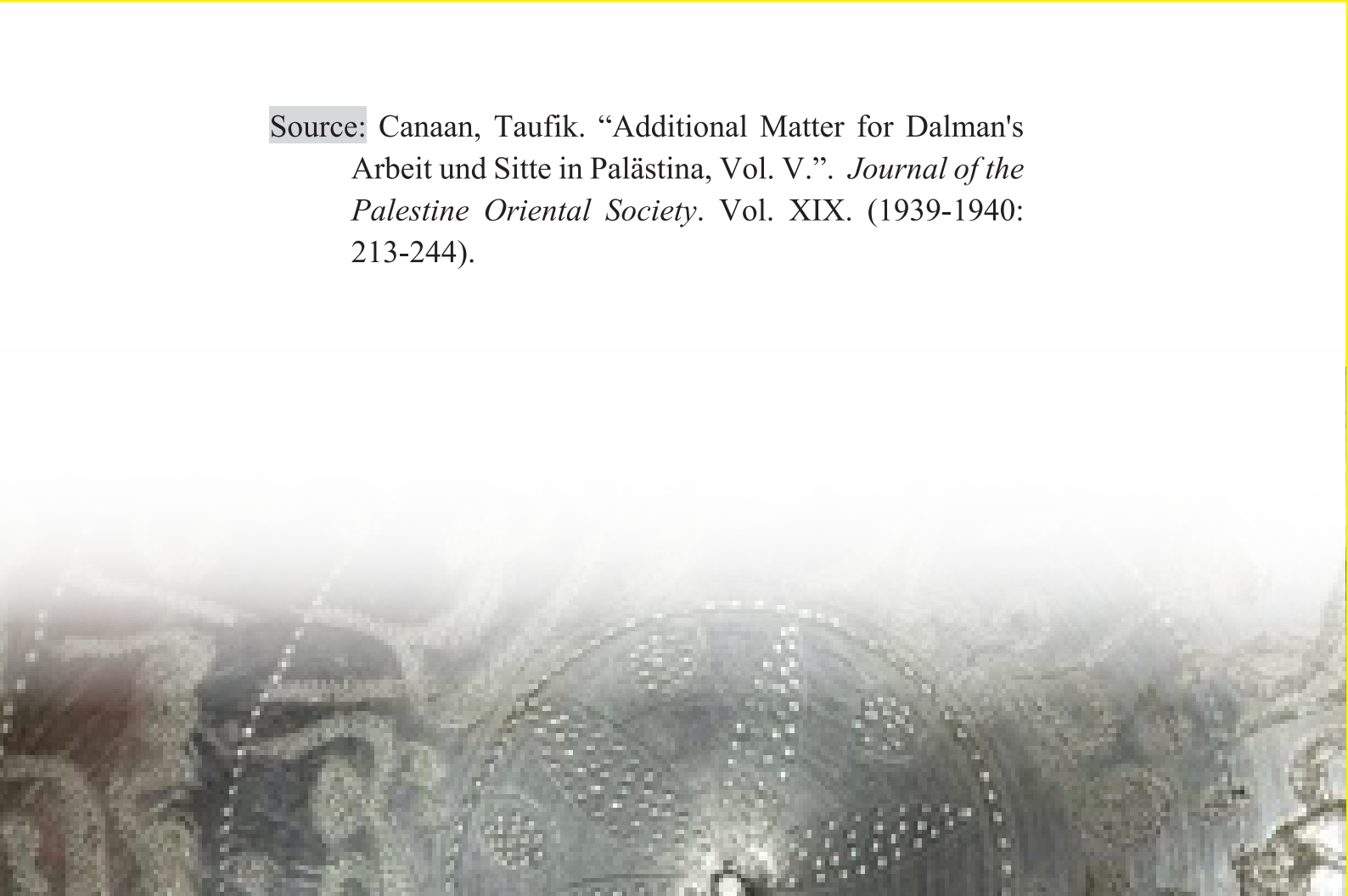


# مجموعة توفيق كنعان

## الموارد / منشورات توفيق كنعان

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ADDITIONAL MATTER FOR DALMAN'S 'ARBEIT  
UND SITTE' Vol. V

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

The fifth volume of DALMAN's *Arbeit und Sitte* deals with spinning, weaving and everything connected with clothes. It describes minutely the material, the processes of work and the machinery used in this connexion. Arabic idioms, names, proverbs, riddles and customs are given to explain in a more vivid way the whole process. Every chapter is followed by a detailed description of the conditions that existed in the time of the Hebrews. The profuse footnotes bear witness to the immense trouble which the author took in order to gather and sift material already recorded in the literature on the subject.

The 362 pages of text are followed by four indices. The first contains Hebrew and Aramaic words, the second Arabic expressions, the third is general and the fourth a list of the Biblical references in the text. 128 illustrations on 62 plates still further enhance the value of this authoritative book of reference which will be indispensable to every scholar.

Names, proverbs, idioms and riddles give a realistic picture of the mode of thinking and the customs of the people from which they are taken. Once such material has been collected it remains a source of wealth for every student of philology, folklore and comparative history.

The following expressions connected with dress and the material of which it is made may therefore profitably be added to the list of DALMAN:

*allâdjiyeh* a kind of *qumbâz* (Ṭōbâs)

*burnus* an upper cloak generally with a part to cover the head (burnoose).

*bîâneh* the lining of dress. It stands also for the lining of other objects, thus *bîânet eş-şurmây*, *bîânet eş-şandûq*.

*balghâ* slippers. A shoe smaller than a *nuşsiyeh* and without



buttons. It is made as a rule of local yellow leather. Unknown to *Muḥīt* in this sense.

*dabbūrah* a red or yellow short *djazmeh* worn by Beduin women.

*dandūseh* (pl. *danādīš*) a piece of cloth that hangs down from a dress.

*durrārah* (is not only known to el-Muqaddisi and some Beduin tribes, but) denotes in Hebron a blue dress worn by women on special occasions.

*djardeh* (Hebron, pl. *djriideh*) old, darned, worn-out clothes; a synonym to *halaq*. *Muḥīt*, I, 232 writes *ثوب جرد اي خلق*.

*djanbiyeh* (pl. *djanābī*) a flat, quadrangular or rectangular cushion laid on the ground. It is about half the size of a *farsēh*, and is filled with cotton or with pieces of rags. This expression is mostly used in the northern districts. It is by no means a synonym to *farsēh*, as DALMAN, p. 161.

*djōdaleh* a piece of cloth or silk hanging down from an oriental sofa to cover the front and the sides. It is laid on the wooden frame (Jerusalem). In some parts of Palestine this expression is used for the whole sofa.

*fānīs* (Hebron) a kind of a long shirt (white or coloured) worn by women above other clothes. Not known to *Muḥīt* in this sense.

*farmaliyeh* a kind of jacket made of black or blue cloth, worn by Beduin women.

*ghabāneh* like *šamleh* (s. below) but embroidered with yellow threads. This word comes from *غبن الثوب ثناه ثم خاطه كي يضيق*; غبن, to make a dress tighter.

*hōkarah* a round elegantly woven knot above a tassel. Unknown to *Muḥīt* in this sense.

*ḥašweh* is the filling between the lining and the cloth; generally used in jackets.

*ḥaffāy* a slipper with no part to cover the ankles.

*ḥfād* (pl. *ḥfādāt*) swaddling clothes.

*ḥdēdiyeh* a small cushion for the bed. From *خد* cheek.

*ḥirqah nāšiq rūḥuh* very thin cloth.

*ḥaššāfiyeh* slippers without the part to cover the ankles.

*kaškaš* "volant". *Muḥīt*, II, 1819, writes: *الكشكش ما يخاط على الثوب ونحوه*. من الشرائط تزياناً له . فارسية

*kōfaliyeh* the outer cloth with which a baby is swaddled.

*kurkār* thread reel.

*laḡḡah* a cloth to cover the head and a part of the face. Unknown to *Muḡḡit* in this sense.

*laklūk* (pl. *laklūk*) the shoes of a baby.

*maktūmeh* a hidden pocket in the inner lining of a *qumbāz* or a jacket. Unknown to *Muḡḡit* in this sense.

*malaff* a broad woollen swaddling band wrapped around the abdomen of a baby.

*maniyeh* a big, coloured, thin cloth worn by Hebron women to cover face and head.

*masnad* cushion.

*maqʿad* like *djanbiyeh* but round. It also denotes a bench and a sofa.

*qardšil* thickly woven stockings (Nablus); not known to *Muḡḡit*.

*qaḡḡūrah* a small straw hat for young children (Aleppo).

*qatūʿah* (Nablus) a small mat with tassels; unknown in this sense to *Muḡḡit*.

*qattūʿah* an old mat (Jerusalem).

*ʿarqiyeh* a simple *ṭaqiyeh* for babies.

*rabṭah* a tie (r. *ṣurmāy*, r. *djurbāneh*, r. *raqabeh*).

*salabeh* thread (see proverb No. 77).

*sarmūdḡeh* (pl. *sarāmūdḡ*) silk shoes for ladies. *Muḡḡit*, I, 952, writes: السرموج نوع من الاحذية والسرموجة اخص منه وتعرف عند العامة بالسرماية واكثرهم يقولها بالصاد. DALMAN, p. 292. In some places it is used for several kinds of shoes.

*sirbāl* a white (rarely blue) shirt like the coat worn by Beduin, reaching to the knees or slightly below the same. *Muḡḡit* I, 943, writes: السربال القميص او كل ما ليس.

*surṭāliyyeh* a silk *qumbāz* (Nablus district). Turkish.

*šadd* (synonym to *šdād*) girdle (Hebron, not widely known).

*šabar* woollen ribbon with which peasant and Beduin wind their hairs into pigtails (tress).<sup>1</sup>

*šamleh* a square piece of cloth or silk used as a *laḡḡeh* (for the head), or as a girdle (for men). *Muḡḡit*, p. 1124, writes: الشملة كما دون القطيفة.

*šarbeh* a kind of *ṭarḡah* (shawl for the head). *Muḡḡit*, I, 1045, writes: شربة العباءه عند العامة نقش بين كتفيا.

<sup>1</sup> Other meanings are: الشبر صفائح صغيرة مربعة فيها ثقوب تدخل فيها الخيط وتحاك . شبر حق النكاح . شريطاً عريضاً .

*šartūḥah* (also *šartūḥah*) an old slipper.

*šriṭ* (DALMAN, p. 334, uses *šrāṭ* for a white band worn as a sign of mourning), any kind of band.

*šfiṭ* a carpet with long woollen threads at the borders. *Muḥiṭ*, I, 1101, الشفُّ والشَّفُّ الثوب الرقيق.

*taqm* is more used than *taqmeh*, DALMAN, p. 203.

*tarḥah* a piece of cloth worn on the head by city women.

*ṭibeh* the collar of a dress.

*ṭurrāḥah* and *ṭarrāḥah*. This expression which is used mostly in the northern districts is a synonym of *djanbiyeh*.

*wsādeh* common cushion.

*zēniyeh* a term applied in the Nablus district to the *qumbāz*.

*zīk* the upper hard circular edge of the *šatweh*.<sup>1</sup>

The different kinds of *ṭarbūš* are:

1. *Ṭarbūš turkī*, *ṭ. ištambūlī*, *ṭ. babōrī*, is the common *ṭarbūš* worn by city dwellers. It has vertical sides, a horizontal flat top and a brown red or a dark red colour. The *ṭarbūš maṣrī* has shorter sides.

2. *Ṭarbūš muḡhrabī* is made of thicker and rougher material. The sides are short and slightly oblique. The contour shows four perpendicular ridges. The top is slightly conical. These two sorts of *ṭarbūš* have *šarārīb* (pl. of *šurrābeh*), that of the *muḡhrabī* being somewhat thicker and slightly bluish.

3. *Ṭarbūš ḥidjāzī* resembles the *ṭarbūš turkī* but has no *šurrābeh* and is somewhat shorter. It may be made of white or red colour. The top is at times slightly conical.

4. A slightly conical, generally whitish or brown *ṭarbūš*, with a horizontal flat top is a *ṭanṭūr*. It is worn by members of the *Mēlawiyeh* order. It is higher than the usual *ṭ*.

The *ṭarbūš turkī* is worn as a rule without a *laḡfeh*. Only *ʿulamā*, Mohammedan religious personalities, wear a *ʿamāmeh*, called also in some places *šamleh*, on this head dress. The *ʿamāmeh* is as a rule a white cotton cloth of about 5–6 m. length. Rarely one may

<sup>1</sup> *Muḥiṭ*, I, 904, الزيق من القميص ما احاط منه بالعتق. والزيق في النسيج عند العامة الخط. . . . . الدقيق المنسوج فيها مخالفاً لونه. يقولون زيق اسود وزيق احمر. I heard the peasants pronounce it with a ك and not with a ق. زيك has according to *Muḥiṭ* no such meaning.

encounter a *ʿālim* with a *ṭarbiš mughrabī* and a *ʿamāmeh*, and still rarer with a *lubbādeh* or a *ṭanṭūr* and a *ʿamāmeh*.

On a *ṭ. mughrabī* a silk, cotton or linen cloth may be wound. To the south of Jerusalem this cloth is called *kaffiyeh*, and in some villages to the north of this city it is known as *ḥarašiyeh*. It is as a rule of red colour, but may show different colours. A *talliyeh* or *tallāwiyeh* (called rarely *ṭabaziyeh*) is a piece of cloth half white and half red. It is also wound around a *ṭ. mughrabī*. The *Qēsi* leave the red colour and the Yemeni the white appear on the outer part.

The following description of some parts of the *qumbāz* are of interest. The collar of this dress may be a *qabbeh nābulsiyeh* or a *qabbeh bēritiyeh*. In the former the collar (*qabbeh*) has one and the same height all the way through. In the *bēritiyeh* the front part is cut so as to be 0.75–1.50 cm. lower than the rest of the collar. The part of the *qumbāz* just below the axilla used to be made of a special piece of cloth. It was elongated and broader at the axilla (upper) end than at its lower one. This piece is known as *sōdjaq* (pl. *sawāddjiq*). At present tailors do not make use of the *sōdjaq*. That piece of the *qumbāz* which is sewn to the front and hinder sides of the *sōdjaq* and extends downwards to the lower border of the *qumbāz* is called *bnēqah* (pl. *banāʿyq*). The *bnēqah* has at its lower border a V-shaped cut with the opening pointing downwards. This is known by the name *fqēšeh* (pl. *faqāʿyš*). These openings are two in number, one being on each side. One long side of the *qumbāz* overlaps the other on the front, exactly as in the case of an overcoat. The lower part is the *badanī* and the upper the *rakīb*. When the *rakīb* is broad the *qumbāz* is called *qallābeh* (Ṭōbās). The *maḥfiyeh* pocket of a *qumbāz* is known in some places as *mashūrah*.

Some customs and superstitions connected with dress and which have not been mentioned by DALMAN may now be given.

A child who wears the head dress of another is said to become bald-headed.<sup>1</sup>

While blue dress is said to protect more or less against the evil eye, yellow cloth draws the same.

If a person wishes to injure his enemy he needs only to take

<sup>1</sup> The same affection may result when two children knock their heads against each other. To prevent baldness every one has to spit.

an *ḥatar* (a trace) of his clothes (or of his body, as a few hairs or some cuttings of his nails) and use them in a magic way. Some examples of this procedure are:

a. Whenever a menstruating woman steps over a piece of clothing belonging to a child that child gets sick and begins to waste, as he is said to be attacked with the *kabseh* (see CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 38).

b. Should an envious woman burn a rag of a child's clothing, that child gets sick.

c. If an enemy turns a shoe upside down during a wedding ceremony the bridegroom will remain childless.

The binding of knots in a thread during the wedding ceremony makes the bridegroom impotent.

New blue clothes, which have not yet been washed, if worn by a woman who visits a patient, make his condition worse.<sup>1</sup>

A person who dreams that he has lost some of his hairs is afraid that he or some of his relatives may soon die.

A dream of the falling off of the heel of a husband's shoe denotes the death of his wife.

A girl who dreams that she wears a new head dress may soon expect her marriage (Jaffa). Others say that wearing a new dress denotes long life and in case of a sick person his speedy recovery.

New clothes should not be sewn on a Tuesday or a Saturday, for the person for whom they are being made would fear to put them on lest he should speedily die.

In Bêt Djâlā the people say *tafṣīl yôm el-ḥitnén bimūtū ḥitnén*, "The cutting of a garment on Monday will result in the death of two".

Women do not like washing clothes on Monday, still less on Friday. Such a work on the latter day results in the cutting off of her descendants (*biyqta' ed-dirriyeh*).

Nobody should handle scissors unnecessarily, for playing with scissors is believed by some tribes of the Sinai Peninsula to be followed by a quarrel.

A woman who has lost all her children, except the first born, should carry wooden shoes on her neck while she is again pregnant and should be cauterized on her heels (Aleppo).

<sup>1</sup> Some of these superstitious beliefs have been mentioned in my *Aberglaube*, pp. 25, 26.

A woman who has lost all her children should dress the next born child with clothes begged from different persons.

To cure a reddish eruption covering the body of a child (like measles, erythema, scarlet fever eruption, etc.) it should wear a red shirt next to the skin.

The people of el-Kûr tear a slit in the front of the bridal *lôb* as soon as she puts it on on the wedding day, believing that this procedure increases her offsprings. *Kull m̄a nasal kull m̄a kitr en-nasl*, "the more the threads of the torn garment wear away the more numerous will be her descendants".

In some places we find that custom imposes a rigid distinction between the dress worn by girls and married women. In Bethlehem, Bêt Djâlâ, Bêt Şahûr only married women wear the *şatweh*. The girls of most villages of the Ramallah district wear at times a *qadleh* (sometimes called *irweh*). This is a large gold coin hanging in the centre of the forehead and fastened to the edges of the *raqiyeh*, the head cap. After marriage they replace this coin with a row of other coins (*şaffeh*), fastened along the edges of the head cap. In some districts the girls formerly wore a *şakkeh* more often than a *qadleh*.<sup>1</sup>

In the cities the Mohammedan bridegroom had to undo the shoes of his bride as soon as she entered the bridal room. This was meant to denote his willingness and readiness to help and serve her whenever she needed help. He then stepped on her garment as a sign of being the head and master of the family (Jerusalem).

If a young man breaks off his engagement, the betrothed girl may, if she wishes, keep all his presents. She may also keep the wedding clothes made up to that time and paid for in part by the money given to her by her father, a sum originating from the *mahr* ("purchase money") paid.

A person who unintentionally wears a part of his dress inside out should not try to correct the error, for it is believed to be a good omen, denoting good luck.

Any tear in a dress should never be sewn while the person is wearing the same, for only the shrouds of the dead are sewn on the body (Jaffa).

<sup>1</sup> CANAAN, *Unwritten Laws affecting the Palestine Arab Women*, JPOS, XI, p. 191.

A handkerchief should never be given as a present, especially not to a lady, for handkerchiefs are used primarily to dry tears (Jaffa).

The dipping of a sleeve in a dish of food while a person is eating means that some of his relatives are hungry.

If the shoe band of a lady gets loose while she is walking it is said that her sweetheart is thinking of her (Jaffa).

Sweet coffee unintentionally spilled on the dress is believed to be a good omen (*ḥér*). Bitter coffee on the other hand brings evil.

The second Thursday of *šahr el-ḥamís* (April) is called *ḥamís el-béḏ*. It is said to have been the feast day of Abū Djahl, the uncle of the Prophet. On the following Thursday the faces and the horns of the cattle are dyed (ʿĒn Kârim).

Should a shoe come to lie on the other while the person is taking his shoes off, that person is believed to be about to begin a journey (Jaffa). Others think that it predicts evil (Jerusalem).

Demons are said to wear garments which they have "borrowed" from human beings. The word *istaʿārū*, "They have borrowed" is always used. When borrowing clothes, the *djinn* do not ask the permission of the owners. They choose only garments upon which the name of God was not uttered while they were sewn or while they were put on the shelf. Demons always return the borrowed clothes.<sup>1</sup>

The Liâtneh cling to the old Beduin custom of giving away the clothes of the dead. Everything which had any direct connexion with the dead preserves "a part of his soul". In the case of the *šēḥ* of the tribe, the *ʿabāy* of the dead is put upon the son after the burial, as a token that he has become his father's successor.<sup>2</sup>

The following proverbs relevant to this subject are not mentioned in the above reviewed book. Though it was impossible for me to consult all collections of proverbs in order to note all those already mentioned by other authors, I have nevertheless given the references to authors whose works were available to me.<sup>3</sup> In the footnotes proverbs of the classical literature belonging to each category are mentioned. They may be found with their explanation in *مجمع الامثال*

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

<sup>2</sup> CANAAN, *Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra*, JPOS, IX, 136 ff.

<sup>3</sup> As a rule only one or two references have been given, when one and the same proverb was mentioned by several authors.



لأبي الفضل أحمد بن محمد التيسابوري المعروف بالميداني. The Roman numbers (I and II) point to the volume of this book, the Arabic numbers indicate the page. Several proverbs of this author are of المولدين, i.e. they are of more recent date. Such proverbs were marked with M. The greater part of these proverbs are old, many being pre-Islamic.

It is noteworthy that of 6000 proverbs given by el-Meidānī only few deal with dress. I have met with many more in Palestine. .

#### I. DRESS IN GENERAL.

1. *Yā lābes libs eṣ-ṣēf fiṣ-ṣitā min fuqr willā min ghivā (ghinā)?* O thou who wearest the dress of summer in winter, is it out of poverty or of coquetry (riches)? For people who do things out of their place and time.

2. *Zinet el-ma'āṣ el-libs wil-frāṣ.* The embellishment (goal) of life is (to possess) clothing and a bed (or furniture). Contentment with simple life.

3. *Ṭōb el-ʿireh mā bidaffī, win daffā mā biwaffī* (var. for p. 204). The borrowed dress does not warm (the person who borrows it), and even if it should warm (him) it will never suffice. L. EINSLER, *Mosaik*, No. 71. A variation is *ṭōb el-ʿireh mā bidaffī, lauw innhā immī, mā stahat minnī*. The borrowed dress does not warm. Even if she (who lent me the same) were my mother, she would not respect me (i.e. she would not hesitate to take it back). BAUER, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, No. 155, gives only the first part. Borrowed objects can never fully replace one's property.

4. *Min maḥabbī fik yā fatā labbastak el-ʿabiad fiṣ-ṣitā.* Out of love to you, O young man, I have clad you (with a) white dress during the winter. A variation heard in Jerusalem is *min ḥubbī fi ḥabībī labbastuh el-ʿabiad fiṣ-ṣitā*. Blind love may do foolish things.

5. *Sammūk zaiyāt imbaiyen ʿalā ʿawāʿik.* They called you a dealer in oil. This can be seen on your clothes. (Heard in Djaʿūneh but known more or less all over Palestine). A variation is *in kunt zaiyāt bibaiyen ez-zēt ʿalā hdūmak*.

6. *Illī biyṭlaʿ min ʿawāʿih byrā.* The person who gets out of his clothes becomes naked (Djaʿūneh). Whoever does a wrong action suffers.

7. *ʿAriān lāḥiq (or imṭārid) (i)mšallah (or miṣsallih).* A naked (person) running after one with no clothes (cf. Math. 15<sup>14</sup>).



8. *Illī mā ʾiluh šughul yištghil fih bišlah ʾōbuh ubifallth.* A person who has no work to do, takes off his garments and rids it of lice. BAUER, *Arabische Sprichwörter*, ZDPV, xxi, pp. 129 ff., No. 3.

9. *In šuft ʾariān lā tqulluh wēn hdūmak.* Should you see a naked person do not ask him: 'Where are your clothes?' Help is better than criticism. Mad persons and *darāwiš* may be naked. They will not give you any answer.

10. *Baqēn tittallaʿī fī dēluh mā šuftis ʾēnuh?* You were looking (all the time) at his skirts (only). Have you never seen his eye? The following story is the origin of the proverb. A girl married a rich man, although she saw that he was blind on one eye. When he had spent all his money to satisfy her wishes, she began to complain that he was ugly and half-blind.

11. *Lauw mānī ʾalēk lašarāʾitak bēn ʾidjrek.* If I were not (taking care) about you, your ragged clothes would have been (hanging) between your legs. *Mānī* comes from *mā ʾinnī*. My care and attention has made a man of you.

12. *ʾIlbis qadrak latinzil qabrak.* Dress according to your rank until you descend to your grave. C. LANDBERG, *Proverbs et Dictons*, No. 89. Keep to your own degree.

13. *Mān dabbarat mā djāʿat umīn raqqaʿat mā ʾiriat.* (A woman) who manages well will never get hungry, and she who patches (her clothes) will not become naked (var. to p. 178). EINSLER, No. 31 gives this proverb in a different arrangement. Economy protects against need.

14. *Illī byilbis ʾiāb el-ghēr bitʾarrā qawām.* The person who wears the clothes of others soon becomes naked. Foreign help is of a short duration.

15. *El-bard ʾaqadd el-kisweh.* The cold is in proportion to the (worn) clothes.

16. *ʾIlbis illī biyʾdjib en-nās ukōl illī btīsthīh nafsak.* Dress what pleases others but eat what pleases yourself (lit. what your appetite wishes). It is a var. to p. 203. People criticize what they see (in this case your dress).

17. The full text of the proverb on p. 313 is *lā tīfraḥī blaiyāt djhāzik yā mā biddik tuḡslī ʾanādʾir.* Do not rejoice over the folds of your bridal outfit, for you are going to wash copperpots often enough.

18. *Illī mā bitzaiynūh ʿrūquh mā bitzaiynūh ḥrūquh*. A person who is not honoured (lit. decorated) by his veins (blood flowing in his veins, i.e. his birth) will not be honoured by his clothes (lit. rags). Character and not the external appearance make the man. Some use *ḥlūquh* (irreg. pl. of *ḥulq*) and *djdūdūh* instead of *ʿrūquh*. In the case of *djdūdūh* the second line of the proverb ends with *ḥdūdūh* (for the rhyme).

19. *El-wlād ʾakilhūm tudjārah ulibishūm ḥsārah*. The (good) feeding of children is (material) gain (lit. good business) but their clothing is loss. Good nutrition and not good clothes, make the children grow healthy. See No. 24.

20. *Eḏ-ḏēf el-badawī bisriq ḥdūmak*. The Beduin guest will steal your garments. J. L. BURCKHARDT, *Arabic Proverbs*, No. 367. A tendencious saying of city dwellers against Beduin.

21. *Badl mā tākul waraq ḥuṭṭ ʿaḥzaq ḥalaq*. Instead of eating (the expensive dish of) *waraq* (soft vine leafs filled with rice and chopped meat) put on your (naked) buttocks (at least) a shabby garment. EINSLER, No. 95, gives the following variation: *badl el-laḥm nil-béqindjān djiblak qamiṣ yā ʿariān*. Instead of (the dish of) meat and eggplant get a shirt, O naked. Your standing in society is more important than expensive dishes.

22. *Labbes el-ʿūd uṣīf kif biʿūd*. Clothe (even) a piece of wood and behold how (beautiful) it becomes. Like the German saying "Kleider machen Leute".

23. *Dawāʿik tuṣruṭ ʾawāʿik*. May your curses tear your (own) clothes (i.e. injure you). CANAAN, *The Curse in Palestine Folklore*, JPOS, xv, 273; BAUMANN, ZDPV, xxxix, No. 311. The good or bad which you do will have its effects upon you.

24. *El-wlād itʿamhūm el-ghālī ulabbishūm el-bālī*. Feed the children with expensive (i.e. nutritive) food, and dress them with worn out clothes. See No. 19.

25. *Labbes el-ʾasmar el-aḥmar wiḏḥak ʿaléh*. Dress the black (negro or dark-skinned) person with red (clothes) and laugh at him. BAUMANN, *Volkswisheit aus Pal.*, ZDPV, xxxix, No. 507. Alluding to the negroes' preference of gay colours.

26. *ʾIdjhāzik lammā ʾinzaff burniyeh uḥalaq daḥḥ*. Your bridal outfit, when carried in the bridal procession, was (nothing but) an

earthenware vessel (for oil, olives, etc.) and a shabby tambourine. Do not boast of an imaginary past glory.

27. *Ba'd el-urs mā fi walā djhāz uba'd el-ʿid mā fi walā kmādj.* After the wedding there is no more bridal outfit, and after the feast there is no more *kmādj* (a kind of bread loaves). Not every day is a feast. Another better known proverb which expresses the same idea is *miš kull yôm ʾakl zalābieh.* "It is not every day that (we have) *zalābieh* (a kind of sweet pancake) as food."

28. *Kull balad uilhā zaiy ukull šadjarah uilhā faiy.* Every country has its own dress fashion, and every tree its shade. JEWETT, *Arab Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, JAOS, xv, No. 139.

29. *Mart et-tādjir mā bitirā.* The wife of a merchant does not get naked.

30. *Lā tihsibnī fi hal-ḥāleh tiāb el-urs mištāleh.* Do not think I am as poor as all that, just because the bridal clothes are put away.<sup>1</sup>

31. *Hālhā māyel uityābhā šalāyel.* Her (general) condition is pitiable and her clothes are in rags.<sup>2</sup> It is said of a person whose financial condition is deteriorating.

32. *Kull mā habb el-hawā bid-dyālhā bidji l-ʿarīs qbālhā (ʿabālhā).* Every time the wind blows in her clothes, the bridegroom comes nearer (opposite) to her (or she thinks of the bridegroom).

33. *Hu!! ḥadjar ʿadiālak aḥsan mā tīr.* Put a stone on your train that it may not fly away. ST. STEPHAN, JPOS, vii, No. 718. *Muḥīt*, I, 733 says, *والذي اخر كل شي . . . . . ومن الازار والثوب ما 'جر'*. It is said of a conceited person.

34. *Allah lā idjanwiʿlak kibid walā ʿarrīlak djasad.* May God never cause you (lit. your liver) to become hungry, nor cause your body to become naked.<sup>3</sup>

## II. MAT, BASKET.

35. *El-marāh zaiy il-ḥašireh kull mā tashat kitthā.*<sup>4</sup> The woman is like a mat. Whenever it gets dirty, dust it. Use force to keep

<sup>1</sup> See *المجلة السورية*, vol. III, No. 9, 615.

<sup>2</sup> شليل (pl. اشارة) means woollen clothes (HAVA).

<sup>3</sup> II, 210. *كلايس ثوب زور* II, 294, *اوسع القدم ثوباً*  
I, 445, *عارية الفرج وبت مطرح* I, 140, *ثوبك لا تقعد تطير به الريح*  
II, 104, *اكسى من بصلة* II, 127, *افقر من العريان*.

<sup>4</sup> *Katta* is not known in this sense to classical books.

the woman in the right path. The comparison of the woman to a mat shows the society in which this proverb was coined, namely poor peasants, who rarely possess a *sidjdjâdeh*, *bsât*, etc.

36. *Liff bintak bil-ḥaṣīr uḥuṭṭhā fī bêt kbīr*. Wrap your daughter in a mat and place her (i.e. marry her to a member of) a big (important and rich) house.

37. *Ruḥnā dârkum uṣṣfnā fṣârkum, btufursū l-ḥarīr ‘alā qaṣṣ el-ḥaṣīr*. We went to your house and beheld your vain boasting. You spread silk on the straw of mats. TALIQVIST, No. 49 and JEWETT, 89, give slight variations. Describes boasting without any foundation.

38. *l:l-ʾamīr ʾamīr ulaww innuh ‘al-ḥaṣīr*. A prince, remains a prince, even (if he lives) on a mat. *Hî ‘al-ḥaṣīreh*, "he is on the bare mat" is an idiom denoting complete poverty. ʾAmīr stands for "a noble person". The different proverbs connected with *ḥaṣīreh* show clearly its importance in the household of the peasant. A mat as the only cover for the floor is a sign of great poverty. In such a case the guest is asked to seat himself on the mat and not on the floor. Richer families spread beddings on the mat to honour special guests.

39. *Balā ‘azimeh barrā l-ḥaṣīreh*. (O thou who comest) without an invitation (remain) outside the mat. BAUER, *Volksleben*, p. 225, No. 37.

40. *Binuṭṭ min el-quffeh ladīnehā*. He jumps from the (bottom) of the basket to its handles (i.e. to the highest part). BAUER, *op. cit.*, No. 67. He wants to attain the highest goal in one jump.

41. *Biqūm quffeh ubyuqʿud qafīr,<sup>1</sup> ʾāḥirtuh êṣ bidduh ʾiṣīr?* He stands up as a small basket and sits down as a large one. What will become of him in the long run?

42. *Faqīreh unafshā kbīreh qāʿdeh ‘al-ḥaṣīreh ubtiṣrab ʾargīleh*. She is poor but proud. While she sits (from sheer poverty) on a mat she nevertheless smokes a water-pipe. *Nafsuh kbīreh* denotes always groundless pride. Stupid conceit.

43. *Min kiṭr el-ʿibādeh ṣārḥā masbahah usidjdjâdeh*. From excessive worship she has acquired a rosary and a praying carpet.

44. *Illī ʾaʿākum bil-qafīr yaʿṣīnā bil-quffeh*. May the one who gave you (abundantly) with the big basket give us with the small

<sup>1</sup> A *quffeh* is a small basket used for carrying stones, earth, etc. *Qafīr* is a large basket (more or less like a sack) used for rice, sugar, etc.

basket. E. LITTMANN, *Morgenländ. Spruchweisheit*, p. 1, gives this proverb wrongly in the opposite order. A proverb with the same meaning is *illi yaʿṣākum bil-maghrafah yaʿṣīnā biz-zalafeh*. May the One who gave you (abundantly) with the large ladle, give us with a small spoon. *Zalafeh* means really shell. In Galilee it denotes a spoon, perhaps because the simplest spoons were made with a shell and a wooden handle.

### III. NEEDLE, THREAD, STRING.

45. *El-ʿibreh mā btišmil hētēn uil-qalb mā biysaʿ tintēn*. The (eye of the) needle cannot take two threads (at the same time), neither has the heart place for two (loves). Math. 6<sup>24</sup>.

46. *Biṭaʿmih ʿibreh ubiharrih msalleh*. He gives him a small needle to eat and expects him to excrete a dorning needle. His gifts are calculated with a view to large profit.

47. *Kull mā bartāʿ ʿidjil bniftilluh tūrās*.<sup>1</sup> Whenever a calf gets wild (frets around) we twist (i.e. we use) for him a (new) 'reed' rope. Cf. *fōris il-ʿidjil*, bind the calf by its horns.

48. *El-malsūʿ (el-maqrūs, el-maʿqūs. or el-maldūgh) biḥāf min djarret el-ḥabl*. A person bitten (by a serpent) fears the trailing of a rope (thinking it a snake). EINSLER, 176; BAUER, *Volkleben*, No. 156; BAUMANN, No. 171, adds after *el-maqrūs* the word *min el-ḥaiyeh*, which is not necessary.

49. *ʿImsik el-ḥēt umuṭṭuh ukull min ʿalēh šī ʿihuṭṭuh*. Take hold of the string and draw it long, and every one who owes something (to another) should pay it back. Let us discuss the difficulty at length and let every one acknowledge his mistakes. JEWETT, 232.

50. *Qēd el-ʾahl rummeh*<sup>2</sup> *uqēd edj-djōz min ḥadīd*. The fetters of the parents are a worn-out rope, but those of the husband are iron. The husband is never so considerate as the parents.

51. *Bahlwānēn ʿalā ḥabl mā bil-ʿabūs*. Two rope-dancers cannot play (at the same time) on one (and the same) rope. The opposite is the English proverb "You can not dance on two ropes".

52. *El-ḥabl maʿ ez-zamān biyqtaʿ ḥarzet el-bīr*. The rope (with which water is drawn) in time cuts through the stone opening of the cistern. *Ḥarzeh* denotes originally a bead. TALLQVIST, *Arabische*

<sup>1</sup> *Tūrās* is unknown to HAVA and BELOT.

<sup>2</sup> *Rummeh*, piece of rope, worn out; head rope (HAVA).

*Sprichwörter und Spiele*, No. 41. With perseverance one attains the most difficult things.

53. *Qasamū l-ḥarieh (i)bhēt*. They divided human excrement with a thread. Describing stingy people. BAUMANN, No. 460.

54. *Qāl lēs bturkuḍ uft ʾidak maraṣ. Qāl ṣihr ṣihr ṣihr<sup>1</sup> ʾistarā faras*. He asked: 'Why are you running with a rope in your hand?' He answered: 'My brother in law's brother in law's brother in law has bought a mare'. Description of a person who mixes himself with the business of others. It also has more or less the meaning of the German saying "sich mit anderen Federn schmücken".

55. *Ṣār lazrēneh bēt ukak̄tēn bhēt baḍ el-bard widj-djwāḥ ṣāriḥā sukkarah umuftāḥ*. Zrēneh has (at last) a house and two cakes (bound) on a thread. After the cold and the days of weeping she possesses (now) a lock and a key.<sup>2</sup> About such persons who forget easily their former poor and strained conditions.

#### IV. WOOL, COTTON, LINEN.

56. *Ṣufnā l-kalb ʿalā ḡahrūḥ ṣūf ḥasabnāḥ ḥarīf*. We saw the dog with wool on its back and thought it was a sheep. STEPHAN, *JPOS*, v, p. 134, No. 480. External appearance may deceive.

57. *Ahl el-balad ḥasadu l-kalb ʿaṣūfuh*. The villagers envied the dog for his wool. Envy without reason. STEPHAN, *l.c.*, No. 479.

58. *Es-samrah libb et-ṭamrah udjūḥah ḥamrah ʿalā kif es-sultān*. The dark girl is the core of the date and a red cloth on the shoulders of the sultan. BAUER, *Das Pal. Arabisch*, p. 181, No. 3. A slightly dark complexion is called *qamḥī* and is liked.

59. *Kull ḥirqah uilhā ḥilqah*. Every rag has its (characteristic) appearance. *Ḥirqah* stands also for a cloth worn by peasant women on the head (called also *tarbīʿah*). BURCKHARDT, No. 552 has the following proverb connected with *ḥirqah*: *kull wāḥed fī sūquḥ bibī ʿhrūquḥ*. "Every one sells his rags in his (own) market," every one tries to display his good qualities among his own friends. A *ḥirqah*

<sup>1</sup> *Sihr* means kinsman, son-in-law and brother-in-law (the husband of a sister).

<sup>2</sup> The following classical sayings belong to this chapter: II, 282, أنفذ من ابرة; I, 391, كالابرة تكسو الناس واستها; I, 107, ابني من ابرة; II, 108, M, من نهشته الحية حذر الرس الابلق; II, 246, عاروة; II, 345, أسنه مفكك; II, 338, بجمع سيرين; II 33, M, في راسه خيط; في خرزة.

is also used for the overcoat of the *darāwiš*, especially that characteristic of an "order".

60. *Tōb quṭnī umlūtak yā baṭnī u'alā l-mōt mā ḥadā ysbaqnī* (var. for p. 204). (My only wish in this world is to have nothing but a garment of cotton (i.e. very cheap dress) and a full stomach. (Having had these blessings) nobody should reach death before me. BAUER, *Volksleben*, No. 58, has only the first part.

61. *Bis-sūq djūh ufrā ubid-dār laṭṭāmāt bil-kirā*. (They wear in the market (i.e. while they are out of the house) cloth and fur, but at home they are paid mourners. Paid mourners belong to a despised profession.

62. *'Ammā ḥakī zaiy 'alk el-libbād 'ar-rīq'* (var. for p. 4). Chatter like the chewing of felt the first thing on the morning (on an empty stomach). Nonsense talk.

63. *Min ḥasrethum 'aṣ-ṣūf tẓannarū (i)bbkanāruh*.<sup>2</sup> Out of their excessive passion for woolen cloth they girded themselves with its border.

64. *Bidnā (i)nquṣṣ 'an ḍahrak mir'iz*.<sup>3</sup> We shall cut from your back wool of good quality. Taking advantage of others.

65. *Djībūhum (i)btammūz uliffūhum bil-firā*. Bring (beget) them (i.e. the children) in July (one of the hottest months of the year) and wrap them in furs. To people who boast of doing much and do yet nothing.

66. *Labbasūk el-fira ḍalamūk lā libsak walā libs abūk*. They treated you wrongly when they dressed you with furs, for it is neither your's nor your father's dress. DALMAN gives on p. 245 an abbreviated form. Of a person who undeservedly is placed (or places himself) in a higher social class than that to which he belongs.

67. *Bḥarir mā tādjart ušāmī mā 'āṣart uḥalabī mā šārakt ukif inkasart?* You never traded in silk nor associated with a Damascene nor were a partner of an Aleppian, so how did you become bankrupt? Trading with silk has been always a very uncertain business. Aleppo and Damascene merchants are regarded as very able and cunning.

<sup>1</sup> *'Ar-rīq* is best translated by the German "nüchtern."

<sup>2</sup> A Persian word used extensively in Arabic. BAUER, *ZDPV*, XXI, pp. 129 ff., No. 171 has a variation, which I believe is a misunderstanding of the proverb.

<sup>3</sup> *Mir'iz* is unknown to HAVA and BELOT.



68.- *Qālū lat-tōr lamnā tmūt binkaffnak bharīr qāl in dall djildī ‘alaiyé ghanimeh.* They said to the ox: ‘we shall shroud you in a silken shroud’. He answered: ‘My only real gain is when my own skin remains on my body’. BURCKHARDT, 521, gives a variation. JEWETT, 64. Said of a person who in transacting a business promises much, while in reality he intends only his own profit, even if he hurts the interests of the other party.

69. *ʾAuwal uff lā tilbis el-kittān fōq eṣ-ṣilf,  
lānī uff lā tmadjdjid nafsak uinī maʿrif,  
tālet uff lā tāhuṣ gharībeh ubint ‘ammak kšif.*

The first “uff” (an exclamation expressing dissatisfaction and difficulty): do not wear linen over wool; the second “uff”: do not praise yourself while you are well known; the third “uff”: do not take a strange girl (for a wife) while your paternal cousin sees it (i.e. while she is still to be had).

70. *Kbirū yā Nānā uilbisī kittānah uinsitī maṣī l-hafī min ḥānah laḥānah.* You got big, O Nānā, and have put on linen clothes, but you have forgotten the times when you walked barefooted from house to house. Nānā means also ‘darling’ (Turk). About those who when they get rich forget their poor past condition.

71. *Eṣ-ṣaʿr lauṯ fih ḥēr mā ṭilī ‘alā dnāb el-ḥēl.* If there was any good (benefit to be derived) from hair it would not have grown on horses’ tails. For those who boast of a good growth of hair. HARFOUCH, *Le Dragoman Arabe*, p. 337, No. 6. A proverb declaring the opposite is *eṣ-ṣaʿr masāmīr el-‘aql (el-muḥḥ)*. “Hairs are the nails of knowledge (brain)”.

72. *El-faqīreh šū biddhā twarrīṭ lawlādhā? edj-djūh illī ‘al-ḥabl uillā l-ḥēl illī fiṣ-ṣṭabl.<sup>1</sup>* What is a poor woman going to leave to her children (as an inheritance)? The cloth spread on the rope, or the horses in the stable?

73. *In ilbist ilbis ḥarīr uin (i)‘šiqṭ i‘ṣaq ʾamīr uin ‘aiyarūk tihriz et-taʿyīr.* If you dress, dress in silk and if you fall in love, fall in love with a prince(ess) and if they reproach you be reproached for something worth while. Do things in style.

74. *Niyāl mīn ghazlat kittānhā udjābat banāthā qabl ṣubyānhā.* Happy is the woman who spins her own linen and who brings

<sup>1</sup> *Muḥit*, L, 26, says *يقال الاصطبل بالسين ومعناه في الاصل اليوناني موقف*.



forth her daughters before her sons. CANAAN, *JPOS*, 1931, p. 175, note 5. The Prophet is said to have taught<sup>1</sup> *بارك الله بامرأة بكرت بابنة*. These two proverbs, as several others, are used to counteract the belief in the inferiority of girls, especially first born girls.

75. *En-nār fākhet eš-šitā uidj-djūh libš el-fatā*. Fire is the fruit (i.e. the beauty) of winter and (thick woollen) cloth is the dress of a young man. Var. to DALMAN, p. 246. Not *fakiet* with LANDBERG, No. 98, for even when the 'h' is not distinctly pronounced it never disappears completely.

76. *Ša'rah min danab (īz) el-ḥanzīr maksab (barakeh)*. A hair from the tail (or hind quarters) of a pig is gain (a blessing). EINSLER, 154. TALQVIST, 82, gives *ša'rah min īz iblīs maksab*. The least thing from a stingy (or bad) person is a gain. The high Arabic language has *شعرة من خنزير مكسب*, FREYTAG, *Arabum Proverbia*, III, 1.

77. *Šabāh eš-šūq ḥaqq ušabāh es-salabāh ghalabah*. The morning of the girl (lit. 'slit', i.e. the vagina) is a good omen (lit. good, right), while the morning of the boy (lit. 'thread', i.e. penis) means difficulty. CANAAN, *JPOS*, XI, p. 175. See also No. 74. *Muḥit*, I, 976, writes *السلام عند العامة ما غزل من الشرائق المبلولة - السلب من القصبه قشرها وليف المقل والحاء شجر في اليمن يعمل منه الحبال*.<sup>2</sup>

#### V. SEWING AND CUTTING CLOTHES.

78. *Hal-ḥalq binbilluh uil-tōb binšilluh uil-mōt aqrah min ḥādā kulluh*. This throat can be moistened and this garment can be seamed but (the fact is that) death is nearer (to men) than all these things.

79. *Et-tōb illi bitfašsluh ihnā bnilibsuh*. The garment which you cut out we shall put on. Your advice and decision will be blindly followed.

80. *Qabl mā tfašsil qis aḥsan mā tiqa' fil-baliyeh uyš'ab 'alēk et-tahlīš*. Measure before you cut out (the cloth for a dress) in order that you should not fall in difficulty and thus it becomes

<sup>1</sup> *JPOS*, VII, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> The following proverbs are classical: I, 432, *العلوف مولع بالصوف*; I, 217, *لا افضل كذا ما بل البحر صوفه وما ان في الفرات قطرة*; II, 162, *خرقاء وجدت صوفا*; II, 272, *احتاج الى الصوفة*; I, 211, M, *الحروف يتقلب على الصوف*; I, 218, *نقط وطقن اسرع احتراقا*; II, 10, *من جز كلبه*; II, 336, *اغزل من عنكبوت - اغزل من سرقة*; II, 93, *كدودة القز*; II, 93, *مع المجوزين*.

difficult to get out (of trouble). Think before you act. A variation is *qabl mā tghūṣ qīs* . . . . .

81. *Ghabbar et-tīn uqarqa<sup>c</sup> wrēquh rauwah en-nāṣīr yraqqī<sup>c</sup> ḥlēquh*. The figs are over and their leaves have rustled down. The watchman goes home to mend his rags. CANAAN, *Folklore of the Seasons*, JPOS, iii, p. 33.

82. *Hadd en-nuṣṣ faṣṣil uquṣṣ*. In the Middle Sunday of Lent fashion and cut out a dress. A variation is *ḥadd en-nuṣṣ illī mā qaṣṣiṣ iquṣṣ*. On Middle Sunday every one who has not yet cut out (a dress) must do it. Both in CANAAN, JPOS, iii, 34. The Orientals used to order new clothes only at special occasions, like feasts, weddings, etc.

83. *Edj-djū<sup>c</sup> ʿallamnī s-saqḏāh uil-ʿirī ʿallamnī l-ḥidāh*. Hunger has taught me meanness, and nakedness has taught me sewing. More or less like the German: "Not hilft Beten".<sup>1</sup>

84. *ʿA<sup>c</sup>īū d-dibb ḥarīr ikibb* (var. for p. 57). They gave silk threads to the bear to wind the same into a ball. There are several proverbs about the bear with the same meaning, see STEPHAN, JPOS, v, Nos. 115, 119, 122.

85. *Djōz eṭ-ṭawīleh biquṣṣ ubitbāhā udjōz el-qaṣṭreh biqūl el-faḏīleh bitkfāhā*. The husband of the tall (wife) cuts out (all necessary clothes) for her and boasts (of her beautiful long stature) while the husband of the short one exclaims: '(she has) virtues which suffice her.' A tall stature is regarded as a sign of beauty. The husband of a short wife consoles himself with her 'virtues'.

86. *Tamm el-qōl bikasr en-nōl*. Conversation has come to an end by breaking the loom. Conversation has made a big difference.<sup>2</sup>

#### VI. PARTS OF DRESS.

87. *Haṭ-ṭōb mnīḥ walākin ḥaṣīwtuh ʿaṭleh*. This garment is good but its lining is bad (Safed). A good looking person without real value.

<sup>1</sup> F.H. WEISSBACH, *Beiträge zur Kunde des Irak-Arab.*, No. 222, gives the following proverb, the real meaning of which he completely missed: *lōlā l-mraqqīn hilk l-kadḏbīn*. He translates: "Gäbe es nicht solche (die Lügen) bestätigen, so würden die Lügner zugrunde gehen". It should be: "Were it not for those who patch (the faults of the liars) the liars would have perished all".

<sup>2</sup> Some classical saying of this category are: I, 9, *ان ذوات الشق ان تحوصه*; II, 282, *انفذ من خياط*.

88. *Ḥaiyé min baiyé miḥ es-swār fī daiyé ḥaiyé min ʿummī miḥ el-hawā fī kummī* (or *miḥ el-maḥṭah ʿakummī*). My brother from my father is like an arm-ring on my wrist, while my brother from my mother is (no more) than wind in my sleeve (or snot on my sleeve).<sup>1</sup> My brother from my father belongs to the same family while that from my mother belongs to another family with different interests. A proverb denoting more or less the same is *ʿuḥtén ʿuntén*. "Two sisters (will give rise to) two (different) clans", which clans need in no way be on friendly terms.

89. *Qaddēs (i)bdjēbtak halqad (i)btiswā*. You are worth what you have in your pocket.

90. *Fulān mā biyaʿraf tummuḥ min kummuḥ*. So-and-so does not know his mouth from his sleeve. Complete ignorance.

91. *Šāfat widjih ṭalbat bṭāneh*. No sooner did she see the cloth then she asked for a lining. Greediness.<sup>2</sup> *Šāfat widjih, fardjāhā widjih*, mean also 'she received kindness', 'he showed her kindness'.

92. *Tummhā bisaqqiḥ udēlhā bilaqqiḥ*. Her mouth lets every thing fall out (paralyzed or toothless) and her dress (is so long that it) gathers (the rubbish from the street). Ugly and pretentious.

93. *Ḥabbī bintak fī kummak walā tamin ʿalēhā ʿummak* (var. for p. 307). Hide your daughter in your sleeve and do not entrust her (even) to your mother. The supervision of daughters should be the duty of the father. To hide something in the sleeve means to have it continually under supervision.

94. *In qult nār mā btiḥriq tummī uin qult dahab ma bitmallī kummī*. You do not burn my mouth by saying 'fire', nor fill my sleeve by saying 'gold'. Threats and promises without any result. BAUMANN, *ZDPV*, xxxix, No. 309.

95. *ʿUmmak kummak quṣṣuḥ biziḥ hammak*. Your mother is (like) your sleeve. Cut it off and your anxiety (trouble) will disappear. Trouble arises often between a wife and her mother-in-law.

96. *Mā kull mīn ṣaff ṣawānū ṣār ḥalawānū walā kull mīn qammaṭat qamṭah ṣārat marah*. Not everyone who sets the plates in order becomes a sweetmaker, nor every woman who swaddles (a child) is a (proper) wife. *JPOS*, xvi, p. 59.

<sup>1</sup> A proverb showing the relation of grandchildren to their grandparents is *ʿibn ʿibni ʿili ʿibn binti lā*. The son of my son is (belongs) to me (to my family), but not the son of my daughter (as he belongs to the tribe of his father).

<sup>2</sup> LANDBERG, No. 189, heard in Sidon *el-bṭdneh tsallem ʿadj-djēb*.

97. *Sibbuh bta<sup>c</sup>raf illi fi 'ibbuh*. Curse him and you will know what he keeps in (the pocket of) his breast. 'Ibb is the empty space above the girdle and between the shirt and the *qumbáz* (or between the shirt and the body). When a person is angry he reveals his character.

98. *Faltat dikket (i)lbásuh min hyásuh*. His trouser string got loose from his nervous movements. *Bihís* he is ticklish. He shows his faults when he is irritated.<sup>1</sup>

#### VII. KINDS OF DRESS.

99. *Lólā l-<sup>c</sup>amāym mā šufnā kanāyn*.<sup>2</sup> Were it not for the head dress of the *šéhs* we should have never seen a daughter-in-law.

100. *Y<sup>c</sup>iš uiqta<sup>c</sup> barābiš*. May he (the baby) live and tear many clothes (lit. rags).

101. *El-marāh illhā lōb idjurr uḥābieh thurr*. A woman has to have (only) a dress that drags (i.e. a good one) and a granary flowing (with grain).

102. *Djinkiyeh<sup>3</sup> ukōfaliyeh<sup>4</sup> mā a<sup>c</sup>zam el-baliyeh*. A gypsy cymbal player and swaddling clothes (i.e. who has a child) — what a great calamity!

103. *Lēs šāsak ṭawil yābn ḥālti? Alā l-ḥarā yābn uḥti*. Why is your muslin so long, O my cousin (the son of my mother's sister)? For no reason whatsoever (lit. excrements), O son of my sister. Groundless pride.

104. *Kull 'umruh hal-badawī min ḡēr haš-šāš*. This Beduin has been all his life without this muslin. Applicable to those who give themselves airs above their rank.

105. *Djārieh bidjwār uḥunufseh (i)b'izār*. A maid servant with servants and a blackbeetle (i.e. an ugly woman) with an *izār*. As the preceding.

106. *In ṭiqthā šaqqat 'izārḥā uid-dōrah 'adjam<sup>c</sup> eš-šaml*. If I put

<sup>1</sup> The following are classical: II, 244, *بالما* من فسدت بطاته كان كمن غص<sup>c</sup>; I, 437, *فارقيه* عندك وهي<sup>c</sup>; II, 256, M, *من أنت في الرقة*; II, 109, M, *كلب مبطن بخنزير*; II, 283, M, *النأي في كمي* والريح في في.

<sup>2</sup> A classical proverb is *المائم كالمائم والعلم عند الله*.

<sup>3</sup> A well known Arabic word of Persian origin.

<sup>4</sup> Unknown to HAVA and BELOT. *Muḥit*, II, 1856, says it is a colloquial expression.

up with her (character and manners) she (at once) tears her *ʿizār* (a sign of her irritable character) though my only desire is peace (lit. union). The Egyptians have a var., see BURCKHARDT, No. 56.

107. *ʿĀṣiq balā māl ʿtarbūš balā dāiyr*. A lover without any penny and his *tarbūš* has not a rim. Complete poverty.

108. *Es-saneh (i)bʿadārḥā uil-marah (i)bʿizārḥā*. The (fertility of the) year is determined by (the quantity of rain of) its March and the woman is known (if good or bad) by her *ʿizār*. CANAAN, *Kalender*, ZDPV, xxxvi, pp. 266 ff.

109. *ʿAlā qīstuh<sup>1</sup> lābis bištuh.<sup>2</sup>* He wears his cloak on his (bare) skin. A sign of complete poverty.

110. *ʿĀrat djibbithā lamḥabbithā ulāqat el-bard (i)bluqbithā*. She lent her cloak to her friend and met the cold with her (naked) buttocks. *Tuqbeh* means lit. anus. Anyone who thinks more of others than of himself will suffer.

111. *Yilbaq laš-šūḥah mardjūḥah uladj-djamal šaḥšīr (yilbaq laš-šūḥah mardjūḥah ulʿabū brēš qubqāb)*. A var. for p. 293. A sea-saw fits a vulture (here *šūḥah* stands for a bad woman) and for the camel wide trousers. (A sea-saw fits a vulture and wooden shoes a gecko). *Abū brēš* is in the classical *أبارص*. The second variation is mentioned by several authors, see STEPHAN, No. 820.

112. *Djibbithā ḥamrā uburquḥā wardī*. Her coat is red and her veil is pink. She wears attractive colours.

113. *Allah ʿihiddak yā ʿizār šū ʿinnak gharrār bišūḥā qubbeh ʿalié btiḥsibḥā mazār*. May God destroy you, O *ʿizār*, what a great deceiver you are. One sees (you as a) high dome (cupola) and deems you a sanctuary (while in reality you may cover a hog or even a woman of bad reputation). STEPHAN, No. 693.

114. *Kundarethā bil-ʿatabeh uizārḥā ʿal-qaṣabeh*. Her shoe is (always) on the threshold and her *ʿizār* is hung on the reed. An untidy woman.

115. *El-bint bšāš uīṣ-ṣabī bšāš wid-dōrah ʿala-llī balāš*. The girl wears a muslin and the boy has also muslin. But the (whole) idea is to get something for nothing. Compare with *fiš ʿiṣī balāš illā l-ʿamā uīṣ-ṣrāš*. Nothing is gratis except blindness and deafness.

116. *Labbasūk el-bantalōn uīṣuḥḥ min wēn yā Mhammadén*. They

<sup>1</sup> Unknown to Muḥit.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥit, I, 95, *عابه واسعة*.

have dressed you up in trousers. How will you make water now O Muhammad? *Mḥammadén* is a term of endearment for Muḥammad.

117. *Irfas taqítak lafôq 'ind 'uqû'chā faradj*. Lift up your (cotton under-) cap (so as to appear young and strong). (Do not worry) relief will come should it fall down.

118. *In dārū 'alék itnén qalabū taqítak*. If two go at you they will (persuade you to) turn your cap inside out.

119. *In nām 'aduwak ghaḥlīh (i)mandil*. If your enemy goes to sleep cover him with a veil. Do not attack your enemy while he is unaware.

120. *Burnētet baiyak bsabi' mazārib*. Your father's hat has seven water spouts (Lebanon).

121. *El-barāṭīl biḥill (bitfikk) es-sarāwīl*. Bribes open even trousers. With money one attains everything.

122. *Er-ridjdjāl balā slaḥ zaīy l-marah balā lbās*. A man without weapon is like a woman without clothes. Although *lbās* means also a pair of trousers, it stands here for clothes, for trousers have only been used by the peasants for the last 40-50 years.

123. *Krihtak miḥl el-qamiš el-wisīh*. I hate you like a dirty shirt. LANDBERG, No. 4.

124. *Rākib edj-djamal uldbis taqiyet el-ḥifā*. (You are) riding a camel and wearing the cap which makes one invisible. Something impossible. STEPHAN, 602.

125. *El-marah bidj-djīlḥ wil-firā uir-ridjdjāl biṣṭghil bil-kirā*. The wife (is dressed) with (thick woollen) cloth and fur while the husband is a (poor) labourer.

126. *Illī mā 'ilhā 'izār btuftuq el-malḥafeh*. (The woman) who has no 'izār will unsew a bed sheet (which is sewn to a quilt cotton cover, and use this wrapper as an 'izār). CANAAN, JPOS, xi, p. 185. Formerly the colour of 'izārs was mostly white and bed sheets are white.<sup>1</sup>

#### VIII. CUSHION, COVER.

127. *Yā 'arīs lā ḥāf bizz mḥaddeh bizz (e)lḥāf*. O bridegroom never fear (meaning 'rejoice'); One breast (of your bride will serve

<sup>1</sup> The following are classical proverbs belonging to this category: I, 80, M, *كانه حكاية خلف الازار*; I, 325, M, *سراويله في زيفه*; II, 108, M, *اي قيص لا يصلح للعريان*; I, 406, M, *طريق الاصلح على اصحاب القلانس*.

you) as a cushion and the other as a quilt coverlet. The bride is stout and thus agreeable. The Orientals used to prefer stout wives.

128. *Bistād ghēm ubisawī malāḥif* (or *bistād min el-ghēm malāḥif*). He hunts clouds and makes them into quilt coverlets. He does a useless work.

129. *Nāiym zaiy ṣahl el-kahf lā farsēh walāḥif*. He sleeps like the people of the cave (the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus), without bedding or coverlet.

130. *Allah yrham ṣahl el-mōdah illi ḥallafū lal-qird ṣiddeh, kān ihuṭṭ rāsuh ṣalā ḥadjar ṣārluh dōšak umḥaddch*. God have mercy on the fashionable folk who bequeathed to the monkey (i.e. a worthless person) an outfit. He used to put his head (when retiring to sleep) on a stone, but now he has a mattress (short for sitting, not long enough to lie on) and a cushion. *Ṣiddeh* means literally a set of tools and also the saddle and the bridles for an animal.

131. *El-wallūdeh in djābat walad qadd el-muftūḥ bimallī l-bēt frāḥ nin djābat bneiyeh qadd el-mḥaddeh btinzal ṣal-bēt ḥamdeh*. If the delivering woman gives birth to a boy, be he small as a key, he fills the house with joy; if she delivers a baby girl, be she large as a cushion, sorrow descends on the house. *Bneiyeh* is the diminutive of *ibnat*. *JPOS*, vii, 161.

132. *Illī btibṣid mḥaddethā btibṣid maḥabbithā*. She who moves her cushion away (from her husband) moves her love away too.

133. *Bēn mā tqim es-sitt min farsithā bitkūn el-ḥarfūšeh mākleh ṣadjnethā*. Before the lady of the house has got out of her bed, the horridan has eaten her dough.

134. *Faraštillak taḥt min wēn adjiblak buḥt*. I have made you up a bed (a diwan), but whence shall I bring you good fortune? I can do only what is in human power.

135. *Ḥāmed uḥilū tabaḥtillak, fōq utaḥt faraštillak utariq et-tabbān mā ḥasabtillak*. Sour and sweet food I cooked for you; up (i.e. on the roof) and down (i.e. in the room) I made up a bed for you; but I did not reckon with the Milky Way. It is said by someone who has done his utmost to please, but failed; especially by a woman whose husband is never pleased with her. The origin of this proverb is said to be the following story. A man had two wives, one was young and beautiful but silly and lazy, while the other was older, less attractive but industrious and sensible.



The first, wishing to get her husband for herself, worried him to get rid of the other by divorce. Finally he gave in and promised her to divorce the second wife. It was the turn of the older wife to look after her husband on a hot summer's day. When he came to supper and noticed that there was only cooked food on the table, he exclaimed angrily: 'You know that I like sweets; why have'nt you made some? You are divorced!' To this, she answered: 'Do not get angry, it is ready', and produced various dishes of sweets. His plan was frustrated. At bed time he shouted: 'You are a useless wife. Do you want me to stifle in this stuffy room? You ought to have spread the bedding on the roof where it is cooler. You are divorced.' Quietly she answered: 'Don't be hasty, my dear, there is bedding ready on the roof. You have only to say what you want'. He had lost the battle again. While lying on the roof, he looked at the Milky Way shining in the sky, and asked: 'What is that?' 'Ṭarīq et-tabbān (the road of the straw-man),' she answered. 'It is said, O abū . . ., that a camel driver had several camels loaded with straw, which he was taking to the dwellers in the stars. On his way some of the straw was blown by the wind and it still marks his way. And there it is shining still'. The husband had found an excuse at last to get rid of his wife. 'May you be divorced', he shouted. 'You brought me hither on purpose that the falling straw should blind me'. Thereupon she answered with the above proverb.

136. *El-bu<sup>c</sup>bu<sup>c</sup><sup>1</sup> (el-qird<sup>2</sup>) fil-farṣeh uid-dahḥ fiṣ-ṣandūq.* The scarecrow lies (with you) in (the same) bed, while the beautiful things (clothes and bridal presents) are in the trunk. Said about a man who marries an ugly girl for the sake of her money.

137. *Zaiy fūtet el-ḥammām kull yôm awaṣṭ ars.* (You are) like a bath-towel every day wrapped on the waist of a (fresh) procurer (of women). Of a person who is continually in bad company.

138. *El-ḥanāfis biṭ-ṭanāfis<sup>3</sup> uil-bakāwāt balā ghaṭā.* The beetles (i.e. mean persons) are wrapped in (costly) carpets while those of

<sup>1</sup> *Bu<sup>c</sup>bu<sup>c</sup>* is the hobgoblin with which children are frightened.

<sup>2</sup> *Qird* denotes here beside a demon (CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube*) also an ugly woman.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṭanāfis* is a Persian word. The following classical proverb belongs to this group: كالساقط بين الفراشين.



the better class are without any cover. STEPHAN, 953. Injustice of the world.

## IX. LEATHER, SHOES.

139. *Mīl mā btaʿmal el-ʿanzeh bil-ʿafš biyaʿmal el-ʿafš fī djildhā.* What the goat does with the gall-nut (i.e. it destroys it) the gall-nut does with it (the skin of the goat). Var. for p. 188. What you do to me I will do to you. BURCKHARDT, 659, gives *el-qard* for *el-ʿafš*. Math. 7<sup>12</sup>.

140. *Šū l-fäydeh min en-naflh fī qirbeh mahzûqah.* What is the use of blowing in a water-skin that has a hole. Var. for p. 187. Useless work.

141. *Fulân biqidd edj-djild min wastuh.* So-and-so divides the leather in the middle. His advice and action are radical.

142. *Sant el-qaṣā bīʿ el-waṣā wištrī ghaṣā* In the year when the peewits are abundant sell the shoes and buy a blanket. CANAAN, *ZDPL*, xxxvi, pp. 266 ff.

143. *El-maʿrûf maḥā mīl el-ṭasneh fil-babûdj.* Doing her a kindness is (has no more effect than) stabbing a wooden shoe. She does not appreciate kindness.

144. *Es-skâfî ḥâfî uil-ḥâyk ʿariân ubêt en-nabî birʿn fih el-firân.* The shoe-maker goes barefoot and the weaver naked, and the mice flock in the house of the prophet. Var. for p. 137.

145. *ʾIlbis kundarah nišlah kundarah tatidjî kundarah ʿa-idjrah.* Put on a shoe and take off a shoe until you find a shoe that fits your foot. Var. for p. 355.

146. *Djrinā lahfinā u(i)bkînā laʿminā.* We ran (and ran) until we became barefoot; we wept until we became blind. We have tried everything but in vain.

147. *Rahûwet el-ḥzâm btûriṭ ed-dabar.* The looseness of the girdle (of a saddle) causes wounds. Carelessness causes trouble.

148. *Kaff mā bilâṭim mahraz.* Hand cannot fight (lit. continue to slap) an awl.

149. *ʾInsît yā fallâh illi kunt fih kaʿbak el-mašqûq uil-wahl illi fih.*<sup>1</sup> O peasant, have you forgotten how you were: your cracked heel and the mud in it? Heel may mean the heel of the foot as

<sup>1</sup> الحوري بولس قراةلي . الامثال العامية . المجلة السورية السنة ٣ ، العدد ٩ ، صفحة ٦١٦

well as that of the shoe. Of a poor man who has become rich and forgotten his former condition:

150. *Uḥtuh ḥaff uḥdltuh ḥāfieh uil-miqlāqah lā-nʿaṭat ʿāfieh*. His sister is naked, his aunt (the sister of the mother) barefoot, may no health come to her who causes the trouble (i.e. the mother-in-law).

151. *Lā tiškī babbilak uisʿyūni maliāneh dmūt, in kānat ʿawlādak ḥāfieh ʿawlādī maitīn djūt*. Do not complain to me (about your sad condition) for I have also to complain (lit. weep) in your presence, and my eyes are full of tears. If your children are barefoot mine are starving.

152. *Ibn el-markīb bidduh laqq biṣ-ṣurmāy*. The son of the shoe (a mean person) has to be slapped with the shoe.

153. *Libsat el-bābūdī bidjrēhā l-ʿūdī udjōzhā l-maflūdī yiblāh bil-ʿamā*. On her twisted feet she has wooden shoes, (it only remains) for her paralyzed husband to become blind. An incomplete variation is given by DALMAN on p. 355. BAUER, *ZDPV*, xxi, p. 129, No. 78, gives a variation.

154. *Fil-widjh mrāy ufil-qafā ṣurmāy*. In front a mirror (i.e. when facing you) but a shoe behind (i.e. he kicks you when you can not see what he is doing). Of a person who is two-faced. EINSLER, 18, gives *mīdrāy* instead of *ṣurmāy*.

155. *ʿIdjruh mā fihā madās (some say ilbās) ušākel šakleh*. He has not a shoe for his foot (or a pair of trousers in his legs), but he carries a bouquet of flowers. BAUER, *Volksleben*, No. 26.

156. *Edj-djild illī (i)mallaḥ mā biʿammil*. The skin which is salted will not suppurate (easily when it is wounded). Therefore a new-born child is anointed with oil in which fine powdered salt has been dissolved. This is believed to strengthen the skin and enable it to resist external forces. Ez. 16<sup>4</sup>. CANAAN, *JPOS*, vii, 163.

157. *Lā laḥmak bit-tākal walā djildak bitsakkaf*. Your meat can not be eaten, nor your leather be worked into shoes. You are completely worthless. STEPHAN, 984.

158. *Bidduh rghif min djild dʿif*. He wants a loaf of bread from a weak (poor) skin (person). F.H. WEISSBACH, *Beiträge zur Kunde d. Irak-Arab.*, No. 271. You can not extract blood from a stone. In some places we hear the idioms *djilduh dʿif* or *laḥimtuḥ rqiḡah* (his skin is thin and his flesh lean) to denote poverty.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some classical proverbs belonging to this group are: II, 271, نعلك شر من

## X. SIEVE.

159. *Illī mā bišūf min el-ghurbāl ʿaʿmā*. The person who does not see through a grain sieve is blind. Indicates a person who is slow to take a hint.

160. *Iš-šams mā bitghattā bil-ghurbāl*. The sun can not be covered by a grain sieve. The good actions of a person can not be hidden.

161. *Lōlā munhlik nghurbālik mā ʿrifā bāb dārik*. Were it not for your grain- and flour-sieves, I would never have known the door of your house. Need for mutual help brings people together.

162. *Yā ʿimʿammeh r-rdjal yā hāttah l-moy sil-ghurbāl*. O thou who trusteth men, O thou (i.e. you are like a person) who placeth water in a grain sieve.

163. *Mā biḥliʿ ʿēb el-qamḥ illā l-ghurbāl umā biḥliʿ ʿēb el-marah illā r-riddjāl*. It takes a sieve to reveal the faults (adulterations) of wheat, and a man to reveal those of a woman.

164. *Illī biḡharbil en-nās binahhlūh*. A person who sifts people with a grain sieve will be sifted by them with a flour sieve. SOGIN, *Arab. Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, ZDMG, xxxvii, No. 192. The classical proverb is من غربل الناس نخلوه (II, 247). See Matth. 7<sup>2</sup>; Luke 6<sup>37-38</sup>.

## XI. SHROUD, ḤURDJ.

165. *Lauw mānī rakkabtak ʿalā dahrī (really zahri) mā šuft šī fī ḥurdjī*. Had I not let you ride on my back, you would never have seen what is in my saddle-bag. EINSLER, 87; STEPHAN, 16, 234. Judg. 14<sup>18</sup>.

166. *Qaṣṣ el-ḥurdj muhlditēn*. He cut the saddle-bag into two feeding bags (for feeding animals).

167. *Kull mā daqqētluh watad biʿalleq ʿalēh muhlāy*. Every time I drive a peg (into the wall) he hangs a feeding bag on it. He takes advantage of every thing I do.

168. *Ašāyṭik umuhlāyṭik win fātek bēt ḥall ṭalāqik*. Take your stick and feeding bag and go around. If you miss a house, your divorce becomes legal. *Muhlāy* means here the bag in which

لا يعلم ما في الخف الا ; II, 178, ما طاف حول الارض حاف وناعل ; II, 215, حفاك فانترك كل الحذا بمحذي ; II, 71, بيت الاسكاف فيه من كل جلد رقة ; I, 108, M, الله والاسكاف . بقى نعليك وابدل قدمك ; I, 80, رب نعل شر من الحفا ; I, 281, الحافي الوقع .

beggars place the begged food they receive (for *kaškūl*). About a man who lives off his wife.

169. *ʾInṭī mkaffin willā dāmen djanneh?* Are you shrouding the dead or letting paradise? *Dimin* = to take in contract. A man who makes promises instead of attending to his business. BURKHARDT, 112, gives *mghassil* instead of *mkaffin*.

170. *Eṭ-tab<sup>c</sup> fil-badan mā bigheiyruh illā l-quṭun uil-kafan.* Nothing can change the natural characteristics (lit. nature in the body) save the cotton (with which the openings of the body are closed) and the shroud. EINSLER, 107, gives the proverb slightly abridged; BAUER, *Volksleben*, 143.<sup>1</sup>

171. *Tādjarnā bil-ʾakfān baṭṭalat en-nās tmūt.* (The moment) we began to deal with shrouds, people stopped dying. EINSLER, 175, has *ḥaṭṭēt baḥṭī fil-baṭṭal imūt ḥadā, haṭṭēt baḥṭī fil-ḥinna kitr* (not *kitrū*) *el-ḥdād*. When I put my money in white cloth, everybody stopped dying, and when I placed my fortune in *ḥinnā* (used in festivities) mourning (death) increased. The classical proverb is *لو تاجرت بالا كفان ما مات احد* (II, 188, M).

172. *ʾIn ʾāšū byākulhum ed-dubbān uin mātū mā bilāqūš kfān.* If they (i.e. the children) remain alive, they will be eaten by flies (i.e. they will remain poor and neglected), and if they die they won't get a shroud (to wrap them with).

173. *Fidj-djubbeh l-ʾaḥṭreh mā fī walā djebeh.* In the last coat (which is put on the dead) there are no pockets.

The following idioms and riddles also concern dress.

*ʾIdī biḥzāmak (taḥt zunnārak, and taḥt ʾabātak).* "My hand is under your belt (or in your armpit)", means I depend upon you to do me this favour. Gen. 24<sup>2</sup> describes the same custom.

*Ṭizēn bilbās.* "Two buttocks in one (and the same) pair of trousers", describes two unseparable friends.

*Ṣurmāyethā ʾaḥsan min raqebtuh (aḥsan minnuh).* "Her shoe is better than his neck (better than him)", means she is in every way better and nobler than him (the husband or bridegroom).

*Mīl ṣurmāyī* or *kullšī ʾalā ṣurmāyī.* "Like my shoe", or "every

<sup>1</sup> E. LITTMANN, *Morgenländische Spruchweisheit*, p. 5, gives only the German translation.

thing (I regard to be) on my shoe"; i.e. it is all the same to me; I do not care.

*Surmāytek 'arāsī*. "Your shoes is upon my head", denotes 1.—I am in every way your servant; 2.—You have overwhelmed me by your kindness.

*Yabn\_eṣ-ṣurmāy*. "O son of the shoe" is used to describe a mean person. It is also a curse.

*Biddak qlādet ṣarāmī*. "You deserve a necklace of shoes", is said to a person who performed a very mean act.

*Es-sabt ḡaṭwal min el-ḥadd*. "Saturday is longer than Sunday" is said of a woman whose petticoat shows beneath her skirt. It corresponds to the English saying: "Your father loves you more than your mother".

*Wallāh la ḡadbahak (i)bṣurmāy* or *(ib)bartūṣeh*. "By God, I shall slaughter you with a shoe (or an old slipper)" is said to someone who deserves a humiliating punishment.

*'Ala\_l-ḡaṣṭreh*. "On the (bare) mat", denotes complete poverty.

*Bass\_it-ṭarriz 'al-ḡawḡṣī*. "Stop embroidering the borders (of the garment)", i.e. stop this continued fault finding.

*Sūset el-mḡaddeh*, "Maggot in the pillow", is said of a woman who, in bed, troubles her husband with continuous requests or complaints.

*Farwet Eliās ma(t)lāneh djrās?* "The sheep-skin coat of Elias is full of bells—what is it?" The bean plant.

*'Arba' ḡarāmiyeh lābsīn ṯāqiyeh?* "(What is it) four thieves who wear one cap?" The four walls of a room with the ceiling.

*'Iṣī ḡan'am min el-ḡarṯr u'ḡhraṣ min es-sider?* "(What is the) thing which is smoother than silk and rougher than the lotus tree?" The serpent. STEPHAN, 879.

*'Izār ma(t)lān zrār lā binṯawā walā binṣāl?* "(What is) an ḡizār which is full of buttons. It can neither be folded nor shelved away?" The sky with the stars.

*Farweh (i)mḡazzaḡah (i)bṡahrak (i)mlazzaḡah?* "(What is) a torn sheep-skin coat which adheres to your back?" Your wife.

In considering all this material with that mentioned by DALMAN on this subject, one sees what a deep influence dress and the material of which it is made have left on the Palestinian life. The first purpose is to cloth the human body. The Arabs use the

characteristic expression "*ustur ʿḍṛtak*", "cover your nakedness (lit. shameful parts)". This rule is imperative for all, except young children, who may at times—but very rarely—walk around more or less naked. I have seen nakedness of this kind at very rare occasions in the heart of the Sinai Peninsula, among the poor tribes of the Bdûl in Petra, as well as at times among the children of gypsies. Even in such cases some rags, or a piece of a sheep's skin covered the *ʿḍrah*.

Dress is used also to beautify the person. Proverbs pointing to this aim are abundant. Arab wisdom has continually criticized those who boast of the dress they wear, while unable through their poverty, to provide for their daily food.

Some of the proverbs show clearly how some parts of dress have been introduced newly among the peasants of Palestine. Thus for example proverb No. 116 is aimed at the alleged unpractical nature of trousers. Even the expression used, *banṭalôn*,<sup>1</sup> is western. I vividly remember how about 50 years ago our maid servant, a peasant from Bêt Djâlâ, claimed that she was offended, when presented with a pair of pants. Conditions have completely changed now, and today nearly every peasant wears trousers.

Dress has had such an influence on the life of the Palestinian that many personal and family names are connected with it. The following are some examples: Abû Qubʿ (the father of a cap), Qubʿên (two caps), Kittâneh (Linen), Abû Libdeh (the father of a felt-cap), Abû Djildeh ( . . . of a piece of skin), Šalâyel (balls of wool or cotton threads), Ḥarîr (silk), Abû Farweh ( . . . of a sheep-skin coat), Abû Ruqʿah ( . . . of a patch), Abû Lḥâf ( . . . of a quilled cotton cover), Djûḥah (cloth), el-Kauwâ (ironer), Dabbâgh (tanner), Ḥayyât (tailor), Qaṭṭân (dealer in cotton), Quffeh (basket), Šabbâgh Šabbâghah (dyer), Mneyel (dyer with indigo), Šallâḥ (the one who undresses), Farwagî (the maker of sheep-skin coats), Tarazî, Tarzî (Turk., tailor), etc. The following three Mohammedan saints derived their names in the same way. Bišr el-Ḥâfî (B. the bare-footed), Abû Šaʿr (the Hoary One) and Ibrâhîm el-Ḥauwâš ) I. the worker in palm leaves, making mats). They have been described by the present writer in *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 282.

<sup>1</sup> It used to be called by children *maḍraṭôn*.

It has to be noted that a family Abû Šaʿr lives in Transjordan. It has nothing to do with the above mentioned *welî* of the same name.

It is true that many Orientalists have compiled exhaustive lists of Arab proverbs. But only a very few of them have utilized such sayings in the description of the land and its inhabitants. Yet just such sayings are and remain the best indication and the surest proof of an existing custom or a belief.