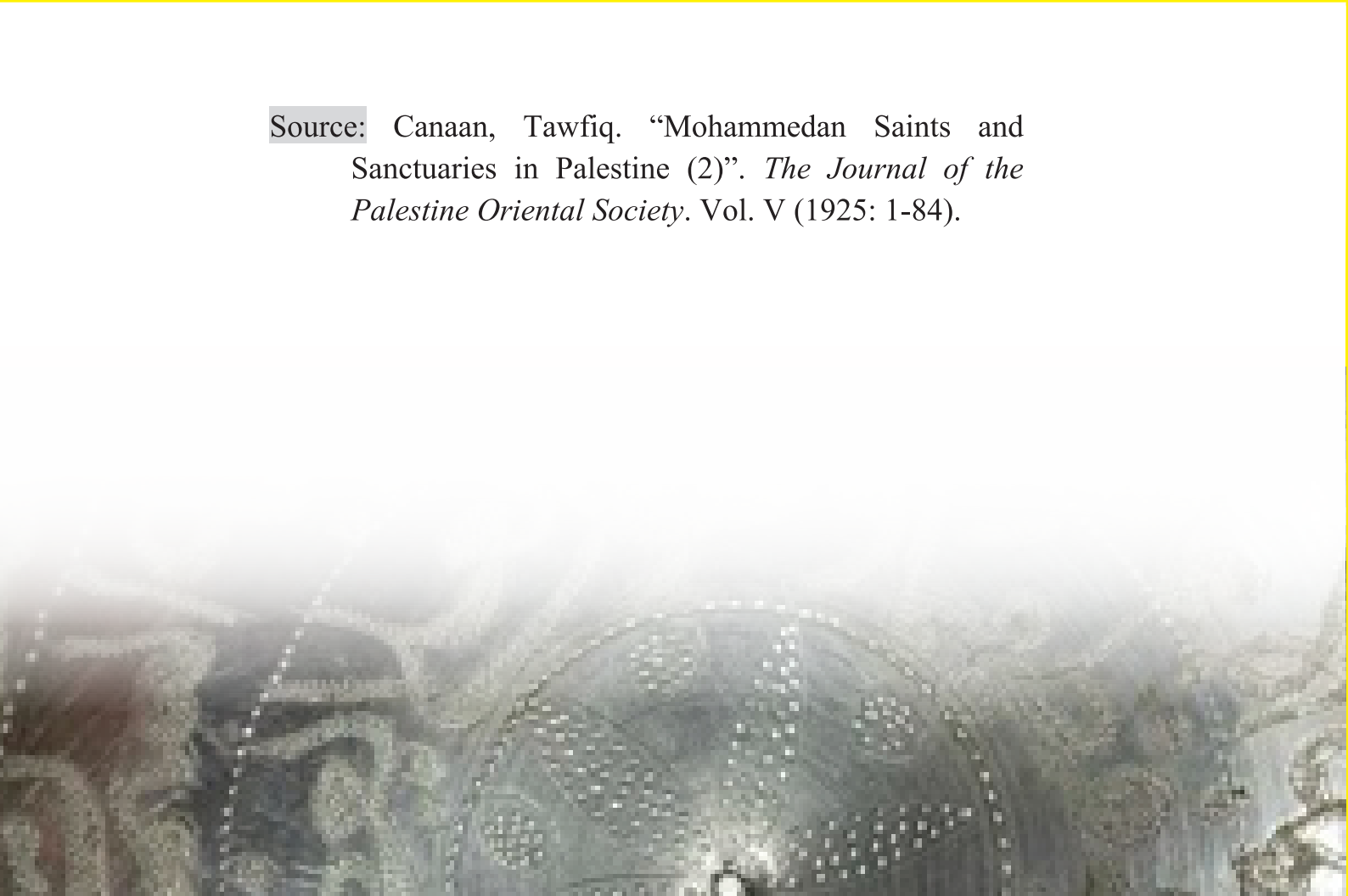


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MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN
(JERUSALEM)

(Continued)

B. RITES AND PRACTISES

In our study of the different forms and categories of Mohammedan shrines in Palestine we have laid the foundation for our further investigations. Without a thorough knowledge of the former the study of the latter will be difficult and incomplete. I intend in the present chapter to take up the question: What is done in the holy places?

Acts connected with a shrine may be performed in the *maqām* itself, outside of it, or at a distance from the sanctuary. They comprise simple acts as well as complicated ones. The following classification includes the most important acts performed in a holy place, arranged according to their degree of complexity:

1. Religious acts
 - I. Utterance of simple protective words
 - II. Repetition of prayers
 - III. Reverence
 - IV. Religious service as in a mosque
 - V. The *barakeh*
2. Placing private property under the protection of the *welī*
3. Tying of rags
4. Healing
5. Making oaths
6. Paying vows
7. Celebration of feasts, *mawāsīm*
8. Processions.

Some less important acts will be mentioned under the above headings.

1. RELIGIOUS ACTS

I. Utterance of simple protective words

No pious peasant ever approaches or enters a *maqâm* without first asking the permission of the *welî*. The general expression is *dastûr*¹ (*yâ sîdnâ*² 'Abd es-Salâm³), "with your permission (O our lord 'A . . .)." It is a common Arabic—especially Mohammedan—custom never to enter a harem without asking permission to enter, or more correctly notifying the *harîm*⁴ (women) that a man is coming.⁵ *Dastûr qabl mâ tudhul*, "get permission before you enter," used to be a rule enforced on every male servant.⁶ It is customary to use the word *dastûr* alone or combined with *hađûr*, as well as with different appellatives of God.⁷ Even when somebody intends to contradict or criticize the statements of another he begins with *dastûr*⁸ (*el-mas'alih mis hêk*), "with your permission (that is not the question)."

Much more significant and therefore more frequent is this custom when a person approaches the abode of some supernatural being, as a demon, a spirit, or a saint. Nobody used to approach an

¹ This is a Persian word coming from *dast* دست "rule, order," and *uwr* وړ "owner" (cf. *Muhîṭ el-Muhîṭ* I, 650). The direct meaning of "permission" does not occur in literary Arabic, but in the common language it is so understood.

² *Sîdî* means "my master, my lord." In Palestinian Arabic it also means "my grandfather" (*djiddî*).

³ 'Abd es-Salâm el-Asmar came from Morocco to Palestine, and lived in the village of Ĥirbet 'Almîṭ, now a ruin. Owing to a conflict between the government and the inhabitants of this village, the former destroyed the houses of the rebels. 'Abd es-Salâm went to 'Anâtâ, bought the site and lived there. His descendants are the peasants of this village. The *šêh* had six children, one of whom, Qâsim died without leaving children. The other five were 'Alawî, Ibrâhîm, 'Alî, 'Abdallâh and 'Abd el-Laṭîf. 'Alawî begot Ĥamdân, father of Moĥammed, father of Aĥmad who is still living. To this Aĥmad I owe this story and the chronology. Šêh 'Abd es-Salâm belonged to the order of the Rifâî.

⁴ *Harîm* means also "wife," *harîmî*, "my wife" (as well as "my wives"). Many use *'êltî*, which really stands for "my family," in the same way.

⁵ Even when a man entered his own house, he used to notify his entrance without fail, as there might be women guests.

⁶ This custom prevails more in cities than in the villages. The inhabitants of Hebron, Nâblus and Gaza used to be very strict.

⁷ *Yâ sattâr*, "O Concealer;" *yâ ĥâfîz*, "O Keeper;" *yâ amîn*, "O Faithful," etc.

⁸ The above-mentioned *hađûr* comes from *hađdara* and means "be ready, be on your guard." When rocks are blasted this word is also used.

inhabited cave, spring, or tree, or to draw water from such a spring without asking permission.¹ The irritated *djinn* may otherwise injure the person. For the same reason one should never put out burning coals with water without a direct and loud request for permission:² *dastûr hadûr yâ sukkân en-nâr*,³ "with your permission, take care, O inhabitants of the fire." In other parts the expression is: *yâ ahl el-ard ihnâ fîl-'ard*, "O, inhabitants of the earth, we are under your protection."

Cemeteries are the abiding places of the souls of the dead and they were formerly never entered without asking permission.⁴ So also holy places are only approached or entered after *dastûr*.⁵ This act not only expresses respect for the *welî*, but also reverence. In the case of *djinn* respect and fear are the reasons for asking permission. Through such a behaviour one both gains the favour and the help of the men of God, and avoids the danger which may befall him from the evil spirits.

Not only are such precautions taken in approaching a *maqâm*, but also whenever the name of an important saint is mentioned; one is afraid to trouble a *welî*.⁶ The following example will illustrate this custom. When I asked a peasant of 'Anâtâ about *eš-šêh* 'Abd es-Salâm, he told me a story to convince me of the importance and power of this *šêh*. He began: *marrah rikîb walad 'alâ qabr eš-šêh 'Abd es-Salâm—dastûr yâ sîdnâ 'Abd es-Salâm . . .*, "Once a boy rode on the tomb of *eš-šêh* 'Abd . . ., with your permission O our lord 'A . . ."⁷

¹ *Aberglaube*, p. 8 ff.

² A custom wide-spread in Palestine and proving that demons are supposed to abide in fire. For still other proofs see *Aberglaube*, p. 11.

³ Another sentence is *dastûr hadûr itfarragû la tihîrû* "with your permission, take care, disperse, else you will be burned."

⁴ This custom is now dying out.

⁵ The Kurds say at such occasions: *quddûs şubbûh rabbunâ wa rahîm al-malûk* *ikah war-râh*, "Holy and praise to our lord the lord of the angels and the spirit" (heard from Mr. St. H. Stephan).

⁶ Saints are always at work praying or helping others; therefore, they should never be troubled. Asking permission to call upon them assures their consent.

⁷ No sooner was the boy on the tomb, than it began to rise and rise, while the ceiling of the *maqâm* grew higher and higher. The frightened boy promised the *šêh* a present if he brought him down, and at once the tomb began to descend until it was down again. Trembling, the boy got down and hastened to fulfill his promise (related by Mohammed of 'Anâtâ).

As we have seen in this example the name of the saint is added to the word *dastūr*. Sometimes instead of the name itself the expression "O friend of God" is placed after *dastūr*: *dastūr yâ welîy allâh*. Very rarely *dastūr* alone is used. In the case of *nebî Mûsâ* I heard from a woman of Jerusalem the following expression: *dastūr yâbn 'Imrân¹ illî nâruh min ḥdjâruh*, "dastūr, O son of 'Imrân, whose fire comes from his stones."² On entering *nebî Şâleḥ*, *dastūr yâ nebî Şâlih³ yâ râ'i en-nâqah*, "dastūr, O Prophet Şâleḥ, O shepherd of the she-camel,"⁴ is used. With 'Alî ibn 'Alêm, *dastūr yâ 'Alî ibn 'Alêm⁵ yâ lâdjim el-baḥar ibšâ'rah*, "dastūr, O 'A. ibn 'A. O thou who bridlest the sea with a hair"⁶ is heard.

This custom is not only found among the Mohammedans, but the Christians also use it. St. George enjoys a great reputation in Palestine and it is especially in connection with him that *dastūr* or *es-salâm 'alêh* is used by the Christians.

On rare occasions one who enters the enclosure of a shrine (the *ruâq* or arcade in front of the real *maqâm*) and says *dastūr* may receive from persons sitting there the answer *dastûrak ma'ak*, "you have your own permission," i. e., you can not enter the shrine. Such an answer is given when women are in the sanctuary, and the presence of a man is not allowed. This same expression means just the opposite, "you may enter," when it is said to a man asking permission to enter a house.

Beside the asking permission we meet continually with cases where the *welî* is invoked, in every phase of daily life. No peasant

¹ According to the Koran.

² The stones around *Nebî Mûsâ* are black and contain some bitumen, so they burn when put on a fire.

³ *Nebî Şâleḥ* has several *maqâms*. The above expression is used by the people of the village of *Nebî Şâleḥ*. The sanctuary is situated on the top of a mountain, and encircles his tomb. Under the kitchen there is an olive-press (*badd*) where the soul of the prophet's servant dwells.

⁴ See the Koran, *Sûreh VII*, for the story of the she-camel sent by God to the tribe of *Tamûd*.

⁵ His sanctuary is situated on the sea-shore north of *Jaffa*. He is said to be the descendant of *'Omar ibn el-Ḥaṭṭâb*. In the neighbourhood of the *maqâm* we see the ruins of *'Arşûf*. Common tradition relates that its inhabitants sinned profusely, so that the holy man punished them by throwing a sherd from a broken jar (*qarqûm ibrîq*) on the village, thus destroying it (heard from *O. S. Bargûṭî*).

⁶ It is believed that as soon as this hair breaks the sea will flood the country.

will begin any work without asking the help of the Almighty or that of a saint. The usual phrases are: *bism allâh*, "in the name of God;" *bism el-'Adrâ*, "in the name of the Virgin;" *yâ nabîy allâh*, "O prophet of God;" *yâ Ḥaḍr el-Aḥḍar*, "O green Ḥaḍr;" *yâ nabî Rubîn*, "O prophet R.," etc. The most common expression among the Mohammedans is the first one. No meal is taken, work begun, food handled, flour kneaded, wheat measured, etc., without the saying of this short prayer. It is believed that the *djinn* will take possession of everything upon which the name of God has not been uttered.¹ According to et-Tarmadî the Prophet ordered: *idâ akala aḥadrukum falyadkur allâh*, "when one of you eats he must mention (remember) God."² Such a precaution will not only assure a blessing but will also banish all demons, which are always ready to hurt human beings.

Whenever a person passes a shrine, and even if he is some distance from it, and meets with a difficulty or inconvenience, he begs the assistance of that saint, *biynḥâh*³ or *bistadjîr fîh*, "he urges him by his honour." Usually the nearest *welî* is called upon for help. Many prefer their local ones, whose power they have tested. All believe in the Prophets Abraham (Ḥalîl allâh⁴), Moses (Kalîm allâh⁵), David (Nabîy allâh⁶), Mohammed (Rasûl allâh⁷) and Jesus, 'Îsâ (Rûḥ allâh⁸). The usual expressions are: *daḥîl*⁹ 'alêk *yâ rasûl allâh*, "I implore you, O apostle of God;" *anâ ṭanîb 'alêkî*¹⁰ *yâ sittî yâ Badrîyeh*, "I am your neighbour,¹¹ O my lady, O Badrîyeh."

¹ L. Einsler, *Mosaik*, p. 2 ff.; *Aberglaube*, p. 11.

² Eš-šêḥ 'Abd el-Madjîd 'Alî, *at-Tuhfatu l-Marḍîyah fil-Aḥbâr el-Qudsîyah*, etc., p. 4.

³ The *h* is to be pronounced.

⁴ Ḥalîl = "friend," the surname of Abraham.

⁵ Kalîm = Interlocutor, the surname of Moses.

⁶ Nabîy = Prophet, the surname of David.

⁷ Rasûl = Apostle, the surname of Mohammed.

⁸ Rûḥ = Spirit, the surname of Christ. This name is based on Sûreh XXI, where we read: "And remember her (i. e. the Virgin Mary) who preserved her virginity, and into whom we breathed of our spirit."

⁹ *Daḥîl 'alêk*, *daḥîl ḥarîmak*, *daḥîl 'ardak* and *daḥîlak* are expressions used when one beseeches another for help.

¹⁰ *Tunub* is "tent rope; tent peg;" *ṭanîbî*, "my neighbour whose tentropes are near mine" (*Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* II, 1297; *JPOS* II, 43); *ṭanîb 'alêk*, "I beseech you to accept me as your neighbour (and thus to give me your help)."

¹¹ A man is obliged according to Arabic rules to help, protect and safeguard his neighbour; *ed-djâr lad-djâr u-law djâr*, "a neighbour is (responsible) for his neighbour, even if he acts wrongly toward him."

Often the simple invocation *yâ sultân Ibrahîm (iṣfî ibnî)*, "O sultân Ib. (cure my son);" *yâ Abû l-anbiâ*, "O father of the Prophets (i. e. Abraham)" are used. Every *fellâh* believes firmly that the saint will respond at once to a call for help. In the Lebanon I have heard the following expression used by a muleteer,¹ whose animal had fallen down under its load: *yâ mâr Elyâs ilak nuṣṣuh walâ ihuṣṣuh*,² "O St. Elias, you will get the half of it—if only it is not injured."³

I shall cite some cases where their help is implored to illustrate this belief. A camel belonging to a poor camel-driver (*djammâl*) slips over a rock and there is danger of fracture of a leg and the loss of the precious camel.⁴ An ass loaded with a heavy flour sack falls under its load.⁵ A traveller loses his path during the night and all his efforts to find the right direction are futile. The following story illustrates this point. Dr. Djâd from Haifâ was invited to attend the wedding of a friend in Ya'bad. While there he had an attack of fever. As a coachman who was leaving for Haifâ refused to take him along, he begged the *ṣahâbeh* Mêsar⁶ to punish the coachman, whose wheel was broken on the way. This physician also implored the same saint to bring back his brother, who was deported by the Turks, and the brother was brought back in a miraculous way.

Not only in simple inconveniences but in great difficulties the assistance of the saints is asked for. In examining vows we shall

¹ Muleteers (also coachmen, porters and boatmen) are notoriously profane, therefore the Arabic proverb *mitl el-mkârî mâ biyudkur allâh illâ taht il-ḥiml*, "like the muleteer, he does not call on God, except when in difficulty (under a load).

² Pronounce the *h* in *nuṣṣuh* and *ihuṣṣuh*.

³ *Ihuṣṣuh* was explained to me as "injured;" I tried to find out whether it is not *ihuṣṣh*, "become less," but it was always pronounced with a clear *ṣ*.

⁴ A camel used to be and is still sometimes (but much more rarely than before) the only support of the family. Such an animal often formed the only capital of a peasant.

⁵ A man who drives donkeys carrying wheat to a mill (or flour from it) is called *tarrâs*. In classical Arabic this meaning is not known (see *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ*). Hava gives it the meaning "Hirer of donkeys," and says that it is "only used in Egypt." In Jerusalem it has the above-mentioned meaning. In the district of Benî Zêd the root means "to load heavily": *djamal mitris*, "a very heavily loaded camel;" *fulân atras baghluh*, "N. loaded his mule very heavily."

⁶ Mêsarah bin Masrûq el-'Absî. His shrine, situated on the top of a mountain and near a ruin, lies between Djiffîn and Bâqah. (O. S. B.)

see that they are really nothing but invocations combined with promises. I will relate here another story¹ to illustrate more fully the point in question. The Bedouins of the Tayâhâ tribe attacked Bêt Djâlâ one night. The frightened inhabitants, who were much less in number than the Bedouins, besought Mâr Inqûlâ (*istandjadû*) to help them. Suddenly the Bedouins began to run in disorder, shouting: *a'ûdu bil-lâh min balad šdjârâhâ turšuk l-djâr*, "I fly for refuge to God from a village whose trees throw stones." The peasants of the village assembled in the church of this saint to thank him for having delivered them so wonderfully from their fierce enemies. They observed, to their great surprise, that the *qâneh* was dripping sweat,² which was another sign of his power.³

II. Repetition of prayers

In entering a *maqâm* a pious *fellâh* will recite the *fâtihah* or first *sûreh* of the Qoran. The recitation of this prayer is believed to be followed by the blessing of the saint and God. Not only when a simple peasant enters the shrine, but every time he passes beside a *maqâm*—especially during night time—he recites this prayer.

When a pilgrim is on the way to visit a prophet's shrine, and when he reaches a high place from which the sanctuary is visible, he stands still and says *ašhadu anna lâ ilâhan illâ-llâh*, "I witness that there is no God beside God." The same is done very often when a traveller—without intending to visit a shrine—beholds the *maqâm* from afar. In both cases the passer-by lifts up his hands and passes them down his face (*et-tabarruk*⁴). In the first case several stones may be thrown in a heap, which is called *mašhad*.⁵

In the case of a prophet the visitor says *aš-šalâtu wassalâmu 'alêka yâ nabîy allâh*, "prayer and peace be upon you, O prophet of God." Such a prayer is never used for a common *welî*. A pilgrim

¹ Heard from different people of this village.

² Other instances where the picture of a saint shows a miraculous sign will be discussed elsewhere.

³ Since this time Mâr Inqûlâ is regarded as the protector of the village.

⁴ El-Kawâkibî thinks (in *Tabâi'u l-Istibdâd*) that this performance is a vestige of the Christian custom of "crossing."

⁵ I have never heard the expressions *karkûr* and *rakûbeh* (or *raqûbeh*?) mentioned by Doutté in *Magie et Religion*, p. 420 ff. in connection with heaps of stones.

says in visiting Aḥmad er-Rfâ'î:¹ *yâ Aḥmad yâ Rfâ'î ihmînâ min kull šî sâ'î*, "O Aḥmad, O R., protect us from every creeping (following) thing (reptiles)."²

Prayers said in a shrine are generally made for the benefit of the saint; it is supposed that God will reckon them to the credit of the *welî*. This is why we hear in some places: *igra l-fâtihah 'an rûḥ eš-šêḥ . . . (igra l-fâtihah laš-šêḥ . . .)*, "Recite the *fâtihah* for the soul of the *šêḥ* . . . (recite the *f.* for the *šêḥ* . . .)."

Many visitors perpetuate their names by writing some verse of the Qorân on the wall of the *maqâm*, or on the cenotaph. As a typical sentence we may quote: *audâ tu fî hâda l-maqâm šihâdatî anna lâ ilâhan illa-llâh*, "I entrust to this *maqâm* my confession (witness), that there is no God but *Allâh*." After finishing his visit the pilgrim often makes the request *itqabbal zyârtî yâ . . .*, "accept my visit, O . . ."³

III. Reverence

The reverence shown in connection with holy places is general and manifests itself in different ways. It is at present not nearly so strictly observed as it used to be. A pious peasant will not enter the shrine of any important *welî* without taking off his shoes.⁴ These he either leaves outside or carries with him.⁵ In some cases (*eš-šêḥ et-Ṭôri*, *eš-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm*, etc.) I have not been allowed to enter except barefoot, while in most of them (*eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah* in Qubêbeh, *eš-šêḥ Salmân el-Fârsî* on the Mount of Olives, Ḥasan er-Râ'î near Nebî Mûsâ, *eš-šêḥ Ḥamad* in Kolônia, etc.) no objections at all were made.

¹ Aḥmad er-Rfâ'î was renowned for curing patients bitten by serpents. His followers are still serpent-charmers.

² Aḥmad er-Rfâ'î was a *qutub*. His shrine in Palestine is in Benî Zêd, about one hour to the east of Dêr Ghassâneh. It is believed that under the *maqâm* there is a *ghâr* (cave) in which lies his tomb.

³ Christians write *udkur yâ rabb 'abdak . . .*, "remember, O Lord, your servant . . ."

⁴ As the shoes are made unclean by walking on the street, which is full of impurities (including human and animal excretions), they have to be taken off.

⁵ In the case of the Omar Mosque, el-Aqşâ, Nebî Mûsâ and other shrines, all those who do not desire to take off their shoes put on slippers or sandals, in which they may visit the shrines.

Many will not enter a shrine except in a ritually clean condition. For this reason many peasants would not enter with me into the *maqâm*, but waited outside. Even when I enquired about one thing or another, they answered without stepping in.¹

These customs of the modern Palestinian remind us of olden times, when the Lord called unto Moses out of the midst of the Burning Bush: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."² The ancient Hebrew worshippers were also not allowed to approach the sanctuary without first purifying themselves, for only the ceremonially clean were accepted.³

No unclean woman⁴ ever approaches or enters a shrine, touches a holy tree, draws water out of a sacred well or comes near a consecrated spring. There is nothing which will irritate a man of God as much as such an imprudent act.⁵ In the midst of the vineyards of Bêtûniâ is the source of Hirbet Nûtâ, which is guarded by the soul of *eš-šêh* Šâleḥ. From time to time the water gets scanty and may even stop flowing. This is always thought to result when an unclean woman approaches the opening. Once the water stopped flowing, and as the inhabitants of Bêtûniâ searched in vain for the impure woman, a sheep was offered to *eš-šêh* Šâleḥ, the source was well cleared out, and the water flowed again, even more abundantly than before.⁶ Nor are springs inhabited by demons to be approached by any menstruating women, or a woman with a bloody issue. The spring of Djifnâ, inhabited by a "bride," is an

¹ Once a person ascended the roof of the shrine of *eš-šêh* Abû Ismâ'il (Bêt Likiâ) without taking off his shoes. This impious act irritated the man of God so much that he punished the evildoer with paralysis, which did not disappear until the *welâ* was reconciled by the offering of two sheep.

² Exod. 3 5.

³ Gen. 35 2; Ex. 19 10; 1 Sam. 16 5.

⁴ It used to be believed by the Arabs that when Eve plucked the fruit of the tree, it bled. As a punishment for her disobedience the female race must bleed every month (*Dâiratu l-Ma'ârif*, vol. I, p. 48).

⁵ *Uns ed-Djalîl*, vol. I, p. 37, tells us that when the inhabitants of Beersheba drove the patriarch Abraham away, their only well dried up. Thus they were obliged to go and beg the man of God to help them. He gave them some of his sheep and said: "As soon as these animals approach the well, the water will rise to the brim and will remain so. But as soon as an unclean woman comes near to the water it will dry up for ever."

⁶ See Canaan, *JPOS* II. 159 and *Aberglaube*, p. 37.

example.¹ Even the spirits of the dead abhor women who walk through a cemetery while they are in such a state.² It is believed in Silwân that these spirits wash her footprints at once to clean their abode, and give the dirty water to the spirits of dead relatives to drink as a punishment.³

There are some Christian sanctuaries which are never entered by women, as in the case of some Greek monasteries like Mâr Sâbâ and the room in the St. George convent where the holy stone is kept.⁴

This custom is again not new, for we read in the Bible that no unclean woman could enter or approach the house of God. Even "whosoever toucheth her or toucheth anything that she sat upon shall be unclean" (Lev. 15 19, etc.).

Every man who has not cleansed himself ritually⁵ after intercourse with a woman must not enter a *maqâm*, for he is unclean. Such an unclean person is *muh̄dîṭ* or *djînb*. The tomb of *en-nabî Nûn*⁶ has a *tâqah* in its western side. No unclean person—man or woman—dares put his hand in this *tâqah*, i. e., he can not light the lamps, put oil in them or burn incense. If such a person ventures on such an act, he will be bitten by the serpent which guards the place.⁷

No women of the Greek Orthodox church will enter the church while she is in the state of impurity. Even after childbirth she must wait forty days and must take a bath before she goes to the house of God; cf. Lev. 12 2 ff.

¹ If such a thing happens the water dries up and a holy man (priest or a *šêḥ*) must go to the drying spring to repeat prayers and burn incense, and thus reconcile the *djinnîyeh*, or force her to let the water flow (*JPOS* II, 161).

² While a sanctuary is never entered by an unclean woman, we find that this rule is not so strict in the case of holy trees.

³ While a woman was performing her prayers in Ḥaram el-Ḥalîl she was overtaken by her period (*itnaddjasat* "she became impure"). As she did not hurry to get out of the holy place, the dome of the sanctuary was dyed with blood. This drew the attention of all present, who understanding the sign, quickly drove out the woman. At once the red colour disappeared from the dome.

⁴ Already described above, p. 79.

⁵ Es-Sitt Sukeinah (near Tiberias) punishes severely every *muh̄dîṭ* who enters her shrine.

⁶ En-nabî Nûn is situated on the top of a hill near Kafî Ḥâris.

⁷ Heard from O. S. el-Barghûṭî.

This is not the place to discuss the exact effects—good and evil—which are supposed to be caused by a menstruous woman.¹

Those who enter an important shrine remain silent, devout and humble. When someone talks the voice is kept low; no smoking, laughing or any other irreverent action is allowed.

Before proceeding I must emphasize the fact that reverence as above described is paid regularly only to the prophets and the important *awliâ*. It is practised much less in the case of the other shrines. When visiting the *djâmi* el-Arb'in in 'Êsâwiyeh I found a tax-gatherer of Jerusalem sleeping, eating and transacting his business in the holy place. We were offered coffee which was brewed in this place, and all smoked their cigarettes completely unmolested.

The holy men are exceedingly irritated when anybody commits adultery while in or in the neighbourhood of the shrine. It is believed that the whole mountain on which the shrine of Nebî Mûsâ is built, shakes severely when such an impious act is performed.

No animals are ever allowed to enter a shrine. Some peasants object most vigorously to fastening a horse in the immediate neighbourhood of a *maqâm*. This last custom, however, is vanishing slowly. Many stories are told to illustrate how *awliâ* have punished intruding animals with death. The following is an example:² Some inhabitants of 'Êsâwiyeh, while going to their daily work in the fields, one day, found a dead jackal with an oil lamp in his mouth. He lay directly in front of the shrine of *eš-šêh* 'Anbar. This showed clearly that the beast had entered the shrine and carried away the oil-lamp, for which it was punished at once. Sometimes the saints are forbearing and give animals sufficient time to stop profaning the sanctuary. But at last, especially when human beings begin to doubt their power, they take revenge. 'Ën Qînâ is inhabited by the *welî*

¹ Some effects have been mentioned in *Aberglaube*, p. 36 ff. Others are: If a menstruating woman walks through a green field, the grass will wither. Some foods should not be prepared by a woman in this state, since they may spoil milk, for example, will sour. Any one who sleeps with a menstruous woman will become a leper.

² Other stories are: Abû Šâlhiyeh (Bêt 'Anân) kills every gazelle which eats leaves of his olive trees. Every animal which climbs on the building of *eš-šêh* Yâsîn falls down dead. Whenever a herd of goats or sheep approaches el-Qubbah (to the east of Dêr Djrîr) the *şullâh* drive them away. See also Jaussen, p. 308.

Abûl-Ēnên. The peasants used to light in his honour, every Thursday night, an oil lamp, the oil of which was regularly drunk by jackals. This irritated the owner of the ground just around the spring (Moḥammed 'Abdallah), so much, that he lighted an oil lamp for him with the words: "If you can not protect your property, we shall never light your lamp again." The next morning the jackal was found dead, with the oil lamp in his mouth. This of course proved the power of the *welî* conclusively.

A woman used to place a *tôz* (pronounced really *tôs*), bowl of butter, under the protection of the *welî* Abû Ndjêm. The next day she observed that a part of it was stolen. Imploring the saint to paralyze the hand of the thief, she put down another *tôz*, and the next day she found a jackal (*wâwî*) with a paralyzed foreleg still dipped in the bowl. Abû Ndjêm is situated on the top of a hill one hour south of Arḩâs. He was the *naddjâb* of the prophet. *Naddjâb* means "one who goes before the prophet (or the *šêḩ* of a *tarîqah*) in procession to the next village and announces his coming with this followers." *Eš-šêḩ* 'Abêd (near Şaṩâf) is said to kill any goat or sheep which enters his cave. There are exceptions, where animals are intentionally allowed to enter the door of the shrine, but no further. These cases will be mentioned later.

The shrine and its surroundings are supposed always to be kept clean. But this is rarely actually the case. We should, however, specify what the peasants understand by cleanliness. *Nadjâseh* means "whatever is ritually unclean," as human and (less) animal excretions,² dead bodies, unclean food and drink.³ *Et-tadjmîr*, the cleaning of the penis on the walls after urination, is strictly forbidden. In this sense the holy places are kept more or less clean, but not in the sanitary meaning of cleanliness, for quantities of rubbish are found in and around some such places. Banât eš-šêḩ Şalâḩ and el-'Umarî

¹ Heard from Miss Baldensberger.

² Urine, faecal matter, pus, menstrual blood, expectoration, etc. A Turkish officer evacuated once under the tree of *eš-šêḩ* Abû Riš (Bêt 'Anân). The punishment followed immediately, the officer being beaten very severely by a branch of the holy terebinth. A stranger who spent the night in *đjâmi'* Abû l-'Ūn (Biddû) broke wind during his sleep. The irritated *welî* threw him at once outside the holy place.

³ Pork and all alcoholic drinks.

(Jericho)¹ are a striking example of the fact that supposed "holy places" may be kept in a horribly dirty condition.

Most of the *welîs* are rarely swept or cleaned. Old, ragged carpets, torn mattresses, rusty tins (for burning oil), empty match-boxes, broken jars and bottles are found scattered irregularly about in many shrines.

Everything belonging to a shrine is sacred to the spirit of that saint who inhabits the place, and will never be taken or removed, except on special occasions, where such objects (as oil, stones, leaves of trees, etc.) are used as a *barakeh*, or as medicine. In all other cases the saint severely punishes the evil-doer for not respecting him. Often the *fellâhin* will punish such a person, in order to avert the wrath of the *welî* from their village. The following story excellently illustrates this point.² A peasant from Djêdeh, deserting his wife and children, went to Haurân and became a Moslem. Having some little education, he was soon appointed *hatîb* "scribe" of the village. Indeed he obtained a position of great influence, and in course of time all his ideas were acquiesced in by the people without a murmur. Being now, as he thought, secure in his authority, he proceeded one night to cut down a thorn tree, which grew in the enclosure of a *welî* of that village. Great was the consternation when the dawn revealed the *welî*'s tree laid prostrate. It was discovered that the *hatîb* had cut it down. Only his death might expiate the crime, and deliver the village from impending calamity. The crowd, armed, rushed around the now trembling *hatîb*, and attacking him furiously on all sides, they literally beat him to death.³

Nothing irritates these holy persons as much as destroying their *maqâms*, opening their tombs, or cutting down their trees. They will surely and severely punish the evil-doers.⁴ The Bedouins living around Gaza and many of the inhabitants of this city believe that the Turks lost the battle of Gaza only because they had not respected this fundamental rule, but had levelled the sanctuary of *eš-*

¹ These two shrines have already been described.

² This story is taken from James Neil, *Palestine Life*, pp. 64 ff.

³ How much does the above story resemble the Biblical narrative about Gideon, Judges 4 25-32.

⁴ Goldziher, *Moh. Studien* II, 317.

šēh Nūrān,¹ and cut down a tree of *eš-šēh* Abū Hurēri.² F. A., an influential person of Jerusalem, asked some peasants of Šarāfāt to cut off a dying branch of the holy oak tree of el-Badrīyeh which grew in his grounds. All refused to do such an infamous act and advised him strongly not to touch the tree. He hired a Christian from Jerusalem who sawed down the branch. But behold the very next day F. A. fell sick with an acute attack of articular rheumatism. The peasants knew that this was the expected punishment of el-Badrīyeh.³

IV. Religious services in a shrine as in a mosque

In some shrines daily prayers are performed, i. e., they serve as a mosque. All such shrines have a *milrāb*, and they are located in the villages or not far from them. The inhabitants of villages near Jerusalem do not have many such *djawāmi* owing to the fact that the peasants come to the city on Friday⁴ to perform the noon prayers (*ṣalāt ed-djum'ah*) in the Mosque of Omar. In villages at a distance from Jerusalem such *djawāmi* are common. These mosques are visited especially in *lêlat ed-djum'ah* and on Friday. In some *lêlat et-tnên*⁵ also enjoys this honour. The same may be said of the feast days. The visits in the *mawāsim* will be described below.

In this connection I wish to observe that some Christian churches are respected and visited by the Mohammedans. Churches dedicated to St. George—especially in the village el-Ḥaḍer near Bethlehem—frequently enjoy this privilege. Sittī Maryam comes next. The Chapel of the Ascension, the Church of the Nativity, the Milk Grotto and Mâr Elyās⁶ come after. The last two enjoy only the respect of the neighbouring Mohammedan villages.⁷ According to Mudjir

¹ Between Šallāleh and Tell eš-Šerī'ah.

² On the road Beersheba-Gaza. The same causes are given in connection with *eš-šēh* Šāleh (er-Rām), en-nabī Nūn, etc.

³ This story was told me by F. A. himself.

⁴ Many come on this day to attend the cattle market (*sūq ed-djum'ah*) which is held once a week on this day.

⁵ Kahle, *PJ* VII, pp. 99 ff.

⁶ Kahle mentions some of these places, *PJ* VII, 100.

⁷ It is to be noted that some *djawāmi*—like el-'Uzērāt—serve only for the religious acts of women.

ed-Dîn it is not advisable to perform any prayer in the Church of St. Mary, as it is built in *wâdî* Djhannam (the valley of hell).¹

V. The *barakeh*

The peasant does not visit a shrine only to fulfil a vow, to make an oath or to be cured from a disease, but he goes very often to these places to get a "blessing." *Barakeh*² means even more than a simple blessing; it denotes, as Kahle says,³ a benevolent power which radiates from the holy place to every one who comes in contact with it. In order to get such a blessing, the visitor touches the tomb, its coverings, the rosary, etc., and then passes his hands over his face and down his body, thus distributing the blessing transmitted through his hands to the whole body.⁴

Others will kiss one of these objects, or even take a part of the *stârah* and wrap a part of their body with it. From the oil of the lamps, which may be used to rub the hands and the face, one receives a more lasting *barakeh*. Water from sacred cisterns may be drunk as a blessing, and at the same time the devout peasant believes that it has an especially good effect on the body. Many a *hadj* brings back with him one or more bottles filled with water from Zamzam, and distributes small quantities of it to his friends. I have also been honoured with such water.

Many visitors will take some souvenir of the shrine as a *barakeh*. One will carry it on his body or hang it in his house, believing that it will bring fortune. The most important object belonging to this category is *en-ndjâšah*, "the pear,"⁵ said to be made of earth of the mosque el-Ka'beh, dipped in the blood of the sacrifices, and has the shape of a pear.⁶ Nearly all pilgrims bring several and distribute them to their friends, who hang them in their houses.⁷

¹ See II, 411.

² I do not think that *barakeh* means the contrary of the evil eye, as Doutté states in *Magie*, p. 440.

³ *PJ* VII, pp. 104 ff.

⁴ The same custom exists in some Eastern Churches after the offertory (Stephan).

⁵ Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 86.

⁶ Mr. Stephan calls my attention to the fact that such earth *barakeh* are sold from the shrines of Karbelâ, Nadjaf and Kadimên.

⁷ The same belief exists among Christians, who take with them Jordan water, leaves of the olive trees of Gethsemane or keep the pictures which have been sanctified by their being placed on the Holy Sepulchre or in the church of the Nativity.

As all above-mentioned examples have shown, it is not only the unseen souls of the holy men which possess this power, but every thing which belongs to the *maqâm*—the abiding place of the soul—has it and is able to radiate it to human beings.¹ Doubtless a part of the body of the saint himself,² or an object connected directly with his life-history possesses more of this miraculous virtue. Thus the hairs from the beard of the Prophet³ which are kept in the Omar mosque, are visited every year on the 27th of Ramadân.⁴ A piece of the "true cross"⁵ of Christ is carried by many Christians for the same reason.

Besides these ways of deriving a blessing from a *welî*, many peasants try to get this profit by visiting different important shrines. Thus many of the pilgrims to Nebî Mûsâ, after the *môsâm* is over, pay visits to Haram el-Ḥalîl, Nebî Şamwyl, Nebî Şâleḥ, etc. Many a pilgrim makes his way back over Palestine and Egypt merely to obtain *et-tabarruk* from the different *awliyâ*. A repentant sinner believes that through such visits and prayers he will receive a blessing which will take off all his burdens.⁶ The soul of the saint, which is pleased with such actions, is always ready to help.⁷

In every important shrine, the visitor is guided by the so-called *ḥuddâm el-maqâm*, who are attached to the different holy places, and advise him what prayer is to be said in each spot. But there are now also small guide-books for the holy places of Jerusalem and Hebron. The best known is *al-murşid li-z-zâir wad-dalîl fi manâsik wâ zyârât amâkin el-Quds wal-Ḥalîl*,⁸ a larger one than that mentioned

¹ This sympathetic power is known in sorcery (*es-sihr*) as "contact magic," and we shall often meet with it in our discussions. See also Doutté, *Magie*, pp. 439 ff., and Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 24.

² Doutté, l. c.

³ Ḥâlid ibn el-Walid is said to have carried a hair of the Prophet as a *barakeh*.

⁴ On this day it is believed that sea water becomes sweet, 'Abd el-Madjid Alî in *at-Tuḥfatu l-Marḍiyah*, p. 61.

⁵ Also called *'ulet el-dhîreh*.

⁶ Goldziher, *Moham. Studien* II, 309.

⁷ The same idea prevailed in the Old and New Testament. Every one who touched something holy received a blessing: 2 Kings 2 8, 14; 2 Kings 13 21; Math. 9 20-21, 14 36; Mark. 5 25-29; Luke 6 19, 8 43.

⁸ By *el-ḥadj* Muştafâ el-Anşârî.

by Kahle (*manâsik el-Quds eş-Şarîf*¹). These guide-books² state exactly what *sûreh* and what prayer is to be said in every holy place.

The *şiyûh* returning with their adherents from *mawâsim* of Nebî Mûsâ, Nebî Rûbin, Nebî Şâleh, etc., to their villages try to visit as many of the local shrines which they may pass on their way as they can. If any *welî* lies at a distance from the road the procession stops, the *saiyârah* plays and the *şeh* recites the *fâtihah*.

The *barakeh* is not only derived from dead saints, but living holy *şehs* may also radiate it. *Eş-şeh* Abû Hâlâwÿ had during his lifetime wide renown in this respect. People kiss the hand, touch the garments, eat some of the *şeh's* food, or do some similar action to get this blessing. The following story illustrates the idea:³ A. the husband of Imm F. was absent in Constantinople. His wife, having received no news from him, went with her daughter, who was eight years old, to *eş-şeh* Abû Hâlâwÿ. Before entering his room, they heard him calling, "Welcome thou daughter of *el-qutub*, the descendant of el-Ghôs." They were astonished that he had recognized them before they entered. Seating Imm F. at his side, he took some bread and sugar from his waist-coat pocket⁴ and offered them to her, and she ate them as a *barakeh*. Abû Hâlâwÿ proceeded at once to tell following story: "While we were journeying on the sea, we lost our way and reached an unknown and uninhabited island. During the night the storm drove our boat ashore. In vain did we labour to get the ship afloat. While all were mourning about our desperate condition your ancestor *qutb* el-Ghôs appeared. He floated the ship, showed us the direction of our journey, assured us of a safe arrival, and disappeared as miraculously as he appeared. This all happened last Wednesday." Several days later A. arrived. He told them how *qutb* el-Ghôs had saved their life. He, believing now in the power of the *şeh*⁵, visited him for *et-tabarruk*.

¹ By Yûsif Dîâ ed-Dîn ed-Danaf el-Anşâri.

² *Dalîl el-Haram eş-Şarîf* which forms a part of the appeal of the Supreme Mohammedan Court of Palestine for all the Mohammedan world to help in repairing the Aqşâ Mosque (Jerusalem), contains a very short and incomplete guide to the holy places of the Omar Mosque.

³ The story was told me by Imm F. herself, and was repeated by her daughter Imm. R.

⁴ The Arabic word is *'ibb*.

⁵ The servants of this holy *şeh* are of the family of es-Su'un.

I shall not describe in this chapter the healing powers of the saints, which is attributed by some¹ to their *barakeh*, but which, as I shall show, is due to other powers.

2. PLACING PRIVATE PROPERTY UNDER THE PROTECTION OF A *WELÎ*

Many of the saints are situated out in the fields far from villages. Since the peasant's work is mostly in the fields, cultivating his land, reaping his harvest, quarrying stones, gathering thorns to burn lime, etc., he is under the protection of these holy men. He may himself need their help especially when he has to leave some of his property in the fields. In such a case he puts all that he cannot carry home under their guard, being absolutely sure that nobody will dare to touch them. The saints are very particular in this respect, severely punishing anyone who steals any of their property or what is put under their care. Different stories are related to demonstrate this. The *muh'târ* of Šu'fât told me the following incident which happened to him during his childhood. Some inhabitants of the village had spread their olives on the roof of the shrine of *es-sultân* Ibrâhîm el-'Adhamî, in order to make them ripen quickly in the heat of the sun. He climbed up during the night and filled his pockets and bosom (*'ibb*) with olives. The saint did not interfere the first and the second time, but when the boy climbed up the third time, an old and reverend man, clad in white, with a white beard and a spear in his hand, appeared to him and said: "By God, I shall cut your life short and cripple you, if you dare steal another time." The frightened boy answered: *wallâh tubt yâ šêh*, "By God, I repent, O *šêh*." Another story illustrates the point in a different way. Once some thieves broke into the *šireh* (enclosure of cattle) of the neighbours of *es-šêh* Zakarî and stole the cattle. Scarcely had they gone a few meters from the place, when the *welî* struck them with blindness. Not seeing their way, and recognizing the severe punishment inflicted upon them by this man of God, they restored the cows to their place. At once their sight returned and they escaped further punishment by running away.

¹ Kahle and Doutté.

The objects which are deposited are various. In *es-šēh* 'Abdallāh (Šu'fāt), *es-'Ubēd* (Dēr Yâsîn) and *es. Ramađân* I saw large heaps of thorns.¹ In the cave of *es-šēh* 'Isâ (Bêt Lîqiâ) and in the *maqâm* of *es-šēh* Aḥmad eṭ-Taiyâr (Qastal) straw (*tibn*) was stored, when I visited them. I found three *laban* (sour milk) pitchers placed in front of the cave of Rdjâl Abû Tūḥ (Bêt Lîqiâ). A peasant of ed-Djib deposited his lime in Djâmi' el-Arb'în. In *es-šēh* Hâmid, of the same village, two donkey loads of pottery were placed under the protection of the saint. In *es-šēh* Aḥmad (Ḥirbet Qaryet S'ideh) I saw cultivating implements. At *es-šēh* 'Abdallāh es-Sidrî (Ḥirbet es-Sidd) the Bedouin desposit part of their household stuff. But not only that which is deposited in the actual holy area is guarded by these holy men of God; even the property of the neighbours of a sanctuary is protected, as is clearly seen from the last related story.

The above description and examples show clearly how strictly the *awliâ* keep the old rules of the Arabs which are still practised by the inhabitants of Palestine.²

3. TYING OF RAGS

Tying rags to holy objects is a very old custom which is still to be found all over the Orient. Rags are fastened on trees, on the iron bars of windows of sanctuaries, on the door-handles, on the *miḥdjân*, as well as on the *râsiyeh* of the tomb. The *miḥdjân*³ is the stick (with a curved handle) of the *welî*. The tying of rags on the stick and the tomb are much more rarely met with than the others. These visiting cards are sometimes so numerous that every inch of the iron bars of the windows, and every twig of a sacred tree which can easily be reached are filled with them.

They are generally fastened by visitors with one of the following intentions:

1. As a sign of having visited the *maqâm* and fulfilled the religious duties.
2. The piece of rag acts as a reminder to the *welî* not to forget the visitor and his wishes.

¹ Gathered by the women and stored as winter fuel.

² See also Goldziher, *Moh. Studien* II, 301.

³ See *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* I, 353.

3. Very often a sick person tears a small piece from his clothes and ties it with the words "I have thrown my burden (i. e. "my sickness") on thee, O man of God."¹ It is firmly believed that the saint will banish the disease.² In Bêt Ūniâ the relatives of a person suffering from fever put two baskets of stones on a certain tree, believing that the disease will soon disappear.³

The fundamental principle at the base of these three ideas is what we call "contact magic." That is to say every thing which has been in contact with somebody or has belonged to him will never completely lose its relation to this person. Thus these pieces of cloth always keep their connection with the person from whom they came. They represent him, and anything done to them will happen to their owner. They represent the visitor, reminding the holy man of the visit performed, imploring help and begging for cure. Through their direct contact for a long period with the holy place they get some of the power of the *welî*, which is transmitted to the person from whom they come and to the one who unfastens and carries them. This superstitious belief is well established in Palestinian folklore and we shall have occasion again to speak about it.

In the sanctuary of el-Manşûrî ('Awartah) I saw five pieces of cloth of the size of large handkerchiefs hanging down from vines and mulberry trees there. Two of them were green, one red, one bluish and the fifth yellowish. I was told that they were *sitâr* (pl. of *sitreh*) or "coverings" of the tomb. It was argued that, as it is impossible for a man to vow a real cover for the huge tomb (440 × 235 cm.) these small pieces were promised. The prophet is satisfied and accepts them as though they were real large coverings.⁴

The same idea is expressed by placing small or large stones on the grave of a saint or on a holy tree. This custom is much less common than binding rags. I have seen stones on the tomb of Ḥasan er-Râî, *eş-şeh* Ghânim, Abû Ḥurêrah, *masâdjid sittnâ* 'Âişeh, *eş-şeh* 'Abdallâh, etc. In such cases the stones are generally a sign

¹ رميت عليك حملي يا ولي الله.

² Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 25.

³ Cf. the custom of placing stones on the rock Abû ez-Zhûr after rubbing the back, p. 83.

⁴ الاعمال بالنيات.

of having visited the sanctuary. In the case of *en-nabî* Yaqîn near Benî N'êm the door-handle, as well as the railing surrounding the holy rock, showing the footprints of Abraham, are full of these rags. Bracelets, beads and small necklaces were also to be found among the rags.¹ Many take some of these rags and carry them, believing that they thus receive a *barakeh* from the *welî*.² This is especially practiced by sick persons. In every such case another rag must be substituted for the one which is removed. Doubtless this custom resembles that recorded Acts 19 12: "So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons and the disease departed from them and the evil spirit went out of them."

The Bedouin and half Bedouin often fasten their '*uqâl* on the holy tree. They believe that this is most efficacious, since it is a complete article of dress and represents the owner better. In very rare cases a *hidjâb* is bound on a holy object. The idea is that it thus contracts more power, which is added to the power of the magic or Qorânic formula. This custom I know only in connection with *en-nabî* Dâniân.

Some trees on which rags may be seen hanging are:

<i>Eš-šēh</i> Yûsif	N. of Râmallâh
<i>en-nabî</i> Nûn (oak)	Yanûn
<i>eš-šēh</i> el-Buḥtiârî (oak and carob)	N. of Ḥirbet el-Lôz
Ḥarrûbet el-‘Ašarah	‘Êsâwiyeḥ
<i>eš-šēh</i> Barrî (oak)	N. of Dêr Ghassâneḥ
Abû er-Râyât (oak)	W. of Dêr Ballût
<i>eš-šēh</i> ‘Abdallâh (oak)	S. of Yabrûd
el-Buṭmeh	Qubêbeh
<i>en-nabî</i> ‘Annîr	Râs ibn Samḥân

Among shrines where rags are tied on the iron bars of the windows are:

Abû Madian	Jerusalem
Bêram Djâwiš	Jerusalem
Ṭâqet Silwân	Aqšâ mosque
<i>en-nabî</i> Mûsâ	
Abû Zêtûn	an hour from Bêt Ūniâ
el-Badrîyeḥ	Šarâfât

¹ The same I observed in Abû Ḥurêrah.

² Curtiss, chapter VII.

Even on the grave these reminders may be placed:

<i>en-nabî</i> Nûḥ	Kerak
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Slimân	Dêr Abân
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Aḥmad el-'Amari	near Dêr Abân
Abû Ḥurêrah	Tell Abû Ḥurêrah
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Nûrân	near Šallâleh

On the doors of *eš-šēḥ* 'Abd er-Raḥmân (Rammûn), *en-nabî* Lût and *en-nabî* Yaḡîn (both in Benî N'êḡ), and on the *miḥdjâneh* of *eš-šēḥ* Aḥmad el-Gharib (N. of Mdjêdil en-Nâṣrah) rags may be found.

I have never found the practice of attaching meat to trees as Jaussen¹ and Doughty (referred to by Curtiss) have observed. This custom seems to be characteristic of the Bedouin.

4. HEALING

It is wonderful what a profound belief in the power of the saints still exists in the Orient. We have seen how the peasant comes in every phase of his life to these demigods. He comes for help, but he comes also to thank them. When a child is severely ill the mother implores a saint: "I beg you, O prophet David, to cure my son." Or in a more humble way, "I am your servant, O Friend of God, save my only child!"²

We have already noted that the present inhabitants of Palestine try to obtain the special favour and help of the saints by promising them offerings if they answer the prayer and cure the sick. But they are not satisfied with these means. Thus we observe that it is still a deep-rooted belief among them, as it was among their ancestors, that everything which belongs to or comes in direct contact with a saint or his shrine receives some of his power, which may be transmitted to others.³ Thus the trees, grass, stones, water, earth of the tomb, the tomb coverings, oil and even sweepings, possess supernatural power by virtue of the *welî* to whom they belong. This belief leads the Oriental to use such objects, hoping thus to get some of the saint's power to guard him from misfortune, ease his

¹ Jaussen, p. 334.

² "Only child" is expressed by *wahîd*. When one has a son (or a daughter), after a long period, he calls him (or her) *wahîd* (or *wahîdeh*).

³ The people of Bêt Djâlâ believe that they will sell their goods better if they put some earth of *srîr* et-Saiydeh on them.

pains and hasten his recovery. In examining these curative "medicines" we are astonished by their great number and variety.

We may divide this material into the following classes:

1. Objects taken from the sanctuary and used in a protective or curative way
2. Acts performed in a sanctuary to cure a disease.

Ad 1. The material used may be of vegetable, mineral, or of liquid origin. The grass which grows around the shrine is gathered and dried if necessary and used to fumigate a person who has fever.¹ The common word for "fumigate" is *dā'aq*. Leaves of trees are used in the same way. Occasionally a decoction of plants is made as a draught. Small pieces of wood are cut from holy trees and carried as amulets. The *mēs* trees (*Celtis Australis* L) which grow in the Mosque of Omar area² are the most important source of such amulet wood. They are carried as a protection against the evil effect of the bad eye. One sees many children—and sometimes animals—wearing this amulet. The most active 'ūd (twig) *mēs* is that which is cut on the 27th of Ramaḍān³ after sun-set and before day-break,⁴ since the Qurān says: "It is peace until the rising of the morn"⁵ (last verse of Sūreh 97). This night⁶ is chosen, since all believe that the heavens then open, the angels descend, and God grants every wish and hears all prayers.⁷ The Mohammedans believe that the divine decrees for the ensuing year are annually fixed and settled on this night.⁸ The *mēs* trees were planted according to popular legend by the *djinn* as a present to king Solomon for the protection

¹ Still better is straw taken from an ant-hill, situated near a shrine.

² See *Aberglaube*, pp. 62, 63.

³ The 27th of Ramaḍān is *lêlatu l-Qadr* mentioned in the 97th Sūrah. According to most Mohammedans it is one of the last ten nights of this month. In Palestine the 27th is fixed as the night. This is due (according to *at-Tuḥfah l-Marḍīyah fī l-Aḥbār el-Qudsīyah wal-Aḥādīṯ an-Nabāwīyah wal-'Aqā'id et-Tawhīdīyah*, by 'Abd el-Madjid 'Alī) to the word *lêlatu l-Qadr* coming three times in this Sūrah. As this word contains nine letters (ليلة القدر), the number of letters of this word in this Sūrah indicates which night of Ramaḍān.

⁴ Most people cut the twigs just after midnight.

⁵ Sale's translation.

⁶ On this night the angel Gabriel gave his first revelation to the Prophet.

⁷ All sins are forgiven if requested.

⁸ According to *et-Tuḥfah el-Marḍīyah*, the battle of Badr took place on the morning of the next day.

of his temple.¹ The small twigs have nearly always the shape of a fork with two spikes.² Christians, who also believe in the action of this tree, but to a less extent than the Mohammedans, cut small twigs from the *mēs* tree near the well of the three Kings.³ It is believed that the present tree is the offshoot of that under which Mary rested when she was pursued by the Jews.⁴ If possible a twig with the form of the cross is carried.

Dates are brought from Mecca as a *barakeh* and as a special means of making children speak sooner. But they have also another benefit; if young children are allowed to suck such a date, they will become good speakers with a sweet voice.⁵ The Christians believe that a date from the date-palm of Mâr Sâbâ⁶ is the best cure⁷ for sterility.⁸ Cut-up palm-leaves are used in *qišret el-Hamîs*, to be described below.

Leaves of the Prophet's olive tree gathered on the feast of the flags (*djūm'et el-'alēmât*⁹), which corresponds to the Good Friday of the Greek Church, help to cure fever and stomach trouble. This tree lies between the Aqṣâ and the Omar Mosque, just to the west of the water-basin (*el-Kâs*). Every year the Prophet and his *Ṣahâbeh* inhabit this tree at the above mentioned time. This supernatural fact manifests itself by a quivering vibration of the twigs. Olive trees enjoy special honour in Palestine.¹⁰ Christians¹¹ take small

¹ Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 62.

² *Ibid.*

³ The well is called Bîr Qadismâ.

⁴ Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 63.

⁵ The Prophet is supposed to have said "keep your aunts, the date-palms, in honour," cf. *Aberglaube* p. 87.

⁶ It is really curious that a saint who during all his life ran away from women and even long after his death guards his convent from female intruders should help women against sterility.

⁷ Heard from several persons and a priest of the convent.

⁸ *Harîdatu l-'Adjâ'ib* says that date-palms were created from the same earth from which Adam was made (*Aberglaube*, p. 87).

⁹ Pl. of 'elēm, the deminutive from 'alam.

¹⁰ *Aberglaube*, l. c.

¹¹ Abû Šukrî Mustaklim.

olive twigs carried during the Foot-washing procession and mix it with *qišret el-Ḥamīs*.¹

Next we turn to a pure Christian practice which resembles the customs already described in many respects. The *Qišret el-Ḥamīs* has been described already in my *Aberglaube*, and this account may be repeated here with some additions. *Qišret el-Ḥamīs*, which means literally "the peelings of Thursday," is composed of the capsules of *mahlab* (*Prunus mahaleb*,² an aromatic grain) with cut-up leaves of palms, olive trees, and some cut flowers. The *mahlab* capsules are dipped in the water in which the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church washes the feet of the Bishops in the ceremony of Maundy Thursday. The water is perfumed with rose-water, etc. This sack is dried and put that very evening on the pulpit from which the gospels are read. The olive leaves are taken from the olive branches which are used in the ceremony of the Foot-washing. The flowers come from the *ḥadd en-nuṣṣ*³ or from 'id eṣ-ṣalīb, "the Feast of the Cross." On these two days the cross is laid on a large plate (*sinîyeh*) covered with flowers. Prayers are said upon it and the flowers are then distributed to the congregation. The palm-leaves are from palm Sunday. Very often one finds salt and alum mixed with *Qišret el-Ḥamīs*. This composition is used to fumigate a sick child, as it is the best means to obviate the bad results of the evil eye. When no salt and alum are mixed in, they are added before the fumigation takes place.⁴

Mêramiyeh (*Salvia Triloba*) has its name from Mariam (St. Mary). It is said that while Mary was walking once in a hot summer day she perspired profusely, so she plucked a plant to wipe her face. Hence this plant carries her name, and is used to cure many diseases.

In examining those objects which belong to the mineral kingdom we find that *qṣârah* (plaster), stones and sweepings of many shrines are used medicinally. The stones are carried, or water in which

¹ It is a wide-spread custom to place below the threshold a green olive or other twig with a silver coin, as it is believed that such an act symbolizes perpetuity and prosperity. For the same reason a large green twig (an olive one is always preferred) is placed where a tiled roof is being erected.

² Belot.

³ The Sunday which lies in the middle of the Easter fast-days.

⁴ Heard from Miss Baldensberger.

they have been placed is drunk. The black stones of Nebî Mûsâ are considered as a very active *hirz* (protective amulet). They show their special power in being burned. They contain a bituminous substance and are therefore black. Very often they are cut in square or triangular forms, a protective talisman is inscribed and are thus carried as a *hidjâb* (talisman). Christians as well as Mohammedans use the soft, whitish stones of the milk-grotto in Bethlehem to increase mother's milk. The stones are rubbed in water and given to the nursing women. It is supposed that the Holy Family took refuge to this cave, where a drop of Mary's milk dropped on the floor. In many cases a certain number of stones from a special holy place have to be worn in order to be efficacious. I have always found the number seven in use. Seven stones taken from *eš-šêh* Ghreiyb, *šiyûh* el Masâlmeh, *eš-šêh* Abû Yâmin, etc., cure fever.

The sweepings of *eš-šêh* Šnêt (Hebron) cure sterility,¹ and those of *en-nabî* Šâleh, *šêh* Qaitûn (Hebron), *eš-šêh* Ramađân,² etc., heal fever. Some of the earth (*trâbeh*) of *eš-šêh* ez-Zughbeh (Mâlḥah) prepared with oil in a paste cure sores of the head. Earth gathered from *qabr* er-Râ'î³ dissolved in water and given to cattle will guard them from disease.

The water of many holy places is used for curative purposes. Cure is effected either by a bath or by internal use. In most cases the water is used either to heal fever or to prevent sterility. People suffering from fever take a bath in 'Ên Silwân, 'Ên eš-Šâmiyeh,⁴ 'Ên *en-nebî* Aiyûb or the well of *eš-šêh* Ibrâhîm,⁵ or they drink from the cistern of eš-Šuhadâ.⁶ In the case of Siloam it is not a simple bath which cures fever. The bath must be taken on Friday during the midday prayer, after which water is poured over the patient

¹ The same is true of Nebî Šâleh (in the village bearing his name) which is situated on the top of a mountain. The servant ('*abd*, also "negro") of the Prophet is thought to be living in the *badd* (oilpress) of the *maqâm*.

² In Qaṭanneh. He is supposed to be a relative of the Prophet, and as the inhabitants of the village consider themselves his descendants, they call themselves *aš-râf*, or members of the Prophet's family.

³ Near the sanctuary of Nabî Mûsâ.

⁴ In Kolôniâ.

⁵ Bêt Djibrîn.

⁶ Hebron.

seven consecutive times. When a sterile woman seeks a cure of her barrenness, she takes with her to this spring seven *mašāḥiṣ* (pl. of *mašḥaṣ*¹), seven keys of doors which open to the south, and seven cups of water, each from different cisterns upon whose openings the rays of the sun never shine.² She places the keys and the *mašāḥiṣ* in the water, washes herself with it and pours the water of the seven cisterns over herself afterwards. *Mašāḥiṣ* are old gold coins which bear on one side two human figures (*ṣaḥṣ* = person).

El-Maṭba'ah, a swamp in the plain of Esdraelon between *eš-šēḥ* Ibrêk and Tell eš-Šammâm is renowned for the cure of rheumatism, nervous pains and sterility. It is believed that *eš-šēḥ* Ibrêk gives this place its healing powers. After a barren woman has taken a bath in el-Maṭba'ah she washes herself in 'Ên Iṣḥâq and goes then to *eš-šēḥ* Ibrêk to offer a present. *En-nabî* Aiyûb, east of Ḥarbatâ, helps also to cure sterility. Many inhabitants of Jerusalem believe that sitting in the *djurn* (basin) of *sittî* Mariam³ banishes barrenness. It is supposed that the Virgin Mary once took a bath in this basin. Barren women believe that they may receive children through the blessing of these demigods, the *awliâ*. The Hebrews of the Old Testament⁴ used to cherish the same belief.⁵ Washing inflamed eyes with the water of 'Ên Imm el-Lôz (below Silwân) is supposed to cure them. Christian women think, as already mentioned, that Christ sent the blind man to wash his eyes with its water.⁶

Several springs where the Palestinians believe that Job bathed and was thus cured of his disease, are still used for all sorts of skin affections. Some of these places are:

Ḥammân eš-Šifâ ⁷	Jerusalem
Bîr Aiyûb ⁸	near Siloam
en-nabî Aiyûb	Râs ibn Simḥân
en-nabî Aiyûb	Ḥarbatâ

¹ Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 69.

² Canaan, *JPOS* vol. I, p. 155.

³ Near St. Stephen's gate.

⁴ 1 Sam. 17-11; 2 Kg. 4 12-17; Gen. 29 31, 30 2, 22, 18 10.

⁵ Curtiss, chapter X.

⁶ *JPOS* vol. I, pp. 153 ff.

⁷ Near the Mosque of Omar.

⁸ Below Silwân.

en-nabî Aiyûb	Dêr Aiyûb (near Bâb el-Wâd)
Bîr Aiyûb	Dêr Aiyûb (near Bâb el-Wâd)
Ên Aiyûb	E. of Harbatâ ¹

To this list I may add that the people of Gaza and the villages north and south of it believe that Job was cured from his severe skin eruption by taking a bath in the sea on the Wednesday which precedes the Greek Easter. Therefore this day is known by the name of *arba'at Aiyûb*, or *ibrîyet Aiyûb*. All animals afflicted with a skin disease are brought Tuesday evening (i. e. the beginning of Wednesday²) to the sea and bathed. The best place where a cure can be obtained is near sittnâ el-Ḥaḍrâ (near the site of Ascalon).

In the vicinity of the spring Abû Zêd and Ên abû Fakkah (Bêt Zakariyâ) some herbs grow which cure the bad effects of *el-ḥôfeh* = fear. The curative action is due to the *nabî*³ zakariyâ.⁴

The water of *'iyûn el-ḥaṣr* (springs of retention of urine) are renowned all over Palestine as the best cure for suppression of urine. Among all springs belonging to this group I have found only one which is supposed to be inhabited by a *welî*, namely Bîr es-Saḥar in Dêr Ṭarîf, inhabited by *el-welî* Šu'êb. The question how these springs got their curative action remains unsettled.⁵

Not only are things which are physically connected with a shrine used medicinally, but even offerings deposited there are also employed to cure disease. Thus we find that wicks (of oil lamps), incense, rags fastened on a tree or a window, tomb-coverings, etc., possess a curative action. Rheumatic or neuralgic⁶ patients rub their fore-

¹ Some of these were mentioned in *JPOS*, vol. I, p. 168.

² The mode of reckoning time in Palestine exists to-day just as it was in days of Christ. The day of twenty-four hours begins with sunset and ends with sunset. This is alluded to in almost the opening words of the Bible (Gen. 15; see also vv. 8, 13, 19, 23 and 31). In keeping with this, the priests in the Tabernacle were to order it (that is, their daily service) from evening till morning. There are very many references in the Bible pointing to this mode of reckoning. Cf. James Neil, *Palestine Life*, pp. 1 ff.

³ See also Goldziher, *Moham. Studien*, pp. 345, 346. In the vicinity of el-Mbârakeh (Qalandiah) grows a plant called *'išbet en-naḡrah*, which is carried against the evil eye.

⁴ Heard from Miss Baldensberger.

⁵ These springs have been described *JPOS*, vol. I, pp. 146—153.

⁶ The word *'aṣabî* is used falsely for rheumatic and neuralgic pains, as well as for nervous and mental diseases.

heads and joints with oil from shrines. Sometimes it is mixed with dried herbs, as in the case of *eš-šēh* Šnêt and *eš-šēh* Kanfûš (both in Hebron), or it is mixed with some earth of the shrine (ez-Zughbeh in Málhah). This paste is used for skin troubles. Whenever oil is taken from any shrine other oil is given in its place; if this is neglected, the holy oil may produce a result opposite to that intended.

The wicks of Nebî Mûsâ (sometimes Nebî Dâhûd or the H̄aram in Hebron) swallowed by sterile women are believed to cure their condition. Others carry these wicks as a *hidjâb* (amulet) against the same trouble. A patient with fever is supposed to get well if he is fumigated with incense taken from *sittnâ* el-H̄adrâ (near ed-Djôrah) or with the straw of the mats (*qašš* *hašîreh*) of Šhâb ed-Dîn (near Jaffa). If small children wear a rag, taken from a holy tree or a holy shrine, they are protected against the bad effects of evil spirits. Fumigation with such a rag is believed to cure all diseases caused by the *djinn*. Whenever a rag is taken, another must be fastened in its place. Rags from Šadjaret es-Sa'âdeh (between Yâmûn and Djenîn) are renowned for their action. Women try to cut a piece off of the tomb-covering of Nebî Mûsâ and make it into a cup for a sickly child or for a child whose mother has lost most of her male children. A thread which has been passed around the tomb of Moses (and which has thus the length of its circumference) worn around the waist of a woman suffering from continuous miscarriages, prevents such an evil in the future. The rosaries of many saints help to hasten a difficult labour. No sooner does a woman hang such a rosary around her neck and down the abdomen over her womb than normal contractions begin and all troubles and pains are soon over. These wonderful rosaries are called *masâbih* (pl. of *masbahah*) *yusur*.¹

Among such rosaries are that of el-Bakri,² in the possession of Hasan of Dêr Ghassâneh; that of *eš-šēh* Abû Yamîn (Bêt 'Anân) in possession of *eš-šēh* Yûsif and that of *eš-šēh* el-Aramî. The same wonderful help can also be obtained by the tomb-coverings of *eš-šēh*

¹ Some mean by this name a special sort of rosary.

² O. S. el-Barghûti.

Mohammed el-Ḥalīlī.¹ The bread of sidnâ *eš-šēh* Abū Madian,² which is prepared from corn of the *waqf* of this holy man during the month of Ramaḍân is a *barakeh*, as well as a remedy. In the latter case it is hung above the head of the sick or put under his pillow. During the bread-making the Qoran is recited. Generally the following parts are read while the dough is kneaded:

The whole Qoran	once
Al-Fâtihah	seven times
Sûrah 112	ten times
Sûrah 113	three times
Sûrah 114	three times

As it would take a very long time for one person to read the whole Qoran alone, we see as many persons as the Qoran has parts (*ḥizb*) assisting in reciting the Holy Book. Some of this bread is sometimes prepared in the month Ša'bân. But only that which is made during Ramaḍân possesses the above-mentioned virtue.³ Holy bread (the *quddâseh*) is used also by Christians. It should be eaten only while one is ritually clean.

The slippers (*bâbûdj*, pl. *bawâbidj*) of el-Madjdûb⁴ (Dêr Ghassâneh) cure facial paralysis (*miltâh*) by being used to beat the affected side. That of el-Bakrî (*Djammâ'in*) if worn by sterile women, cures their condition. For *tâsît er-radjfeh* I may refer to my article JPOS III, 122.

Ad 2. We shall now deal with actions connected with a holy place and performed by the sick person to obtain relief. Such actions are connected strictly with the most holy part of the shrine, generally the tomb. The following examples will illustrate. A man with fever tries to get rid of his disease by walking seven times around the tomb of *šēh* Ḥrês. After each turn he picks up a stone and places it on the tomb. While the sick person is walking around

¹ Moḥammad bin Šaraf ed-Dîn eš-Šâfi'î el-Ḥalīlī, who was born in Hebron, studied in Cairo and died in Jerusalem (1147 A. H.).

² Abū Madian is Šu'êb Abū Madian of Morocco. He built in Jerusalem the *Zâwîet* el-Maghârbeh, where he chose to be buried. But he died in Morocco and only his hand is buried in the *zâwîeh* (*Lawâqîh el-Anwâr*, by 'Abd el-Wahhâb eš-Šarâni I, 153).

³ Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 88.

⁴ There is at present only one.

the grave his relatives say prayers. Others think that taking stones and placing them on the tomb¹ with the words "carry the fever in my place, O *šēh Šnēt*" suffice to remove the fever.²

In Jericho a fever patient is carried by his relatives and laid on the tomb of *eš-šēh Ghānim*. The relatives retire, leaving the sick person alone, for they believe that the soul of this man of God converses with the sick one and at last heals him.³ In Nâblus the very sick are carried to the shrine of el-Anbiâ. They are placed near the tomb and left alone. If they perspire it is believed that the disease gets better. In the case of *eš-šēh Sa'îd (Idnab)* those attacked with fever lie in the enclosure. Backache is cured by rubbing the back on Abû ez-Zhûr and placing a stone on the rock. The same power is attributed to the broken column placed at the head of a small tomb beside *eš-šēh Šaddâd* in the cemetery of Bâber-Raḥmeh.⁴ In Hebron mothers induce their children to run over the tomb of *eš-šēh Šnēt* to get over their ailments.⁵

An impotent man must wash himself in a *welî* or on the threshold of el-'Atêrî (Dêr Ghassâneh). A *ḥidjâb* written by the *šēh* of el-Ḥaḍrâ (Nâblus) and worn by the impotent, after he has prayed in the room known as *Huzn Ya'qûb*, will cure his condition.

A child suffering from fever is taken by his mother to el-Kâs⁶ (also Djurn) a water basin between el-Aqsâ and eš-Şaḥrah. The

¹ 'Abd el-Ghâni states that the sick and troubled of his time used to place stones on the tomb of Aḥmad ed-Dadjâni, hoping to get rid of their difficulties (Kahle, *PJB* VI, 74).

² While this idea is true in connection with placing stones on a holy spot, it can not be accepted—at least for Palestinian conditions—in connection with throwing a stone on a *mafâzeh*, as Doutté describes for Morocco (p. 428). *Mafâzeh* is, as we have seen on page 76, a heap of stones found on the top of a mountain. A traveller will, after climbing the mountain, throw a stone on an existing heap and thank the Almighty that he has overcome a difficulty, but does not intend by this act to transfer his weariness, palpitation, thirst and breathlessness to the heap of stones.

³ A patient who was cured in this way told me that the *šēh* asked him about his ailments, advised him to keep his religious obligations and cured him.

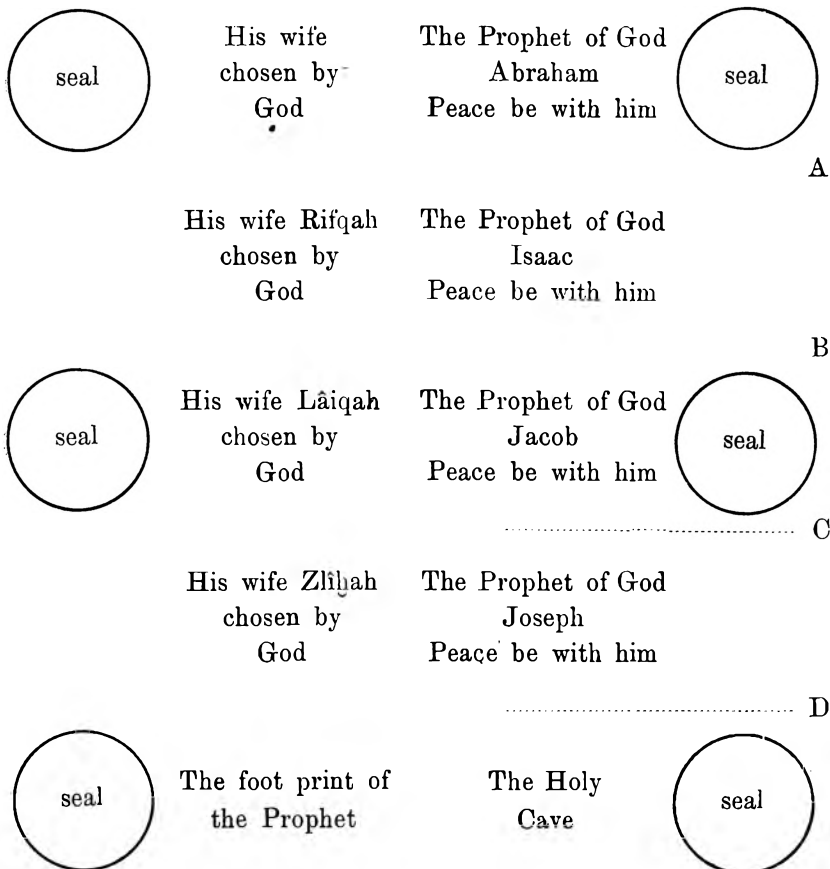
⁴ Different cases have been mentioned where patients place stones on the holy place. By doing so the peasant believes that he takes away his burden—disease—and places it on the *welî*. He gets rid of it, and the man of God, whom this burden cannot injure, assumes it.

⁵ See also Doutté, pp. 435, 436.

⁶ This basin is holy, since it lies between the two mosques, and is quite near "Mohammed's olive tree."

child walks three times around the basin, during the midday prayer on Friday. During this process his mother throws sweets continually on the ground, and the child is taken home without turning or looking back.

Talismans¹ are also made in a sanctuary and worn by people as a protection against disease, or are used to fumigate a sick child. The seal of the Mosque of Hebron with the names of the Patriarchs and those of their wives who were buried there is used against fever (cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 130). The following is a translation of such a talisman:



¹ The best cure of a horse suffering from colic is to ride the animal at a gallop and after tiring it, to make it jump over one, better three tombs seven times (Mûsâ Abû Nâdâ).

This paper is cut at the dotted lines A, B, C and D. The child is fumigated every day with one piece. In reading the amulet read from right to left.

Similar seals are also issued by some of the *šēhs* of the Mosque of Omar. Such a paper¹ contains circular seals with different writings and the representations of hands, swords and balances. Characteristic inscriptions of these *hawâtim* (pl. of *hâtim*, seal) are:

1. In the representation of the sword:

لا فتاً² الا علي ولا سيف الا ذا الفقار³

(There is) no young man except 'Alî and no sword except *Dû l-Fiqâr*.⁴

2. In a *hâtim* with a balance:

قال عليه السلام من اراد ان ينظر الى بقعة من بقع الجنة فلينظر الى بيت المقدس⁵ السيد احمد الشريف⁶
الصراط
شجادة

He (Mohammed), peace be upon him, said that whoever desires to behold a patch (little piece) of Paradise should see Jerusalem. Es-saiyd Aḥmad eš-Šarif.

The way.

Šhâdeh.

3. In another *hâtim* with a balance:

هذا ميزان هذا صراط

This is a balance. This is a way.

4. In a circular seal (that of Moses):

موسى كلیم الله

Moses the Interlocutor of God.

¹ I have such talismans on white, red, and green paper.

² I have always found it written in these seals with ا instead of ی.

³ On the *hirz* of Murdjâneh (cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 48) we find also the sword with the following inscription:

لا فتى الا علي ولا سيف الا ذو الفقار سيف الله يقسم كل جبار من حمل
هذا كان أمناً ان شاء الله من شر الاشرار

⁴ *Dû l-Fiqâr* is the byname of the sword of 'Alî bin Abi Tâlib. It is said to have been made from the piece of iron which was found buried in al-Ka'bah (*Dâiratu l-Ma'ârif*, vol. VIII, p. 410).

⁵ A *hadîth*.

⁶ Probably names of the *šiyûh* in whose possession this seal was. The first is the older one.

5. Abraham's seal (circular):

رسول الملك العزيز العلام ابراهيم خليل الرحمن عليه الصلوة والسلام

The Apostle of the King, the Beloved, the Allknowing, Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful One, on him be prayers and peace.

6. On a round seal we read *āyatu l-kursī* (Sûrah II, 250).

7. In the representation of the hand:

وبشّر المومنين يا محمد نصر من الله وفتح قريب
لا اله الا الله و محمد رسول الله
لا فتناً الا علي ولا سيف الا ذا الفقار
يا حنان يا منان يا رحمان يا الله
الظاهر الباطن الاول الاخر

Bear good tidings to the true believers, O Mohammed, assistance from God, and a speedy victory.¹

There is no God, but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God.

There is no youth but 'Alī, and no sword but *Dû l-Fiqâr*.

O Sympathetic, O Benevolent, O Merciful, O God.

The External, the Internal, the First, the Last.

One large seal encloses twelve circles, another seven. These circles contain efficacious verses. When such papers are issued we notice that each one contains several of the above-mentioned figures.

Often when a child is sick and the mother believes that only a *hidjâb* will help to cure him, and she can not get one written at that moment, she puts a small bag of salt in a hole of the eastern wall and says '*alâ kîs er-Rfâ'î*', "for the sake of er-R." Very early in the morning she goes to a *šêh* of the Rifâ'î order and asks him to write her a *hidjâb* for the sick child. Her pious intention—shown by the act described—ensures the favour of this man of God, even before she receives a talisman from one of his representatives.²

In analyzing the diseases which are cured by remedies taken from a *welî* we find that two are most represented, namely, fever and sterility. The following diseases come next: mental troubles, suppression of urine, and skin diseases. The reasons why fever and sterility predominate are the following. By fever the Oriental understands every ailment which is accompanied by fever, and where no

¹ Taken from Sûrah 61.

² A custom in Dêr Ghassâneh, heard from O. S. Barghûfi.

other symptoms—like bleeding (from the lungs, or gastrointestinal tract), diarrhea, coughing, etc.—predominate. Thus malaria, typhoid, typhus, recurrent fever, etc., are called simply *shūneh* or *ḥummā* (fever). We know also that malaria is a very widespread disease, met with all over Palestine. In this way “fever” may be considered the greatest Palestinian plague. Sterility, or in other words, marriage without children, especially male ones, is a severe punishment, causing a strongly felt disgrace. A man’s honour is best expressed by calling him not by his name but by that of his oldest son, preceded by “father of.” Abū ‘Alī,¹ “the father of ‘Alī,” is the honorific name of X, who is never called “X,” but Abū ‘Alī. In order to disguise the true condition of a childless man, he is called “father” of his own father’s name;² for example Ḥasan has no children, while his father’s name is Moḥammed, he is called Abū Moḥammed, or Abū Ibrāhīm if Ibrāhīm is the name of his father. This is the reason why every barren woman seeks for help everywhere to escape her despised condition.

Very interesting is the fact that some *awliā* have a special power over certain diseases; i. e., they are specialists for one sort of ailments. Following is a list giving the diseases and the saints which cure them: For mental troubles el-Ḥaḍer,³ Rdjāl Sūfah (Dêr Ghassāneh), en-Nūbānī, eš-šēḥ Djabr (Râfât) and sittnâ el-Ḥaḍrâ are sought. El-Ḥaḍer enjoys the greatest reputation of all. Every place where it is supposed that the prophet Job took a bath is renowned for curing skin-troubles (see above). Šiyūḥ el-‘Arūrī (Dêr Ghassāneh) have the power of curing a special eruption of the head called *šawwātah* (also *râ‘āyeh*). They cauterize it with fire, while an ointment made of some herbs which grow near the shrine is given to the patient.⁴

Er-Rfâî had while on earth the power of healing the bite of venomous serpents. He begged the Almighty to give *qarn el-ḥaltit*

¹ It is a widespread custom of Mohammedans and Christians in Palestine to give their first son the name of his grandfather (father’s father).

² A *ḥadīṯ* says *ḥairu l-asmâi mā ḥammada au ‘abbad*, “the best names are those of Mohammed or ‘Abd (“servant”).” The latter is always followed by a name or attribute of God.

³ I have transcribed both *Ḥaḍr* and *Ḥaḍer*, as both pronunciations are heard.

⁴ For severe menstrual bleeding the inhabitants of the Samaria district go to Banât Ya‘qûb for help.

(called in some places *qarn el-halḥât*) an antivenomous power. Since his death the milk in which the *qarn* has been rubbed is believed to cure every poisoned person. The *ṣiyūh* of er-Rfā'i pretend to be proof against every serpent bite.

Very widespread is the belief that certain cures are surer at special times. Thus bathing in Ḥammâm el-Ēn and springs dedicated to Job in the night of 'Aṣūrah¹ (the tenth of Moharram²) is more effective than bathing at any other period. The sea is most curative in the day of *ibrīyet Aiyūb*. The best *'ūd mēs* is that which was cut in *Lēlatu l-Qadr* (the 27th of Ramaḍān). Acts performed about noon time (*ṣalāt ez-zuhr*) are more efficacious than others, etc.

I shall close this section with a study of the shrines of el-Ḥaḍer (St. George), the most renowned saint physician for nervous and mental troubles. This man of God, who is honoured by all creeds in Palestine, possesses many sanctuaries. To every one of them come suppliants, but some are more popular than others. I have been able to gather the following list of shrines connected with this saint:

Place	Quarter	Description
Jerusalem	Armenian quarter	belongs to the Greek Church
Jerusalem	beside the Francis- can Convent	belongs to the Greek Church
Jerusalem	inside the Jaffa Gate	belongs to the Copts ³
Jerusalem	outside the Jaffa Gate	belongs to the Qurṭ family, and is honoured by Mohammedans and Christians ⁴

¹ It is said that el-Ḥusēn died this day while very thirsty. Therefore many will drink water with eyes shut and from an opaque vessel, in order not to see the water.

² Not the ninth, as Hava states in his *Arabic-English Dictionary*.

³ These three churches are not used by Mohammedans.

⁴ George Qurṭ told me the story of this place as follows: His father and grandfather were once ploughing the land where the sanctuary lies. One day they rested at midday, stretching themselves under an olive tree, which was known afterwards as *Zētūnit el-Ḥaḍr*. Both fell asleep. St. George appeared to the grandfather and ordered him: "Get up and build my sanctuary, you will find the door at such a spot." Instead of getting up, the grandfather wrapped himself better in his cloak, thinking that it was only a dream. But the saint

Place	Quarter	Description
Jerusalem	Mosque of Omar ¹	Maqâm el-Ḥaḍr below the Holy Rock ²
Jerusalem	Mosque of Omar area, N.W. corner	Qubbet el-Ḥaḍr
Jerusalem	Same, N.E. corner	near Bâb es-Sbât (not so popular at present)
Jerusalem	el-Aqṣâ	Bâb el-Ḥaḍr (the east door, which is not in use at present)
Between	Bêt Djâlâ and the Pools of Solomon	honoured by Christians and Mohammedans
Nablus	Šuêtra	a mosque
Nablus	Ḥâret el-'Aqabeh	room with a <i>mil'râb</i> ³
Nablus	near the large <i>djâmi'</i>	dark room ⁴
Nâblus	Ḥammâm ed-Daradjeh	a basin in which he takes a bath every Friday ⁵
Taiybeh		Christian church
Bêt 'Anân		a <i>ḥuwêtah</i> and a few fig trees. The place is completely neglected

repeated his request and at last said: „You both shall remain dumb, until my sanctuary is built.” Frightened, the man got up, aroused his son, and—behold—both were dumb. Next day the work was begun and they, indeed, found at the described spot the opening of a cave. To their astonishment and that of all spectators the calf which they had lost a year ago while ploughing this place was found in the cave, well-grown and fed. Straw, barley and water were brought to him in a miraculous way by St. George. They found also the following inscription

عجائب الخضر كثيرة ما هي قليلة هنا محل القديس العظيم في الشهيد
جورجيوس اللابس الظفر المستشهد في الحروب

“The miracles of el-Ḥaḍr are many, not few. Here is the place of the great saint among the martyrs, George clad with victories, the martyr in the wars.” The renown of this place spread. Even the Sultan granted it a Farmân. Patients began to flock hither, the last one in the year 1923. No sooner was the work of restoring the *maqâm* at an end, then the power of speech of the grandfather and father of George Qurṭ was restored. An abbreviated version of the story is given by Kahle, *PJ* VI, 88.

¹ The four next places are mentioned by Mudjîr ed-Dîn.

² Kahle notes that *el-balâṭah es-sôdah* is dedicated to el-Ḥaḍr (*PJ* VI, pp. 88, 91).

³ The saint used to assemble here with other *awliâ*.

⁴ Mentally diseased persons used to be fastened here with iron chains. I have seen one of these chains still in place.

⁵ The ill take a bath in this basin on Friday, believing that this will cure them.

Place	Quarter	Description
Djifnah		Christian ¹
Carmel	a cave	honoured by all denominations ²
Bêt Rîmâ		honoured by the Mohammedans
Lydd	inside the village	a church, honoured by Mohammedans and Christians
near Bêt Djâlâ	on the way a	<i>ḥuwêṭīyeh</i> called <i>ḥaṭwet</i> (<i>ḥabtet</i>) el-Ḥaḍr
	to er-Ràs	
Karak		honoured by Christians and Mohammedans.

There are some *awliâ* bearing the name *es-šêḥ* Ḥaḍr (like that W. of Rammûn) which probably have nothing to do with St. George. There are many other shrines dedicated to this *waliy allâh*, which are not included in this list. The most important of these places are that on Carmel³ and the shrine near Bêt Djâlâ. The latter is situated on an elevated place between the village and the Pools of Solomon. The beautiful church, which is surrounded by a convent, lies in a village, bearing the name of el-Ḥaḍer. The inhabitants of the settlement are all Mohammedans. The whole area around the sanctuary used to belong to the convent, which is directly dependent on the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem. A large part of the sanctuary was rebuilt a few years before the war. This change is of great importance, as good rooms were constructed for the insane,⁴ and thus a large part of the old practice in curing the afflicted was changed. We shall describe the way in which the patients used to be treated before this change took place.

As the reputation of the wonderful cures of this saint spread all over the country, sick of all creeds were brought to it from all directions. No sooner did they arrive than the priest chained them in the narthex in front of the church. The heavy iron chain was fastened to an iron ring around the neck of the unfortunate creature, the other end of the chain being drawn through one of the two windows, on each side of the main portal, and fastened inside the

¹ There is a chain for the *madjânîn*.

² Cf. Kahle, *PJB* VI, 89; Graf Müllinen *ZDPV* XXX, 88.

³ Called by some Mâr Eliâs.

⁴ The present government has forbidden the acceptance of insane in this place.

church. In case three patients were sent at the same time the third one was placed in a small room built just west of the dome. The chain in this case went through a small window of the dome thus connecting the patient with the church. During the cold winter months the patients were kept inside the church.

The following story, taken from the written notes of my father, beautifully illustrates the strong belief in the miracles of St. George, and shows how such ideas are propagated by the priests themselves. The Greek Orthodox priest Ibrâhîm el-'Awwâ¹ went as usual on Saturday afternoon, accompanied by Ishâq Tûmâ² to the convent of St. George to read the night and the Sunday morning masses. They found there a furious and mentally abnormal Bedouin *šêh* of the Tayâhâ tribe, chained in the church. His condition was so bad that he tore all his clothes. Whatever the *raiys* (director) of the convent put on him was soon torn to pieces. As the priest with his assistant Ishâq got up during the night to perform their duty, they beheld the shadow of a human being moving cautiously on the roof of the church. Frightened, they awoke the monk. A thorough investigation showed that the naked *šêh* was crouching in one corner, shivering with cold and extremely exhausted. At once the superior of the convent gave him clothes, and, taking him into a room made a fire and began to rub him until he felt better. The *raiys* asked the *šêh* how he got out of the church, while the doors were still locked. He answered: a gentle looking man, with a spear in his hand, riding on a horse, appeared to me and ordered me: "Get up and go to your tribe." He touched the chain with his spear and it fell of my neck. I climbed up the chain from which the church lamp hung. Swinging myself to and fro I reached a window in the dome of the church from which I got out. The *šêh* was absolutely normal from that moment. He pledged himself to offer yearly seven goats to his healer, el-Ḥaḍr, which promise he is said to have kept.³

The patients received no medical treatment at all, but had to be cured by the miraculous intervention of St. George. The *raiys* of the church found it very often necessary to hasten the cure by

¹ From Bêt Djâlâ.

² From Bêt Djâlâ. He was ordained later as a priest.

³ Told my father by the above-mentioned priest Ishâq Tûmâ.

driving out the devil. This was done by thorough beatings and prayers. No wonder that these poor creatures were furious when the priest fell into their clutches. Whenever a patient's condition got somewhat normal the priest secretly unfastened the chain from the church, and told the patient that the saint declared him cured.

Only a simple straw mattress was given them. The two who were bound in front of the church had not the least protection from the frightful summer heat or the cold of the winter. Their food consisted of bread—sometimes very hard—and water. Both were given to a very limited extent. The odor of their evacuations used to make the place unsupportable.

At present the sanatorium is built a short distance south of the church. It is composed of twelve rooms, in each of which there is a chain, firmly fastened to the wall. The hygienic conditions of this place are in every respect better than in the old system. This new hospital was connected when I saw it last by a wire to the church. Thus the healing power of the saint is transmitted to the sick.

An analysis of the above-described treatment is of great interest. The sick are placed in the direct neighbourhood of the saint, to be near his blessing and his field of action; the chains transmit the curing power. As soon as the hospital was removed to a distance a connecting wire was run between it and the church to carry the saint's miraculous power. Prayers and beatings are the best way of driving away a devil. This practice is still common among the *šiyūh*. Whenever a sick person shows any nervous symptoms like hysterical fits, apoplexy, epilepsy and even convulsions resulting from fever a *šēh* is called for treatment. He writes a talisman, recites prayers, spits on the patient and massages the body.¹ This massage is always done in such a way that the hand of the *šēh* moves from the upper parts of the body downwards. The reason for this direction of movement is that the devil should be massaged out from the important organs to the less important ones and eventually be thrown

¹ An insane girl, who received no help from all the consulted physicians, went to a Chaldean priest. He, after fasting three days and three nights, made the sick child kneel down and pray with him, and behold a cloud of smoke came out of her mouth, while she lost consciousness. The priest put her in a bath and began to massage her. The moment she awoke she was cured.

out of the body through the lower extremities.¹ The massage develops in most cases to violent beatings, which may be carried out with the hand, with a stick, shoe² or even with a holy object, like the wooden shoe of the *Madjdûb*.

It is easier to drive out devils when the bodily condition of the possessed person is at the lowest.³ It is a common belief that the *djinn* prefer well-built, corpulent patients. This explains why the patients are fed so badly. Neglect of cleanliness leads to the same result.⁴

(To be continued.)

¹ A demon in an important organ causes much more harm than in an unimportant one. Massaging a demon upwards may cause an irreparable weakness in the heart, eyes, tongue, brain, etc.

² See the case described in *Aberglaube*, pp. 117 f.

³ This is an older belief; see *at-Tuhfatu l-Mardîyah*, p. 4.

⁴ See on this subject also Stephan, "Lunacy in Palestinian Folklore," *JPOS* V pp. 1—16, on which the following remarks may be made:—It would have been more helpful if the original meanings and uses of all the synonyms on pp. 2 and 3 had been given.—I do not think that "lunacy is considered as something divine" (p. 2). On the contrary it is at present regarded, as it used to be in Biblical times, as the work of Satan. Although *madjdûb* is used at present for a beginning lunacy, its real meaning is quite different from *madjnûn*.—The real causes of lunacy following the writing of a *sihir* (and such sorcery is called *sihir aswad*), drinking of spirits (p. 6, footnotes 3, 4), or *coitus nudus* (p. 7) are nothing but the *djinn* and should not be put in another category.