung der aus dem nördlichen Gebirge Zurückgeschlagenen und vor allem auch als das vorisraelitische Herrschaftszentrum jenes Abschnittes des Negeb, in dem Simeon mit Juda Boden faßte. Und wenn sich dann eine enge nachbarliche Verknüpfung des Isaaksheiligtums von Beerseba mit dieser Kanaanäerstadt ergibt, so darf uns auch das nicht überraschen; denn es ist dasselbe Verhältnis wie bei dem Abrahamsheiligtum von Mamre neben Hebron und bei den Jakobsheiligtümern von Bethel und Sichem neben den gleichnamigen vorisraelitischen Städten, also etwas für die sakralen Haftpunkte der Vätersagen in Palästina geradezu Normales und Kennzeichnendes. Unerklärt bleibt nur, warum in den Listen des Negeb-Gaues Horma und Beerseba durch eine ganze Anzahl von Ortsnamen von einander getrennt sind, wenn sie doch so nahe zusammenlagen, und warum andererseits Horma bei Ziklag steht, obwohl sie nach den hier vorgeschlagenen Ansetzungen etwa 16 km von einander entfernt waren. Aber es ist ja auch nicht zu erwarten, daß wir den Motiven der Gestaltung so spröder Dokumente noch in allen Einzelheiten nachkommen können, und es hieße einer ungelösten literarischen Frage dieser Art zu großes Gewicht beilegen, wenn man ihretwegen die Entscheidung über die vorgeschlagenen Identifikationen von Ziklag mit *tell el-chuwēlfe* und von Zephath-Horma mit *tell es-sebaʿ* auf eine unbestimmte Zukunft vertagen wollte.[1]

Die Konsequenzen aus den gemachten topographischen Vorschlägen für das größere historisch-geographische Ganze ergeben sich von selbst. Ist wirklich Ziklag gleich *tell el-chuwēlfe* und Zephath-Horma gleich *tell es-sebaʿ*, so bleibt erstens auch bei diesen alten Vororten der Landschaft jenem Höhenzug zwischen *tell el-chuwēlfe* und *bīr es-sebaʿ*, von dessen Charakter als einer naturgegebenen Grenzregion im Negeb wir oben ausgingen, die entsprechende Funktion als historische Westgrenze des alten judäischen oder simeonitischen Gebiets gewahrt; beide *tulūl* liegen auf seiner Ostseite. Daraus folgt dann aber zweitens, daß das Becken des *wādi eschscherīʿa* westlich jenes Höhenzuges außerhalb der judäisch-simeonitischen Westgrenze liegt, wie wir vermuteten, und so hindert uns

[1] Unmittelbare Nachbarschaft beider Orte ist von vornherein unwahrscheinlich, wenn sie, wie wir annehmen, beide kanaanäische Städte gewesen waren.

nun, soviel ich sehe, nichts mehr, die Gleichsetzung des alten Vororts dieses Beckens, des *tell esch-scherīʿa*, mit Gerar zu vollziehen, auf die uns andere Erwägungen schon hingewiesen hatten; bei solchem Lageverhältnis ist die Grenzberührung von Gerar mit Simeon und Juda ebenso verständlich wie sein Sonderschicksal bis hinab zum Untergang der alten Stadt und zur Umwandlung ihres Gebiets in den *saltus Gerariticus* mit dem noch weiter im Westen gelegenen Vorort Orda *(dhirbet ʿirḳ)*.[1] Und dieses Lageverhältnis ermöglicht drittens auch eine ungezwungene Deutung der Notiz von 1. Chron 4[38] ff. über eine Abwanderung nomadisch gebliebener Simeoniter in der Richtung auf Gerar zur Zeit des Königs Hiskia: sie überschreiten von ihrem alten Stammesgebiet aus den grenzbildenden Höhenzug und eignen sich seinen Westabfall an, der nach Ausweis seiner spärlichen jungen Ruinenstätten damals noch nicht seßhaft besiedelt war,[2] bis zum Osten des Tales von Gerar, eben des *wādi esch-scherīʿa*; ein dauernder Erfolg wird ihnen dort freilich kaum beschieden gewesen sein. Daß dann noch westlicher gelegene Orte wie *tell dschemme* oder gar *tell el-ʿaddschūl* bei Gaza völlig außerhalb des judäischen Gesichtskreises bleiben und im Alten Testament anscheinend niemals erwähnt werden, ist gar nicht anders zu erwarten; sie gehören ein für allemal in die philistäische Sphäre, und man darf es wohl geradezu als einen Vorzug der hier entwickelten Anschauung vor anderen bezeichnen, daß sie abgesehen von dem historisch erklärbaren Sonderfall von Saruhen den judäischen und simeonitischen Besitzanteil am Negeb von jeder unwahrscheinlichen Überdehnung nach Westen freihält.[3]

[1] Die Verschiebung des Vororts nach Westen erklärt sich aus der größeren Gunst der dortigen Verkehrslage; vgl. *JPOS*, XII (1932) S. 128 f.

[2] Vgl. *PJB*, XXIX (1933) S. 16.

[3] Eine ganz analoge Reduktion des judäischen Westgrenze ist zur Zeit auch weiter im Norden erfolgreich im Gange.

LE CASTRUM FENICULI

F.-M. ABEL

(JERUSALEM)

Parmi les propriétés du Saint-Sépulcre énumérées dans le Cartulaire de cette église figure à partir de 1128 un *Castrum Feniculi* avec église et dépendances, situé sur le territoire de Césarée, dans les limites de l'archevêché de cette ville et même à proximité de cette ville.[1] La charte No. 69 de l'année 1169 contient l'attestation d'un accord antérieur passé entre Pierre, archevêque de Tyr, quand il était prieur du Saint-Sépulcre, et Gilduin, abbé de la Vallée de Josaphat (1120–1130) et cousin de Baudouin II, au sujet d'un terrain en litige proche du village appelée Feniculi. Pour fixer la délimitation entre la propriété du Saint-Sépulcre et le terrain en question on fait appel à l'arbitrage de l'archevêque de Césarée, Baudouin, et de plusieurs notables de cette ville très au courant du cadastre. La limite courait depuis un palmier jusqu'à un bois de caroubiers et de là jusqu'à une cannaie après laquelle elle atteignait un fleuve (flumaria).

Cette localité jusqu'ici n'a pas été identifiée. REY ne la mentionne pas dans ses *Colonies franques* et RÖHRICHT se livre à des conjectures inacceptables.[2]

Le savant médiéviste se doute bien que le *Castrum Feniculi* ou "village du Fenouil" pourrait bien traduire un nom arabe de même signification sur le thème *šōmar* "fenouil". Les toponymes de ce sens se trouvent hors du cadre tracé par le contexte des chartes. "Il ne peut s'agir ici, déclare-t-il, d'une traduction du nom arabe

[1] DE ROZIÈRE, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, no. 14, no 23 : *in episcopatu Cesaree Palestine Castrum Feniculi cum ecclesia et omnibus appendiciis suis;* no. 20 (1144) *in territorio Cesariensi castellum Feniculi cum pertinentiis suis;* no. 167 (1169) *apud Cesaream et in toto archiepiscopatu ejus, castrum Feniculi.*

[2] *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens, Z.D.P.V.*, X, 1897, p. 203, n. 1 : p. 227, n. 14.

"village du Fenouil" car il ne se trouve rien de tel dans la contrée en question". De guerre lasse, Röhricht envisage comme très vraisemblable une latinisation peut-être du *Khirbet el-Funeitir* à l'est de Césarée et il cherche à retrouver les traces de l'onomastique de la limite du terrain en litige de la charte no. 69. Le résultat est de donner à cette propriété une étendue invraisemblable et contredit le texte du cartulaire qui jalonne la délimitation en droite ligne et non par des sites semés au quatre points cardinaux. De plus, il est impossible de rencontrer un fleuve dans la région de *Funeitir*. Cette ruine elle-même située à 17 kilomètres à l'est de Césarée n'appartenait pas sûrement au territoire de cette ville. Quoi qu'il en soit, elle ne répond en rien au *Castrum Feniculi* du moyen âge.

Grâce au levé très détaillé du cadastre palestinien nous pouvons désormais fixer la situation authentique de ce village en un point où toutes les cartes antérieures se bornent à figurer des marécages. A trois kilomètres et demi au nord-nord-est de Césarée la carte *Series Topocadastral* sh. 14–22 marque un *Khirbet eš-Šōmarīya,* à l'ouest duquel s'étend "la Fenouillère" *eš-Šōmarīya.* Cette ruine se trouve à mi-chemin entre Tell Moubārak et la mer, près du tunnel de l'aqueduc de Césarée, à moins d'un kilomètre au sud du coude que fait le Nahr ez-Zerqā (Crocodilon) avant de se jeter dans la mer. Evidemment ce fleuve n'est autre que la *flumaria* de la charte no. 69. Quant à rechercher le palmier et les caroubiers du XIIe siècle, ce serait un besogne inutile. Mais les roseaux et le fleuve sont encore là. *Šōmarīya* est donc le répondant parfait du *Castrum Feniculi.* Les Croisés n'ont fait d'ailleurs qu'interpréter un nom arabe qui existait déjà avant leur arrivée.

THE VICTORY OF THE LAND-GOD OVER THE SEA-GOD

H. L. GINSBERG

(JERUSALEM)

In *Syria* XVI, pp. 29–45, CH. VIROLLEAUD has published a further instalment of the Baal epic, namely, one side of the left half of a four-columned tablet, constituting either the first or the fourth column. The editor states that there are no internal indications as to which side represents the former and which the latter; but his provisional designation of the published side as "A" has in its favour the circumstance that the writing on the other is according to his statement very much compressed, which may be due to the fact that towards the end the scribe realised that he had very little space left in which to complete the section.

The width of the column is unusual—10 cm.—and at least thirty of the forty lines are fairly intelligible. They are, as VIROLLEAUD remarks, of unusual power, but they are in addition among the most important for the Hebraist and the student of the Old Testament. Ll. 8–9 show a verbal congruence with Ps. 92^{10} that cannot be due to chance, and the next line shows an equally remarkable resemblance to Ps. 145^{13} (Dn. 3^{33}); and the latter illustrates in addition one of the most characteristic collocations of Hebrew parallelism: viz., *ʿolam* . . . . . *dor wa-dor* (var. *dor dorim*). (On the standing pairs of synonyms of Canaanite poetry see for the present *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, July 1935, p. 55). The parallelism of *ktp* and *bn ydm*, ll. 14, 16, both secures the expression *ben yadeka*, Zech. 13^{6} against emendation and furnishes the correct interpretation for it: it means "on thy back", for that is where people are flogged. Similarly the parallel *qdqd* . . . *bn ʿnm*, ll. 21–22, explains and justifies the traditional Jewish view of the commandment to set the phylactery *ben ʿeneka*, or *ben ʿenekem*, Dt. 6^{8}; 11^{18}, viz., that it means "on the front of the head". Further, as VIROLLEAUD acutely remarks, in l. 17 we have the same parallel, *mkk* . . . *dlp*, as in Qoh. 10^{18}.

Even more remarkable than these linguistic and stylistic data, however, is the motif of the story. *Kṯr-wḪss*, the craftsman-god and friend of Baʿlu (in text B he builds his house for him), equips him for his combat with his rival Yammu with two *ṣmd*. A careful reading of our text and comparison with A, col. 5, l. 3, suggests firstly that *ṣmd* must designate a weapon of some sort, and secondly that the weapon in question is most likely a staff or club.[1] *Kṯr* provides each of these clubs with a name appropriate to the purpose it has to serve. We are immediately reminded of Zech. 11[4]ff. It is the shepherd's (the king's) duty to maintain well-being, hence his staff Noʿam; it is his duty to maintain concord (the antithesis of "they shall eat each other's flesh," v. 9, or, in the case of the king, sectional strife, v. 19), hence his staff Ḥabalim ("ropes," "ties"). (The unfortunately corrupt passage should be read with the critical apparatus of *Biblia Hebraica*[3] or commentary.) Less obviously teleological and more symbolical, but still similar enough is the naming of the two rods in Ezekiel 37[15]ff. Is it too wild to suppose that a story about a hero who had two magic clubs called X and Y with which he vanquished his foes was also known to the folklore of Judaea, and that this is the source of those prophetic symbols?[2]

Both Baʿlu and his adversary bear the title of *zbl*, which must mean something like "prince." Usually, though not here, *zbl bʿl* is followed by *ʾarṣ*, so that Baʿlu, as I have maintained from the outset (*Tarbiz* IV, p. 112 *ad* A 1:37) is the lord of the *dry land*, which, it is true, it is his function to supply with water (I quote again—cf *ibid.*, p. 109 above—the striking parallel מיטרא בעלא דארעא, B. Taʿan. 6b). The nature of his opponent is obvious from his name, Yammu (sea) or Naharu (river or flood), i.e., the very antithesis of Baʿlu's. There would therefore be nothing remarkable about the antagonism between the two (the Old Testament has also preserved many echoes of an attempt by the sea to usurp the

[1] Perhaps what is meant is a mace with a stone head drilled through to admit the wooden shaft, to which it is lashed tightly with thongs; and hence the name from the root *ṣmd* "to bind." Such mace heads are found frequently in excavations.

[2] Prof. ALBRIGHT kindly calls my attention to *Šar-gaz* and *Šar-ur*, the respective weapons of the left and right hands of Ninurta, see A. DEIMEL, *Pantheon Babyloniacum*, p. 254, Nos. 3084–5.

land, which made it necessary for God to set the former a limit it may never exceed), were it not for the distressing fact that ʾIlu (*Ḏû Pʾid*),—Baʿlu's father and the supreme god of the Ugarites, whose authority Baʿlu elsewhere recognises unquestioningly—not only displays unmistakable marine traits (see *Tarbiz*, *ibid.*, pp. 108, 383) but seems to be identical with *ym ʾil d(pʾd . . n)hr ʾil*, B 2:35–6 (it will be agreed that the restoration is also reasonable). One can only avoid the conclusion that Baʿlu in our text supplants his father by taking *ym* and *nhr* in the quotation as common nouns in the construct state, but then the relationship between *ʾIlu* and *Yammu* remains a problem. I leave it unsolved for the time being.

Another problem, the discussion of which I reserve for another paper, is that of the designation of Baʿlu in text D as *ʾAlʾiyn bn Bʿl*. (For the present see *BJPES*, July 1935, p. 53). Here it will suffice to say that in the economy of our epic, at least in its present form, *ʾAlʾiyn* is nevertheless absolutely identical with Baʿlu, and the difficulty of that one passage is insignificant beside the hairsplitting to which those who maintain that they are distinct are compelled to resort.

N.B. In the following transliteration, a dot enclosed in parentheses indicates where two words in the original are separated by a space but not by a vertical bar.

TRANSLITERATION

[ ]*yd*(?)[?]*ḫ*(?)*tt.mtt*[ ]
[ ]*ḫy*[ ]*ʾašṣʾi.hm.ʾap.ʾamr*[
[ ]*wbym.mnḫlʾabd.bym.ʾirtm.m*[
[*ṯpṭ*].*nhr.tlʿm.ṯm*(.)*ḥrbm.ʾits*(.)*ʾanšq*
5. [?]*h*(?)*tm.lʾarṣ.ypl.ʾu*(?)*lny.wl.ʿpr.ʿṭm.ʾay*
[*b*]*ph.rgm.lyṣʾa.bšpth.hwth.wttngh.ygr*
tḥt(.)*ksʾi.zblymwʿn.kṯr.wḫss.lrgmt*
lk.lzbl.bʿl.ṯnt.lrkb.ʿrpt.ht.ʾibk
bʿlm.ht.ʾibk.tmḫṣ.ht.tṣmt(.)*ṣrtk*
10. *tqḥ.mlk.ʿlmk.drkt.dtdrdrk*
kṯr(.)*ṣmdm.ynḥt.wypʿr.šmthm.šmkʾat*
ygrš.ygrš.gršym(.)*gršym*(.)*lksʾih*
n(?)*hr*(.)*lkḥṯ*(.)*drkth.trtqṣ*(.)*bd*(.)*bʿlkmnš*
r(.)*bʾuṣbʿth.hlm.ktp*(.)*zbl.ym.bnydm*

15. [*tp*]*t*(.)*nhr.yrtqṣ.ṣmd.bdbʿl.km.nšr*
b[ʾ*u*]*ṣbʿth.ylm.ktp*(.)*zblym.bn*(.)*ydm.tpṭ*
nhrʿz.ym(.)*lymk.ltnġṣn.pnth.lydlp*
tmnh.ktrṣmdm(.)*ynḥt.wypʿr.šmthm*
*šmk.*ʾ*at.*ʾ*aymr.*ʾ*aymr.mr.ym.mr*(.)*ym*
20. *lks*ʾ*ih.nhrlkht.drkth.trtqṣ*
*bdbʿl.km.nšr.b*ʾ*uṣbʿth.hlm.qdq*
*dzblym.bn.*ʿ*nm.tpṭ.nhr.yprsḥym*
*wyql.l*ʾ*arṣ.wyrtqṣ.ṣmd*(.)*bdbʿl*
k[*m*]*nšr.b*ʾ*uṣbʿth.ylm.qdqd.zbl*
25. [*ym.*]*bn.*ʿ*nm.tpṭ.nhr.yprsḥ.ym.yql*
*l*ʾ*arṣ.tnġṣn.pnth wydlp.tmnh*
yqtbʿl.wyšt.ym yklytpṭ.nhr
*bšm.tgʿrm.*ʿ*ttrt.btl*ʾ*al*ʾ*iyn*[*bʿl*]
*bt.lrkb.*ʿ*rpt.kšbyn.zb*[*l.ym.k*]
30. *šbyn.tpṭ.nhr.wyṣ*ʾ*ab*[ ]
*ybt.nn.*ʾ*al*ʾ*iyn.bʿl.w*[*rkb.*ʾ*rpt.wy*ʾ*n*]
ym.lmt.bʿlm(.)*yml*[*k*]
hm.lšrr.w[*w*ʾ]
yʿn.ym.lmt.[*bʿlm.ymlk* *ḥm*ʾ]
35. *lsrr.wtʿ*[*n.*ʿ*ttrt*?]
bʿlm.hmt.[*ḥm*ʾ]
lšrr.šṭ(ʾ)[ ]
*br*ʾ*ish.*[ ]
y(ʾ)*d*(ʾ)*h.mš*[ ]
40. [*b*ʾ]*n.*ʿ*nh*[ ]

Translation

[ ] . . . . . [ ]
[ ] . . . [ ] I brought forth[1], behold I shall also say(ʾ) [ ]
3. [ ] and in the sea there is rest for the wanderer,[2] in the sea the breast[3] [ ]

[1] *šqtl* "jussive" of *yṣ*ʾ. In my above-mentioned other article I try to show that this tense has only jussive or historic signification.

[2] Alternatively: for ever, Arab. *lil-*ʾ*abad.*

[3] Ugaritic and Akkadian ʾ*irtu* + *-ma.*

[Suffete] Naharu . . . . . there become dry(?) . . . .
. . . . . .

5. . . . . To the earth shall the mighty[4] fall, to the dust the strong."[5]

(From) her mouth comes forth the utterance, from her lips her words. And she[6] raises her voice" Let a hollow be made (?)[7]

under the throne of Prince Yammu." Then *Kṯr-wḪss*[8] responded, "I say unto thee, O Prince Baʿlu, I declare,[9] O Cloud-rider: Lo! thine enemies, O Baʿlu,[10] lo! thine enemies wilt thou smite; behold, thou wilt cut off[11] thine adversaries.[12]

10. Thou wilt take thine eternal kingdom, thine everlasting dominion":

—*Kṯr* brought down two maces and called out their names: "*Thy* name is *Ygrš* (Chaser). *Ygrš*! chase Yammu away! Chase Yammu away from his throne,[13]

Naharu from the seat of his dominion. Thou shalt swoop[14] in the hand [15] of Baʿlu, like eagle

[4] *ʾulny*, if that is the reading, seems to be from the root *ʾwl/ʾyl* "to be strong". But the utterly baffling *dlny* is also possible.

[5] Arab. *ʿaẓîm*; the Hebrew *ʿaṣûm* means rather "numerous". — *ʾay* is a puzzling particle. It is known already from C 6 and apparently enters into the formation of the proper name *ʾAymr*, below l. 19.

[6] The subject is perhaps ʿAṯtartu, cf. l. 28.

[7] From the Arab. root *ǵwr*?

[8] *wa-ʿanô*, contracted from *wa-ʿanâwu*, infinitive consecutive, of which there are many instances in our texts, especially from this verb.

[9] *ṯny* as usual in parallel with *rgm*. Apparently this passage is misquoted in *Syria XII*, p. 350, where *zbl bʿl šnt* is given as one of the names of Baʿlu.

[10] *bʿlm* = *baʿlu-ma*, both here and everywhere else. That *kṯrm*, A 6:48 is simply *Kṯr* + *-ma* has already been pointed out by BAUER. I suspect that *mtm*, *ibid.*, l. 47, also means simply "Môtu".

[11] As there is not a single certain instance of an *hqtl* or *ʾqtl* conjugation in Ugaritic, *tṣmt* represents the simple stem.

[12] The feminine ending need not designate a female individual or individuals. Cf. Heb. *modaʿat*, Ruth 3[2], which is best rendered by the English *abstractum pro concerto* "relation".

[13] Similarly *lksʾi* means "*from* the throne". D. 6:11–12.

[14] The Arabic root *rqṣ* means "to dance" (VIROLLEAUD).

[15] It is one of the ironies of scholarship that I should only finally have become convinced of the existence of a contraction *bd* for *ba-yadi* by an occur-

between his fingers. Strike the back of Prince Yammu, between the arms[16] of

15. [Suffe]te Naharu." The mace swooped in Baʿlu's hand, like an eagle between his fingers. It struck[17] the back of Prince Yammu, between the arms of Suffete

Naharu. The mighty Yammu bows, his face[18] falls(?), his countenance[19] droops(?).—*Kṯr* brought down two maces and called out their names:

"*Thy* name is *ʾAymr* (Thrower?). *ʾAymr*! throw Yammu down! throw Yammu down

20. from his throne, Naharu from the seat of his dominion. Thou shalt swoop in the hand of Baʿlu, like an eagle between his fingers. Strike the head of Prince Yammu, between the eyes of Suffete Naharu. Let Yammu collapse[20]

and fall prostrate[21] upon the ground." And the mace swooped in the hand of Baʿlu,

rence which VIROLLEAUD, the author of this undoubtedly correct equation, failed to detect (he takes *Bd-Bʾl* as the compound name of a deity, decidedly against the context). It will be remembered that ALBRIGHT has compared the Canaanite Tell el-ʾAmarna gloss *badiu* "in his hand." I still feel, however, that in the two passages where I originally claimed that a verb ("to grasp, or handle") was required by the context, viz., B 1:24–5 and *Syria XIV*, p. 141, *bd* is at least to be rendered in English by a verb, and may also be a denominative verb in the original. — And now it is necessary to make another observation. Between the published texts and the inedita quotations, the number of cases where *ba-yadi* is so contracted is considerable, and the number of cases where it is not is nil. For at a time when we had only text A to go by, I argued that *byd*, A 2, 25—both from the context and from the fact that in the parallel quoted by VIROLLEAUD (since published as B 8:15–24) Môtu is called "the Beloved of the Gods"—must mean "for the love of." If the subsequent emergence of the parallel pair *yd*//*ʾahbt*, B 4–5: 38–39 (with *yd*, moreover, construed as a masculine) be not regarded as a conclusive vindication of my contention, the further discovery that the *y* of *yd* "hand" is always elided after *b* may be considered to have clinched the matter.

[16] It is possible to regard *bn ydm* as an adverbial determination and *ṯpṭ nhr* as the object, but I think it is more natural to take the entire group *bn ydm ṯpṭ nhr* as an adverbial determination, *ydm* being the construct dual plus *-ma* (cf. *JRAS* 1935, p. 47); similarly with *bn ʿnm* further on.

[17] Cf. *ylk*, impf. of *hlk*.

[18] Connected with *pnm* "face"?

[19] Connected with Heb. *temunah* "shape"?

[20] VIROLLEAUD excellently compares the Akkad. root *prsḫ*, *plsḫ*; Akkad. *ḫ* for West Semitic *ḥ* in the vicinity of a liquid, as occasionally elsewhere.

[21] The verb *ql* is common in parallelism with *hbr* and *šṯḥwy*.

like an eagle between his fingers. It struck the head of Prince
25. [Yammu], between the eyes of Suffete Naharu. Yammu collapsed and fell prostrate
upon the ground. His face fell, his countenance drooped.
And Baʿlu pulled[22](?) and set upon Yammu, he would destroy Suffete Naharu.
By name (?) ʿAṯtartu rebukes (him): "For shame, O *ʾAlʾiyn* [Baʿlu]![23]
for shame, O Cloud-rider! For Prin[ce Yammu] is our captive, [for]
30. Suffete Naharu is our captive, and is gone forth(?) . . [ ]
So *Nn ʾAlʾiyn* Baʿlu[24] was abashed, and [the Cloudrider . . . . . Then responded]
Yammu: "I am dying. Baʿlu shall rei[gn]
. . . . . to sway,[25] and [and]
Yamma responded: "I am dying. [Baʿlu shall reign]
35. to sway." Then respo[nded ʿAṯtartu?]
Baʿlu . . . . . [ ]
to sway . . . . . [ ]
upon his head [ ]
. . . . . [ ]
40. . . . . ." [ ]

[22] Arab. *qṯṯ* "to draw"? Heb. *śyt* "to set upon", Ps. 3[7]; Isa. 22[7]?

[23] In D 2:11, [19] Baʿlu, in terror of being destroyed by Lôtânu submits to Môtu in the following terms: *bhṯ lbn* [*var. bn*] *ʾilm mt.* It is possible that in this language *bhṯ* and *bwṯ* do not mean exactly the same thing: for the former, cf., perhaps, S. Arab. *bhṯ* "bene accepit", and translate: Be kind, O Gods' Son Môtu!

[24] Similarly in D 2:7 Baʿlu is called *nn rkb ʿrpt.* Has the first element anything to do with the name of the sire of Joshua the son of Nun?

[25] Heb. *śrr* (VIROLLEAUD).

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE PROTO-SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS

W. F. ALBRIGHT

(JERUSALEM)

In 1906 PETRIE published the first report of the existence of inscriptions in Sinai written in a hitherto unknown script, apparently with Egyptian affinities. In 1917 PEET published the inscriptions in question, and GARDINER's brilliant initial step toward the decipherment was made. Since then there has been great activity, with a number of relatively complete interpretations, all of which agree in accepting the acrophonic principle suggested by GARDINER for the identification of the characters. The most elaborate of these efforts are those of EISLER, GRIMME, BUTIN, and SPRENGLING, the first two of which are too fanciful to be of much value, while the two latter are serious studies. Numerous other scholars have made suggestions and contributions of varying value, for which we may refer to the full bibliography and discussion by BUTIN.[1] A Finnish expedition (1929) and three from Harvard, under KIRSOPP LAKE's direction (1927, 1930, 1935) have substantially increased the available material, and extremely careful study of the surface of the inscribed stones by BUTIN and LEIBOVITCH, among others, has fixed the reading of the texts as far as possible in the present state of their decipherment. Thanks to BUTIN's second publication in 1932 we are provided with accurate copies and methodical analyses of all the inscriptions found hitherto, with the exception of a few fragmentary ones from the campaign of 1935.

It must be confessed that the result of nearly twenty years of study since the initial work of GARDINER is not at first sight very encouraging. In fact H. BAUER, whose ability as a decipherer has

[1] See his two monographs on the Serābīṭ inscriptions, *Harvard Theological Review*, XXI (1928), 9–67, and XXV (1932), 130–203. See also LAKE and BLAKE, *ibid.* XXI, 1 ff.

been established by his success with the Canaanite cuneiform alphabet, maintained in 1918 that the acrophonic method was entirely wrong, and proposed another method, based on the approved principles of statistical frequency of sounds and combinatory analysis. So far as I know, he still holds this view. In 1934 LEIBOVITCH published a monograph on the inscriptions in which he tries to show that they are not Semitic at all, but Meroitic (Cushite).[2] While the thesis is defended with no little learning, it breaks down because of the fact that the oldest Meroitic inscriptions in the epichoric alphabet do not antedate cir. 200 B.C., and that not a single inscription has yet been found in Nubia from the preceding two thousand years except in Egyptian hieroglyphics, though numerous excavations have been undertaken there. Against these circumstances a few superficial similarities are of no weight.

Two criticisms may be urged with cogency against the interpretations so far proposed since GARDINER's work. First, they do not reckon sufficiently with the linguistic evidence bearing on Northwest-Semitic dialects in the early second millennium B.C. Secondly, they fail to take into account what evidence exists for Northwest-Semitic nomenclature in the second millennium. Even before the decipherment of the Canaanite alphabetic inscriptions of Ugarit (Râs eš-Šamrah) it was possible to utilize the material found in abundance in the cuneiform lists of *Amurrû* names,[3] and scantily in Egyptian sources (until the publication of the so-called *Ächtungstexte* by SETHE in 1926 yielded more material).[4] Since 1931, moreover, we have a rapidly increasing mass of data from Ugarit, on which we shall draw heavily in this little study. However, entirely without taking cognizance of these three sources of information, attention should have been paid to linguistic principles already well-established. For instance, it was well known, thanks to the work of BURCHARDT and others, that the Canaanites of the second millennium still distinguished between *ḥ* and *ḫ*, *ʿayin* and *ǵayin*,

[2] J. LEIBOVITCH, *Les inscriptions protosinaïtiques*, Cairo, 1934 (reprinted from the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*).

[3] Best published by THEO BAUER, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, 1926; cf. my review, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III, 124 ff.

[4] On these documents see especially the detailed study in the *Journal*, VIII (1928), 223–56.

ṯ and *ś* (Arab *śîn*), etc.[5] It was well known that the *matres lectionis* were never used medially before the Aramaic and Hebrew texts of the Neo-Babylonian age, yet several of the decipherers employed *waw* and *yod* as signs of medial long vowels.

The recent discoveries of Canaanite alphabetic inscriptions from the Middle and Late Bronze Age in Palestine (Gezer, Lachish, Beth-shemesh, etc.) have begun to fill in the gap which first existed between the Proto-Sinaitic forms and those of the Canaanite alphabet of the Iron Age (Aḥîrâm and later).[6] It will probably soon be possible to work back in detail from the latter to the former, though it is already certain that there was a most complex evolution of forms and values. In two short alphabetic inscriptions from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages we have Heb. *śin* appearing in the same angular form it has in the later North-Semitic script, though it may take either the horizontal position of the latter or the vertical of the South-Semitic alphabet. This suggests that the angular zigzag of the documents from Sinai, though containing one or two more bends than the later Canaanite *śin*, represents *śin* and not *mêm*[7]. This possibility becomes a probability, in my opinion, when we insert the value *śin* instead of *mêm* in the contexts where it appears. If this change is made it becomes evident that we obtain clearer results by giving the value *mêm* to the character

[5] Cf. my discussion in the *Journal*, VI, 82 f. (superseded now in details, but correct in its general point of view).

[6] On this material cf. the discussion in BASOR, No. 58, 28–9 (the number of inscriptions has since been swelled by another Middle Bronze one from Palestine; some important inscriptions from Byblus belonging possibly to this class will be published soon by DUNAND), and cf. also YEIVIN, *Journal*, XV, 98 ff., BJPES II: 3–4, pp. 7 ff. GASTER's paper, "The Chronology of Palestinian Epigraphy," QS, 1935, 128–140 (to be continued) is spoiled by a cavalier attitude toward archaeological evidence, as well as toward precision in detail; the treatment of the Gezer fragment and of the Beth-shemesh ostracon is definitely false, and the revival of the Mediterranean signary of PETRIE, together with the use of Early Bronze potters' marks, etc., is most unfortunate, and is calculated to confuse the problem hopelessly. There are a number of sound observations in this paper, but only the specialist can sift them out.

[7] On one of the Canaanite alphabetic inscriptions from Lachish this character represents original *ṯ* (ث), but this naturally does not exclude the possibility that it may represent other original sibilants in a different Canaanite dialect, since they may have been pronounced the same way.

hitherto regarded as *šin*. The values of *ʾalef*, *b*, *ʿayin*, *l*, *t*, *n*, and *r*, fixed acrophonically, have commended themselves to nearly all scholars, and we have adopted them, though not without some wavering in one or two cases. That the palm of the hand with the fingers represents *k* (Heb. *kaf*=palm) and not *y* is probable *a priori*[8], and becomes still more likely when we consider that the use of *yod* as a *mater lectionis* is thereby eliminated. By combinatory

𐤀	א	י	𐤔	ש	š (= س k ش not ث)
𐤁	ב	*b*	𐤍	נ	*n*
𐤄	ה	*h*	𐤏	ע	ʿ (ع not غ)
𐤅	ז	*ḏ* (ذ not ز)	𐤒	ק	*q*
𐤇	ח	*ḫ* (خ not ح)*	𐤓	ר	*r*
𐤈	כ	*k*	𐤔	מ	*m*
𐤉	ל	*l*	𐤕	ת	*t*

* 目 = *ḥ* (III of *Beth-shemesh*)

methods I have reached the same conclusion reached by others, that the parallel strokes represent *zayin*, but only insofar as the latter stands for original *ḏ*. The identification of *h* agrees with that of most scholars, though reached in part by different reasoning. The reading of *ḫ* and *q* instead of *ḥ* and *ṣ*, etc., is strictly combinatory. I lack the combinatory material for other identifications, though several more or less plausible values present themselves.

We may start with No. 346 (BUTIN, pp. 164—6), since this is one of the clearest and since its discovery in the temple of Ḥatḥor suggests a votive character. I read the side: *ʿl nʿš rb nqbn*, "For the life of the chief of the mine". The use of על with the word for "life" (חיי) is common in the Nabataean texts, as Dr. H.L. GINSBERG points out; cf. CANTINEAU, *Le nabatéen*, pp. 43, 46, etc. (e.g. על חיי עבדת מלכא = "For the life of king ʿObodat). Accad. *naêšu*,

[8] The best example of this character is on the Gezer fragment. The archaic three-pronged *kaf* of Byblus and Tell Beit Mirsim may easily have arisen from the palm with outstretched fingers, especially since the number of the latter is frequently reduced to four or even three. The character now identified with *kaf* may be quite different, in spite of the superficial similarity.

nêšu, "to live," is now well known, and I have long since pointed out that it is Arab. *naʿaša*; it occurs frequently in the inscriptions of the third millennium, as well as rarely in later times[9]. The expression *rb nqbn* is parallel to Ugaritic *rb khnm*, "chief priest," etc. I have also identified the word *nqbn*, "mine," in the texts of Ugarit, and this explanation is quite generally accepted[10]. For the formula cf. Sum. *namtilaniše*, "for his life," common in votive texts from early Mesopotamia, as well as *namti-N-še*=Accad. *ana balâṭ N*, "for the life of N". The left shoulder then reads: *ʿl n* [*ʿšh(?)*] *šṭ lbʿlt*, "For his (?) life an ewe for Baʿalat (he has vowed)"; the right side has: *ḏ l* – – *šbʿt*, "belonging to (or possessed of) – – – seven."

No. 345 we may tentatively read: (left) *š ʾh-bʿl* (right) *n(!)ḏ(?)r lbʿlt*, "A sheep Ahî-baʿal has vowed (?) to Baʿalat". The name *Ahî-baʿal* is only a suggestion; in favour of it are cuneiform *Airammu*, name of a king of Edom in the eighth century B.C. (standing perhaps for *Ahî-râm*) and Heb. *ʾÎkabôd* and *ʾÎzebel* (*Ai-zebûl*?), names which may mean "Alas,[11] O exalted one; Alas, O glory; Alas, O prince." These names would refer to the death of the god of fertility, in which connection they would not be ill-omened, but quite the contrary. The word *š* (sheep) appears a great many times in the Ugarit texts, including ritual and votive categories.

Two other inscribed monuments from the temple, Nos. 347, 347 a, have doubtless been correctly explained by RYCKMANS and BUTIN, following others in part, as *tnt*, "gift," and *tn[t] lb[ʿlt]*, "a gift to Baʿalat."[12]

[9] For the word *nêšu*, "to live," employed in early Accadian greetings and votive inscriptions see EHELOLF, OLZ, 1921, 155; THUREAU-DANGIN, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XVIII, 154; XXIII, 26; for the identification with Arab. *naʿaša* see JAOS XLVII, 208, No. 10. It may be added that the early Accadian orthography *na-é-si* and *na-é-(d)s*, etc., points clearly to medial *ʿayin* or *ḥa*, since *é* seems to be reserved for the indication of a medial sound of a laryngal or aspirate nature; cf. Can. *hékal*, "temple," for Sum. *é-gal*, A number of the meanings of Arab. *naʿaša* and its derivatives unmistakably reflect an original meaning "to live"; cf. نعشك الله, "May God preserve thy life."

[10] See BASOR, No. 50, p. 15, n. 10; *Journal*, XIV, 120, n. 85.

[11] Cf. Arab. *ʾdh*, etc., Heb. *ʾahah*, Accad. *ai*.

[12] Cf. my observations on the meaning of *tnt* and its morphological explanation, AJSL XLI (1924), 81, n. 2, 284–5.

Inscription No, 360, found in a sleeping-shelter, is perfectly preserved, and thus challenges attention. I propose the reading: *ḏm bʾt ḏt bmnšm*, to be vocalized approximately, *ḏî-ma bâʾatu ḏât(u) Bmnšm*, "This is truly the dwelling belonging to *Bmnšm*." The word *bʾt* is probably identical with Arab. بَيْت, "abode, dwelling, lodging," while the demonstrative feminine *ḏî* and the possessive *ḏât* are good archaic Arabic; (the masculine form was either *ḏâ* or *ḏû*, probably the latter, to judge from the earliest Arabic and Accadian analogies). The pronouns *d* and *dt* also appear in similar uses in North Canaanite (Ugarit). What the name *Bmnšm* is, must remain uncertain, though we may easily recognize the mimation, appearing in contemporary Semitic names in hieroglyphic and cuneiform transcription. One may very hesitantly suggest some such vocalization as *Bamanaššêm* for **Banû(î)-Manaššêm*, "the tribe (lit. children) of Manasseh" (naturally not the Israelite tribe!), but the uncertainty of this idea is so obvious that it need not be stressed.

In No. 361 one is tempted to explain the third character in col. I as an ideogram for "dwelling," and to read: *ḏ-m (bʾt) bmnšm*, etc., but this is naturally very questionable. Nos. 351 and 353 also refer to *Bmnšm;* the former seems to read: *ḏt bmnšm nqb* – – "(Dwelling?) belonging to *Bmnšm*, miner(?) – – –." No. 353 is an inscription of three columns, cut in the rock with a well-rounded imitation of a stela; it seems to read: *ḏt bmnšm hbʿlt* – – – – *ʾrḫt* – – *tm š mʾt lb(ʿ)lt*(!), "(Dwelling?)[13] belonging to *Bmnšm*, O Baʿalat – – – cows[14] – – – a hundred sheep for Baʿalat."

No. 349 seems to be a burial stela; I suggest the reading: *ʾnt ḏm rb nqbn šmʿ rkš lb* – – –, "Thou, O this one, chief of the mine, hearken to the desire (?)[15] of (my) heart – – –." That the *n* in the pronoun of the second person was still unassimilated, follows necessarily from the similarly unassimilated *n* in *tnt*, "gift," if the latter has been correctly explained. For the idiom *ʾanta ḏû-ma*

[13] Since the possessive pronoun is feminine, a word for "sacrifice," *ḏbḥt*, or the like, may also be understood.

[14] The word *ʾarḫ*, "cow," pl. *ʾarḫt*, appears several times in the Ugarit texts, as first pointed out by BANETH; it is identical with Accad. *arḫu*, *arḫâti*, "wild cow."

[15] If the reading *rkš* is correct, the word may possibly be equivalent to Aram. *rigša*, "feelings, sentiments, etc.," by partial assimilation of the *g* to the voiceless *š*, as in Accad. *epêšu*, etc.

(or *d̲â-ma*) cf. the somewhat parallel Hebrew האתה זה, "art thou?" (Gen. 27:21, 24; II Sam. 2:20; I Kings 18:7, 17), and Arabic يا هذا "O thou." On the sarcophagus of the Sidonian king Tabnît (fifth century B.C.) we have a similar injunction beginning מי את כל אדם, "whoever thou art, O everyone." No. 357 from inside a mine entrance, on the rock wall, begins also with *ʾntm*, probably *ʾanta-ma*, though it might, of course, stand for *ʾantum*, "ye." The last words *ʾśr ʾr bʿl* may possibly be translated "bless *ʾÂrî-baʿal*," a name which would mean "Baʿal is my light."

Only further progress in decipherment can determine how many of the foregoing observations are correct. In no case would we propose them in more than a very tentative way. Their principal merit is that of being true to the linguistic situation which then existed in Palestine and Syria, so far as we can determine it with the data now at our command.

MORE ABOUT THE OLDEST COINS OF JUDAEA

E. L. SUKENIK

(JERUSALEM)

Some time ago, when publishing my article on this subject[1] I was able to present three coins as the documentation of my thesis that there was a Judaean coinage before the era of the Hasmoneans. One of these coins was the famous "Yahu" coin of the British Museum, the second one was discovered by Albright and Sellers during their excavations at Beth-Zur, the third I found in a private collection in Jerusalem.

It was natural to expect that these specimens would not remain isolated and that more coins of a similar type would be found, either in some existing collection or accidentally, in excavations, surface finds, offered for sale by dealers, etc. In an additional note to the above article, I even suggested that other types of this coinage could be traced in the collection of "Philisto-Arabian" coins at the British Museum; I also called attention to the possibility that numbers 1, 2 and 5 on plate XIX in HILL's *Catalogue of Greek Coins in Palestine* might bear the legend *Yehûd*. A letter written me by Sir GEORGE F. HILL, who kindly had these coins examined, says that my suggestion cannot be proved. Moreover, while accepting my reading for the Jerusalem coin, he does not approve of my explanation of the legend on the British Museum one.

Nevertheless, I still uphold my theory, but whilst for the time being I cannot say any more as to the coins of the British Museum, I should like to communicate here the find of a similar coin and also to refer to certain obscure passages in Talmudic literature, indicating, in my opinion, knowledge, at that time, of the existence of a pre-Hasmonean coinage in Palestine.

The coin in question (*Fig.* 1) was found by me in the collection of the late Mr. Herbert Clark, donated a short time ago to

[1] "Paralipomena Palaestinensia," *JPOS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 178 ff.

the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem by Mrs. Clark. The coin is apparently of the same mint as the one I described in my above-mentioned paper, but it is a much better preserved specimen. On the obverse, it has the same male head in profile to the right, but while the upper part with the turban headdress is missing this time, the lower part is better preserved than in the previous specimen and shows a countermark. On the reverse there is the owl standing to right, facing, having a flower to the left and a very clear legend *Yehûd* to the right.[2]

Since the existence of an early Judaean coinage cannot be doubted any more, the question naturally arises why the old Jewish literature contains no such references to it as there are in connexion with the Hasmonean or the Bar Kokhba coins. I would like to call attention here to a few passages in Talmudic literature, where there seems to be a reminiscence of these types of coins.

There is a passage in the Babylonian Talmud (Baba Qama 97 b): "What is the coin of Jerusalem? David and Solomon on one side and Jerusalem, the Holy City, on the other side. And what is the coin of Abraham our Father? An aged man and woman on one side and a youth and a maiden on the other side."[3]

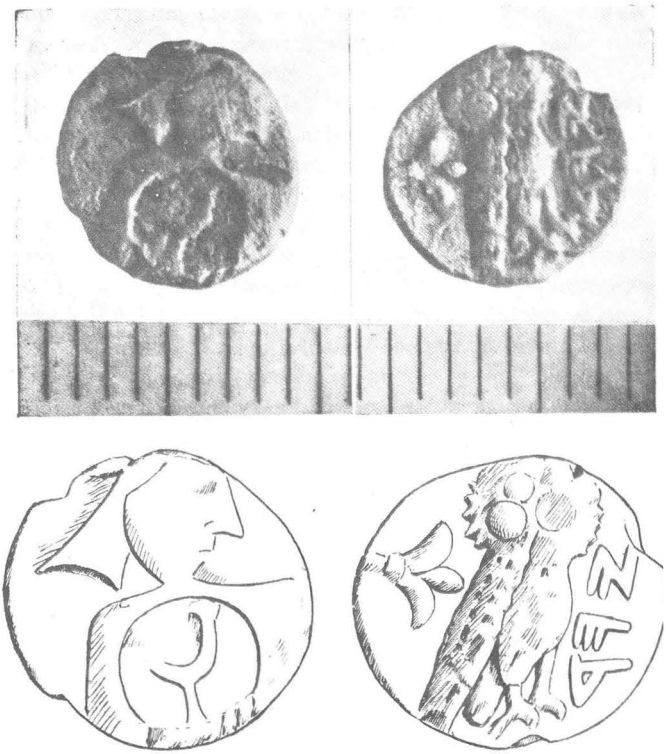
In a passage in the Midrash Rabba, Gen. S. 39, we find an enumeration of other coins attributed to Jewish heroes. After repeating the description given above about the coin of Abraham, it says that Joshua's coin had a bull on one side and an antelope on the other; David's coin had a stick and a bag on one side, and a tower on the other; Mordecai's coin had sackcloth and ashes on one side and a crown of gold on the other.[4]

The description of the coins attributed to personages of the Jewish history has, no doubt, been chosen so as to establish a

[2] Meanwhile, Mr. M. Narkis of the Bezalel Museum, Jerusalem, has acquired two other specimens of the same type from a dealer of antiquities in Jaffa, but they are not so well preserved.

[3] ת"ר איזהו מטבע של ירושלים? דוד ושלמה מצד אחד וירושלים עיר הקודש מצד אחר. ואיזהו מטבע של אברהם אבינו? זקן וזקנה מצד אחד ובחור ובתולה מצד אחר.

[4] ארבעה הם שיצא להם מוניטין בעולם: אברהם, ואעשך לגוי גדול"—יצא לו מוניטין. ומהו מוניטין שלו? זקן וזקנה מיכן, בחור ובתולה מיכן. יהושע, ויהי ה' את יהושע ויהי שמעו בכל הארץ"—יצא לו מוניטין בעולם. מהו? שור מיכן וראם מיכן ע"ש "בכור שורו הדר לו וקרני ראם קרניו. דוד, "ויצא שם דוד בכל הארצות"—יצא לו מוניטין בעולם. ומה היה מוניטין שלו? מקל וחרמיל מיכן ומגדל מיכן ע"ש "כמגדל דוד צוארך". מרדכי, "כי גדול מרדכי בבית המלך ושמעו הולך בכל המדינות"—צא לו מוניטין. ומה מוניטין שלו? שק ואפר מיכן ועטרת זהב מיכן.



connexion between the symbols and certain events in their lives. For instance the aged man and woman on one side and the youth and maiden on the other side of Abraham's coin do certainly refer to the miracle which happened to Abraham and his wife, when a son was given to them in their old age, i.e., the old couple turned young again. A similar explanation could be offered for the symbols chosen for the coin of David: the stick and the bag on the one side being the attributes of the shepherd and the tower on the other that of the king.

But although the attribution of coins to the earliest figures in Jewish history is in itself an anachronism and was the reason why scholars who dealt with these passages regarded them as pure phantasy, it seems to me that whilst the interpretation given by the Talmudic literature certainly is far from historic, nevertheless these passages indicate that the Talmudic scholars had knowledge of existing Jewish coins, bearing similar symbols to those described by them. And if we compare the symbols enumerated in these passages with plate XIX of HILL's *Catalogue*, it is striking to see how many of them are reproduced on this plate. The aged man and woman, or the youth and maiden occur as the Janiform head of coins 1, 2, 3, 6, 20 and 30. The description generally says: "Janiform head, the face to left bearded, that to right beardless and wearing circular earrings," i.e., the faces of a man and a woman. The tower mentioned as appertaining to the coin of David, can be found on coins 3 and 21, the bull of Joshua's coin on No 15, while a horned monster (antelope?) can be seen on the reverse of coin 23.

The coincidences between the symbols enumerated in the Talmudic passages and those found on the "Philisto-Arabian" coins seem to confirm my opinion that at the time when these passages were written, the knowledge of the existence of earlier Jewish coins still persisted. Since the three types of coins described in my former article do not show these symbols, I shall not be surprised if the near future will bring us coins with the legend *Yehûd*, or similar legends, featuring also the Janiform head, tower, bull, etc

BOOK REVIEWS

Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch. Von OTTO EISSFELDT. Pp. viii, 71, 4 plates. Halle (Saale), Niemeyer, 1935. RM. 4.50.

Professor EISSFELDT of Halle-Wittenberg is already known as the ablest investigator today in the field of comparative Semitic religion. The monograph before us will increase his reputation, since it offers an important thesis, convincingly established, viz., that there never was a Canaanite god Moloch at all, but that the Canaanite-Hebrew common noun *molk* refers to a kind of votive offering.

Some observations are perhaps in place with regard to the Punic expression מלכאמר, transcribed into Latin as *molcomor*, etc., which EISSFELDT explains as "promise (vow) of a sheep". He might have mentioned the fact that both *mulk* and *ʾimr* appear already in North Canaanite (Ugaritic), the former in the sense of "kingdom," just as in the South-Canaanite (Phoenician) Ahîrâm inscription, and the latter in the meaning "lamb." Between Can. *mulk*, "kingdom," Arab. *mulk*, "property," and Syriac *mulkânâ*, "promise," there is clearly some semantic connection. We would suggest that Punic *molkomor* meant primarily "pledge of a lamb," i. e., *mulk* developed the meanings "domain, possessions, property (Arab. *mulk*), property pledged in payment of a debt." To this Syr. *mulkânâ*, "pledge, promise (of payment)," bears the same relation as Can. **šulmân*, (Accad. *šulmânu*, Heb. *šalmôn*), "gift," does to its etymological source **šulm* (Accad. *šulmu*, Heb. **šelem*), "welfare, greeting" (properly "what belongs to a greeting"). That *ʾimr*, "lamb," became *ʾumr* (*i* becomes *u* before a labial) is only natural, and offers no difficulty. EISSFELDT's suggested explanations of the other Punic terms are very doubtful, but the reviewer has nothing better to propose.

We congratulate Professor EISSFELDT on his brilliant discovery, which settles one of the obscurest problems in the history of the religion of Israel.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

Althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben (a supplementary volume of the *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*). By D. Dr. JOHANNES HEMPEL. 203 pp., 6 plates. Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion. Copyright 1930.

The author has set himself a two-fold task. First, he wishes to show how the Old Testament and related literature fit into the background of the general culture of the ancient Orient. And secondly, he seeks to portray the literary men and movements as integral parts of the Israelitic national scene.

In accordance with this plan, the book opens with a brief introduction ("Voraussetzungen"), followed by the two main parts called respectively "Formen" and "Der Gang der Geschichte". We may take as a typical "Form" the wisdom-saying ("Der Weisheitsspruch"). The author discusses it from the standpoints of "Formales", "Orientalische Parallelen", and "Israelitische Eigenart". Under "Formales" are discussed the metre and parallelism of certain passages from *Proverbs* and *Ben-Sirach*, since these two books furnish the best examples of Hebraic wise sayings. It is shown that the poetical forms in these books are

not specifically Hebraic, but belong to the general oriental background. "Oriental parallels" come from both Egypt (*e. g.* the Precepts of Ptaḥḥotep) and Babylonia (*e. g.* the Sayings of Aḥiḳar, imbedded in the romance). Attention is called to the "men of Hezekiah" in *Proverbs* 25: the custom of having a group of wise men at the court of the king was a widespread oriental practice of the time. The peculiar contribution of Israel ("Israelitische Eigenart") was to give to a literary form usually characterized by worldly wisdom and even "eudaemonism" a specifically religious and moral tone. The strong influence of Yahwism pressed this essentially foreign type of literature into its own service, and even implanted therein the characteristic Israelitic doctrine of divine retribution for sinful conduct.

The second half of the book, "Der Gang der Geschichte", deals with the biblical literature as part and parcel of the national history. Professor HEMPEL is well versed on this question; in the present work he keeps his historical sources, and especially his archaeological material, more clearly to the fore than he did in his monograph entitled *Altes Testament und Geschichte* (1930). He shows good reasons for the Deuteronomic reforms without insisting on connecting them too closely with names and dates. He doubts the unity of the book of *Ezekiel*, yet willingly admits "grosse Unsicherheit", and does not fail to mention TORREY's very late dating of the book. In other words, he has kept to his main purpose without losing sight of the possibility of divergent interpretations. His section on Israelitic law is excellent, but he unfortunately did not have the benefit of consulting ALT's recent brilliant monograph on that subject. In scope he has surveyed the literary development from the early songs and poems, which were originally transmitted orally, up to the sophisticated works of the Persian and Greek periods, and has even included Philo, Josephus, and the Gospels.

The volume appears under the old copyright of 1930, but references and text have been revised to include the literature up to the end of 1933, with a few items from 1934.

W. F. STINESPRING

S. D. F. GOITEIN, *Von den Juden Jemens*, pp. 107. Schocken Verlag, Berlin. Mk. 1,25.

This small book contains many interesting facts describing the mode of life and some of the superstitions of the Jews in Yemen. While some of the material is known in its Hebrew text, other was gathered by the author from Yeminitic Jews living now in Palestine. Two chapters are translations from Hebrew manuscripts kept in the University library.

The belief that every time the tomb of Mori Salim was whitewashed or a cupola erected over it the whitewashing peeled off and the cupola collapsed in the same night is also told by the Palestinian Mohammedans about several *awliá* who are described as *nizqin*. Mori Salim of Yemen possessed the miraculous power of being translated on Saturdays to pray in Jerusalem; many Mohammedan saints of Palestine possess the same power on Fridays in regard to Mecca. The belief that an unholy person dishonours a holy object or a holy place and the punishments following such an act are the same among the Jews of Yemen and the Arabs in general. Calling a person "a barber" constitutes, in Yemen, as well as in some parts of Palestine, an insult.

T. CANAAN

ROBERT M. ENGBERG and GEOFFREY M. SHIPTON, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization,* No. 10; XIX+91 pages royal 8vo. The University of Chicago Press.

Avant d'être utilisées comme sépultures de la ville les grottes et les aspérités du flanc oriental de la colline de Megiddo avaient servi d'abris à des populations troglodytiques. Cette constatation des fouilleurs de Tell el-Mutesellim a été confirmée par la découverte d'une zone stratifiée de sols nivelés et de débris de murailles qu'aucune intrusion de sépulture ultérieure n'avait bouleversée. L'étude de cette zone de 500 mètres carrés a révélé l'existence et la succession des premières installations humaines qui précédèrent la cité historique de Megiddo. M. M. Engberg et Shipton ont reconnu dans une couche archéologique de quatre à cinq mètres d'épaisseur sept tranches que caractérisent les particularités de la céramique et divers indices relevés avec soin. Outre une coupe de la stratification archaïque et de nombreuses photographies, une planche qui se développe en 57 colonnes rend tangibles l'évolution des formes de la poterie à travers les différents niveaux et la note particulière à chacun de ces étages ou groupes d'étages.

En partant de la surface de la couche archéologique c'est au niveau *III* que furent trouvés les premiers objets de cuivre associés à des instruments de silex déjà très rares. Beaucoup plus nombreux au niveau *IV* les restes de l'industrie lithique: lames de faucille, perçoirs, grattoirs, outils de fortune, d'une facture assez commune. Mais ce qui fait l'importance de cet étage, c'est le perfectionnement technique de la poterie qu'on y remarque. Traitement de l'argile, cuisson, ornementation peinte, décor strié, tout est en progrès sur les périodes précédentes. Il en va de même pour l'art de construire: les maisons en torchis ou en briques frustes sur soubassement de pierres reçoivent une ordonnance plus complexe, certaines se terminent en abside comme influencées par le souvenir des anfractuosités semi-circulaires des anciennes cavernes. Ce développement général laisse supposer l'emploi d'outils de métal concurremment avec les instruments de pierre, de bois et d'os, car on se trouve sur les confins de l'Énéolithique et du Bronze, c'est-à-dire vers 3000 avant notre ère.

L'ère des premières constructions apparaît avec le niveau *V*, qui marque une transition entre la hutte primitive et l'habitation relativement perfectionnée du niveau *IV*. L'industrie lithique s'y montre clairsemée. En céramique la note caractéristique de l'étage *V* consiste dans le décor imprimé par la rotation d'un cachet cylindrique, réproduisant des végétaux, et des animaux stylisés, des motifs géométrique où la nature est interprétée sous forme de symboles. Ainsi que l'établissent les auteurs de ces *Notes*, cette méthode dérive en droite ligne du procédé élamite et mésopotamien. Il y eut donc alors un courant oriental à travers la Palestine qui se propagea, du reste, jusqu'en Égypte.

L'étage *VI* paraît au contraire indemne d'influence étrangère. La céramique se décore par incisions. On grave des figures géométriques, des représentations d'animaux et même des silhouettes humaines qui témoignent une observation directe de la nature et le souci de la reproduction réaliste. C'est un dernier reflet de l'art préhistorique des cavernes. Le matériel lithique y est deux fois plus abondant qu'au niveau *V*. Ce que pouvait être l'habitation à cette époque, il est malaisé de se le représenter. Elle ne devait guère être plus confortable que celle de l'âge précédent représenté par le niveau *VII*.

Au niveau *VII*, le plus profond atteint par la fouille, il ne reste plus que quelques surfaces aplanies, solidifiées par une sorte de mortier battu, ayant formé le sol de cabanes en branches ou de tentes de peaux. Dès cet étage pourtant, qui repose sur un lit épais mais stérile sous le rapport archéologique, l'agglomération possédait un art céramique déjà évolué qui n'avait pu naître sur place. Il faut donc admettre un apport d'origine étrangère, l'influence d'une immigration venue sans doute du nord, versée dans la pratique du métal et de

la céramique. Nous atteignons ainsi l'aurore de l'Énéolithique avec le début du quatrième millénaire. L'industrie lithique elle-même examinée par Miss D. A. Garrod trahit non pas le développement d'une ancienne culture mais une création pour ainsi dire originale et indépendante.

Les savants explorateurs de Megiddo ont eu le mérite de fournir des éléments nouveaux pour la solution du problème des origines palestiniennes posée par d'autres excavations, en jetant les bases d'un pont entre la préhistoire et la protohistoire de ce pays.

F. M. ABEL.

ALPHONS M. SCHNEIDER : *Die Brotvermehrungskirche von et-ṭâbġa am Genesarethsee und ihre Mosaiken*, Paderborn 1934. Collectanea Hierosolymitana, Veröffentlichungen des Orientalischen Instituts der Görresgesellschaft in Jerusalem, IV Band. 82 pages with 33 plates, 5 plans, 1 reconstruction, 18 figures in the text. Price RM. 4.80.

This study, which is dedicated to Joseph Sauer, gives in three chapters a general survey of the history of the basilica at *et-Ṭâbġa*. It presents first a description of the ruins, followed by their interpretation, and then gives a consideration of the literary evidence, as well as of the mosaics. On p. 80 a short summary of the results is added. These different points of view tend to confirm SCHNEIDER's main conclusions, viz. that the basilica with its mosaic floor is to be dated in the middle or the second half of the fourth century, and that in later periods renovations of the floor and architectural changes in the transept have taken place. The church was probably destroyed in 614, and has never been restored, which means that the archaeological site is clear and comparatively simple to understand. It is SCHNEIDER's opinion, based on philological reasons and confirmed by the lack of traces of any younger building that the "Heptapegon" church, mentioned in the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* is to be looked for at an other site, in the *el-Minye* settlement.

But if the history and the archaeological importance of the site is clear, especially in reference to the fine mosaics, which give in their vivid drawings of flower and animal life a very good notion of Hellenistic tradition, the explanation of the architectural features is not as convincing. The transept, which is to be seen in the ground plan of the basilica, is so far unique in Palestine and rare even in more western countries at such an early date. Why it was adopted in this case, and why it was later on of such frequent usage in Romanesque and Gothic architecture is not explained. As a solution, the importance of the cult at the martyrs' altars would well explain the development of elaborate choirs, but fails to account for a transept, which does not lie near the altar, the altar being generally located in the apse, towards the east. In fact the martyr churches, e. g. on the Rhine, as in Xanten and Bonn, show no sign of a transept, and the same can be said of the small church of St. John in Samaria and of the churches in Jerash, as well as the church of St. Agnes in Rome.

Striking features of pagan planning are the huge building complexes with transept-like side developments, such as the *Serapeum* on the *Forma Urbis Romae*. Likewise the trefoil plan of churches can be developed from similar traditions, and gives also a type related to the church transept. So it is likely that the church with transept had its origin in pagan buildings. It was later to be characteristic of medieval religious architecture after the full development of the crossing, separating the place of the clergy from the laymen's part. This practice, though not carried out in every case, remained present in principle throughout the Middle Ages.

HELEN ROSENAU

G. DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Bd. III, *Von der Ernte zum Mehl. Schriften des Deutschen Palästina-Instituts.* pp. XI+339. Verlag C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh.

This volume is a thoroughly scientific description of Palestinian conditions and customs connected with harvest, threshing, winnowing and grinding of corn. Every process of work, every tool, custom and superstition is minutely described. Arabic terms, proverbs, idioms and songs are always given. Bible references and parallels from Jewish literature are given in detail after each chapter. This volume is, like the preceding ones, an excellent reference-book for Bible students, Arabists, folklorists and students of the Talmudic period. Seventy-one good illustrations enhance the value of the work, explaining many points more vividly than any description. Indices of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic words mentioned in the text, a general index and a list of all Bible verses referred to help greatly in the use of this volume.

There are only a few errors in transcription and doubtless the greater part of them are mistakes of the printers. The reader's attention is drawn to the following irregularities: *sârûr* (p. 31) is generally pronounced *ṣârûr*; *biḳarmiz* and *biḳarfiṣ* (p. 34) should be *biḳarrmiz* and *biḳarrfiṣ*, respectively; *laḳt el-mišmiši* (p. 39) means "(Müde macht) das Ernten der sehr reifen Ähren" (see *ZDMG* 70, 171); *biḥaddûhum* (p. 104) should read *biḥḏûhum*; the proverb on p. 190 should read *el-marah ilhâ ṭob idjurr uḫâbieh ithurr*; the classical Arabic proverb on p. 225 is اسمع جعجعة ولا ارى طحينا, *ʾasmaʿu, ṭaḥinan* and not *ismaʿ* and *ṭiḥnân*; the real meaning of the proverb (p. 257), *lêš inti bil-ḥârah yâ munḫul balâ ṭdrah* is "What are you doing in the streets, O worthless woman," (DALMAN has given only the literal translation); *biṭîr, lekibbe, limdjaddara* (p. 274) should be *bit-ṭîr, lel-kibbeh* and *lel-imdjaddarah.*

The following additions may be of interest: the upper stone of the hand-mill is also called *raḥah* in Dêr Ghassâneh and in the villages around it; they call the lower stone *eš-šaqqah et-taḥtâniyeh*; the shaft of the mill is also known by the name *es-sabʿ* and *musmâr*. A piece of cloth is sometimes wrapped around the shaft in order to lift slightly the upper mill stone from the lower one. In this way the flour is ground coarsely. Another name of the *frâšeh*, known in the Ramallah district, is *fâkûrah*. The fourth reaper is sometimes called *ʿala ʾd-djaḥšeh*. The sesame sieve is known as *ʿaqib*. The quantity of harvested wheat which a woman is able to carry between her outstretched arms is called a *taḏrîbeh*. The following proverbs may be added to those mentioned in the text: *madahnâ (šakarnâ) el-quṭṭ ḫiri fil-ṭḥin (fil-bâṭieh, fil-môqadeh)*, "(No sooner) have we praised the male-cat, then he defecated into the flour (the wooden basin, the clay stove)"; *eḏ-ḏahab biʿûz en-nḫâleh*, "Gold needs (even the worthless) bran (to be polished)"; *ṭabaḫû l-ʿaṣîdeh ʿalâ qaṣṣ el-haṣîreh*, "They cooked *el-ʿaṣîdeh* (= gruel of flour with butter and honey—HAVA) on the straw of the mat (poverty)"; *mâ byiṭliʿ ʿêb el-qamḥ illa l-ghurbâl umâ byiṭliʿ ʿêb el-marah illa ʾr-ridjâl*, "Nothing but the sieve will get out the impurities of the wheat and nobody but the man will disclose the defects of the woman"; *allâh yilʿan haz-zamân illî ḫalaṭ el-qamḥ biz-zawân*, "May God curse this time which mixed wheat and tares", i.e. a time which mixed good people with bad; *lolâ munḫ(u)lik ugharbâlik mâ ʿrift bâb dârik*, "If it not were for your corn and flour sieve I would have never known the door of your house"; *ʾayâm el-ḥṣâd ulaydli ʾl-bdâd (ṭawîleh)*, "The days of harvest and the nights of pressing the oil (are very long)"; *el-qamḥ illî mâ hû ʾilak lâ tiḥdar kêluh titghabbar ḏaqnak ubtitʿab ibšêluh*, "Do not be present at the measuring of corn which does not belong to you—your chin will only be covered with dust and you will tire yourself (in helping) to carry the corn (-sacks)"; *lamma yitlaʿ išmak ḥaṣṣâd ḥuṭṭ mandjalak wistrîḥ* "When your name is known as a (good) reaper, put down your sickle and rest"; *fulân ʿumruh mâ kaiyal ʿurmeh wald djauwaz ḫurmeh*, "N. N. has never measured a heap of corn nor did he ever give a girl in marriage" (= he is worthless).

This volume of *Arbeit und Sitte* is a most welcome addition to the literature on Palestine.

T. CANAAN

AAPELI SAARISALO, *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Slaves, Studia Orientalia (edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica)* V 3, Helsingfors, 1934, pp. I-VIII, 1-101.

The Kirkuk documents[1] are Akkadian tablets dating from about the fifteenth century B. C. Most of the documents are personal and family records belonging to individuals of the local Hurrian population. The Kirkuk tablets are definitely of interest to the Palestinologist and especially to the student of the Old Testament.[2]

In the preface, Dr. SAARISALO sketches some of the orthographic and dialectal peculiarities of the Kirkuk documents. He then presents thirty-five texts in transliteration and translation with some very instructive notes, many of which include scholarly observations of Professor BENNO LANDSBERGER. Then follows a discussion of the texts with special reference to the categories and status of slaves. The sections on the Habiru and Lullu may be singled out as containing material of interest to the Orientalist. The indices, especially those of proper names, are quite helpful.

I differ with the interpretation of text 2 (pp. 2-4). According to my translation, the text records a law case illustrating Deuteronomy 25:11-12; see *JPOS* XV, pp. 29–34.

Ll. 18-19 of text 5 (p. 8) should be translated: they (i.e., the judges) made him pay a fine to Shilwiteshup.[3]

ITUḪu-ri-li (10: 34, p. 17) should be read *ITUḪu-ri-ši* (cf. *i-na warḫiḫi ḫu-ri-še-e* in N. 116: 14). In the footnote to this passage, SAARISALO states that he has counted the names of no less than twenty-one months in these documents. He explains this surprisingly large number of months by assuming that every important city mentioned in these texts had its own nomenclature for the months. SAARISALO seeks substantiation from passages like the following: (H V 20: 12) *i-na warḫiḫi* (13) *ku-ri-il-li ša* ^{dl}*zi-iz-za*, which he takes to mean 'in the month of K. of the city of Zizza'. In a study of 'The Names of the Months of the Nuzi Calendar' appearing presently in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, I have reduced all the month names to twelve by taking pairs such as *kurilli/kirilli* and *kinúnu/kinúnâti* as variants rather than as names of separate months. Furthermore, I hold that *ša*, as in *ša* ^{dl}*zi-iz-za*, refers to the tablet itself and not to the month. Thus, if a tablet is written 'in such and such a month, *ša* such and such a city', it means that the tablet was written *in* that city and not that the month belongs to the calendar *of* that city.[4]

In 11: 7–10 (p. 18), the points of the compass are given as *šupâlu, iltânu, šadânu* and *sûtânu*. Since the last three are 'north', 'east' and 'south' respectively, SAARISALO properly notes that *šupâlu* must be 'west'. GADD's conjecture that *šupâlu* means 'west' and *elénu* 'east' is therefore correct.[5] We are now able to define the Hurrian direction *wuruḫli* (= *elénu*)[6] as 'east'.[7]

[1] Sometimes referred to as the Arrapḫa or Nuzi documents. Texts, other than those in the monograph reviewed, are cited according to the abbreviations given in *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXI, p. 53

[2] The parallels to the Old Testament are summed up in *JPOS* XV, pp. 29–30 and in *Revue Biblique*, 1935, pp. 34–41.

[3] The original reads: *a-na* ^{m}*ši-il-wi-te-šup it-ta-dú-uš.*

[4] Cf. N. 116: 14, where *ša* in this connection is replaced by *i-na*.

[5] *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXIII, p. 87.

[6] *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXI, p. 102.

[7] In a much appreciated communication Mr. E. A. LACHEMAN informs me of the form *a-mu-ur-ra-nu* which occurs in an unpublished tablet from Nuzi in the Harvard Semitic Museum. It is composed of *amurrû* 'west' with the suffix *-ân* (found also in *iltânu šadânu* and *sûtânu*). In the published Nuzi-Kirkuk

EGIR-sú (19: 11, p. 33), as *sú* for *šu* shows, stands for *warka(t)-sú* rather than *arki-šu*, and therefore ought to be translated 'her[8] estate' and not 'after him'.

Dr. SAARISALO is to be congratulated on his fine treatment of these important and difficult inscriptions.

October, 1934. CYRUS GORDON

tablets, *amurrú* occurs but once and in the form *a-bu-ur-ri* with *b* for *m* (see *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXI, pp. 102, 105). Mr. LACHEMAN has collated N. 263:5 and has found that LANDSBERGER's emendation of *ta-ap-ta-a-[n]u* to *ša-at-ta-a[n]u* (*Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXI, p. 103, n. 3) is correct.

[8] The gender of the pronoun offers no difficulty, since masculine forms generally displace feminine forms in these tablets.