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VOL. V.

MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE

MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE

BY

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P R E F A C E

The primitive features of Palestine are disappearing so quickly that before long most of them will be forgotten. Thus it has become the duty of every student of Palestine and the Near East, of Archaeology and of the Bible, to lose no time in collecting as fully and accurately as possible all available material concerning the folklore, customs and superstitions current in the Holy Land. Such material is, as we have begun to learn, of the greatest importance for the study of ancient oriental civilization and for the study of primitive religion. I, as a son of the country, have felt it my special duty to help in this scientific work; but, since I do not claim to be a trained archaeological student, I am not attempting to do more than place on record the bare material which I have collected, leaving the task of comparison with other data to the professional archaeological and biblical student.

This change in local conditions is due to the great influences which the West is exerting upon the East, owing to the introduction of European methods of education, the migration of Europeans to Palestine, of Palestinians to Europe and especially to America, and, above all, to the influence of the Mandatory Power. The simple, crude, but uncontaminated patriarchal Palestinian atmosphere is fading away and European civilization, more sophisticated but more unnatural, is taking its place.

Our subject of study leads us into the most holy and mysterious shrines of the life of the inhabitants. It is not always easy to examine the structure of a sanctuary and the objects found in it; but it is still less easy to gain the confidence of the *fellâh* to such a degree that he will speak freely and with detail about his religious practices and rites and about the nature and character of the saints, the knowledge of which is of the greatest scientific interest. Thus, even for me, it was not always possible to get at the root of many beliefs.

The present work is based on a study of 235 shrines which I have examined personally, 348 shrines about which exact material was available, attendance at Mohammedan festivals, *dikers*, *môlads* and other ceremonies, a large assortment of stories told about the saints, a large collection of verses sung by the people in honour of the *awliâ*, and a very extensive collection of amulets. My voluminous collection of Palestinian proverbs and idioms has helped me in the explanation of some customs and practices connected with saints and shrines. Every superstition which might help in the explanation or comparison of the text has been cited and analysed. Yet the subject is so vast and complicated that I cannot claim to have gathered more than a handful of grain from the large heap of corn. I hope that soon more of this unexplored material will receive attention.

I have made as much use as possible of the Arabic literature touching on the subject since only a small part of this has hitherto been systematically employed for comparative purposes. The resemblances which can be found in such Arabic literary sources show that much of the existing folklore of Palestine is not peculiar to this country but common to the Arabic world. Of European literature I have made use only of such works as deal directly with Palestine.

A study of "Saints and Sanctuaries" brings the reader into direct contact with the daily life and customs of the inhabitants of Palestine. It explains much that would be otherwise obscure in popular belief and superstition: it affords a glimpse into the mysterious regions of local ceremonies and throws light on much that is dark in the working of the popular mind. What is still more interesting, it makes possible a comparison with customs, practices and rites of primitive times. It is remarkable how many ideas have remained virtually unchanged for thousands of years; and the study of many current beliefs may disclose the clue to much that has hitherto remained unexplained in the religious usages of the ancient east.

The various ideas described in the following pages are common to both Mohammedans and Christians among the Palestinian peasantry; where the two groups differ the differences are only superficial.

I take this opportunity to thank Dr. W. F. Albright, the Director of the American School of Oriental Research, for his valuable advice and continued encouragement; and Dr. H. Danby for his help in the completion of the book.

JERUSALEM, May 15th, 1927

T. CANAAN

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MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN
(JERUSALEM)

A. SITES AND TYPES OF SANCTUARIES

1. SITES

A traveller in Palestine is struck by the baldness of the hill country. Here and there some gardens, orchards or vineyards are to be met with, generally grouped in the vicinity of a village. During the spring and the first part of the summer some patches of land are sown with various cereals. Scattered here and there on the barren mountains or in the plains a solitary large green tree or a small group of trees beautify the surrounding region, giving it a fresh and an animated aspect. They are a welcome shelter for the wayfarer, protecting him from the burning rays of the summer sun. These trees are sacred to Mohammedans since they indicate the presence of some *nabî*, *welî* or *šêḫ*. This sacredness was and is still the only reason why they escape the destruction which has been the fate of the forests of Palestine. It is a pity that we have not countless sacred trees commemorating holy persons, for Palestine would then be more wooded and consequently more healthy, fertile and beautiful. If such a tree—and most of them can look back on centuries of life—could tell us all its experiences, we should know much more about the history and folklore of this country. I shall try to analyse the nature of Mohammedan sanctuaries in Palestine of which trees are only one feature, and I hope thus to be able to explain some religious problems.

By sanctuaries I do not mean only those places where a well-known Prophet or *welî* was buried, but every place—shrine, tomb, tree, shrub, cave, spring, well, rock or stone—which is invested with some

religious reverence, even if such reverence be based on superstition, and thus non-religious in the sense of the Qoranic teaching and creed. Only such a widening of the field of research will enable us to approach many very important questions of comparative religion and primitive belief.

a) *Their Relation to Human Habitations*

Sacred shrines are innumerable in Palestine. Nearly everywhere—in the villages, on the mountains, in valleys, in the fields—do we meet with them. There is hardly a village, however small it may be, which does not honour at least one local saint. But generally every settlement boasts of many. Thus, for example, 'Awartah possesses fourteen, eleven being in the village itself and three outside at some distance from it; 'Anâtâ seven¹ (one is not accepted by all inhabitants²); Jericho six; the Mount of Olives six;³ Koloniâ five. Such local saints are honoured not only by the inhabitants of the village to which they belong, but in many cases their renown is widespread and pilgrimages of individuals or companies are made in their honour. Some of these shrines are situated in or close to the village. In such a case one of them serves as a mosque where the inhabitants perform their prayers.⁴ But the greater number of them lie outside, and some even at a considerable distance from the area occupied by the town or village. Thus we meet with a large number of holy places in the fields far from any habitation. As every village possesses lands which stretch for miles beyond the settlement itself, every shrine

¹ The names of the different saints will be given at the end of this study.

² The *ṣullāḥ* (pl. of *ṣāleḥ*, pious man) inhabiting the ruins, at the entrance of the village from the west side, are not accepted by all as authentic. My guide, Mohammed of this village, related that some people had heard at different occasions 'iddeh (religious music) at this place. A *fellāḥ* who passed water at this spot was at once afflicted with eye-trouble. These *ṣullāḥ* inhabit the ruins of a church. The son of eš-šēḥ 'Abd es-Salâm, eš-šēḥ Slimân, is also a less important *welî*.

³ A seventh holy place on the Mount of Olive was Ḥarrûbet el-'Ašarâ, a tree which grew on the western slope, in a piece of ground which belongs at present to a Latin Mission. The tree has been cut down.

⁴ Such *djawâmi*—especially those of villages situated in the direct neighbourhood of the large cities—are not much used. Many of the peasants come on Friday to the city to perform their mid-day prayer (*ṣalât ed-djum'ah*), and to transact their business.

situated in such land belongs to that village, and is also honoured primarily by its inhabitants. There are exceptions to this rule. Eš-šêḥ es-Sidrî in the lands of 'Anâtâ is honoured mostly by the semi-Bedouin living to the east of the village.

The following is an analysis of the sites of shrines taken from a few villages around Jerusalem:

Name of the village	Number of sanctuaries	Those inside the village	Those outside the house area
'Anâtâ	7	3	4
'Êsâwiyeh	3	1	2
Kolôniâ	5	1	4
'Awartah	14	11	3

Some villages have their *awliâ* (pl. of *welî*) only in the house area itself or in the immediate vicinity of it. This is the case in Bêt Hanînâ, Sûrbâhir and Ša'fât, each with four such saints.

b) High Places

The shrines are mostly situated on an elevated place—the top of a mountain, a hill or a small elevation in the plain—thus commanding all the neighbouring country. Even such shrines as are built on the sloping side of a mountain, or just above the bed of a valley are so placed that they more or less dominate the surrounding area and are visible from afar. Comparatively few *welîs* are situated in valleys; but if one should be, it is generally found to be in the neighbourhood of the junction of two *wâdis* or in a place where the *wâdi* has widened its bed, so that they are seen at a distance from different directions. Many a sacred place, although situated on an elevated spot, is not easily seen owing to the character of the *welî*, in that it has no building and no large tree. This is true of all such sanctuaries as are found near caves, enclosures, springs, cisterns, rocks or heaps of stones. Some shrines on the tops of mountains are:

en-nabî Šamwîl	Mizpah of Samuel,
eš-šêḥ el-Qaṭrawânî	between Bîr Zêt and 'Aṭârah
eš-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Karakî eṭ-Taiyâr	Qaşṭal
Abû Hurêrah	Wâdi eš-Šarî'ah
el-'Uzêr	near 'Awartah
eš-šêḥ el-'Umarî ed-Djbê'eh	near Bêt 'Anân
el-Maş'ad	Mount of Olives.

The shrine of eš-šēḥ el-'Umarî ed-Djbê'eh is built on the top of a high mountain. The view from this spot to the west is magnificent. The plain, Ramleh, Lydda, Jaffa and the sea are easily seen, especially when the weather is clear. Around the *maqâm* is a ruin¹ and many natural caves. No tomb is to be seen, and the room shows nothing but a *mihrâb*. The two large carob trees withered away owing to the severe winter of 1921—1922. Everybody who takes refuge in this *welî* is absolutely protected.

By elevated places I do not mean only the very summit of a mountain, but any spot which is high and to some extent dominates the surrounding area, such as:

Eš-šēḥ 'Abd es-Salâm 'Anâtâ	
Sal mân el-Fârsî	Mount of Olives
En-nabî Liqiâ	Bêt Liqiâ
šiûḥ ed-Dawâ'ri	Surbâhir
en-nabî Mûsâ	near Jericho
en-nabî Yûsif	Bêt Idjzâ
eš-šēḥ Yâsîn	Dêr Yâsîn
eš-šēḥ Aḥmad	Ḥirbet Is'ideh
eš-šēḥ I'mar	Bêt Duqqû.

This peculiarity is very characteristic, not only of Palestinian Mohammedan shrines, but also of sanctuaries elsewhere in the Mohammedan world. Paton's statement on this point—although not absolutely correct—is more exact than that of McCown. The first writer says:² "The majority of the alleged tombs of saints in modern Palestine are situated on the summits of high mountains". McCown's³ statements in this respect are hard to understand. I shall, later on, discuss his first idea, namely: "A very considerable number of shrines are on hilltops because the cities or villages to which they belong sought such sites, not because the hill is sacred." In reviewing systematically the villages of the Jerusalem district which I have visited for the purpose of this study, and noting exactly the position of the shrines, I found that in 26 villages 70 % of the shrines occupied the top of a hill or mountain, 24 % were on the sloping side of the

¹ The ruin is called Ḥirbet ed-Djbê'eh.

² *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem* I, p. 62.

³ *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem* II and III, p. 63.

mountain below its summit, and only 5% were in a valley or a plain. Of these shrines 45 % belong to the built *maqām*, 18 % are tombs, and 37 % are sacred springs, trees, enclosures and caves. In other words, only 52 % (45 % built shrines and 7 % holy trees) would be more or less easily seen, while the character of the other 48 % lessens the possibility of their being seen from a distance.

Nor do I agree with McCown's statement about Jerusalem. He writes: "There are vast numbers of shrines, several to every good sized town, which are not easily seen, because they are not on hill tops. Such is Jerusalem." He does not appear to have considered the following very important facts, which make most of the shrines of Jerusalem not easily seen:

1. The built shrines of most of the *welīs*, inside the city, are low in structure, and on their roofs houses have been erected. Examples are: Bairam Šawīš, eš-šēḥ Rihān, eš-šēḥ Ḥasan el-Qêramî.

2. The crowded houses in the city proper hide from sight shrines which have no building above them.

3. Most of the important sacred places in the *ḥaram* area are enclosed in the Omar and Aqsa mosques, and naturally cannot easily be seen.

On the other hand the greater part of the shrines situated outside the city-wall are easily seen; e. g. eš-šēḥ Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭôrî, Sa'd u Sîd, eš-šēḥ Djarrâḥ, eš-šēḥ 'Okāšeh etc.

This choice of situation is not a new custom, for we read that the people of the ancient Orient used to choose such places for the erection of their temples and the worship of their gods. In Ezek. 6 2 we read: "And say, Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord God; Thus saith the Lord God to the mountains and to the hills, to the watercourses and to the valleys: Behold I, even I, will bring a sword upon you, and I will destroy your high places." It is interesting to see how these two verses¹ refer to mountains, watercourses, valleys and green trees—in other words "high places" combined with water and trees, a feature still characterizing the present shrines.

Mountains and hills seem always to have played a great rôle in human religion.² It is interesting to note that all the great divine

¹ Other verses are Lev. 26 30; Num. 33 52; 1 Kings 12 31, 13 32; 2 Kings 17 29, 21 3, 23 5-19; Jer. 3 2; etc.

² See Curtiss.

works have, traditionally, been performed on mountains: Ararat and the ark of Noah, Moriah and Abraham's sacrifice, Sinai and the Law, Ebal and Gerizim with the blessing and the cursing. It is the same also with Jesus: on a mountain he was tempted, was transfigured, preached, prayed, was crucified, and from a mountain he ascended to heaven. The prophets and kings also preferred these lofty places for many of their important actions. Elijah received the word of the Lord on Mount Horeb;¹ the "schools of the prophets" were on hills and mountains;² on Mount Carmel Elijah won the victory over the priests of Baal who worshipped their idols on this mountain;³ Moses died on Mount Nebo, from whence he saw the Land of Promise; Aaron died on the top of Mount Hor; on this mountain Eliezer was ordained as his father's successor. I need not multiply these instances, which illustrate the fact that mountains were, in olden times, regarded as in some degree sacred.⁴ This idea was adopted from their predecessors by the Israelites and by them transmitted to following generations.

A traveller through Palestine is struck by the many mountain tops which are covered with a prominent *welî*; still greater is the number of summits which bear shrines undistinguishable from a distance. Does this not indicate that the present inhabitants still believe in the peculiar sanctity of mountains? McCown minimizes the importance of this supposition; Curtiss⁵ and Paton stress it. Which view is correct?

Many primitive ideas have unquestionably persisted through thousands of years and can still be traced to the present day in one form or another among the inhabitants of the "immovable east." The sacred character of mountains seems to have been a widespread conception in the ancient Orient. The modern Palestinian places most of his shrines on mountains and hills, irrespective of the fact whether or not these places serve for human habitation. Although most *awlâ*

¹ 1 Kings 19 8-9.

² 1 Sam. 10 5.

³ H. Zeller, *Biblisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 146, 147.

⁴ Yahweh appeared on high places, 1 Kings 3 4-5. It was forbidden for the Israelites to partake in the worship on high places like the heathen, Deut. 12 2; Jer. 2 20; Ezek. 20 28-29; etc.

⁵ Curtiss, p. 134.

are situated in the immediate vicinity of villages, it is striking that so many uninhabited mountains have shrines. This fact proves that the old idea of the sacredness of mountains has probably been transmitted to the inhabitants of modern Palestine. They do not accept it explicitly as such, but the old practice continues nevertheless.

c) Relation of Shrines to Cemeteries

Very important is the fact that the shrines or graves of many "holy men" are situated in the midst of cemeteries or adjacent to them. The following list is a rough comparison between holy places (shrines, graves, etc.) found in connection with cemeteries and those having nothing to do with cemeteries:

Name of the village	Number of sanctuaries	In cemetery	Not in cemetery
et-Tûr	6	3	3
Jericho	6	2	4
Ša'fât	4	3	1
Surbâhir	4	1	3
'Anâtâ	7	1	6

I should add the following facts. In Surbâhir the five tombs of ed-Dawâ'ri are counted as one shrine. The three tombs of ed-Djarâhid which represent in reality three holy places I have also considered as one. The same is true of the two graves of ed-Dawâ'ri of Ša'fât, which are to be seen in the cemetery.

The above list shows that 63% of the shrines are situated in a cemetery; but the sanctuaries of some villages are in no way connected with burial places, so that the general percentage of such a combination amounts only to 30%. In some cases a cemetery surrounds the shrine, while in other cases only a few tombs are found near by. The question arises whether the burial place was formed around the shrine, or whether the tomb of some distinguished man was built in an already existing cemetery. In most cases the cemetery is the more recent, the holy place leading to the choice of that place for public burial. This is always the case where the shrine is an old one. But in connection with *awliâ* of recent origin we nearly always find that those men who were looked upon during their lifetime as "blessed men of God," were buried in the common cemetery, and became *welîs* after their death. Their tombs began to enjoy private and

finally general reverence. The following shrines are probably older than the cemeteries in which they are found:

eš-šêḥ Nûrân ¹	Between Šallâleh and Ḥân Yûnis
eš-šêḥ Badr	Jerusalem
en-nabî Mûsâ	near Jericho
Rdjâl el-'Amûd (Fig. 2, Plate III)	Nablus.

The contrary is the case with:

eš-šêḥ Abû Ḥalâwî	Jerusalem
eš-šêḥ ez-Zu'beh	'Awartah.

Sanctuaries or sacred tombs situated in a large public cemetery are met with in nearly every village and city. Some prominent examples are:

eš-šêḥ 'Abd el-Fattâḥ ed-Dawâ'rî	Ša'fât
eš-šêḥ Abû Sêf	Ša'fât
eš-šêḥ Zêd	'Anâtâ
eš-šêḥ Abû Yamîn	Bêt 'Anân
eš-šêḥ Ghânim	Jericho
eš-šêḥ Sa'd	Bêt Lîkiâ (Lîqiâ)
eš-šêḥ (i) Mbârak	Bêt Iksâ
el-'Azêrât	'Awartah.

The top of the highest point of the mountain on which 'Awartah is built is crowned with the *maqâm* of el-'Azêrât. This contains two rooms, the eastern one with two domes, the western with one. The *maqâm* is surrounded by the cemetery. No cistern or tree belongs to it. Not far from the shrine there is a pool hewn in the rock. In the eastern room there is a prayer-niche, opposite to which an entrance to a cave is seen. Many match boxes, oil bottles and oil lamps are scattered here and there. The women of the village assemble every feast-day in this place to perform their prayers. The western room is large, lies higher and is

¹ It is interesting to note that in the neighbourhood of this saint, as well as around eš-šêḥ Aḥmad es-Sarrîsî of Abû Ghôš, and eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah of Ša'fât only young children are buried. In the case of eš-šêḥ Nûrân I noticed, while the Turks were digging trenches around the shrine, that the bodies of dead children were always placed in large broken jars (cf. the Canaanite practice of burying children in jars).

much less used. The dead are ritually washed here before they are buried.

Shrines in whose neighbourhood only one or few tombs are found are:

eš-šēh Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭôrî	Jerusalem
eš-šēh Badr	Jerusalem
Sittnâ el-Ḥaḍrah	Nablus.

There are two reasons why some prefer to bury their dead in the vicinity of the grave of some *welî*.¹

1. The nearer the person is buried to a *welî* or *šēh*'s tomb or *maqâm*, the greater is the blessing which he may receive in the world to come. This is why so many Bedouin carry their important dead from a great distance to be buried near a saint's tomb. Thus the Bedouin of er-Rašâydiyeh inter some of their dead around šîûḥ ed-Djarâhîd of the Mount of Olives, and the 'Idwân carry their dead to Nebî Mûsâ.

2. The protection exercised by the saint, because of the general respect he enjoys, is another cause for burying the dead close to the *welî*'s tomb. This used to be practised especially by important political families who were continually on bad terms with other families. When a leader died they buried him near a sacred spot to protect his body from being exhumed by his enemies and thus dishonoured. The "man of God" is sure to protect every thing put under his care; nobody dares to molest the sanctity of a man so buried. Such reasons led the family of 'Abd el-Hâdî of Nablus to bury three members of their family—Moḥammad el-Ḥusên, Yûsif Slîmân and 'Abd el-Karîm—near the *maqâm* of el-Ḥaḍrah.

d) Relation of Shrines to Ruins

Another fact not without interest is that a great number of sacred sites lie in or near a ruin. It is not to be expected that one will always find remains of a large ruin; there may be only a few old rock-hewn tombs, remains of a few houses, several old cisterns, or some ancient pillars. Such a ruin in itself must have been a striking

¹ A custom which is also prevalent among some Bedouin tribes, according to Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 99.

object to the simple mind of the Palestinian, and the ruin certainly existed long before the present shrine. A ruin, an artificial cave, a solitary tree, or some old cisterns in a lonely deserted spot, would stimulate the imagination of the *fellâh*. Some night vision, or the hallucination of seeing lights and hearing prayers or religious music, enforce the idea of the sacredness of the spot. About 32 % of all the sanctuaries which I visited were in the vicinity of some ruin.

Some *welîs* situated in or near a ruin are:

el-Qaṭrâwânî	N. of Bîr Zêt	the ruins of a church.
eṣṣ-šêḥ -el-'Umarî		
ed-Djbê'eh	near Bêt 'Anân	the ruins of several buildings.
Ḍu-l-Kafl	near Qaṭanneh	Ḥîrbet el-Kfêreh.
Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭaiyâr	Qaṣṭal	ruins of a fortress.
'Abd el-'Azîz	between Qaṣṭal and Bêt Sûrik	a ruin with a water reservoir, hewn in the rock.
Sittnâ eṣṣ-Šâmiyeh	Kolônîâ	a tomb hewn in the rock, and the canal of the spring is ancient.
eṣṣ-šêḥ Ḥusên	Kolônîâ	tombs hewn in the rock.
Abû Lêmûn	W. N. W. of Bêt Iksâ	a small ruin with two cisterns.
el-Mufaḍḍel	'Awartah	a rock-hewn tomb.

2. STRUCTURE OF THE SANCTUARIES

Let us approach a common type of *welî* and examine it more thoroughly. What do we find here? Of course the same objects are not found in every case. We shall try to investigate every object separately, leaving the classification till later. For our purpose we will take note of the following: A building, a tomb, a tree (or a group of trees), a water reservoir (cistern, well, spring, basin, etc.) and a cave. It will be rather difficult to give an absolute description of each one since they vary so much in the different parts of Palestine that we rarely meet with two completely alike.

a) *The Building*

The building itself—the shrine, *maqâm*, *qubbeh*, or, as it was called in Biblical times, “house of high places”¹—is in most cases, and in all the simpler cases, a quadrangular building. We will consider at present only this form. The door—and there is only one—is low. There is generally one small window, but sometimes there may be more (*tâqah*, *tâqât* or *šarrâqah*, *šarrâqât*), though occasionally there is none at all. The roof is a simple vaulted dome² with a long perpendicular stone in the centre, which is raised above the vault itself. This stone is in some cases cut in the form of a half-moon. Instead of such a stone an iron bar with three balls—the lowest the largest—and a half-moon at the top may sometimes be found.³ This dome-form (*qubbeh*) is a very characteristic feature in Mohammedan shrines. It is not found only in the simple *welî*, but also in the large and important shrines of the prophets as well as in common mosques. “The *qubbeh* is,” as McCown says,⁴ “a characteristic feature of the Palestinian landscape.” Very often the word *qubbeh* is used as a synonym of “shrine,” although originally it stands for a vaulted building.⁵ The inside is always plastered and whitewashed, but as the buildings are very often very old, everything may consequently be defective. A great many of the *maqâms* are in a pitiful state of disrepair, mainly due to neglect, winter storms and old age. The war was another cause of their ruin; as in the case of eš-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Karakî eṭ-Ṭaiyâr (Qaṣṭâl), en-nabî Šamwîl (Mizpah Samuel), eš-šêḥ Ḥasan (Bêt Iksâ), el-Qaṭrâwânî (N. of Bîr Zêt), Abû-l-‘Ōn (Biddû), eš-šêḥ ‘Abd el-‘Azîz (near Bêt Surîk), etc. During the war some had to be levelled to the ground, in order to deprive the enemy of a mark for his guns (eš-šêḥ Nûrân, between Šallâleh and Ḥân Yûnis). Doors and other wooden parts were nearly always taken away by the soldiers and used as fire wood (eš-šêḥ ‘Anbar, ‘Abd es-Salâm, el-‘Umarî ed-Djbê’eh etc.). In some cases the villagers have replaced the lost doors by others and repaired the shrines in

¹ 1 Kings 12 31; 13 32.

² The *qubbeh* of the Bedouin is an imitation of the text, Jaussen, 102.

³ Such a decoration is a sign of the building being of recent construction.

⁴ *Annual* II and III, 50.

⁵ See *Muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ*, and Hava, s. v.

a more or less primitive way, as in the case of el-Qaṭrāwānī, eš-šēh Ḥasan and en-nabī Šāmwl.

An inspection of the interior of a shrine proper will show that one or more niches (also called *tāqah*) are situated in the wall, a feature common to all. Actually they look like elongated cupboards. Occasionally there may be only a single niche, though generally more are to be met with. In the simple, small one roomed shrine of eš-šēh Badr, which lies on the top of a hill in the north-west part of Jerusalem, I counted eight. In el-'Uzēr ('Awartah) there are some dozens of them. They are built at different heights and are irregularly distributed in the four walls, without any regard for symmetry. With few exceptions they are dirty, even the wall around and especially the part below being badly smeared with oil. This unsightly effect is due to the fact that it is here that oil lamps, oil bottles, matches and other small objects are deposited.

The inside generally shows signs of having once been decorated with *hinnā* or *nīleh* or both. The decoration consists of simple lines running more or less parallel to each other, around the inside making a sort of frieze. Often the frieze is more complicated. Some typical designs are represented in Plate I.

But in addition to the frieze we find two other very important decorations, viz. representations of the hand and imitations of palm branches (sometimes twigs or trees), both of which are explained by superstitious beliefs. In Mohammedan superstition the hands represent the hand of Fāṭimeh (the daughter of the Prophet), in Christian the hand of the Holy Virgin, and in Jewish the hand of God.¹ This superstitious decoration is said to bring blessing. We encounter it very distinctly and often on the two outer sides of the door (*šdāghât*) on the top stone (*šāsiyeh*), and on the inner walls of the shrine, especially around the *mihrâb*. It is generally an imprint of a human hand dipped in blood, *hinnā*, or *nīleh*. A dozen such impressions may be seen in such shrines.

Not only in shrines but also on the doors of houses may such impressions be seen. They are intended to protect the inhabitants against the bad effects of the evil eye. Small imitations of the hand, made of glass, mother-of-pearl, silver, gold or some other metal, are

¹ Canaan, *Aberglaube*, pp. 64 ff., Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, pp. 325 ff.

carried by small children for the same reason.¹ Blood impressions of the hand are rarely found. I have seen them on newly-built houses when a sheep was sacrificed before the house was inhabited, as well as at the feast of Bairam (*id ed-Dhiyeh*): Once only have I observed blood impressions of the hand on the door of a shrine. This mark was made by a man who offered a sheep which was vowed to the *welî*.

The imitation of the palm tree (Plate I, Fig. 8) is mostly used as an inside decoration. It is made up of a perpendicular line with shorter side lines, which unite, making an acute angle, opening upwards. The total number of the side branches is never constant; but in most cases there is an equal number on either side. I examined carefully to see whether the number on one side coincided with the sacred numbers 3, 5, 7 or some multiple of them,² but in most cases they did not. In some, especially in el-Badrîyeh (*Šarâfât*) and el-Qaṭrâwânî (N. of Bir Zêt) they all coincided with the numbers three and five in the first and five and seven in the Qaṭrâwânî. This feature is always explained as standing for palm branches or palm trees (*naḥl*). We know that palm branches are carried in most funeral processions of well-to-do people or of important men, as a symbol of life. Mohammedan superstition holds that palm-trees were created from the same earth from which God made Adam.³ This is why this tree is said to have many resemblances to man.⁴ The Qoran mentions it very often, as it is one of the chosen trees.⁵

Nevertheless I would raise the question: Is it not possible that these figures were formerly rude imitations of the hand and that gradually the distinct number *five* was lost and thus also the original meaning?

Other decorations which one may find, are seen on plate I, and Fig. 5 of Plate II. The representation of the serpent points to long life.⁶ "*Haiyeh*" (Figs. 1, 7; Plate I) serpent, and "*hayâ*" life, have

¹ Canaan, *l. c.*; Doutté, *l. c.* pp. 317 ff.; L. Einsler, *Mosaik*.

² Very few examples offered the number four.

³ *Ḥaridatu-l-'Adjâyb*, p. 102.

⁴ *Alerglaube*, p. 87.

⁵ Kahle, *PJ VIII*, 141, explains the palm branches as a prophylactic measure against the evil eye. I have never heard such an explanation. Neither palm branches nor their representations are ever used as an amulet against the evil eye.

⁶ Kahle, *PJ VIII*, 140.

a similar sounding root.¹ I could not explain the squares with the dots (Plate I, Fig. 6). It is improbable that the dots (Pl. I, Fig. 4 and 5) represent "visiting cards" of the pilgrims, as Kahle thinks. In some shrines I have seen rudimentary representations of a mosque, a minaret, a ship, flowers, etc. The only purpose of these figures is to beautify the *maqâm*. Sometimes Qoranic verses or the names of God, the Prophet, and some of the *ṣaḥābeh* are written on the walls. The shrine of eš-šêḥ Yâsin is the best example, where beside the words *allah* and Muḥammad, which are surrounded by wreaths of leaves, we find the Mohammedan creed "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God", two flags (the Turkish and that of the Prophet), a half moon and many five-pointed stars. In the *mīhrâb* censer and chain are painted.

These decorations are made with *ḥinnâ*, *nîleh* or *sîraqûn*. Some peasants think *nîleh* should never be used in holy places, *ḥinnâ* being the only suitable material. When *ḥinnâ* (*Lawsonia inermis*)² is used as a red dye, it is kneaded into a paste and then daubed on the wall. Very often *samneh* (butter) is mixed with it,³ but not necessarily always, as Curtiss thinks.⁴ It is with this paste that the impression of the *hand* is so often made. While adhering to the wall the paste has a dirty greenish-brown appearance, but when it falls off it leaves a brownish-red colour. The *mīhrâb*⁵ and the immediate surroundings are decorated first of all. Most of the other decorations are made with *nîleh* (methylen blue) and *sîraqûn* (minium).

In many of these simple shrines, but not in all, there is a *mīhrâb*, which has the usual form and points southwards. There is at least one in each of the larger sanctuaries. In some there are several. Thus *qabr* er-Râ'î near Nebi Musa has three.⁶ In some *awliâ* the *mīhrâb* is only indicated on the southern wall either with colour, or with a ridge-like frame of projecting plaster. In the Christian church of el-Ḥaḍr (between Bêt Djâlâ and the Pools of Solomon), which is

¹ Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 85.

² Hava, 138.

³ Kahle, *l. c.*

⁴ Curtiss, 209.

⁵ That of es-sultân Ibrâhîm el-Adḥamî of Ša'fât and the shrine of el-Imâm 'Alî on the carriage-road near Bâb el-Wâd, showed dozens of these imprints.

⁶ In the Šaḥrah (The Dome of the Rock) there are several prayer niches which will be described later.

honoured and visited also by the Mohammedans, the prayer direction is marked by a large picture of St. George. I have seen Mohammedans go in and perform their prayers turning their faces towards the picture and so to the south. All *mīhrābs* are marked in the southern wall of the sanctuaries. The following three are the only exceptions I know of. A *mīhrāb* in the building below el-Aqṣā, a *mīhrāb* in *nabī Dāhūd* and one in the shrine of el-Mufaḍḍil ('Awartah).¹ In the first it is said that the Prophet prayed during his night-visit to Jerusalem, and when he had finished the angel Gabriel ordered him in future to perform his prayers with the face turned to Mecca. Thereupon the Prophet turned his face in this direction and performed his second prayer.²

The floor of the poorer *maqâms* is mostly bare, but sometimes mats are present. The larger and more important shrines have mats and often costly carpets.

While the last description holds true for all simple *maqâms*, we have still to consider those which are larger, more important, and more elaborate. I shall try to describe them according to the various complications of their structure. But before proceeding to this part of our subject something should be said about the *qubbeh* or "cupola." This is one of the most important features of the *awliâ* and belongs to almost every typical shrine. In examining a *qubbeh*³ we find two different types:

1. The simple one, where the *qubbeh* is built directly over the four walls of the shrine. It looks like a hemisphere superimposed upon the walls.

2. The square space formed by the four walls is converted into an octagon near the roof by filling in the corners with pendentives. The octagon is raised a little, and the hemispherical *qubbeh* rests on it. A perpendicular section of such a building (cut diagonally) is shown in Fig. 4, Plate II.

The *maqâms* which possess two instead of one vaulted dome, are as simple in character as those just described. In reality such a building

¹ The last two are mentioned in *PJ* VII, 86.

² It is curious that Abraham and Lot are thought to have performed their prayers with the face turned to Mecca (southwards), although they are pre-Islamic characters.

³ For a short description of it see *PJ* VII, 92.

represents two rooms which, by dispensing with the separating wall, are united to form one elongated whole. A high strongly built arch, which helps to support the roof, takes the place of the missing wall.

In the next class are sanctuaries which have a *rawâq* (open arched hall) built in front or at the side. This may be composed of one arch, but more often of two. The people assemble here before and after their visits to the shrine. Sometimes meals are taken and festivals are held in this place. In Bêt Haninâ the inhabitants have recently built to the south-east of *djâmi'* es-sultân Ibrâhîm el-Adhamî a three vaulted hall, opening to the north, and with a *mihrâb*. Eš-šêḥ Salmân el-Fârsî (Mount of Olives) has such an open *rawâq* in front of the sanctuary itself. In el-'Uzêr (el-Qariyeh) and eš-šêḥ Ḥamad (Kolônîâ) the *rawâq* is at one side of the sanctuary.

Still more complicated are those shrines where one or more additional rooms are built beside or around the sanctuaries opening into the vaults. These serve as kitchen, dwelling-place for the servant (*ḥaddâm*, *qaiym*) and store rooms. Sometimes, only of course when the sanctuary is situated in or quite near a village, one of these rooms may be used as a school room (*kuttâb* or *maktab*), and occasionally another one is occupied by the *šêḥ* or *ḥaṭîb*, who may act as the teacher. Some cases in point are:

eš-šêḥ Ḥamad	Kolônîâ
eš-šêḥ I'mar	Bêt Duqquh
el-'Uzêr	Abû Ghôš
el-Anbiâ	Nablus

In a few cases one room is used for the ritual washing of the dead before burial, as in el-'Azêrât ('Awartah) and *djâmi'* el-'Uzêr (Abû Ghôš).

At times the *maḍâfeh* (guest-chamber) is connected with the shrine, as in en-nabî Šû'ah¹ (in the village Šû'ah)² where it is a room built over the shrine. In eš-šêḥ Abû Ismâ'il (Bêt Lîqiâ) and eš-šêḥ Hsên (Bêt 'Anân) the front room serves as a *maḍâfeh*. In both these cases we find in the centre of the room the hearth (*el-wdjâq*) on which coffee is prepared for those present. The guest-house of eš-šêḥ Yâsîn (Dêr Yâsîn) is situated opposite the *maqâm* and separated from it

¹ Although the name looks as if it were feminine it stands for *Yuša'*.

² South of Bâb el-Wâd.

by an open place.¹ It is only in the cold months of the year that these guest-houses are used; in the summer months the people prefer to sit outside under a tree or in a *rawâq*.² A rough sketch of eš-šêḥ Ḥamad (Kolônîâ) well illustrates the class described above. See Fig. 1, Plate II.

Another class is formed by holy places where the real sanctuary is surrounded by many rooms. The rooms serve for pilgrims who make a visit once a year and generally spend several days in the place. In such cases the building is mostly composed of two, at times of three, stories. The lower story is used for store rooms, kitchen and stables, and the upper for the use of visitors. A servant lives all the year around in such a sanctuary to guard it. These larger shrines are not generally dedicated to *awliâ* but to prophets (*anbiâ*, pl. of *nabî*). En-nabî Mûsâ is the best known example of this class. But only a few prophets have such large shrines. En-nabî Šâleḥ (Ramleh), el-Anbiâ (Nabulus), en-nabî Yûsif (Bêt Idjzâ) and many others have fairly simple buildings, while el-Uzêr, el-Manšûrî and el-Mufaḍḍil (all in 'Awartah) who are also counted as prophets, have no building at all.

Some *djawâmi'* and *awliâ* are certainly ancient churches or old houses. Thus I think that *djâmi'* 'Omar ibn el-Ḥaṭṭâb (Sûrbâhir) and *djâmi'* el-Uzêr (el-Qaryeh) were once churches.³ The shrines of eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah (Bêt Sûrik), eš-šêḥ Šâleḥ (Dêr Yâsîn), eš-šêḥ Srûr ('Awartah) and eš-šêḥ en-Nûbânî (Nabulus) are simple rooms, which were once used as dwellings. They have no *miḥrâb* or vault and have no signs of any tomb. They are at present in very bad state of disrepair.

Many a built *maqâm* is an open sanctuary, where the walls of the roof rest on pillars. The best example of such a shrine is that of Ḥasan er-Râ'î,⁴ who was supposed to have been the shepherd of the prophet Moses. Inside of a rectangular enclosure, built of stones

¹ The school-room of eš-šêḥ Iteyim (Bêt Iksâ) is used according to Kahle (*PJ* VI, 71) as a *maqâfeh*. Every *kuttâb* may be used at times as a guest house, but this occasional use does not give such a place the special characteristics which are found in a *maqâfeh* and which were mentioned above.

² For *maqâfeh* see Haddad, *JPOS* II, pp. 279 ff.

³ The best book on this subject is Mader, *Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltadition in Südpalästina*, 1918.

⁴ Kahle, *PJ* VII, 91.

and mortar, we see an elongated and vaulted roof which rests on six pillars, three to the north and three to the south. Between these pillars is the large tomb. El-Maṣ'ad (Mount of Olives) is an octagonal sanctuary with the sides closed up. Masâdjid sittnâ 'Âišeh has a vault resting on four corner pillars, where the south side has been completely closed, and the eastern and western only partly built. The western and the southern walls of the shrine of Aḥmad es-Sarrîsî¹ are closed, while the two other sides are open.

I do not propose to give an exhaustive architectural description of all types of shrines. My only aim has been to give simple examples of the different classes. Descriptions of beautiful mosques like eṣ-Ṣaḥrah, el-Aqsâ, etc., need not be given here, since they may be found in convenient form elsewhere.² Many of the sanctuaries which are situated in a village serve at the same time as the *djâmi'* of that place, where the people assemble for prayer. Many a *djâmi'* was built in the immediate neighbourhood of a *welâ*, as in the case of eṣ-šêḥ Djarrah, Sa'd u Sîd (both in Jerusalem), Salmân el-Fârsî (Mount of Olives) etc. Some sacred sites which are situated out in the fields, and which contain no tomb, serve for the passer-by as a place in which to perform his prayers, e. g. el-Imâm 'Alî, on the carriage-road from Jerusalem to Jaffa.

We often find in front of the sanctuary an elevated place, well covered with large, smooth stone flags, called *mṣallâyât*. They are generally in close contact with the sanctuary and serve for prayer. It is not necessary that a ritually clean cover be spread on them since they are always kept clean. Such "prayer platforms" are met with in eṣ-šêḥ Şâleḥ ('Anâtâ), Irdjâl Sûfah (W. of Dêr Ghassâneh), eṣ-šêḥ Ḍamrah and eṣ-šêḥ en-Nûbânî (both in Mazârî en-Nûbânî).³

Before passing on, it may be well to note that in some shrines there are inscriptions. They are generally found just above the door of the sanctuary or above that of the court, though occasionally

¹ On the top of a mountain in Abû Ghôṣ.

² Short descriptions are found in Baedeker, Meistermann and other guide-books; scientific descriptions are: Gressmann, *Der Felsendom in Jerusalem*, PJ IV, 54 ff.; R. Hartmann, *Der Felsendom und seine Geschichte*, 1909; De Vogué, *La Mosquée d'Omar à Jérusalem*, 1905.

³ I am indebted for information regarding the last three places to Omar Effendi Barghûṭî.

they may be found above the window (eš-šêḥ Djarrâḥ), or above one of the pillars of the vault (eš-šêḥ Ḥasan er-Râ'î). Some such inscriptions are:

1. Above the central door of the shrine el-Ḥaḍrah¹ (Nablus):
عُمِّرَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ أَيَّامَ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ سَيْفِ الدِّينِ قَلَّوْنِ الصَّالِحِ عَزَّاهُ اللَّهُ
وَوَالِدِهِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ الصَّالِحِ عَلَا الدِّينِ عَزَّ نَصْرُهُ.

This prayer house was built during the (reign) days of the sultân, the king Seif ed-Dîn Qalâwan, the pious. God make him powerful; and his father es-sultân the pious king 'Alâ ed-Dîn. His victories be glorious.

2. Inside maqâm el-Ḥaḍr (Nablus):²
يَا دَاسُوقِي يَا بَدَوِي مَقَامَ الْخَضِرِ أَحْمَدُ الْبَدَوِي عَبْدُ الْقَارَرِ الْجِيلَانِي
O Dâsûqî O Badawî The maqâm of el-Ḥaḍr Aḥmad el-Badawî³
'Abd-el-Qâdir ed-Djîlânî.

3. An inscription on velvet laid on the cenotaph of el-Anbiâ (Nablus):

هَذَا ضَرْحُ أَنْبِيَائِنَا أَنْبِيَآءِ اللَّهِ الْكَرَامِ مِنْ أَوْلَادِ سَيِّدِنَا يَعْقُوبَ وَهُمْ رَجُلُونَ⁴
وَيْشَجَرَةٌ⁵ وَأَشْرَ عَلَى نَبِينَا وَعَلَيْهِمْ وَعَلَى سَائِرِ الْأَنْبِيَآءِ أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَأَتَمُّ السَّلَامِ.

This is the tomb of the prophets of God, the Glorious: the sons of our master Jacob, and they are Rayâlûn, Jašadjar and Ašar. On behalf of our Prophet, these, and all other prophets may there be the most efficacious prayers, and the most complete peace.

4. In the rawâq adjacent to the shrine of el-Anbiâ:

كَلَّمَا دَخَلَ زَكْرِيَّا لِلْمَكْرَبِ وَجَدَ عِنْدَهَا رِزْقًا⁶

Whenever Zacharias went into the chamber to her (his wife Mary) he found provisions with her.⁷

¹ On a marble stone.

² The writing is in five sections, side by side.

³ El-Badawî is repeated twice. The second time should be *er-Rifâ'î*.

⁴ Obviously a scribal error for Zebulon.

⁵ Stands for Issachar.

⁶ A verse of the Qoran, Surah III, 37.

⁷ Sale's translation. The commentators say that none went into Mary's apartment but Zacharias himself, and that he locked seven doors upon her, yet he found she had always winter fruits in the summer, and summer fruits in the winter.—I cannot find the connection between the above verse of the Qorân and the shrine of el-Anbiâ, which has nothing to do with Zacharias and Mary.

5. On a marble stone above the entrance to the shrine of es-sultân Ibrahîm el-Adhamî (Bêt Hanînâ):

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بإنشاء هذا المعبد ... الحج سويد بن حميد رحمه الله في سنة سبع وثلاثين وستماية.¹

In the name of the most merciful God. The ḥadj Sweid the son of Ḥamâyd, God be merciful to him, has ordered the building of this place of worship ... in the year 637. [A. H.]

6. Above the door of maqâm el-Yaqîn, Benî N'êm (on a marble stone):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بإنشاء هذا المسجد محمد عبد الله ... علي الصالح ... هذا من ماله ...

In the name of the most merciful God. Mohammed Abdallah ... 'Alî eṣ-Ṣâleḥ ... has ordered the building of this prayer house, from his own money ...²

7. Between the two northern vaults of the shrine of Ḥasan er-Râ'î (near the Nebi Musa) we read:

إنشاء هذه القبة المباركة على حسن الراعي قدس سره صاحب الخير محمد باشا حين أتى من استقبال حجاج المسلمين فشرع في البناء فلم يلقى ماءً فبعلو همته حفظه الله تعالى نقل الماء على البلد من قرية أربحا وحصل الثواب سنة ١ ربيع عشر ومائة والف.

Mohammed Pâšâ, the doer of good, has erected this blessed qubbeh on Ḥasan er-Râ'î, God sanctify his secret, as he (the Pâšâ) was returning from welcoming the Mohammedan pilgrims. He proceeded in building but found no water. But because of his high zeal, God protect him, the water was brought to the place³ from the village of Jericho. Thus he deserved the heavenly reward. The 1 Rabî 1110.

8. On the tomb of eṣ-šêḥ Abû-l-Ḥalâwéh (Jerusalem):

هو الحبي الباقي. هذا قبر ولي الله الشيخ حسن أبو الخلاوة. لروحه الفاتحة. ١٣٠٥.

¹ Dots represent words which are indecipherable.

² The qufic inscription on the tomb of Fâṭimeh the daughter of Ḥasan the grandson of the Prophet is:

أسكنت من كان في الأحشاء مسكنه بالرغم مني بين التراب والحجر
أفديك فاطمه بنت ابن فاطمة بنت الأئمة بنت الأنجم الزهر.

See Mudjîr ed-Dîn I, 67.

³ Lit. "to the village."

He is the everlasting living one. This is the tomb of the friend of God,¹ eš-šēḥ Hasan Abū el-Ḥalāweh. For his soul (read) "al-fātiḥah." 1305. [A. H.]

9. A golden embroidered writing on a red silk cloth placed on the tomb of en-nabî Lût (Beni N'ēm), runs:

هذا قبر النبي لوط عليه الصلوة والسلام.

This is the tomb of the prophet Lût, peace and blessings be on him.

10. On another cloth in the same shrine.

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين وماتوفيقي الا بالله لا اله الا الله سيدنا محمد رسول الله بسم الله ما شاء الله سيدي لوط رسول الله لاحول ولا قوة الا بالله.

In the name of the most merciful God. In him we find help. My success (good luck) is only in God. There is no god but God. Our lord² Mohammed is the apostle³ of God. In the name of God; what God wishes, My lord Lût is an apostle of God. There is neither might nor strength but in God.

11. The writing on a banner, presented to en-nabî Lût by soldiers coming from Aleppo and proceeding to the Suez Canal front during the last war (1915—1916), was as follows:

a) يا حضرة سيدي احمد الرفاعي

Oh excellency,⁴ my Lord Ahmad er-Rifâ'î

(written in the upper right corner of the banner);

b) يا حضرة القطب الرباني سيدي عبد القادر الجيلاني

Oh excellency, the divine pole, my lord 'Abd el-Qâdir ed-Djîlanî

(in the left upper corner);

c) يا حضرة القطب العلوي سيدي احمد العدوي⁵

Oh excellency, the supreme pole, my lord Ahmad el-'Adawî

(left, lower corner);

d) يا حضرة القطب الحقيقي سيدي ابراهيم الداسوقي

Oh excellency, the true pole, my lord Ibrâhîm ed-Dâsûqî

(right lower corner);

¹ Hava, p. 887.

² Lit. Master.

³ More than a prophet.

⁴ ḥaḍrat is a title of honour. With Hava I render "excellency."

⁵ el-'Adawî is used here instead of el-Badawî.

- e) لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله
There is no god but God and Mohammed is the apostle of God
 (in the centre);
- f) سيدنا خليل الله عليه السلام
Our Lord the Friend of God, peace be upon him
 (between *a* and *e*);
- g) The 'Turkish crescent, between *b* and *e*.

b) The Tomb

Inside the shrine and generally in the centre of the room we find the tomb of the holy person whose name it bears. Before giving any description of the tomb itself one point should be made clear—the connection of the tomb with the building. The tomb is often not in the shrine, but outside of it: on the *maṣṭabah*, in the *rawāq* or in the garden adjacent to the *maqām*. But it is not at all necessary that there should be a tomb directly or indirectly connected with the place to make it a shrine, and there are many tombs which have no *qubbeh*. Both these features will be discussed at length in another part of this work. We may classify tombs according to their position as follows:

1. Those connected with a *maqām*, may be situated

- a) in the shrine itself; as el-Badriyeh (Šarâfât), Bišr el-Ḥâfi (Nablus) etc.;
- b) in the *rawāq*; es-sayid Aḥmad et-Ṭaiyâr (Šarâfât);
- c) in the garden adjacent to the sanctuary; en-nabî 'Annîr (Dêr 'Ammâr), eš-šêḥ Yûsif (Ḥarbatâ).

2. Those which have no shrine built, but are situated

- a) in a cave; eš-šêḥ es-Sidrî ('Anâtâ), es-sitt er-Râb'ah (Mount of Olives);
- b) outside in the fields or in a cemetery; eš-šêḥ Muḥammad el-Baqqânî (Nablus), eš-šêḥ Ramaḍân, eš-šêḥ 'Bêd (both in Qaṭanneh), el-'Uzêr ('Awartah) etc.;
- c) inside the village, among the houses and not attached to any *maqām* or cemetery; eš-šêḥ Šuwân and eš-šêḥ Ismâ'il (both in Sûrbâhir).

It often happens that in addition to the main tomb or tombs, which are situated inside the shrine, there are one or more outside which are intimately connected with the life history of the main *welî*. These may be situated at various distances and still retain their association. Some illustrations are:

In the neighbourhood of eš-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm and outside the *maqâm* is to be seen the tomb of his son Salmân. El-Badriyeh has outside her shrine and in the adjacent hall the tomb of her husband es-sayid Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭaiyâr. Eš-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Bustâmî and his brother eš-šêḥ Murâd (Nablus) have their negro servant buried outside of the *maqâm*. El-Qaṭrâwânî's shepherd lies buried near the sanctuary of his master.

The number of tombs in one sanctuary varies. In the majority of cases there is only one, but some have two, others even more. One of the tombs, generally the largest, is of more importance than the others. It contains the important *welî*, and therefore the sanctuary takes his name. The other graves are those of his near relatives: his wife, his brother, his male descendants and sometimes his servant. The shrines of eš-šêḥ 'Anbar and eš-šêḥ Badr comprise two tombs each, that of the *welî* and that of his wife. In the case of eš-šêḥ Badr both tombs are in the same room, while in that of eš-šêḥ 'Anbar the tomb of the *welî*'s wife is in a small room adjacent. In el-Badriyeh one tomb in the shrine itself is said to be hers, the other to the north that of her children, while the tomb outside her shrine is believed to be that of her husband. More interesting are those cases where we meet with more than two tombs. In eš-šêḥ Ḥamad (Kolôniâ) there are five, the tomb of the *welî*, two for his two wives, one for his son and the fifth that of his servant (really black slave *'abd*). The tomb of the servant is shown partly in and partly outside the shrine. But the two halves do not correspond to each other. We often meet with tombs which are arranged side by side and which belong to one of the following classes:

1. The graves of members of the same family, like the Dawâ'rî in Sûrbâhir and the Yâmin family in Bêt 'Anân. All are regarded as *sullâḥ*, righteous men (pl. of *šâleḥ*). In Ša'fât there are also two tombs of the family of ed-Dawâ'rî. In Irdjâl el-'Amûd (Nablus) we find many tombs outside the *maqâm* which are supposed to be the graves of the servants of the *awliâ* buried here.

2. The tombs of *mudjâhidîn* and *šuhadâ*. Both words mean "martyrs." The first denotes those who have fallen in a holy war. In Hebron we are shown the tombs of eš-Šuhadâ. After decapitation, it is said, the heads rolled down shouting *našhadu, našhadu, našhadu* ("We witness, we witness, we witness"). In Ramleh the tombs of el-Mudjâhidîn are arranged in several rows, not far from en-nabî Šâleḥ. Some large tombs are said to contain the remains of more than one saint, as in al-Anbiâ (Nablus). The *darîḥ* is supposed to be built over the remains of the prophets Raiyâlûn, Yašdjar and Ašar the sons of Jacob. An inscription on silk hanging over the tomb reads: "This is the tomb of the prophets of God, the Glorious, the sons of our master Jacob, and they are Raiyâlûn, Yašadjar and Ašar. On behalf of our Prophet, these, and all other prophets may there be the most efficacious prayers and the most complete peace."¹ In Abû Ghôš we find that the tomb of eš-šêḥ Ismâ'il el-'Inbâwî, which lies by the north wall of the shrine, has a structure connecting it with the wall. This structure is said to be the tomb of his son eš-šêḥ Nâsir.

The following list illustrates the number of the tombs at some *maqâms*, and their connection with the leading *welî* himself:

Name of the <i>welî</i>	Location	Graves of the <i>welî</i>	Graves of brothers	Wife or wives	Sons	Servant
eš-Hamad ²	Kolôniâ	1	—	2	1	1
eš-Badr ²	Jerusalem	1	—	1	—	—
eš-'Anbar	Êsâwiyeh	1	—	1	—	—
eš-Ismâ'il ²	el-Qaryeh	1	—	—	1	—
eš-I'mar	Bêt Duqquh	1	—	1	3 ³	—
Zâwîet ed-Darwišiyeh	Nâblus ⁴	1	1	—	—	1
el-Qaṭrâwânî	near Bîr Zêt	1	—	—	—	1
el-Anbiâ ²	Nâblus	3	—	—	—	—
el-Badriyeh ⁵	Šarâfât	1	—	1	1	—
eš-'Abd es-Salâm	'Anâtâ	1	—	—	1	—

¹ The tradition that Zebulon, Issachar and Asher are buried in Nablus may go back to the Samaritans.

² Already described.

³ Eš-šêḥ I'mar is the son of eš-šêḥ Šâleḥ. His son Dâhûd had one son, Marrâr, whose son's name was Qâsim. I'mar and the last three are buried in this sanctuary.

⁴ The two brothers Aḥmad and Mrâd el-Buštâmî are of equal importance.

⁵ The more important grave of the two is that of el-Badriyeh.

The tombs are built of stone. In most cases the whole is simply plastered over and whitewashed. Even if they are situated out in the open air (cemetery, fields, etc.), and have no protection at all from the storms, they are no better treated. Other tombs are constructed of good hewn stones, which is usually the mark of a tomb of recent origin.¹ The tombs of el-'Uzêr, el-Mufaḍḍil and of el-Manṣûrî are very well kept. In the case of the first (Fig. 2, Plate II) I could recognize three layers of well wrought plaster (*qsâra*). The general structure of these tombs and of the cenotaphs of many important *welîs* consists of an upper gable section superimposed upon a lower oblong base. Fig. 3 of Plate II shows a transverse section of such a cenotaph.

The orientation of the tomb is in general from E. to W., *i. e.* the orthodox orientation of all Mohammedan tombs in this part of the Mohammedan world. The dead are laid on their right sides with their heads to the west and their feet to the east, thus turning their faces to the *qibleh* (direction of Mecca).² There are a few exceptions to this rule. Eš-šêḥ Ghânim of Jericho, situated in the western cemetery, is the best case of such an exception since his tomb is built from N. to S. This saint is of the holy family ed-Dawâ'rî. We have already seen that some of them are buried in Sûrbâhir and others in Ša'fâṭ. In the case of eš-šêḥ Zêd ('Anâtâ) it is somewhat difficult to decide how the tomb is supposed to lie. The wall runs from N. to S. and in the midst of it there is a *šâhid*, but only one, and no signs of any enclosure running from east to west, defining the direction of the tomb. It is generally said that graves showing this direction belong to the pre-Islamic prophets, but this explanation, although true of some, does not hold in the two cases alluded to. The graves of en-nabî Šâmwl, el-'Uzêr, el-Mufaḍḍil³ and el-Anbiâ⁴ run approximately north to south, that of Lot⁵ (Benî N'êm) has a N. to S. direction.

¹ With regard to the general construction of modern Mohammedan tombs I may refer to Boehmer's article, *Auf den muslimischen Friedhöfen Jerusalems*, ZDPV, 1909—10.

² PJ VII, 86; Jaussen, *Coutumes*, p. 99.

³ Both in 'Awartah.

⁴ In Nablus.

⁵ It is curious that while the direction of the tomb is N. S., this prophet is reported to have turned his face, while praying, to the south.

In shape the cenotaphs are elongated with top rounded, flat or with a triangular section rising to a single edge. The tomb of el-Badrîyeh (Fig. 1, Plate III) has a line from end to end of the top, running parallel to the axis, and thus dividing the cenotaph into two parts. It looks as though two tombs were indicated, but popular tradition allows only for one. At both ends we find perpendicular stones, *naşb*¹ or *şâhid*, marking the head (west) and the feet (east). Very often only the head *naşb*, sometimes carved in the form of a turban, is found (eş-şêḥ Abû Ḥalâweh, Jerusalem); in others neither head nor feet are marked at all (eş-şêḥ Şaddâd and eş-şêḥ Şâleḥ). Female saints (el-Badrîyeh, Râb'ah etc.) and gigantic tombs (el-'Uzêr and el-Mufaḍḍil) have no *şawâhid*. In many cases, where we do not find any such stones, a careful investigation shows that the cenotaphs once had them, but have lost them (eş-şêḥ 'Nênî in Sûrbâhir). Where more than one saint is supposed to be buried in one and the same grave, we may find more than one *şâhid*, as in el-Anbiâ (Nablus), where there are three *şawâhid*, one standing for each of the three sons of Jacob, who are supposed to be buried here. According to Jaussen these two perpendicular stones are symbolic, representing the two angels who visit the dead.² I could not verify this statement.³

The tomb may be as high as 1—1.50 meters, but some are very low. The tombs of eş-şêḥ Badr, of his wife, and that of eş-şêḥ Rîḥân are not raised at all above the surrounding floor. Those built outside a *maqâm* are generally elevated, while the lower ones are always inside of buildings. The sizes of tombs differ enormously. The greater number are of normal size, though some have exceptionally large dimensions. The following are the largest that I have seen:

Name of saint	Location	Length	Breadth	Height
El-'Uzêr	'Awartah	564	362	385 cms.
el-Manşûrî	'Awartah	440	235	— cms.
el-Mufaḍḍil	'Awartah	468	264	— cms.
es-sultân Ḥalil Qalawânî	Nablus	458	—	— cms.

¹ *Muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ* and Hava do not give this special meaning, but „a stone set up”.

² I have been unable to find such an explanation in the Arabic books.

³ *Coutumes*, 337.

Name of saint	Location	Length	Breadth	Height
el-Anbiâ	Nablus	410	—	— cms.
Hasan er-Râ'î	near Jericho	590	225	140 cms.
en-nabî Mûsâ	near Jericho	—	—	— cms.
eš-šêḥ Djarrah	Jerusalem	195	137	185 cms.

Many cenotaphs have in one of their walls a small niche (*tâqah*), in which oil lamps (*srâdj*, pl. *surdj*), matchboxes (*'ilbit kabrit*, *tšahhâteh*)¹, etc. are placed. These niches may be found in the northern side of the tomb, as at eš-šêḥ Šuwân,² eš-šêḥ Imbâarak;³ in the southern side, as at ed-Dawâ'rî,² ed-Djarâhîd,⁴ eš-šêḥ Zêd,⁵ eš-šêḥ Ismâ'il,² or in the western side, as in the case of eš-šêḥ Ḥamdallah⁶ and eš-šêḥ 'Anbar.⁷ Some tombs possess more than one, as in the case of the šîṭḥ ed-Djarâhîd on the Mount of Olives, where there are three tombs in one line.⁸ The one in the centre has two niches, a western and a southern. The last niche is supplied with a wooden door. In one *tâqah* I found a lamp and tins of oil and in others water, matches, and burned incense.⁹ Eš-šêḥ ez-Zughbeh (near the tomb of el-Manşûrî in 'Awartah) has such *tâqât* (pl. of *tâqah*), a southern, a western and an eastern one.

While in tombs situated in a shrine, with such a *tâqah* the incense is generally burnt in one of the wall niches,¹⁰ in all tombs found in the fields or in a cemetery and having no building, light and incense are placed in these cenotaph niches.

Some have on top a circular, shallow or deep cup-like cavity, in which water, but more often flowers are placed. It is believed by some that the soul of the dead visits the tomb once a week, on Friday and expects to find some water to quench its thirst. These

¹ Really *kahhâteh*, the "k" is pronounced in some dialects "tš".

² In Šûrbâhir.

³ Bêt Iksâ.

⁴ Mount of Olives.

⁵ 'Anâtâ. The *tâqah* is made in this case by removing a stone from the wall running from north to south.

⁶ Biddû.

⁷ 'Êsâwiyeh.

⁸ Kahle mentions only two tombs, but there are three; *PJ* VII, 90.

⁹ The middle and the southern tombs are connected at their head-ends with a small wall. Whosoever lies between them will be cured from his disease. See also Kahle, *PJ* VII, 91.

¹⁰ In eš-šêḥ Ḥamad the oil lamps were placed on the tomb.

cup-like holes are to be found more frequently in the tombs of common people than in those of *ṣullāḥ* (pl. of *ṣāleḥ*, pious man).

From what I could gather from different people these cups are used for one of the following purposes:¹

1. Water and flowers are placed in them. The purpose of the water is to keep the flowers living for a long time. This is the explanation given by the better class of people.

2. The water in the cup is for the birds, to drink '*ann rūḥ el-maiyet*, "for the (benefit) of the soul of the dead." The idea behind this explanation is that the birds will thank the soul of the dead for this benevolent act, and will in case of necessity testify to this good action. Such an explanation is given by people of the middle class.²

3. The water in the cup³ serves to quench the thirst of the soul of the dead. This idea I have heard from peasants and some simple Mohammedans of Jerusalem.

Flowers, water, etc. are generally brought on Thursday afternoon, the day when the cemeteries are usually visited.

Another custom, which points to the belief mentioned under No. 3, is the fact that very often the relations of the dead read the *fātiḥah* for his soul in case his widow becomes engaged to another man. At the same time an egg and a small jar full of water are buried at the head of the tomb. The water is supposed to quench his thirst and wet his mouth, while the egg will burst asunder, in place of the dead man, when the behaviour of his wife becomes known to him.⁴

Up to now only complete tombs have been mentioned, but parts of tombs are also found. A short description of one of them will suffice. In *Sûrbâhir*⁵ just behind the guest-house there is a rectangular depression in the rock about 4×2 metres in extent, with a depth of 50—60 cm. Two steps lead down. In the midst of the western

¹ It is curious that Kahle gives only one explanation of these cups, *PJ* VII, 90.

² For the same reason, as Kahle thinks, about 450 kg of corn and a *zîr* of water are placed on the feast-day of el-imâm eš-Šâfi'i on the roof of his *maqâm* (Cairo).

³ At times there are two such cups. Even on common tombs one may find them.

⁴ This custom is dying out.

⁵ I have heard both "*Sûrbâhir*" and "*Sûrbâhil*".

wall there protrudes a small, very simple building resembling one half of a common Mohammedan tomb. Enquiring about the significance of this I was told that eš-šēḥ Ismâ'il was buried in a small cave in in the rock, and that this building is intended to cover his feet, which protruded since the cave was not long enough for the whole body. In the east side of this half tomb there is a *tâqah* which serves light and incense.

Very often tombs are decorated. *Hinnâ*, *sîrâqûn* and *nîleh* are used. Palm branches, hands, lines and dots are frequently met with. *Sîrâqûn* produces a beautiful red colour. It is curious that all representations of palm branches made on the graves of ed-Dawâ'ri (Sûrbâhir) had five or seven branches. Sometimes verses from the Qoran or the names of God are written with these colours. In the case of the three tombs of šyûḥ ed-Djarâhid (Mount of Olives) I noticed a red line running across every tomb, commencing with the lower and middle part of the northern side and terminating at the lower and middle part of the southern side. In many cases an inscription may be found connected with the tomb. The inscribed stone is on the sides or on the top of the cenotaph.

Lastly it should be noted, that a great number of the tombs situated inside a *maqâm* are covered with one or more *stârât*¹ (pl. of *stârah*, cover). Generally it is a greenish cloth, often with a border or embroidery in other colours. Sometimes the covers are decorated with verses from the Qoran. On the *râsiyeh* (headstone) a turban and sometimes a *masbahah* (rosary) are placed. This last may, as in the case of Beiram Šawîš (Jerusalem), be placed around the whole tomb. In many cases the *stârah* itself is not put directly on the tomb, but on a wooden cage, which is made in the form of the tomb and encloses the grave. Such are especially used where the tombs are very low, as in al-Badriyeh and the already mentioned Beiram Šawîš. In many cases an inscription laid on the *stârah*, and embroidered on a piece of velveteen, informs us of the name or names of those interred in the grave, as on the tombs of Irdjâl el-'Amûd, el-Anbiâ, eš-šēḥ Aḥmad el-Bistâmi and es-sultân Badr el-Ghafîr (all in Nablus). Sometimes the tomb is encircled with an iron frame (eš-šēḥ Salmân el-Fârsî).

¹ Also *sitrât*, pl. of *sitreh*. This expression is not used much for these covers.

All tombs so far described have been tombs built of masonry. But there are others made of an elongated heap of stones, surrounded by a stone enclosure.¹ Such graves very much resemble the present simple tombs of the peasants. We meet with them especially among the Bedouins (eš-šêḥ Zughbeh,² Jericho). In some cases there is no surrounding enclosure, and this points to the most primitive type of tomb cult. The only example of this kind which I have seen is that of eš-šêḥ Huês³ of Biddû. No *tâqah* is connected with it.⁴ In others we do not find a heap of stones, but only a perpendicular stone at the head and another at the foot to mark the position of the grave (*qabr*), as in eš-šêḥ Şabbâḥ at Jericho. This supposed tomb is surrounded by a *ḥuwêṭah* (enclosure).⁵

c) Trees

Trees constitute a very important element of most shrines. This is not a new custom, for many of the "high places" of the Old Testament were associated with "green trees". I have no doubt that with few exceptions every Mohammedan sanctuary is, or was once, characterised by one or more trees. *Welîs* of recent origin, however, are generally treeless, like eš-šêḥ Abû Ḥalâwî. A large number of these trees were cut down during the war, while many have died of old age or been uprooted by storms (el-Buṭmeh in Bêt Şafâfâ). These are doubtless the main causes why so many shrines are at present treeless. I have very often heard the following statement: "The *welî* has no tree at present, but I remember very well that during my childhood there stood a large tree there." In many cases, where the old tree was cut down, the inhabitants of the village, to whom that particular saint belongs, have planted a new one of the same species, as was done, for example, in eš-šêḥ 'Anbar. The huge fig tree which once grew there was cut down and burned by the soldiers, whose camp was in the neighbourhood. The people of Êsâwiyeh have planted another

¹ Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 432.

² Not Zu'beh, as given by Kahle, *PJ*, 1911, p. 88.

³ In 1922 the inhabitants of the village had heaped stones together to build the tomb.

⁴ Kahle describes another example of this category, namely eš-šêḥ Moḥammed Darîr el-Qâdrî (*PJ*, 1911, p. 87).

⁵ In the vicinity there is a *zaqqûm* tree (a kind of myrobalm).

in its place. At times it so happens that at some distance from the *welî* a tree grows up, and a statement by some one from the adjacent village, that it was revealed to him in a dream that this tree belongs to the same *welî*, is sufficient to protect the tree completely. A *mês* tree (*celtis australis* L.) growing quite near eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah (Ša'fât), and a fig tree growing above the cave of eš-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm ('Anâtâ) are regarded at present as belonging to the saints.

According to my data from all the shrines where I was able to obtain definite information as to the presence or absence of trees, they were found in 60 % of the cases. From an analysis of the different species of trees growing near these places we find that sanctity is not attributed to one more than to others. This fact indicates that it is not the tree itself which makes the place holy but that the tree derives its sanctity from the *welî* to whom it is dedicated. In some cases it would appear that there is proof to the contrary, but see below. The following analysis may not be without interest. Out of 128 cases where trees were found near sanctuaries, in 30 cases the trees were oaks (*ballût*¹), in 25 figs (*tîn*²), in 21 carobs (*ḥarrûb*³), in 16 olives⁴ (*zêtûn*⁵), in 14 Mulberries (*tût*⁶), in 12 lote trees (*sîdr*⁷) and in 10 terebinths (*buṭum*⁸). Other trees occasionally found are:

¹ *Quercus coccifera* L. In this connection I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Dinsmore for his kindness in giving the exact botanical names.

² *Ficus carica* L.

³ *Ceratonia siliqua* L.

⁴ *Olea europea* L.

⁵ A few words about the rôle played by the olive tree in the Palestinian folklore may be of interest. The olive tree is called in the different commentaries on the Qoran, *eš-šadjarah el-mubârakeh*, the blessed tree. It comes from Paradise, and is the most noble among all the plants (Faḥr er-Râzi VI, 264; VIII, 458). A common proverb compares the olive tree with the bedouin (who can live anywhere in the desert and requires very little for his living) and the fig tree with the *fellaḥ* (who has more necessities) and the vine with a *sirrîyeh* (who requires a great deal of attention). Christians believe that olive trees kneel down in the night of the feast of Holy Cross.

⁶ *Morus nigra* L.

⁷ *Zizyphus Spina Christi* L.

⁸ *Pistacia palestina* Boiss.

EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURES IN PLATE I

- Fig. 1. A frieze representing two serpents.
- Fig. 2. The number 810170 inscribed over the entrance to the sanctuary of en-nabî Lût.
- Fig. 3. A frieze (es-sultân Ibrahîm el-Adhamî, Ša'fât).
- Fig. 4. Dots of ħinna, or nîleh.
- Fig. 5. Dots of the five fingers.
- Fig. 6. Decorations seen in the shrine of eš-šêĥ Hâmed in ed-Djîb. I could not elicit their meaning.
- Fig. 7. Representations of two serpents.
- Fig. 8. Representations of different sorts of palm twigs, some have 5, others 7 leaves, while most of them have more.

<i>snôbar</i>	<i>Pinus pinea</i> L.	stone pine,
<i>sarû</i>	<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i> L.	cypress,
<i>qrêš</i>	<i>Pinus halepensis</i> Mill.	Aleppo pine,
<i>naḥl</i>	<i>Phoenix dactylifera</i> L.	palm tree,
<i>mallûl</i>	<i>Quercus aegilops</i> L.	Greek oak,
<i>šabr</i>	<i>Opuntia ficus indica</i> L. Mill.	prickly-pear,
<i>dâlyeh</i>	<i>Vitis vinifera</i>	vine,
<i>rummân</i>	<i>Punica granatum</i> L.	pomegranate,
<i>mêš</i>	<i>Celtis australis</i> L.	hackberry, nettle tree,
<i>djummêz</i>	<i>Ficus sycomorus</i> L.	sycomore,
<i>ghâr</i>	<i>Laurus nobilis</i>	laurel.

Trees which naturally predominate on the plains—such as mulberries, palms and sycomores—are naturally more common in connection with shrines found in the plains.

In some cases a solitary tree serves to beautify the shrine, in others a small or a large grove is assigned to the holy person. It is my opinion that in the neighbourhood of many of these holy trees there used to be woods, from which one or more trees now survive, testifying to the former "forest glory" of Palestine. Eš-šêḥ el-Qaṭrawânî, Irdjâl Abû Tûḥ,¹ eš-šêḥ Aḥmad,² eš-šêḥ Abû Lêmûn,³ etc. illustrate this view.

It is not necessary that a group of trees assigned to a *welî* should be all of the same species. The following shows that different trees may be connected with the same *welî*:

Abû Lêmûn	Bêt Iksâ	terebinth and oak trees;
el-Manṣûrî	‘Awartah	mulberry and vine trees;
el-‘Uzêr	‘Awartah	terebinths, a palm and a carob ;
šadjârât el-Arb‘în	Qubêbeh	figs, oak and terebinths;
el-‘Uzêr	‘Êzariyeh	pomegranate, cypress and a lemon;
Salmân el-Fârsî	Mount of Olives	Aleppo pine, cypress, olive and pomegranate;
Abû Tûḥ	Bêt Lîkiâ	olive, oak, terebinth, carob and several other sorts.

The trees are generally in close proximity with the sanctuaries. In very exceptional cases the building encloses the tree, or rather

¹ Bêt Lîkiâ.

² Ḥirbet Qariet S‘ideh.

³ Bêt Iksâ.

part of the trunk. But it is not infrequent for the tree to be found at some distance from the *weli*. In cases where the holy man has several trees dedicated to him, one may grow near the *maqâm*, while others are at considerable distance from it. The best example of this is al-Badriyeh, who has in her sanctuary an oak, two olive trees and a lemon tree, another large oak tree to the east of the *maqâm*, a third oak in the valley, one on the way to el-Mâlîhâ and a fifth which stood once east of er-Râm. This last was cut down during the war. Es-sultân Ibrâhîm el-Adhamî (Bêt Ḥanînâ) has a mulberry and at some distance two oaks and a *mêseh*. The last died recently and was cut down.¹

Holy trees, not connected with any *qubbeh* or tomb will be described later. All holy trees, whether they be near to or far from the shrine are revered and respected; even those that are not connected at all with any shrine enjoy the same reverence. If the holy tree is a fruit-tree such as mulberry, fig, vine, cactus, etc. it is regarded as a *sabîl*,² i. e. everybody who passes that way is permitted to eat as much as he chooses, but nothing must be carried away. One who breaks this rule is said to be severely punished by the saint of that particular tree. Nearly all who avail themselves of this privilege will recite the *fâtîḥah* before plucking the fruit. In other cases the *qayim* or *ḥaddâm* (the responsible servant of the shrine) reserves for himself only the right to gather the fruit of such trees, as well as those of the *waqf* gardens belonging to the shrine, as in the case of sittnâ el-Ḥadrâ in Nablus. In the case of el-Manşûrî ('Awartah) the large vine is rented to some inhabitant of the village, who has the sole right to cut the grapes. The income from the fruits is used to repair the *maqâm*.

How severely the saint will punish anyone who steals from his property is shown in the following story about el-Manşûrî. A gendarme happened to pass through 'Awartah. He rested under the mulberry tree beside the sanctuary. Seeing the beautiful

¹ Other examples are eš-šêḥ Ḥamad (Kolônîâ) with a mulberry in the sanctuary and an oak at a distance; eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah (el-Qubêbeh) also has a mulberry and, on the hill opposite on the south, a carob (el-ḥarrûbeh ed-djdideh).

² *Sabîl* is used also for a water reservoir, as will be explained elsewhere.

grapes in the *maqâm*, he cut a few bunches, despite the repeated warnings of the people of the village. Before long the gendarme began to vomit blood incessantly. Nothing helped or relieved him until he bought a sheep and offered it to el-Manşûrî, thus appeasing his wrath and atoning for his fault.

Another well-observed rule is that no one dares to cut any branch, however small it may be, from any of these trees. Furthermore, the saint will not allow anyone to gather and take away the broken or withered branches. They may only be used for cooking such meals as are offered in fulfilment of a vow, or meals prepared in festivals of that particular *welî*. Eş-şêh Brêk (pronounced by some Brêts) south of Yâlô had many trees which were cut down by some of the inhabitants of that village and converted into charcoal. According to local belief he revenged this infamous act by slaying every one of the trespassers. The people always believe that locusts cannot injure the holy trees. Most of those I asked about this subject assured me that while all other trees of the village in the year 1915 were completely eaten up by this frightful curse, the holy trees remained untouched. This can be taken as an excellent illustration of the childlike belief of the peasants, for only such trees which were in general not attacked elsewhere by the locusts, were spared in the case of the *welîs*.

One additional point should be mentioned in connection with trees. The sacredness of the trees and the respect shown to every *welî* is the reason why peasants of the neighbouring fields deposit their grain and wood, their ploughs and other agricultural implements, and the like, under these trees for one night or longer, feeling sure that the *welî* will protect them. More will be said later about this subject.

Not to be confused with holy trees which are associated with saints, are those which are inhabited by demons. It is very difficult to give any definite rule by means of which a stranger can differentiate between the one and the other. The following points appear to be characteristic:

1. I have never heard that a tree supposed to be inhabited by demons was hung with pieces of cloth. Every person whom I asked about this answered in the above sense; and so I can not verify the

statement of Mills, quoted by Goldziher¹ in his *Mohammedanische Studien*.

2. While any tree can be sanctified by a *welî*, the *djinn* seem only to inhabit certain kinds of trees, especially the *ḥarrûb*. Several stories illustrating this belief may be found in my *Aberglaube*.² This is why an Arabic proverb says, "Sleeping below a carob tree is not recommended,"³ since it is thought that these trees are not only preferred by the demons as a home, but that they assemble here from time to time. Therefore a simple *fellaḥ* will not bind his donkey to a carob tree without asking the *djinn* first for permission. Superstition tells us that this tree was the cause of the ruin of king Solomon's kingdom. The misfortunes attached to it may arise from the idea that the *ḥarrûb*⁴ belongs to the misfortune-bringing planet Saturn.⁶ Black fig-trees are also thought to be preferred by the demons.⁶

When a tree is inhabited by a demon it cannot belong at the same time to a *welî*. This is different with springs, where a good and a bad spirit may dwell in one and the same water course.⁷

The story of the *ḥarrûb* tree and the ruin of king Solomon's kingdom runs as follows: One day in the temple courts king Solomon noticed a young plant unknown to him. He asked this plant for its name. "Ḥarrûb" was the answer. "Of what use art thou?" continued the king. "To destroy thy works," replied the plant. The king then asked God that his death whenever it should occur, might be hidden from the demons till all mankind should be aware

¹ II, 350.

² p. 8 ff.

³ *en-nâm taḥt el-ḥarrûb ghêr mamdûḥ*.

⁴ El-Madjrîti, *ghâiatu-l-ḥakîm*.

⁵ The word *ḥarrûb* (carob) comes from the same root as *ḥarraba*, "to ruin," and so it is a very bad omen to dream about this tree; cf. 'Abd el-Ghanî en-Nâbulsi, *ta'îr el-anâm fî ta'îr el-manâm* and ZDMG.

⁶ The following story may illustrate this point. M. I. from Artâs went with his wife S., daughter of M. Z., to the vineyards. He approached her under a fig tree and forgot to say: "*bismi-llah er-raḥmân er-raḥîm*," to drive away the *djinn* who live in such a tree. Soon afterwards his wife was attacked with epilepsy which, as we know, is thought to be caused by a *djinn*. In this case he was told by a *šêḥ*, to whom he went for advice, that the inhabiting demon was a *ṭeyr ṭaiyâr*, "a flying bird," which could not be caught.

⁷ JPOS, I, pp. 153-170, and *Aberglaube*.

of it. Having prayed thus, Solomon dug up the carob and planted it in his garden where, to prevent as far as possible any harm coming from it, he watched it closely until it had grown into a strong sapling. He then cut it down and made it into a walking stick.

Now, many years before, Balqîs, Queen of Sheba, had come to prove the king with hard questions, one of which was how to pass a silk thread through a bead, with a screw-like perforation. He asked all animals, birds, reptiles, insects and worms for help. Only a small white worm undertook the task, which it performed by taking the end of the thread in its mouth, then crawled in at one end, and out of the other. Solomon granted its request that it might lodge in any plant it chose, and feed thereon. Unknown to him it had found a home under the bark of the *harrûb* tree, which had become his staff, and had penetrated to the very centre of the trunk. The time arrived for the king to die, and he happened to be sitting as usual, leaning on his stick, when the angel of death came and took away his soul; unknown to the demons who continued their work according to the king's instructions for full forty years. At last, however, the worm hollowed the whole staff, which suddenly broke and the body of the king rolled to the ground; and thus the evil spirits knew that their tyrant was dead.¹

d) Water Courses

Another feature of most of the holy places is the presence of water. This is either rain-water stored in cisterns (*bîr*, pl. *biâr*) or *hrâbât* (pl. of *hrâbeh*, a cistern-like hole, which is not plastered), or living water of wells and *baiyârât* (pl. of *baiyârah*, which are especially found in the plain), and lastly running water from springs and brooks. Of course not all shrines have water near them, but it is to be found in the greater number. Such a spring or cistern is more or less sacred to the holy man near whose shrine it is, and from him it may derive supernatural power, which if known is made

¹ The story is found in *Dâiratu-l-ma'ârif* VII; a part of it is mentioned in *al-uns ed-djâlîl* etc. I, 121; Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land* pp. 49, 50. The text is taken mostly from the last source.

use of by the *fellâhîn*. This subject will be dealt with later in greater detail.

In many cases the cistern or the well is in a ruined condition and thus does not hold water.¹ At shrines situated on or near the tops of high mountains, cisterns are more usual; in the western plains wells, cisterns, *baiyârât* and *hrâbât* are generally found; while in the hill country, where the holy places are situated on the sloping side of the mountain, springs are more common.

In a few cases a *sabîl* is attached to the sanctuary. *Sabîl* means in this case a reservoir, built by the public road and filled at regular periods with water, so that every thirsty passerby benefits by it. A cup is always left in these places. Among *welîs* with *sabîls* may be mentioned: al-imâm 'Alî and eš-šêḥ Djarrâḥ. The latter is surrounded by a *zâwiyeh* (a sort of a convent). Outside the *maqâm* a new mosque was built, on the inner walls of which hang *ṭbûl* (pl. of *ṭabl*, drum), *ṣnûdj* (pl. of *ṣindj*, brass castanets), spears (*ḥarbeh*, pl. *ḥarbât*²), long sharp spits or *siâḥ* (pl. of *sîḥ*) and *šiâš* (pl. of *šîš*) spits of another sort.³

The word *misqâyy* is used in some places for *sabîl*. Some shrines, like sayidnâ Sa'd el-Anşâr and eš-šêḥ Ḥamdallah, have one or more big earthenware jars (*zîr*, pl. *ziâr*), which are kept full of water. The pious pilgrim and the passerby find water for their ritual purification and refreshment.

The *welî* Ḥamdallah⁴ is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the western cemetery of Biddû. It is composed of a quadrangular enclosure, built of stone and mortar. The door is in the northern side. Around the tomb an oak-tree and a rose-bush grow, and another rose-shrub is to be seen outside the enclosure. A similar jar to that mentioned above was placed in the outer south-west corner, but was broken when I visited the shrine in 1922. A *miḥrâb*, indicated on the southern wall, marks the direction for prayers. Some rags were fastened on the tree. To the north of this shrine there is a large water basin, hewn in the rock.

¹ As is the case in Abû Lêmûn, el-Qaṭrawânî, es-Sidrî, etc.

² The correct plural is *ḥirâb*.

³ The use of these weapons and musical instruments will be described elsewhere.

⁴ McCown, l. c., mentions only the name, not having seen the actual place.

EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURES IN PLATE II

Fig. 1. A rough sketch of eš-šêḥ Ḥamad in Kolônîâ.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A = Outer Court. | a = Cistern |
| B = Maqâm | b = A mulberry tree |
| C = School Room | c = Miḥrâb |
| D = Rawâq | d = The tomb of the servant, partly inside the shrine and partly in the court |
| E = Room for the teacher | e = The tombs of the šêḥ, his two wives and that of his son. |

Fig. 2. A rough sketch of the sanctuary of el-'Uzêr ('Awartah).

- A = Elevated place
 B = The huge tomb
 C = A room with a Samaritan inscription on the western wall. Below the inscription there are three niches
 a, b, c = Three rooms, in b there is an inscription (Samaritan), in c food is cooked by the visitors
 1, 2 = Two buṭum trees
 3 = Several carob trees
 4 = A palm tree
 5 = A quadrangular opening leading to a cave.

Fig. 3. A transverse section of the tomb of el-'Uzêr. The other tombs of 'Awartah have the same form.

Fig. 4. A perpendicular section of a complicated qubbeh. Section running through two opposite corners.

Fig. 5. Decorations around the miḥrâb of the sanctuary of eš-šêḥ Yâsîn (Dêr Yâsîn).

Plate II

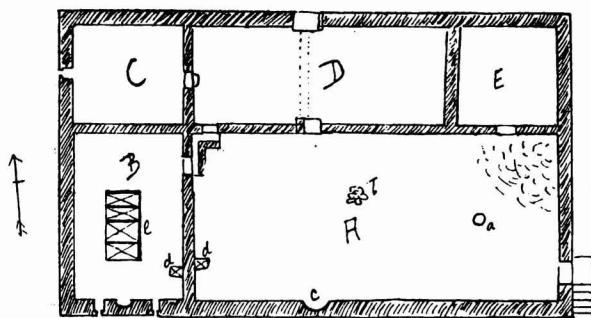


Fig. 1. -
Plan of eö-šeh
Hamad
(Holonä - a rough
sketch).

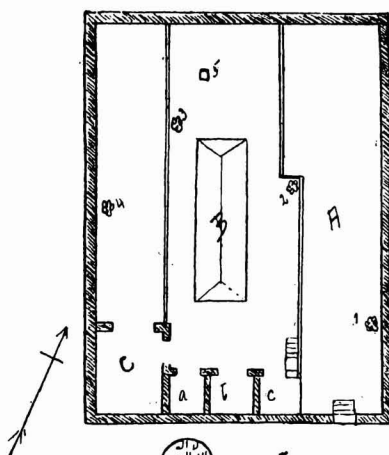


Fig. 2. The shrine of el-'Uzêr
(Uvartah - a rough sketch)

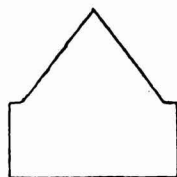


Fig. 3.

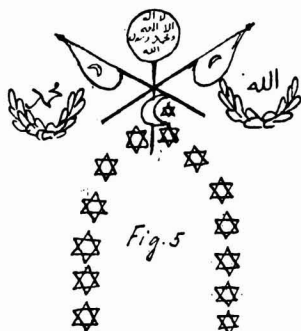


Fig. 5.

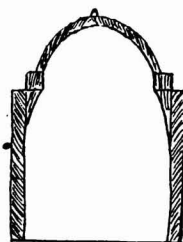


Fig. 4.

Sometimes the running water and the tree are the only indications of the sacredness of the place, and at other times we find only water courses, which although not connected with any shrine, grave or holy tree are considered to be sacred and are assigned to some holy person. In one case, el-Maṭba'ah, there is a swamp connected with a *welî*. This marsh has a widespread reputation for relieving rheumatic pains and is at the same time supposed to cure sterility.

65% of all sanctuaries recorded in this connection possessed a source of water (flowing or standing) in the neighbourhood.

e) Caves

The last feature to be noted is the presence of a cave in or about the shrine. We must consider three quite different kinds of caves:

1. Sacred caves connected with a sanctuary, either tomb or *maqâm*.
2. Sacred caves, which have no connection with any shrine.
3. Simple caves, having no apparent connection with the sacredness of a shrine, though situated near one.

It is interesting to note how many holy places are directly or indirectly connected with one or other kind of cave.

Sacred caves sometimes lie inside the *maqâm* itself and appear rather like a shallow cistern with a wide opening.¹ In such cases we seldom find a tomb in the shrine, and the people believe that the tomb is inside the cave itself.² Of course no one has ever dared to descend into the cave to look for the grave. The mouth of such a cave is generally closed.

The following story illustrates this belief. The *qaiym* of eš-šêḥ Moḥammad, whose shrine lies in wâdî ed-Damm, to the south of ed-Djôrah, once ventured to descend into the cave (*el-ghâr*) of the shrine. There he saw the *welî* with a bloody sword in his hand. This sword was that of the Mohammedan leader who fell here while leading the troops who finally conquered Askalon. As soon as the *qaiym* climbed out he fell sick, and died in a few days.

More often the caves are outside the building, either near by or some distance away. Occasionally people relate that the holy man

¹ As is the case, for example, in the sanctuary of en-nebî Luṭ (Banî N'êm)

² S. Kahle, *PJ*, 1911. p. 92.

has been seen leaving his shrine and walking to the cave, whence, after staying some time, he returns to his *maqâm*. Caves connected with holy persons are always respected. Some have never been entered; others are approached only during the daytime, as their *wahrah* (condition of inspiring awe) is very strong. In many cases oil lamps are lighted and incense is burnt in the cave itself. No animals are allowed to enter such a cave, for it is believed that the spirit of the holy man will sooner or later inflict severe punishment upon such an animal. Many peasants say that they have seen in such a cave a greenish light, which is extinguished as soon as a human being approaches the place.

In most respects the above description also applies to sacred caves not connected with any shrine. Fuller details regarding this type of holy places will be given later. Among such caves we may mention: One on the left side of the carriage-road leading from Jerusalem to Kolônîâ, just opposite the last house of Liftâ, which is situated on the right side of the road.¹ A cave in the garden of the Leper Hospital in Jerusalem.²

In addition to these two groups of caves there are many instances where caves are not far distant from sanctuaries but have no direct connection with them. Often they lie in a ruin. Shepherds may keep their flocks there during the night. Instances are the caves found around the shrines of eš-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm, eš-šêḥ es-Sidrî and eš-šêḥ 'Anbar. The caves of the first are in the ruins of ḥirbet 'Almîṭ, those of the second in ḥirbet Dêr es-Sidd, and those of the third in ḥirbet Ibqû' eḏ-Dân. The caves below the shrine of es-sitt el-Badrîyeh (Šarâfât) are used for storing straw (*tibn*).

These caves are of two types—either natural or hewn in the rock. Most of the latter are ancient rock tombs, the entrances to which have been enlarged. It is sometimes observed that old, damaged and partly buried vaults are counted as caves. This I have especially noticed in 'Awartah.

The three caves belonging to this class are to my mind the crudest type of sanctuaries. They were ruined, dark, dirty and unattended. Eš-šêḥ Srûr is situated inside the village and is made

¹ The terrain where this cave is found is known by the name el-Ḥômeh.

² The story of this cave is given on another page.

of a low, dirty, dark and half ruined room which was at the time of my visit full of lime. El-'Adjamî is a very low, narrow and dirty opening in the habitation of a peasant. The *maqâm* was filled with firewood. A second 'Adjamî has as shrine a roomlike cave, situated below a building and vaulted over.

Although these sanctuaries are of so crude a type, they are honoured and respected by the peasants. Oil-lamps are lighted in them, oaths and vows are made in their name.

Among sanctuaries having a sacred cave in their vicinity are: El-'Uzêr near 'Awartah, eş-Şaḡrah in the mosque of Omar (Jerusalem), eş-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Ḥwês in Biddû, and eş-šêḥ es-Sidrî near 'Anâtâ.

The first two will be described more fully later. The tomb of eş-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Ḥwês¹ lies in the common cemetery, while the cave, which is more highly honoured, lies at the very edge of the village. It is an ancient tomb hewn in the rock which becomes partly filled with water during the winter time. All vows and lights are offered to this saint in this place. He has been also seen to walk out of the cave.

The es-Sidrî has been already described.

Sacred caves which are not connected at all with a tomb or a masonry *maqâm* will be discussed below. Among caves which, although found in the neighbourhood of holy places, have no connection with the sacredness of the *maqâm* are:²

eş-šêḥ Yûsif	between el-Bîreh and Surdah,
eş-šêḥ 'Ammâr	in Dêr Duwân,
eş-šêḥ Abû Yûsif	north of Kafr Ni'meh, ³
eş-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm	in 'Anâtâ.

The shrine of eş-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm lies east of 'Anâtâ in the vicinity of the ruin. It has one room enclosing the tomb, which is covered with a green cloth. The head stone is dressed with a greenish *laffeh* (the head dress of the peasant). I found in the shrine a straw mat, many oil-lamps, oil-bottles which were mostly

¹ McCown, *op. cit.* p. 50, seems to know nothing about the tomb of this *welî*. He describes only the cave.

² These caves need not be always close to the *welî*.

³ Reported to the writer by Omar Effendi el-Barghûî.

empty, straw brooms, an earthen oil-jar and a copy of the Qoran. Outside of this room there are several caves, small and large, which do not share the sacredness of the *welî*. To the northeast we see the tomb of his son, eš-šêḥ Slimân. A fig-tree grows in the rock adjacent to the shrine. It is related by some that the father planted it; according to others, God made it grow in the rock to prove the authenticity of the *welî*.

We have hitherto dealt only with those caves whose nature as such is apparent. Very often people tell us that beneath or beside a *welî* there is a hidden cave, inside of which the tomb of the holy person is situated. This feature is met with in eš-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Karakî eṭ-Ṭaiyâr (in Qaṣṭal), sittnâ el-Ḥadrâ (in Nablus), eš-šêḥ el-Qaṭrawânî (between Bîr Zêt and 'Aṭârah) en-nabî Şamwîl (Mizpah of Samuel), eš-šêḥ-'Abdallah (in Qubêbeh), etc.

Sittnâ el-Ḥadrâ illustrates this class. Three doors, the middle one being the main one, lead to an elongated room which is spread with carpets. The walls, especially the southern one, are decorated with rough paintings, Qoranic verses, and hung with musical instruments and weapons of the dervishes. The *miḥrâb* is beautifully decorated. A door in the western wall leads to a small and dark room, which is known by the name ḥuzn Ja'qûb ("Jacob's sorrow"), since it is believed that Jacob wept here for the supposed death of his beloved son Joseph. The *šêḥ* relates that this room is built on a cave which was once opened. Fifty two steps used to lead down to it. This cave is thought to be the actual place where Jacob spent his days of mourning.¹ The sanctuary is surrounded by beautiful gardens.

It is a mistake to confuse the caves described above with those inhabited by *djinn*, who appear in different shapes, mostly during the night, and always try to injure the passerby. Such caves are Mghârit Abû Farḥ and Mghârit Mardj el-Badd (both in Abû Dis). In the first one the *djinn* appear sometimes in the form of animals and sometimes in the shape of human beings. At the second mentioned cave the demons assume the appearance of a cock.

Places and caves regarded as holy by Christians and Jews may, at the same time, be considered by the Mohammedans to be the

¹ There is no tomb in this cave.

abiding place of *djinn*. Although this is rare, the following episode illustrates the point. Slimân Muṣṭafâ, a peasant of Mâlhâ, was returning one evening from Jerusalem. As he was overtaken by heavy rain, he sought shelter in a cave which lies near Bir el-Balât, and not far from the convent of the Holy Cross. The monks of this convent are said to have buried their dead here in former years. No sooner had he sat down on a stone than a he-goat came close to him. The peasant, joyful at this unexpected gift, struck a match but could see nothing. As soon as the light of the match went out, he saw the goat again. Frightened by the repeated appearance and disappearance of this animal, he rushed out of the cave with the words "in the name of the Gracious, Merciful God." This freed him from the demon, which was following him in the shape of the he-goat.

3. TYPES OF SANCTUARIES

We have now considered all the characteristic elements of these sanctuaries—with the exception of stone circles, stone heaps and rocks, which may also be found. We now proceed to deal with the various combined features which may make up a *welî*. Attention must first be drawn to a constant factor affecting the importance of the different features of a shrine. The two most important parts of a sanctuary are without doubt the *maqâm* and the tomb; trees and water-courses rank second, other features being generally of minor significance. I hope, however, in the following pages to make it clear that even to these unimportant features is sometimes granted a high degree of sanctity. No place can be considered holy, *i. e.* inhabited by a holy person, unless two conditions are fulfilled: (1.) The performance there of religious acts, such as oaths, vows, lighting lamps, burning incense, etc.; (2.) the occurrence there of unnatural phenomena, as, for example, hearing religious music, seeing a light lit by itself, or a severe punishment befalling a trespasser. These points will be considered in a subsequent chapter. Let us now study the different features which may constitute a shrine in the wide sense of the word. They may be divided into nine classes:

- I. Sanctuaries consisting of a *maqâm* and a tomb, with all or most of the other features;
- II. A *maqâm* but no tomb;

- III. A tomb without a *maqâm*;
- IV. A cave with or without a tomb;
- V. A simple circular enclosure of stone, without a tomb;
- VI. A spring or a well;
- VII. A solitary tree or a group of trees;
- VIII. A heap of stones;
- IX. A simple large stone or a rock.

I to VI may, or may not be combined with one or more of the following features: a tree, water, a ruin or a cave.

I. Sanctuaries with a shrine (*maqâm*) and a tomb.

These are the most complete and highly developed forms. Usually we find them whenever we have to do with an important, well-established and highly honoured saint. In such cases the tomb of the holy person was the primary part of the shrine, and in the course of time an individual or village built the sanctuary. The more important the holy man, the greater the complexity of the building. Prophets (*anbiâ*) enjoy the largest *maqâms*. But even many of the simple *šyûḥ* have shrines falling within this group, as, for example, eš-šêḥ et-Tôrî, eš-šêḥ 'Anbar, etc. Some of them are elaborate structures, as eš-šêḥ I'mar (Bêt Duqqû), eš-šêḥ Ḥamad (Kolônîâ) and Irdjâl el-'Amûd (Nablus). Good examples of large and complicated buildings are those of en-nabî Mûsâ and 'Alî ibn '(E)lêm.¹

The shrine of eš-šêḥ I'mâr² the son of eš-šêḥ Šâlêḥ is situated on the mountain on which Bêt Duqqû is built. The sanctuary consists of three rooms, a cistern and an open place to the north of the rooms. The open place is surrounded by a massive wall and has a palm-tree on its east side. The two western rooms communicate with each other. In the southern one there are the tombs³ of the well and his wife, while in the northern one his son eš-šêḥ Dâhûd is buried. On each side of the door which leads from this room to the open place we see a tomb, the eastern one of which covers the remains of eš-šêḥ Qâsim, the son of 'Alî the son of Marâr, while the western one belongs to this Marâr the

¹ North of Jaffa.

² Corruption of 'Omar.

³ The tombs were decorated with *ḥinnâ* and *maghrî*.

EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURES IN PLATE III

Fig. 1. Plan of el-Badrîyeh.

A = Outer Court	a = door to outer court
B = Inner Court	b = door to inner court
C = Back Court	c = entrance to the maqâm
D = Small Garden	d = cistern
E = Cemetery	e = tomb of el-Badrîyeh
F = Sanctuary	f = tombs of her children
G = Ruâq, serving as a djâmi'	g = tomb of her husband
	h = prayer niche
	i = two olive trees
	k = an oak tree
	l = entrance to a cave.

Fig. 2. Plan of Irdjâl el-'Amûd.

a = entrance to court
b = cistern
c = private tombs (those of the servants and relatives of the Saints)
d = qubbeh
e = a djâmi' with a mihrâb
f = under the window is the opening to a cave, where 40 martyrs are said to be buried. It is called ghâr seydnâ 'Alî ibn Abi Tâlib
g = the tombs of the šîûḥ.

On the šâšiyeh of the main entrance (a) a fragment of a pillar is built.

Fig. 3. A part of the wall of the enclosure of el-Manşûrî in 'Awartah.

son of Dâhûd. The eastern room used to serve as a *maktab* (school room), but its ruined state at present makes it useless. In the two western rooms there were oil-lamps, oil-bottles, two long wooden sticks for banners, a pot with sweet-basil¹ and a heap of carob fruits.² The last is the *weli's* portion of the carob tree, which belongs to him and grows at some distance from the *maqâm*.

Since every point in connection with *maqâms* of this group has already been described, we may pass on to the next class.

II. *Maqâms* without a tomb

They are sanctuaries built in a village and bearing the name of a *djâmi'*³ (a mosque), like *djâmi'* el-Arbîn (*Êsâwiyeh*), *djâmi'* 'Omar ibn el-Ḥaṭṭâb⁴ (*Sûrbâhir*⁵), *djâmi'* el-'Uzêr⁴ (el-Qaryeh), etc.

Djâmi' el-'Uzêr lies to the east of the French Benedictine church and convent. The shrine consists of an open place, to the south of which there is a *rawâq* with two arches and a prayer room, which has two beautifully decorated *mihrâbs*. To the west of the open court is a small room, in which the dead are ritually washed before they are buried. A spring and a palm-tree are found in the open courtyard. Around the two *mihrâbs* of the prayer room and around that of the *rawâq* there are impressions of hands, and representations of palm branches, some of which have nine, others seven leaves.

The people are well aware that the holy man whose name the mosque bears was not buried here. They explain the connection of his name with the place by the fact that during his lifetime he was very pious and therefore so honoured that in every place where he is supposed to have offered prayer—and he never missed one of the five daily prayers—a *mihrâb* was erected and later a *djâmi'* was built. This explanation, told me by the *muḥtâr* (the village chief) of

¹ *Bihân*, ocymon basilicum.

² *Ḥarrûb*, carob.

³ This, of course, is not an absolute rule, for there are mosques containing tombs, like *djâmi'* el-'Amarî (*Dêr Abân*).

⁴ Probably a church which was changed into a mosque.

⁵ Pronounced at times also *Sûrbâhil*.

Sûrbâhir, and by people of Şôbâ, is commonly given in connection with the Caliph 'Omar ibn el-Ḥattâb and es-sultân Ibrâhîm el-Adhamî.¹ Many mosques bearing the name of the Caliph are called 'Umari. This may account for some, but, of course, it cannot explain all the *djawâmi* (pl. of *djâmi*) of this category. In many cases it is believed that the holy man lived, taught, or appeared after his death in this spot and that therefore a mosque was built in his memory. A third explanation was given me by the *muh'târ* of 'Anâtâ. He said that every time a new mosque is built it is dedicated to some saint, who is not necessarily chosen from among the most important. But the present writer is of the belief that the basis of such a dedication is a legend connecting the man of God in question with the locality.

The following stories will serve as illustrations.

In the room known by the name of ḥuzn Ya'qûb and situated in sittnâ el-Ḥaḍrâ (Nablus), Jacob is supposed to have mourned for the death of his beloved son Joseph.

El-'Uzêr came to el-Qaryeh to adore Almighty God. He fastened his ass to a pillar beside the spring and prayed. His devotion was performed with such intensity that it lasted one hundred years, and he thought it was only a few minutes. As he turned to the place where he had fastened his animal he found that only the skeleton of the ass was left.²

Eş-şêḥ el-Qaṭrâwânî lived in the village of Qaṭrah north of Gaza. According to one version of the story he left his village—since he could not fulfill his religious duties there—and came to the lonely

¹ In Şa'fât, Bêt Ḥanînâ and Şôbâ. In the first two there is a mosque, while in the third we find only a square place with a *mîhrâb*, a large fig tree (not an oak-tree as McCown says) and a small enclosure (*ḥuwêtiyeh*) in the north-west corner. In the *tâqah* situated in the west wall are found various pits of broken pottery, in which incense was burned. Most of the people gave me the name es-sultân Ibrâhîm, not eş-şêḥ Ibrâhîm (McCown).

² Cf. Qoran, *Surah* II, 258 ff. The text (Sale's translation) runs: "And God caused him ('Uzêr or Ezra) to die for a hundred years, and afterwards raised him to life. And God said, How long hast thou tarried here? He answered, A day or part of day. God said, Nay, thou hast tarried here an hundred years. Now look on thy food and thy drink, they are not yet corrupted, and look on thine ass: and this we have done that we might make thee a sign unto men. And look on the bones of thine ass, how we raise them and afterwards clothe them with flesh."

spot of Dahrit Hammûdeh,¹ a high hill between Bîr Zêt and 'Aṭārah. Here he lived in prayer and self-mortification. According to another version when his dead body was being carried for burial, he flew up off their shoulders and descended on the hill, where his shrine stands at present.²

In the room leading to the so called Stables of Solomon, "the crib of Christ" (*srîr* *saiydnâ* 'Isâ) is shown. It is related that St. Mary used to put her child here.

Below the Holy Rock of the "Mosque of Omar" visitors are shown places where David, Solomon, Abraham, Elijah and Mohammed are thought to have prayed. Each of these spots is holy.

Near some shrines of the first group there has been built recently a mosque, which bears the name of the holy person honoured near by. But such a *djâmi'* serves only for prayer, while all honours continue to be given to the old shrine. Examples of this are eš-šêḥ Djarrâḥ and Sa'd u Sîd³ (both in Jerusalem).

Hitherto we have only dealt with shrines of this class, where it is absolutely certain (according to general belief and to external appearance) that no tomb exists. But there is a subdivision of this class forming a connecting link between this and the previous group, and comprising those sanctuaries where no tomb exists and where there is not the slightest external sign pointing even to the possibility of a tomb, though local tradition asserts that the saint was buried there, either beneath the building or in a cave which was afterwards closed. Such sanctuaries are el-Qaṭrâwânî, eš-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Karakî (Qaṣṭal), eš-šêḥ Husên (Bêt Sûrîk), eš-šêḥ Abû Ismâ'îl (Bêt Lîkiâ), eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah (Qubêbeh), etc.

Eš-šêḥ Abû Ismâ'îl, which lies in the midst of the village, consists of two rooms. The front one serves as a guest-house (*maḍâfeh*), while the second is the shrine of the saint. No tomb is anywhere to be seen. But it is said that the *welî* is buried in a cave which lies beneath the shrine. In the middle of the guest-house is the fire-place (*udjâq*) where coffee is prepared. In the outer courtyard

¹ The shrine is surrounded by the remains of a church.

² I heard these two versions from people of 'Aṭārah, the second seemed to be the prevailing one.

³ The shrine of the latter *šêḥ* is in ruins.

is a *sidreh* (lote tree) which furnishes a protecting shadow, so that the guests assemble under it in the summer months.

Another subdivision is the group to which Qubbet el-Arb'in¹ ("the dome of the Forty") belongs. Every Mohammedan knows that "the Forty" were not buried in this sanctuary; nevertheless an elongated, rectangular frame of stones in the midst of the floor running east and west, stands for a tomb.

III. A tomb without a building

There is scarcely a village which does not possess at least one such *welî*. In some places—as in Sûrbâhir and Jericho—this type is by far the most common. Such holy places may be composed of one or of a whole set of tombs. Where several tombs are found side by side the persons buried generally belong to the same "holy family." Such cases are šyûh ed-Dja'abri² (Hebron), hadj I'bêd (St. John), Irdjâl Sûfeh (Dêr Ghassâneh³), eš-šêh Abû Yamîn (Bêt 'Anân), eš-Šuhadâ (the martyrs of Hebron) and el-Mudjâhdîn (the fighters in the holy war—of Ramleh). In many cases the descendants of these saints are still living.

The shrine of eš-šêh Abû Yamîn is surrounded by an enclosing wall. The tombs of eš-šêh and of his son are in the *maqâm*, while the graves of his descendants are in the open court around the building, enclosed by the wall. A pomegranate, a palm and a fig tree belong to the saint. It is said that he is often seen flying while his band of musicians is playing. According to local belief he and all his descendants were chosen men of God.

With the exception of a few such places—like those of eš-Šuhadâ and el-Mudjâhdîn—most representatives of this class belong to recent times. They generally come within one of the following categories:

1. A living šêh of a holy family dies. His tomb receives more or less the same honours as those of his ancestors. Examples are eš-šêh Bhêt, eš-šêh Hilû and eš-šêh Šaleh of the family of ed-Dawâ'ri (Sûrbâhir).

¹ Situated on the Mount of Olives, in the midst of the cemetery. It is a square building with a small dome. A small fig garden is connected with it.

² Their ancestor was the renowned scholar ('âlim) ed-Dja'barî.

³ Information derived from Omar Effendi El-Barghûti.

These šyūḥ ed-Dawā'ri are interred in the common western cemetery of the village. Their tombs are enclosed by a rectangular wall which is in many places defective. The most important of them are eš-šēḥ el-Nēni and Abū Miṭā. Although their tombs are smaller than the three mentioned above, they enjoy greater respect and honour. All except the tomb of el-Nēni have stones at head and foot and a niche in which oil is lighted. The newer tombs are decorated with *ḥinnā* and *širâqûn*. Broken oil-jars and oil-bottles are scattered around the tombs.

2. If there dies a famous holy man or a *derwiš* who had founded or was a prominent member of a *ṭarîqah*, or used to heal the sick during his life, his tomb tends to become sacred and himself a *welî*. The best example of this is eš-šēḥ Abū Ḥalâwi.

He is buried in the cemetery which runs along the east wall of Jerusalem. The tomb is situated on rising ground to the north of St. Stephen's gate. The *qandîl*, described by Kahle¹ and shewn in the photograph which he took of the place, was stolen during the war. Flowers are very often deposited on the tomb. This šēḥ was very much honoured during his life. Sick people and those in trouble used to obtain healing and help from him. While his dead body was being carried to the place of burial, it flew away and descended on the spot where the soul of the *welî* chose to have his remains interred. His tomb is honoured and the sick very often tear a piece from their garments and bind it around the head stone.

3. A night vision of some villager shows him that this or that place, in or near his own neighbourhood, is sacred as the burial place of a *welî*. The people of the village will then probably build there a tomb, as was done in the case of eš-šēḥ Şuwân.

A peasant of Sûrbâhir, who lived in a small cave, lost one member of his family after the other through death. No one could explain his misfortune. One night a reverend *šēḥ* appeared to him in a night vision and reproaching him severely said: "Why do you not respect my habitation? If you will not atone for your past forgetfulness I will cause the remainder of your family to die."

¹ *PJ* VI. p. 67.

The frightened man asked: "Who are you, my Lord?" The reply was: "I am šêḥ Šuwân and am buried here." Early in the morning a tomb was built, the cave cleaned and the family moved elsewhere.

In many cases a low circular enclosure, *ḥuwêtîyeh*, surrounds the tomb. Even in high structures it is never vaulted. Generally it is constructed of simple, unhewn stones, as in the following cases:

Eš-šêḥ Šabbâḥ	in Jericho,
eš-šêḥ Zughbeh	in Jericho,
eš-šêḥ Ḥamdallah	in Biddû,
eš-šêḥ Imbâarak	in Bêt Iksâ,
eš-šêḥ Têrî	in Dêr Ghassâneḥ, ¹
eš-šêḥ el-Habil ¹	in Dêr Ghassâneḥ.

Sometimes this enclosure is built more solidly, hewn stones and mortar being used. The walls may be high and surround the entire group of objects: tomb, trees, *mîhrâb* and open court. This open space surrounding the tomb is often paved with stone slabs, especially in the case of important *welîs* like el-'Uzêr (Fig. 2, Plate II), el-Mufaḍḍil and al-Manşûrî (all in 'Awartah). In the case of al-Manşûrî the wall surrounding the tomb is constructed on three sides of beautiful small vaults (Fig. 3, Plate III).

In the case of simple enclosures an opening like a door is sometimes left on one side. This door is often made of two large side stones set upright with another on top, and is rather low. Although visitors are supposed to enter through this door, this is seldom done.

Many Bedouin *welîs* are of this type.

Eš-šêḥ Šabbâḥ and ez-Zughbeh²—both in Jericho—are good illustrations of the foregoing type. The former has a very low door, while in the second a breach in the low wall serves the purpose. A visitor must creep if he wishes to enter through the door of the enclosure of Šabbâḥ in orthodox fashion,³ so every one prefers to jump over the wall.

In most cases of a tomb with an enclosure it is said that at different times the people proposed to erect a *maqâm*, but the saint

¹ Information from Omar Effendi el-Barghûṭî.

² Kahle, *PJ*, 1911, pp. 88. Not Zu'beh but Zughbeh.

³ Creeping through the door, and thus humiliating oneself is regarded with more favour by the šêḥ, than jumping over the wall.

himself refused to have one and pulled down in the night what was built during the day, throwing the stones far away.

The tomb of eš-šêḥ Darwiš of Bêt Sûrik is surrounded by a high enclosing wall. Every time the peasants of the village tried to build him a suitable tomb and to put a roof on the four walls, the saint showed his dissatisfaction by pulling down their work, until they were obliged to give up their idea. The same is said of el-Manşûrî, el-Mufaḍḍil and others.

In some cases we are shown a tomb, but exact investigation will fail to disclose any thing, even a heap of stones, which might mark the existence of a tomb. Under the terebinth tree of eš-šêḥ Muṣṭafâ (Şôbâ) irregularly scattered stones were said to represent the tomb of the *welî*. But I could not distinguish any characteristic of a tomb. The scattered stones were shaped like ordinary field stones.¹

IV. A cave with or without a tomb

There are two types of sacred caves: those with and those without a tomb. The first type is rare and its best representative is eš-šêḥ es-Sidrî.² A careful description of this sanctuary may suffice to explain this point more exactly. The *welî* is situated in the ruin Dêr es-Sidd, south of eš-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm, on the top of a low hill. In the ruin there are many caves³ hewn in the rock, with stairs leading down to them. Many cisterns, mostly defective, are scattered here and there. Bir ez-Zqâq provides water for shepherds. The saint's tomb is situated in a rather large, natural cave with a low roof. The entrance is built of good hewn stones and surrounded by a square outer court, which lies lower than the western part. There is no door to close the cave. At the N. N. E. extremity we find the tomb erected on an elevated square platform with two pillar fragments on the front corners. On both of them, as well as around the tomb, we find oil-lamps, candle-stumps, matches, broken jars, bottles, etc. Besides this tomb there is no other building. At present no tree is connected with this sanctuary, but formerly a large terebinth adorned the empty space.

¹ McCown, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

² According to some his first name is Muḥammed, according to others 'Abdallah.

³ These are used at present for cattle.

Other examples of this type are: Eš-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Gharīb (N. of el-Mdjêdil near Nazareth); eš-šêḥ Salmân el-Fârsî (Mount of Olives): who used to have his tomb in a cave, and es-sayidî er-Râb'ah.

By the cave of eš-šêḥ Salmân el-Fârsî a beautiful *qubbeh*¹ was built.

Formerly a narrow canal (*dahlîz*) used to lead to the cave. In front of the pretty shrine several trees were planted: a cypress, a pine, two pomegranates and an olive tree. A cistern is also connected with the place.

Es-sayidî er-Râb'ah² (not Rahba, as stated by Meistermann,³ nor Râhibet as stated in Baedeker⁴) who has her sanctuary near el-Maṣ'ad (the place of ascension) and below Zâwîet el-As'adiyeh, is honoured by the Mohammedans, Christians and Jews. The Christians and Jews do not reverence her er-Râb'ah,⁵ but Pelagia⁶ and the prophetes Hulda,⁷ respectively. Twelve steps lead from the upper room to the cave in which the tomb is shown, all hewn in the solid rock. A small room near the grave is said to be the place where she used to perform her daily devotions. Er-Râb'ah, it is said, used to kneel a thousand times daily saying: "I ask for no recompense, but to satisfy the Almighty God." In the upper room there is a cistern whose water is said to have a specially pleasant taste.

There are some caves, in front of which tombs are found and both these two features are intimately connected with each other. It is said that the *wehî* has been seen occasionally walking from his tomb to the cave. As illustrations we may cite eš-šêḥ Aḥmad el-Ḥuwês, which has already been described, and eš-šêḥ 'Asfûr⁸ to the south of Dêr Ghassâneh.⁹ In the first case, all honours are paid to the cave, where it is supposed that the soul of the saint lives.

¹ Kahle, *PJ*, vol. VI, 1910, p. 79. The ruined *qubbeh* has been restored.

² The full name is er-Râb'ah el-'Adawîyeh el-Baṣṛîyeh of the descendants of Âl 'Aqîl.

³ *Guide de la Terre Sainte*, p. 278.

⁴ *Palästina und Syrien*, p. 94.

⁵ She is said to have died in the year 135 A. H.

⁶ She was formerly called Margarita, and died 457 A. C. Here it is supposed that she atoned for her sins (Meistermann).

⁷ The inhabitants of the Mount of Olives pronounce it Ḥuldah.

⁸ I owe this information to the kindness of 'Omar Effendi el-Barghûṭî.

⁹ In reality this shrine does not belong to this but to the first class. It is said that the saint used to sit in the cave during his lifetime.

The second category—a cave without a tomb, and supposed to be inhabited by a saint—has many representatives in Palestine. The caves are either natural or rock-hewn tombs. They are situated on the edge of a village, or outside in the fields. We seldom find them among human habitations. Among caves which are considered to be the habitation of saints are:¹

el-Ḥaḍr	Mount Carmel, ²
eš-šēḥ 'Alī Qaiṭūn	Hebron, .
eš-šēḥ Ghreyib	el-Ḥaḍr, near Bêt Djâlâ,
Mghâret eš-Šēḥ	Kufr 'Aqab,
Irdjâl el-Arbîn	Biddû,
el-Arb'in Mghâzî	Bêt Likiâ,
eš-šēḥ Î'sâ	Bêt Likiâ,
Irdjâl Abû Tûḥ	Bêt Likiâ,
eš-šēḥ Yûsif	Bêt Ḥaninâ,
eš-šēḥ 'Abdallah	Mizpah of Samuel.

Six³ steps lead down to Mghârit Irdjâl⁴ el-Arb'in of Biddû. The cave is small, somewhat round, with a low roof. During the winter months part of it is full of water. In front of this cave two oaks, an olive and a terebinth grow one beside the other. In their shade the *ḥaṭīb* (religious head of the village) teaches the children. No tomb is anywhere attached to this "Forty."

The Irdjâl Abû Tûḥ, whose number is unknown, inhabit a small cave, situated in a rather large grove.⁵ The entrance to the *mghârah* is so small that no one can enter. Broken jars, oil-bottles, oil-lamps and burned incense are scattered around the opening. These saints are very much respected, no one daring to cut off a twig from their groves.

The different names used for caves, irrespective of whether they belong to this group or not, are *mghârah*, *ghâr*, *šqâf*, and *ḥikf*. These different expressions do not mean the same thing. The expression *ghâr* is used only for cave-like cisterns, which are situated

¹ Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 302, mentions also a cave called Mghâret Imm Djêd'.

² Curtiss, Kahle and Müllinen.

³ Not eight: *Annual of American School of Archaeology* II—III, p. 58.

⁴ Very often Irdjâl is abbreviated and we hear only Djâr Arb'in.

⁵ It is one of the largest groves connected with *welîs*.

in the *maqâm*. They are always treated as the most holy places and nobody dares to enter. A *ḥadīṭ* says: *mâ minn nabiyn illa walahu ghâr*: "Every prophet has a cave assigned to him." In many cases (e. g. en-nabî Ṣamwîl) the visible tomb found in the shrine is said not to be the true one but to surmount the actual tomb, which is in the *ghâr* and cannot be seen nor visited. *Hikf*¹ stands mostly for a small cave covered by a large stone slab, like eš-šêḥ el-'Umârî east of Hizmâ. The other expressions generally denote ordinary caves. As has been already observed small, low, vaulted rooms are sometimes called caves (*mghârah*). I met this peculiarity in 'Awartah. In Šôbâ the Arb' in Mghâzî are represented by a small shallow hole in the old masonry. This was also called *mghârah*. Here lights and incense are burnt.²

Of course all honours are paid to such a cave just as to any shrine. It is lit up, offerings and even sheep may be vowed, a pious woman will never enter any of them while impure, and no animals are allowed to defile the holy place by their entrance.³ Not infrequently the cave is connected with a tree, a grove or a well as in the case of:

eš-šêḥ Aḥmad Ghreyib	in el-Mdjêdil near Nazareth, ⁴
eš-šêḥ Mûsâ	in Harbatâ ⁵
Irdjâl Abu Ṭūḥ	in Bêt Likîâ,
Irdjâl el-Arb'în	in Biddû.

The following story illustrates how a simple cave may eventually come to receive the honours of a shrine.

The Mohammedan leper Djum'ah,⁶ from Abû Dîs, while in the leper asylum "Jesus-Hilf", Jerusalem, used to live during the

¹ *Hikf* is not known in *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ*. It may be derived from *kahf*, where the first and second letters have been interchanged, and *ḥ* pronounced instead of *h*.

² See description and plate in McCown's article, p. 56. He does not describe the place as a *mghârah*. When counting the *welis* of this village, McCown was not shown the tomb situated in the village cemetery and which is dedicated to eš-šêḥ Šhâdeh and eš-šêḥah Mas'ûdeh. This place is not highly honoured.

³ This rule is not kept so strictly as it used to be.

⁴ I owe this information to a student of the English College, Jerusalem, who comes from Nazareth.

⁵ 'Omar Effendi el-Barghûṭî.

⁶ Heard from this leper himself.

summer months in a tent out in the large garden of the institution, to guard it from thieves. While, one Thursday evening, he was saying his prayers, he distinctly heard prayers and religious music of *dervishes*. Djum'ah at once left his tent and walked slowly towards the place whence the *madih* (religious song) came, a cave, in which a greenish light was burning. Djum'ah dared not enter. Remaining outside the cave he waited until these mysterious visitors had finished their prayers. Afterwards he noticed the same every Thursday evening (*lêlatu-d-djum'ah*). Since that time he kept the cave and its surroundings clean, since *sullâh*¹ (pious men) lived or gathered every Thursday evening in this cave to perform their prayers. Djum'ah was too poor to offer a light every week, as he should have done according to common belief.²

The foregoing story illustrates also the fact that many places are held sacred only by a few private persons. Their renown has not yet spread.

We must not overlook the most important sacred cave of the Mohammedans of Palestine below the Holy Rock in the "Mosque of Omar." The different parts of this cave, which are highly honoured by every Moslem, will be described in the section dealing with sacred stones. Even Christians believe in some holy caves, *e. g.* the "Milk Grotto"³ of Bethlehem in which, tradition alleges, some drops of the milk of St. Mary happened to fall while she was suckling her Child. The curative powers of this place will be described later.

V. A simple stone enclosure

Such an enclosure may be very small, having a diametre of not more than 30—40 cm., though sometimes much more. The circular enclosure (*huvêtîyeh* or *huvêtah*⁴—sometimes also called *hôd*⁵ or

¹ When no special saint can be nominated, vague expressions like *sullâh*, *awliâ*, *darâwîs*, *âdjâm*, etc. are used.

² The sacredness of this cave has been forgotten since Djum'ah left the institution long ago.

³ This grotto will be described later.

⁴ The common expression, *hawwatak ballâh*, "I(beg) God to be a wall around you" (*e. g.* may God protect you), comes from the same root *hawwata*. See *Muḥit el-Muḥit*, vol. I, p. 477.

⁵ *Hôd* means really a watering-trough.

*šireh*¹) was in every instance known to me made of simple, unhewn stones, set irregularly side by side, and with no attempt at symmetry. Often a gap is left in the circle to act as a doorway. In the case of eš-šêḥah Imbârakeh (Kalandiâ) the female saint is said to gather clean pieces of broken pottery and arrange them as a *ḥuwêṭah*, leaving a small gap for the entrance. Since the war it is observed that she does not replace the old pieces with new ones as she used always to do. Somewhere in the inner wall of these circles there is usually a *ṭâqah*, in which oil-lamps and matches are placed, and where incense is burned.

In Biddû we find the western cemetery on a small elevation. At its north-eastern corner is a small crudely built enclosure in which eš-šêḥ 'Alî eṭ-Ṭallâl² is honoured. Near this holy spot grow an olive and a fig tree, and a cistern was lately discovered there. All these belong to the saint. Two sides of the elevation are made of old masonry. This place is a good example of a sacred enclosure combined with trees, a cistern and ruins.

In the case of eš-šêḥ Frêdj (Bêt Ḥanînâ) an old petroleum tin partly covers the sacred enclosure, and thus protects the light from being blown out. The fact that *awliâ* belonging to this class are not kept clean and are not much cared for, points to the conclusion that they are not so highly honoured as others. We hear of cases where villages have tried to erect a *maqâm* for one or other *šêḥ* of this group, but where the holy men prevented the completion of the work in the same way as we have seen in the case of eš-šêḥ Ḥuwês. Some of the sanctuaries belonging to this group have been transferred to the category mentioned under II by the erection of a building in place of the stone enclosure. Masâdjid sittnâ 'Âiṣeh in the neighbourhood of nabî Mûsâ illustrates this point. A simple, square handsome building with the northern side completely opened, and the east and west sides partly open, stands on the site of the old enclosure. No tomb, cistern nor tree is connected with this place.

¹ *Šireh* means really an enclosure for cattle. The Arabic dictionaries give neither to this word nor to *ḥôḍ* the meaning used in the text, i. e. a sacred enclosure.

² Not eṭ-Ṭalalî as in McCown, p. 59. "The depressed spot" is the enclosure and not the grave of the *welî*. Eš-šêḥ Ḥasan Abû-l-'Alamên of Biddû is not mentioned in the list given by McCown.

A few metres to the north of el-Manşûrî ('Awartah) one is shown a very badly made enclosure said to mark the tomb of Hûša', the son of el-Manşûrî. A large wind-proof kerosene lantern is placed in the centre. Of this and the other important worthies of 'Awartah it is said that they do not wish any building to be erected over their tombs.

It is interesting to note that even Christians have similar enclosures, which they respect and honour. On the left side of the stony road leading from Bêt Djâlâ to el-Ḥaḍr, passing el-Marâḥ and going through eš-Šarafeh, just before the latter is reached, there is a small enclosure into which a passer-by may throw bread, figs or grapes. It used always to be kept clean. The peasants of Bêt Djâlâ tell how that when St. George (el-Ḥaḍr) came from the north to the village el-Ḥaḍr (where a church is built for him) he walked with gigantic strides, one of which happened to fall in this spot.¹

A few enclosures sacred to Mohammedans which have not yet been mentioned in the text are:

eš-šêḥ Ghreyib ²	in Yâlô,
en-nabî Dâniâl	near el-Ḥaḍr,
eš-šêḥ Sa'id ³	in Iḍnâ,
eš-šêḥ Mrâd	in Yâlô,
eš-šêḥ Abû-l-Kfêr ⁴	in Ḥirbet el-Kfêreh, ⁵
eš-šêḥ 'Abd el-Muḥsin	in Djibiah.

En-nabî Dâniâl (also pronounced Dâniân) has his *ḥuwêṭah* in a vineyard, situated between Arṭâs and el-Ḥaḍr, in Marâḥ ed-Djâmi'. The prophet, passing this way, performed a prayer at this spot. Some oak trees, to which rags and hair are fastened, grow near the enclosure. He is supposed to appear occasionally walking in the vineyard and wearing a green crown. With him is his horse which he ties to one of the trees. Formerly he always refused to

¹ This is the only enclosure which I know of honoured by Christians.

² Near the enclosure there is a *ghârah* (laurel) tree, on which no rags are fastened.

³ The stones of the enclosure are painted with *ḥinnâ*. A man with fever is said to be cured if he lies for a while in the enclosure.

⁴ In the enclosure there is a heap of stones (tomb?). A carob and an oak tree are near by.

⁵ This ruin is surrounded by the remains of a deep trench and a wall.

have a building, but lately he changed his mind and, appearing to Ḥusên Mûsâ (from Arţâs), asked him to build him a shrine.

VI. A watercourse (spring or cistern)

We know that nearly all the springs of Palestine are thought to be haunted by spirits. These spirits are supposed to belong to the class of demons.¹ But at the same time there are watercourses definitely assigned to some holy man. Their number is much less than that of those inhabited by demons. Kahle² thinks that two conditions must be fulfilled to make a spring holy — 1) that the source should be more or less mysterious, a dark canal, or a large cavity; and 2) that the spring play an important rôle in the water-supply of the adjacent village. Although many springs fulfil both conditions the greater number fulfil one only, whereas many springs inhabited by demons satisfy the same two conditions.

For our purpose it is necessary to study especially the differences between sacred springs and those haunted by *djinn*. The following is a comparative table of the differences:

Springs inhabited by

Holy Men

Djinn (demons)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. May be situated in the neighbourhood of a <i>welî</i> . | 1. Never. |
| 2. Prayer and religious music may be heard especially on Thursday evening. | 2. Never. |
| 3. A light with a greenish flame may be observed appearing and disappearing. | 3. Never. |
| 4. The water may be used for different ailments. | 4. In exceptional cases. |
| 5. The inhabiting saint appears as a reverend <i>šêḥ</i> (with white, red, or green head dress) or a pious <i>šêḥah</i> . | 5. The <i>djinn</i> take the shape of an animal, a negro, a monster or a bride. |

¹ Canaan, *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, JPOS, vol. I, p. 153 etc. and *Aberglaube*.

² PJ, vol. VI, p. 93 f.

Holy Men

Djinn (demons)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>6. People falling accidentally into a cistern or well inhabited by a holy man are generally protected from any injury, especially if they call for the help of the <i>šēh</i>.</p> <p>7. The saint likes to hear the name of God and prayers.</p> <p>8. A wondrous sign may appear.</p> | <p>6. On the contrary the <i>djinn</i> may even injure the victim.</p> <p>7. The demon trembles before these powerful words, and is usually driven away by them. He may in revenge injure the person who has uttered them.</p> <p>8. Never.</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Although these statements are true of all watercourses which are directly or indirectly connected with a shrine, they also apply to those which, while having no connection at all with sanctuaries or tombs of the saints, are nevertheless believed to be inhabited by the spirit of a holy person. I shall deal only with the latter category. Often such sources of water have a tree growing near by, and since both may be holy it is sometimes difficult to know which is the more important: the watercourse or the tree.

El-Matba' ah¹ is a marshy pool said to cure all sorts of rheumatic ailments. No unclean women (*nidjsih*) may approach the holy spot. Once a barren women made a pilgrimage to this place, hoping to find help. It so happened that at the moment of her arrival she was overtaken by her period (*itwassaḥ rāshā*). Being pious she waited far from el-Matba'ah until she became pure (*tihrat*), then took some mud and rubbed her body with it. Scarcely a year had passed before she conceived and bore a child.

ʿĒn eš-Šarīf just above ʿĒn eš-Šāmiyeh (Kolōniā) is a newly discovered spring and a newly found *welī*. A few weeks after the discovery of the spring, a *šēh* with a green turban appeared in a night vision to Muḥammed ʿAlī and ordered him to tell the inhabitants of the village that they should not defile his shrine, the newly

¹ It is situated between eš-šēḥ Ibrēk (from whom it draws its power) and Tell eš-Šammām. I owe this information to ʿOmar Effendi el-Barghūṭi.

discovered spring. "What is your name, my *šēh*?" asked Muḥammed. "Eš-Šarīf" was the answer.

Some waters derive their power from the fact that they mix once a year with the water of the holy well Zamzam in Mecca.¹ At such a period the water is curative. Wells of this type with a special reputation are: 'Ēn Imm ed-Daradj in Siloam,²

Hammâm eš-Šifâ³ in Jerusalem,⁴

the cistern in the shrine of en-Nûbânî in Nablus.

This overflow of the water of Zamzam takes place generally on the tenth of *Moharram*, which is also known by the name 'Ašûrâ, and is thought to be the anniversary of the death of Ḥusên, the son of Fâtîmeh, Mohammed's daughter. The connection of the overflowing of the spring and the memory of Ḥusên is not without interest. According to some the water of this holy well at Mecca mixes on this day with all springs in Mohammedan countries, thus giving every Moslem the opportunity of drinking from Zamzam.

The sanctity, as well as the curative action of other waters, is said to be derived from various holy men: Job, Jesus, el-Ḥaḍr, Sittî Mariam, etc. Springs connected with Job will be described later on. Since it is believed that Jesus sent the blind man, whom he healed by earth moistened with spittle,⁵ to 'ên Imm el-Lôzeh⁶ to wash his eyes there,⁷ some Christian women⁸ believe that this water

¹ *JPOS*, vol. I, pp. 153—170.

² According to *Uns ed-Djâil* II, 407, Ḥâlid bin Ma'dan thinks that this spring gets its water from ed-Djanneh (paradise).

³ Also called Hammâm 'Ašûrâ, from 'ašarah, the tenth day of the month Moharram.

⁴ I have to call attention to the widespread belief that most of the Turkish baths are thought to be inhabited by *djinn*. The following story may illustrate this idea. The wife of an *effendî* lost all her jewels in the bath. All enquiries failed to find them. At last a wizard woman (*sâhreh*) assured her that the inhabiting *djinn* had taken her jewels. She gave her a written talisman and ordered that for three days every day one third of the talisman should be burned in the bath. This was done and, behold, on the third day the wife of the *effendî* found her lost jewels in the place where she had left them. In *Aberglaube* I give another similar story.

⁵ John 9 1ff.

⁶ Just below Bîr Ayûb.

⁷ The Gospel of St. John relates that Christ sent him to Siloam. This spring, Imm el-Lôzeh, is not far from Siloam.

⁸ Heard from several Armenian women of Jerusalem. *JPOS*, I, 153—170.

has still the power to cure inflamed eyes. The Mohammedans of Nablus believe that el-Ḥaḍr takes a bath every Thursday evening in the basin found in Hammâm ed-Daradjeh. This is the reason that it is thought to be inhabited or visited by this holy man. The sick go there at this time to take a bath, burn incense and light candles. In Hammam Sitti Mariam¹ (near St. Stephen's Gate, Jerusalem) barren women bathe in the hope of becoming fruitful. It is believed that St. Mary once took a bath in this place; so candles, oil and flowers are vowed.²

A connecting link between waters haunted by demons and those inhabited by saints is formed by cases where the people believe that a good and a bad spirit haunt the same spring. This is a special characteristic of periodical springs. Thus 'ên Fauwâr³ is thought to be inhabited by a *hurr*, "free man" (master) and an '*abd*', "servant" (slave born). The first is a white person, the other a negro, as the words themselves indicate. The following are the springs⁴ which may be grouped in this class:⁵

'Ên ed-Djôz (Ramallah) inhabited by a white and a black sheep,
'Ên Artâs (Artâs) inhabited by a white and a black sheep,
Bir 'Ônah (Bêt Djâlâ) by St. Mary and sometimes an '*abd*,
'Ên el-Ḥadjar (Dêr Ghassâneh) inhabited by es-sitt Mu'mineh
and sometimes by a *mârid*.

I have never heard of a spring that was inhabited by a being which might at times be a *welî*, and at other times change into a *djinn* as Curtiss was told about Zerqâ Ma'in. In all probability this spring belongs to the foregoing group and is supposed to be inhabited by two spirits—a good and a bad one. Both are separate beings, and one never changes into the other.

It is often reported that these two classes of powerful antagonistic spirits are continually fighting each other. In the case of 'ên Fauwâr

¹ According to Uns ed-Djalil, Balqis the daughter of king Šaraḥîl of Ya'rib (Qaḥṭân) took a bath in this place to remove the hair growing on her legs and thighs. This goat hair was an inheritance from her mother, who was a *djinnîyeh* (JPOS).

² This custom is dying out.

³ See *Aberglaube*.

⁴ They have been described in JPOS I, 153.

⁵ 'Ên Fauwâr is thought by some to be inhabited by a white and a black sheep.

we are told when the *hur*r gains the victory he allows the water to flow for the benefit of thirsty mankind. But it is not long before the 'abd recovers and resumes the battle. As soon as he overpowers the *hur*r he shuts off this blessing of God and thus avenges himself on the human race. This antithesis of

good against evil,
white against black,
light against darkness,
angels against devils,
upper against lower world,
God against Satan

is a very old idea in Semitic religions, and we could not have it better reproduced than in the present simple imagination of a Palestinian *fellâh*.¹

The following is a list of holy springs with the names of the saints inhabiting them, modified from my article "Haunted Springs and Water Demons," *JPOS* I, p. 153—170:

Ḥammâm ed-Daradjeh	Nablus	el-Ḥaḍer, ²
Ḥammâm sittî Mariam	Jerusalem	St. Mary,
Ḥammâm eš-Šifa ³	Jerusalem	Job, ⁴
Bîr en-Nûbânî ⁵	Nablus	mixes with Zamzam,
ʿên Imm ed-Daradj	Siloam	mixes with Zamzam, ⁶
Bîr es-Saḥar	Dêr Ṭarîf	<i>el-welî</i> Šu'êb, ⁷
Bîr Ayûb	Siloam	Job,
Bîr Sindjil	Sindjil	Joseph,
ʿÊn Qînâ	Qînâ	<i>el-welî</i> Abû el-ʿÊnên, ⁸

¹ *JPOS* I, 153—170.

² Many a woman, together with her newly born child, takes a bath in the *djurn* of el-Ḥaḍer on the seventh day of her confinement.

³ Also called Ḥ. Ašûrâ. The water is said to mix once a year with that of Zamzam.

⁴ There is a basin in which it is supposed that Job took his bath and was cured.

⁵ The cistern is found in an elongated room whose walls are hung with dervish musical instruments and weapons, a banner and Qoranic verses. No tomb is to be seen. It is supposed that many *aqtâb* gather here to perform their prayers.

⁶ This spring used to be inhabited by a camel. A hen with her chickens took the place of this djinn after his death.

⁷ *Aberglaube*.

⁸ *JPOS*, I. c.

Ên el-Hadjar	Dêr Ghassâneh	es-sitt Mu'minah,
Ên ed-Djakûk	} (east of Mizpah) {	} a well,
Ên el-Amîr		
Ên Maşûn	} of Samuel {	} şullâh and awliâ,
Ên Maşûn	Ramallah	an angel,
Bîr ed-Djabbârah	Yâlô	eş-şêh Aḥmad ed-Djabbârah,
Bîr in	Hizmah	şullâh,
Bîr Imm Djde'	Bêt Djibrîn	şalhât,
Ên el-Qubbeh	Kôbar	es-sitt Zênab,
Ên eş-Şarqîyeh	Kôbar	es-sitt Faṭṭûmeh,
Ên eş-Şâmiyeh	Kolônia	es-sitt eş-Şâmiyeh,
Ên eş-Şarîf	Kolônia	eş-şêh eş-Şarîf,
El-Maṭba'ah	Tell eş-Şammâm	eş-şêh Ibrêk,
Ên ed-Djôz	Kolônia	eş-şêh Ḥusên, ¹
Ên Rafîdiah	Rafîdiah	eş-şêh Nâfi', ²
Bîr el-Waraqah	Jerusalem	leads to paradise, ³
Ên er-Râhib	Nablus	monk, ⁴
Ên Kârim	Ên Kârim	the Virgin Mary,
Bîr 'Ônâ	Bêt Djâlâ	the Virgin Mary,
Ên Kibriân	W. of Bêt Djâlâ	St. Gabrianus,
Ên Imm el-Lôzeh	below Bîr Ayûb	cures eye troubles. ⁵

Mohammedans as well as Christians believe that these saints try to save those who happen to fall into the well. The following story will illustrate this. A child of Êsâwîyeh happened to fall into a ruined cistern. Soon afterwards his parents got him out. The boy said that two men came to his help, while he was falling, and carried him softly to the bottom. One of them was a reverend old man; the other wore clothes similar to those of the villagers of the surrounding district, and two old fashioned pistols in his belt.⁶ The

¹ To this saint a tree is also dedicated.

² An oil-lamp used to be lighted here.

³ The story of this cistern is told in *Uns ed-Djalâl* II, 368.

⁴ This spring stops its flow once a week on Sundays, as the monk is said to fulfil his duties on this day.

⁵ Curtiss and Kahle give few examples of holy springs.

⁶ Other stories are given *JPOS*, l. c.

old people of the village remembered that a dervish of this description had fallen into the cistern many years before.¹

The belief in sacred springs, inhabited springs and curative waters can be traced back to the Old and New Testaments. Naaman was cured of his leprosy by washing himself seven times in the Jordan.² The blind man sent by Jesus to Siloam came back after he had washed his eyes, with his sight restored.³ The pool Bethesda cured every disease, "for an angel went down at a certain season into the pool and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was cured of whatever disease he had."⁴ Names like 'Ēn Shemesh, "Spring of the Sun,"⁵ etc. point to the fact that these springs were dedicated to gods.⁶

VII. A solitary tree

I do not propose to include under this head any tree which, though situated in absolute solitude, far from any shrine or grave, belongs nevertheless to a *welī*, who has a sanctuary somewhere in the vicinity. Thus, for example, eš-šēḥ Ḥamad, situated in the midst of the village Kolôniâ, has a tree on the opposite mountain to the S. E. of the village, on the old road leading to Jerusalem. Another case is el-Badriyeh.⁷ I have already mentioned the different trees belonging to this holy woman.

¹ I will not describe here 'iân (pl. of 'ên) *el-ḥaṣr* (springs of retention of urine), since they are generally not connected with any shrine or name of a *welī*. They are not revered religiously. I think that what Curtiss says about the stones which cure backache, is truer of these springs, *i. e.*, that their therapeutic use is based on the belief in a magic power, the supernatural powers of good spirits. For these springs cf. *Aberglaube* and *JPOS*, l. c. — Minute questioning of the people of Šôbâ during my last visit resulted in their saying that 'ên *el-ḥaṣr* of this village was called also 'ên Mûsâ, and that they have seen sometimes two beautiful young ladies, sitting beside the water and combing their hair. They disappeared as soon as they knew that they were seen. Some peasants referred the name Moses to that of the Prophet Moses. If this is true then the spring belongs to the category already mentioned, where good and bad spirits haunt one and the same spring.

² 2 Kings 5 1 ff.

³ John 9 6-7.

⁴ John 5 1-5.

⁵ Jos. 15 7.

⁶ L. B. Paton, *Annual of Amer. School*, vol. I, pp. 51 ff.

⁷ Kahle mentions some of these trees, *PJ* VI, 98.

Only those trees will be described which, although considered as being the habitation of some saint, have nevertheless absolutely no connection with any *maqâm*. Jaussen¹ seems to include in this group trees which are connected with a holy spring and a holy *rudjm*; such cases I have tried to avoid since it is very difficult to say which of these features was primarily sacred. There are several cases belonging to this group, and it is at times difficult to explain the reason which gave such trees their sanctity. This question, which often arises, will be dealt with below in another connection. Among sacred trees of this type, which receive honours like other *welîs*, are:²

Name of saint	Location	Kind of tree
Eš-šêḥ Barrî	Dêr Ghassâneh	Oak, ³
Eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah	Qaṭanneh	Oak,
Eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah	Ša'fât ⁴	Olive and, at a distance, celtis,
Eš-šêḥ Abû Riš	Bêt 'Anân	Terbebinth, ⁵
Šadjrat Abû Nâr	eš-Ša'râwîyeh	Greek oak (<i>Quercus</i>
Šadjrat es-Sa'âdeḥ	between Yâmûn and Djinîn	[<i>Aegilops</i> L), Zardeh,
Harrûbet el-'Ašarah ⁶	el-'Êsâwîyeh	Carob,
Zêtûnit en-Nabî ⁷	Haram eš-Šerîf	Olive, ⁸
Eš-šêḥ Ḥasan	Kolônîâ	Oak, ⁹
En-nabî Abû Lêmûn ¹⁰	between Bêt Iksâ and Biddû	Oak and terebinth trees.

¹ *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 331.

² Curtiss seems to have seen or heard of only a few examples. He describes briefly one tree in Northern Syria.

³ Heard from 'Omar Effendi el-Barghûṭî.

⁴ Kahle, *PJ* VI, 98, 99.

⁵ There is a small cave beside it, in which lights and incense are offered. I think that the tree is the more important feature.

⁶ Another Harrûbet el-'Ašarah used to grow on the western slope of the Mount of Olives.

⁷ See Canaan, *Aberglaube*, and Kahle, *PJ* VI, 97.

⁸ In its place it is said a palm once grew. When the Prophet visited Jerusalem in his miraculous journey, he sat under this palm; the palm soon withered and the olive tree grew in its place.

⁹ Around the oak tree there is a ruin. The lamps are placed in a small cave. To the S. S. E. of this sacred tree there is a spring now bearing the name of the *welî*. Formerly it was known by the name 'ên ed-Djôz.

¹⁰ Also mentioned by Kahle, *PJ* VI, 98; 99. A ruin with a newly discovered cistern surrounds the trees.

Other trees will be mentioned below. A few observations must still be made regarding some peculiarities of these trees. Šadjarat Abû Nâr has a menstrual period (*bithîd*) every time she is irritated by a trespasser. A viscous fluid is excreted.¹

Under Šadjarat es-Sa'adeh the šêḥ Ḥasan el-'Arûrî was ordained to a *quṭub* (a "pole" in religion, i. e. a leader) by several saints. This is of course sufficient cause for making a tree sacred.² It derives virtue from the man with whom it came in contact, and is able to help the needy with this power.³

Eš-šêḥ Muṣṭafâ and es-sultân Ibrâhîm of Şôbâ belong to this category. The first has a terebinth, an almond and a *quḍḍêb* tree. The stones scattered irregularly under these trees and supposed to represent the tomb, have no connection with a grave. Es-sultân Ibrâhîm's shrine is made of a square open enclosure with a *ṭâqah*, a prayer niche, a small *ḥuwêṭah* and a fig tree. I think that this sort of sanctuary is the connecting link between the class of shrines under discussion and the large enclosures.

In reviewing critically the names of the *welîs* belonging to this group, we observe that some have, as their own holy name, the simple name of the tree. We never find any name of a person assigned to such trees. Thus, for example,⁴ Sittnâ el-Ghârah⁵ (Laurel Lady) is situated to the E. of Bêt Nûbâ. There are two holy terebinths, each of which bear the name *el-walîyeh* el-Buṭmeh (Holy Terebinth Lady). One is north of Bêt Nûbâ and the other in Qubêbeh. It is said that the Laurel Lady appeared during the attack of the British (1917) standing on the top of the tree, with a greenish garment, a light head-shawl and a sword in her hand, which dripped with blood. Every time the English troops advanced she threw them back.

¹ This is the only case I have been able to collect of a tree having a menstrual flow. For this condition with demons see *JPOS.* I 153, etc. I owe this information to the kindness of 'Omar Effendi el-Barghûṭî.

² Related by 'Omar Effendi el-Barghûṭî.

³ Curtiss mentions another such case.

⁴ The following holy trees were not included in the foregoing list.

⁵ Fumigating a sick person with the leaves of this tree will effect a cure.

In Bêt Şafâfâ a *djâmi'* was erected on the site of the holy Buṭmeh,¹ whose sacred tree had been uprooted by a violent storm. The ruins of this *djâmi'* are still known as *djâmi' el-Buṭmeh*. This sacred tree was supposed to be inhabited by *şullâh*.²

Fastened to most of these trees are rags of all possible colours. Even stones, as will be mentioned later, are placed at times on the twigs.

Should a tree and an enclosure be found, as in the case of eš-šêḥ Frêdj in Bêt Ḥanînâ, I think the tree is the more important. But when a tree and a spring represent the sacred place, it is most difficult to know which of them has priority.³

We generally find a *tâqah* connected with these sacred trees. It may be represented by a crack in an adjoining rock, a low enclosure covered with tin or with a stone slab, a hollow in the tree itself, or it may be a built structure. In this *tâqah* oil-lamps are lighted and incense burned. An excellent example of a built niche beside a sacred tree is that of Ḥarrûbet el-'Ašarah near el-Êsâwiyeh. Just beside the tree a low, roomlike niche has recently been built. I should not reckon this one cubic metre building a *qubbeh*, as does Kahle.⁴ In eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah (Şa'fât), a petroleum tin serves as a *tâqah*.

Even some Christians of Palestine believe more or less in the sacredness of certain trees, but they do not burn lights or incense to them. Among trees of this type are:

¹ Near the Mamilla pool there used to be a terebinth tree. The common belief was that when it was cut down or withered away the rule of the Turks would depart from Palestine. It so happened that during the last year of the war it dried up, and soon afterwards Jerusalem was taken by the British troops. This tree used to be known also by the name el-Buṭmeh.

² A Bethlehemite was allowed to take the wood of this tree for use in an oil press (*badd*). He had to build in its place a *djâmi'* with a *rawâq* and a cistern. But since he did the work so badly that it collapsed a few years later, the saint living in the tree punished him very severely, and one by one all his family died. Under el-Buṭmeh the people of the village used to assemble for gossip and entertainment of their guests, as in a *maḍâfah* (related by the imâm of Bêt Şafâfâ).

³ In the case of eš-šêḥ Ḥusên we have a tree and a spring dedicated to him. I think that the tree is the more important feature, although the saint is seen at times sitting near the spring. The spring used to be called 'ên ed-Djôz.

⁴ *PJ.* l. c.

Butmet el-'Adrâ ¹	Djifnâ	Terebinth,
A mêt tree	near St. Elias,	Celtis, ²
	between Bethlehem	
	and Jerusalem	
Palm tree	Mâr Sâbâ, ³	
Olive trees ⁴	Gethsemane,	
Olive tree	in the Shepherd's field (Bêt Saḥûr). ⁵	

We also find parallels to such trees in the Bible, especially in the case of the Burning Bush.⁶ This was not connected with any shrine, being itself holy, since the Lord spoke from it. The same may be said to be the case with the mulberry trees of David. Their sanctity showed itself through "the sound of a going in the tops of the trees."⁷ This was a sign from God. Abraham builds his first altar, and receives the first revelation which God makes to him, under the terebinth of Moreh (Gen. 12 6-7). The next altar he built, is under the terebinth of Mamre. In Beer sheba he plants a tamarisk and calls on the name of Jehovah (Gen. 21 33). Under an oak tree the angel appeared to Gideon (Judg. 6 11; 24—S. Curtiss).

VIII. Heaps of stones

When one stands at such a spot it is a cause for wonder to look round in every direction and find nothing to suggest the idea of sanctity except mere heaps of stones which, of course, differ in size and form in different places. It is to be noted that (*i*)*rdjûmeh* (pl. of *rudjm*) may also be inhabited by *djinn*. Thus, for example, one of the stony tumuli in el-Baq'ah (the Plain of Rephaim) is thought to be inhabited by a hen with her chicken.

¹ A man who cut it down was punished with death.

² Cf. Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 63.

³ *Aberglaube*, p. 87.

⁴ The oil of these trees is sold for a high price. From the olive-stones rosaries are made.

⁵ It is said that the angel appeared to the shepherds at the spot where this tree is growing. Some peasants who tried once to burn the tree noticed, to their great astonishment, that fire had no action on it. This proved to all the sacredness of this olive (related to me by L. Baldensberger).

⁶ Ex. 3 2 ff.

⁷ 2 Sam. 5 24.

Such heaps of stones or tumuli are of the following types: 1. quite isolated with no other feature, except that at times a few stones are set up to form a small *tâqah* for the oil lamps; 2. the *rudjm*, or its summit only, is surrounded completely by an enclosure of stones; 3. very rarely the *rudjm* may be placed in a cave. As examples of these forms we may cite:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. eš-šêḥ I'bêd | in Şaṭâf, |
| eš-šêḥ Sa'd | in wâdî Ḥaḍr east of Abû Dis, |
| eš-šêḥ Aḥmad | Ḥirbet el-Qsûr, opp. to ed-Djôrah; |
| 2. eš-šêḥ 'Abd el-Muḥsin | Djibiah, ¹ |
| eš-šêḥ El-Birdâq ² | Bêt Rîmâ; |
| 3. eš-šêḥ Murdjân ³ | Djôrah (near 'Ên Kârim). |

Naturally one asks what the *rudjm* represents, and what is its purpose. We often hear expressions which indicate that there is a tomb under the *rudjm*. We also know that the ancient Palestinians⁴ used to pile large heaps of stones on the tombs of their important dead, and up to the present day most *fellah* tombs are either marked by a small enclosure of stones or an elongated low stone heap. Jaussen⁵ reports that the Bedouins still mark the places where some one has been killed, be it in war or treacherously, by a heap of stones. In the case of some of the *rdjûmeh* which I am now describing, this explanation may be true, but certainly not in every case.

A special class of stone heaps must still be mentioned — *el-mašâhid*⁶ (pl. of *mašhad*). These are recent heaps of stones placed irregularly and at different places. The word *mašhad* may express one of the following meanings;

1. The place from which something is seen.⁷

2. Since at such places the pilgrim always utters first of all, *ašhadu annâ lâ ilahan illâ allah*, thus testifying to the unity of God, the places may be named *mašhad* after this testimony (*šhâdeh*).⁸

¹ The *šêḥ* appears as a negro, with a sword in his hand.

² Inhabited by 'Adjâm. Only the top of the large hill is surrounded by an enclosure.

³ A negro saint.

⁴ Jos. 7 26; 8 29.

⁵ *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 336.

⁶ Not often used in the singular.

⁷ From the root *šâhada* "to behold."

⁸ From the root *šahida*, *šhâdeh*, "to give testimony."

3. Stones which are believed to be witnesses before God that the person who erected them visited that sanctuary and said a prayer. It is believed that in the day of judgment men may ask animals, plants or stones to testify for them. Thus these stones piled up by the pilgrim while uttering a prayer and saying the *fâtiḥah*, may bear witness¹ both to his piety and to his visit to the holy place. They will at the same time remind the holy man, in whose honour the *ziârah* (visit) was made, to help and to intercede for the pilgrim.² Even in the Old Testament we have a heap of stones set as a witness, as in the story of Laban and Jacob.³

Travelling from Jerusalem to Jericho there is a road branching to the right, a few kilometres after passing el-Ḥôḍ. This road leads to Nabî Mûsâ. The hills where the shrine is seen for the first time, are covered with these stone heaps. Every Mohammedan who passes by—whether during the festival or at any other time—throws one or more stones on such a heap or makes a new one. As he does so he utters the above mentioned *shihâdeh* and recites the *fâtiḥah*. Few heaps are large, most of them consisting of a few stones only. The lowest stone is the largest and the top one the smallest. These small heaps may be made up of 2, 3, 4 or five stones.

Generally, on every road leading to the sanctuary from whatever direction, *nawâṣib*⁴ (pl of *naṣb*, another name for these stone-heaps) are erected. Thus I observed such heaps on the four roads leading to Nabî Mûsâ, on three roads to el-Ḥaḍr (Bêt Djâlâ) and on two

¹ Cf. Luke 19 40; Heb. 3 11.

² Such a belief is not recent. In *et-tuḥfatu-l-mardiyah fil-aḥbâr el-quḍsiyah* (by 'Abd el-Madjid 'Alî) we read on page 62 that a man, while on 'Arafât, took seven stones and said: "Oh stones, witness that I believe and say, there is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." That night he dreamt that in the judgment day he was tried and found to be a sinner and sent to hell. As he approached the first gate of hell one of the stones blocked the entrance. All the angels of the lower world were unable to remove this obstacle. The same thing happened at every one of the seven gates of hell. He was in consequence brought back to the heavenly judge who allowed him to enter heaven since the stones had borne witness in his favour.

³ Gen. 31 45 ff.

⁴ Not *naṣib* as McCown has. *Naṣib* means "lot, luck"; while *naṣb* (pl. *nawâṣib*) "stones set up as a sign," comes from the same root from which *naṣb* or *nusub* (pl. *anṣâb*) "idols" is derived. Cf. *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ*.

leading to eš-šêḥ el-'Umarî ed-Djbêî, and also on the two roads to Ḥasan er-Râî.¹

This custom of making small piles of stones applies only to comparatively few sanctuaries. Christians are also acquainted with these *qanâtîr* (pl. *qanṭarah*, a third name) and they pile stones when reaching eš-Šarafeh, on their way from Bêt Djâlâ to el-Ḥaḍr, since from this point they can see on one side Mâr Eliâs and on the other side the convent of St. George.

These *šawâhid* do not closely resemble the stones that mark the boundaries of fields, as McCown² thinks. Landmarks are generally made of large stones placed separately at a distance from each other, running more or less in a straight line, usually between fields. When they are made of stones they differ from *qanâtîr* in using far larger and fewer stones.

Qanâtîr may also stand for quite different purposes. Among these minor purposes we may mention:

1. Heaps which are raised in a place where a holy man is supposed to have rested, as in the neighbourhood of the šqif eš-šêḥ 'Asfûr.³

2. Sometimes a traveller after climbing a high mountain raises a heap of stones or throws a stone on an existing heap, saying at the same time a prayer as a mark of thanks to God that he has overcome a difficulty. Heaps of this sort are generally known by the name *el-Mafâzeh*.⁴ At the top of the ascent of Farḥah near Salfît such *mafâzât* may be seen. Similar cases are described in Joshua, where the Israelites erected stones at Gilgal as a memorial after crossing the Jordan and thus overcoming the difficulties of long wandering.⁵ Samuel also, after subduing the Philistines, "took a stone and set it between Mizpah and Shen and called it Ebenezer, saying; Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."⁶

¹ Other sanctuaries where such stone heaps are set up are: en-nabî Lût, en-nabî Yaqîn, 'Alî bin 'Lêm, el-'Uzêr, etc.

² *Annual of the Amer. School* II and III, p. 66.

³ Heard from 'Omar Effendi el-Barghûî.

⁴ *Mafâzeh* means in reality desert. Here it denotes success in overcoming a dangerous difficulty. *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ*.

⁵ Joshua, ch. 4.

⁶ 1 Sam. 7 12.

3. Where prominent chiefs of a village or a district are killed, heaps of stones¹ are raised by passers-by and prayers are said for their souls. Such *qanâtîr* are smaller and much less numerous than those near a sanctuary. In Maqtal el-Mašâih² on the way to Bêt Rimâ we find such heaps. The *qanâtîr* of this class are the connecting link between prominent persons and holy men, a point on which I shall dwell later.

In concluding the treatment of this group I must observe that while the *rdjûmeh* are regarded as holy places and the dwellings of holy men, the *šawâhid*, *qanâtîr* and *mafâzât* do not enjoy this dignity.

On the southern road leading from Qaṣṭal to Šôbâ we find a large heap of stones, built in a circular form. It is about 1.50 metres high and 2 metres in diameter. In the centre of the upper part a perpendicular stone projects. No *tâqah*, tree nor cistern is connected with it. The people whom I asked for explanation said that a *welî* had appeared (*ašhar nafsuh*) at this spot which belonged to him. In piety the peasants erected this heap.

IX. A single large stone or a rock.

We have only few representatives of this category. With the exception of the Holy Rock, aṣ-Šaḥrah, of the "Mosque of Omar," which is highly honoured not alone by the Mohammedans of Palestine but by the whole Moslem world, the other holy stones and rocks of Palestine receive far less respect and religious reverence than the other kinds of shrines and *maqâmât*. The sanctity assigned to them is in every way slight. A description of the Holy Rock is of prime importance and will be given at the end of this chapter.

Some holy places of this category are the following:

'Arâq el-'Adjamî³ in Bêt Idjzâ is a natural rock, in no way prominent, nor is it connected with any *maqâm*, tree, cave, or cistern. In the middle of it is a small, artificial depression, in which, I was told, offerings are put.

¹ These resemble in some respects the heaps of stones mentioned in Jos. 7 26; 8 29 and 2 Sam. 18 17.

² When I saw this place in 1921 there were but few heaps.

³ I found no *tâqah* connected with this place.

In the neighbourhood of Dêr Ghassâneh there are some rocks called Nuqqâr el-'Adjâm.¹ They are situated between two hills, and are assigned to el-'Adjâm. In passing, the *fellaḥ* will recite the *fātiḥah* to these *awlîâ*, just as he would at any other shrine. No vows, offerings, or oaths are made to or by them.

In the village Šêḥ Sa'd (in the Ḥaurân) there is a stone called Şahret Ayûb, on which it is said that the prophet Job used to lean during the days of his affliction. The stone is an ancient stela with hieroglyphics of the time of Rameses II.²

On the height of the mountain el-Marṭûm,³ near the ruins of Benî Dâr,⁴ and to the south of the village Banî N'êm, a *maqâm* is built for the supposed prophet Yaqîn.⁵ In the room we notice a rock encircled with an iron frame. This rock shows the impressions of two feet and of two hands. It is related that Abraham was ordered by God to come to this place, where he could observe the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is curious that although Abraham is known to be a pre-Islamic prophet the impressions show that he performed his prayer with the face turned to Mecca.

Outside this *maqâm* there is another rock showing also the impressions of two feet. They are said to be those of Lot. This rock is surrounded by a *ḥuwêtîyeh*.

Ḥadjar el-'Arûrî⁶ to the south of Salfit is a large piece of rock, beside which eš-šêḥ el-'Arûrî is said to have rested. Qal'at er-Rifâ'i to the west of Dêr Ghassâneh is supposed to be the place where er-Rifâ'i used to rest. In the cemetery of Bâb er-Raḥmeh situated along the western wall of Jerusalem to the south of St. Stephen's

¹ The nuqqâr are composed of several large stones raised from the ground. The *ṣuffîyeh darâwiš* are afraid to pass in their neighbourhood, especially during the night. The night between Thursday and Friday is the most dangerous ('Omar Effendi el-Barghûti). These features are true of many other holy places. A complete description of them will be given in another chapter.

² ZDPV XIV, 147. I have not seen this place.

³ The view from this high mountain, especially to the east, is excellent. The Dead Sea and the mountains of Moab are distinctly seen.

⁴ The ruins are at present also called ḥirbet nabî Yaqîn.

⁵ Mudjîr ed-Dîn says the shrine was called masdjad el-Yaqîn, because Abraham said, when Sodom and the other cities were destroyed: "Ḥadâ hua-l-ḥaqqul-yaqîn", This is the sure truth, (*el-uns ed-dja'il* p. 35).

⁶ 'Omar Effendi el-Barghûti.

Gate, there is a broken pillar,¹ beside the tomb of eš-šēḥ Šaddād. It is believed that by rubbing one's back on this pillar one will be cured of any backache.²

El-Ḥadjar el-Mansi, "the forgotten stone," is supposed to be the grave of a Christian who joined the Mohammedan faith just before his death. Some inhabitants of the Mohammedan quarter on "Mount Zion"³ observed on various occasions a light shining from this spot. This proved to them the sanctity of the place.⁴ A light used to be burned every Thursday evening to this "forgotten man."⁵

In el-Aqsâ Mosque there are two pillars, between which it is believed that no bastard child can pass.⁶ This is one of the many so called "ordeals of God".⁷

Inside el-Maṣ'ad, the Chapel of the Ascension (on the Mount of Olives) we are shown on a stone the impression of the right foot of Jesus. This place belongs to the Mohammedans but it is also held sacred by the Christians, who celebrate mass here on certain days. The sacred stone is surrounded by a beautiful octagonal building with a vaulted roof.⁸

Christians honour also other stones and rocks. I need not mention Golgotha, and the pillar where Christ was bound and scourged, but will limit myself to a description of the sacred stones of St. George, the "Milk Grotto," and the rock on which Elijah is supposed to have rested.

The holy stone of St. George (el-Ḥaḍr between Bêt Djâlâ and the Pools of Solomon) still plays an important rôle. The story as it is recorded in the author's *Aberglaube* is as follows. While a Greek priest was officiating at the Holy Communion in the Church

¹ Kahle, l. c.

² It is to be presumed that this pillar draws its curative power from the šēḥ near whose grave it is found.

| ³ The quarter is known as Ḥāret en-Nabî Dâhûd.

|| ⁴ It is in the Armenian cemetery.

|| ⁵ Heard from the Armenian Victoria.

⁶ It is also believed that only those who will enter Paradise can pass between the pillars.

⁷ For parallels see Goldziher II, pp. 408, 409; and Curtiss, l. c.

⁸ In the Aqsâ mosque we are shown *qadam seyidnâ 'Isâ*, the foot impression of Christ, and in the room leading to the so-called "Solomon's Stables," *srîr seyidnâ 'Isâ*, the cradle of Christ.

of Mâr Djirius, a few drops of the sacred wine were spilled. They penetrated through his foot and burst the stone on which they fell. The wound of the priest never healed and he died as a punishment for his carelessness in handling the Blood of the Saviour. The stone received a supernatural curative power from the sacred wine, which benefited every sick person who happened to kneel on it. Its reputation soon spread all over Palestine, and great numbers of sick flocked thither. Even the Czar of Russia heard of the wonderful virtues of this stone and sent a man-of-war to Jaffa to bring it away. In solemn procession the stone is said to have been brought to Jaffa. But St. George did not allow it to be transported further. Every time the boat carrying this precious treasure removed some distance from the shore el-Ḥaḍr brought it back with his spear. All recognized the folly of disobeying the wishes of the saint and so the stone was brought back to its place.¹

The white stones of the Milk Grotto are used by Christians and Moslems of Bethlehem and the surrounding district as amulets to increase the flow of mother's milk. It is supposed that a few drops of the Virgin's milk dropped on the floor.

Opposite to Mâr Eliâs on the western side of the carriage road there is a depression in the rock. It is related that St. Elijah slept in this place while escaping from his persecutors.²

But the most important rock is es-Ṣāḥrah which measures 17.7×13.5 metres and is situated in the midst of the "Mosque of Omar." The rough surface of the rock stands in great contrast to the beauty and harmony of the interior of the most beautiful mosque of the Orient. The rock is in itself sacred, and is protected from visitors by a railing. Its sanctity is due to its connection with so many prophets,

¹ See Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*, p. 52.

² From between Mâr Eliâs and Ṭanṭûr a piece of rock was carried to Bêt Djâlâ. It is said that while Mary was coming from Bethlehem to Jerusalem carrying her child, she passed Jews threshing beans on the rock east of Ṭanṭûr. Christ cried for some, and she asked the people to give her a handful. They refused and said that they were not beans but only stones. And forthwith they turned into small stones. The workers at once followed her and accused her of being a witch. She hastened to escape and when she was on the point of falling into their hands she asked a rock to hide her. At once the stone opened and sheltered her. In vain did her pursuers search for her. This stone carries the name of *srîr es-Saiydeh*.

especially Mohammed. When the Prophet ascended to heaven the rock would have followed him, were it not that the angel Gabriel held it down. On two occasions the rock spoke, once to Mohammed and again to 'Omar. I shall not describe all the beliefs connected with this stone since they can be found elsewhere. On, around and below it we find the following sacred places:

I. On the rock itself:¹

1. The impressions of the fingers of the angel Gabriel, who kept the rock from following the prophet while he ascended to heaven (western part).
2. The footsteps of Idris (east).
3. The footsteps of Mohammed, twelve in number. The prophet is said to have walked over that part of the rock. The stone yielded and so the impressions remained.

II. Below the rock:

4. Before entering the cave below the Sacred Rock one is shown the "tongue of the rock." It is said that in the night visit (*lêlatu-l-Mîrâdj*) of the prophet he saluted the rock: *as-salâmu 'aleikî yâ şahrati-l-lâh* ("peace be with you, O Rock of God"), and it answered at once: *labbeik ua'aleik as-salâm yâ rasûl allah* ("at your service, and peace be with you, O Apostle of God").
5. Fifteen steps lead to the cave below the *şahrâh*. To the right of it we have the niche of king Solomon.
6. Still further to the right the place where Mohammed prayed; since he was tall and the roof low, he would have struck his head, but
7. The rock gave way in that place, and we are shown *ta'djît eş-şahrâh* (the impression of his head).
8. The praying place of al-Ḥaḍr, at an elevated point.
9. *Masnad Djubrâîl* is the place where the angel waited until the prophet finished his prayer.
10. Mihrâb Ibrâhîm el-Ḥalîl, and to the left of the staircase.
11. Mihrâb Dâhûd.
12. The rock is perforated in the middle and it is said that the prophet ascended directly through it to heaven.

¹ Kahle, *PJ* VI, 93, mentions only 20 places (under 19 heads).

13. Just below the centre of the cave is believed to be the Bir el-Arwâh, which is covered with a marble plate. The souls come together twice a week in the cistern and perform their prayers.

III. Directly around the sacred Rock:

14. The impression of the foot of the prophet, which is shown on a separate stone, placed on small pillars to the S.W. corner.
15. The hairs from the beard of the prophet are kept in a silver case just above No. 14.¹
16. The banners of the prophet and of Omar are kept in a box, which is near No. 15.
17. Two niches connected with Hamzeh.
18. A *mihrâb* in the northern side of the *ṣaḥrah*, where some of the prophets used to pray (*mihrâb el-Anbiâ*).²

IV. At a distance from eṣ-Ṣaḥrah:

20. Bâb ed-Djanneh (the northern door).³
21. El-Balâṭah es-Sôdah⁴ (which was removed by Djamâl Pâšâ) is also known by the name of Balâṭit ed-Djanneh. It is said that Mohammed drove nineteen golden nails into this stone. From time to time God was to send an angel to remove a nail, and when all have been removed the last day will be at hand. One day the devil succeeded in removing some of them. While he was taking them out he was driven away by the angel Gabriel who found that only three and a half nails remained.
22. Near the southern door we see *mihrâb* Abî Ḥanifatu-n-Nu'mân.⁵
23. In one side of the eastern door we find a *mihrâb* bearing the name of Hilu'et 'Alî⁵ (the secluded place of prayer of 'Alî).

In *el-muršid li-z-zâir wad-dalîl* we find an enumeration of these places. A special prayer for every place is given, and the number

¹ They are shown on the 27th of Ramâḍân, which is thought to be *lêlatu-l-Qadr*.

² It is said that the Prophet Mohammed prayed here with other prophets in *lêlatu-l-Mî'râdj*.

³ The four doors of the mosque are the western (Bâb el-Gharb, or Bâb en-Nisâ), the northern (Bâb ed-Djanneh), the eastern (Bâb Dâhûd, or Bâb es-Sinsleh) and the southern (Bâb el-Qibleh). Uns ed-Djalîl gives to the eastern door the name Bâb Isrâfîl.

⁴ Under it is said to be the tomb of Solomon.

⁵ It is not regarded as so important as the others.

of kneelings to be performed is indicated. Mudjir ed-Dîn¹ mentions only Nos. 1, 4, 11, 14, 21, and the cave (*al-ghâr*).² Al-imâm Abû Bakr bin el-'Arâbî³ pretends to have seen the rock floating in the air, without any support. A modern belief which has its parallel in *al-uns ed-djalîl*⁴ is that from under this rock four streams flow,⁵ to the south Hammâm es-Şifâ, to the east Siloam ('ên sittî Mariam), to the north 'ên Hadjdî and 'ên el-Qaşleh, and to the west Hammâm es-Sultân.⁶

Before closing this chapter I may further mention Abu ed-Dhûr a rock situated on the left side of the carriage road from Jerusalem to Jericho, after passing 'ên el-Hôd.⁷ This rock has a widespread reputation for the cure of backache. After a patient has rubbed his back against the rock, he places a stone on it. When last I saw this "father of backs" he was loaded with a large heap of stones. He is not assigned at present to any *welî*, and I cannot explain its widespread therapeutic use, except by assuming that it must have been once connected in some way with a holy man or object of worship.⁸ I do not think that Curtiss is right in saying that such stones act by their own magic power. Neither the colour nor the substance of which our last example is composed differ in any way from the rocks in the neighbourhood as to attract special attention.⁹

We note also in this connection that this idea of honouring stones is not a characteristic of the present inhabitants of Palestine, but was well known in the ancient Orient. In Gen. 18 18 ff. we read:

¹ *El-uns ed-djalîl fî târîh el-quds wal-halîl*, p. 371 ff.

² In an appeal by the Supreme Moslem Council of Palestine, which contains a short guide to the Temple Area, only Nos. 5, 8, 10, 11 are mentioned.

³ Referred to by Mudjir ed-Dîn, p. 371.

⁴ Mudjir, p. 205.

⁵ *JPOS* I, 153—170.

⁶ Mudjir ed-Dîn says that all water that is drunk comes from under the Şahrah. Everybody who drinks water at night time should say: "O water of the Holy City you are saluted" (p. 206).

⁷ Called also the "Spring of the Apostles" It is probably the "Spring of the Sun," mentioned in Jos. 15 7.

⁸ It is curious that in the continuation of Wâdî el-Hôd and not far from this rock we have I'râq es-Şams and Mgheiyir es-Şams which correspond to the Biblical name of 'ên ha-šemeš.

⁹ This rock is not mentioned in the guide books. No religious honours are paid to it.

"Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon it. And he called the name of the place Beth-el".¹ In Is. 57 6 we read about "the smooth stones of the stream," to which the Israelites had "poured a drink offering" and "offered a meat offering."²

Before leaving this section of our subject we may call attention to those rare sacred places that are not characterized by any of the aforementioned features, *i. e.* those that exhibit no tomb, *maqâm*, tree, cave, enclosure nor rock. It is hardly possible to believe that such dirty and unasuming places have ever attracted the attention of the peasants. We find generally no clue to explain why they have been assigned to a *welî*. Among places of this nature I may mention:

Eš-šêḥ Salmân (Bêt Sûrik), a small cupboard-like hollow in the wall of a garden. The pomegranate trees near by do not belong to the *welî*. In this opening I saw oil-lamps.

El-'Adjamî ('Awartah), an open place having on two sides the remains of two old and strongly built walls. No tomb, cistern nor tree belongs to the *welî*. In the western wall there is a *tâqah*, where oil is burned and incense offered.

El-'Adjamî (a second saint of the same name in 'Awartah), a ruined building with no remains or signs of a *mihrâb* or tomb. The inhabitants of the village say that the place used to be the house of a peasant.

It seems that a ruin is connected with most examples of this class. Thus the place bought by the Russians in 'Anâtâ shows a ruin of a building with some pillars, probably the remains of a church. The *fellaḥîn* of this village believe that it is haunted by *şullâh*, but no body knows who they are.

Not all of these places are well cared for. They are often dirty and unattended. Thistles and other weeds flourish. Old tins, stones and rubbish fill them. This was especially true of the two sacred places of 'Awartah, also of Banât eš-šêḥ Şalâḥ³ and of el-'Umari (both in Jericho). Of the last two⁴ the former shows an outline of

¹ See also Curtiss, l. c.

² S. Bevan, in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible* III, 1381.

³ Some call them Banât eš-šêḥ Şabbâḥ.

⁴ They were three and were honoured in two places in Jericho. When their habitations were ruined they left Jericho and went to Ḥasbân. They used to appear in the form of Bedouin women.

a small square building¹ which was very poorly constructed. Near the second² there is a ruined cistern.

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 *maqâm* 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 *welî*

3. Tying of rags

4. Healing

5. Making oaths

6. Paying vows

7. Celebration of feasts, *mawâsim*

8. Processions.

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

¹ I found tin oil-lamps in the so-called shrine.

² A *djâmi'* is said to have once been situated here, bearing the name of 'Omar.

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 *welâ*. 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 *haḍûr*, 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 miš 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* وُر "owner" (cf. *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* 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 Ḥirbet '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 *šêḥ* 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 Ḥamdân, father of Moḥammed, father of Aḥmad who is still living. To this Aḥmad I owe this story and the chronology. Šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm belonged to the order of the Rifâ'i.

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 ḥâfiẓ*, "O Keeper;" *yâ amîn*, "O Faithful," etc.

⁸ The above-mentioned *haḍûr* comes from *haḍḍara* 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 ḥaḍûr 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 *es-šêh 'Abd es-Salâm*, he told me a story to convince me of the importance and power of this *šêh*. He began: *marrah rikib walad 'alâ qabr es-šêh 'Abd es-Salâm—dastûr yâ sidnâ 'Abd es-Salâm . . .*, "Once a boy rode on the tomb of *es-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 ḥaḍûr itfarraqû 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 rabb el-malâ-ikah war-rûh*, "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 *dastûr*. Sometimes instead of the name itself the expression "O friend of God" is placed after *dastûr*: *dastûr yâ welîy allâh*. Very rarely *dastûr* alone is used. In the case of *nebi Mûsâ* I heard from a woman of Jerusalem the following expression: *dastûr yâbn 'Imrân¹ illî nâruh min ḥdjâruh*, "dastûr, O son of 'Imrân, whose fire comes from his stones."² On entering *nebi Şâleḥ*, *dastûr yâ nebi Şâlih³ yâ râ'i en-nâqah*, "dastûr, O Prophet Şâleḥ, O shepherd of the she-camel,"⁴ is used. With 'Alî ibn 'Alêm, *dastûr yâ 'Alî ibn 'Alêm⁵ yâ lâdjim el-baḥar ibš'arah*, "dastûr, 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 *dastûr* 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 *dastûr* 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 *Nebi Mûsâ* are black and contain some bitumen, so they burn when put on a fire.

³ *Nebi Şâleḥ* has several *maqâms*. The above expression is used by the people of the village of *Nebi 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-ʿAdrâ*, "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-Tarmaḍî the Prophet ordered: *idâ akala aḥadûkum 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, *biyñhâh*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, ʿÎsâ (Rûḥ allâh⁸). The usual expressions are: *daḥîl*⁹ 'alêk *yâ rasûl allâh*, "I implore you, O apostle of God;" *anâ ṭanîb* 'alêk¹⁰ *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 ʿAbd el-Madîd ʿAlî, *at-Tuḥfatu 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 ʿarḍak* 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 Ibrahim (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 iḥuṣṣuh*,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 Haïfâ 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 Haïfâ refused to take him along, he begged the *ṣaḥâbeh* 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 *miṭl el-mkârî mâ biyudkur allâh illâ taḥt il-himl*, "like the muleteer, he does not call on God, except when in difficulty (under a load)."

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

³ *Iḥuṣṣuh* was explained to me as "injured;" I tried to find out whether it is not *iḥuṣṣh*, "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": *djamaḥ 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 Djiffin 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 šdjârâ turšuk ḥdjâr*, "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 *qûneh* 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 *fâtîḥah* 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 *aş-şalâtu 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-Kawâkibi thinks (in *Ṭabâi'u l-İstibâd*) 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 Douâté in *Magie et Religion*, p. 420ff. 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: *iqra l-fâtîḥah 'an rūḥ eš-šēḥ . . . (iqra l-fâtîḥah laš-šēḥ . . .)*, "Recite the *fâtîḥah* for the soul of the *šēḥ* . . . (recite the *f.* for the *šēḥ* . . .)."

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: *audâtu fî hâda l-maqâm šihâdati 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-šēḥ* et-Tôrî, *eš-šēḥ* 'Abd es-Salâm, etc.) I have not been allowed to enter except barefoot, while in most of them (*eš-šēḥ* 'Abdallah in Qubêbeh, *eš-šēḥ* Salmân el-Fârsî on the Mount of Olives, Ḥasan er-Râ'î near Nebî Mûsâ, *eš-šēḥ* Ḥamad in Kolônîâ, 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-Aqâ, 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 Ĥirbet Nûtâ, which is guarded by the soul of *eš-šêḥ* 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-šêḥ* 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-šêḥ* 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 *welî* was reconciled by the offering of two sheep.

² Exod. 3 s.

³ Gen. 35 2; Ex. 19 10; 1 Sam. 16 s.

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.

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 'Êsâwîyeh 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 'Êsâwîyeh, 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 *es-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. 'Ên 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 Şâlhiyeh (Bêt 'Anân) kills every gazelle which eats leaves of his olive trees. Every animal which climbs on the building of *es-šêh* Yâsîn falls down dead. Whenever a herd of goats or sheep approaches el-Qubbeh (to the east of Dêr Djrîr) the *gullâh* drive them away. See also Jaussen, p. 308.

Abûl-Ênên. 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 Artâs. He was the *naddjâb* of the prophet. *Naddjâb* means "one who goes before the prophet (or the *šêh* of a *tarîqah*) in procession to the next village and announces his coming with this. followers." *Eš-šêh* 'Abêd (near Şatâf) 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-šêh Şalâh and el-'Umari

¹ Heard from Miss Baldensberger.

² Urine, faecal matter, pus, menstrual blood, expectoration, etc. A Turkish officer evacuated once under the tree of *eš-šêh* Abû Rîš (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 *djâmi* Abû l-'On (Biddû) broke wind during his sleep. The irritated *welî* threw him at once outside the holy place.

³ Pork and all alcoholic drinks.

šēḥ Nûrân,¹ and cut down a tree of eš-šēḥ Abû Ḥurêrî.² F. A., an influential person of Jerusalem, asked some peasants of Šarâfât to cut off a dying branch of the holy oak tree of el-Badrîyeh 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-Badrîyeh.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 *mihrâb*, and they are located in the villages or not far from them. The inhabitants of villages near Jerusalem do not have many such *djawâmi* owing to the fact that the peasants come to the city on Friday⁴ to perform the noon prayers (*ṣalât ed-djum'ah*) in the Mosque of Omar. In villages at a distance from Jerusalem such *djawâmi* 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 *mawâsim* 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. Sittî Maryam comes next. The Chapel of the Ascension, the Church of the Nativity, the Milk Grotto and Mâr Elyâs⁶ come after. The last two enjoy only the respect of the neighbouring Mohammedan villages.⁷ According to Mudjir

¹ Between Šallâleh and Tell eš-Šerî'ah.

² On the road Beersheba-Gaza. The same causes are given in connection with eš-šēḥ Šâleh (er-Râm), en-nabî Nûn, etc.

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

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

⁵ Kahle, *PJ* VII, pp. 99ff.

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

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

ed-Din 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-ndjâṣah*, "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 Ramaḍân.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 *môsam* is over, pay visits to Ḥaram 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 *huddâm 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 fî 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-Walîd 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-Madjîd Alî in *at-Tuḥfatu l-Marḍiyah*, p. 61.

⁵ Also called *'udet ed-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* Muṣṭafâ el-Anṣârî.

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

The *šiyûh* returning with their adherents from *mawâsim* of Nebi Mûsâ, Nebi Rûbin, Nebi Šâleh, 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 *šêh* recites the *fâtîhah*.

The *barakeh* is not only derived from dead saints, but living holy *šêhs* may also radiate it. *Es-šêh* Abû Ḥalâwî had during his lifetime wide renown in this respect. People kiss the hand, touch the garments, eat some of the *šêh'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 *es-šêh* Abû Ḥalawî. Before entering his room, they heard him calling, "Welcome thou daughter of *el-quṭub*, the descendant of el-Ghôṣ." 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 Ḥalawî 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 *quṭb* el-Ghôṣ 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 *quṭb* el-Ghôṣ had saved their life. He, believing now in the power of the *šêh*⁵, visited him for *et-tabarruk*.

¹ By Yûsif Diâ ed-Din ed-Danaf el-Anşârî.

² *Dalîl el-Haram es-Šarîf* 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 *'idd*.

⁵ The servants of this holy *šêh* 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 *muḥtâr* 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 *eš-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 *eš-šēh* 'Abdallâh (Šu'fât), *eš.-'Ubêd* (Dêr Yâsîn) and *eš. Ramađân* I saw large heaps of thorns.¹ In the cave of *eš-šēh* 'Isâ (Bêt Lîqîâ) and in the *maqâm* of *eš-šēh* Aḥmad eṭ-Taiyâr (Qaṣṭal) straw (*tîbn*) was stored, when I visited them. I found three *laban* (sour milk) pitchers placed in front of the cave of Rdjâl Abû Tûh (Bêt Lîqîâ). A peasant of ed-Djîb deposited his lime in Djâmi' el-Arb'in. In *eš-šēh* Hâmid, of the same village, two donkey loads of pottery were placed under the protection of the saint. In *eš-šēh* Aḥmad (Ḥirbet Qaryet S'ideh) I saw cultivating implements. At *eš-šēh* 'Abdallah 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 *wêlî*. 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 *Muḥit el-Muḥit* 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 *welâ*, 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-šêh</i> Yûsif	N. of Râmallâh
<i>en-nabî</i> Nûn (oak)	Yanûn
<i>eš-šêh</i> el-Buḥtiârî (oak and 'carob)	N. of Ḥirbet el-Lôz
Ḥarrûbet el-'Ašarah	'Êsâwiyeh
<i>eš-šêh</i> Barri (oak)	N. of Dêr Ghassâneh
Abû er-Râyât (oak)	W. of Dêr Ballût
<i>eš-šêh</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 Djâwîš	Jerusalem
Ṭâqet Silwân	Aqşâ mosque
<i>en-nabî</i> Mûsâ	
Abû Zêtûn	an hour from Bêt Ūniâ
el-Badrîyeh	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> Nûh	Kerak
<i>eš-šēh</i> Slimân	Dêr Abân
<i>eš-šēh</i> Aḥmad el-'Amari	near Dêr Abân
Abû Hurêrah	Tell Abû Hurêrah
<i>eš-šēh</i> Nûrân	near Šallâleh

On the doors of *eš-šēh* 'Abd er-Raḥmân (Rammûn), *en-nabî* Lût and *en-nabî* Yaqîn (both in Benî N'êm), and on the *miḥdjâneh* of *eš-šēh* Aḥmad el-Gharib (N. of Mdjêdil en-Nâsrah) 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 *waḥîd*. When one has a son (or a daughter), after a long period, he calls him (or her) *waḥîd* (or *waḥîdeh*).

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 *da'iq*. 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 *mês* 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 '*ûd* (twig) *mês* is that which is cut on the 27th of Ramaḍân³ after sun-set and before day-break,⁴ since the Qorân says: "It is peace until the rising of the morn"⁵ (last verse of Sûreh 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 *mês* 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 Ramaḍân is *lêlatu l-Qadr* mentioned in the 97th Sûrah. 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-Tuhfah l-Marḍiyah fî l-Aḥbâr el-Qudsîyah wal-Aḥâdîṯ an-Nabâwîyah wal-Aqâ'id et-Tawḥîdîyah*, by 'Abd el-Madjid 'Alî) to the word *lêlatu l-Qadr* coming three times in this Sûrah. As this word contains nine letters (ليلة القدر), the number of letters of this word in this Sûrah indicates which night of Ramaḍân.

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-Tuhfah el-Marḍiyah*, 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 *mês* 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-Ḥamîs*, to be described below.

Leaves of the Prophet's olive tree gathered on the feast of the flags (*djum'et el-'alêmât*⁹), which corresponds to the Good Friday of the Greek Church, help to cure fever and stomach trouble. This tree lies between the Aqşâ and the Omar Mosque, just to the west of the water-basin (*el-Kâs*). Every year the Prophet and his *Şahâbeh* 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 Bir 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 *Ḥarîdatu l-'Adjâ'ib* says that date-palms were created from the same earth from which Adam was made (*Aberglaube*, p. 87).

⁹ Pl. of *'elêm*, the diminutive from *'alam*.

¹⁰ *Aberglaube*, l. c.

¹¹ Abû Šukrî Mustaklim.

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

Next we turn to a pure Christian practice which resembles the customs already described in many respects. The *Qišret el-Hamîs* has been described already in my *Aberglaube*, and this account may be repeated here with some additions. *Qišret el-Hamîs*, which means literally "the peelings of Thursday," is composed of the capsules of *maḥlab* (*Prunus mahaleb*,² an aromatic grain) with cut-up leaves of palms, olive trees, and some cut flowers. The *maḥlab* 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 eš-šalīb*, "the Feast of the Cross." On these two days the cross is laid on a large plate (*sinīyeh*) 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-Hamîs*. 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

Mêramīyeh (*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 *qšârah* (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* Qaiṭûn (Hebron), *eš-šêh* Ramaḍân,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-Râi³ 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 *ašrâf*, or members of the Prophet's family.

³ Near the sanctuary of Nabî Mûsâ.

⁴ In Kolôniâ.

⁵ Bêt Djibrin.

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 'Ēn Ishâq 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 'Ēn 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 Ĥarbatâ 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 *ibriyet 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-Ĥaḍrâ (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-hôfeh* — 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 Ṭarif, 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. 1 5; 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 ‘*isbet en-naṣrah*, 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* Šnēt and *eš-šēh* Kanfūš (both in Hebron), or it is mixed with some earth of the shrine (ez-Zughbeh in Mālḥah). 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 Dâhūd or the Ḥaram in Hebron) swallowed by sterile women are believed to cure their condition. Others carry these wicks as a *ḥidjāb* (amulet) against the same trouble. A patient with fever is supposed to get well if he is fumigated with incense taken from *sittnâ* el-*Ḥaḍrâ* (near ed-Djôrah) or with the straw of the mats (*qašš ḥašêreh*) 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-Bakrî,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-Barghûṭî.

Moḥammed el-Ḥalilī.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 Ramaḍān 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-Fātiḥah	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 (*hizb*) assisting in reciting the Holy Book. Some of this bread is sometimes prepared in the month Ša'bān. But only that which is made during Ramaḍān possesses the above-mentioned virtue.³ Holy bread (the *quddāseh*) is used also by Christians. It should be eaten only while one is ritually clean.

The slippers (*bâbûdj*, pl. *bawâbidj*) of el-Madjdûb⁴ (Dêr Ghassāneh 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 *tâsit 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* Ḥrēs. 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'i el-Ḥalilî, 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 *Zâwiet* el-Maghârbeh, where he chose to be buried. But he died in Morocco and only his hand is buried in the *zâwieh* (*Lawâqih el-Anwâr*, by 'Abd el-Wahhâb eš-Ša'rânî 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* Šnêt" suffice to remove the fever.²

In Jericho a fever patient is carried by his relatives and laid on the tomb of *eš-šēh* Ghânim. 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 (Idnah) 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 Bâb er-Raḥmeh.⁴ In Hebron mothers induce their children to run over the tomb of *eš-šēh* Šnêt to get over their ailments.⁵

An impotent man must wash himself in a *welî* or on the threshold of el-'Aṭêrî (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 Ḥuzn 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-Aqṣâ and eš-Şahrah. The

¹ 'Abd el-Ghânî states that the sick and troubled of his time used to place stones on the tomb of Aḥmad ed-Dadjânî, 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:

	His wife chosen by God	The Prophet of God Abraham Peace be with him		
			 A
	His wife Rifqah chosen by God	The Prophet of God Isaac Peace be with him		
			 B
	His wife Lâiqah chosen by God	The Prophet of God Jacob Peace be with him		
			 C
	His wife Zlîhah chosen by God	The Prophet of God Joseph Peace be with him		
			 D
	The foot print of the Prophet	The Holy Cave		

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 Nadâ).

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 *hawâtīm* (pl. of *hâtīm*, 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 *hâtīm* with a balance:

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

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-Šarîf.

The way.

Šhâdeh.

3. In another *hâtīm* with a balance:

هذا ميزان هذا صراط

This is a balance. This is a way.

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

موسى كلم 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 ي.

³ On the *hîrz* 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 Abî 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 *ḥadîṭ*.

⁶ Probably names of the *šiyūḥ* 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 *âyatü l-kursî* (Sûrah II, 250).

7. In the representation of the hand:

وبشّر المؤمنين يا محمد نصر من الله وفتح قريب
لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله
لافتنا 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 'Alî, 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 *šeh* 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. Barghûṭî.

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 *humma* (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 Šūfah (Dêr Ghassāneh), en-Nūbānī, eš-šēḥ Djabr (Râfât) and sittnâ el-Ḥadrâ 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-'Arûrî (Dêr Ghassāneh) have the power of curing a special eruption of the head called *šawwâṭah* (also *ra'âyeh*). They cauterize it with fire, while an ointment made of some herbs which grow near the shrine is given to the patient.⁴

Er-Rfâ'i had while on earth the power of healing the bite of venomous serpents. He begged the Almighty to give *qarn el-ḥaltîl*

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 *ḥadîṭ* 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 *Ḥadr* and *Ḥaḍer*, as both pronounciations 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-halhîl*) an antivenomous power. Since his death the milk in which the *qarn* has been rubbed is believed to cure every poisoned person. The *šiyûh* of er-Rfâî pretend to be proof against every serpent bite.

Very widespread is the belief that certain cures are surer at special times. Thus bathing in Hammâm el-Ên and springs dedicated to Job in the night of 'Ašûrah¹ (the tenth of Moharram²) is more effective than bathing at any other period. The sea is most curative in the day of *ibrîyet Aiyûb*. The best *ûd mës* is that which was cut in *Lêlatu l-Qadr* (the 27th of Ramaðân). Acts performed about noon time (*salât eẓ-ẓuhr*) are more efficacious than others, etc.

I shall close this section with a study of the shrines of el-Haḍer (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-Husên 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 *Zêtûnit el-Haḍr*. 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, NW. corner	Qubbet el-Ḥaḍr
Jerusalem	Same, NE. 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>mihrâb</i> ³
Nablus	near the large <i>djâmi'</i>	dark room ⁴
Nâblus	Hammâm ed-Daradjeh	a basin in which he takes a bath every Friday ⁵
Ṭaiybeh		Christian church
Bêt 'Anân		a <i>ḥuwêṭah</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 الشهدا
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 to er-Râs	a <i>ḥuwêtiyeh</i> called <i>ḥaṭwet</i> (<i>ḥaḇṭet</i>) el-Ḥaḍr
Karak		honoured by Christians and Mohammedans.

There are some *awliâ* bearing the name *eš-šēḥ* 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-Ḥaḍr. 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 Mûlinen *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 off 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 *šiyûh*. Whenever a sick person shows any nervous symptoms like hysterical fits, apoplexy, epilepsy and even convulsions resulting from fever a *šêh* 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 *šêh* 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 developes 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

5. OATHS

It is a widespread custom to call on God or a saint to witness and attest one's affirmation, or to assert one's innocence. This assurance is given by means of an oath in the name of a holy man, generally in his shrine, or in the name of God and in a shrine of some *weli*. Simple oaths in which the name of God alone is used, and which may be uttered on any occasion, are innumerable and will not be discussed. Simple oaths are so common that they are a part of the daily life of a peasant.⁵ If he is telling a story or an

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-Marâiyah*, 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 *madjnân*.—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.

⁵ I will mention some of the most important simple *aqsam* (pl. of *qasam*) which are much used in the daily life of the peasant. They belong to one of the following two categories:

a) The name or an adjective of God, that of a *weli* or a sanctuary are connected with the oath,

b) The *yamin* mentions some natural phenomena.

The following examples will illustrate both kinds:

adventure and finds it necessary to emphasize a point, because some one may doubt his statement, he says *u-haqq el-Hadr el-Ahḍar innî ruht udjît*, "By the truth (of the existence) of St. George I went and came (back)." Or, "By the truth and honor of the Prophet

Ad a)

والله ومحمد رسول الله	By God and Mohammed, God's apostle
والله وما أعز من الله	By God, and there is no one more powerful than God
وحياة هالعود والرب المعبود	By the life of this branch (stick) and the worshipped God and the Prophet David
والنبي داهود	
والصليب الحي	By the living cross
وحق القبلة المحمدية	By the truth of the Mohammedan direction of prayer
وحق الكنيسته والساكين	By the truth of this church and those (i. e. saints) abiding in it
فيها	
وباب هالشرق معبد النصارى	By the door of this East (i. e. by the direction of the sunrise) which is the prayer direction of the Christians (the direction of burying Christian dead).
والكعبة	By the Ka'beh
والمهد الشريف	By the honourable church of the Nativity
والمصحف	By the Qurân
ولحية النبي	By the beard of the Prophet

Ad b)

وحق عوينة هالشمس المغربة	By the truth of this sun's disk (lit. small eye)
لطاعة ربها	which is going down in the west in obedience to her Lord
وحياة هالشارب	By the life (here: existence) of this moustache
وحياة المائي المطهرة الحي والميت	By the existence of the water which purifies the living and the dead
وحياة المائي الجارية والسموات	By the existence of the flowing water and the high heavens
العالية	
وحياة هالشجرة اللي بتشرب	By the existence of this tree which drinks with its root, and which praises its Lord
من عرقها وتبسم ربها	
وحياة هالبساط الأخضر اللي	By the existence of this green carpet which grew dumb and deaf (i. e. quietly) from the earth
طلع من الارض خرسا طرشا	
وحق من يعلم كم ورقة في	By the truth of the One who knows how many leaves there are on this tree, and how many hairs on this animal. (The person while uttering this oath points to a tree and to an animal)
هالشجرة وكم شعرة في	
هالحيوان	

Some of these formulas were taken from the written notes of my father.

Moses I . . ."¹ These oaths are made in any place and need not be restricted to a sanctuary. It is customary to use the name of a local or an important outside *welî*. All oaths made in a *môsam* of a saint, or in the neighbourhood of a sanctuary are performed in the name of the respective *welî* or prophet.

More important are oaths made in the shrine itself. The causes for such an act are either major or minor ones. When a man is accused of having stolen something, but no direct proofs can be brought, he is asked by the accuser to go to a *welî* and swear his innocence. The accused, followed by the accuser, enters the shrine. The former lifts up his hands and says: "By God, the Great (Almighty)² One who has no greater Power above Him, I have not stolen, nor even seen this she-mule, nor do I know who has taken her."³ The accuser must content himself with the oath and is regarded as having lost the case. The accuser may not trouble himself and the accused to go in such a case to a sanctuary. The accused may be allowed to turn his face in the direction of the appointed *welî* and swears to his innocence with uplifted hands.

The principle *el-yamîn 'alâ niyet el-mhallîf*, "the oath is (to be fulfilled) according to the intention (resolution) of the one who requires the oath (from the other)", has two meanings. First that the accuser has the right to appoint the sanctuary, the time and sometimes the part of the sanctuary on which the accused must place his hand while swearing (the tomb, the *mihrâb*, the Qorân, etc.). In the second place the oath given by the accused is explained in the sense intended by the accuser. Wording which may express the truth only externally, but be essentially untrue, is a false oath. For example A is accused by B of having stolen his mare from the closed stable where it was fastened. A was actually the thief, having stolen the mare in company with C, B's servant. C opened the stable, untied the mare and led it outside the premises of B where A was awaiting him. A then galloped off with it, and after selling the mare gave C his share. B suspects A and asks him to swear.

¹ *Udjâh en-nabî Mûsâ . . .*

² This is sometimes repeated three times.

والله العظيم والي ما اعظم منه عظيم اني هالبعلة لا سرقتها ولا
اخذتها ولا بعلم مين اخذها.

The latter says: "By God, the Almighty, I never entered the premises, unlocked the stable, untied the mare or took it away." His oath is literally true, and B is obliged to accept it, but since he tried to cheat through the wording of the oath, God and the saint will punish him most severely. When the accused is ritually clean he enters the shrine, or if not he stands outside the door of the sanctuary, facing the interior, and performs his oath. In the case of a holy cave one stands on the door. Many Bedouin of Transjordan step over the tomb of the *welî* (*yufşuq*) and then swear. They think that the saint, who is already irritated by the contemptuous act of stepping over his tomb, will act the faster in punishing the accused if he has given a false oath.

If the accused is guilty, but does not dare to acknowledge his fault openly, and is at the same time afraid of perjury, he may get out of his difficulty in the following way, told me by Şofiyâ of ʿTurmus'aiyâ. The accused wears his garment turned inside out, fastening in it seven needles and carrying three silver bracelets in his pocket. All this is done secretly. With this protection he believes that no harm will befall him, even if he swears a false oath. He intends by such an act to acknowledge secretly to the man of God that he has committed the fault, but promises him to return the stolen things secretly or by some intermediary.

When an accuser loses his case by a false oath of the accused, he tries to provoke the anger of the saint, believing that he can thus hasten the punishment of his guilty opponent. There are different modes of provocation. He may hold with both hands the two ends of a mat of the sanctuary and swaying it up and down, thus shaking its dust on the accused, say: "O my Lord, O Sêf ed-Dîn, get me my right from this lying scoundrel." Sometimes the mats of the shrine are turned over with the words: "I turn the mats of el-Ḥauwâş over on you, O scoundrel."¹ The mats remain upside down until a passer-by or the *qaiym* turns them back. Generally, however, they are not touched, until the person who in this way besought the saint for justice turns them over again himself. This is done when the relatives of the person who made a false oath beg for it. Turning the mats upside down is supposed to

¹ *Qalabt 'alêk ḥuṣr el-Ḥauwâş yâ îlîm.*

transfer the anger of the saint to the guilty person. These two acts, which are known as *qalb el-huṣur* may be performed not only when a person has perjured himself, but also whenever a person is unjustly oppressed. All believe that these acts will stimulate the saint to react at once in favor of the oppressed person.¹ In some parts the oppressed person goes to the sanctuary, and lying on the floor covers himself with a mat, or he places the sweepings of the shrine on the tomb. Both these acts are believed to irritate the saint, who will at once protect the one who has been maltreated.²

When an innocent person is accused and is thus forced to swear he feels himself injured by the suspicion directed at him, and tries in one of the following ways to make the saint avenge him. He throws a small handful (half or a quarter of a full hand) of *qṣārah*³ on his opponent and says: *Yamīnak yiqḡīb 'alēk*, "(the result of) the oath (which you have forced me to make) shall return upon you." The accuser answers⁴ "it will return on the liar."⁵ Others take stones or earth and throw them on the grave or on the *maqām*, thus arousing the spirit of the holy man to keep his *maqām* holy and clear of false accusations.⁶

Exceedingly rare is the custom of going to a sanctuary and binding on the headstone (*mṣībeh*) a piece of cloth belonging to the oppressed person with the words *tūr yâ Madjdûb fî fulân illî ḡalamnî*, "Attack So and So, who has oppressed me, O M." This custom is practiced, as far as I know, only by women of Dêr Ghassâneh.⁷

A last resort to show one's innocence and demand revenge from God is to turn a *maṣḥaf* (Qorân) upside down, saying to the accuser: *haiy qalbēt maṣḥaf 'alēk*, "Behold a Qorân is turned on you."

While the simple oaths (*ymân 'urḡah*) for small crimes which we have treated may be made at any *welî*, more solemm ones (*ymân*

¹ Dêr Ghassâneh.

² Both these customs I heard from people of Abû Ghôṣ.

³ *Qṣārah* is the plaster coating of the walls of the rooms.

⁴ Arab. *yiqḡīb alâ l-kāḡīb*.

⁵ The accuser and accused, who came the same way, return separately by different roads.

⁶ If the accused is a descendant of a saint and is innocent, he tries to irritate the saint by putting filth on the tomb or by shouting that the saint is asleep, powerless or indifferent (cf. 1 Kings 18 27).

⁷ Heard from O. el-Barghûṭî.

mughallaḡ) for major crimes like murder,¹ rape² and *hadjseh*³ have to be performed in the shrine of an important saint. Maṣṣūr of Liftā assured me that a *welī hiṣr* (or *nizq*), "a nervous, irritable *welī*" should be chosen, since he will punish a liar at once.⁴ In such important cases it is not the accuser, but the judge who orders that such an oath be made in case no absolute proofs can be brought of the defendant's guilt. The judge—if he is unable to go himself—sends representatives to report the result. The oath of the accused must be seconded by a notable and sanctioned by three others.⁵

We have seen that all oaths, taken in a sanctuary, are made in the name of God and not in that of a prophet. The name of the latter may be mentioned in some cases after that of God, but no important oath is ever made in the name of a saint alone. Fridays and Mondays are generally chosen for an important oath. The latter day is selected because it is said that the Prophet was born on a Monday.

The material given in the foregoing section shows the great honour and fear of the saints. Few indeed dare to make a false oath in a shrine, for the vengeance of the saints is most severe. This revenge may show itself in him, his family, his property, or his animals. Story after story is told to illustrate this point. In some cases—as with *el-welī Šhâb ed-Dîn* of Şaffâ—the man of God marks the houses of those who make a false oath. Early in the morning they may find the corpse of some animal in front of the door. If no such a thing is found, everybody knows that the oath was a true one.

6. VOWS

The practice of incurring voluntary obligations to a deity on fulfilment of certain conditions, such as deliverance from disease, death, or danger, success in enterprises, bestowal of an heir, and the like, is of extremely ancient date and common in all systems of religion. There are many references in the Bible dealing with vows,

¹ Ar. *damḡ*.

² Ar. *'arḡ*.

³ Ar. *hadjseh* is the entrance of a respectable house by a stranger, either for robbery or for adultery.

⁴ All those I asked corroborated this statement.

⁵ See also O. el-Barghūṭī's paper, *JPOS* II, 51.

which fact shows us how widespread this practice was. The prophet Mohammed gave some rules concerning it in the Qorân, as well as in the Ḥadîṭ. Vows as they are performed at present have kept most of their ancient features.¹ This custom is still found among the peasants as well as among the town-dwellers, among Mohammedans and Christians, rich and poor. All believe in its necessity, its efficacy and its sure blessing. Every difficulty or misfortune in the daily life of the Oriental brings him nearer to his God and to the saints. And holding that these holy men are nearer God than himself, and nearer him than God is, he believes that they are able to help him. He tries to get their protection, favour and help; and believes that he will be more successful if the saints are rewarded by him. Therefore he promises one or more saints an offering, to be given in his or their names and in their honour.

Opportunities for making vows are innumerable: in sickness, in the case of the journey of a friend, when bad news about an absent member of the family is received, when a woman is barren, during a bad agricultural year, in the face of impending danger, repeated loss of children, difficult labour, infectious disease of cattle, etc. Among all these causes sickness is the most important and most vows are paid in connection with it. Many saints are called upon for help. The father, mother, wife, brothers, sisters, children, other relations or even friends of the sick make the vows. Usually each of them calls on a different saint, thus ensuring the help of all the most important saints. In case the condition of the sick man allows, he himself will promise an offering. The value of the offering varies more or less according to the importance of the sick person in the family. The father, husband or the only son are generally the most privileged in this respect. The wife, daughters, or old women of the family come last. I witnessed the following occurrence which illustrates the above excellently, as described in *Aberglaube*, p. 70. Abû Amin el-Bêtûnî, the eldest member of his *hamûleh*² fell sick with pneumonia. He had such a severe relapse that the course of the disease was greatly prolonged. When one day his condition got

¹ Kahle, *PJB* VIII, pp. 148 ff.; Canaan, *Aberglaube*, pp. 70 ff.; Jaussen, Douâté, Curtiss, *passim*.

² *Hamûleh* is the "family" in the wide sense, almost "clan," while the narrower meaning is expressed by *'eleh*.

very critical and I explained the matter to his brothers and relatives, one of his brothers vowed that he would give thirty francs¹ worth of candles to the sanctuary of Abraham (Hebron), to the Mosque of Omar (Jerusalem), and to Moses. At the same time he begged the Almighty God to heal his brother and to inflict the disease instead upon his own young son, who was eight months old.² He was even ready to lose his child, if the Almighty would save his brother.³ A second brother vowed a *ḍbîḥah* for the *welî* Zêtûn (Bêtûniâ), and a second sheep as a *ṣathah* (picnic) for his friends and relatives. The wife promised Nebî Şamwyl a sheep, while the sick man himself promised to offer a sheep and a "basket" of rice⁴ to Abraham. The other relatives made smaller vows. According to Palestinian Arabic belief God is the Almighty One, who stands higher than all saints. If He chooses He is able to do every thing, possible and impossible. This is the Qorânic teaching. But the saints are preferred. They are easier of access and stand nearer to men—as they all were once human beings. At the same time they know human needs, ailments and weaknesses very well. Therefore the belief in them and the fear of them has spread so widely among the Palestinians that gradually they have taken the place of God. People look at them as minor deities, nor do I doubt that in many places superstition has elevated them to a rank equal to that of God. This is the reason why nearly all vows are made to saints and not to God. The number of saints to whom vows are brought is innumerable. Generally the local *welîs* are preferred, but very often others are thought of, either because they are prophets and thus favourites of the Almighty, or because they have gradually gained through their miracles the complete confidence of the peasants. Even in one and the same village, where there are several *awliyâ*, one of them enjoys the greatest popularity, since he is believed to

¹ Twenty francs or one pound are called *nêrah* or *lêrah*. The difference between a French, an English, an Egyptian or a Turkish pound is expressed by adding the name of the nation, *fransawîyeh*, *inglîzîyeh*.

² The baby fell sick a few days later.—The mother said *bâb es-samâ kân maftûh*, "the gate of heaven was open," i. e., when the father expressed his wish God heard it at once. This idiom is always used when a desire is quickly fulfilled.

³ Such a desire is not called a *nîdr*, but a *da'ueh* (a curse).

⁴ *Quffet ruzz* = 100 kg (33 *rotl*).

be more powerful than the others. This is why, inspecting several shrines of the same locality, we observe that some are cleaner, better kept and richer than others. Besides the great prophets, like Moses, Abraham, David, Christ, Rûbîn (Reuben), Samuel, Şâleh, etc., who are more highly thought of than the rest, there are some *welîs* like the Badriyeh, Salmân el-Fârsî, el-Qaṭrâwânî,¹ etc., who enjoy a wide reputation.

Some saints do not like to see a woman entering their sanctuaries even to fulfil a vow made in their name. This is especially true of Mâr Sâbâ. Some women of the Greek Church therefore never make offerings to him, since he will not allow any of them to enter his sanctuary. The following story will illustrate this belief.² A Russian lady, who had offered him a golden lamp, wished to bring it herself. She wore male clothes, entered the church of the convent unrecognized and placed the lamp in front of his picture. Some unseen power threw the lamp away and spilled the oil. Every time the lamp was replaced, it was thrown still further away. The astonished *raiys* (head of the convent), who observed all what was happening, searched for the reason, and as soon as he found out that the offerer was a distinguished woman, he begged her to leave the convent, assuring her that Mâr Sâbâ does not accept any offerings from women, but even prohibits females from entering the convent.³

Vows are not only made to sanctuaries where a *maqâm* and a tomb are found, but every other shrine combination which we have studied enjoys this privilege. Naturally what is vowed to these shrines—stones, caves, trees, springs, etc.—is as a rule much inferior to what is offered to the *anbiyâ*. Offerings to supposed holy stones, trees, waters, etc., are another connecting link with primitive religions.

¹ El-Qaṭrâwânî is situated on the top of a mountain, amidst a small group of oak trees, which grow between the remains of a ruin, with several cisterns. The shrine is composed of one room with two domes. The shrine is composed of one room with two domes. The tomb is supposed to be in a cave below the building. A heap of *šîd* (see below) was placed in the N. E. corner of the room. To the west of the sanctuary one finds the tomb of his servant.

² Related to me by Imm Eliâs of Jerusalem.

³ Therefore the women of the Greek Orthodox congregation work on his feast day, saying that since he does not like them they will not honour him, *'umruh la t'aiyad*.

Vows may even be made to living persons. Generally these privileged men belong to one of the following classes:

1. The descendants of a holy man. A thorough examination of the present *awliyâ* shows that some of them are recent and that their descendants are still living. Cases in point are *ḥadj* 'Obeid,¹ 'Abdallâh² and *irdjâl* Şûfah.³ To the living sons of the *awliyâ* simple things are promised (*tunbâk*,⁴ *djâdjih*,⁵ *tôb*,⁶ etc.).

2. *Şêhs* of a *ṭarîqah* or who are considered as especially pious, as *eş-şêh* Abû Halâwî.

3. Servants of a shrine or a priest. Vows of this class are especially made by Christians. The following case illustrates this type. A man of Djifnâ whose son was sick vowed: "O St. George, if my child gets well I shall offer curtains⁷ (lit. cloths) for your church and a vestment for the priest."⁸

4. To mentally abnormal men. In 'Ên 'Arik there used to live an insane⁹ man who was silent most of the time and walked only backwards. Not only the inhabitants of this village but also those of the surrounding places considered him a *welî*. They thought that by his behaviour one could foretell the future of the village. If he shouted during the night, rain fell, and if he ran aimlessly to and

¹ In 'Ên Kârim. The *maqâm*, which is at the same time a *djâmi'* with a *mêdaneh*, is inside the village. Adjacent to the shrine there is a fruit garden. Anybody who takes a cutting from these trees and plants it, finds that it will not grow.

² West of *eş-şêh* Ghêt (near Dêr Ghassâneh). His *maqâm* was originally a cave which was changed into a small room with cloisters in front. The tomb of his wife (es-Slâḥîyeh) is beside his. His family all belong to Dâr Mustafâ Şaniûr (O. S. Barghûṭî).

³ The *maqâm* is situated on the top of a hill to the west of Dêr Ghassâneh, and contains three tombs for the male (el-Madjdûb, Ibrâhîm and 'Alî) and two female (daughters of el-Madjdûb) descendants. Outside the *maqâm* there are four other tombs, one for *eş-şêhah* Şâlḥah and the other for her maid Hanûr. I owe this information to O. S. Barghûṭî.

⁴ Tobacco used in the argileh.

⁵ A hen.

⁶ A cloth.

⁷ The "curtain" is a thin (if possible a silky) cloth which is hung over the pictures.

⁸ It is the official suit carried by the priest in the church.

⁹ Eight years ago he was living; I do not know whether he is still alive.

fro they knew that *haiyâleh*¹ "gendarmerie" were approaching the village to collect the taxes. Women used to vow him a hen in case one of their family was sick. A few hairs of this saint's head were always taken when the hen was presented, and with these hairs the patient was fumigated.²

Sometimes vows are made to objects or places which are not connected with a known saint. As soon as a spontaneous, miraculous sign is supposed to have been observed by someone, the place is regarded as inhabited by some supernatural power, probably pious men of unknown origin (*sullâh*) to whom vows may then be made. The following example is a good illustration of this. To the left of the carriage road³ leading from Jerusalem to Kolônîâ and opposite the last house of Liftâ (situated some distance from the main village and directly below the carriage road) there is a cave in which some peasants of Liftâ⁴ used to live during the summer months. During its stay in this cave the family lost one member after the other. Once the father of the family noticed a mysterious light in the cave, which made clear to him that this place was inhabited by some superhuman power who had punished him for having defiled its habitation. At once he moved from the spot and vowed to offer a sheep and to light an oil lamp once a week.⁵

There is another set of vows which have no connection with the types described hitherto, in which offerings are made to objects which are not associated with any holy man, holy place or sacred object. The best illustration is the following custom: Sterile women who go to the *môsam* of el-Husên, near Ascalon, take a bath in the sea and promise: "If I become pregnant, O sea, I shall kill a sheep in your honour."⁶ In the *môsam* of the next year a woman who had received the blessing of motherhood kills the sheep on the shore, in

¹ People were very much frightened when gendarmerie came to a village, since the soldiers gathered the taxes heartlessly, imposing many unnecessary expenses upon the villagers.

² Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 72, n. 5.

³ The place is called el-Hômeh.

⁴ The same family which lives now in the house opposite the cave.

⁵ The same may be said about *es-šêh* Husên (near ed-Dâhriyeh) where one night a light was observed under the *sidr* tree. At once the tree was regarded as growing in the site of a *weli* and a small *maqâm* was built.

⁶ In *ḥbilt yâ baḥr la-aḍbaḥlak ḥarûf*.

such a way that the blood flows into the sea, and throwing the *saqaṭ*¹ of the sheep into the sea she exclaims:² "Take your vow, O sea."³ Although such customs are really very rare, they carry us back to past ages when the sea was honoured and worshipped as a divinity.

A connecting link between the two last antagonistic groups, i. e., between objects and places which have no religious tinge at all, and those which are directly connected with saints, are places where, according to local belief, dervish music or prayers have been heard, a greenish light seen, or burning incense smelled. The discoverer of such a place makes the first vow. A good illustration of this belief is given by the story of Djum'ah (above pp. 59f).

In closing this section we may draw attention to the two following points:

1. In many cases vows are made to God without mentioning any saint.⁴ "If my child gets well, O God, I shall slay a sheep for you." In such a case the sheep may be slain in any place and the meat be given to the poor. Vows to God are becoming less and less frequent.

2. Most of the Mohammedans I asked, assured me that it is an irreligious act to make a vow in the name of a saint. Every thing comes from the Almighty and must be offered therefore in his name. *Illî bîynder lâ-walî min dûn dîkr allâh şârat dbîhtu fîşeh*, "Whoever makes a vow to a *welî* without mentioning God, his sheep becomes a carcass." A dead beast is, of course, not accepted either by God or by a saint, and should not be eaten by men.⁵ The only correct formulas are of the following type: *in tâb ibnî yâ allâh ilak yâ Hauwâş . . .*, "If my child gets well, O God, you will have, O Hauwâş . . ." This principle is followed more rigidly by the Bedouin than by the peasants, as is well illustrated in the formula recited when a *dbîhah* is killed by a Bedouin. He says: *minnak u ilak yâ*

¹ *Saqaṭ* means the head, intestines, extremities, lungs and other internal organs. It will be described more fully later on.

² *Hôd nidrak yâ baḥr.*

³ Cf. *Aberglaube*, pp. 75, 76.

⁴ *In tâb ibnî yâ allâh la-aḍbaḥlak ḥarûf.*

⁵ Qorân.

*allâh, adjr u tawâb*¹ *la-saiydnâ Mûsâ allâh akbar*, "It is from Thee and to Thee, O God; reward and recompense for our lord Moses; God is great."² This is a religious rule, but popular religion is in many ways hostile to the religion of the Qorân and the Bible.

The formulas used in making a vow are different. Usually the word *nidr*, "vow," is used: *nidrun 'alaiy yâ nabî Mûsâ in tâb ibnî la-aqaddimlak harûf*, "A vow (is) upon me, O prophet Moses; if my son gets well I shall offer you a sheep." The word *nidr* may be omitted: "O my lady Badriyeh, I owe you a jar of oil, if my son returns healthy from America." A third form is: *in tâb ahûy la-aḍwîlak šamâh tûluḥ yâ Ḥaḍr el-Aḥḍar*, "If my brother is cured I will light you, O Ḥaḍr el-Aḥḍar, a candle of his length."³

All these vows are known officially as *ndûr muqaiyadeh*,⁴ "bound vows," i. e., vows bound by a condition, which must be executed. There are vows belonging to another class, namely, *nudûr muṭlaqah*, "free (general) vows," in which no condition binds the fulfilment of the vow: *ilak 'alaiy yâ rasûl allah an ašûm šahrên*, "I impose upon myself for thy sake, O Apostle of God, the obligation of fasting two months." In some parts of Palestine special expressions are used when vowing an animal; they will be described below. A beautiful formula is expressed in the following verse, which is recited by a mother visiting St. George's church with her two children, and asking him to keep them alive:

*Yâ Ḥaḍr el-Aḥḍar 'alêk el-yôm têtêni
wahad imreiyš u wahad imkahḥal el-êni
nidrun 'alaiya in 'âšû hal-iṭnêni
la-aḍbah ḍabâih u aqaddim lal-Ḥaḍr dênî.*⁵

O Ḥaḍr Ever Green, two birds come to you;
The one with feathers (i. e., well-grown), the other with darkened
eyes (i. e., still very young).

¹ These two words well express a very important fact in *ḍabâyḥ*, namely, that they are made for the benefit of the saint to whom they are offered.

² Heard from a Bedouin of the 'Idwân tribe.

³ At times a very indefinite promise is made: *ilak 'alaiy yâ mâr Miḥâ'yl in mišî ibnî illî biyṭla' min nafsî*, "I vow to you, O St. M., if my son walks, what I will give you."

⁴ Ibn Rušd, *Bidâyatul l-Mudjtahid ua Nihâyatul l-Muqtašid*, vol. I, pp. 341, etc.

⁵ Bêt Djâlâ.

I take as a vow upon myself, if these two remain alive,
I shall offer sacrifices and pay my dues to Ḥaḍr.¹

Another verse of this sort used also by Christians is:

*Yâ 'Adrâ Mariam ḥarîr eš-Šâm zunnârik
niḍrun 'alaiya in adjû l-ghuyâb la-aḥtâdjik.*²

O Virgin Mary, the silk of Damascus (I will give as) your belt;
I vow that if those absent come back, I shall need you (i. e., I shall fulfil my promise).

At times the person who is in great difficulty goes to a sanctuary, prays with devotion, begs for help, makes a vow and writes it on the wall of the shrine. In this way he binds himself doubly, while the *welî* is reminded continually by the writing. In the *maqâm* of eš-šêḥ 'Ôkāšeh I found the following writing, which is an excellent illustration of this custom: "I intrust to this place my testimony, that there is no God but Allâh and Mohammed is God's apostle. O my lord 'Ôkāšeh, if Aḥmad the son of Ḥadîdjeh the son of Zakâriâ goes out of the jail wit" God's help and your help, I will bring to you, O my lord 'Ô. three oḡiyeh (ca. 750 gm.) of oil, and I shall come to visit you. Pray to your God (to hear my prayer), O my lord 'Ô . . ."

In offering the promised vow one of the following expressions may be used: *adjâk niḍrak yâ . . .*, "Your vow has come to you, O . . ."; *ḥôḍ ḍbiḥtak yâ . . .*, "take your sacrifice, O . . ."; *haiy šam'tak yâ . . .*, "Here is your candle, O . . ."

Vows may be made at any time. In some parts the night is chosen (Benî Zêd).³ Thus a woman, whose child is dangerously ill, and who is therefore in great anxiety, chooses the night, if possible

¹ Another verse which is more a prayer than a vow is:

*yâ allâh yâ saiyd
wil-walad uḥeyd
tinšil lnâ waladnâ
zaiy mâ našalt el-Ḥaḍrâ min yad el-kuffâr.*

O God, O Lord,
The boy is the only son;
Deliver us our son,
As you delivered el-Ḥaḍrâ from the hands of the infidels.

² Bêt Djâlâ.

³ This belief is sometimes also found in other parts of Palestine.

shortly after midnight. She goes out of the house to speak directly with her God. Uncovering her chest,¹ and lifting up her arms she makes a vow. Sometimes she goes entirely naked² and implores the Almighty or some saint for help, promising him an offering. It is believed that at such a time—when all human beings are at rest³—the angels fill the atmosphere and hear human wishes better than in the day time.⁴ They carry them to heaven at once and bring them to the desired saint.⁵

Whoever makes a vow must keep it: *kullu nidrin fard*, "every vow is an obligation." Both Bible⁶ and Qorân⁷ give special rules for the fulfilment. The sooner a promise is carried out the better. The saints sometimes remind a man who has not kept his promise. A peasant promised *eš-šēh* Ibrâhîm⁸ an offering. As a long period passed without an attempt on the part of the man to carry out his obligation, the saint appeared to him in a dream and warned: "Pay your vow at once; if you are unable to do all that you have promised, bring part of it." Generally the *awliâ* are not so gracious, but are greatly irritated by such conduct and will punish the culprit severely. A woman vowed to give *eš-šēh* Husên⁹ an offering and did not keep her word. The angry *welî* threw a *bannây*¹⁰ on her and she had a miscarriage. Some think that saints try to remind a man who has not fulfilled his promise in a gentle, but sometimes also in a severe way. Thus when the clothes of a person are caught in

¹ A sign of humiliation.

² The strongest sign of humiliation.

³ Even nature and some spirits are thought to sleep during the night; therefore a person should never drink from standing water without first saying: *itnabbahî yâ moi y mâ wirdik illâ l-'ašân*, "Wake up, O water, only the thirsty one has approached you to drink."

⁴ It is said that the noise of human beings disturbs the angels, therefore the night-prayer is the one best heard.

⁵ Some days are always preferred to others for prayers, vows, etc. Among them are *lêlatu l-Qadr*, *lêlat 'Arâfât*, *l. 'Asûrah*, etc. (*eš-šēh* 'Abd el-Madjîd 'Alî, *At-Tuhfatu l-Marḍiyah fil-Aḥbâr el-Maqdisiyah*, p. 50).

⁶ Num. 8 12-16, 30 5; Deut. 25 22; Ps. 22 26, 50 14, 66 18, 116 14 and 18.

⁷ Sûrah V, 1; IX, 76.

⁸ This *welî* is the brother of *eš-šēh* Šu'êb. Both have their shrines near Bêt Djibrîn. Ibrâhîm is situated in a ruin bearing his name. Quite near to him is Hîrbet Santa Hannâ.

⁹ In 'En 'Arik, the spring near his shrine bears his name.

¹⁰ A large unhewn stone (lit. an unhewn stone which can be used in building).

thistles or if he gets sick, he may be asked by his friends,¹ "Have you bound yourself by a promise, which you have not yet fulfilled?"²

It is often possible—in case a man is unable to fulfil his promise exactly—to change some part of it or to substitute another for it. If for example, somebody vows a sheep, it is of course preferable to sacrifice it at the saint's shrine, but if he is unable to go himself he may send money to the *qaiym* or to a friend, who will buy the animal and offer it in his name. The sheep may even be slain in the village in the name of the prophet.

Or in case a woman promises to walk barefoot to a sanctuary and tries to do it but is unable to continue the journey for some physical reason, she may be released of her promise by doing something else, or by offering a sum of money in the name of the saint, giving it to the poor or depositing it at the shrine. The prophet Mohammed is reported to have said:³ "Whoever promises to walk to a place and cannot do it, is not permitted to fulfil his vow."⁴

Whenever a person can not fulfil his vows, he goes to a *šēḥ* and asks for advice; he is generally told how to change his vow and what to offer as a substitute. It is a wide-spread belief among people of Palestine that, while every *nidr* may be replaced by another, a vow of fasting a certain number of days or weeks (besides Ramaḍân) can not be changed. This vow can not be "bought"⁵ in any way. According to the regulations of the Old Testament every vow could be changed to payment of money except a sacrificial animal.⁶

It very often happens that during the fulfilment of a promise one binds himself to continual offerings. A father promised the prophet Moses once that if his only son, who was badly sick, should get well

¹ An accident is believed to be a particularly strong reminder.

² Every one who is reminded in one of the above mentioned ways will at once say: *lâzim nidrak ysalak yâ . . .*, "Your vow, O . . . will surely reach you."

³ The Mohammedan theologians have discussed the subject of vows very minutely in their books. I shall mention only the following question which may happen often in the daily life. Is a person allowed to bind himself to abstain from allowed things (*mubâḥât*)? Yes, is the answer, except that the matrimonial duties should never be neglected.

⁴ *Man naḍara an yamši limahallin walan yastaṭi' an yaqûma bihî falâ yadjâzu an yukmila nidruhu mašyan.*

⁵ Often the expression "bought," *ištara*, is used; *ištara nidruh ibmît qirš*, "he bought his vow with 100 piastres," i. e., he offered this sum instead of his vow.

⁶ See Zeller, *Biblisches Wörterbuch* I, 453.

he would give him a sheep. While the father—after the recovery of the child—was offering the sheep at the shrine of the prophet, he exclaimed,¹ "Here is your vow, O Interlocutor of God, and if you keep my son well I vow you a sheep every year." Not only Mohammedans but also Christians may bind themselves in such a way.

Most of the vows are not expensive, but some are really costly. A man of Abû Dîs who fell sick during his stay in America and became badly ill, vowed:² "If I return to my family in perfect health, O God, I shall build a minaret for the mosque of my village." He got well and as soon as he returned to his country he built the minaret in question.³ Another more expensive promise was that of a *šêh* of the family el-Imâm (Jerusalem).⁴ During his last sickness he promised: „If I get well, O Prophet of God (Mohammed), I will build a *djâmi'* with a minaret. But in case I die I beg you, O my relatives, to clothe forty orphans in my name."

The things which may be vowed are so numerous that it appears impracticable to give them in one list. They may be divided according to the sort of vows into 1. material offerings,⁵ and 2. work promised. But a better classification is the following, which arranges them according to their purposes:

1. Things which serve directly for the upkeep of the *maqâm*
 - a) Offerings which serve to preserve and to beautify the sanctuary
 - b) Material for repairs
 - c) Personal work
2. Vows of food made in the name of a saint and offered (mostly) in his shrine. The shrine derives no direct benefit from the offering, but the poor receive a part in most cases
 - a) Animal sacrifices
 - b) *Qurbân, walîmeh lil-lâh*
 - c) Meatless food

¹ *Haîy niḍrak yâ Kaḫim Allâh u ilak alaîy kull saneḥ ḥarâf in ḥallêtî ibnî ṭaiyb.*

² *In irḍjî't bis-salâmeh la'-yâlî yâ Allâh la-abnî mēdaneh ladjâmi' baladî.*

³ The story was told me by his cousin.

⁴ See *Aberglaube*, p. 74.

⁵ It should be noted that although most of the things found in a shrine are donations having their origin in vows, there are still other things which were the property of the *šêh* himself. The rosary and the spear belong to this category.

3. Offerings given to needy persons in the name of the *weli*
 - a) Poor, sick, rarely for hospitals
 - b) Orphans and widows
 - c) Prisoners
4. Religious vows
5. Bodily chastisements and vows to be fulfilled on the body of the vower or the person vowed for
6. Vows having no connection at all with any holy person or shrine, and not made for the poor
7. Offerings for the dead

I. Things which serve for the upkeep of the *maqâm*

Things vowed and offered to a saint which serve directly for the upkeep, decoration or repair of the shrine, make by far the greatest number of all vows. Most of the offerings which belong to this group are so simple and cheap that even the poorest peasant is able to offer something. This is the reason for their popularity.

a) Offerings which are used to maintain and to beautify the shrine

The two most important elements of this category—oil and incense—enjoy now, as among the ancient Orientals, a special favour. Olive oil is vowed and offered more than anything else. Peasants and townsmen, Christians and Mohammedans, rich and poor vow oil, and it may be offered to any sort of sanctuary. The olive tree—*šadjaret en-nûr*,¹ “the tree of light,” as it is called in the Qorân—is regarded as holy. It shows its supernatural power by its animation. The best example of this is the *zêtûnet en-nabî*² with the Mohammedans, and the following belief among Christians. The olive trees kneel down in the night of the feast of the Holy Cross, because it is thought that the heavens open on this very night.³ A peasant of Bethlehem told me the following story. One night he lost his mule. He looked through the dark night in vain for his animal, but as he was searching in an olive grove, he observed that the ground was

¹ Some data relating to this subject have already been noted.

² Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 87.

³ Mohammedans believe that heaven opens once every year in *lêlatu l-Qadr*.

covered with branches of trees. He did not trust his own eyes, and as he could not find any explanation, he tore off a piece of his garment and fastened it to a branch, marking the place at the same time in order to find it early the next day and to investigate this mystery in broad day-light. Returning home he related the occurrence to his relatives. Nobody could account for this fact. An old man, sitting in the corner, shook his head plausibly and reminded all that this night was the night of the feast of the Holy Cross,¹ in which all the trees kneel reverently down before their master. The peasant went next day to the scene of his nightly adventure and saw all the trees standing erect while the piece of cloth, which he had fastened on a branch, floated high up in the air on the top of the tree.²

The Qorân³ and the Bible mention oil and the olive tree very often. According to *Sûrah XCV*, 1, God swears⁴ by this tree and therefore it is called *eš-šadjarah el-mubârakeh*, "the blessed tree." It was given to Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise, and it was the first plant which appeared after the flood.⁵ The Arabs say that Adam had a very bad skin trouble. He begged the Almighty for help, and God sent the angel Gabriel with an olive sprig. The angel ordered Adam: "take this sprig, plant it and prepare from its fruit an oil which will cure all diseases except poisoning."⁶ The peasants of Palestine swear sometimes by the olive tree saying: *wihyât šadjret en-nûr*, "By the life of the Tree of Light."⁷ Oil is still used to light private houses, as well as churches, mosques and sanctuaries. It still enjoys the same popularity in popular medicine, religious ceremony and magic procedure, as it used to in the ancient Orient.⁸

¹ According to local superstition some plants (*ʿūd mēs*) have a better prophylactic and curative action if cut on a special day. The 27th of Ramaḍân enjoys this renown.

² On the Ascension day of the Virgin the trees are also supposed to kneel down.

³ *Sûrah XVI*, 11; *XXIV*, 35; *LXXX*, 29; *XCV*, 1; *VI*, 99 and 141.

⁴ *Sûrah XCV*, 1; *XXIV*, 35.

⁵ *Faḥr er Râzî VI*, 174; *Gen.* 8 11.

⁶ *Dâiratu l-Maʿârif*, *IX*, 338.

⁷ Another form is *u-ḥaqq man dâr ez-zêt fiz-zêtûn*, "By that One (God) who put the oil in the olives."

⁸ Oil is used in the Bible very often to express power, joy, light, life and wisdom.

This oil—which is always *zêt zêtûn*¹ (olive oil) and never *sÿridj* (sesame oil)—is used for the small oil lamps, which will be described below. According to the ability of the person vowing, a *djarrah*,² half a *djarrah*, a *raṭl*, or a *qazâzeh* (also called a *qannîneh*, a bottle of 800—1000 ccm.) are promised. Very often the quantity is not specified and many *fellâhîn* offer only a partly filled bottle. In villages far from cities an *ibrîq* (jug) of oil is given instead of a *qannîneh*. The vessels in which the oil³ is taken are left in the sanctuary. This is the reason why we find dozens of such bottles or jugs scattered about a typical shrine. Good examples of this practice are *qubbet el-Arbîn*, *eš-šêl* 'Anbar, el-'Azêrât, es-Sidri, etc. In el-Badriyeh (Šarâfât) there are two large jars quite full of oil.⁴ Empty bottles, broken jars and jugs are not removed from the shrine, and thus we meet with a lot of potsherds scattered in the place. In large *maqâms* the one who vows gives the oil to the *haddâm* of the shrine and tells him plainly that it belongs to the saint, and that it should be used exclusively in the shrine. *Qimt en-nidr min raqbatî uḥattêtuh fî raqbatak*, "I have removed the vow from my neck (i. e. I remove all obligations from myself) and place it on your neck (and impose it on you)." Everybody believes that if such an offering is not used in the shrine of the saint, the *welî* will punish the servant of the shrine and not the one who pays the vow. Expressions like the above are especially common among Christians who have vowed an offering to a prophet or *welî* whose shrine is in Mohammedan hands: *Nebî Mûsâ*, *Nebî Dâhûd*, *Ibrâhîm el-Ḥalîl*,⁵ etc.

¹ Also called *zêt ḥilû*. Petroleum is *zêt kâz*, and not *zêt murr*, as Kahle states in *PJB* VIII, 139.

² A *djarrah* contains from 5-7 *raṭl*, according to the different districts of Palestine.

³ The following story will illustrate the belief that olive oil strengthens the body more than melted butter (*samneh*). A wife had a son of her own and a step son. Both were shepherds. Every day before they drove the animals into the fields she gave her own son—who was always preferred—bread and *samneh*, while the other received nothing but bread dipped in oil. After finishing their meals both used to wipe their hands by rubbing them on their sticks. The stick of the son was soon hollowed out by weevils, while that of his step-brother became gradually harder and stronger. (Taken from the written notes of my father, Rev. B. Canaan.)

⁴ Not all the oil found in a shrine comes from offerings. In large *maqâms* some of it comes from the *waqf* of the *welî* or from the department of religious endowments (*dâîrat el-auqâf*).

⁵ Heard from a woman of Ṭaiybeh and from Imm Elyâs.

Two customs must still be mentioned in this connection. Very often a person takes a vow to offer a quantity of oil every year to a *welî*, "I will give you, O *šêh* Salmân el-Fârsî a *ratl* of olive oil every year if you cure my son." Although this custom may be followed with any offering, it is more common with oil. Many peasants take some oil with them as a present every time they go to visit the shrine, even if they are not bound by a vow. In such cases half a bottle only is presented. It is believed that this act pleases the saint, who favours the giver. When I visited 'Êsâwîyeh I asked the *šêh*¹ Moḥammed 'Alî to send somebody to guide me to *šêh* 'Anbar. The young lad brought a bottle half filled with oil and placed it in the *maqâm*. On my question whether he or one of his relatives had made a vow to offer oil, he answered: "No, but every time we come to the neighbourhood of the *welî*, we bring some oil with us."

Most of those who offer oil take with them a match box (*ilbit kabrît* or *kahhâteh*) and leave it there. Thus opportunity is given to every visitor to light the oil lamps. A great number of full and empty boxes are found in the *taqât* of some shrines.

It is expected that every one fulfils his promise exactly, since the saint takes every vow at its exact wording. Thus a larger offering than was mentioned in a vow may not be accepted by the *welî*. A very poor widow, whose only child was badly ill promised, in her excited state and without knowing what she was uttering: *yâ Hadr ed-Djerîd in tâb ibnî la-aqaddimlak zêt fî qîşret bedah*, "O St. George, if my son gets well, I shall offer you oil in an egg-shell." As soon as her child recovered, she hastened with a pitcher of oil to fulfil her vow. She filled the oil lamp which hung in front of St. Georges picture, but an unseen power tilted the lamp and the oil was spilled. The same thing happened every time the lamp was filled. The priest who observed this unexplicable happening asked the woman, "What was your promise?" And when she told him, he answered very earnestly: "The saint accepts only what is due him, and not a grain² more."³

¹ *Šêh* here does not mean *welî* but "old man."

² In Arabic they use the word *gamḥah*, "grain of wheat" also in this sense.

³ Related by Abû Elyâs, Jerusalem.

The oil presented is used only to light the oil lamps. Indications regarding the use of oil taken from the lamps of sanctuaries will be given later. Since olive oil is not so abundant in Transjordan, melted butter (*samneh*)¹ takes its place in vows and for lighting lamps in shrines. Candles (*šamī*, pl. of *šam'ah*) and kerosene oil (*kâz* or *zêt kâz*) are also vowed. In the case of candles not only the number but very often the quality and the length are specified.² "O Nebî Mûsâ if I find my boy in good health, I will light you a candle of wax of his length."³ *Šamī nahl*⁴ are finer than tallow candles and are more fitting as offerings. The length of candles is specified only in cases where children are sick. When no specification is made the following expression is used, *yâ . . . la-aḏwîlak šam'ah*, "O . . ., I shall light you a candle." Sometimes the weight of the candles is specified. In el-Badriyeh heaps of such candles may be seen,⁵ mostly offered by Christians of Bêt Djâlâ and Bethlehem.⁶ I have rarely found candles in less important sanctuaries.

In the case of the church of St. Mary near Gethsemane the vow may specify the number of candles and the way the vow must be fulfilled: "O my lady Mary, if my son Elyâs walks, I shall light your staircase on both sides."⁷ For every step two candles are lighted. A few minutes later the priest puts the light out, gathers the candles and keeps them in the sanctuary for further use.⁸ A vow of this sort must be paid on the first day of Mary's feast. A still more comprehensive vow is the following: "If my son Ibrâhim walks I shall light a candle in every shrine which he enters."

The most common lamps used in shrines are small, crudely prepared pottery lamps, which resemble ancient Canaanite lamps in many respects. These *surdj* (pl. of *srâdj*) may be specified in vows.

¹ As the Bedouin do not have much oil, we find that animal sacrifices are very abundant. Often an animal sacrifice takes the place of oil.

² *Yâ Nabî Mûsâ in laqêt ibnî ṭaiyb la aḏwîlak šam'ah min nahl u ṭuluh.*

³ Promised by a father who receives during his absence news of the illness of his child.

⁴ The expression means properly "beeswax."

⁵ Some of them I saw hanging from the ceiling and others lay on the so-called tombs of her children.

⁶ Christians trust greatly to the help of this female *welî*.

⁷ *Yâ sittî Maryam in mišî ibnî Elyâs la aḏwî daradjik 'alâ ed-djîhtên.*

⁸ Heard from Imm Elyâs (Jerusalem).

They are placed in one of the cupboards of the tomb, in a niche in the wall, on the tomb or around it (*eš-šēh* Ḥamad, Qubbet el-Arb'in), on a ledge in the wall (š. 'Anbar), on a wooden bracket fastened on the wall¹ (Sultān Ibrāhīm el-'Adhamī, el-Badriyeh), in a cave (Aḥmad el-Ḥwēs), under a tree (š. 'Abdallāh), in a stony enclosure (š. Frêdj²) or in an open place (el-'Umari³).

Sometimes we find tins crudely shaped, by bending their sides upwards, into a lamp-like vessel, which serves to hold the oil.⁴ A lamp of this inferior type is not presented, but made at the spot for the lack of a pottery lamp.⁵

The wick⁶ is made in two ways: 1. a piece of cotton thread, or even a thin strip, of cloth is well dipped into the oil, one end protruding above the surface of the liquid; 2. a thin stick of wood about twice as long as a match is well wrapped in cotton. The upper end of the cotton is allowed to project over the wood. After dipping the whole in oil it is placed perpendicularly in the lamp and lighted.

Some people vow a glass lamp with or without an outside silver casing. A *qandīl min fidḡah*, "silver lamp," may be suspended by a silver chain in front of the saint's picture,⁷ above the tomb⁸ or in front of the *mihrāb*. Rich people vow brass or silver candlesticks, or even an expensive lustre for candles or glass lamps.⁹

¹ These holders may be a little more complicated, so that they look like a small, elongated, narrow box without the top and front side. The top may at times be present.

² Bêt Ḥaninā.

³ Jericho.

⁴ In some places empty sardine or other tins were used as lamps.

⁵ In *en-nabī* Dāniān I found an old pan used as an oil lamp. I want to correct at this place the statement made on page 62 about the situation of this sanctuary. It lies to the SW of el-Ḥaḡer, and not between this village and Artās. It is situated on a high mountain, commanding a magnificent view. The shrine is surrounded by a ruin and the simple niche is built in the midst of the oak trees.

⁶ *Fīleh*.

⁷ Mohammedans never have human or animal pictures in their mosques or shrines.

⁸ In churches they are very often met with. In Mohammedan shrines they are rarely found except in important sanctuaries.

⁹ I have not found pottery lamps in churches. For illustrations of pottery lamps see McCown, *Annual of the American School*, vol. II—III, p. 28.

Incense (*baḥḥūr*) is very often vowed: "O šēḥ Šabbāḥ if my boy comes out of jail, I shall burn incense for you." Much more often the phrase *ad'aq¹ baḥḥūr fī maqāmek*, "I shall burn incense in your shrine," is used. This incense may be burned in the shrine at once or it may be given to the *ḥaddām* or priest. In unimportant shrines the *baḥḥūr* is burned in an old dish, a piece of tin or on a potsherd. These objects remain afterwards in the shrine. Such is the case in all the shrines of Jericho, eš-šēḥ Ḥusēn, Qubbet el-Arb'in, ed-Dawā'ri, etc. Sometimes the quantity of incense is specified in the *nidr*. Incense may be offered in all sorts of shrines.²

Burning incense is a very old custom, found in all religions and connected with many ceremonies.³ It is not only done in shrines, but also in places inhabited by demons. In the first case it is thought one pleases the holy men by this act, while in the second instance it drives away the evil spirits. It is supposed that what pleases holy men and God is disliked by devils, demons and evil spirits. For this reason it is employed by sorcerers to expel evil spirits from supposed demoniacs.

Other votive objects belonging to this category are: mats (*ḥašīreh*, pl. *ḥuṣur*), carpets (*siddjādeh—siddjād*), brooms⁴ (*mukunseh—makānes*), jars (*djarrah—djrār*, *hiššeh—hišaš*), pails (*saṭl—stūleh*), tins (*tanakeh—tanak⁵*), ropes (*ḥabil—ḥbāl*)⁶, water skins⁷ (*qirbeh—qirab*, small ones are called *sī'in—s'ūneh*), wood (*ḥaṭab*), etc. With the exception of the carpets all objects are vowed to all sorts of shrines, especially the simple ones. Carpets and *ḥudjur* (pl. of *ḥudjrah*)—long woollen

¹ *Da'aqa* in the sense of "burn" is not found in Belot, Wahrmond, Kassâb and Hammâm or in *Muḥit el-Muḥit*.

² If a menstruating woman goes down to 'Ēn eš-Šēḥ Ḥusēn (in Kolônîâ, also called 'Ēn ed-Djôz) she has to purify the place at once by burning incense. If she fails to do it, the servant of the *welî* (an 'abd) will appear and inflict some disease upon her.

³ In the Old Testament burning incense was one of the official religious rites, Ex. 30 7, 8, Lev. 16 12, etc.

⁴ There are two kinds of brooms, the usual one with a broad sweeping surface and the round, short one, which ends in a small brush.

⁵ For storing or drawing water; sometimes specified as *tanaket kâz*, as they were originally used for petroleum.

⁶ For drawing water.

⁷ For the transport and storage of water.

carpets woven by women—are presented to the more important sanctuaries.

Decorative objects are sometimes also vowed and fastened to the wall of the *maqâm* or to the tomb. Qorân verses, *kaff gamîh*, or jewels are met with. Besides verses of the holy book sometimes the genealogical tree of the Prophet, and representations of the Ka'beh and the sanctuary of Medinah are found. A *kaff gamîh* is made of ears of grain with long stems woven in such a way as to have ears on three sides—the two lateral and the lower—while the upper is earless. This “hand” of corn is generally offered as a sign of thanks for a good harvest. In Bêt Djâlâ every owner of a vineyard¹ used to bring on 'îd *et-tadjallî* (Transfiguration Feast²) a small basket of grapes (*sallit*³ 'inab) to the church. After sanctifying the grapes, the priest used to distribute some of the fruits among those present.⁴ The last two customs⁵ were mentioned because they point to vestiges⁶ of thanksgiving offerings.⁷

Jewels, or rather ornaments like the *znâq* (necklace), *halaq* (ear-rings), *şakleh* (broach), *hâtîm* (ring), *asâwir* (bracelets), *şatweh* (head-dress of Bethlehem, Bêt Djâlâ and Bêt Sâhûr women) and *şaffeh* (the head-dress of the women of Ramallâh and the surrounding villages) are also vowed. They are either hung on the *stârah* of the tomb (el-Badrîyeh), around or on the *qûneh* (picture) of a Christian saint, or are sold and the proceeds spent for the benefit of the *maqâm*. As soon as a Christian woman of Bêt Djâlâ⁸ makes such a vow she hangs the promised jewel on the picture of the saint. In case the person for whom the *nidr* was made dies, the objects are taken back, but if he recovers they remain the property of the

¹ Of the Greek Orthodox Church.

² August 6th, Jul. Calender (19th Greg.).

³ A small basket is called *qirtalleh*.

⁴ Taken from the notes of my father.

⁵ Many of the peasants of the villages around Nazareth put aside, as soon as they finish harvesting, some barley and wheat for *eş-şeh* Şhâb ed-Dîn. This will be sold and with the money a picnic is given in the name and the honour of the *welî*.

⁶ The peasants of Bêt Djâlâ send some oil, after pressing their olives, to the church of Mâr Inqûlâ as a sign of thanks.

⁷ See also Curtiss, chapter XVII.

⁸ Of the Greek Orthodox Church.

shrine.¹ Most of these ornaments, especially the *znâq*, the *šaṭweh* and the *ṣaffeh* are costly pieces and are offered by women who think that by depriving themselves of such valuable things, they will make sure of the saint's favour and sympathy. A description of the *šaṭweh* is important to show the value of such a head-dress. It is cylindrical, solid and covered on the outside with red, sometimes green cloth. The top of it has a rigid projection covered with the same cloth. The front is lined with several rows of gold and silver coins, while the back has only silver ones. The *šaṭweh* is fastened on the head by a band running below the chin. From both ears of the *šaṭweh* the *znâq* hangs down.²

Vows which are paid only to the tomb are: *stârah* (or *ghatâ*), a covering, and *'aqâl* or *laffeh* (head-dress). The *stârah*³ is a large piece of cloth covering the whole cenotaph. In less important shrines it is made of a single coloured cloth, while in the important ones a thick, woollen cloth of good quality (*djûh*⁴) is presented. The red and the green colours predominate; white and yellow are less favoured. Sometimes the cloth is bordered or even embroidered with Qorânic verses. Very often a combination of these colours is found in the same *stârah*. This is made by sewing strips of cloth of different colours on the main cover. Not infrequently one tomb is covered with several *stârât*, the upper one being the last vowed (*nebî Mûsâ*, *Badriyeh*, etc.).⁵

Occasionally a *bêraq* (banner) is vowed, generally beautifully embroidered. The name of the saint, those of the four *aqṭâb* (see below) and a verse of the Qorân are generally embroidered on it.⁶

The colour of the turban (*'aqâl*) and that of the *laffeh*⁷ (the dervish head-dress) must correspond to the order to which the *šêh*

¹ From the written notes of my father.

² *Aberglaube*, p. 74, n. 6.

³ Among *welîs* who possess a *stârah* are Salmân el-Fârsî, 'Anbar, Abd es-Salâm, Badr, sittnâ el-Ḥadrâ, el-Bedriyeh, el-Ḥalîlî, etc.

⁴ In *Šarâfât* I heard the expression *hirmzeh* for the cloth of the *stârah*.

⁵ The *stârah* does not always lie directly on the cenotaph, sometimes it is supported by a wooden frame which encloses the tomb (Beyram Šawîš, el-Badriyeh).

⁶ Such presents may be seen in the shrines of Lût, Mûsâ, Dâhûd, etc.

⁷ The headdress of some villages around Jerusalem is also a *laffeh*, which differs slightly from the one described in the text.

belonged.¹ The *stârah* and the head-dress are vowed only to saints whose tombs are inside a building and never to tombs located in the open. In the case of some Bedouin saints, however, a head-dress is found on an exposed tomb. Seyidnâ el-Ḥusên, S. E. of ed-Djôrah (near Ascalon), has no tomb, but inside the *maqâm* a fragment of a pillar shows the place where the head of el-Ḥusên was buried. The top of the pillar bears a green *laffeh* and below it there is a red cloth.²

Some peasants (especially Christians) vow one or several trees to a saint. The fruit of the trees belong to the holy man. If the trees are cut down the wood goes to the shrine, but the holy man loses all further rights to the place of land, since the trees and not the ground were vowed. The latter returns to the former owner or to his descendants. Of course a piece of land with its trees or even a house may also be donated to a shrine. Such property remains *waqf*, "religious property."³

Vowing to decorate a shrine is the connecting link between votive offerings and vows to perform work. The commonest material is *hinnâ* but we find also *nîleh* and *sirâqûn*, which have already been described. Common expressions are: *anâ dâhil 'alêkî yâ sittî eš-Šâmiyeh in arzaqtîni šabî la-adbahlîk harûf wa-aḥannâkî*, "I beg for help, O my lady Š . . ., if you grant me a boy I will slay you a sheep and dye you with *hinnâ*." In the case of the two other colours the word *azauwiq* (embellish) is used. Such vows are made exclusively by women.⁴

b) Vowing material for the repair of the *maqâm*

Vows promising material for the repair of the *maqâm* or its complete reconstruction are also very common. If such vows did not exist, a great number of sanctuaries would be in a condition of ruin, and the site of some would have been lost completely. The

¹ Eš-šêḥ Rihân, eš. Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭôrî, eš. 'Anbar, eš. 'Abd es-Salâm, etc.

² The large *maqâm* is on the top of a hill about 20—30 minutes from the sea. There are no tombs or caves in its neighbourhood. Two mulberry trees and a vineyard are his property.

³ This is the reason why some churches have extensive properties.

⁴ Even the stones of a holy *ḥuwêtiyeh*—as in the case of *eš-šêḥ Sa'id* in Iḏnâ—may be painted with *hinnâ*.

following are the most important materials which may be vowed: *ḥdjārah* (pl. *ḥadjar*, hewn stones), *dabš* or *djabš* (unhewn, irregular stones), *'uqqād* (stones for vaulting), *šid* (lime), *nhāteh* (fine broken stones left over from stone-cutting operations), water for making the *madjbūliyah*,¹ *ḥadīd* (iron) and *el-bāb* (the wooden or sometimes iron door). Generally several persons while assembled in the *madāfeh* agree that each one will bring something. The *šēh* of the village, discussing the condition of the shrine, makes the first promise. One after the other follows saying *anā 'alaiyi* . . . , "I will offer . . ." Such a statement is already a vow and it must be fulfilled exactly.

Even when the *welī* is not in a ruined condition, many vow lime which is deposited in the immediate neighbourhood of the shrine or even inside it. Such vows are made, in the first place, by persons who are burning lime. In this way they hope to get the assistance of the *welī* for a successful completion of the job.² A visitor to Mohammedan *welis* will often find in them heaps of lime³ generally covered with a coating of earth (*eš-šēh* 'Anbar, *es-sultān* Ibrāhīm, *eš-šēh* Ḥamad, Aḥmad el-Karakī, etc.).

Another occasion when vows of this sort are made is, when a rich peasant builds a house and promises some building material for the same reason: *in ḥallast ibnāit bēti bis-salāmeḥ la-armīlak yā . . . talāt ḥmāl*⁴ *šid*, "If I finish my house in good health, I will bring you, O . . . three loads of lime." Such vows are also made by Palestinians who become badly ill while absent in a foreign country, as we have seen in the case of the man of Abū Dis. Sometimes a *welī* with no shrine, or whose sanctuary is defective, appears in a vision to someone in the village and orders him to erect or to repair the *maqām*. This man will then tell his vision to his fellow villagers and soon the necessary material is gathered.

¹ A mixture of lime (one-third) and earth (two-thirds) for mortar.

² In 'Awartah many of those who burn lime will offer to el-'Azêrât one *fardeh* of *šid*. One *fardeh* = 30—50 kg. In this village I heard the word *kubbār* for a small *lattôn*.

³ The lime may be deposited outside the shrine, in a cave near-by, in the shrine itself, or on its roof.

⁴ The loads may be specified: *ḥiml djamal*, *ḥ. baghl*, or *ḥ. ḥmār*, i. e. "a camel's load, mule's l., donkey's l."

c) Personal work

No sooner is the material ready than the people of the village—men and women, grown-ups and children—offer their help for the work. This one gives two days' work, the other vows to hew some of the stone, a third promises to carry the water, etc., and in a short time the work is done. Even the rich and the old count it a special honour and blessing to help erect such a building. Combined help by all the inhabitants of the village is offered when the ceiling is built (*el-'aqd*). All move very busily in finishing the shrine. But only in exceptional cases does a sanctuary need complete erection; generally it needs only to be repaired: The roof is defective, the *qşârah* has fallen, the door has been burnt, the tomb has lost its white-wash, etc. In such circumstances one generally takes a vow to make some repair. In *ħallaştillî el-lattôn min il-ħarâb yâ sîdî yâ şêh 'Abd es-Salâm la-armîlak ħimlên şîd u. la-aṭruş qabrak*. "If you save our lime-kiln from destruction, O my lord, O *şêh* 'A . . ., I will bring you two loads of lime and will whitewash the tomb and the shrine." This vow was taken by Mohammed of 'Anâtâ, who had built a lime-kiln with some relatives. He had already been heating it for four *fşûleh*¹ (pl. of *faşl*, season, here half a day), when suddenly part of the kiln began to collapse. The owner, afraid of losing all his work made the above vow, whereupon the holy man appeared in the midst of the flame and began to extinguish the fire. They repaired the lime-kiln, lit the fire anew and the work was saved. Some shrines thus repaired are: A stone casing was built for the entrance of *eş-şêh* es-Sidri; 'Anbar received an iron door; for *eş. Şuwân* a tomb was built; the *djâmi'* in Abû Dîs received a minaret; the tombs of ed-Dawâ'rî were whitewashed; adjacent to es-Sultân Ibrâhim's mosque (Bêt Ĥanînâ) a hall was erected, etc.

Besides these expensive vows we meet with others much simpler and less expensive. A woman may bind herself to sweep a sanctuary several days, weeks or even more. In the last case the shrine is

¹ *Faşl* has the following meanings:

faşl es-saneħ, "a season of the year";

faşl maiyeh, "twelve hours of water." This is used when the water of a spring is divided among many gardens;

faşl of a day stands for the twelve day and twelve night hours. Thus a day has two *fşûleh*.

swept once weekly. Another person may promise to light the lamps for some time. This is done every Thursday evening. Still another will bind himself to fill the *sabîl* with water. Some offer to work three days (or more) in the *waqf* (sanctuary property) of the saint. Many women of Bêt-Djâlâ vow to help in harvesting the olives of Mâr Elyâs, others to plough the vineyards of el-Ḥaḍr.

II. Food vows

They are generally offered in a shrine. The shrine has no direct benefit from this offering, but the poor receive part in most cases. This class may be divided into:

- a) Animal sacrifices (*ḍabîḥah*, pl. *ḍabâyiḥ*)
- b) *Qurbân* (offering to God), or *walîmeh lil-lâh* (banquet for God)
- c) Meatless food

All these three categories were very well known in the ancient Orient, and in describing each class we shall refer to the corresponding Hebrew practice.

a) Animal sacrifices

By *ḍabîḥah* a sacrifice of some animal is always understood. *Ḍabîḥah* is the feminine of *ḍabîḥ* and means "whatever is slain as an offering," and really stands—as was already noted by Jaussen²—for a female animal. At present the word has lost its specific character and is used for any animal. From the same root (*ḍabaha*) we have *madbah*³ "altar," originally the place where the sacrificial animal was killed. It is curious that the word *smât*⁴ is used in some parts of Palestine exclusively for a *ḍabîḥah* (Benî Zêd,⁵ Benî Mâlik⁶), while in other parts—as for example in Jerusalem and the surrounding villages—this same word is used for a *ṭabḥah*, and not

¹ *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* I, 708.

² Page 338.

³ Means also the neck.

⁴ *Smât* means according to *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* (I, 994) a table or a large round tray on which food is presented. I do not doubt that the present meaning of "food offering" originated from the idea of offering a table with food (a *walîmeh*) for the *welî*.

⁵ With Dêr Ghassâneh as the main village and former capital.

⁶ With Abû Ghôṣ as the centre.

for an animal sacrifice. Whenever the word *smât*¹ is used in this section (of animal sacrifices) it means a *ḏbîhah*, and the formulas used originate in Dêr Ghassâneh or Abû Ghôš.

I do not intend to give in this study all the different sorts of *dabâiyh* known in Palestine. Jaussen has given in his book, *Coutumes des Arabes*, a list of 29 sorts practised in Moab.²

Dabâiyh may be divided into three groups, and it is a mistake to mix one of these with the other:

1. Sacrifices connected directly with some religious idea
2. Those connected with the *djinn*
3. Those connected with family circumstances, such as invitations, family feasts, etc.

Only such animal offerings as belong to the first group will be described here. Some of those belonging to the second category will be mentioned only for completeness. Occasions which belong to the third category are: the installation of a *muhtâr*,³ the arrival of an honoured guest,⁴ family events such as circumcision, betrothal, marriage, the dedication of a house. Important agreements are often not completed, until sealed with a sacrifice.⁵ But the most fruitful occasion for making sacrifices is the discharging of a vow.⁶ These sacrifices belong to the first group.

The custom of vowing an animal is not at all new. All religions of the ancient Orient practiced it. Kinds of animals which may be used for this purpose are a young camel (*djamal djazûr*), a young she-camel (*nâqah djazûr*), a yearling ox (*tôr hôlî*), a cow, a sheep (*harûf*⁷), a young goat (*sahl*⁸), or a goat (*djidî*).

In different parts of Palestine different animals are preferred: thus the Bedouin often vow a camel, while the *fellahîn* prefer a

¹ According to *Muhtâr*, Belot, Kassâb and Hammâm, *smât* means also "the table cloth on which the meal is offered."

² Pp. 337—363.

³ 1 Sam. 11 15.

⁴ Gen. 18 1-9.

⁵ Gen. 31 54.

⁶ Jacob (Gen. 28 20-22), Jephthah (Jud. 11 30-40).

⁷ From *hâl*, "one year," but very often older animals are vowed.

⁸ The ewe is called *na'djeh*, the ram *kabš*; both may be offered.

⁹ The female is called *'anzeh*, the male *tês*; both may be offered. At times it is specified whether one or the other is to be sacrificed.

sheep.¹ No unclean animal (pig) will ever be vowed. A vowed animal must possess special characteristics which will be described later. Very often it happens that only a part of an animal is offered. This is only the case when the sacrifice vow is a camel, ox or a cow. Half, a third or a fourth of a cow may be vowed. In such a case half, a third or a fourth of the price of the cow is given to the sanctuary. This money is given as soon as the cow is sold. Abû Ṭālib, a man of Bêt Ḥaninâ, told me, that not only should one-half of the price of the animal be given, but as long as it is not sold half the work, half the milk and half of all calves which the cow gets after the vow is made (and before it is sold) belong to the *welî*. From the moment, Abû Ṭālib explained, that the vow is spoken half the cow and thus one-half its work and products belong to the owner and the other half to the man of God. At present only half the price of the animal is given and all other rights of the saint are withdrawn. Abû Ṭālib continued: *ed-djami' byâklû haqq el-awliâ*, i. e., not everything that belongs to a *welî*, and that should be given to him, is actually given. Very conscientious persons expressly vow, therefore, only half the price of an animal: *in adjânî ḥabar šifâh*² *yâ nabîy allâh yâ Muḥammad la-aštrî ibnuşş taman et-tôr kisweh*³ *lal-fugarâ*, "if I receive the news of his recovery I shall buy, O Prophet of God, O Mohammed, for half of the price of the ox, clothes for the poor."⁴

A Christian of Ṭaiybeh informed me that it is customary in the vicinity of his village, when the calves of a cow die, one after the other, to vow a part of the next one born to el-Ḥaḍr. "Accept my vow, O Green Ḥaḍr; a quarter of what she (the cow) brings, is yours."

By far the most common animal vowed is a sheep.⁵ Always when the animal is not specified, i. e., when only the words *dbîḥah* or

¹ Sheep are called *bayâḍ* (white), while goats are known also by the name of *samâr* (black). The meat of *bayâḍ* is much preferred to that of goats.

² The *h* is to be pronounced.

³ See below.

⁴ Such a vow is made when an absent relative is ill.

⁵ The sheep is the first domestic animal mentioned in the Bible.

smât (in Benî Zêd and Benî Mâlik) are used, a sheep¹ is meant to be offered.

An absolutely healthy and faultless animal has to be offered. No lame, blind or sick one should be promised.² An animal which has accidentally broken a limb or has been wounded by a gun-shot is not suitable for the fulfilment of a vow.³ The Old Testament gives the same regulations.⁴ The word *dbîhah* bears the sense of "slaughtering." Therefore one which has lost some of its blood in any other way than by being butchered does not fulfil the real purpose of the vow.

Animal sacrifices are drawn in many cases from one's own herd. Stolen animals are not accepted by any *welî*. I can not verify for Palestine Doutté's observation in North Africa,⁵ namely that a *dbîhah* must be a male animal.

The expressions used in taking a vow for a *dbîhah* are very numerous. I shall only mention the most important ones: *Smâtak yâ Hauwâs in râq ibnî*, "Your animal offering, O H. (will be sent to you) if my son recovers;"⁶ *nîdrun 'alaiy yâ nabî Mûsâ in ridjî djozî bis-salâmeh la-aqaddimlak dbîhah*, "I take upon myself a vow, O prophet Moses, if my husband returns safely, I shall offer you an animal;"⁷ *in adjânî sabî yâ Halîl Allâh la-adbaḥlak kull saneh ḥarûf*, "if I get a boy, O Friend of God (Abraham) I shall sacrifice to you a sheep yearly."⁸

All the above expressions contain the assumption that the animal which is being promised will be slain. But it is not at all necessary

¹ The sheep was pre-eminently the animal for sacrifice, though mostly rams were appointed to be offered up, first because their meat is thought better than that of ewes, and also because it was more important to spare the ewes for breeding purposes. The milk of the ewes was (in Biblical times, and is still) a most important article of diet; thus Moses in his song speaks of

"Butter of the herd and milk of the flock,

With fat of lambs and ram-lambs, sons of Bashan," Deut. 32 14 (James Neil).

² Doutté, p. 464.

³ See also Jaussen, p. 338.

⁴ Mal. 1 14.

⁵ Page 464: "elle doit être de sex male."

⁶ In this formula as well as in the following the animal is not specified, and generally a sheep is offered.

⁷ While the last formula is used in Benî Zêd and Benî Mâlik, this one may be heard everywhere.

⁸ Contrary to the last two formulas this one specifies the animal.

to slaughter the animal; some promise to send a living animal to the sanctuary: *yâ mâr Djirius ilak 'alaiy in tât ibnî harûf wâqif*, "O St. George, if my child recovers I owe you a sound sheep (i. e. a living one)." After such a vow the sheep will be sent to the convent of St. George in el-Ḥaḍer, and the *raiys* (director of the convent) has the right to do with it as he pleases.

Animal sacrifices are made mostly on important occasions: disease or absence of a member of the family; great impending danger; when a man has no male children; when a disease attacks a flock of sheep. The expression used in the last case is: *in rafa't el-wabâ¹ min ghanamî² ikbîrhâ smâtak yâ Rfâ'î*, "if you take the disease from my flock, the biggest of them is your offering, O R." In the case of *eš-šêḥ* 'Anbar³ a flock attacked by an epidemic is all brought to visit the *maqâm*,⁴ whose door is kept open. While the sheep pass the *welî*, the first one which tries to enter the shrine is vowed to the *šêḥ*. It is said, *ihâtârha*, "he has chosen it." In this case, as well as when the sheep is pointed out, the top of the ear is cut with the words *šaraḥt dânuh*,⁵ "I have cut his ear." Such a sheep remains with the others and is well cared for until it is sacrificed, *biybaqâ 'alâ ismuh*, "it remains on his name" (that of the *welî* to whom it belongs). Sometimes a man promises the firstborn sheep⁶ of his flock⁷ to a saint, hoping that this man of God will bless the flock and keep it safe. Others vow one of the first twins. In both these cases, as well as when a lamb is brought for the fulfilment of the vow, the young animals are well fed and cared for, until they grow up and the time of their sacrifice comes. They are called *rbîbeh*,⁸ an expression which is also used for any well-fed sheep

¹ This word means also "plague, epidemic."

² *Ghanam* stands for a flock irrespective of whether they are sheep or goats.

³ 'Anbar's shrine is situated on the SE. saddle of the eastward continuation of the Mount of Olives, not far from 'Ēsāwiyeh. It is a *maqâm* of *šêḥ* 'Anbar's tomb in the main shrine and that of his wife in the small northern room. It is said that 'Anbar was the slave of an Egyptian master. The miraculous story of the journey of 'Anbar will be mentioned later.

⁴ *Bizawrâhâ*.

⁵ *Qataš* is also used.

⁶ See Curtiss.

⁷ According to the law of Moses it was forbidden to vow the firstborn of any beast, which was already devoted to God (Lev. 27 26).

⁸ Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 156.

brought up under specially favorable conditions. In case an animal dies of a disease, some people replace it by another, while others believe that as the Almighty God permitted such a loss, the *welî* has no right to another one, and they feel released. In case an animal which has been vowed gets sick, it may be sold and with its price another (but younger animal) may be bought. Others slay it and distribute the meat among the poor.

It is forbidden to change an animal once dedicated to a *welî*. The man of God will surely—thus the peasants believe—not accept such a sacrifice and will punish the doer.

It is not at all necessary to breed every animal vowed for the *dbîhah*; it may be bought at the sanctuary or in the market. In some shrines there is a large market at the time of the *môsam*, giving everyone opportunity to buy any number of animals he wishes.¹ It even may happen that the person who has bound himself by a vow can not go to the sanctuary, thus being unable to fulfil his promise in person. He then entrusts the fulfilment of his obligation to some friend, by giving him the animal or money to buy one. Sometimes, but not often, a sum may be sent to the *qaiym* of the holy place, in order to buy a sheep which he slays in the name of the donor.

We will see later why it is very important, even obligatory that every one should be present in person or be represented by a delegated friend or relative while his *dbîhah* is sacrificed. Offering an animal for somebody else without an authority takes away the desired connection between the person and his holy intercessor.²

Generally the one who has made the vow and he for whom it was taken, with some relatives and friends, go to the sanctuary to fulfil it. In case the *nider* was made for a woman who becomes impure by menstruation at the time of the fulfilment, she does not accompany the procession and can not attend the sacrifice. Young children and babies may not join such a feast as a rule, especially when the *welî* is far away.

A *dbîhah* is usually slaughtered in the *maqâm* of the saint to whom it was promised, but this is not a binding rule. A *dbîhah* for

¹ Nebî Mûsâ, Rûbin, Şâleh, etc.

² See also Doutté, p. 466.

Ibrâhîm el-Ḥalîl (in Hebron) may be offered in Jerusalem, and one for en-nabî Dâhûd (Jerusalem) in Nâblus. In such a case *btindbiḥ* 'alâ ismuh, "it is slain in his name (i. e., that of the saint)." This may happen when nobody can go to the shrine in question. A Bedouin of the tribe el-Idwân told me that most of the sacrifices made for Moses are killed in their camp (Transjordan) and not at the shrine. But it is considered more correct to offer the animal in the sanctuary, for a visit to such a place is in itself a *barakeh*, "blessing."

When a sheep is taken to a shrine it is sometimes decorated with flowers and coloured ribbons. A small round mirror (*mrâḡ*) sometimes is suspended from its forehead and the horns are dyed with *ḥinnâ*. In the *môsam* of Nebî Mûsâ one finds many sheep whose foreheads, backs and tails are dyed with *sîraqûn* and *madhab*.¹

Anyone who knows how to slaughter a sheep may do it. Generally it is done by the people who take the offering. In exceptional cases it is done by the *ḥaddâm* of the shrine. In important places of pilgrimage with well-known *mawâsim* there are butchers, who usually slaughter the *ḍbiḥah*, receiving a quarter or half a *madjîdî* for their work. But nobody is obliged to hand over his sheep to such a person. Women never perform this act. Doutté's² observation that a *muqaddim* (offerer) slays the *ḍbiḥah* in most shrines has its parallel only once in Palestine, the Maghrebine *zâwieh* of Abû Madian.³

In a large *maqâm*, like Nebî Mûsâ,⁴ there is a special place for slaughtering.⁵ In smaller ones with a kitchen the animal is slain in or in front of this room (en-Nabî Şâleḥ, in the village of en-Nabî Şâleḥ). There are sanctuaries, which have no real kitchen but have adjacent to the wall of the *maqâm* an open enclosure or *rwâq* which serves as a kitchen and where the *ḍabâyḥ* are slain and the food is cooked (er-Rfâî, Rdjâl Şûfeh). Not infrequently especially in Transjordan the animals are slain on the roof of the *maqâm*, so that some of the blood runs over the front wall. In all other shrines the

¹ This word comes from *mâ* (water) and *ḍahab* (gold) and means "gold leaf tinsel."

² Page 462.

³ Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 155.

⁴ It lies one or two minutes from the shrine and near a cistern.

⁵ Kahle, l. c., and Curtiss, chapter XXV.

animal may be killed in any place which is in the direct neighbourhood of the *maqâm*: under a tree, on a large flat rock, in front of the shrine itself. If the place of slaughtering is designated in the *nider*, then such a condition must be fulfilled: e. g., *smâṭak yâ Hauwâs adbaḥu 'alâ 'atbatak*, "your sheep-offering, O H., I shall slay on the threshold of your door." The animal is more often killed on the threshold of the door of the courtyard than on that of the door of the shrine. *Dbîḥtak yâ Hâtim adbaḥhâ 'alâ tabûtak*, "Your *dbîḥah*, O H., I shall slay on your coffin." In the last case the animal is slain inside the shrine, beside the tomb and not on it. Great care is taken that neither the floor nor the tomb be polluted with blood. A pail (*lakan*) is so placed that all the blood flows into it.¹ Like Kahle² I have not seen nor heard of any case where animals are slain in such a way that their blood flows into the water of a holy-spring or into a holy cave, as Curtiss³ mentions.

No pregnant animal—if this condition happens to be known—is ever slain. But such an animal may be vowed, and it, as well as its offspring, belongs afterwards to the saint. One waits until after delivery. In case such an animal is (without knowledge of the condition) offered, the foetus is thrown away.⁴

The animal is thrown on the ground with its head turned eastward and the face southward. It is not without interest to note that dead persons and sacrificed animals are laid so that the face looks towards Mecca⁵ (in Palestine southward). The difference between them is that the former lies on his right side with the head to the west, while the latter is laid on the left side with the head pointing eastward. The one who kills the animal says: *bism allâh—allâh akbar*, "in the name of God, God is great;"⁶ or *bism illî qaddar 'alêki ed-dabḥ—allâh akbar*, "in the name of the One who decreed your sacrifice—God is great." In Bir Sabi' I heard the following expression: *bism allâh—allâh akbar ḥall 'alêki ed-dabḥ rabbî innahâ minḥ wa ilêk fidâ*, "In the name of God—God is great—, you (the

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of O. S. Barghûṭî.

² *PJB* VIII, 155.

³ Chapters XXII and XXV.

⁴ Only the very poor (according to a woman of eṭ-Taïybeh) eat the foetus.

⁵ Christians lay their dead on the back from west to east, the head on the east side and looking to the east.

⁶ *PJB* VIII, 157.

sheep) are lawfully slain. My Lord, it is from you and is a ransom for you." The name of the *welî* to whom the animal was vowed may be added to that of God. Thus I heard the people of Jericho say, "In the name of God and that of *es-sêh* Šalâh." The ordinary formula of the *fâtîhah*, which is used in all other cases, *bism allâh er-rahîmân er-rahîm*, "in the name of the most merciful God,"¹ is never used in slaughtering, as the adjective "most merciful," is contradictory to the act of killing. Some even think that an animal which was killed with these words should not be eaten. Although the following practice does not come directly under the subject of vows, it possesses an illustrative value in this connection. A frightened man (*mardjûf* or *maḥḍûd*²) must undergo special treatment to counteract the evil results of "fright." One of the many ways to attain this end is to eat the neck (*raqabeh*) of a sheep, which is cooked with *šaddit* (or *ḥawâyidj*) *et-tarbeh*.³ In killing such an animal the following formula is pronounced: *bism allâh u bism rauwâh er-radjfeh*, "in the name of God and in the name of the One who removes the fright."⁴ When a person is attacked with night-blindness, which is known by the name of *hidbâd*,⁵ he will

¹ Sale's translation.

² From *ḥaḍḍah* which is another name for *el-ḥôfeh* (also *radjfeh*). See Canaan, *Tâsit er-radjfeh*, JPOS III, p. 130. In *Aberglaube*, p. 35, other less usual names are mentioned.

³ A yellow powder made of several strong spices.

⁴ A very famous prophylactic measure against *el-ḥaḍḍah* in the following, which I shall describe in a story. My friend and neighbour Ibrâhîm Djirius was very much irritated and frightened by bad news which had been received. A relative of his fearing that this *ḥôfeh* might result badly, cooked a black hen with various spices. She kept the vessel well covered, so that the vapour could not escape. When she thought that the hen was well-cooked, she threw herself on the ground in a room adjacent to his and began to cry and lament in a most heart-rending way. In alarm he got up, went to her and asked for the reason of her distress. She wept louder, "my son, my dear son, why didst thou die—my joy, my fortune has an end—my son, my dear son." My friend became still more anxious about her trouble. When she thought that his alarm was sufficient to counteract the first one she told him the truth and forced him to put his face over the opened vessel, so that the vapour clouded his face. He had to eat the whole hen alone (Canaan, *Aberglaube*, pp. 68, 69). A white hen is used when the fright took place during the day, a black one if during the night.

⁵ In *Muḥîṭ*, p. 2163, and Hava 811 this word means only "weakness of the sight."

only be cured if he eats the *zawâ'id*.¹ The lungs² have to be prepared without salt. In killing such an animal, *bism allâh u ism il-hidbâd*, "in the name of God and the name of *el-hidbâd*," must be pronounced, else the cure will have no effect.³

Not only in slaying a *nidr dbîhah* is the name of God invocated, but whenever the Mohammedans kill an animal for food they always say *bism allâh*. If this is neglected they think it unlawful to eat of such an animal. This is done because it is ordered in the Holy Book, Sûrah V, verse 4:⁴ "Ye are forbidden to eat that which dieth of itself, and blood and swine's flesh and that on which the name of any besides God has been invoked."⁵ This was ordered because the idolatrous Arabs were accustomed in killing any animal for food to consecrate it to their idols by saying: "In the name of Allât or al-'Uzzâ."

Doutté's⁶ observation in the Maghrib that a special knife is used in killing a sacrifice, is unknown in Palestine. The Tarâbîn⁷ Bedouin will not kill an animal with a knife whose sheath has three nails. With the words *bism allâh allâh akbar* the one who kills the animal says *itqabbal yâ . . . nidr . . .*, "Accept, O . . ., the vow of . . ." Those who have fulfilled the vow feel freed from their obligation. This is well expressed in what is said while the animal is being slain: *wafênâ smâtak yâ šêḥ Yûsif*, "We have paid your sheep, O šêḥ Y . . .," *haiy nidrak yâ nabî Rûbîn*, "Here is your vow, O Prophet R."

In some places we find the following custom which shows the relation of the person (in this case a child) for whom the *dbîhah* was slain and the sacrifice offered. If the child is very young he is carried three times (rarely four times) around the animal. The circling is called *ṭwâf*: *biṭauwfû l-walad hâl el-ḥarûf*, "the child is carried around the sheep." When the child is somewhat older he

¹ See below.

² In the Arabic text the word *mu'lâq* is used. This has the literary meaning of "vital organs (Hava 48): spleen, liver, heart and lungs." In the dialect it stands for the lungs (and many include also the liver).

³ This custom I have found described in the written notes of my father.

⁴ See also Sûrah II, 168; VI, 146; XVI, 115.

⁵ The translations are taken from Sale.

⁶ Page 463.

⁷ Sinai Peninsula.

rides on the sheep. This latter custom is not nearly so wide-spread as the other one. Both these two customs are practiced when the child can not accompany the procession of offering the *nidr* at the shrine, and always before the animal is slain. When the child is able to go to the *maqâm* and attend the ceremony he steps over the *harûf* after it is slain, or over the flowing blood.¹ According to others he walks first three times around the sheep and then steps over the blood. While he encircles the animal the *fâtîhah* is read three times. Even Christians of some villages practice this custom (of stepping over the blood) when a sheep is offered to Ḥaḍr el-Aḥḍar.² This crossing over the blood is called *faṣāqa*. In Ṭaiybeh the sheep is drawn three times around the sanctuary of St. George, and in every round the Lord's Prayer is recited once.

This custom of stepping over a vowed sheep or over its blood is practised also with *ḍbîhî el-fadwâ* and rarely with that of *ed-dhîyeh*. A few words about these two last sacrifices are necessary to illustrate the difference between them and that of a vow sacrifice. The best animal for *ed-dhîyeh* is a sheep, although the poor may offer a goat. Bedouin prefer a camel or an ox, as in the case of a vow. A man of er-Râm assured me that *ed-dhîyeh* must be a cow (*râs baqar*) three years of age (*tlêteh*)³ or more. A poor man may offer seven goats instead of a cow.⁴ This belief seems to be local, since I could not verify it in other villages. The sheep is laid on its left side with the head turned to the east and the face to the south.⁵ The man who slays it turns his face toward Mecca.⁶ The person for whom it is offered says: *allâhumma itqabbalha minni*, "O God, accept it from me." Such an animal is slain on the Qurbân Beyram feast.⁷ On this day rich people may slay for each member of their family one sheep, which must be well-developed, faultless and which

¹ In Nabî Mûsâ (according to Abû Otmân); in Ibrâhîm el-Ḥafil (Abû Ṭâlib).

² According to Milâdî of Bîr Zêt.

³ *Tlêteh* comes from *ṭalâteh*, "three."

⁴ This man assured me that no sheep can be offered for *ed-dhîyeh*, which belief is wrong.

⁵ Exactly as is done with the sheep of a vow.

⁶ The immolation of the victims in the Hebrew cult took place on the north side of the altar. Lev. 1 11, 6 25.

⁷ 10th of Moḥarram.

has passed the age of one year.¹ Every member of the family then steps over the blood of his sacrifice, which counts in his favor on the day of judgement.² The poor offer one animal for the whole family. Some women³ attribute miraculous curative action to the blood of such a sacrifice. If a woman washes herself with the blood of a *dbîhah* mixed with water she will get children.⁴ One third of the *dbîhah* is eaten by the offerer and by his family, one third is given to the relatives, and the last third is distributed among the poor.⁵ Some—but not many—will not accept this division. Thus the *šeh* of 'Imwâs assured me that the above statement is not correct and that nobody should eat of his own *dbîhah*. As many inhabitants of one village offer a sheep each, one will share the meat of the sacrifice offered by another and distribute all his own sheep.

The Palestinians believe that a sacrificial sheep will appear in the day of judgement well-dressed, well decorated and with penciled eyes (*imkahhaleh*) and will carry the person for whom it was offered over the *surât* to Paradise. Therefore the common saying *dahayânâ matayânâ*,⁶ "our sacrificial animals are our riding beasts."

In slaughtering the victim of *ed-dhîyeh* the utmost care is taken not to break any bones, so that the animal may appear whole and faultless on judgement day, for it is thought that these sheep render to their offerer the great service on the last day of joining his good deeds in the balance, and thus outweighing his faults and sins.⁷

Dbîhet el-fadwâ is a "sheep of ransom" offered on special occasions. When plague attacks part of the country its inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding area, may make use of such

¹ The animal must be absolutely faultless, i. e., not blind, half blind, lame or weak. Even the bleating must be loud and clear. Some, but not many, prohibit even the sacrifice of an animal which has been branded (*inkawat*, or *makwîyeh*) as a curative measure. This method of treatment is very wide-spread in the Orient.

² Heard in Liftâ.

³ Imm Moḥammad of 'Imwâs.

⁴ If the blood is taken from a sheep sacrificed on 'Arâfât it will be more effective.

⁵ A *ḥadiṯ* allows eating from one's own *dbîhet ed-dhîyeh*.

⁶ Curtiss, chapter XIX.

⁷ Heard is Bêt Ḥaninâ and verified elsewhere.

offerings. The people of the infected part expect that God will accept these offerings and free them from the scourge. The others hope that the *ḍbiḥah* will prevent the spread of the disease to their country. A *fadwâ* may also be made for a single person.¹ M., the only male child of a family well-known to me, came back from a long journey. His parents slew a sheep in front of the house and the son had to step over the flowing blood before he entered the house.²

Even when a flock of sheep is attacked by a mortal plague, one of the sheep—generally the best—is offered as ransom for the whole flock. All sheep of the infected flock are marked with the blood of the killed one.³ Sometimes the following expression is used while killing a *fadwâ*: *fidâ* (or *fadwâ*) '*an el-'iâl wil-mâl*, "ransom for the family and the property."

The meat of this *ḍbiḥah* is generally all distributed to the poor. What Jaussen states about the Negeb is true also in some localities in Palestine, namely that *ḍhiyeh* and *fadwâ* are used at times to denote one and the same thing.

In continuing our examination of the *nidr ḍabâyh* we notice that the blood of the sacrifice flows on the ground. In some shrines where a special place inside the main enclosure surrounding the *maqâm* is designated for slaughtering, the blood is led through a special channel to the outside. The blood may be used to decorate the shrine. Large *maqâms* like *en-nabî Mûsâ* are exempt. The *ṣâṣiyeh* (the lintel of the door) and the *ṣdâghât* (the jambs of the door) are first of all smeared with blood. Generally the impression of the hand is made. The Christians of Ṭaiybeh smear the '*atabah*⁴ of the Ḥaḍr sanctuary with blood, making the figure of the cross. They take some blood in a *kêkarah*—a small earthen vessel—and sprinkle the lintel and the jambs of the door.⁵ The same custom prevailed in early Biblical times when Aaron's sons sprinkled the blood of the offering "upon the altar round about."⁶ Instead of blood the

¹ Such a *ḍbiḥah* is also known as '*iqqah*.

² Curtiss, l. c.

³ Compare the story told in Ex. XII.

⁴ '*atabah* means in reality the threshold of the door, but is falsely used as *ṣâṣiyeh*.

⁵ The Arabic expression is *bîlatthû*.

⁶ Lev. 16, 32.

Christians of Ṭaiybeh very often whitewash¹ the stones with a preparation of lime,² soon after the animal is slain. The white colour is thought to bring good luck. Most of the door frames of newly built houses are smeared with the blood of sheep killed while the vaulting is going on.³ The same is true with *ḍbīḥit el-fidâ*.

The forehead of the child, less often that of an adult for whose sake the *nidr* was made, are also smeared⁴ with the blood of the *ḍbīḥah*.⁵ Also the Christians of Ṭaiybeh and Bîr Zêt have the same custom. The sign of the cross is made on the forehead of the child. In Bîr Sabî' the camels⁶ are smeared with the blood of a *ḍbīḥah*, as a sign that the vow has been fulfilled.⁷

The *qaiym* receives his part of the animal. This consists generally of the skin and the *saqaṭ* (called also *et-trâf*,⁸ and in some places *zawâyḍ*). By this expression the peasant understands the extremities, the head, the abdominal organs (with the exception of the large omentum⁹) and the *maḍbah*.¹⁰ The *maḍbah* is that part of the neck where the knife cuts the throat.¹¹ This piece is cut off and given to the *qaiym*. Generally he also receives a good piece of meat besides, and joins the party at the meal. What has been said of the *qaiym* is true of the *ṣiyûḥ* who are connected with the shrine.¹² Curtiss' statement that one-fourth of the animal is given to the *qaiym* is only true occasionally for Palestine. This custom is again an old one and is illustrated in the story of the children of Eli.¹³ In places like Nabî Mûsâ the butcher (*lahḥâm*) receives either the

¹ *Biyutruṣû*.

² Very often this is done with a stick on the end of which a tassel of cloth ribbons is fastened.

³ This sheep is killed in the name of *saiyidnâ Ibrâhîm el-Ḥalîl*.

⁴ So in Nabî Mûsâ and Ibrâhîm el-Ḥalîl.

⁵ Jaussen finds the same custom in Transjordan (p. 316).

⁶ *Ibl* (pl. with no singular).

⁷ *PJB* VIII, 159 ff.

⁸ *Saqaṭ* and *trâf* really do not mean the same. The second expression stands for the extremities only, while the first includes some of the internal organs, as well as the extremities.

⁹ Some include with the large omentum the intestines directly connected with it

¹⁰ From *ḍabaha*, "to kill an animal with a knife."

¹¹ The *saqaṭ* differs in different places. Among the Benî Zêd the *maḍbah* is counted to it, in Jerusalem the lungs but not the *maḍbah*.

¹² As for example in al-Anbiâ, el-Ḥadrâ, etc.

¹³ 1 Sam. 2 12-16.

skin or a quarter of a *medjîdî*,¹ less often half a *medjîdî*. The other parts of the animal are cooked and eaten. Such a holy *ḍbiḥah* should not be prepared as a *zarb*.² Very often rice is also cooked and served with the meat. Bread and the other materials necessary for the preparation of the meal are brought by the party. All present take part in the meal, and often many bystanders join the party, for as soon as people are seen going with one or more sheep to a sanctuary everybody knows that a *nidr* will be fulfilled. In large *mawâsim* a part of the raw meat (*laḥm aḥḍar* or *laḥm naiy*) is divided among those present. Often vowed animals are given as a whole to the kitchen of Nabi Mûsâ or some other saint, where it is cooked with the other food and is distributed to the visitors. Such an act is thought to bring additional blessing.

The preparation of the food takes place in the kitchen, if there is one, otherwise near the *maqâm* in a place protected from the winds. Often the food is cooked under a tree. The copper pots (*ṭanâdjir*, pl. of *ṭandjarah*) or the copper troughs (*dsût*, pl. of *dist*) with the food are placed on the *mawâqid* (pl. of *môqadeh*, hearth, fire place). These are either well-built stone hearths or improvised ones. The latter are constructed by placing two elongated stones of the same height parallel to each other, with a space of 30—60 cm. between them, where the fire is made. Many shrines possess a number of copper pots, which are always used in such occasions. In *welîs* where there are none the people who come to offer their *nidr* bring them along. The wood is taken from the property of the *welî*, or is brought with the visitors. In cooking a *nidr* all the dry wood which has fallen from the holy trees may be used, but no twigs may be cut, even if they are dead. This fallen brushwood is never used on any other occasion.

All join in eating the sacred meal. Every one says the *fâṭiḥah* for the soul of the *welî* for whom the offering has been brought. It is considered that all present are guests of the *welî*, for the *ḍbiḥah*

¹ One Turkish *medjîdî* = 20 piasters *şâgh* (and 23 piasters *şurk*), normally one-fifth of a Turkish pound.

² *Zarb* is a roasted sheep, where the whole (when the animal is young) or a part of a sheep is placed in a small freshly-prepared, cave like oven. This oven is heated very strongly, the meat is salted and placed in it after which the oven is hermetically closed.

is his, and the food is cooked in his honour. Therefore everybody who attends the sacrifice, or happens to pass this way at this occasion is welcome to partake of the sacrificial meal. The *welî* receives the most important part of the victim—the soul, which lodges in the blood,¹ as we shall see later on. The same practice was known in the Old Testament.² A sacrificial meal followed the sacrifice. The flesh of the victim was eaten at the sanctuary by the sacrificer, and his family (1 Sam. 1 3-7) or by representatives of the community (1 Sam. 9 22-25). The underlying idea was “that of sharing a common meal with the deity.”³ The worshippers were the guests (Zeph. 1 7) of God at His sanctuary.”⁴ Happily they rise from the feast and joining in games they pass the time in enjoyment. Contented with their act they leave the shrine, sure that the *welî* has blessed them for the fulfilment of their obligation.

These sacrifices followed by feasts are known in the Bible (1 Sam. 20 4, etc.). We know from 1 Kings 3 3 and other passages⁵ that these sacrifices took place in the high places. In the search for his father's asses Saul came to Samuel and was taken by the Prophet to a sacrificial meal.

Before we leave the subject of *ḏbâyh* we may mention some irregular or anomalous customs practiced in some parts of Palestine. Very rarely it happens that the sheep which has been slaughtered in or near a sanctuary is carried back to the village, and cooked in the house of the vower. Sometimes the condition or the situation of the shrine prevent offering the sheep in or near it. In such a case the animal may be sold and the proceeds are either given as such to the *maqâm*, or some jewelry is bought with them and this is offered to the shrine and hung on the picture of the saint. *Dabâyh* vowed to St. Mary on Calvary are not offered as such. The sheep is sold, jewelry is bought with the money, and is offered to the *qûneh*.

Some vows of this group form the connecting link with the meatless food vows. *El-msarwaleh* is a dish made of milk and rice,

¹ 1 Sam. 14 32-34.

² W. Smith, Dictionary of the Bible, vol. II, p. 1079.

³ See also 1 Cor. 10 20-21.

⁴ Hastings and Selbie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1914, p. 812. Doutté, p. 472.

⁵ Amos 5 21-23, etc.

mixed with another of meat and rice. Such an offering—like all meatless ones—is cooked in the house and then carried to the shrine, where it is partly distributed and partly eaten.

Among the Bedouin and some peasants the cooking done in connection with a *môlad* vow (see afterwards) is more important than the *môlad* itself. This festival may be with or without meat.

There are still a number of subsidiary practices connected with sacrifices to be considered. Since they touch the fundamental principles of making vows, we may be able by studying them to explain the conception connecting the sacrificial animal with the person for whom it is vowed. I shall first give two examples, which, although they do not belong to the above-described animal sacrifices, nevertheless illustrate vividly the idea underlying them.

When a dead person is carried from the place where he died to his own village, the Bedouin and the peasants load him on a camel. The peasants have the superstition that the camel may die from the *kabseh*¹ exercised by the dead. In order to safeguard against such a heavy loss, they slay a cock on the camel's back, before the corpse is loaded. The blood of the cock, which flows over the camel's body, is thought to remove the impending danger. Thus the cock in giving his life has saved that of the more precious camel.

Another illustration demonstrates the same idea from another point of view. When a child is attacked with convulsions, it is believed that a specially malignant *djinn* has attacked him, and that the evil spirit will probably not depart without having taken the child's life. In order to save the precious life of the child the demon must be satisfied with some other life. Therefore the head of a pigeon is introduced as deeply as possible into the rectum of the patient, and it is held there until the animal dies. A life is given

¹ It is not difficult to explain how the *kabseh* acts in this case. A dead body is always surrounded by the evil spirits which caused his death, and is therefore unclean. These spirits prefer to leave this environment and inhabit some living object. In doing so they may cause the same bad effects to their new host. The same explanation is true of the *kabseh* which may act on a sick person, if another sick person is carried into the room. The evil spirits causing the illness of the second (and most diseases are caused by demons) may leave their host and attack the first person, thus increasing his disorder. For other examples see *Aberglaube*, pp. 37, 39.

to save another, and the *djinn* is satisfied by the offering it has received, and leaves the child.

These two examples show three points clearly:

1. To save the life of an important being, that of another less important one must be sacrificed.

2. The sacrifice is made to please that supernatural power which is thought to be the cause of the danger, or which has in its hands the power of preventing it.

3. The animal sacrificed must come somehow into direct external contact with the being for whom or for which it has given its life.

A close examination of the practices connected with vowing and sacrificing animals, as we have followed them, shows that the same ideas underly them, with some modification.

Ad 1. The Palestinian thinks that everything, especially disease, affliction and misfortune comes "from *allâh*" (*min allâh*). He has permitted their occurrence, exactly as He allowed Satan to tempt Job and afflict him with all sorts of visitations.¹ Therefore whenever the peasant is attacked with afflictions, he tries to escape them by directing the wrath of the superior power against some other being. An animal is offered in his place, to redeem the human being with its life. Thus the peasant still walks in the paths of his ancestors, believing that "life shall go for life"² and that "blood maketh atonement,"³ and that the life of an animal is accepted by the Divine Power instead of that of the offender, who himself deserves death.⁴ This is the only explanation for the wide-spread custom of sacrificial vows; and while other vows are not so strictly executed, a promise of an animal offering is much more seriously treated. This idea of redemption is well founded in all Semitic religions.

Ad 2. The Almighty God is difficult of access. This is another fundamental idea in Palestinian folk religion.⁵ This is why the Palestinian prefers to call on saints and *welîs* for help. They were once human beings and thus understand human difficulties and temptations. A *welî* is always ready to assist, more so, if one shows

¹ Job 1 6-12.

² Deut. 19 21.

³ Lev. 17 11.

⁴ Compare the sin offerings of the Mosaic law.

⁵ Exod. 19, etc.

his humility in some way. Just as no one would approach a deity without a gift in his hands, or a promise of one, so a peasant would not ask a *welî* for help, without at the same time vowing a sacrifice.¹ This conception already prevailed in Biblical times: "None shall appear before me empty."² The object of a sacrifice, reduced to its simplest terms, is threefold: to secure and retain the favour of the saint; to remove his displeasure; and thirdly to express gratitude for benefits received. Although these things may be said about any offering, nothing pleases these holy men as much as an animal sacrifice: firstly, because so many of the poor can be fed in their name and on their tables; secondly, because every one who partakes of the feast says a prayer in the name of the *welî*. These two acts are placed by the Almighty to the account of the *welî*.

Ad 3. The study of the connections between the animal to be offered and the person for whom it was offered are very interesting. For the purpose of analysis the following resumé of the customs described above may be given:—

A young child—for whom the *nidr* was made—is carried three times around the animal. When the child is older he rides on the sheep.³

He may step over the sacrifice or over the flowing blood.

The forehead of the person is sometimes smeared with the blood of the *dbîhah*.

The flock or herd is touched with the blood of the animal killed for their safety.

All these actions show clearly that the sacrifice must have a direct contact with the person for whom it is offered. Therefore the person for whom an animal is slain to safeguard his life is marked with the blood of the victim. The shrine of the saint to whom the animal has been promised, is smeared or sprinkled in many cases with the blood of the *dbîhah*.⁴ This is done to assure the man of God that his *nidr* has been fulfilled, for the mere dedication of the animal during the act of slaying with the words

¹ Gen. 4 3 f.

² Exod. 34 30.

³ In the Old Testament the sacrificer had to put one hand, in later periods both hands, upon the head of the victim (1 Sam. 21 4).

⁴ Exactly as in Lev. 1 5, 17 11, etc.

"Take your promise, O . . ." does not suffice. One asks why blood plays such an important rôle in these religious rites? An investigation of this question discloses that blood plays a very interesting and complicated part in Palestinian superstition. Since I believe that the study of these practises will bring us to a clearer conception of the underlying ideas, I shall describe some of them.

Blood is believed by the Palestinian to be the abode of the "soul." The same idea existed in the earliest periods of Biblical history: "For the blood is the life."¹ Therefore wherever human blood is shed or lost, a part of human life and soul is lost. This makes blood a highly respected, but at the same time a highly dangerous thing. The following superstitious customs will throw light on this idea:

1. When two children desire to enter into fraternal relation to each other (*yithâwû*), i. e., become intimate friends, each pricks one of his fingers with a needle and sucks a little of the blood of the other. Thus each takes some of the soul of his friend and they enter into blood relation to each other.

2. In every place where a person is killed (and only when his blood is shed) the soul appears at night-time as a *rasad*² and cries out the last words spoken by the dead;³ cf. Gen. 4 10, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the earth."

3. In case a wife is not much beloved by her husband she tries to inflame his affection by giving him a few drops of her blood, mixed with some other liquid, to drink.⁴ She is sure that the part of the soul drunk with the blood by her husband knits him more strongly to her.

4. Supernatural powers hover over every place and person where blood is found. They may even be injurious. This is the cause of the fear of the menstrual blood cherished by the inhabitants of Palestine.⁵

¹ Deut. 12 13.

² Also called *mfâwil*.

³ *Aberglaube*, p. 17.

⁴ Blood always used to be the sign of a covenant, Exod. 12 7, 13.

⁵ This is not the place to dwell on this phase of superstition, which is discussed fully in *Aberglaube*.

In offering an animal we are offering a life, a soul for another one—the human life. The meat of the *dbīḥah* is not the important part of the sacrifice. It serves only to satisfy the human visitors. The gods (saints practically = lower deities) do not eat and drink; they are only satisfied by the sacrifice of the soul.¹ A Christian woman of Djifnah in describing a *dbīḥah* said *lil-Ḥaḍr fēdet ed-dam u lan-nās ed-dbīḥah*, “For Ḥaḍr the pouring of the blood (i. e., the soul) and for the people the sacrificial animal.” Blood plays an important rôle as the symbol of life. This shedding of blood is the essential part of an animal sacrifice.² No animal which has been previously killed will be accepted by any *welī* as a sacrifice. The blood must be shed in his shrine, or at least in his name. It is the atoning act.

b) Qurbān or walīmeh lillāh

A *qurbān* also involves the *dbīḥah*. This sort of vow belongs partly to this category and partly to a later one. It may be described fully here, as it has to do with animal offerings. The vow is made in these cases to God only, and not to any saint or *welī*. Thus it is clear that a *qurbān* is a real sacrifice in the name of the Almighty, in case of sickness. As soon as the sick man recovers, the animal must give its life for the man who is saved. The animal belongs entirely to God. But God does not need any food, therefore it is distributed entirely among the poor, the vower receiving nothing of it—contrary to the practice in the case of all animal offerings described up to now. Such an animal may be slain in any place and its meat is distributed *aḥḍar*,³ “in a raw (uncooked) condition,” or it may be cooked and then given to the poor. From this custom the name *walīmeh lillāh* is derived.

Qurbān (from *qaruba*, *qarraba*) denotes everything offered to God which brings the offerer nearer to the Deity.⁴ *Walīmeh lillāh*, “a feast for God,” well expresses the idea set forth in another place and shows that the sacrifice is in reality nothing but a feast given to the needy in the name of God.

¹ 1 Sam. 14 32-34; Deut. 12 16; Lev. 7 10 ff., 7 27.

² N. Söderblom, *Das Wesen des Götterglaubens*, p. 81; Curtiss; Kahle.

³ Also called *naḥy*.

⁴ *Muḥit el-Muḥit* II, 1681.

In many cases when such a vow is made, the mother or the father take an open knife (*mûs*, *hûṣah*)¹ and sticks it in the door or in the outer wall of the sickroom. While doing so the following words are uttered: *qurbân la widjî allâh in ṭâb ibnî*, "A sacrifice for God's face, i. e., God's sake, if my child gets well." Such a knife may remain in its place until the sheep is killed.²

Much like the above custom is vowing a candle for God: "If my child speaks, I will light a candle for you, O God."³ According to Christian belief such a candle must be lighted in the open air and not in a shrine. Imm Elyâs of Jerusalem took such a vow and lighted the candle on the roof. She passed the night guarding it, so that it should not be stolen. As the candle was not all burned, it had to be lighted on the second night. According to Mohammedan custom, a light of this kind may be brought to the nearest *welî* and burned there in the name of God.⁴

Before leaving this subject of animal sacrifices we may note a *ḍbîḥah* custom which has nothing to do with vows. In case a saint has been irritated by some mortal, he may punish the evil-doer and perhaps all the inhabitants of the village in a very severe way. A sheep is generally offered to reconcile the saint. I have already told the story of *eṣ-ṣêḥ* Šâlêḥ, who inhabits Ḥirbet Nûtâ, and which illustrates this point excellently.

c) Meatless food

In Jerusalem and the immediate neighbourhood these vows are called *smât*, while in Benî Zêd and Benî Mâlik the word *smât* is used only for a *ḍbîḥah*, as we have seen. I have been unable to find for this word the explanation given by Jaussen, and which he has deduced from the use of the expression in Transjordan.⁵ Everywhere vows of this sort are also known by the name *ṭabḥah*, an expression not very much used. Most of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the adjacent Christian villages understand by *smât*⁶ only a special dish, namely

¹ Also *kazlak*, *sikkîneh*.

² A custom prevalent in Benî Zêd.

³ This type of vow is made when the child grows up without being able to speak.

⁴ According to a man of Bettîr (Benî Ḥasan).

⁵ Page 365.

⁶ *Aberglaube*, p. 75.

prayers over them and asks God's blessing for all the members of the family which has offered them. He then keeps four loaves for himself and one is taken by the offerer. The last is divided among the members of his family as a *barakeh*. Some keep a piece of this blessed bread for illness, believing that eating it will cure disease. When once such a vow is taken it has to be continued every year until the man for whom it was taken dies. Such a *ghirbnîyeh*¹ is always made one day before the feast of the saint to whom it was vowed. The priest blesses the bread after the afternoon prayer (*ṣalât el-ʿaṣr*). Such a vow is a material help to the priest.² Many vow bread for the poor and needy in the name of the saint. This practice I shall describe more fully in the following section.

III. Offerings given to needy persons in the name of the saint

In the last section we have often mentioned vows fulfilled for the benefit of the poor. The *smâṭ* (*ṭabḥah*) and specially the *walîmeh lillâh* (*qurbân*) come under this heading. All vows of food promised to God must be given to the poor, even though not so specified in the wording of the vow. In all other vows it is specified; e. g., "O Nabî Şâleh, if you bring me safely through this matter, I shall distribute a basket of rice to the poor." Either food or cloth may be vowed. The food may be offered in a cooked or uncooked state. The "needy" may be grouped under the following headings:

1. Poor (*fuqarâ*)
2. Orphans and widows³ (*aytâm u arâmil*)
3. Prisoners (*maḥâbis*)
4. Sick, especially the mentally disturbed (*madjânîn*).

The following are illustrations: "If I get up, and am able to walk I shall, O Prophet of God, clothe thirty orphans;" "O friend of God, as soon as I am released from jail, I shall give two hundred loaves of bread to the prisoners;" "O St. George, if my son returns to normal mental condition, I shall slay a sheep for the *madjânîn* of your shrine."

¹ Also called *quddâseh*.

² This custom is only followed by the Greek Orthodox church.

³ Called by the collective name *maqṭû'in* (those who have nobody to help them).

In making a vow of *kisweh*¹ one must, according to most of those whom I have asked, supply all garments necessary to dress a person, i. e., shirt (*qamîş*), shoes (*şarâmî*²), bag-trousers (*(i)lbâs*³), *qumbâz*⁴ (gown⁵) and a head-dress (*tarbûş*,⁶ or *hattah* and *'uqâl*⁷). Many do not give all these, but only a shirt and a *qumbâz*, or the cloth for both. Generally the fulfilment of such a vow is postponed to one of the Mohammedan feasts, *'id ed-dhîyeh* (*'id el-kbîr*) or *'id eş-şhîr* (*'id Ramadân*).

The condition of the prisoners used to be pitiful. Very often it happened that an accused or suspected person remained for months in the prison before his trial took place. Most such victims used to implore God and all the saints for help, promising to offer a sheep or bread for the other prisoners, if they should be released from their misery. Even prisoners who were already convicted used to take vows that as soon as they should be released they would offer this or that for the other inmates of the jail. Even if these vows are made in the name of a *welî* they do not reach his sanctuary.

It is advised by many in Jerusalem⁸ that the best way to fulfil a food vow for the poor, is to give it to the *dkîyeh* kitchen where food is cooked daily and distributed to the poor. Generally the one who vows a sheep will remain in the kitchen until the meat is cooked and distributed. Bread may also be brought to the kitchen. Orphanages and hospitals are sometimes but not often remembered. Flour, rice, melted butter, beans, lentils, etc., are generally presented. The leper asylum "Jesus Hilf" receives such vows at long intervals. "My Lord, if I live to see my son (returning) in good health, I will bequeath my lower house to the *Dkîyeh*." The yearly rental of the house goes to the general income of the *dkîyeh waqf* as religious

¹ From *kasâ*, "to clothe."

² Also called *markûb*, *maşşâi*.

³ Made mostly of white or blue cloth, with wide parts above the knees (some call it *şirwâl*).

⁴ Also called *kibîr*.

⁵ It is put on over the shirt and the trousers. The *qumbâz* is made of coloured linen, cotton or silk cloth. It is open in front, reaches to just above the ankles and is fastened by a *zunnâr* (belt).

⁶ Fez.

⁷ Bedouin head-dress.

⁸ Heard from Abû 'Osmân (Jerusalem).

endowment. I know of a man who transferred all his property to a relative as *waqf*, making in the *waqfiyeh* the condition that a sum of money should be given to the poor by the heir in the name of the donor. It may happen that somebody has no money to vow to the poor. He then promises to devote the wages of three or more days' work to the purchase of food for the poor.¹

IV. Religious vows

By "religious vows" I mean that a person takes upon himself the fulfilment of some religious act or obligation other than what he would naturally perform. Religious vows are practiced by Mohammedans and Christians. Very interesting is the fact that an adherent of one community assumes obligations of another.

Perhaps the most popular example of this category is the promise of reciting the story of the Prophet's nativity, *qrâyet mōlad*. "If my daughter recovers I shall recite a *mōlad*, O Prophet of God." The *mōlad* is the legendary story of the Prophet's birth and is a poem which describes not only the birth of the Prophet, but names his ancestors, all the prophets, and his own acts. A great part of the *mōlad* is devoted to praise of Mohammed. There are different *mōlads* and one of the most important is that of el-Imâm 'Abdallâh bin Moḥammad el-Manawî. According to *Wafiyât el-A'yân* by Ibn Ḥallikân, vol. I, the first one to attach a great importance to the *mōlad* was Muẓẓaffar ed-Dîn (Prince of Irbil). During his time, in the year 604 A. H. el-Ḥâfiz 'Omar Abû el-Ḥaṭṭâb wrote the best *mōlad* poem.

The fulfilment may be simple or more elaborate. In the first case the vower gives a sum of money (one to one and a half *medjidi* in the villages, half a pound to two pounds in the cities) to a *šeh* who must recite the *mōlad* from a minaret, in a mosque or *weli*, in the name of the giver. Among these places the minaret is the one usually chosen, and often it is specified: '*alâ el-mêdaneh el-Hamrâ*,² '*alâ mêdanet en-nabî Mûsâ*.³ The *muaddîn* of that minaret may do

¹ Heard from Imm Bšarah Tlêdjeh.

² Inside the city in the northeast quarter.

³ A *mōlad* is not generally recited in small sanctuaries, nor from the minaret of unimportant *welis*. Ibrâhîm el-Ḥauwâs, *en-nabî Mûsâ*, *en-nabî Šâleh*, 'Alî ibn 'Elêm, *en-nabî Rûbin*, etc., are preferred places.

the job. The *muaddin* or other *šêh* who reads the *môlad* takes several others with him, to help him in singing or reciting parts of the *môlad*. It is always done in the evening, generally that of the night of Thursday to Friday, or that of Sunday to Monday. More important is the reading of a *môlad* in the house. Many friends are invited. A large meal is prepared. After all had their supper they assemble in a large room, where the ceremony is held. One or more *šêhs* are chosen to recite this prayer, while refrains may be repeated in chorus by the audience. It takes about two to two and a half hours, during which no smoking or conversation takes place. One may enter or leave the room at any time. After the ceremony is over sweets are presented. Thus we see that the religious ceremony is preceded and followed by a festivity. When a woman has made a vow to recite the *môlad* she fulfils it by inviting her female relatives and friends and asking a *šêhah* or a *šêh darîr*¹ to recite it.

In some villages one to two *ratls* of barley with three raw eggs (some bring only one) are placed in front of the *šêh* who recites the story of "Mohammed's Nativity." The eggs are eaten by the *šêh*, to keep his voice clear,² while the barley is kept by the people as a blessing and as a curative medicine in case of sickness. It is supposed that the barley receives a supernatural power through this religious ceremony. In case a child falls sick, he is fumigated with this barley.³

An old woman of Jerusalem told me that a dish of flour and a glass of water are placed before the *šêh*, who recites this prayer. As soon as he finishes, the contents of the dish are distributed among those present. It is kept as a *hîrz* for small children. They either carry it in a small bundle around the neck as a prophylactic measure against the evil spirits or they are fumigated with it in case of disease. The water is drunk by those present, believing that it cures shortness of breath.

Although this custom is purely Mohammedan it sometimes happens (but very rarely) that a Christian woman vows that she will recite

¹ Blind *šêhs* are allowed to enter chambers of the harem to teach the Qorân, or to say prayers.

² I could not find any other explanation for the eggs. The *šêh* has no right to take them with him.

³ I heard this custom from Manşûr of Liftâ.

a *môlad*. The wife of el-Qârî¹ promised: "If my child gets well, I shall recite a *môlad*." In fulfilment she held the ceremony in her house. Generally Christians prefer giving a *šêh* a sum of money and asking him to recite the *môlad* in their name.

Besides the *môlad*, fasting is very often vowed. It is a religious law that every Mohammedan shall fast in the month of Ramaḍân.² Nothing is eaten, drunk or smoked during the day-time, while at a certain hour in the late evening the first meal (*ftûr*), and a few hours after midnight a second one (*shûr*) is taken. Nobody may vow to fast in this month, since this is his duty. But fasting on other days or weeks than Ramaḍân are often vowed, generally by women. The number of days or weeks which are to be kept is specified in the vow. These fasts are kept in the same way as that of the month Ramaḍân. Radjab and Ša'bân are the preferred months for fasting, and Monday and Thursday preferred days of the week. This sort of vow cannot be bought, as others may (see above), i. e., it cannot be changed to another obligation. A person who has vowed to fast a month must keep his promise exactly, while another who has bound himself to offer a sheep, oil, etc., may give a sum of money in their place. No unclean woman is allowed to fast.

Christians may vow to fast days or weeks more than required by the church. In such cases they abstain completely from animal food, sometimes including, sometimes excluding fish. More unusual is the promise of a Christian to keep the month Ramaḍân or a part of it. Sometimes Mohammedan women bind themselves to keep the fast of St. Mary's feast (*id el-Adrâ*) or part of it.

Often a Mohammedan mother who loses one child after another vows to baptize the next one, believing that putting him under the protection of Christ will guard him against death, since the evil spirit el-Qarînî is driven away. The Qarînî is the evil demon which attacks children and pregnant women, causing all the diseases of the first, and producing abortion in the latter.³ Waṭfeh the wife of I. 'Aql (from Liftâ) lost all her sons during their infancy. While pregnant she was advised by an old neighbour to vow to have her

¹ Greek Orthodox Church.

² Unclean women, sick and those on a journey are excused from this rule. They must do their duty in the same year.

³ See *Aberglaube*, there transcribed *karînî*.

offspring baptized by a Christian priest. She did it with the words: *yâ rabbî in razaqtñî şabî nidrun 'alay la-a'mmduh 'ind en-naşârâ u la-asammîh 'alâ ism en-naşârâ*, "O my Lord, if Thou grantest me a boy, I vow to have him baptized by the Christians and to give him a Christian name." She bore two sons after this vow and both were baptized. One was named *Ḥannâ* and the other *Djirius*. A *şêḥ* of *Şufât* told me that a barren woman vows: "By God, if I get a boy I shall call him *Eliâs*." By this expression she means that she will give him a Christian name, thus dedicating him to a Christian saint. She must therefore baptize him, since baptism puts him under Christ's protection and giving him the name of a Christian saint helps to keep him safe. Therefore only names of popular Christian saints are chosen, like *Ḥannâ* (John), *Djirius* (George), etc. St. George's name is preferred since it is a connecting link between Christians and Mohammedans. It is said that the priest conducts the ceremony of baptism as in the case of a Christian child. Only *mêrôn* is not used.

There are a few Christian women who vow to circumcise a child and to give him a Mohammedan name, like *Darwiş*, *Hasan*, etc. Such vows are taken in the same cases as the previously mentioned ones, i. e., when a mother loses all her male children. When such a woman makes a vow she may fix the place where the child is to be circumcised. Baptism of Mohammedan children is much more common than circumcision of Christian ones. The latter is only found among some few villagers.

Circumcision is a rule for every Mohammedan and therefore it can not be vowed. But a Moslem may bind himself to do this act at a special shrine: "I entreat you, O Prophet Moses, if you cure my child, I will circumcise him in your sanctuary." Such a vow is thought to be good for both parties. The child is protected by the saint, and the confidence shown in the man of God increases his reputation. Very often a special and additional vow is made, namely: "I will take upon me to circumcise so and so many poor children together with my own boy." This means that the vower has to pay for the expenses of the operation, and also gives each child some clothing as a present.

Some vow the service of a person in a sanctuary: "If you, O man of God, grant me a child I shall let him serve you one month

('s time)." Such a custom—although found also among the Mohammedans—is more wide-spread between the Christians. Such a vow of direct service for a certain period in a sanctuary is fulfilled by helping the *qandalaf* (sexton) in his work.¹ In such cases Mohammedans sweep the shrine and light the lamps. This sort of vows resembles the vow of Hannah, the mother of Samuel (I Sam. 1 11 ff.). *Nadartuh la-mâr Antôn*, "I have vowed (offered) him to St. Antonius," means that the boy must wear the garb of that order for one year. The priest puts the garments on and in one year's time the priest must take them off. The parents offer a candle at each of these ceremonies. The convent presents the girdle-rope, the rosary (*el-masbahah*) and the cap (*et-taqîyeh*), while the parents provide for the cloth, which is cut by the priest (or in the convent). This priest prays over the dress as well as over the child. Thus the child wears priestly clothes for one year. Members of the Latin church, as well as of the Greek orthodox follow this practice. The latter ask a priest of the former for the performance of this act.

Sometimes the whole or a part of the sick person is vowed to a holy man: "O man of God, O Hauwâs,² if my child recovers, you will get half of him." This means that half the "price" of the person is offered. The price of a person is only discussed when he is murdered. The *diyyeh*, "blood price," must be paid by the murderers to the family of the murdered, and it amounts to 33,000 piasters. Vowing half or a quarter of a person means to pay half or a quarter of 33,000 piasters,³ i. e., 16,500, *respective* 8250. This sum is given to the *qaiym* of the sanctuary with the understanding that it is for the *welî*. In case such a vow is made for a girl her price is not reckoned on the basis of the *diyyeh* but of the *mahr* (marriage-price). The wedding ceremony of the girl cannot take place, until her vow is fulfilled.⁴ Even in the Old Testament the Nazarite could be

¹ Vows of this type are also known in the Old and New Testament, where persons were vowed or chosen as Nazarites for their life or for a short period. Judg. 13 5, 1 Sam. 1 11, Luke 1 15, Jer. 35 5 ff., 1 Mac. 3 49, Acts 18 18, etc.

² To this *welî* more persons are vowed than to other saints (heard from O. S. el-Barghûti).

³ See O. Barghûti, "Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine," *JPOS* II, No. 1, 1922.

⁴ I have heard of this custom only in Central Palestine. It is unknown to the villages around Jerusalem.

redeemed at a valuation according to age and sex, on a special scale.¹

Finally we must mention a custom which, although not belonging directly to this group of vows, seems to me more closely associated with it than to others. The wife of F. (Greek Orthodox), whose son was badly sick, fastened a silken handkerchief on the Nabî Mûsâ flag. This was done on the first day of the feast, while the procession moved from the Mosque of Omar. While doing so she exclaimed: "If my son gets well, O prophet Moses, I shall fasten another handkerchief on the day of the return of your flag."² This example shows us again the honour paid to Mohammedan saints by non-Moslems. Such a vow is exceedingly rare. In explanation of this custom we may point to the Mohammedan custom: *in tâb ibnâ la-arbutlak yâ Hauwâs drâ' baft râyeh bêdah*, "If my son recovers, O H., I shall fasten for you an ell (pic) of white shirt as a white flag." To hoist a white flag for somebody means to proclaim his ability, his excellent character, his charity, etc. .

V. Bodily chastisement and vows to be fulfilled on the body of the vower or person for whom the vow was taken

"If my child gets well, O my Lady, O St. Mary, I shall visit you (i. e., your shrine) barefoot." Walking barefoot to a sanctuary is vowed by Mohammedans and Christians. Christians of Jerusalem prefer the sanctuaries of St. Mary and Mâr Eliâs. To *sittî Maryam* Mohammedans also bind themselves by a similar vow. This visit must be performed, if at all possible, on the saint's day. Generally the women rise up very early—long before daybreak—and while all are sleeping, walk barefoot to the sanctuary, say a prayer and come back before the visitors begin their pilgrimages to the shrine. The *ḥadîṭ* says "if a man vows to walk to a place and he cannot do it, he may not fulfil his vow walking."³

¹ Lev. 27 1-7. It ranged with males from 5 to 50 shekels, with females from 3 to 30 shekels.

² From Imm Elyâs.

³ *Man naḍara an yamšî li-maḥallin walam yaṣṭafî' an yaqûma bihî falâ yadjûzu an yukmilan-nidra mašyan.*

Another vow of humiliation is the sweeping of a sanctuary with the head-dress. "I take a vow to sweep Sêf ed-Dîn¹ with my head-cloth, if my brother gets well."² To throw, or to place the head-dress on the ground is always looked at as a dishonouring action.

Very often it is vowed that the hairs of the sick child will be cut in a sanctuary. The hair is allowed to grow from the moment of the vow until the promise is fulfilled. In the case of a Christian the child is taken to the church, where the fulfilment of the vow must take place. In case the Holy Sepulchre (Qabr el-Ḥalâs³) is chosen, the act is performed behind the tomb of Christ. The priest, after saying some prayers, cuts a lock of hair from the forehead, another from the occipital region and one from each lateral side, thus marking the sign of the cross. The barber cuts the rest of the hair. In other churches the child approaches the altar⁴ and the ceremony takes place. Some friends and relatives are invited to attend the ceremony. Returning home, all join in a feast. In the case of Mohammedans the child enters the sanctuary and the hair is cut in the *mihrâb* or near the tomb. At Nebi Mûsâ it is done outside the real shrine. In the district of Djenîn I was told that a vow to cut the hair may be performed in most of the *welîs*. This practice of shaving the head, or cutting the hair at the expiration of a votive period is a very old custom. In the Bible we have reference to it.⁵

In all cases the weight of the hair cut off, in gold, silver or money, is presented to the sanctuary. The money is given to the priest or to the *qaiym*.

VI. Vows not connected with any holy person or shrine

Such vows may be vestiges or remnants of primitive religious practices. "If my brother returns safely, I shall make you a *zarb*, which we will eat in the vineyards." This vow is made for friends. At other times it is a thank-offering to a person. Thus we meet

¹ In Liftâ.

² Heard from a woman of Liftâ.

³ Lit. "the Tomb of Salvation."

⁴ *El-madbah*.

⁵ Acts 18 18, 21 24.

with many *ndūrah* of this category made for physicians, nurses, teachers, etc. Most of these vows are never fulfilled.

In connection with the subject of vows I wish to draw attention to the following idea. There are some expressions which seem to indicate quite a different idea, but which originate in the same cycle of conceptions as the vows. The Palestinian believes that the death of a child or animal, the breaking of an object or the spilling of a fluid may atone for the loss of somebody or something more important. *Inkasar eš-šarr*, "the evil is broken," is said when a glass of water, a tea cup or a coffee cup fall from a visitor's hand and breaks. *Inkabb eš-šarr*, "the evil has been poured out," is used on similar occasions.

When a horse dies, a house collapses, etc., people express their feelings by saying: *fidāk u fidā 'iyālak*, "it is a ransom for you and your family." The idea underlying these expressions is that some evil had to befall the loser, but the Almighty Providence has directed it to a less important object and thus saved a greater loss.

VII. Vows for the dead and the *djinn*

I cannot close the discussion of vows without calling attention to vows offered to the *djinn* and the dead. Although this category of offerings differs from that of offerings brought to the saints, it shows many points of resemblances and serves to illustrate some points of interest. It is hard to find such characteristic examples of sacrifices brought to *djinn* and dead as of those offered to saints. Nevertheless a careful investigation shows many customs which belong here. A comparison between sacrifices offered to saints and those brought to the dead and *djinn* exhibits the same idea in different stages of development. I shall describe some customs and superstitions beliefs, which suggest

a) Offerings to demons

Dbīhet ed-dār (among the peasants) which corresponds to *dbīhet bêt eš-ša'r*¹ of the Bedouin is the most characteristic example of this sort. Besides *dbīhet el-Halil*² we meet with another sort of animal

¹ Jaussen, p. 339.

² A sheep must be offered to Abraham whenever a house is newly built.

sacrifice, practiced by many peasants in connection with the completion of a house. Some will not even occupy a newly built dwelling until a sheep is immolated, to please the *djinn* who have already taken their abode in it. With the blood the sides of the door are painted as an external sign of the offering. Others may even slay a sheep in the foundation trenches. Whenever a Bedouin tribe changes the locality of its camp the *šēh* and others immolate a sheep to the demons of that spot with the words *dastūr yâ šāhib el-maḥall*, "By your permission, O owner of the place."¹

According to an old belief, which is at present dying out, some buildings—especially baths and houses erected near a spring—will not be fortunate and prosperous, unless the foundation stone has been erected upon shed blood. In the case of a Turkish bath it is even thought, that a human being—and curiously enough a Sudanese—must be offered before the first stone is laid. Some old women assured me that the head of a negro suffices, if buried below the threshold. The following expressions point to this human sacrifice: *el-ḥammâm mâ bidūr illâ'alâ 'abd*, "The bath does not work except on a negro;" *qāym 'alâ 'abd*, "it is erected on a negro;" *mabnî 'alâ 'abd*, "it is built on a negro."² Excavations show that these foundation sacrifices were very wide-spread in the ancient Orient. In 1 Kg. 16³⁴ we read: "In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub."

Whenever a house is thought to be inhabited by demons, because every family which occupies it loses one or more of its members by death, nobody else will move into it before sacrificing one or more sheep, for the house is thought to be *maskûn*, "haunted," lit., "inhabited (by evil spirits)."

The spring of Djifnâ is supposed to be inhabited by a demon which appears in the form of a charming bride. Once a woman of the village approached the spring during menstruation. This careless act provoked the anger of the *djinnîyeh* and the spring was dried up. A priest had to go to the place and burn incense, thus reconciling the *djinnîyeh*.³

¹ Jaussen, l. c.

² *Aberglaube*, p. 20.

³ "Haunted Springs and Water Demons," *JPOS* I, pp. 153—170.

To this category belongs also the custom known as *tihlây*, "sugaring." Superstition holds that the *djinn* are pleased and quieted by sweets and sugar offerings.¹ The following example will illustrate the procedure. A mother once beat her child on the threshold (*'atabeh*). This careless act resulted in a severe punishment of the child and mother, the first getting fever and the second having a slight attack of facial paralysis. These inflictions were caused by the *djinn* living in this place. To appease them the woman was advised to strew sweets on the threshold.

More complicated is the following belief. A child had fever, and the mother was told that this was caused by a fright. She took the sick boy to el-Ḥadjar el-Mansî, where she washed his hands and feet, after which she strewed sweets and returned home. The explanation of this act is as follows: The fever excited by the fright is caused by demons. Taking the child to the grave of a holy man and washing his extremities there drives the devils out by the power of the man of God. The sweets are an offering to appease the demons, who are irritated because they have to leave their prey.

In analyzing all these customs we find that the idea of offering something to the spirits is represented in every one. I have only mentioned a few examples of each sort. The underlying idea is to get the favour of the spirits through these sacrifices, to please them and to atone for mistakes which may have provoked them. According to popular belief the spirits always react favourably to such offerings. Many references in the Bible point to offerings to spirits and demons.²

b) Offerings to the Dead

With regard to sacrifices to the dead I shall only mention practices which bear a special connection to our subject. While the corpse is being ritually washed, the relatives distribute some money *'an rūḥ el-maiyet*, "for the soul of the dead." This is called *sqûṭ eṣ-ṣalây*. In the cemetery and when the burial is over, money is again distributed, this time to the *šêḥs* who have been repeating during the whole procession, *allâhu akbar*, as a prayer for the dead. In the

¹ See *Aberglaube*.

² Lev. 16 s, 17 7; 2 Chr. 11 15; 2 Kings 23 s. In the latter "spirits" should be read instead of "gates" (i. e., *šē'îrîm* instead of *šē'arîm*), as has been suggested.

graveyard, bread and dried figs are given to the poor (*'an rūh el-maiyt*). Those who can afford it may even have a new wooden coffin (*tābūt, sahlīyeh*) made, on which the deceased is carried to his burial place. This coffin is then left to serve for poor dead, and this act of helping the poor, even after their death, is believed to bring a special *ṭawāb*, "reward," for the soul of the departed.

All who go to the house of the mourners to condole receive coffee with or without a piece of cake. After drinking the coffee, and sometimes on entering as well as on leaving, they say: *allah yerhamu* "May God be merciful to him."¹ In the third night a *tahlīleh* is made. Sweets are distributed to all invited, who are chosen from the better class as well as from the poor. Afterwards *lā ilāhan illā allah* is recited by those present, all repeating this phrase over and over again until the sum of all the prayers reaches one thousand in the cities, and 75000 in some villages.² Thereupon *al-Ḥitmeh* (*al-Qorān*) is read and those reading it say at the end: *wahabnā ṭawābahā li-rūh fulān*, "We have presented its recompense (merit), i. e., that of reading the Holy Book, for the soul of N. N." The meeting ends with a meal. Every one recites the *fātiḥah* for the soul of the dead. The meal this night is also called *unīṣah* (*el-Māllḥah*).

On the first Thursday the relatives distribute a sort of a cake fried in oil to those who happen to come to the cemetery. It is called *fakket ḥanak*.³ On the second Thursday a *ḥmēsīyeh* is made in some villages. All friends go to the cemetery to visit the tomb. The relatives distribute dried figs, sweets, raisins, etc., among those present, especially to children, also *'an rūh el-maiyet*. As on other occasions, everyone asks the mercy of God for the soul of the departed one. At the end of the forty days another supper (*aṣā*)⁴ is made. On *Ḥamīs el-Amwāt* the peasants send fruit to the *maḍāfeh*, while in a city the relatives of the dead go to the cemetery and distribute sweets, dyed eggs, and very rarely cooked food among the poor as a

¹ Other expressions are: *salāmet rūskum, el-bāqīyeh fī 'umrak, allāh yḥallī wlādak*.

² Heard in el-Qubēbeh.

³ *Fakket el-wiḥdeh* is the expression used for the first visit made on the day after the corpse is buried.

⁴ One who does not prepare this supper for his dead father is despised by his fellow-villagers, who say: *mā ilak ḥēr fī abūk mā 'amiltiṣ 'aṣā yā kalb*.

ṣadaqah 'an *el-maiyet*. Food may be sent at any time by the peasants to the guest-house and is known by the names *eṣ-ṣadaqah*, *el-fiḡdeh*, *er-rahmeh*, *kaffārah*. City-dwellers generally give food to the poor on every feast (New Year, Ramaḡān, 'Īd el-Kbir). While any sort of food, even fruit, may be sent on any occasion to the *maḡāfeh*, it is customary in the villages to slay a sheep on the *tahlīleh*, some times on *Hamīs el-Amwāt*.¹

From the above we see that the peasants prefer to send the *ṣadaqah* to the guest-house, for all visitors, travellers and strangers stop there for rest and recreation. Every time the relatives of the dead bring food to the *maḡāfeh* they say: *haḡā an rūḡ fulān*, "this is for the soul of N. N." Every one who eats of it must say a prayer for the deceased. Thus many prayers ascend to the Almighty, imploring the salvation of the one who has died.

Some relatives of a dead person will give a sum of money to a poor person obligating the latter to journey to Mecca and perform the *ḡaḡj* for the soul of the dead. When he has finished the official ceremony there he must say: *itqabbal yā allah ṭawāb ḡal-ḡaḡj 'an rūḡ fulān*, "Reckon, O God, the recompense (merit) of this pilgrimage for the soul of . . ." No *ḡbiḡet el-ḡḡyeh* can be given in the name of the deceased.²

The Bedouin of el-Qibleh (the Peninsula of Sinai) once a year bring all their cattle to visit their cemetery. While the sheep pass the burial place, every animal entering the cemetery or remaining standing near it is thought to have been chosen by the dead and is sacrificed there. I have been told that very many sheep are slain on such an occasion, as all Bedouin, even the poor, bring their sheep to visit the dead in order that the latter may choose an offering.

There are some who engage a *ṣēḡ* to read *el-ḡitmeh*³ for the benefit of the dead once or several times a year. As in the case of the *ḡaḡj*, here also he says, as soon as he finishes the reading, *wahabtu ṭawābuhā la-rūḡ fulān*.

There are other somewhat similar customs which may be passed over. I wish, however, to emphasize what has been mentioned

¹ In the villages this day is also known as *Hamīs el-Bēḡ* (Thursday of Eggs).

² Heard from several women of Jerusalem, who gave me several examples.

³ Some believe that Radjab, Ša'bān and Ramaḡān are the most suitable months for reading the Holy Book.

repeatedly, that every one who receives money or food in the name of the deceased recites a prayer and generally the *fâtîhah* for his soul, and adds in every case the words *rahmet allah 'alêh* or *allah yirhamuh*.

While all the customs described above are practised by the Mohammedans, the Christians have others which are based on the same conceptions. I do not wish to describe the various masses and prayers for the dead, as they are accepted religious institutions of the different churches, but will restrict myself to folkloristic practices, mentioning only those that differ from the customs described above.

On the third, ninth and fortieth day, six months and one year after the death¹ a *şûniyeh* and a *widjîh* are made by the family of the deceased and distributed in the cemetery. By *şûniyeh* a dish of boiled wheat with sugar, decorated with almonds, candy, etc., is meant, while a *widjîh* is a large disk-like loaf of bread of about 40—60 cm in diameter, coated with sesame seeds. The priest says some prayers and then the food is distributed to those present. Many offer these things only once or twice.²

Some Christians distribute cakes (either *ka'k ibsimsim*, *biqsmât* or *rahmeh*)³ on the first 'Îd el-Amwât. Members of the Greek Orthodox church may also take wine on such occasions. The priest blesses the wine and gives every one a cup. The dead person also receives his portion, for the priest pours a little wine, marking a circle with it on the tomb.

As with the Mohammedans so also with the Christians, every one who receives something implores the mercy of God for the deceased

An analysis of these customs shows the following main points:

1. Food and other offerings are made in the name of the dead and for the benefit of the dead.
2. These offerings are accompanied by a multitude of prayers and good wishes, which are intended for the benefit of the dead.

¹ Some Christians give those who come to condole a cup of coffee with a hard cake. In some cases simple *ka'k ibsimsim* (cakes with sesame seeds) are distributed instead of *biqsmât* (the above mentioned hard cakes).

² This custom prevails among the Greek Orthodox congregation.

³ *Rahmeh* stands for rounds cakes made of *smîd* (semolina) butter and sesame seeds.

When we question the peasants about the purpose of these customs, we find that they reason as follows. When help (food, money, etc.) is given to the poor, strangers and children in the name of the deceased, and prayers are said for his soul, God will reckon all these acts in his favour in the day of judgement. The more a soul can rely upon such acts, the better off it is, since all of them will be added to *kaffet el-mîzân*, in which his good actions are placed, and the likelihood of outweighing his evil actions will increase. In other words, we see that these actions are sacrifices made by the living for the benefit of the dead. This thought is beautifully expressed in the sentence *lôlâ el-ahyâ la-hilkat el-amwât*, "Were it not for (the actions of) the living, the dead would have perished." This is the fundamental idea in all sacrifices to the dead, as we shall see later on.

A close examination of the goal at which these offerings and prayers aim, removes every doubt of their sacrificial character. The latter becomes still clearer if we remember the words said every time the *fâtîhah* and *hitmeh* are read, namely: *itqabbal yâ allah tawâbhâ 'an ruh fulân*, "Accept, O God, its recompense for the soul of . . ." These customs are illustrated by the fact that the Hebrew word for "pray (עָרַב)" is cognate with the Arabic root عَـتَـر, which means "sacrifice (sheep)."¹ Prayer and sacrifice were so intermingled that every prayer was an offering, and every sacrifice a prayer.

Even the simplest phrases, *allah yirhamuh* or *rahmet allah 'alêh*, seem to have been originally *ad'iyâ*, "prayers," offered for the benefit of the dead, and not only polite expressions.²

There is another motive for this custom to which I wish to draw attention, as it has not usually been connected with sacrifices for the dead. The underlying idea of all these sacrifices, including those offered to saints, is the same. Neither saints nor other dead eat themselves, although meals are offered in their names. To their tables many are invited and when satisfied say a prayer for the

¹ See *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* and Belot.

² Whenever one is on the point of beginning a journey he asks his friends: *id'û lî*, "pray for me." They at once recite phrases like "God be with you," "God protect you," "God make you prosper," etc. All these simple expressions are considered as prayers (*du'â*).

soul of the dead, who is then their real host. Thus a person is endowed even after his death with the highest virtue in the eyes of the Oriental, namely hospitality.

In the Bible we find parallels to the custom of sacrifice for the dead, cf. Deut. 26 14, Sir. 30 18. The most interesting passage is 2 Macab. 12 43ff.: "And making a gathering, he sent twelve thousand drachmas of silver to Jerusalem for sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead, thinking well and religiously concerning the resurrection. For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should rise again, it would have seemed superfluous and vain to pray for the dead."¹

7. CELEBRATION OF FEASTS (*mawâsim*)

The word *môsam*² (pl. *mawâsim*) means "season, mart, fair or time of assembly of pilgrims."³ In our case it is the "season of visiting a sanctuary," thus, for example, *êmtâ môsam en-nabî Rûbîn* means "When is the season (the time) of visiting (celebrating the feast of) the Prophet Rûbîn?" Whenever one speaks of *el-môsam* in Jerusalem and the surrounding villages it is understood by all to mean *môsam en-nabî Mûsâ*.

Many sanctuaries have regular *mawâsim*. The feast is very elaborately celebrated in some and extends over several days, while in others it is very simple and lasts only one day. At such a time people flock from every direction to visit the holy place and to take part in the festival joys. At these times they also fulfill their vows, perform their religious duties, circumcise their children, etc.

A description of the Nebî Mûsâ feast⁴ will give an excellent picture of a *môsam*. All other *mawâsim* resemble it in most of their characteristics. The Prophet Moses is highly honoured by all Mohammedans of Palestine. People come to the feast from all villages of southern Palestine and Samaria. Many also come from the north.

¹ Douay translation.

² Canaan, *Kalender des pal. Fell.*, ZDPV XXXVI, p. 274, note 2.

³ Used originally for Mecca, *Muhîṭ el-Muhîṭ* II, 2250.

⁴ Descriptions have been given by: Hans Spoer, *Das Nebî-Mûsâ Fest*, ZDPV XXXII, pp. 207—221; R. Hartmann, *Nebî Mûsâ*, MNDPV 1910, pp. 65—75; P. Kahle, *Gebräuche bei den moslemischen Heiligtümern in Palestina*, *PJB*, 165 etc.

The shrine is situated seven kilometers S. S. W. of Jericho, just south of the road leading from Jerusalem to Jericho. It is composed of an extensive complex of buildings with large gates. It may be divided into two parts: the sanctuary itself and the rooms surrounding it. The latter are separated from the first on three sides by an open space, the courtyard.¹ The sanctuary itself is surrounded on the north and east by porches, and covers the supposed tomb of the prophet. A quantity of rags are tied to the bars of the windows. Above the door an inscription states that 'Abdallah Pâšâ rebuilt the place in 1235 A. H. The *maqâm* itself is opened only on special occasions and during the festival days.

The greater part of the complex surrounding the shrine is composed of rooms which serve to lodge the visitors. The minaret is found in the N. W. corner of this part and is not connected directly with the sanctuary. Two mosques are attached to this complex, one of which (*djâmi' en-niswân*, the mosque of the women) has a *mihrâb*, while the other, which seems to have been changed from a stable² into a prayer-room has no niche. The second story opens nearly everywhere on to a terrace which overlooks the court-yard. In the lower story two large kitchens, as well as stables, store-rooms, and wood-rooms are to be found, beside the many rooms for the pilgrims.

Although this building is erected on the top of a hill, the two other shrines (Hasan er-Râ'i and Masâdjid sittnâ 'Âîseh) command better views, being found on still higher positions. East of the whole building is a cemetery, where those are buried who die during festival days. Notables who die in Jericho are very often brought here, and the 'Idwân tribesmen of Transjordan bury some of their dead also in this cemetery. They count it a special blessing to be interred near this man of God.³

¹ The courtyard is paved with stone slabs.

² This may still be seen, since the door leading to the outside has been closed, and the places for tying the animals are still visible.

³ Beside the three shrines mentioned on page 8, where children are buried in their neighbourhood, I have two other sanctuaries with the same characteristic, making five in all:

eš-šēh Aḥmad at Nebî Šamwîl,

eš-šēh Maṣṣûr at Hizmah. The three already mentioned shrines are

eš-šēh Nûrân near Šallâlah,

eš-šēh Aḥmad es-Sarrisî at Abû Ghôš, and

eš-šēh 'Abdallah at Šu'fât.

Not a single tree is to be seen anywhere near the building, but large cisterns¹ gather the rain-water for use in the feast days. These cisterns apparently belong to an older age than the present building. It has been supposed that they were the cisterns of the convent of St. Euthymius.²

The ridge on which the sanctuary is erected is composed of a bituminous stone, which burns easily and gives an offensive asphaltitic odor. The people think that this natural sign, which is not found in the case of any other saint, is a decisive proof of the greatness of the prophet. *Nâruh min ḥdjâruh*,³ "his fire is (comes) from his stones," has become proverbial. I have never heard the sayings, given by Spoer,⁴ about this bituminous stone, which looks white outside (like the angel of light⁵) and inside black (like the angel of death⁶).

The feast itself begins on the Friday preceding Good Friday of the Greek Orthodox Church⁷ and ends on Maundy Thursday. This Friday is called *djum'et en-nazleh*, "the Friday of Descent," while the Friday preceding it is known as *djum'et el-mnâdât*, the "Friday of Calling," since it is on this day officially made known that the *môsam* of the Prophet begins on the next Friday. Thursday evening and the night of Thursday to Friday is named *lêlatu l-waqfeh*,⁸ "the Night of Standing," in other words, the night preceding the feast. Every one who intends to take part in the feast prepares for the coming days. Different friends or families come together and talk over their plans. This time resembles in some respects the preparation for Passover on the part of the Jews. The night of the

¹ As much depends on the amount of water these cisterns hold at the time of the feast, the people believe that they are often filled in a miraculous way. We are told that when the rainfall during the winter is scanty and the cisterns are not filled with water, it always happens that the prophet Moses sends a heavy downpour of rain, which falls only over his sacred area, shortly before the beginning of the feast.

² ZDPV XXXII, 218.

³ Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 174.

⁴ ZDPV XXXII, 212.

⁵ Moses is meant here.

⁶ 'Uzrâ'yl.

⁷ Not on Good Friday as stated by Spoer.

⁸ This expression is used for the evening before every feast day.

next Wednesday to Thursday is called *lalat eš-šēl*, since most of the pilgrims arrange to leave.

Before describing the beginning of the festival processions we must call attention to the fact that six Fridays of this period are considered as more or less important, since they are connected with special celebrations and privileges. The Nebi Mûsâ feast forms the nucleus. The following is the list¹ as known in the environs of Jerusalem. Some Fridays bear other names in other places:

Order of Fridays	Compared with the Greek Easter	Names of Fridays in Jerusalem and environs	Names among the peasants and Bedouin
First	14 days before Good Friday	<i>djum'et el-mnâdât</i>	<i>hamîs</i> , or <i>dj. en-nabât</i>
Second	8 days before Good Friday	<i>dj. en-nazleh</i> , <i>dj. el-bêraq</i> , or <i>dj. es-siddârî</i> ²	<i>hamîs el-amwât</i> , or <i>dj. el-bêd</i>
	Maundy Thursday	<i>hamîs et-tal'ah</i> , or <i>yôm eš-šēl</i>	
Third	Good Friday	<i>dj. el-elêmât</i>	<i>dj. el-maghri</i> , or <i>dj. el-hayawânât</i>
Fourth	8 days after Good Friday	<i>dj. er-raghâyb</i> , <i>dj. el-halâwî</i> , ³ or <i>ed-dj. et-tawîlî</i>	
Fifth	14 days after Good Friday	<i>dj. el-ghurabâ</i>	
Sixth	21 days after Good Friday	<i>dj. el-hazânâ</i>	

¹ Somewhat modified from Canaan, *Folklore of the Seasons*, JPOS III, p. 23.

² Some say *sindârî*.

³ The Christians of Bethlehem, Bêt Djâlâ and Bêt Şâhûr call Dec. 24 *yôm el-halâwî*, and flock on this day to Bethlehem to attend the official procession of the Patriarch, using the opportunity to buy sweets. This custom is dying out (from the written notes of my father).

The procession begins by bringing the Nebî Musâ banner from the place where it is kept all the year through, called ed-Dâr el-Kbireh, belonging to the Husênî family, and situated west of the Haram area in the street connecting Bâb el-Habs with the Hân ez-Zêt street. The notables as well as many officials assemble here. The banner is handed over to the Muftî on a plate. After reciting a prayer he unfolds the banner and it is fastened on its stick. The banner is made of green velvet, embroidered along the border with golden threads, and measures 200×140 cm. A piece of black silk is sewn at the centre of each side bearing inscriptions,¹ to be described below. This black cloth is also artistically embroidered on its edges. The flag is fastened to a long staff, called *zâneh*, ending above in a golden crescent (*hlâl*).

The procession—which in the time of the Turks used to be accompanied by a military band and a guard of honour—moves slowly to the Mosque of Omar, entering by the gate Bâb el-Habs (also known as Bâb ‘Alâ ed-Dîn el-Buṣeirî). After the midday prayer is over the procession leaves the mosque area by the same gate, and not by Bâb Huṭṭâ, as stated by Spoer.² It is true that a great part of the multitude which attends the ceremony in the mosque leaves by other gates. The Grand Muftî, the banner-bearer and the other servants of the prophet go ahead. As soon as they are out of the holy area they mount horses and move slowly through the prolongation of the Via Dolorosa, leaving the city by St. Stephen’s gate (Bâb Sittî Maryam). The spectators fill the street, the balconies and windows, the cemetery, and the gardens on both sides of the way. Due to the great number of umbrellas which are carried by the members of the procession and the spectators, this day has been called *‘id eš-šamâsî*, “the feast of the umbrellas.” The *šabâb* (young men), assemble in parties, and each one plays, dances and sings on its way. In the crowd many flags are carried, coming from different *awliâ* of the city and the surrounding villages. Every flag has its adherents. Thus we see the flags of *eš-šêḥ ‘Âtif*³, *eš-šêḥ Qazzâz*⁴,

¹ The writing is also worked in gold thread.

² ZDPV XXXII, 214.

³ The *qaiym* of *eš-šêḥ* Djarrâḥ.

⁴ This and the preceding come from Jerusalem.

'Alī eš-Šarīf', from Nabī Šamwīl, etc. The banner of en-nabī Dāhūd and that of the Mosque of Omar are always seen in this procession. They accompany that of the prophet Moses, until the procession reaches Rās el-'Amūd. Slowly the procession advances and after two or three hours reaches Rās el-'Amūd, where the Mayor of Jerusalem and the other members of the Municipality welcome it. The Municipality invites many guests for this occasion. After refreshments are served the banner is carefully folded and the dignitaries continue their journey in automobiles or carriages. Part of the crowd follows slowly, but the greater part return to Jerusalem.

Every day of the feast the number of the visitors increases. They come generally in the following order²:

Arrival	Group	Departure
Thursday	Coffee-house keepers and some merchants	Friday after eight days
Friday	The servants of the Prophet Moses and some merchants	Thursday
Saturday	The 'Idwān tribe	Monday or Tuesday
Sunday	The different flags of Jerusalem ('Āṭīf, Qazzāz, etc.)	Thursday
Monday	The Hebronites, the banner of the <i>ṣabāb</i> of Jerusalem and that of Nāblus	Wednesday
Tuesday	The Bedouin of ed-Diūk	Wednesday
Wednesday	The inhabitants of Jericho	Wednesday

A man who comes for one day is called *ṣabbāhī*, while one who spends only one night in the sanctuary is known by the name *baiyātī*. The former comes in the morning and returns home in the afternoon, while the latter arrives generally in the afternoon, spends the night and leaves during the next day.

The Hebronites leave Hebron Saturday and encamp in the Baq'ah, just south-west of Jerusalem. The next day they enter Jerusalem by the Jaffa Gate in a long procession, singing, dancing and playing *sêf u turs*. A multitude of spectators assemble to witness the event.

¹ The *qaiym* of el-Ḥaḍrā (Nāblus).

² This order was given me by several persons, who go every year to the sanctuary, since they are servants of the Prophet.

Through the old city they continue their march until they enter el-Haram by Bâb el-Maḥkameh. They pass the night in the mosque area and early the next day leave for the shrine. It is customary that before such a procession reaches a village they send a *radjdjâd* to the village to announce their coming. At once as many of the inhabitants as are able go out to meet the procession, taking along their banner and 'iddeh. Often the newcomers are invited to take some food.

All *saiyârât* leave Jerusalem for Nebî Mûsâ with great pomp and monotonous music; the procession is headed by the banner. As soon as they pass Gethsemane they furl the banner and march slowly and quietly. As soon as they are in sight of the shrine of the Prophet they rearrange their group, unfurl the banner and begin the formal procession again. First they raise small heaps of stones as *qanâṭir*¹, and recite the *fâtihah*. The dervish who heads the procession sends one of his followers to announce their coming to the other dervishes who are already in Nebî Mûsâ. This messenger is called *nadjdjâb*. His master binds a *mandil* around his neck to be untied only by the *šêh* who welcomes him at the sanctuary. This *nadjdjâb* runs directly to the *maqâm*, all the time beating his *naqqârah* (a sort of a small drum). As soon as he reaches the building all the dervishes, to whatever *ṭariqah* they may belong, go out to welcome him, and the oldest dervish unties the *mandil* from his neck, reciting the *fâtihah* at the same time. This *šêh* orders all *saiyârât* and 'idad to welcome the new-comers.

First the *mazâr* of er-Râ'î is visited and then the crowd proceeds to the Nebî. As soon as the outer court is reached, the procession advances very slowly, while their enthusiasm increases. All the way to er-Râ'î and to the Nebî gun shots are fired in order to increase the enthusiasm and to proclaim their coming. This custom is no longer allowed.

Processions are generally arranged in the following way: The banner-bearer goes ahead, followed by the musicians. Then follow some young men of the party, encircling their leader and dancing according to the tempo given by him. Every dance is accompanied by singing. The leader recites a strophe and the others repeat it.

¹ We find such heaps of stones set up by way of witness in patriarchal days: Gen. 31 44-58; Joshua 4 1-8 and 9-11.

He swings a sword, a stick or a handkerchief in the air and dances with them, thus giving the tempo. Sometimes all or part of the musicians are seen in the circle. While singing and dancing the party clap their hands in a rhythmical way. This clapping of the hands may be met with in all seasons of great mirth and rejoicing¹ and both performers and audience never seem to weary of this simple, but universal amusement.² They proceed slowly until they reach the *maqâm*. Some of the women spectators welcome the party with *zaghârît*, or short songs ending with a shrill tongue-rattling.

It is very interesting to note that the above description of this procession resembles in many a way the joyful processions described in the Bible. Singing, dancing and clapping of the hands, the use of musical instruments and the participation of all classes are the same to day as they were thousands of years ago; cf. 2 Sam. 6 5 ff., 2 Kings 11 12, etc. The description in Ezek. 25 6 and 7 resembles very much the *sahdjeh* dance to be described later: "Thou hast clapped thine hands, and stamped with the feet, and rejoiced in heart."³

The most important sorts of dances are the *sahdjeh* and the *dabkeh*. A *dabkeh* may consist of the following varieties: *ṭaiyârah*, *šamâliyeh*, *'ardjah*, *fîhîyeh*, *qarrâdiyeh*, *sab'âwiyyeh* and *matlûteh*. Clapping the hands and stamping the feet may accompany any one of these dances. In many cases, either instead of a dance, or following the dancing group, another party plays the *sêf u turs*. Each of two persons who occupy the centre of the group is armed with a sword and a small shield. While their friends clap their hands and sing around them, these two pretend to attack one another, advancing, retreating, kneeling on one leg, standing up, bending to the right or to the left, swinging the sword in different directions all the time. From time to time they strike their sword on their own shield or on that of their opponent. Sword strokes are delivered rhythmically so that the sound follows a regular measure. Some of the songs used in this play as well as in dancing will be given below.

¹ In wedding processions, welcoming a friend home from a foreign country, at the release of young men from their military service, etc., such rejoicing takes place.

² James Neil, *Palestine Life*, p. 133.

³ Clapping of the hands is also used in scorn, contempt, mourning and grief.

The musical instruments which are used are the following:

<i>ṭabl</i>	drum
<i>kās (kāsāt)</i>	kettle-drum
<i>mizhar</i>	kind of lute
<i>šabbābeh</i>	flute
<i>arghūl</i>	
<i>nāyeh</i>	long flute
<i>zummārah</i>	fife
<i>midjwiz</i>	fife with two tubes
<i>dirbakkeh</i>	kind of drum
<i>nōbeh</i>	very large drum

The rhythm played by the *ṭabl* and *kāsāt* has nearly always a meaning: Some examples are:

<i>allāh</i>	<i>allāh</i>	<i>allāh</i>	<i>haiy</i>				—				—
<i>dā-ym</i>	<i>dā-ym</i>			—			—				
<i>qai-yūm</i>	<i>qai-yūm</i>				—			—			

In the case of *allāh* alone the *ṭabl* are allowed to vibrate, while one is turned slowly on the other, and the last syllable is given by a strong beat. The banners are of green, white or red cloth, with Quranic verses, the name of the saint to whom they belong, or names of God inscribed on them. The inscription is made by sewing cloth bands of different colours on the flag itself.

Some of the writings on banners are:

1. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no God but Allah; Mohammed is God's apostle.

2. On the banner of Nebi Mūsā:

- a) on one side: the above mentioned Mohammedan creed
- b) on the other side:

وكلّم الله موسى تكليما ١٣٠٩

God spake with Moses discoursing with him 1309

3. The banner of Bêt Sûrik:

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
نصر من الله وفتح مبين
مددك يا سيدي احمد البدوي

In the name of the most merciful God!
Assistance from God and a sure victory!
Your help, O my lord Aḥmad el-Badaẓ!

4. On the banner of eš-šēḥ Djâbir en-Na'na':

لي سادة من عزهم اقدامهم فوق الحياة
ان لم اكن منهم في في حبهم عز وجاه

I have masters whose power
(and) whose bravery are supernatural.
Although I am not one of them,
(I derive from) their love power and dignity.

5. On a second banner of the same šēḥ:

لا اله الا الله
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
سيدي احمد الرفاعي ولي الله
قد نشر الله سره العزيز

There is no God but Allâh.

In the name of the most merciful God, there is no God but
Allâh and Mohammed is God's Apostle.
Our Lord Aḥmad er-Rifâ'i is the Friend of God.
God has proclaimed his wonderful Mystery.

6. Seen at Nebî Rûbîn festivals:

ابو بكر عمر
لا اله الا الله ومحمد
رسول الله

علي عثمان
Abû Bakr 'Omar
There is no God but Allâh, and Mohammed
is God's Apostle.

'Ali 'Otmân

7. Banner of eš-šēḥ Aḥmad el Fâleḥ:

ابو طلحة سعد
جدده الفقير احمد
القالح خليفة الحضرة
الأحمدية
زبير سعيد

Abû Ṭalḥah

Sa'd

It was renewed by the poor (for
God's help) Aḥmad el-Fâliḥ the
successor of Mohammed's excellency

Zubeir

Sa'id

8. Another banner of the same *ṣêḥ*:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
وقل الحمد لله الذي لم يتخذ ولدا ولم
يكن له شريكا في الملك ولم يكن له ولي

In the name of the most merciful God!

And say, Praise be unto God, who hath not begotten any
child; who hath no partner in the kingdom, nor hath
any to protect him (Sûrah 17, last verse).

9. Seen in Rûbîn (1924):

ابو بكر
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله
واذا عزمت توكلت على الله
سيدنا الخضر عليه السلام
عثمان علي

Abû Bakr

'Omar

In the name of the most merciful God!

There is no God but Allâh:

If I resolve (to do something) I trust on God.

Our Lord el-Ḥaḍr, peace be upon him.

'Oṭmân

'Ali

The staff (*ez-zâneh*), on which the banner is fastened, often has on its upper end a metal piece which is worked in one of the forms shown in the accompanying plate. A study of the different forms—which are generally called *hlâl* (crescent)—indicates the following grouping:

1. The representation of a weapon (spear). Nos. 1, 2 and 3.
2. The representation of the hand (Nos. 6, 7). Number 8 may also be counted to this group, while number 15 shows the holy number seven.
3. Different forms representing the development of the moon. Nos. 4, 5, 9, 10, 16, 17, 18, 20. No. 21 has the inscription لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله in the moon. Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, which look like a sphere or a circle, may be classified under this head, although they may also be explained as the representation of the terrestrial globe.

These signs are common in popular superstition, we meet with them in magic formulas and popular medicine.¹

Some of the villages having an *'iddeh*, which is generally brought to visit the Nebî, are: Bêt Iksâ, En-Nabî Şamwîl, Biddû, Bêt 'Anân Bêt Duquh, Bêt Sûrik, Abû Ghôş, el-Êsâwîyeh, Silwân, ed-Diûk, Jericho, etc. I was told that the Bedouin tribes el-Idwân, el-Ka'âbneh, etc., do not bring an *'iddeh* or a flag with them.

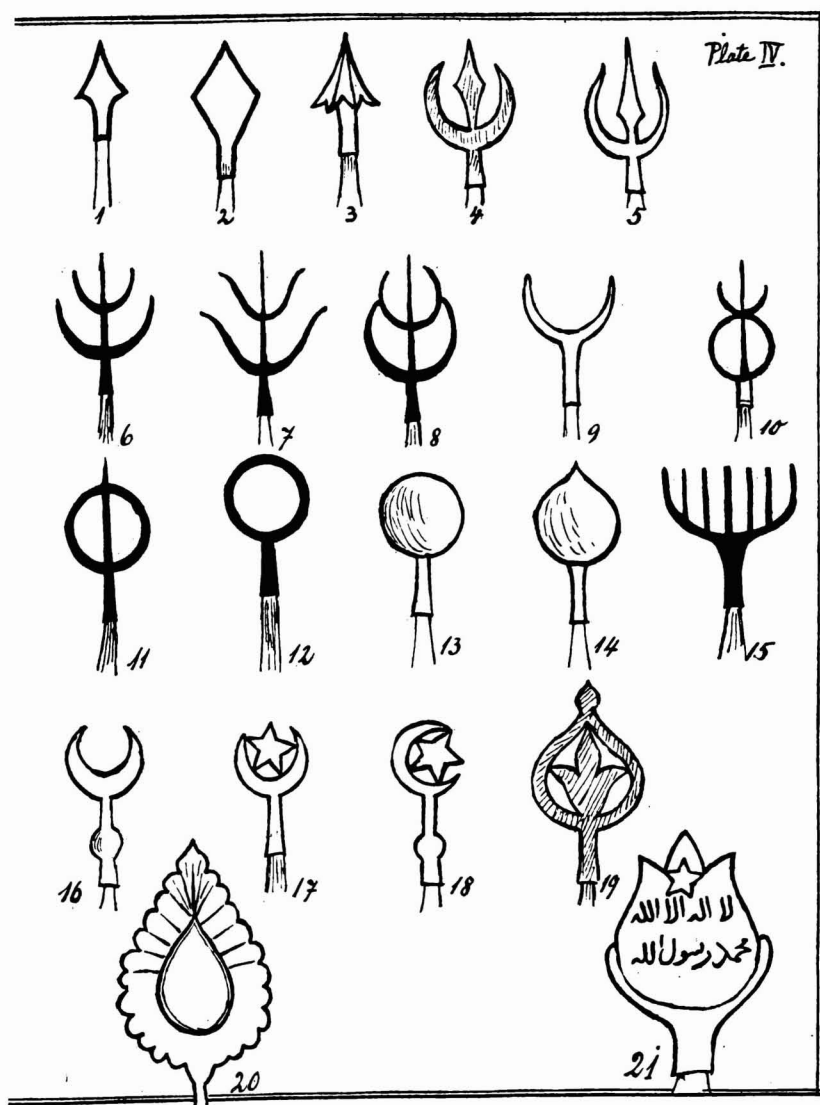
The servants of the Prophet, *huddâm en-Nabî*, i. e., those who have the different positions in this place, are: The Huseinî, Yûnis, Qlêbô and the Bazbazeh families. These families are not, as Curtiss says, "priestly."² They have absolutely no religious tinge. Each of the first two has a kitchen (*maţbah*) in which an enormous quantity of food is cooked and distributed to the visitors twice daily. The banner bearers are members of the Qlêbô, while the *muaddîn* comes from the Bazbazah family. The last have also the right to light the *maqâm*. The muftî of Jerusalem must lead the procession. All of these "servants" are proud of the honour bestowed on their families in serving Kalîm Allâh.

Every day about one *quntâr* (300 kg) of meat is cooked by the Huseinî family and about the same by the Yûnis. This meat is cooked in large vessels belonging to the *maqâm*. At the same time a great quantity of rice is prepared as *ruzz mfalfal*.³ *Yahâneh* (pl. of *yahneh*) are also cooked. *Yahnet fûl* (broad beans), *y. başal*

¹ *Aberglaube*, pp. 58, 64, 84, 94 and 95.

² Curtiss, chapter XVI.

³ Not *muşfilîl*, as Kahle says in *PJB* VIII, 172.



onions), *y. mlühnyeh* (garden mallow¹), *y. beḏindjān* (egg-plant), etc. are the most important dishes. By *yahneh* cooked vegetables with meat and *samneh* is understood. Every day two public meals, dinner and supper, are prepared. When the food is ready the visitors come

¹ *Corchorus olitorius* (Hava).

and take their share. Generally they unite in small groups and a representative of each group receives the food. Bread is also distributed. It is a densely crowded mass that awaits the time of distribution. Every one carries a vessel and tries to be one of the first, pushing, elbowing and shouting. Many visitors who prefer to cook themselves receive their share as *hardj nāsif*, i. e., raw meat and uncooked rice. Well-known families cooking their own food may receive the cooking vessels from the *matbah*, while others must give surety (*rahn*).

The animals, mostly sheep, are killed in a special place, outside the sanctuary, on the way to the carriage road. Even a person who has vowed a *dbihah* for Nebi Māsā generally kills it in this place. In doing so a special formula is used, namely: *minnak u ilēk adjr u tawāb la-saydnā Mūsā*, "From Thee and to Thee (O God) may it be counted as recompence and reward for our lord Moses." Very often the following sentence is added: *itqabbal midrak yā Kalim Allāh*, "Accept your vow, O Interlocutor of God." The meat is either distributed to those present, at the time of slaughtering, or it is sent to one of the two kitchens of the sanctuary, to be cooked with the other food and then distributed to the *zuwār*. The offerer always keeps a good portion out for himself and his friends. The enormous expenses of these seven days are met with by the income of the Prophet's *waqf*.

The rooms, courtyard and a great area surrounding the building are crowded with visitors. It is a very picturesque, interesting and instructive sight to observe the different faces, costumes, manners, games and other characteristics of this mass. Peasants, half-Bedouin and Bedouin mix with people of Jerusalem, Nāblus and Hebron. A close student of the country easily distinguishes one type from the other. With the exception of the city women, who keep the rooms most of the time or stand on the open veranda of the second story, all female visitors take part in the activities of the men, with whom they mix continually. All are dressed in their best clothes, which exhibit every colour of the rainbow. The number of the pilgrims is at times enormous, and it reaches its climax on Monday and Tuesday. After this time many begin to leave. During all this time, excepting the first day (when nobody goes home) and the last day (when nobody comes any more to the sanctuary) there is a constant going and

beads, earthenware pitchers, jars and pots, booklets, tracts and *hidjâbât*, tobacco, match-boxes, candles, and many other things. While many have their merchandise placed on improvised wooden shelves, others spread their goods on a strip of cloth on the ground (*imbassit*, pl. *imbassîin*). All day and far into the night they stand tirelessly, each trying to outshout his neighbour in praising his articles. Outside the courtyard herds of sheep are brought for sale. Any one who has to offer a *dbîḥah* may buy the animal here. Many bring their offerings with them.

Outside the building there are always coffee-houses, made of rough tentcloth. Low Arabic stools welcome the customers. Coffee, lemonade and *argîleh* may be ordered, and it is not without interest to sit here, especially in the evening, and observe the life and the activities of the crowd, while a phonograph plays monotonous melodies. A shadow theatre (*qaraqôz*) attracts the attention of passers-by and entices them to enter. *Sandûq el-'adjam* is also much visited, especially by children, peasants and Bedouin. It is an oblong box decorated outside with small bells, mirrors, glass balls, pictures and flowers, and resting on a small chair. In front it has small holes through which the spectators look at a roll of pictures hidden in the center, and turned so that the observer may follow the story, which is recited in a quick monotonous manner by the operator. One may also spend his time playing cards (*ṣaddeh* or *waraq*) and *tâwleh* (tric-trac, backgammon).

Outside in the fields parties come together and spend their time with horse-racing (*sbâq*), *djarîd* (mock fight, with long straight branches, where the best player is the one who throws his stick farthest), etc. The last game may also be played on horse-back. Peasants and citizens try to compete with the Bedouin, but rarely show the skill of the latter, who guide their graceful Arab mares with much ease. In another game the players divide themselves into two parties. A Bedouin of the first party, holding the reins of his mare in one hand, and his rifle in the other, gallops at full speed and tries to overthrow his opponent of the second party, or to cut off his retreat. If he succeeds his opponent is captured, but if he is caught, or only touched by the man of the second party, he must go with him. The rest of the captured man's party try to release him by rushing and touching him.

Nor should we pass over the religious observances of these days. As soon as the *muaddin* calls to prayer most of the people answer the call. It is all the same where they pray: in the *maqâm*, *djâmi'*, a room, or outside in a tent. From time to time a *dîkr* is held. A *šêh* with a good voice recites part of the Qoran in a melodious chant. All present keep absolutely quiet; no talking, smoking or coffee-drinking is allowed. I once attended such a *dîkr* at Nebî Mûsâ and found it quite edifying to see how devotionally all listened.

Circumcision is very common in these days and at this holy place, and one may observe daily several such performances. The child is dressed in new silk clothes, and is decorated with golden chains, buttons, etc. to the extent allowed by his father's purse. Of course a blue bead, *hidjâb*, *mašhaş*, alum or other amulet are never forgotten, in order that he may be protected against the evil effects of the "eye" (*'ên*), or "soul" (*nafs*). A child is more subject on the occasion of circumcision to the action of these supernatural powers than at other times.¹ The parents, relatives, friends and neighbours present accompany the child in his procession, which begins in a turn around the building. A band or a group of dancers are hired. All sing as loud as they can. The women relatives may show their joy by trilling *zagharît*.² The boy, who suspects nothing of the pains to come, enjoys the whole performance hugely. As soon as this party reaches the door leading to the courtyard the boy dismounts and is carried by his father or his nearest male relative. The music plays louder and the singing is more enthusiastic. At the window of the *maqâm* the drums play fortissimo and the shouting increases. Amidst an excited crowd the barber—who is the professional surgeon—performs the small operation with the utmost skill. No local anaesthetic is used, nor are aseptic or antiseptic measures taken, and dozens of children are circumcised with the same knife. For this reason many wounds become septic, and cause much trouble. Hadj Aḥmad el-Ḥallâq and his sons enjoy the reputation of great skill in the speciality of circumcision. The cry of the patient during the operation is drowned by the music. The barber receives his fee,

¹ *Aberglaube*, p. 31.

² I have never heard the expression "*olooleh*" used by J. Neil on pages 81 and 143 of his *Palestine Life*. *Tahlîl*, *zagharît* and *wolwâl* are not identical, as he writes.

which depends upon the ability and generosity of the father of the child and ranges between one *medjidi* and one pound. It is not called fee (*udjrah*) but *ikrāmīyeh* (sign of honour). Some poor persons are circumcised gratis by the barber as an *adjr* (recompence). Because of such a charitable act he believes that the Prophet will bless him here and in the world to come. After the whole party returns the wound is dressed with dried plants powdered and sometimes mixed with oil taken from the lamps of the *maqâm*. Many believe that the latter alone is best cure. At present the barber sometimes uses a drying antiseptic powder.

Most of the songs repeated during the ceremony of circumcision, as well as during dancing and *sêf u turs* have nothing to do with the Prophet Moses, but are common songs used on any occasion. Many songs which are really in praise of Mohammed are sung during these days. Here I shall give a few songs connected directly with Moses.

1.

*yâ zuwâr Mûsâ*¹
*sîrû*² *bit-tahlîl*³
*zurnâ n-nabî Mûsâ*⁴
*'uqbâl el-Ḥalîl*⁵

O visitors of Moses,
 March with exultation.
 We have visited the Prophet Moses—
 May it soon be (granted to visit) Abraham.

yâ zuwâr Mûsâ
zûrû bil-'iddeh
zurnâ n-nabî Mûsâ
'uqbâl el-ḥadjdjeh

O visitors of Moses
 Visit (the shrine) with musical instruments.
 We have visited the Prophet Moses
 May it soon be (granted to perform
 the) *ḥadj*.

¹ Variant of Kahle, *PJB* VIII, p. 169. Dalman, *Pal. Diwan*, gives only three verses of this song (p. 158).

² Some use *sîrû* instead of *zûrû*.

³ Kahle omits the article.

⁴ Kahle notes *kalâmak yâ Mûsâ maktûb bil-manṭîl*, "your words, O Moses are written (and kept) in the veil." The above text is more used.

⁵ Still another variant of this verse is:

<i>Zurnâ n-nabî Mûsâ</i>	We have visited the Prophet Moses
<i>'uqbâl el-Ḥalîl</i>	May it soon be granted to visit Abraham.
<i>uṣa'rak yâ Mûsâ</i>	And your hair, O Moses
<i>sâyîl 'al-qandîl</i>	Is flowing over the lamp.

<i>yâ zuwâr Mûsâ</i>	O visitors of Moses,
<i>zûrû bid-darageh</i> ¹	Visit with the shields.
<i>u ša'arak yâ Mûsâ</i>	And your hair, O Moses,
<i>harîr fî waraqah</i>	(is like) silk (wrapped) in paper.
<i>yâ zuwâr</i> ²	O visitors,
<i>zûrû bil-'alâm</i>	Visit with the flags.
<i>zurnâ</i>	We have
<i>u 'alêh es-salâm</i>	Peace be upon him.
<i>yâ zuwâr</i>	O visitors
<i>tihtû sâlmîn</i>	You went down peacefully (safely),
<i>yâ zuwâr</i>	O visitors
<i>truddû sâlmîn</i>	May you return in peace (safely).

2.

<i>'alâ bir Zamzam itwadâ</i>	At the well of Zamzam the Prophet
<i>en-nabî</i> ³	washed himself (ritually)
<i>bibrîq fidâh u šamî' yindawî</i>	With a silver pitcher and lighted candles.
<i>'alâ bir Zamzam itwadâ</i>	At the well of Zamzam the Apostle
<i>er-rasûl</i> ³	washed himself (ritually)
<i>bibrîq fidâh u šamî' u</i>	With a silver pitcher and candles and
<i>bahhûr</i>	incense.
<i>yallî bna-bitak yâ nabî</i>	Through (the power of) your prophecy,
	O Prophet,
<i>fî djanb bêtak 'aš'aš el-</i>	The Muṣṭafâ made his nest near your
<i>Muṣṭafâ</i> ³	house.
<i>kûnî huwânûh yâ ndjûm</i>	Be his brothers (i. e. companions), O stars
<i>es-samâ</i>	of heaven!
<i>kûnî hanîyeh yâ ṭariq en-</i>	Be joyful, O way (leading to the sanc-
<i>nabî</i>	tuary) of the Prophet.
<i>zibdeh ṭariyeh taḥt idjrên</i>	(Be as soft as) fresh butter under the
<i>ez-zuwâr</i>	feet of the visitors!
<i>massîk bil-hêr yâ Mûsâ yâ</i>	Good evening, O Moses, O son of
<i>ibn 'Amrân</i>	'Amrân,

¹ Not *bidereke* as Kahle notes it, but with *el* and *q* (instead of *k*). It means "shield" and not "slowly;" see *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* I, 645.

² The two next verses are not mentioned by Kahle.

³ The Prophet Mohammed is meant.

yallî tqûm min manâmak O thou who dost arise from thy sleep
*tišbih el-ghuzlân*¹ resembling gazelles.²

3.

el-'urs mâ hû farhah The marriage festival is not a (real) joy,
walâ thûr eš-šubân Nor (is that of) the circumcision of boys;
*mâ farhah illâ*³ *ziyâret* There is no (real) joy except visiting
*Mûsâ*⁴ Moses—

'alêh eš-šalâh wis-salâm Peace and prayer be upon him.⁵
lôlâk yâ Mûsâ mâ dînâ If it was not you, O Moses, we would
*walâ*⁶ *t'annênâ* not have come and taken this trouble,
walâ dahasnâ el-hișâ walâ And we would not have treaded the
*er-ramil bi-idjrênâ*⁷ small stones and the sand with our feet.
*massik*⁸ *bil-hêr yâ Mûsâ yâ* Good evening, O Moses, O son of 'Amrân.
ibn 'Amrân
yâ sâkin el-Ghôr u blâd Thou who livest in the Jordan valley
*Hôrân.*⁹ and in Haurân.¹⁰

Some short sayings connected with Moses are:

*yâ ibn 'Amrân harrik il-mizân*¹¹ O son of 'Amrân move the balance.
*halâwit en-nabî*¹² *Mûsâ* } *ba-* The sweets of the Prophet Moses } are a
ṭamar " " } *ra-* " dates " " " " } blessing
lêmûn " " } *keh* " lemons " " " " }

Some beggars shout continually:

anâ illî 'asîdî el-kalîm My lord the Interlocutor owes me
ka'keh u ma'mûltên A cake and two almond cakes

¹ Heard from a woman of Mâlḥâ.

² The first part of this song is sung by the pilgrims going to Mecca. I have heard the whole song used by N. Mûsâ visitors.

³ *Mâ—illâ* is more correct than *walâ* alone, as mentioned by Kahle.

⁴ Many substitute for Mûsâ, *en-nabî*, which points to Mohammed.

⁵ Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 168.

⁶ *Mâ—walâ* is more correct than *walâ* alone.

⁷ Many go barefooted to the sanctuary, thinking that such an act brings a greater blessing.

⁸ Not *mâsik*, which means "holding," as Kahle has.

⁹ I. e., "the one who is found everywhere."

¹⁰ Kahle, VIII, 169.

¹¹ Kahle, l. c.

¹² These sweets are very popular.

With games, songs and ceremonies the week is passed in the most agreeable way. We may consider it as one of the most important family feasts of the Mohammedans of the Jerusalem district, playing the part here that Nebî Rûbîn, Nebî Şâleḥ (Dêr Ghassâneh and also in Ramleh), 'Alî ibn 'Elêm, Ḥasan and Ḥusên take in their respective districts. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor enjoy it and every class finds amusements to satisfy its taste. The student of customs and folklore finds in this feast an excellent opportunity to study the tribal differences, customs, dress, superstitions, etc. I have visited Nebî Mûsâ three times during the *môsam*, spending the night there twice, and visiting the building and surroundings twice outside the festival.

On Thursday (Maundy Thursday) the official return with the banner of the Prophet takes place. Most of the visitors have already left the sanctuary and gone home.¹ As soon as the *siddârî* of the Prophet reaches Râs el-'Amûd the procession begins again. The different banners and '*idad*' which had accompanied the banner in its departure from Jerusalem go out to welcome it back. The *bayâriq* and musical bands of the *şîuḥ* el-Qazzâz, 'Aṭîf, Abû Mâdjîd, Ḥasan, 'Êzariyeh, and other villages together with the banners of en-Nabî Dâhûd, el-Ḥaram, and *eş-şabâb* of Jerusalem, Nâblus and Hebron are to be seen. As the procession moves toward the city one observes the same number of spectators of all classes and groups as watched it leave the city. Music, dances, *sêf u turs*, singing, etc., form the most important feature of the procession. The banners of Nebî Mûsâ and Nebî Dâhûd are carried back to the places where they are kept the rest of the year.

But the end of this day does not mark the end of Nebî Mûsâ. On Friday the Ḥaram enclosure is crowded with people celebrating *zaffet el-'alêmât*,² "the procession of the flags." The banners of the

¹ Many of the visitors commemorate their visit to a shrine by writing some verse or prayer on the wall of the sanctuary. The simple formulas have been described. A complicated one, which I have found in 'Okâşeh, is *اودعت في هذا المقام الشريف شهادة ان لا اله الا الله وأشهد ان محمدا رسول الله شهادة القاها يوم القيامة أتضرع الى الحق جلّ شأنه بان يغفر لي وبرحمته ويعفو عني ويتوفاني على الايمان بجاه سيدنا محمد صلعم وبجاه سيدنا عكاشة صاحب رسول الله*

² Really "small flags."

Şahrah and those of Mohammed are carried after the midday prayer in a great procession from el-Aqşâ to es-Şahrah. The Quṭb family are in charge of this honourable duty. Midway, near el-Kâs, they halt. The olive tree just beside this basin, known as *Zētûnit en-Nabî*,¹ is believed to become animated at this time, when Mohammed and his *şahâbeh* visit the mosque area and live in the tree.² Under this tree the banners are held and it is believed that the branches bend down to honour them. A representative of the family el-Quṭb ascends the *manbar* (marble pulpit) just above the stairs leading from el-Kâs to the platform of the Mosque of Omar and receives the flags, which he wraps in a silken cloth (*buqḍjeh*) and carries back to their resting place in the Şahrah. The participants in the procession of the flags are wildly enthusiastic, but no dancing or *sêf u turs* take place.

On this and the next day most of the Nebî Mûsâ pilgrims leave Jerusalem. One *'iddeh* after the other leaves the city and goes home. In every case a small procession with the *şêh* the banner-bearer, the musicians and some followers is formed. While the *saîyârât* of the villages go home they stop at or even march around every important *welî* whose sanctuary they pass. Every time a *saîyârah* approaches a *welî* the *fâtîhah* is recited, the band plays, the *bêraq* is lowered in honour of the *welî* and the procession stops. They believe that honour shown to these men of God will be counted to them as an *adîr*.³

The shrines of the native village are also visited one by one, while the inhabitants of the village go out to welcome the pilgrims home, and make the day a feast.

While the Nebî Mûsâ feast is the largest *môsam*, there are others of equal rank and still others of less importance. The fact that makes Nebî Mûsâ so important is that several shrines have their *môsam* or *ziyârah* at the same time or a week later. The following list gives some of the more important *mawâsim*:

¹ The old tree has nearly dried up. Three new ones have been planted around its remains.

² Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 87.

³ Once the *'iddeh* of Şaṭâf passed Dêr Yâsîn, as it was going to Nebî Mûsâ. As it did not pay the usual honours to *es-şêh* Yâsîn, i. e., it did not stop to play the music, nor did the attendants read the *fâtîhah*, the *welî* obliged them in a miraculous way to go back and to perform this duty.

Name of <i>welî</i>	Location	Date of festival
Nabi Şâleh	Dêr Ghassâneh	<i>Djum'et el-'Alêmât</i>
Nabi Şâleh	Ramleh	Friday next to <i>Djum'et el-'Alêmât</i>
Nabi Aiyûb (called Ibriyet Aiyûb)	near ed-Djôrah	Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday of Nebî Mûsâ week
el-Husên	near ed-Djôrah	Wednesday of Nebî Mûsâ feast
en-Nabî 'Annîr	Benî Hârit	<i>Djum'et el-'Alêmât</i>
'Alî ibn 'Alêm	N. of Jaffa	During the melon season (the feast is called <i>Môsâm el-Haram</i>)
en-Nabî Rûbîn	Nahr Rûbîn, S. of Jaffa	In the lunar month falling in August-September
en-Nabî Aiyûb	Râs ibn Simhân	Wednesday of the Nebî Mûsâ feast
en-Nabî Kafl	Between Dêr Târf and Wilhelma	14th of Şa'bân
el-Haḍr	Lydda (known as 'Îd Lidd)	
el-Haḍr	Haifa (Carmel)	
ez-Zarqâ	Spring between Dêr Ghassâneh and 'Abûd	With 'Îd Lidd ¹
eş-şeh I'mar	Bêt Duqquh	<i>Djum'et el-'Alêmât</i>
Ibrâhîm el-Hauwâs	Dêr Ghassâneh	Ḥamis eṭ-Ṭal'ah ²
el-Haḍrâ	Nâblus	'Aşûrah

During the festival of Nebî Rûbîn the people gather in great numbers at the river which bears this name. The festival extends over one month, beginning with the new moon of August. During the full

¹ Some Christian saints have also a *môsâm*. *Mâr* Djirius and *mâr* Eliâs enjoy only one day, while in the case of St. Mary several days are spent in amusement.

² In this day the animals are dyed.

moon nights the place is most popular. The number of visitors to en-Nabî Rûbîl¹ exceeds that of en-Nabî Mûsâ. More coffee-houses and shops are erected. The plain around, especially that to the N. W. of the sanctuary, is full of tents. The pilgrims come principally from Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh and the surrounding villages. It is a picturesque sight to see a small caravan of camels carrying a whole family with the necessary household equipment for spending several days or a few weeks at this place. The sanctuary itself is a small building composed of the shrine proper with the tomb (1,75 m. long by 1 m. broad), a small room east of it and a *ruwâq* with three arches open to the north, with a *mihrâb*. A minaret is connected with it. The whole complex is surrounded by a wall, which encloses a few trees.

Nebî Rûbîn and 'Alî ibn 'Alêm are the summer feasts of the inhabitants of the plain — so much so that it is related that the Jaffa Mohammedan women say to their husbands: *yâ bitrobinnî yâ bittalliqnî*, "Either you take me to Rûbîn or you divorce me," or *yâ bitrobinnî yâ babrik*, "Either you take me to Rûbîn or I give you your freedom (divorce you)."

Many local feasts are connected with smaller shrines. On Friday the last day of the Nebî Mûsâ feast (*dj. el-'Alêmât*) most of the important shrines of the villages are visited by the inhabitants. The afternoon is spent in the fields around the sanctuaries and many unpaid vows are fulfilled.

In some districts, like Nâblus, most of the great saints, especially el-Ḥaḍrâ, are visited in Lêlat 'Ašûrah and on the next afternoon, while the *zyârah* of the less important shrines is performed on Saturday. This last is true of:

eš-šêḥ	Moḥammad	es-Sabtî	} all situated in the eastern cemetery
"	"	es-Safârînî	
"	"	el-Baqqânî	
"	"	el-'Aqrabânî	
"	"	el-Buḥârî	

¹ Both *Rûbîn* and *Rûbîl* are pronounced. On the tomb there is a writing which reads:

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
وروييل نبي الله

On many shops we may find the following sentence heading the announcement:

مخصوص لزوار النبي رويين

Another custom prevailing in Palestine among the Mohammedans may be described in this connection. I have no doubt that it is found wherever Moslems live. It is of importance for two reasons: 1. it is a popular feast of the women; 2. it shows the relation of the living to the dead. Even the Mohammedan books of theology advise one to visit the dead. According to *Râqî el-Falâh*¹ the dead are aware of these visits, especially on a Thursday, and the days preceding and succeeding it. Every Thursday afternoon the relatives of the dead, especially of those who have died during the year, go to the cemetery, sit around the grave and read some parts of the Qorân. But of all Thursdays, *Ĥamîs el-Amwât*, "the Thursday of the Dead" (also known as *dj. el-Amwât*), is the most important. It lies fourteen days before Good Friday of the Eastern Church. On this Thursday some take with them dyed eggs, sweets, cakes and even cooked food and meat. The peasants prefer taking dried raisins and figs. The greater part is distributed to the poor, as an *adjr* (recompence). That is, just as help is given to the needy in the name of the deceased, God will reckon such an act in his favour. In some villages the women go before sunrise to the cemetery, believing that a visit after this time is not so good. Soon after sunrise they come home. The children of the peasants go on Thursday afternoon to the houses of their neighbours and beg *a'tûnî bêḍah 'an rûḥ amwâtikum*, "give me an egg for the (sake) of the soul of your dead." Those in the house give an egg, dried figs, raisins or a piece of bread. The children express their thanks with the words: *allâh yirḥamhum*, "God be merciful unto them." This day therefore bears also the name *Ĥamîs el-Bêḍ* (Thursday of Eggs).

Ĥamîs el-Amwât is a feast day of the women. The visiting of the dead is in most cases very superficial, and the time is actually spent in good company out in the fresh air. No men mix with the women, except in Hebron, where the young unmarried and betrothed girls go to the cemetery of eš-Šuhadâ and dance. Unmarried men are allowed to look on from a respectful distance.

8. PROCESSIONS

The word "processions" is not used here in the sense of pilgrimages to a *welî*, as already described above, but only *twâf* performed in

¹ Aḥmad et-Taḥtâwî, p. 608.

or around a holy place and only on special occasions. Apparently there are only two types belonging under this heading, circumcision and rain processions.

I. Circumcision Processions

I have above described the custom of taking the child to be circumcised around the whole building of Nebî Mûsâ. The same thing is done in most villages. Thus the people of 'Anâtâ take the child out to the sanctuary of 'Abd es-Salâm. All friends and relatives, of both sexes, accompany the child, who is dressed in his best clothes. He sits either alone, or in front of his father on a beautifully decorated horse. The *šabâb* join in singing, dancing and playing *sêf u turs*, while the local band of music plays. The child is always adorned on this occasion with several amulets, which are supposed to protect him from the evil eye. The procession advances very slowly. After going around the *maqâm* of *eš-šêh* 'Abd es-Salâm where all recite the *fatihâh*, the whole crowd goes back to *eš-šêh* Šâleh. The small operation is performed in the courtyard of the *maqâm*. The procession is not called *twâf* but *zaffet et-ṭhûr*. *Twâf* is the name given to the procession around the *maqâm*.

Such processions are found in most villages, but they do not necessarily accompany every circumcision. The most important *welî* is chosen. It is believed that the saint will look favourably at this act and will certainly bless the child. We have seen elsewhere that many mothers vow to have their children circumcised in a special *maqâm*. In such cases a *zaffeh* also takes place. Sometimes the bridegroom must visit the *awliâ* of his village.¹ Such a visit is also accompanied with most of the ceremonies just described.

A procession may also be made in the case of the death of a person who is the descendent of a family of *šîûh*, who are connected with a *welî*. If the dead person lived in another village than that in which the principal *šêh* of his family lives, this procession will

¹ In Bêt Djâlâ we hear the following verse, which points to the custom of taking the bridegroom to a shrine:

yâ mâr Djîrius wiḥnâ el-yôm zuwâarak
djinâ inzaîyn el-'ursân fî maqâmak.

O St. George, we are today your visitors,
 and have come to shave (and thus to beautify) the bridegrooms in your shrine.

take place. It is a quiet one. The company, headed by the *šēh*, moves slowly to the village of the defunct. They are preceded by a person who announces their coming, who carries a *bāzeh* (a small drum) on which he plays all the way, abstaining completely from conversation. As soon as he reaches the house of the dead person all those assembled stand up and say *lā ilāh illā allāh*. Some go at once to meet the procession, whose *ʿiddeh* plays the same tune all the way. Such a procession is never called *zaffeh*.

II. Rain processions

Processions of this category¹ are practiced everywhere in Palestine, by Mohammedans, Christians and Jews, each in his own way. Only those of the Moslems interest us here, and the customs of the Christians will only be mentioned to complete the study, as well as for the sake of comparison.

The success of the whole year's work of the peasant, his entire agricultural life, even his existence depend upon the amount of rain which falls during the winter months. The *fellāh* studies the clouds and the signs of the sky; he examines the direction from which the wind comes, in order to be able to foretell the rain. His observations have led him to fix many weather rules. But when heaven holds back its blessing, he tries to get the help of the saints to intercede for him with God, for he believes that men's transgressions have caused the wrath of the Almighty:

*min qillit hidānā šār šēfnā šitānā,*² *ilke l'ne, ilke l'ne*

"From the lack of our true religion, our summer has become our winter."

Old and young gather in a procession which marches around the village,³ comes to the *welī* regarded as most important, and goes around it. They enter the *maqām*—in some cases stand only at the door—recite the *fātiḥah*, and sometimes even ascend to the roof of

¹ Canaan, *ZDPV* XXXVI, 266—300; Bauer, *ZDPV* XXXVIII, 54—57; Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, pp. 112—118, with weather rules taken from *Blätter aus Bethlehem*; Canaan, *JPOS* III, 21—35.

² Cf. *ZDPV* XXXVI. This means that the seasons have changed and have thus caused an upheaval in all our work and life.

³ Heard from Abū Dīs, Sūrbāhir and Nebī Šamwīl.

the sanctuary¹ to be nearer to God. They raise their hands to heaven and pray for rain. Imm el-Ghêt, "the Mother of Rain,"² which may be carried all through this procession, is a large, primitively made doll.³ Two pieces of wood are fastened to each other in the form of a cross and are dressed in female attire. It seems to me that originally this expression⁴ referred to the Virgin Mary, but at present it is used vaguely.⁵ The procession ends in front of the head of the village (*šêh el-balad*). The women carry one or more *gharâbîl* (pl. of *ghurbâl*, "grain sieve"), *manâhîl* (pl. of *munhul*,⁶ "flour sieve") and a *tâhûneh*⁷ (hand mill) all the way. These are the most important utensils for preparing bread. All are carried empty to show how poor they are, since they do not even possess the most vital necessities of life.

The statement of Curtiss⁸ that Imm el-Ghêt⁹ is sometimes called '*arûs allâh*, "the bride of God," has been already shown by Jaussen¹⁰ to be groundless. Nor have I ever heard this expression, either from the peasants or from the Bedouin. I am also unable to verify the expression mentioned by Jaussen, *nus̥s̥ 'arûs*, "half bride," which he heard in the Negeb. This custom of carrying a large doll in rain processions is commoner among the Bedouin of Transjordan than among the inhabitants of Palestine Proper. The former dress the wooden framework with better clothes and more ornaments than the peasants of this side of the Jordan. Christians as well as Mohammedans use the expression, although they have no clear idea about its meaning.

¹ Heard from S'ûd Abû Sa'îd from Abû Dîs.

² Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 164.

³ This custom is more common among the Bedouin than among the peasants.

⁴ The hooded crow (*corvus cornix*) is also called in Arabic Umm el-Ghêt (also Zâgh), cf. A. Gustavs, *PJB* VIII, 88. But this expression has apparently nothing to do with Imm el-Ghêt.

⁵ No peasant could tell me exactly who is meant by Umm (Imm) el-Ghêt.

⁶ Not *môhul* with Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 162.

⁷ Not *thûneh* with Kahle.

⁸ Curtiss, l. c., chapter XI.

⁹ In Morocco they carry a well decorated doll through the fields and in a great procession. They think that such an act will give them a good harvest; see Goldziher, *Material zur Kenntnis der Almohadenbewegung*, *ZDMG* 1887, 42.

¹⁰ Jaussen, p. 328.

During all these processions they sing one of the following songs:¹

<i>el-ghêt yâ rabbî</i>	<i>isqî zar'ak el-gharbî?</i>
<i>el-ghêt yâ raḥmân</i>	<i>isqî zar'ak el-'aṭṣân</i>
<i>yâ rabbî bill eš-šâleh</i>	<i>'abîdak fuqarâ u kaiyâleh</i>
<i>yâ rabbî bill eš-šaršûḥ</i> ³	<i>ihnâ 'abîdak wên inrûḥ</i>
<i>yâ rabbî bill eš-šambar</i> ⁴	<i>hâdj et-tudjdjâr titqambar</i>
<i>yâ rabbî šû hal-ghêdah</i>	<i>dju'nâ u akalnâ el-ḥummêdah</i>
<i>yâ rabbî itbill il-mandîl</i>	<i>ihnâ fuqarâ wên inšîl</i>

(Send) the rain, O Lord, and water Thy western grain!

(Send) the rain, O Merciful One, and water Thy thirsty grain!

O Lord, wet the mantle, Thy servants are poor and grain-measures
(obliged to measure their grain)!

O Lord, wet the rags (with which so many are dressed because of
poverty), we are Thy servants wherever we go!

O Lord, wet the head-cloak, put an end to the strutting of the merchants!

O Lord, what is this (Thy) anger, we hunger and eat the woodsorrel!

O Lord, wet the veil, we are poor, where shall we go!

In Bêt Djâlâ I heard:

<i>yâ rabbî lêš hal-ghêbeh</i>	<i>akalnâ 'urûq el-ḥullebeh</i>
<i>yâ rabbî bill eš-šammûṭ</i>	<i>ihnâ 'abîdak biddnâ nmûṭ</i>
<i>yâ rabbî tbill el-qaşr</i>	<i>willâ bnirḥal 'a-Maşr</i> ⁵
<i>yâ rabbî el-maṭar wis-sêl</i>	<i>ta-nisqî el-baqar wil-hêl</i>

O Lord, why this Thy absence, we have eaten the roots of the spurge!

O Lord, wet the spadix (of the plants), we Thy servants, are on the
verge of dying!

¹ Most of these verses have been given in ZDPV XXXVI, 290, 291, while two lines were noted also by Kahle, *PJB*, l. c. The verses given here may be sung separately or together.

² A variation of this is found in Dalman, *Palest. Diwan*, p. 56.

³ Neither *šarmûḥ* (Kahle) nor *šaršûḥ* are known to the lexicographer. A variant of the second line is: *ihnâ fuqarâ wên inrûḥ*, "we are poor; where shall we go?"

⁴ *Šambar* (also *šanbar*, not *šumbar* as noted by Fr. Ulmer, *Südpaläst. Kopfbedeckung*, ZDPV XLI, 113, 114) is a black head-dress with long tassels hanging down from the two sides. It is worn by peasant women in festivals.

⁵ So also the sons of Jacob, had to go to Egypt for the same reason.

O Lord, wet the hut,¹ or we shall (be obliged to) go to Egypt!
 O Lord, (we ask for) the rain and the stream to give our horses
 and cows to drink!²

The following verse is put in the mouth of the shepherd:

*imbû imbû yâ rabbî
 hubzî qaḥmaš fî 'ubbî
 imbû imbû yâ samâ
 hubzî qaḥmaš 'ar-ramâ
 imbû imbû anâ zâmî
 irḥamnî anâ u ḥalâlî.*

Water, water, O Lord,
 My bread has dried in my bosom!
 Water, water, O heaven,
 My bread has dried upon the (garden) walls!
 Water, water, I am thirsty
 Have mercy upon me and my cattle!

In Nebi Šamwil they sing, along with parts of the above, also the following:

*yâ rabbî lēš hal-kanneh wakalnâ 'urûq el-kirsenneh
 yâ rabbî lēš u lēš wakalnâ 'urûq el-ḥurfēš
 yâ rabbî mâ hû minnâ kulluh min mašâyḥnâ
 naššaft el-qaṭr 'annâ*

O Lord, why this calmness (indifference) while we have eaten the
 roots of chick-peas!

O Lord, why, why—and we have eaten the roots of thistles!

O Lord, it is not due to our faults; all is the fault of our elders,
 Thou hast dried (withheld) the rain from us!

A variant from Bêt Iksâ is:

*yâ rabbî lēš hal-qa'deh wakalnâ 'urûq ed-dja'deh
 yâ rabbî yâ rabb en-nâs tisqî zar'nâ el-yabbâs
 yâ rabbî tbill ez-zardeh wiḥnâ wridnâ 'a Yardeh.*

¹ *Qaşr* means "castle" or "palace." Here it stands for the summer lodges of the peasants, built in the vineyards and made of rough stones and brush-wood.

² Other verses may be found in Dalman, *Palest. Diwan*, p. 56—58. Baldensperger gives two verses in his book, *The Immovable East*, p. 256. The transcription is so faulty that the fourth line of the first verse is unintelligible.

O Lord, why this neglect, while we have eaten the roots of the lupine!
 O Lord, O Lord of men, water our drying crops!
 O Lord, wet the thorny bush, and we have gone to drink from (‘Ēn)
 Yerdeh!

Other verses are:

yâ rabbî lēš haṭ-tûleh wakalnâ ṭhûnet inhûleh

O our Lord, why this delay and we have eaten dough of bran!

zûleh ‘annâ yâ šôbeh ḥaraqtnâ haš-šôbeh

Go away from us, O heat—this heat has burnt us.

yâ rabbî yâ ‘auwâd(i) akalnâ šarâr el-wâdî

yâ rabbî yâ ghaiyûr(i) akalnâ šarâr el-bûrî

wil-bêt mâ fihâ walâ ṭaḥneh walâ qirš mašrûr(i)

O my Lord, O Accustomer (Thou who hast accustomed us to Thy gifts), we have eaten the pebbles of the stream-bed!

O my Lord, O Zealous One, we have eaten the pebbles of the uncultivated land!

And the house does not contain even a mess of flour or a wrapped-up piaster.

From the Bedouin of the ‘Idwân I heard the two following verses:

ḥuṭṭ el-qamḥ bidj-djarrah yâ allâh ḥanntak yâ allâh

ḥuṭṭ el-moiyeh bil-ibrîq yâ allâh yâ blûl ir-rîq

Put the corn in the jug, O God, (show) Thy mercy, O God!

Put the water in the pitcher, O God (we beg Thee for) the wetting
 of the spittle.

The following verses are intended to show the bad results of the lack of rain on health, especially that of children and women:

imbû imbû yâ qâdir min el-‘aṭaš mânî qâdir

imbû imbû yâ raḥîm inšifna bzâz el-ḥarîm

imbû imbû yâ ghaiyûr inšifnâ djuwâ ed-dûr

imbû imbû yâ Qaṭrâwy min el-‘aṭaš dġitak zâmî

Water, water, O Almighty, I am weak with thirst!

Water, water, O Merciful One, the breasts of the women have dried up!

Water, water, O Zealous One, we are dry within the houses!

Water, water, O Qaṭrâwy, I am coming to you driven by thirst!

Another is:

yâ rabbî el-ghêṭ yâ raḥîm tirḥam kull el-ḥarîm
*waṭ-ṭifâl el-murđî'ât yâ rabbî nişîf en-nabât*¹

O Lord, (send) the rain, O Merciful One, have pity on all women!
 And suckling babes, O Lord, (for) the plants have dried up.

The children often gather alone, and march through the streets, going around one or more *awliâ*, reciting continually and monotonously a few lines of a song in which God is asked to pity their condition. The old people of the village are accused of having done wrong, but not the children. They take off their head-dress as a sign of humiliation. Generally a great noise is made by beating with sticks on empty petrol tins. Songs used by children at these occasions are:²

yâ rabbî mâ twâḥidnâ kulluh min maşâyhnâ
maşâyhnâ hal-(i)kbâr yâ rabbî tihriqhum bin-nâr.

O Lord, do not blame us, all (evil) is from our elders;
 Our elders, our old ones—O Lord, burn them in hell-fire.

*yâ rabbî yâ rabbunâ tib'at*³ *şitâ lazar'unâ*
*hunn(i) kbâr il-aḡnabû*⁴ *iḥnâ eş-şighâr şû ḡanbunâ.*

O my Lord, O our Lord, send Thou rain for our crops,
 It is the old people who have sinned: we young people—what is
 our sin?

min ḡulm maşâyhnâ nişîf mâ' yanâbi'nâ

For the injustice of our elders, the water of our springs has dried up.

min ḡulum kull eş-şîûḥ ḡjismî min eş-şams maṭbûḥ.

For the injustice of all the elders, my body is baked by the sun.

yâ rabbî yâ ḡhaiyûr(i) inşîfnâ nşâf el-bûrî
lâ twâḥidnâ bil-(i)kbâr(i) walâ (i)bşâhdîni iz-zûri

O Lord, send the rain, O Zealous One; we have become as dry as
 uncultivated land!
 Do not blame us for the (sins of the) old ones, neither for the bearers
 of false witness!

¹ This verse and the one mentioned before are used in 'Aṭarah.

² Cf. Jer. 14 13.

³ Not *tib'a*, as Kahle offers.

⁴ Abbreviated from *illî aḡnabû*.

šorabbanna šorabbanna mâ binrûḥ illâ it-balleh
 haiyâ yâ rabb el-‘ibâd haiyâ sitrak lil-adjwâd
 lâ twâhidnâ biḡ-zullâm wiḥnâ fugarâ mâ bninlâm.

What! O Lord, what! O Lord,¹ we shall not go without a wetting!
Give, O Lord of men, give Thy concealment² for the generous men!
Do not blame us for (the acts of) the unjust, since we are poor and
can not be blamed!

yâ rabbî haraqnâ eš-šôb ramênâ el-ghatâ wit-tôb
lâ twâhidnâ bil-muhtâr ‘an af‘âluh mâ bitûb.³

O my Lord, the heat has burned us; we have thrown away the cover
and the garment.

Do not blame us for (the faults of) the headman of the village; he
will not repent from his evil doings.

yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ ihnâ eṣ-ṣighâr šû danbunâ
talabnâ hubzeh⁴ min umminâ darabatnâ ‘a-tumminâ

O our Lord, O our Lord, we young people—what is our sin?
We asked a piece of bread from our mother—she struck us on our
mouth.

At times even specific families are accused of being the cause of God's anger:

*yâ rabbî tbill el-ghurbâl kulluh min ‘Abd ed-Djabbâr*⁵

O my Lord, wet the sieve; all (the mischief) is from 'Abd . . .

yâ rabbî tbill il-hnâbeh kulluh min Abû Habâbeh

O my Lord, wet the wooden plate; all (the mischief) is from Abû...

yâ rabbî tbill eš-šâleh kulluh min eš-šêh Šhâdeh⁶

O my Lord, wet the cloak; all (the mischief) is from eš-šêh Š . . .

¹ The expression *šorabbanna* may be a contraction from *šū hadâ yâ rablmâ*.

² That is, concealment of the poverty of those who have been very generous up to now, but who can not help any more, since they have nothing of their own.

³ All these five verses come from 'Atârah.

⁴ I heard also *fatteh*, "a piece of bread."

⁵ A family in Nebî Şamwîl, where I heard the song. The name Ḥasan Hamdân is used by some instead of 'Abd ed-Djabbâr.

⁶ Another verse is: *yâ rabbî tbill el-kondêl
kulluh min ahl Samwêl*

O my Lord, wet the calycotome villosa;
All (the mischief) comes from the inhabitants of Nebî Samwîl.

I shall describe now more fully a rain procession in 'Ēn Kârim. An old woman mounted on a donkey held a cock¹ in her hands. A great procession of men, women and children followed. Some women carried empty jars on their head, as a sign of lack of water, others ground a small hand-mill, in which no grain was put. Still others carried grain and flour mills, to denote, as already mentioned, poverty and misery. The whole crowd shouts rather than sings a "rain song." During the whole procession the old woman squeezed the cock from time to time, thus forcing the poor animal to crow or squawk. In this way they think that the animals join in their request and implore the Almighty God for help. The cock is chosen because he is considered as a *muaddin*. The procession went to the *maqâm* of Ḥadj 'Abêd and then to the house of the headman of the village. As soon as they reached this place one could hear them begging:

billunâ yâ dâr eš-šêḥ yâ rabbî ta'tînâ el-ghêṭ
yâ (I)mm el-Ghêṭ ghîṭînâ ubillî bšêt râ'inâ
urâ'inâ Faradjallah byuṭṭub min 'indak yâ allah

Wet us, O house of the *šêḥ*, O my Lord, give us the rain!

O Imm el-Ghêṭ, help us and wet the mantle of our shepherd.

Our shepherd is Faradjallah: he begs of Thee, O God (the rain).

The *muḥtâr* came out, sprinkled the crowd, saying: *allah yisqûkû min rahmîṭ rabbikum*, "May God give you water from the bounty of your Lord!" The sprinkling with water is a symbol of the rain (rain charm). After this the crowd dispersed.

The Palestinian believes that God sends drought as a punishment to chastise human beings for their continuous transgression, but He will not in His mercy punish the poor dumb animals. In the same way little children are guiltless and thus are not the object of the Divine wrath. For this reason a hen, a cock, or both are carried in the procession, and little children are sent by themselves, as noted above. In their rain songs the peasants very often allude to this:

*yâ rabbî ršâšeh ršâšeh ta-nisqî hadj-djḥâšeh*²

O Lord, give us a sprinkling rain, a sprinkling rain, that we may
 water these young donkeys!

¹ Kahle has seen a black hen and a white cock. I heard that sometimes several hens and cocks are carried in the procession.

² Heard in Nebi Šamwil.

yâ rabbî nuqtah nuqtah ta-nišqî hal-quṭṭah!

O Lord, give us a drop (of rain), a drop (of rain), that we may water this cat!

*yâ rabbî el-maṭar wis-sêl tanisqî el-baqar wil-hêl*¹

O Lord, give us rain and a running stream, that we may water the cows and the horses!

The following, mentioned by Kahle,² is another:

*šû biddak yâ qâqî*³ *el-lêl*

biddî maṭar biddî sêl

biddî fatteh lal-yatâmâ.

What do you want, O crower of the night?

"I want rain, I want stream,

I want a piece of bread for the orphans."

A variant is:

dâknâ byiz'aq tûl el-lêl

biddû maṭar biddû sêl

biddû rahmeh min rabbuh

Our cock crows all the night through,

He wants rain and a stream,

He wants mercy of his Lord.

There are some shrines which are more efficacious in giving this blessing than others, especially the following (among the Moslems): *es-sitt el-Badriyeh*, *eš-šêh Ghêt*, *eš-šêh Maṭar*, *eš-šêh Lêmûn*,⁴ *eš-šêh el-Qaṭrawânî*, etc. It is believed that these holy men or women are most powerful and will hear prayer most quickly, being able to influence the Almighty in a special way. But it must be emphasised that every *welî* may help if asked. A man of Abû Dis assured me that a procession which went around the *djâmi'* of Şalâḥ ed-Dîn was answered the next day by a heavy rain, which filled all the cisterns. The people waited until two months of the winter were

¹ Known nearly everywhere.

² *PJB loc. cit.* The last two lines do not properly belong here, but come under the general heading of rain songs. They have been given elsewhere.

³ *Qâqa* is really used for the cackle of the hen (*qâqat ed-djâdjeh*, "the hen cackles"), *bişîh* means "the (cock) crows;" *qâqî el-lêl* is, however, known as a name of the cock.

⁴ Kahle, *PJB* VIII.

gone, after which they decided to make the procession, whereupon abundant rain fell. In some villages the people go from one *welî* to another, hoping that if one cannot or will not help, the other will answer the prayers.¹

Among the rain songs in which a special *welî* is called upon for help are the following:

*yâ sittî yâ Badrîyeh isqî zar' el-barrîyeh*²

O my Lady, O Badriyeh, water the grain in the fields.³

*yâ rabbî tisqînâ el-maṭar ib-barket eš-šêḥ Maṭar*⁴

O Lord, give us rain to drink, for the sake (blessing) of my master,
šêḥ Maṭar.

*yâ rabbî tisqînâ el-ghêṭ ib-barkat sîdî eš-šêḥ Ghêṭ*⁴

O my Lord, give us rain to drink for the sake (blessing) of my master
eš-šêḥ Ghêṭ.

yâ (I)mm el-Ghêṭ⁵ ghîṭînâ billî bšêṭ⁶ râ'inâ

râ'inâ Ḥasan el-Aqra' ṭûl el-lêl u-hû yizra'

yizra' fî qamiḥ qaşrî ta-nmallî ḥawâbînâ

O Mother of Rain, help us and wet the mantle of our shepherd,
Our shepherd is Ḥasan el-Aqra',⁷ who has been sowing all the night
Sowing qaşrî⁸ grain to fill⁹ our granary.¹⁰ [through,

¹ Heard from Bêt Djibrîn.

² Canaan, *ZDPV XXXVI*, 292.

³ *Barrîyeh* means "wilderness, desert." The Palestinians use it often in the sense of "fields," as here.

⁴ The words *maṭar* and *ghêṭ* mean "rain," and from them the names of the saints are taken.

⁵ The *imâm* of 'Aṭārah said that there is also an Abû el-Ghêṭ, the "Father of Rain," a statement which I have been unable to verify in other places.

⁶ *Bšêṭ*, dim. of *bîšt*, is a long, wide woollen mantle.

⁷ *El-aqra'* means "bald-headed."

⁸ A specially good variety of wheat, not mentioned in my article in *ZDMG LXX* (1916), 166.

⁹ The *ḥâbiyeh* is made of sun-dried clay. Nearly every village house has such a granary, made by the women.

¹⁰ A variation to this verse was mentioned in *ZDPV XXXVI*, 292. When the prayers are answered and rain falls down, they say:

"The Mother of Rain went to bring thunder; scarcely had she come back—the corn was as high as a camel,
The Mother of Rain went to bring rain; scarcely had she come back—the corn was as high as the trees."

*yâ (Imm el-Ghêt ghêtînâ qatta'nâ lawâtînâ*¹

O Mother of Rain, help us; we have cut off the coins on our head-dress.

From the 'Idwân Bedouin I heard:

*yâmm el-Ghêt yâ taq'ah*² *qatalnâ l-bard wis-saq'ah*³

O Mother of Rain, O—, cold has killed us.

Jaussen⁴ mentions a song about Imm el-Ghêt which is a variant to the combination of two verses, cited above.⁵

yâ djâmi'nâ nistardjik ruşq el-maţar yudhul fik

O our mosque, we implore thee, may a flood of rain enter thee!

*yâ šêh (nabî or mâr) . . . ruşq el-maţar yudhul fik*¹

O šêh (nebî or mâr) . . . we implore thee, may a flood of rain enter thee!

yâ sidî anâ nâhik

ruşq el-maţar yu'bur fik

lêlit ed-djum'ah la-aḍwîk

O my Lord, I extol Thee!

May a flood of rain enter Thee!

(Then) I shall indeed light Thy *maqâm* Friday night!

yâ nabî Şamwîl tisqînâ yâ rabb es-samâ tisqînâ

O Prophet Samuel, give us to drink; O Lord of Heaven, give us to drink!

¹ The more elegant sort of this decoration is called *şaffeh*.

² I have not secured any explanation for *taq'ah*. It may point to the pealing of the thunder.

³ *Bard* and *saq'ah* are synonyms

⁴ *Coutumes*, pp. 326, 327.

⁵ The translation of Jaussen in the first verse should be changed. *Yâ Imm el-Ghêt yâ dâiym*, "O Mother of Rain, O Immortal (appellation of God, and not of Imm el-Ghêt)." The verb *billî* goes back to Imm el-Ghêt.

⁶ I heard:

yâ šêh 'Abdallah
yâ nabî Şamwîl
yâ nabî Lêmûn
yâ Mâr Eliâs
yâ Mâr Mûsâ

To the last expression my attention was drawn by Mr. S. H. Stephan. Any other *weli* may be invoked.—The second line of the verse given by Kahle, *PJB* VIII 165, is not *mitwaşşîn bir-rabbe dînak*, but *mitwaşşîn* (with *s* and not *ş*) *birabb(e) dînak*, i. e., "We entreat the Lord of your religion."

yâ rabbî tbill el-kondêl wiḥnâ wridnâ 'a Ṣamwêl

O y Lord, wet the calycotome villosa, for we have come to Samuel
to ask (his mediation) for water!¹

In 'Aṭarah and the surrounding villages they sing:

yâ rabbî el-ghêṭ samâwî ib-djâh eš-šêḥ el-Qaṭrâwî
ib-djâh eš-šêḥ Abû l-'Ênên yâ rabbî nišfat el-'ên
yâ rabbî tbill eš-šûšeh karâmeh l-Abû Šûšeh
yâ rabbî el-ghêṭ dqîqah ib-djâh en-nabî u ṣadîqah
ib-djâhuh tirḥam el-(a)wlâd bil-maṭar 'imm el-blâd
yâ rabbî el-ghêṭ yâ djawwâd nuṭub minnak djarret wâd
ib-djâh eš-šêḥ el-Qaṭrâwî yâ rabbî wâd Silwâd

O Lord (send) the heavenly rain (I beg Thee), by the high rank
(and influence) of el-Qaṭrâwî.

By the high rank of eš-šêḥ Abû l-'Ênên, O Lord the fountain has
dried up.

O Lord, wet the lock of the scalp, in honour of Abû Šûšeh!

O Lord, (send) the rain one minute, by the rank of the Prophet
and his friend!

By his rank (I beg Thee) to have mercy upon the children and cover
the land with rain!

O Lord, (we beg for) the rain; O Generous One, we ask Thee for a
flowing stream-bed!

In respect of eš-šêḥ el-Qaṭrâwî O my Lord, the valley of Silwâd!

The Christians call on *mâr Inqûlâ* (St. Nicholas) and *mâr Eliâs*.
In Bêt Djâlâ I heard the following song:²

mâr Inqûlâ djînâ lêk
šuhb el-maṭar dâḥil lêk
iḥnâ el-yôm 'abidak
muftâḥ es-samâ fî idak
haiy imbû yâ haiy imbû

¹ The exact wording of the translation is correctly given by Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 103, but the intention of the verse is not to go to the village and bring water from it, but to ask the Prophet for help. I heard this verse from a woman of Nebî Ṣamwîl, so the translation of Kahle would hardly fit the case.

² Given in part in my paper, *Der Kalender*, *loc. cit.*

ḥuṭṭ el-fûl fidj-djarrah
wistannû rahmit 'allah.
mâr Inqûlâ yâ djârnâ
yâ ḥabîb zghârnâ wikkârnâ
titsaffa' la-ilâhnâ
umṭur yâ rabb 'alâ blâdnâ
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ
tumṭur 'alênâ yâ rabbunâ
min qillit el-maṭar 'alâ blâdnâ
mâr Inqûlâ itsaffa' la-ilâhnâ
mâr Inqûlâ djînâ lêk
naḥnu zghâr u ḥaḍa'nâ lêk
u-naḥnu el-yôm fî ḥimâytak
tumṭur 'alênâ yâ rabbunâ.

We have come to you, St. Nicholas!
 O stream of rain, I implore you!
 We are today your servants;
 Heaven's key is in your hand —
 Bring water,¹ Oh bring water,
 Put the broad-beans in the jar,²
 And wait for God's mercy,
 St. Nicholas, O our neighbour!
 O friend of our young and old,
 Intercede (for us) with our God,
 Send rain, O our Lord, on our land!
 O our Lord, O our Lord,
 Let it rain on us, O our Lord.
 Because of the scarcity of rain on our land
 (We implore you) O St. Nicholas to intercede (for us) with
 We are coming to you, St. Nicholas; [our God.
 We are young and we submit to you;
 We are to day under your protection;
 Send us (therefore) rain, O our Lord.

¹ The exclamation *hay imbû* (at times pronounced *himbû*) perhaps means "bring water." *Imbû* is baby talk all over Palestine for "water."

² A variant is *ḥuṭṭ el-'ûd fidj-djarrah*, "Put the stick in the jar." I really cannot say what these two expressions mean.

We see that *mâr Inqûlâ* is called *šuhb el-maṭar*¹, "a stream of rain," and is believed to possess the keys of heaven (for sending rain). Dalman notes in his *Divân*:²

qaṣadnâ l-ʿAdrâ u-mâr Ya qûb
*tişqî zar'nâ l-maşyûb*³
qaṣadnâ l-ʿAdrâ u-mâr Eliâs
*(i)thadder zar'nâ el-yabbâs*⁴.

We went to the Virgin and to St. James,
 (And ask:) Water our suffering grain!
 We went to the Virgin and to St. Eliâs,
 (And ask:) Make green our dying grain!

A variant heard from a Mohammedan leper is:

yâ sîdî Ḥaḍr el-Aḥḍar
tişqî zar'nâ el-aḥḍar
yâ sîdî mâr Eliâs
tişqî zar'na el-yabbâs.

O Lord, O St. George, water our green crops!
 O Lord, O St. Eliâs, water our drying crops!

From a beautiful song which I heard from a man of Ḥalḥûl I quote the stanzas which belong to our subject:

yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ yâ haiy yâ qaiyûm irḥam duḥfanâ
*yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ biḥalilak il-auwâhi*⁵ ḥassin sa'yanâ
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ bis-saiyd el-ghaiyûri anbit zar'anâ
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ birasûlika Isrâyla aḍrir ḍar'nâ
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ biş-şaddîqi Yûsufa 'ummanâ
bis-sa'îy wadḡbir yâ muḥaimin kasranâ.

¹ *Šuhb* means primarily "stream of milk."

² The last part of the first song on p. 56.

³ *Maşyûb* means "attacked with disease," or "dried up by the heat of the sun."

⁴ The following verse shows how St. Mary is thought to welcome her visitors:

tallat el-ʿAdrâ u qâlat
marḥabâ yâ zâyrîn
marḥabâ fî eš-šêḥ minkum
wil-ḥawârnâ l-bâdilîn.

The Virgin looked down and said, Be welcome, O visitors,
 Be welcome, (O) elders and gowned priests.

⁵ *Auwâh*, "he who sighs and cries to God."

O our Lord, O our Lord, O Living One, O Self-existing, have mercy
upon our weakness!
O our Lord, O our Lord, For the sake of Thy friend,¹ continually
sighing, make our intents good!
O our Lord, O our Lord, For the sake of the zealous lord² make
our crops grow!
O our Lord, O our Lord, For the sake of Thy prophet Israel³ make
our udders flow (with milk)!
O our Lord, O our Lord, For the sake of the true friend Joseph
include us all
in good endeavour, and mend, O Watcher,
our broken hearts!

Another rain procession⁴ described to me by the *imâm* of 'Aṭārah has many biblical parallels. He said that when the Almighty holds back the rain for a long time⁵ the *imâm*⁶ of the village asks all the inhabitants to fast, and appoints, together with the chief of the village, a day in which all the people, men women and children, leave their houses and go to some distant valley or mountain. In this procession every one puts off his good clothes and dresses in the worst rags he has. Babies are not allowed to suckle. All animals of that village are also taken out, but no food or water is given them. Out in the fields on their way of "emigration" from their habitations they implore the Almighty God to have pity on them, their children and their animals. Before they leave the village every one forgives the faults of the others, and in this way they hope to deserve the forgiveness of their God. In nearly the same way the ancient Israelites⁷ tried to gain the favour of their gods. They used to fast and pray, removing their clothes and putting on coarse sackcloth. Their prophets and highpriests promised them

¹ That is, Abraham.

² That is, Isaac.

³ That is, Jacob.

⁴ It was called by the *imâm*, *el-istisqâ*.

⁵ Even in the Bible we observe that public fasts were proclaimed to express national humiliation on account of sin and misfortune, and to supplicate divine favour in the face of threatening danger.

⁶ In the time of the Israelites the chief used to proclaim a fast: Samuel (1 Sam. 7 9), Jehoshaphet (2 Chr. 20 3), Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. 36 6-10), etc.

⁷ Joel 2 12; Esther 4 3, 16; Bar. 1 5; Judith 4 7, 11; Jonah 3, 5, 7.

always that their God would hear their prayer and help them, just as today. Stories of ancient and modern times illustrate this practise.

In conclusion I will quote several verses of Jeremiah, chapter XIV, which show many points of resemblance between rain processions of biblical times and of to day. This chapter seems to me to describe customs connected with rain processions: „Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish; they are black unto the ground; and the cry of Jerusalem is gone up. And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters: they came to the pits, and found no water; they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth, the plowmen were ashamed, they covered their heads. Yea, the hind also calved in the field, and forsook it, because there was no grass. O Lord, through our iniquities testify against us, do thou it for thy name's sake, for our backslidings are many we have sinned against thee.”

C. NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE SAINTS

In the course of our study we approach the most important part, namely, the saints themselves. This subject is a very complicated one, but it is undoubtedly of the greatest possible interest to the student of comparative religion. On the whole, the conceptions of the people of Palestine have been surprisingly little changed, considering the extraordinary vicissitudes to which this land has been subject. Invasions, conquests and occupation by new races have modified their beliefs by giving them different colour, but they were yet unable to extirpate them entirely. Even the great revolutions produced by the three great monotheistic religions, whose cradle lay in or near Palestine, were not able to suppress all primitive beliefs. This condition will surely not continue unaffected by the present social and political transformations. In the past twenty years conditions have already changed so much, that it is at present decidedly more difficult to gather genuine folklore material than it was about 1900. It becomes the duty of every friend of Palestinian folklore to work as intensively as possible, if what remains is not to be lost.

The subject of the saints will be described under the following heads:

1. Characteristics of the *Awliâ*.
2. Miracles.
3. Relation of the Saints to Men.
4. Relation of the Saints to God and Popular Religion.
5. Origin of the Saints.

I shall restrict myself entirely to modern Palestine and shall leave the task of comparison to specialists.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE *Awliâ*

The following two points demand particular consideration:

- I. Bodily Characteristics.
- II. Religious and moral characteristics.

I. Bodily Characteristics

All saints were once human beings, and they have kept many human characteristics even after their transformation into *awliâ*. It is important to note from the beginning that although the statements one receives about the same *welî* vary in different places, we find these differences to be only superficial while the fundamental ideas remain the same. Let us approach the subject from the following points of view:

- a) Sex and age,
- b) Mode of life,
- c) Imprints of their hands, feet, etc.,
- d) Appearance in the forms of animals.

a) Sex and Age of the Saints

Awliâ belong to both sexes¹ though male saints are by far the more numerous.² This fact does not justify the statement of Kobelt that the Arabs have no female saints.³ Nor is Perron⁴ right when he writes that the way to holiness is too difficult for women, therefore we rarely find a woman in Islam taking it.⁵ One who critically

¹ The Preislamic Arabs had male as well as female gods. Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*.

² Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*, pp. 302 and 303, mentions some female saints.

³ Globus, 1885, no 3, p. 40 (after Goldziher).

⁴ *Femmes arabes avant et depuis l'Islamisme*, p. 350 (Goldziher).

⁵ Er-Râzî thinks—in explaining Sûreh 12 109 16 45 and 21 7—that God never sent a female prophet.

reviews the position of women in the earliest periods of Islam, and carefully studies the teachings of its founder will find no real obstacles to the religious development of the female.¹ Whenever male *awliâ* arose, we find reference to female *awliâ* also. Among the shrines which I have visited 13.2 per cent are dedicated to female saints.² In reviewing the list of female saints one observes that the greater part of them are of some importance, 60 per cent of the female saints enjoying a wide reputation, as compared with only 31 per cent of the male list. It is curious that some villages have no *waliyât* pl. (of *waliyeh*, fem. of *welî*), e. g., 'Anâtâ, Ša'fât, Šôba, en-Nabî Šamwîl, Bêt 'Anân, etc. Female saints enjoy the same reputation as the male ones of the same locality or an even greater one. El-Badriyeh is the most important saint of Šarâfât and the surrounding villages. El-'Azêrât is held by the inhabitants of 'Awartah in nearly the same respect as al-Mufađđil or al-Manšûrî. Al-Ḥađrâ of Nâblus and Al-Ḥađrâ of Djôrah—two different saints—are more honoured and more visited than all other *awliâ* of their localities. But there are also female saints of minor importance. Such are Banât *eš-šêḥ* Šaleḥ (Jericho), 'Irâq el-Badawiyeh (Mâlḥâ), el-Ḥađdjât (Mâlḥâ), eš-Šâmiyeh (Koloniâ), Banât er-Rfâ'î ('Awartah), etc.

It is curious that practically all holy trees, which have as their own name the simple name of a tree,³ are thought to be inhabited by female saints.⁴ Below I gave a list of such trees.

An explanation of this belief is the fact that all tree names are feminine in the Arabic language.⁵ In one sense it is true, as Jaussen says, that all such trees are themselves regarded as saints. But investigation will show that every such tree is believed to be the habitation of a spirit of a saint, who appears on different occasions to different people. In many cases the expressions *sittnâ* (our lady)

¹ Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien* II, 299.

² Of 255 saints (not including the 163 visited by me) for whom material was gathered, only 8.6 per cent were female. In most cases the peasants did not give me a complete list of the *awliâ* of their village.

³ See page 71.

⁴ An exception is *eš-šêḥ* Abû Ḥarrûbeh, south west of eđ-Dâhriyeh, who is a male saint.

⁵ Cf. also the fact that the tree deities of ancient Palestine and Egypt were generally considered as female; e. g., Aširat (Ašerah) and the Sycomore Goddess (nb.t nh.t) [W. F. Albright].

and *es-šēḥah* (fem. of *es-šēḥ*) are used instead of *waliyeh*. The female saints are believed in popular Palestinian religion to possess the same powers as the male *awliā*. They heal the sick, help the oppressed, guard the property of their neighbours, protect the village from its enemies, etc.¹

Few female saints are of Biblical origin. In er-Râm one is shown the tomb of Samuel's mother. In Nablus a shrine is dedicated to el-Ḥaḍrâ, who is supposed to be the daughter of Jacob. Her history is as follows: The son of the leader of a tribe asked Jacob to give him his daughter as wife. The patriarch refusing his request, as he was an idolator, the young man bribed the 40 followers of Jacob who were all *mu'minân* (believers), giving each one a sack of gold.² These persuaded their master to accept the offer. Jacob answered, "You may accept such a bargain, but I will not."³ They nevertheless sent their wives to prepare el-Ḥaḍrâ for the marriage. Her father, assuring her that the God of his fathers would not allow such an act, asked her to shout three times, just as her bridegroom entered her room:

O grand father (help me)!
O Prophets (help me)!
O God (help me)!

She followed this advice and her bridegroom fell dead at the moment of his entrance into the room. Thus she kept her virginity and was called el-Ḥaḍrâ, "the Green."⁴

The male saints, who predominate, forming about 86.8 per cent of all *awliā*, are generally regarded as Bedouin, Soudanese Maghrebine or peasants. The saints appear mostly in night visions. Sometimes they are seen in the dusk of evening. While some love to visit and converse with human beings, others are seen only rarely. Most of the male *awliā* have been observed to be reverend *šēḥs*, with a white beard and white hair. *Iḥtiyâr*, *šâiyb* and *šēḥ* are the usual expressions used to denote this appearance. Very few have been found to be middle aged, like *es-šēḥ* Aḥmad of Ḥirbet Qaryet S'ideh.

¹ In the case of Fâtmeḥ el-Barri (Zakâriyah) no male visitors are allowed to enter the shrine. *QS*, 1915, 175.

² From that time it is believed that bribery began.

³ Perhaps this story is an echo of the story told in Gen. 34.

⁴ The story was told to me by the *šēḥ* of the shrine.

Female saints appear mostly as maidens, sometimes as middle-aged women, but very rarely as an old woman (*adjûz*). Saints may be recognized on their appearance by a majestic walk, a penetrating eye, a serene look and an erect stature.

While most of them are of the white race some are negroes, while some are described as *qamhî* or *sudânî*, "darky," "Nubian." Among negro saints are:

<i>eš-šêh</i> Aḥmad	Ḥirbet Q. S'îdih
<i>eš-šêh</i> 'Abdallâh	Šu'fât
<i>eš-šêh</i> 'Anbar	'Êsawiyeh
<i>eš-šêh</i> Mbâarak	Bêt Iksâ
<i>eš-šêh</i> Abû Ismâ'il	'Lîkiâ
<i>eš-šêh</i> 'Ubêd	Šatâf

I have not seen a sanctuary of a negress.

b) Mode of Life

The dress of the *awliâ* generally conforms with the two following conditions:

1. The native costume of their land of origin.
2. The locality of the sanctuary.

If the saint is supposed to have been during his life a *Badawî*, *Mughrabî*, peasant, *madaneh* (city dweller), *'abd*, (slave, negro) rich or poor, he wears the corresponding dress. Each of these has his own costume, which he is thought to keep even after death. At the same time most of the saints of a locality are supposed to wear the clothes of that locality, even if their native home may have been in some foreign country.

In general, the following description is given: a *laffeh*, *šâseh* *šaraf* or *'amâneh* covers the head. On the body they wear a *tôb*, *djibbeh*, *'abây* and a *zunnâr*. The Bedouin saints wear an *'uqâl*.

It is interesting to note the colours of the various garments. I have noticed that they always belong to one of the three colours red, green and white. White predominates, while green is the holy colour. Often we hear the expression *lâbis abyad fî abyad*, "he is clad in pure white." Several saints have a white headgear and a green

djubbeh, or a red *laffeh* and white *lôb*. All those saints who are supposed to be descendants of the Prophet (*šurafâ*) wear a green head-dress. The colour of this article of dress is always decisive, while that of other pieces is less important.

The dress of the *waliyât* is said to be *madanî*, *badawî*, or *fallâhî*. Eš-Šâmiyeh (Koloniâ) has been seen wearing the clothes of a city woman with a white 'izâr (an ample veil). Banât eš-šêḥ Ṣalâḥ dress themselves like Bedouin. El-Badriyeh and *sittnâ* el-Ghârah (Bêt Nûbâ) each wear a green veil and a white 'izâr. The latter lady has a greenish band on her forehead.

Bišr el-Ḥâfi' (Nâblus) is said to appear walking barefoot, as he used to do during his lifetime. This characteristic gave him his surname *el-Ḥâfi'*, "the barefooted." We often hear that some are seen wearing a crown, *tâdj*, which is described in every case as of green colour.² Such are

<i>en-nabî</i> Dâniân	near el-Ḥaḍr
el-Ḥaḍr	in all of his shrines
eš-šêḥ Aḥmad	Ḥirbet Q. Sîdeh
eš-šêḥ Husên	Bêt Sûrik
eš-šêḥ Husên	Bêt 'Anân.

In the case of *en-nabî* Mûsâ many assured me that they have seen him with a greenish halo surrounding his face. A staff (*miḥdjâneh*), a spear (*rumḥ*) and a sword have been observed to be carried by some holy men. Eš-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm, es-sultân Ibrâhîm el-Adhamî (Ša'fât), Barrâq (Bêt Djibrîn) and *en-nabî* Aiyûb (Râs ibn Simḥân) appear mostly with a spear; eš-Moḥammad (Wâdi en-Naml), *en-nabî* Ṭarfinî and *sittnâ* el-Ghârah (both in Bêt-Nûbâ) carry at times a sword dripping with blood. Eš-šêḥ Šarîf and many others carry a *miḥdjâneh*.

In most of the cases the *awliâ* appear walking or sitting, occasionally also they are seen riding on a horse. This is a special privilege of el-Ḥaḍr, St. George. Dâniân has also been seen riding to his *maqâm*. As soon as he reaches it, he ties the horse to one of

¹ He is said to have been the banner-bearer of the Prophet.

² See also *QS*, 1916, 66.

the oak trees and proceeds walking to the holy spot. *Eš-šēh* Husên¹ has a green horse.²

In examining further details we learn that some still continue performing the habitual acts of their lifetime. Thus Banât *eš-šēh* Šalâh have often been seen boiling coffee and singing. *Eš-sultân* Ibrâhîm el-Adhamî (Bêt Hanînâ) was observed sitting in front of his shrine and smoking his pipe (*ghalyûn*). *Eš-šēh* Aḥmad el-Ḥwêš (Biddû) often walks from his tomb to the cave bearing his name, where he used to spend a great part of his time while alive. El-Ḥaḍr is supposed to take a bath every Thursday night in Hammâm ed-Daradjeh (in Nablus). *Eš-šēh* Hâlid³ spends the summer months under his oak tree, and lives in the winter in his *tâqah*.⁴ Aḥmad ed-Djabbârah (Yâlô) spreads his bed on the surface of his well. The bed is made of a *farweh* (a sheepskin coat) with long white wool. Šadjarêt Abû Nâr has, whenever irritated, a menstrual flow.⁵ The word *bithîl* was used and the fluid was described as viscous. In the case of Bir 'Ônah (Bêt Djâlâ) the stones on the brim of the well are dyed red once every year on St. Mary's feast. They are the only cases I have heard where female saints still possess the property of menstruation.⁶

The saints are attached to their habitation, where as a rule they appear and where most of the miracles take place. But they may change their shrine, settling in some other village or even in another country. This is established in the case of the Banât *eš-šēh* Šalâh of Jericho. When their habitation was ruined during the war, being

¹ Bêt Sûrik.

² Even the horses are described in verses as being of green colour:

siâdî râkbîn hîl huḍḍar
lahum zên el-mabâsim mâ ṭaḍḍar
'alâ 'Arâfât wadâ'ûnâ niṭṭaḍḍar
qlûb šâkieh kitr eš-ṣadâ

My lords are riding green horses.

They have beautiful features (lit. mouths) with the early growth of moustaches. They called us to 'Arâfât to pray and become sanctified.

Our hearts complain of lack of attention.

³ Dêr Ghassâneh.

⁴ By this *tâqah* is meant a small cave situated near the tree.

⁵ See JPOS IV, 71.

⁶ Cf. JPOS I, 163.

changed by the Turks into a stable, they punished them by helping the English to occupy all the Jordan valley. At the same time they moved to Hisbân.¹

c) Imprints of Hands, Feet, etc.

One of the great characteristics of *awliâ* is that they may leave the imprints of their hands, feet, knees, etc., in the solid rock. Such a sign is found only in the case of very important prophets. In 50 per cent of the cases we find impressions of the feet, in some those of the hands and in very few those of the head, knees, or the whole body. At times the impressions of two different parts of the body of the same saint can be seen in the same rock. The following is a list of all such impressions which I have seen:

1. The 12 footsteps of the Prophet Mohammed, on the Şaḥrah (I,3),²
2. 12 footsteps of Idrîs on the Şaḥrah (I,2),
3. One footstep of the Prophet Mohammed near the Şaḥrah (III,14),
4. The right foot of Christ el-Aqsâ,
5. The feet of Christ Mount of Olives,
6. Two feet and two hands of Abraham³ Masdjad el-Yaḳîn,
7. Two feet and two hands of Lot⁴ near masdjad el-Yaḳîn
in a *ḥuwêṭah*,⁵
8. Knees and hands of St. Mary Bir 'Ônâ (Bêt Djâlâ),
9. Knees of Christ Bir 'Ônâ (Bêt Djâlâ),
10. The head of the Prophet Mohammed eş-Şaḥrah (II,7),
11. The hand of Gabriel eş-Şaḥrah (I,1),
12. The body of St. Elias⁶ opposite the convent
Mâr Ilyâs,

¹ See IV, 84.

² The numbers in parenthesis refer to the enumeration given on pages 81 and 82, in vol. IV.

³ See IV, 79.

⁴ See IV, 78.

⁵ Some *ḥuwêṭât* are not at all religious, but are made for catching birds and are generally situated near a spring. I have seen a *ḥuşş* of this sort near Ḥirbet Zif. Another sort of enclosure (known as *kifreh*) is made by highway robbers. Between Hebron and Yaṭṭâ I saw a circle of this kind.

⁶ See IV, 80.

13. Srîr 'Isâ.¹

in the entrance to the
Stables of Solomon,

14. Srîr es-Saiydi²

Bêt Djâlâ.³

The people of Bêt Djâlâ tell us the following about numbers 8 and 9: While the Virgin was carrying her child on a hot summer day, she passed the valley beside Bêt Djâlâ. She and her baby became thirsty, but on reaching a well she discovered that it was dry. The Virgin bent over the brim and said: *intlî yâ bîr layšrab el-walad eš-šghîr*, "become full, O well, so that the young child may drink!" The water began immediately to flow from a subterranean source until it had filled the pit up to the brim. St. Mary and Christ bent down and quenched their thirst. The impressions of the knees of both, and those of the hands of Mary remained in the rock. From that time on it was also observed that the brim became dyed red on the feast of the Virgin.⁴ The well received the name Bir 'Ônah, "the well of Help,"⁵ since it responded to the call of the Virgin.

El-Mashûtah⁶ is a large field of rocks of all sizes, which are said to be petrified men and women. This place lies to the NW of Bêt Djâlâ, and its story runs as follows: The peasants of a village celebrated a wedding. The 'arûs (bride) was brought from her father's house on a camel, as the custom used to be and is still in some villages. She was followed by a great crowd of friends, who sinned so glaringly that the Almighty God punished them by changing the whole of the procession into a field of rocks. Once their shapes could be clearly recognized, but through the disintegration caused by weathering only a few can still be identified. Thus one is still shown the bride riding on the camel, and many rocks are explained as representing a woman, a man or a child.⁷ This awful punishment,

¹ The real impression of the body is not seen.

² See IV, 80, note 2.

³ One impression of a foot is shown between Dêr Ghassâneh and 'Ên ed-Dêr. It is thought to be that of the Prophet.

⁴ Canaan, *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, JPOS I, 164.

⁵ Whenever a peasant—especially a woman—is called, she answers, 'ônah, "(what) help (can I give you?)"

⁶ Mudjir, I, 80, says that God had changed at the time of Pharaoh many Egyptians in to stones.

⁷ Jaussen, *Coutumes*, p. 337, mentions a similar but simpler case.

which somewhat resembles the story of Sodom, Gomorrah and Lot's wife,¹ served as a warning to all the surrounding villages, who repented and began to serve Allah.

Such petrified stones are the opposite of the imprints of saint's bodies. While the latter are the signs of the greatness and the miraculous power of their owners, the former represent one form of the punishment of the sinners by God. The former are honoured, the latter cause horror.

d) Appearance in the Form of Animals

A very curious and interesting feature is that *welīs* may appear in animal forms.² This idea certainly goes back to primitive religion.³ *Eš-šēḥ* 'Abdallāh of Bêt Surik even takes the form of the awful *ghûl*, while on other occasions he has appeared as a serpent and as a hyena. I have in my collection fifteen such cases. The animals represented are:

¹ Gen. XIX.

² A *ḥadīṭ* says that God puts the souls of the martyrs into green birds which live in paradise. Taqīy-d-Dīn es-Sabkī, *Ṣifā-l-asqām fī ziyārat ḥēr el-'anām*, 143.

³ In Christian folksongs we observe the same idea:

<i>raḥalnā uinzilnā 'aqabr el-masīḥ</i>	
<i>laḡenā mār Yuhannā qā'id yistariḥ</i>	
<i>farāḡelnā bsāṭuḥ</i>	<i>uḡalnā uḡudū</i>
<i>faṭaḡilnā indjiluh</i>	<i>uḡalnā ismā'ū</i>
<i>ismī'nā grāyeh</i>	<i>ismī'nā ḥsūs</i>
<i>ismī'nā grāyeh</i>	<i>btihiyeh-en-nifūs</i>
<i>ilī'nā 'ad-djabal</i>	<i>laḡenā ṭalāt ḥamamāt</i>
<i>wāḥdih bitṣallī</i>	<i>uwāḥdih bitṣūm</i>
<i>uwāḥdih bturṣuḡ bil-baḡḡūr.</i>	

We journeyed and went down to the tomb of Christ,
(Where) we found St. John sitting down to rest.
He spread for us his carpet (his cloak),
and said, "Sit down!"

He opened for us his gospel	and said, "Listen!"
We heard reading,	we heard voices,
we heard reading	which revives the spirit.
We ascended the mountain,	and found three doves,
One prays, one fasts and one waves the censer to and fro.	

These three doves probably stand for Peter, Paul and John, as may be inferred from an evening prayer.

in seven cases	birds,
in three cases	serpents,
in one case	a rabbit,
in one case	a goat,
in one case	a lion,
in one case	a white sheep and
in one case	different forms.

In analyzing these animals we find that they belong to two categories:

1. Animals whose forms are preferred by demons. These are the goat (*djidi*), hyena (*dabi*), *'arbid* and *ghûl*. The colour of these animals is black or dark, which points, as we know from Palestinian demonology, to a bad *djinn*.¹ *'Arbid*, not *haiyeh*, is used in these cases to denote a serpent. *'Arbid* means primarily "troublesome, petulant,² quarrelsome, ill-natured."³ In classical Arabic *'irbidd* means "a bad and poisonous serpent," as well as "the male of every serpent."⁴ Popular use has combined these forms and characteristics, so that *'arbid* now means "an illnatured, poisonous male serpent." Common belief always gives it a dark colour. A goat stands, as was shown in *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, for a bad demon. The *ghûl* is one of the worst demons, while the hyena is reckoned as the most insidious and ill-natured of animals.⁵

2. Animals whose shape is generally taken by good spirits. In my collection we have the dove (*hamâmeh*), the green bird (*têr ahqar*), the peacock (*ta'ûs*), sheep (always described as white), the *ghreyib* bird, the lion and probably the rabbit. The dove has always been

¹ Canaan, *Haunted Springs*, JPOS I.

² Kassâb and Hammâm, p. 415.

³ Hava, p. 454.

⁴ *Muḥiṭ el-muḥiṭ* II, 1364.

⁵ It is thought that a hyena always tries to hypnotize a person who happens to meet it, before devouring him. By crossing his way and crocking its tail the beast hypnotizes (*biyqba*) the person, who loses his faculty of judgement and follows the animal unwillingly. If he does not fall by accident and lose a few drops of blood—by means of which his power of judgement will return—he follows the hyena to where he is led and is finally devoured.

the symbol of good tidings and piety.¹ The same may be said about the green bird,² while spirits in the form of sheep are always good natured.³ All I know about the rabbit is that I never heard that a bad demon takes the shape of this animal. It is further said that the saints who take the shapes of the last described animals have always been seen in this form while they were helping human beings, saving a village from enemies, caring for people in great danger, etc. On the other hand, all saints who are supposed to take the shapes of the animals mentioned under number 1 are represented as punishing people, injuring and frightening them.

This curious phenomenon of transformation is very interesting since it can be hardly explained except as a survival from ancient religion. Only in this way we can see how saints—chosen men of God—can take the shapes of furious, malicious animals.

In this connection it may be noted that there are animals which guard the sanctuary from being defiled. These protecting genii are always described as *haiyeh* (serpent), and never as *'arbid*. The following story is told about *en-nabi* Mûsâ. During the War a heathen Indian (Sikh) troop encamped in the building. Since they defiled the place a large serpent appeared and drove them out. In these cases we are never told that the prophet or *welî* takes the form of the animal, but that he sends the latter to punish the tresspassers.

The following is the list of the saints who have appeared in animal forms:

Name of the saint	Location	Animal
Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭaiyâr	Šarâfât	large bird,
Moses	near Jericho	green bird,
El-'Azêrât	'Awartah	three doves,
Abû el-'Ôf	Sindjil	dove,
Eš-Šuhadâ ⁴	Jerusalem	white sheep, ⁵

¹ Gen. 8 11; Cant. 1 15, 2 14, 5 2; Ps. 68 14; Math. 3 16; Marc. 1 10; John. 1 32; Luc. 3 22; etc.

² According to Mohammedan superstition the Almighty God made at the creation a peacock in which the soul of the Prophet was placed, eṣ-Šyûṭî, *ed-durar el-ḥisân* (on the margin of *daqâiq el-'aḥbâr*), p. 2.

³ See *JPOS* I, 153—171.

⁴ Outside Bâb es-Zâhirah (es-Sâhirah)=Herod's Gate,

⁵ Related by Imm Moḥammad Ql.

Name of the saint	Location	Animal
er-Rifā'ī		peacock,
el-Badawī		green bird,
ed-Dâstûqī		a small bird called ghreiyb,
ed-Djilânî		lion,
Lot,	Banî N'êm	rabbit,
Abû Šûseh	Bêt 'Ûr el-Fôqah	' <i>arbîd</i> ,
Ĥamdallâh	Biddû	' <i>arbîd</i> ,
'Anbar	'Êsawiyeh	' <i>arbîd</i> ,
el-Brêdiyeh	ed-Djib	goat,
'Abdallâh	Bêt Surik	<i>ghûl</i> , hyena or ' <i>arbîd</i> ,
Ĥasan el-Baqarî	Ĥirbit en-nabî Târî ¹	gazelle.

The following stories illustrate the foregoing descriptions. The inhabitants of the villages surrounding 'Awartah reinforced by some Bedouin tribes attacked the inhabitants of this village, who seeing that they were lost, implored the 'Azêrât for help, and behold three green doves flew from the shrine and hovered over the village. The enemy, as they confessed later, saw everything green, and could no longer recognize the situation of the village. All their efforts to locate the houses were frustrated, and they had to go back with disappointed hopes.

Abû el-Ôf appears as a dove to every one who asks his aid when in difficulty, especially to one who is in danger of being drowned.

II. Religious and Moral Characteristics

a) Irritability and Forbearance

Every one who has taken the trouble to investigate the cult of the saints will be struck by the simple division made by the peasants of Palestine, based on a very interesting aspect of their character. The saints are *ṭawîlîn er-rûh* (forbearing) or *nizqîn*, *ḥiṣrîn* (irritable, temperamental).²—The first group treat human failure with patience.

¹ Buried in the court of the prophet Târî.

² Many of the saints of this group do not allow a building to be erected on their tomb. This superstition exists also among the Jews. Goldziher, *Moh. Tradition über den Grabesort des Jonas*, ZDPV II, 13, etc.

They give mortals time to repent, and wait patiently for the fulfilment of vows. They may remind them gently of their obligations. This forbearance may go even so far that people begin to doubt their power. But as soon as such a doubt arises they at once respond and show their power and ability clearly. The story of *es-šēh* Abū el-Ēnēn in 'en Qînâ illustrates this point.

The irritable saints, on the other hand, do not show any pity to transgressors. They demand their rights and sometimes use very severe methods of punishing those who trespass on their rights and make a false oath, dishonour their *maqām* or speak irreverently about them. This group of saints is, therefore, more feared and respected than the former group. When a man is suspected of having committed a major crime, the judge may ask the defendant to take an oath at the shrine of a well known saint, who is always chosen from this class. When a person is maltreated and oppressed by an influential man, from whom he cannot get his rights, he hurries to such an easily irritated *welī* and asks for aid. Generally the saint is treated in such a way as to irritate him still further, as already described above in treating the subject of oaths. The following stories are characteristic.

A man of Liftâ cut a stick from one of the trees of *es-šēh* Hūsēn (Bêt Surik) in order to drive his mule while he was threshing corn. No sooner did he strike the animal with this stick than a disease attacked it and the animal was unable to move. The frightened peasant returned the stick at once, made a vow and begged the *šēh* to forgive him. The mule was cured as miraculously as it fell ill.

A poor man of Gaza went to Qaṭṭaneh to glean olives from trees which had already been harvested.¹ He placed all that he had gathered in the house of a peasant of the village, who denied the next day that anything had been entrusted to him. The man of Gaza then went to *es-šēh* Ramaḍân, where heaps of thistles (*qašš*)² were deposited, and begged him: "I beseech you, O *šēh* Abū Qašš³ (behold) I have entered your village (as a guest) and the inhabitants

¹ Such a work is called *bitšaiyaf*.

² Such thistles are used for fuel instead of wood.

³ He did not know the name of the *welī*. Seeing the heaps of thistles, he called him "Father of Thistles."

have stolen my hardly gathered olives." No sooner had he finished his exclamation than a fire attacked the house of the thief, who came running to the saint acknowledging his sin, promising to repay what he had taken tenfold, and begging him to extinguish the fire and save his house.

Much severer was the punishment inflicted by *es-šēh* 'Abd es-Salām. An inhabitant of 'Anâtâ—a descendant of the *šēh*—had a quarrel with a person of *Ḥizmâ*, who cursed him and his *šēh*. The insulted person went to the shrine of the latter and, reproaching the *welî*, said "Thus, O *šēh*, they curse me and you, and you will not protect me and yourself!"¹ The same night the man of God appeared to the *Ḥizmâ* man. He fell sick with general paralysis and died a few days later.

As a rule all negro saints are thought to be *nizqîn*. The Maghrebine come next.

b) Supernatural Phenomena

We meet with four different appearances which have been observed in connection with all saints, namely, a green light, burning of incense, religious music and prayers. It is curious that these signs are perceived by the three most important senses, since a light is seen, while incense is smelled and music and prayers are heard. With the sense of touch mortals can very rarely perceive a saint. When a person becomes a *darwîš*, he begins to feel the saint with his hands. But even then this method of identification remains incomplete and thus far behind the other three. It was the same in the ancient times, when deities could be seen and heard, but not touched.²

The green light is seen in the dusk of the evening or at night, and appears and disappears at intervals. The light is described always as greenish. Every time a person approaches the sanctuary where such a phenomenon is observed, the light disappears completely, but no tempest can put it out.³ Such a sign is accepted by

¹ In QS. (1916, 131 and 132) a story with the same idea is given.

² Moses saw God but did not touch him. In Christian legends Christ and the saints may touch the person to whom they appear.

³ This is especially true of el-Mbârakeh (Kalandiah).

all the Arabs of Palestine¹ as a sure indication that the place is inhabited by some good-natured superhuman power. In many cases it has been the only means of recognizing holy sites. We have had already several examples.

The incense smelled at the sanctuaries is said to have a sweeter odour than the usual one. No one who visits a place where he has smelled incense will find any indications pointing to the burning of incense, since supernatural phenomena never leave any physical trace. In some important shrines one smells burned *bahḥūr* every Friday.

Often religious music, coming from a shrine, is heard. It is either the singing or rather the melodious recitation of *madāyḥ* (pl. of *madīḥ*) or it is *darwīš* music, produced by the combination of several musical instruments. Such an *'iddeh* sometimes plays so loudly that all the peasants in the neighbourhood of the *maqām* have to leave their houses, as in the case of *es-šēḥ* Frêdj (Bêt Hanînâ). Loud music is an exception. The *'iddeh* of *es-šēḥ* Abû Yamin (Bêt 'Anân) plays while the saint flies over and around the village.

It is interesting to note the following in connection with the hearing of prayers. The *welî* has been heard to say his prayers alone, but more often many *awliâ* or *şullâḥ* perform their devotions together.² It is often related that the Prophet Mohammed and his *şahâbeh* attend such meetings. In Nablus el-Ḥaḍer holds a meeting with the *şahâbeh* in his shrine. In the sanctuary of en-Nûbânî³ the *aqtâb* assemble. The saints are rarely seen walking in meditation around their shrine.⁴

¹ It is slowly vanishing.

² *Eš-šēḥ* es-Sidrî ('Anâtâ) goes every Friday to the Mosque of Omar to perform *şalât ed-djum'ah*.

³ Nablus.

⁴ The following verses throw light on the subject:

el-Ḥauwâş mîn qadduh hû sîdî u'anâ 'abduh
yndahnî u'anâ arudluh yâ darâ 'uñû bidduh
taniḡūluluh el-qanādîl quddâm es-salâtîn

Who is so mighty as el-Ḥauwâş?
He calls me and I answer.
(He asks) to light his lamps

he is my lord, and I am his servant;
Who knows what he wishes?
before (we do it for) the sultans.

Before passing on to the description of other features we may summarize the preceding. The four phenomena described are manifested as follows:

1. During the night or the dusk of the evening only;
2. More regularly Thursday night;
3. Until a human being approaches, when they vanish;
4. Two or more of them may take place together.

From the foregoing discussion we note that the green colour predominates: the coverings of the tomb and the clothes of the *awliâ* are mainly of a green colour. The headgear, sometimes the horse, the doves, the birds and the light are greenish. In one case the halo around the face of Moses was greenish. Green is the colour of light and common in modern Oriental superstition.¹

As a supplement to this section we may describe some of the conversation of the saints. It is interesting to analyze speeches which are heard in night visions. While in most cases the *awliâ* express their wish in a gentle but imperative way, at times they use coarse language, unworthy of them. Thus *en-nabî* Aiyûb appeared once to 'Abd er-Raḥîm of Ḥarbatâ and said: "Why do you not visit me? If you do not do so soon, I shall cut off your life."² *Es-sultân* Ibrâhîm el-Adhamî threatened a boy who had stolen some olives, with the words: "By God, I shall kill you or make you lame if you steal another time." *Eš-šêḥ* Aḥmad el-'Adjamî,³ appearing to Ḥamdân Moḥammad Šâleḥ ordered him to tell a man who was

*Yâ Ḥauwâṣ yâbû nahleh ṭawîleh
fâhat riḥtak 'as-salâṭîn
yâ Ḥauwâṣ dġînâ-el-yôm inzûrak
niḍwî šam'itak u niḍ'aq baḥḥûrak
fâhat riḥtak 'as-salâṭîn*

O Ḥauwâṣ, O owner (father) of a tall palm tree!
His perfume is diffused over the *sultâns*.
O Ḥ., we come today to visit you,
to light your candle and to burn your incense.
Your perfume is diffused over the *sultâns*.

"*sultâns*," stands here for "saints."

¹ A green coat seems to be characteristic of saints. See Mudjir I, 42.

² 'aḡsuf 'umrak.

³ East of Bêt Maḥsîr.

building a wall in the property of the *welî*: "*in mâ ridjî' an turquh la'aqta' eš-šuršên*."¹ "If he does not turn back from his course, I shall cut off his posterity."

c) The Two Antagonistic Classes of Saints

Every one who has visited several shrines or who has investigated the *awliâ* will have noticed the distinction made by the people between 'Adjamî and *derwîš* or *šêh*. The word 'adjamî denotes originally a Persian, but it is used at present for foreign or exotic things or persons in general. It is, therefore, a mistake to think that these saints are Persians; on the contrary, not a single *welî* in my list of *a'djâm* came from that country, and all my enquiries in this respect were answered in the negative. Most of them bear the simple appellation *el-'adjamî* or the plural *el-a'djâm*. Few are known by personal names, like *eš-šêh* Salmân (Bêt Surîk), *eš-šêh* Abû Riš (Bêt 'Anân), Aḥmad el-'Adjamî (Bêt Maḥsir), *irdjâl* el-Arb'in (Biddû), Ismâ'îl (Bêt Duqquh), Maṣṣûr (Ḥizmah). Other *awliâ* of this group, bearing the name of *el-'adjamî* or *el-a'djâm*, are:

<i>el-A'djâm</i>	Dêr Ghassâneh,
'Irâq el-A'djâm ²	Bêt Idjzâ,
four different 'Adjamîs	'Awartah,
el-A'djâm	'Awartah,
el-A'djâm	Bêt Djibrîn,
el-'Adjamî	el-Mdjêdel.

These holy men are respected in some villages and neglected in others. The honours paid to them in the first are less than those to the other saints. All of them belong to the irritable class. All I could learn about them is the following, related to me by a *šêh* of Dêr Ghassâneh. Aḥmad el-Badawî had a clever woman, Fâtmeḥ the daughter of el-Barri,³ as one of his disciples. As soon as she was elevated by the master to the rank of sainthood, she left him, and began to be honoured more and more by the people, many of whom became her devoted followers. She and her disciples had many

¹ *šuršên*, "two roots," means "the descendants of both a man and of his son."

² They are also called *Irdjâl el-Maḥsûmiyeh*.

³ According to some she is the daughter of Šarîfeh the daughter of el-Ḥaḍrâ.

religious quarrels with el-Badawî from the very beginning. Therefore her group was called by the *aqṭāb* by the despised name of "foreigners," *a'djām*. The following verse refers to her:

es-saiyd illi maqāmuh madjma' el-aqṭāb
lōlā mā salab bint el-Barri ḥāṭruh mā ṭāb
rūḥ yā mrîdî uitqallab 'al-a'tāb
uin massak ḍēm ybqâlak 'alênâ '(i)tāb.

The master whose shrine is the assembling place of the *aqṭāb* had he not captured the daughter of el-Barri, he would not have been satisfied,

Go, O thou who lovest me, and turn yourself (as a sign of humiliation) on the thresholds,
 and should difficulties befall you, then have you the right to be angry with us.

This Fâtmeḥ¹ is supposed to have her shrine in Zakariâ. No male visitors are admitted in the shrine. She is supposed, according to what was told Masterman and Macalister, to have come from Persia,² but compare what is said above.

The greatest importance of the *'adjamî* saints lies in their hostility to all *darâwîš* saints, who belong to the *şûfiyeh*. I have never found that they oppose the prophets. As they cannot hurt the dead *awliâ* they persecute their descendants and followers. The following stories are excellent illustrations. If a man of 'Anâtâ—and all inhabitants of this village claim to be descendants of *es-şêḥ* 'Abd es-Salâm—should spend the night in Hizmâ, he is bound to remain all the night inside a house, for the moment he goes out *Manşûr* el-'Adjamî attacks him. Stones are thrown continually at him. In protecting himself he will also fight against his attacker. Nobody beside him is able to see the enemy; and even he can only perceive him vaguely. In case he is obliged to leave the village during the night, he must wear an *'abâyeḥ* (cloak) of a Hizmâ man, turned inside out, so that the 'Adjamî will not recognize him.

¹ *QS* 1915, 175.

² The story noted in *QS* 1916, 126, about the origin of the *'adjamî* is not known to me, and it seems to me improbable, for the *aḥmadiyeh welîs* are not the descendants of *es-sultân* Badr.

When a member of the family of *es-sêh* el-Mahdî (Bêt Djibrîn) dies and is carried to be buried, the A'djâm try to prevent the burial by shooting sharp arrows at him, as well as at those carrying the *bêraq* and at the musicians. The best way to neutralize their action is to sprinkle pure water in the air, else the body of the dead will be badly injured.

Not only the descendants of a holy person, but every *darwîš* is afraid of their enmity.¹ From the many stories I heard and the explanations given to me, I conclude that:

1. The *a'djâm* are hostile to the *şûfiyeh*, trying always to attack *darwîš* saints;
2. This can be accomplished only by attacking their descendants and followers;
3. Such explosions of wrath take place especially during the night;
4. None but the ones attacked—and these only vaguely—can see the *a'djâm*;
5. The danger of such attacks can be prevented by simple measures;
6. In other ways these *awliâ* resemble the other saints, but they are generally less honoured.

Es-sêh Mbârak (Bêt Iksâ) is the only negro² 'Adjamî. He is renowned for his hatred to negroes, who never dare to enter the village for fear of being strangled by him. I have never heard of female saints belonging to this group, and have never heard of 'adjamî inhabiting a spring, while all other sanctuaries may be haunted by them.

Whenever I was shown a shrine and the people began to tell me something about the *welî*, I enquired whether he was an 'adjamî. "*Lâ*" used to be the answer, when he did not belong to this class, "*hû Aḥmadî* (or *Moḥammadî*)". This expression was always used for the non-'adjamî saints. Why such an appellation, derived from the name of the prophet, is given to them, I cannot say.

We rarely hear that an Aḥmadî *welî* becomes jealous. *Es-sêh* el-Bakrî³ went as usual to pay his visits to the saints of Dêr Ghassâneh.

¹ From these two examples we note how easy it is to mislead the saints. Demons can also be misled.

² The forty 'adjamî of Biddû are said to come from Morocco.

³ He is regarded at present as a saint.

His first visit was directed to Irdjâl Sûfâ. This irritated Ibrâhîm el-Hauwâş so much that he inflicted general stiffness upon him. El-Bakrî who was a *darwîş*, knew at once the cause of his affliction, begged el-Hauwâş for forgiveness, and went directly to his shrine.¹

This leads to a very important distinction which the present Palestinian has certainly inherited from his forefathers, namely, that one group of demigods is in continual conflict with the others. The 'Adjamî are on a lower grade of sanctity and have perhaps inherited some characteristics of the heathen local divinities of antiquity.

We may now go one step further and see how some shrines of saints are inhabited at the same time by evil spirits which do not dwell in the holy place itself but in the immediate vicinity. We have already seen in the beginning of this work that five springs belong to this group. Other shrines of this character are:

The cave situated below eš-Šadjarah el-Mubâarakah (Dêr Djrîr) is inhabited by demons, appearing as a hen with its chickens.

The cave Qaṭṭârah, which lies near *en-nabî Nûn* (Yanûn) is haunted by seven young brides.

In eš-šêḥ Ibrâhîm's shrine (el-Ḥaḍer) a woman combing her hair has been seen. In Mghâret ez-Zuṭṭ near the shrine of Ḥaşan Ghreiyb² a bride was observed.³

These *djinn* keep their attributes as illustrated by the following story. A Turkish soldier was ordered by his commander to cut some wood from the grove of Mghârat el-Qaṭṭârah. On the point of beginning his work, a *djinn* warned him not to intrude on the demons' property. The spirit showed him that the whole adjacent plain was full of *djinn* soldiers, who were ready to attack his regiment. The frightened soldier hurried back and reported the case. The commander, laughing at his superstition, ordered the exact execution of his instructions. The soldier returned and while cutting off the first branch fell dead. The spirits of the lower world then united with the English troops and crushed the Turkish army.

¹ Related by O. S. el-Barghûṭî.

² He is an 'adjamî.

³ In eš-šêḥ Sarrâdj's *maqâm* a woman has been seen combing her hair.

2. MIRACLES

Beside the well-known belief as to miraculous cure of diseases by the saints, we meet with many other marvels. All are illustrated and supported by widely reported facts, which are said to have happened within the last two generations. Miracles are known by the names *mu'djizeh*, *'adjibeh* and *karâmeh*. The first and last are the best known expressions. A *mu'djizeh* (like the resurrection of a corpse) is a sure sign of a prophet, while the *karâmât* are characteristic of the *awliâ*. The latter expression denotes the common belief of the honour and regard in which the saints are held by God who gives them this thaumaturgical power.

A favourite motif of such miracles is the way a saint punishes people who steal from his property, or from material put under his protection. A person, who stole horse-beans (*fûl*) from el-Ḥauwâṣ was punished with a skin disease of which the eruption looked like beans. The cucumbers (*faqqûs*) stolen by a boy from a garden adjacent to *eš-šêḥ* Ramaḍân (Qaṭṭaneh) were all changed into centipedes (*aṣât Mûsâ*). Abû Zahariâ (Bêt Ša"âr) changed the stolen peas into small serpents, scorpions and centipedes, which squirmed and crawled in the pockets of the thieves. Some poor wayfarer took oil to fry eggs from the shrine of *eš-šêḥ* Šnêt (Hebron) without asking *dastûr*. The moment he poured it into the pan it turned into blood. He returned the oil at once and, behold, it was nothing but simple oil! A girl who anointed her hair with oil, stolen from the sanctuary of 'Abd es-Salâm, was attacked immediately with stiffness of the neck. A boy went with his mother to visit *eš-šêḥ* Ibrâhîm (Bêt Djibrîn). While the mother entered the shrine, he began to gather olives from the trees of the saint. After filling his pockets, the boy also entered the *maqâm*, whereupon a loud thundering, lightning and the beating of many drums took place, so that the whole mountain began to shake. Both mother and child were frightened to death, and left the shrine, the boy throwing away the stolen olives. The wrath of the saint was appeased and the quaking stopped. The mother at once vowed a gift.

The following story heard in Biddû is told in many villages, with slight modifications. Some thieves, intending to steal goats, entered the cave (situated near *eš-šêḥ* Aḥmad el-Ḥuwêṣ) where they knew

for sure that the animals were kept. They saw and felt nothing but rocks of different sizes. But as soon as they left the cave, the bleating of the goats was again distinctly heard. Every time they reentered or went out they had the same experience. Discouraged, they left the spot without attaining their aim.

Other miracles point to superhuman muscular power. Thus it is said that several saints can lift one or even two large stone pillars with one hand. This characteristic is found especially in Nablus: *es-sultân* 'Abd el-Ghâfir, Irdjâl el-'Amûd and *es-sêh* Tâhâ 'Abd el-Qâder possess it.

Whenever *es-sêh* Damrah¹ (Mazârî en-Nubânî) went on a journey, a hyena² assigned to serve him³ appeared and the saint rode on it.⁴ St. Nicholas (Bêt Djâlâ) used to fill oil jars, placed half-full in his church, in a miraculous way so that the priest always had to take out some oil in order that the jars should not overflow.⁵

The common belief that the Rifâ'iyyeh *sêhs* walk on fire and that el-Badawî walks on the sea, is also known among the Palestinians.⁶

Many of them are said to possess the faculty of flying. They may use some means of transport (like rocks), or may fly without support. Some enjoyed this advantage during their lifetime, but most did not manifest the power until after death.⁷ The best examples of the first category are ed-Dawâ'ir⁸ of Sûrbâhir. Their camels died during their stay in Mecca for the *haddj*. When they asked a rich man to help them to procure other camels, he answered mockingly, "Go, ride on those rocks!" They went, did as they were told and observed that the rocks began to rise higher and to move in a NW direction. One descended in Qrûn el-Hadjar,⁹ because the saint riding

¹ He is said to have been the milk-brother of the Prophet.

² This story may serve to illustrate the belief that the Almighty may assign evil spirits to serve saints.

³ QS 1917, 72 gives another such case. Mudjîr attributes this faculty to some *awliâ* like Abû Tôr.

⁴ See also *lawâqih el-'anwâr* II, 144.

⁵ From the written notes of my father.

⁶ Mudjîr, 93, relates that a severe tempest arose whenever an unclean woman entered the shrine of Nebî Mûsâ.

⁷ See Jaussen, l. c. 295; Curtiss, chapter IV; QS 1916, 176.

⁸ Not Duwâ'ere with Kahle, *PJB* VI, 92.

⁹ East of Sûrbâhir.

on it had died. In this spot, in the Sawâhri territory, he was buried. The others reached Sûrbâhir. This wonderful journey, which was seen in all of the countries passed over, established their sanctity for ever. Similar stories are told about *es-šēḥ* Aḥmad el-Ghmârî¹ (ed-Dâhriyeh) and his son *es-šēḥ* 'Alî. In the case of el-Qaṭrawânî, Abû Ḥalâwî, *es-sitt* Slêmiyeh² and *es-šēḥ* Ḥâlid³ we hear one and the same story. After death, while being carried for burial, the coffin flew off the shoulders of the bearers and moved in the air until it reached the place chosen by the saint for his tomb.⁴ The Arabic expression is *târ 'an ktâfḥun u haddâ . . .*, "It flew off their shoulders and came down . . ."⁵ There are many *awliâ* who are seen during the night hovering over their village. *Eš-šēḥ* Abû Yâmin (Bêt 'Anân) may serve as an illustration.⁶ Beside this miraculous mode of travel, some saints belong to *ahl el-ḥiṭmeh*,⁷ i. e. they can go from any place to any other one in an instant. El-Ḥaḍer⁸ is the best representative of this class. A common proverb well states this power: "Like saint George wherever we go we meet him." This faculty may be so extensive that the saint is regarded as all pervasive. Only a few saints besides St. George belong to this category, but the others do not enjoy a wide reputation. *El-ḥaḍj* Šhâdeh⁹ may serve as an example. The Arabic expression used for such saints, *btintwî el-ard ilhum*, "the earth is folded (moves rapidly)

¹ The rock which carried him from Morocco to Palestine still lies before his shrine.

² Nablus. See also Jaussen, *JPOS* V, 78.

³ Dêr Ghassâneh.

⁴ This is an old belief in the Mohammedan world. See *es-Ša'rânî* II, 146.

⁵ It is to be noted that in many cases the first miracle performed by a *weli* after his death is in the way his body behaves while carried for burial. It may get so heavy that those carrying the coffin (*suhliyeh*) have to stop and put down their load. On other occasions it becomes very light or even, as is mentioned in the text, may fly from their shoulders.

⁶ See also *QS* 1915 on flying derwishes.

⁷ This expression is unknown to *muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ*, Hava, Bellot and Wahrmond.

⁸ Christians put on the head of children with high fever a plate of metal on which the picture of St. George is engraved. Peasants who used to visit the sanctuary of St. George in el-Ḥaḍr used to put one of the chains several times around their neck in order to safeguard themselves against future mental trouble.

⁹ Dêr Ghassâneh.

under them," denotes that the earth moves while they remain where they are.¹

The story² told below is also related with slight modification about the following saints:

<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Têlaḥ	Bêt Surik
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> 'Anbar	'Êsawiyeh
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> 'Aşfür	Dêr Ghassâneh and
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Dâhûd	Jerusalem.

Eš-šēḥ Moḥammed of Bêt Surik went to Mecca to perform the duties of the *ḥadj*. On the great feast (*'id el-kbir*) his mother prepared some cakes backed in oil (*mḥammarât*). She wished that her absent son could also enjoy them. Têlaḥ her other son, who observed how sorry she was, asked her to give him some to distribute among the poor. He went back to his flock of sheep, and finding a wolf near by, entrusted to his care the sheep and went in an instant to Mecca. He found his brother on the mountain of 'Arâfât, handed him the cakes in a warm and fresh condition, and came back as miraculously as he went. The sheep were well cared for by the wolf, and as a sign of gratitude Têlaḥ gave the wolf one. Nobody knew anything about the affair until his brother came back from his pilgrimage. The inhabitants went out to welcome him. He, telling the whole story, said "I am not worthy of these honours, my brother Têlaḥ is a real man of God, a *welî*." From that time Têlaḥ was regarded as a saint.

The following verses describe this and other powers in a beautiful way:

tarâ auwal el-lêl ḥallû š'urhum ḥallû
faraşû sadjâdîdhum 'al-môdj mâ (i)nballû
tarâ fî 'âḥir el-lêl fî ḥaram en-nabî şallû
şallû şalâh ṭfikk el-karb uinḥallû.

¹ In QS 1915, 174, 175, one such is mentioned. In QS 1917, 122 the story of er-Râb'ah (not *šēḥ* which is masc., but *sittnâ*) is given. She is said to have flown after death.

² In some cases the power of flying is inherited. Thus *eš-šēḥ* 'Alî of ed-Dawâymî, as well as his father Aḥmad el-Ghmârî, came in this miraculous way from Morocco.

Behold, at night-fall, they loosened their hair,
 They spread their carpets on the waves and became not wet;
 Behold, at the end of the night, they prayed at the sanctuary of
 the Prophet,
 They prayed a prayer which removes all troubles, and then disappeared.

*šôbeš¹ 'ar-rdjâl yôm el-ḥarb mâ wallû
 farašû sadjâdîdhum 'alal-môdj mâ (i)nballû
 fî auwal el-lêl fallû š'ûrhum fallû
 u'âhir el-lêl fî ḥaram en-nabî šallû.*

Recite a *šobâš* for the men who in the day of war do not flee!
 (Behold) they (the *welîs*) spread their carpets on the waves and became
 not wet;
 At the beginning of night they loosened their hair,
 And at its end they prayed at the sanctuary of the Prophet.

<i>sârû mâ er-rîḥ</i>	<i>qâlû er-rîḥ battâlî</i>
<i>ḥattû mâ el-barq</i>	<i>qâlû ḥâdâ sirr-el-'abtâlî</i>
<i>yâ rîḥ sallim 'alêhum</i>	<i>uint mirsâlî</i>
<i>sâdât ḥattû-n-nidjim</i>	<i>layfrah el-ḥâlî</i>

They sped with the wind, but said "the wind is too slow;"
 They took to themselves the lightning and said "there is the secret
 of the heroes."
 O wind, salute them and be my messenger!
 For these lords vie with the stars in speed, that their followers may
 rejoice!

<i>sârû mâ er-rîḥ</i>	<i>u Djubrâyl idillîbhîm</i>
<i>hazzû qawâyim el-'arš</i>	<i>min uzim saṭuathîm</i>
<i>er-ra'd sabbah iqûl</i>	<i>allâh isâ'idhîm</i>
<i>uîl-mubtalâ in sihir</i>	<i>išûf sirr îlhîm.</i>

They sped with the wind while Gabriel led them,
 The feet of the Throne (of God) trembled from their great might.
 The thunder praised (their power) saying: "God help them!"
 And the afflicted (with devotion) will behold—if he watches their secrets.

¹ Unknown to *muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ*, Bellot, Hava, Wahrmond, Kassâb and Hammâm.

Another important feature is the ability of the *awliâ* to foretell the future. I have already mentioned the story of *es-šêh* Abû Halâwî. The grandson of *es-šêh* Abû Yâmin (Bêt 'Anân) is *es-šêh* Moḥammad Abû Kaškûl, who spent all his time in the fields living on herbs, had a wide-spread reputation for telling the future. The following stories illustrate miracles of types that have not yet been mentioned.

Abû Miṭâ had a quarrel with a peasant of his village. His opponent seeing that it was impossible for him to subdue the *šêh*, said "You tire me, O Abû Miṭâ." The answer was: "Forget not that I am a man of God," and pressing with his thumb on his pipe a greenish flame came out, rising to the sky. The astonished peasant, assured that he had to do with a *welî*, spread the news of the miracle.

Ed-Daḥî¹ went one day with a camel driver to Transjordan to buy two sacks (*'idlên*) of corn. On the way he lost the money, and unable to buy wheat, he filled the two sacks with earth. Reaching home the *'idlên* were found to be full of corn.

When *es-šêh* Djâber was elevated to the rank of *darwîš*, Allah sent some men to prove his abilities. He not knowing their mission, welcomed them as guests and killed a *dbîḥah* in their honour. When the food was ready the visitors said: "O *šêh*, how can we eat your food without lemons?" Now Djâber knew that he was being tried, for it was not the season for this fruit. Lifting his hands towards heaven, he exclaimed: "O my lord Badawî, give me a lemon!" and behold a large ripe lemon fell from the roof. The men then congratulated him on the stage of sanctity which he had attained.

While the *šêh* M. Abû Kaškûl was roaming in the fields, he met a shepherd and being thirsty asked for a drink. The shepherd, hiding the water-skin, denied that he had water. Mohammad, irritated by the lie, pierced the belly of the shepherd with his finger, and a clear stream of fresh water poured out. After drinking, the water stopped flowing, and the shepherd, uninjured, followed the *šêh* and became his disciple. Such stories are told by the peasants to prove the superhuman power of the saints. It is still considered as natural as ever that a saint who performs no miracles, and thus does not prove his godly character, can not expect to be honoured or respected.

¹ On a mountain bearing the same name.

This miraculous power manifests itself also, though less strikingly, in living derwishes, who handle fire without being burned, pierce themselves with swords without being hurt, and pass a thin and sharp *sîh* (iron spit) through their cheeks without bleeding or suffering pain. They stand and dance on drums without breaking the skin. Such mysterious acts are regarded by the people as a sure sign of sanctity.

In his imagination the peasant sees these *šêhs* even after their death. They remind him of unpaid vows, threaten the thief, order the erection of their shrines,¹ etc. In such ways the villagers are kept under the continuous domination of the *awliâ*.

A critical review of all these miracles² shows that they closely resemble the stories told in the Arabian Nights. The only (and, of course, fundamental) difference is that the first are ascribed to the power of God, the latter to the power of the *djinn*. Here again—namely in the apparent result of their work—we have a point where the powers of the upper and lower worlds coincide.³

In closing this part we may quote some verses which describe supernatural qualities other than those mentioned:

es-saiyed illî min eš-šubbâk madd 'iduh
djâb el-'asîr min blâd el-kufur ibhâdîduh
fî auwal-el-lêl bigrâ el-wirdî u bi'iduh
u 'âhîr el-lêl sallam 'an-nabî 'ibîduh

The master who stretched out his hand from the window,
 and brought the prisoner, still fettered, from the land of the un-
 believers,

In the first part of the night he reads and repeats a section of the
 Qoran,
 and in the last part of the night he saluted the Prophet (Mohammed)
 with a handclasp.

¹ Several examples were mentioned in the course of our study. Another characteristic one is *eš-šêh 'Anbar* who appeared to every one who spent the night in a cave beside the shrine and ordered him to tell Ḥasan Muṣṭafâ to repair the shrine.

² Saints of other countries and other times performed the same sort of miracles. See 'Abd el-Wahhâb eš-Ša'rânî, *lawâqîh el-anuâr*.

³ Many stories about miracles performed by the Mohammedan leaders are told in 'Abdallah 'Alawî Ḥasan el-'Aṭṭâs, *zuhûr el-ḥaqâiq fî bayân et-ṭarâyk*, 239 ff.

*fî hâlet el-bûdî rūhî kuntu 'arsilhâ
 tqabbel el-arda 'annî uhî na'ybatî
 fahādî dōlat el-ašbâhî qad haḍarat
 famdud yamînak kai tahḍâ bihâ šifatî*

While I was far from thee (O Prophet Mohammed) I used to send
 my spirit

To kiss the ground (around your grave) in my place—for it is my
 representative.

Behold the dominion of the spirits has come;

Therefore stretch out thy right hand, that my lip should be blessed
 (by kissing it)!¹

*qâl-er-Rifâ'î anâ šêḥ el-'awâdjiz² dôm
 uillî šataḥ³ fî hawânâ mâ 'alēs lôm
 wallâh l'arâ mridî fî djhannam yôm
 larfuş djhannam walâ aḥallîhâ ti'mar dôm*

The Rifâ'î said: "I am always the šêḥ of the weak,
 He who enjoys our love is blameless,
 By God, if I ever see my follower in hell
 I shall smite hell and never let it flourish more."

*qâl ed-Djilânî anâ lata'rifû aḥwâlî
 huḍṭ djamî' el-bḥîr mâdjat laḥîlḥâlî
 uillî bi'trid lal-fuḡarâ fil-hâleh
 ma'î sêf el-'azal iquşş el-i'mârî*

Ed-Djilani said: "If you only knew my state,
 I have waded through the encircling ocean, but the water never
 reached my ankles.
 Every body who opposes the *darâwîš* while they are in the state
 (of exaltation)
 (must remember) that I possess the sword of eternity which cuts
 short life."

¹ Supposed to have been recited by the Rifâ'î while visiting the Prophet's tomb. God heard his prayer and allowed the Prophet to stretch his hand out of the grave.

² One of the names of the Rifâ'î, as we shall see later.

³ *šataḥ* in vernacular Arabic means "to make a picnic."

*qâl ed-Dasûqî anâ law tîrifû êš sawwêt
 nahart sab' el-falâ fîs-sâqî 'alqêt
 uihyât makkeh uzamzam uil-bêt
 ma'î sêf el-'azal lal-mu'tarið qaşşêt*

Ed-Dasûqî said, "If you only knew what I have performed,
 The lion of the desert I slew and threw into the ditch.
 By the truth of Mecca and Zamzam, the *haram* of Medina (and
 the Ka'beh),
 I possess the sword of eternity with which I cut short the life of my
 opponent."

*qâl el-Mulattam¹ uanâ el-Muḡhir lal-'urbân
 sawwart 'alâ el-baḡr ladjlî sabahû-l-hîtân
 uihyât turbit sayîd walad 'Adnân
 barfuş djhannam bridjlî uabattîl el-mîzân*

El-Mulattam said, "I am he who appears to the Arabs;
 I walked on the sea. For my sake the great fishes came swimming
 (to salute me).
 By the truth of the tomb of the lord, the son of 'Adnân
 I will smite hell with my foot and stop the balance (if they stand
 in the way of my follower)."

3. RELATION OF THE SAINTS TO MEN

Human beings feel the great necessity of remaining in constant good relation with the saints, for they are the helpers, physicians, and comforters of men as well the intermediaries between them and God. The more one studies this phase of Palestinian folklore, the more one is struck by the inseparable bond which unites men with saints. As the greater part of the facts belonging to this section have already been described in preceding chapters, I shall be brief, and treat the subject under the following headings:

- a) Saints as Neighbours;
- b) Saints as Leaders;
- c) Saints as Judges;
- d) Saints as Superhuman beings.

¹ One of the names of the Ḥadawî, see later.

a) Saints as Neighbours

We have already seen that most of the shrines lie inside the villages or in their immediate neighbourhood. This makes a *welî* the neighbour of men, bearing all the responsibilities incumbent upon a neighbour. An Arabic proverb says: "A neighbour is responsible for his neighbour, even if he acts wrongfully." The saints keep these rules very exactly. Every saint protects the property of his neighbour, guards whatever is put under his protection and helps in case of need. Even animals who have taken refuge in his sanctuary are safe. A pregnant woman passing *eš-šêh* Mûsâ (Ḥarbatâ) discovered under his carob tree a nest full of partridge's eggs. She took them away, an act which irritated the *welî*. Soon afterwards she gave birth to a daughter, whose one hand was malformed, looking like the head of a partridge and showing the beak clearly.¹

Welîs will not accept any bribe (*barṭîl*, *baḥšîš*). An old man of Ḥizmah stole some cereals (*qaṭânî*) one night from the field adjacent to *eš-šêh* Manşûr. Before going to work he thought to gain the favour of the *welî* and thus escape his wrath, by reciting for him the *fâtîḥah*. But as soon as he cut the first plant a whirlwind arose and threw him over the wall. He broke his leg and lay a long time in bed.²

Sometimes the saint employs ways of protection which will prevent for ever any further violation of the "neighbour's rights." An inhabitant of Kufr 'Aqab had stored his figs under the oak tree of Mgheirîṭ *eš-Šêh*. Some thieves tried during the night to get possession of the fruits, but no sooner had they put the figs into the sack than a whole army surrounded them. They could not escape, for the soldiers drew nearer and the circle became continually closer. At once they threw the figs away and begged the *šêh* for pardon, wherupon the army disappeared.

Once some of the family of Abû Ghêt from Bêt Faddjâr climbed the roof of the church of St. Nicholas (Bêt Djâlâ) to steal olives, which were spread there to ripen. After filling their cloaks they

¹ Jaussen, I. c., 331.

² Rašîd the son of Muḥammed 'Āghâ of Jerusalem once lost his way between *en-nabî* Mûsâ and the Dead Sea. At this time a great part of this area was still covered by *dôm* (*sîdr*) trees. The prophet Moses sent two large birds every night to guard him. One sat at his head and the other at his feet.

tried to descend but saw that the sanctuary was surrounded by a stormy sea. At once they replaced what they had stolen and behold there was no sea anywhere.¹

Persons, who have committed some fault or even a crime, coming to a shrine and asking the *welî* to hide them from their pursuers, will be protected, as they have become his *ṭanīb* (suppliant, client), a relation even stronger than that of neighbour. *Eṣ-ṣēḥ* el-'Umari ed-Djbēî protected all deserters from the Turkish army who fled to him. The soldiers who came to catch them searched in vain, for the *welî* struck them with blindness. The same story is told about *eṣ-ṣēḥ* Aḥmad el-Ḥwēṣ of Biddû and many other saints.

For the same reason, some notables buried their dead in the direct vicinity of some shrine.²

b) Saints as Leaders

Many of the saints of Palestine were historical characters and enjoyed during their life the privileges bestowed on the village elders. Meetings took place in their houses to discuss questions of general interest. They gave orders and superintended their exact execution, especially when enemies attacked the village. They prevented quarrels, settled misunderstanding, and were in this way the local judges. Their reputation did not fade with death. This explains why many villages have local protectors, who were inhabitants of them. Incidents are related to prove the marvellous help given by them whenever enemies attacked the village. I have already mentioned the story of Mâr Inqûlâ and that of el-'Azêrât ('Awartah). But as both of them are regarded as foreign saints I mention the story of *eṣ-ṣēḥ* Maṣûr of Ḥizmah who protected the village against the attacking Bedouin by making them see a strong and high wall surrounding it. Sometimes a whole army is sent by the *welî* to surround the village so that the approaching enemy will face well-armed soldiers wherever he goes.

Often when a dispute arises between the inhabitants of a village, and the difference cannot be settled by the living elders, the holy patron of that place takes an active part in bringing peace. Once

¹ From the written notes of my father.

² For other examples see *QS* 1916, pp. 17, 64, 129, etc. Cf. *JPOS* IV, 9.

the women of Bêt Ḥanînâ had a quarrel. In the evening when the men came back from work the dispute became acute and a regular fight took place. A reverend *šêḥ*—who was nobody less than *es-sultân* Ibrâhîm—appeared and separated the two parties. He even prevented the stones, thrown by each party at the other, from hurting anybody.

When the peasants forsake their old customs of hospitality or abstain from their religious duties the patron *šêḥ* may appear, request and advise them to return to the righteous old paths. A misunderstanding divided the inhabitants of Šufât in to two parties. They stopped giving alms to the poor during Ramaḍân and no longer attended prayers, for having only one place of prayer they did not wish to meet each other there. *Es-sultân* Ibrâhîm of the village appeared to the *muḥtâr* in a dream, and reproaching him said "I advise you to reunite and to resume your old customs of helping the poor and praying in my shrine, else I shall punish every one most severely." The *muḥtâr* called all the people together next morning, and telling them the vision begged that all hatred should be put aside. After succeeding in his mission he went to the mosque. The moment he entered the *ruâq*, the door of the sanctuary was closed by some unseen power. For a whole hour he sat in front of the closed door, praying, weeping and begging the *sultân* for forgiveness. The door opened as mysteriously as it was closed. He entered, prayed and was reconciled with the man of God.

Not only in such small affairs and village disputes do the saints lend their assistance, but also whenever the Mohammedans, as a whole, are attacked by the *kuffâr* (infidels). On such occasions *awliâ* have been seen coming back from the fight with swords dripping blood. They may even become wounded and some of their blood appears in the shrine. The picture of Mâr Inqûlâ (Bêt Djâlâ) was seen to sweat profusely after the saint had delivered the village from the attack of the Bedouin. *Es-šêḥ* Ibrâhîm el-Ḥauwâš (Dêr Ghassâneh) helped the Mohammedan inhabitants of Tripoli against the Italian invasion. He was seen leading a whole army of *awliâ*, all armed with spears and carrying their flags. *En-nabî* Šâlih, of the village bearing his name, dislikes all *mušrikîn*. While returning from such a battle er-Rifâ'î, who was wounded, bled in the place where afterwards his *maqâm* was erected (one hour to the west of Dêr

Ghassâneh).¹ The story of *sittnâ* el-Ghârah (Bêt Nûbâ) has been mentioned. *En-nabî* Tarâfinî (Bêt Nûbâ) was seen during the war standing on his horse with a sword dripping blood.

There are some verses which will illustrate how the saints are asked for help:

*âh bil-wâdî nadah nadhah
sârat ma' er-rîh bil-wâdî
simîhâ 'Alî qâl hissak
akhal el-'ên binâdî
qûmû ifza'û yâ 'îşbat ed-dîn kullukum
hadâ n-nhâr illî tbân fîh el-adjwâdî.*

Ah, I cried out in the valley—

It was carried with the wind in the valley.

'Alî² heard it and said,

Your voice calls the blacked-eyed one (the prophet);

Get up, help (all of you), O (men of the) league of religion!

This is the day in which the generous will appear.

*bânat šawâder dahab umqattabeh hêrî³
umqattabeh bid-dahab uil-qalb ilhâ imêlî
in tâlnî ed-dêm bandah hê yâ 'Ațêrî
nadêt yâ hê uadjû mił el-matar uis-sêlî
uil-ba'd râkîb hidjin uil-ba'd râkîb hêlî
uammâ er-Rifâî idarridj fî nazîh el-hêlî.*

Golden tents decorated with golden pieces appeared,

Decorated with gold and the heart inclines to it.

Should difficulty befall me I will call "Hê, O 'Ațêrî!"

I called "yâ hê" and behold they came (rushing) like the rain and
the torrent,

Some riding dromedaries, other horses,

But er-Rfâî (at once) began helping the weak.

¹ Some of the above stories were told me by O. S. Barghûti.

² 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib.

³ Instead of *hêrî*, *'imêlî* and *'Ațêrî* we hear also
binûr, *nâtûr*, *'Aşfür* and
bidjrâs, *djallâs*, *Ḥauwâş*.

nadêt hê min el-Başrah sim'ûnî
qâlû n'iddak mtaiyam qult 'iddûnî
šart 'alekum min baħr el-ħôf it'addûnî.

I called "hê" and they heard me from Başrah,¹
 They asked, "Shall we count you enslaved by love?" I said (yes)
 count me,
 But on condition you shall get me (safely) from the ocean of fear.

ya-(i)bn er-Rfâ'î yâllî fiş-şafâ gharqâni
biḥyât djiddak Moḥammad šâlib el-burhâni
mahmâ djarâ lar-r'iyeh ylzam er-r'i'yâni

O son of er-Rfâ'î. O one submerged in purity!
 By the life of your grandfather Mohammad, he of the Proof (of
 religion),
 The shepherds (i. e. thou) are responsible for whatever may befall
 the flock.

<i>sadâtnâ bsûfâ</i>	<i>uillhum dark u(i)siûfâ</i>
<i>nadêt nadhet 'âdjiz</i>	<i>yâ râdd el-malhûfâ</i>
<i>Sûfâ 'alêhâ el-hêbeh</i>	<i>min 'ind rabb el-hêbeh</i>
<i>mîn şallâ fihâ el-ghêbeh</i>	<i>nâl hanâ uis'ûfâ</i>
<i>Sûfâ 'alêhâ el-qadrî</i>	<i>mîn 'ind rabb el-qadrî</i>
<i>mîn şallâ fihâ badrî</i>	<i>nâl hanâ uis'rûfâ</i>
<i>Sûfâ mlîhah uzên</i>	<i>ma miṭilhâ fiz-zên</i>
<i>uis'yûhnâ fihâ (i)tnên</i>	<i>zâdû šaraf ma'rûfâ</i>
<i>Sûfâ 'alêhâ ḥallat</i>	<i>barakât rabbî 'alêhâ ḥallat</i>
<i>ui'qûd 'usr ḥallat</i>	<i>bikarâmâthim mahdûfah</i>
<i>yâ šêhnâ yâ Râbî</i>	<i>'alâ l-ħêr fi'luh râbî</i>
<i>râs el-frandj djâbi</i>	<i>ib' azâymuḥ uikfûfah</i>
<i>sîdî yâbû Hamâdî</i>	<i>yâ sâkin fi bâb el-wâdî</i>
<i>faz'ah uḥêl djiyâdî</i>	<i>yâ sâknîn ibsûfâ.</i>

Our lords are in Sûfâ	They have shields and swords.
I cried the cry of a weak one,	"O thou who answerest the broken-hearted!"
Sûfâ is invested with dignity	Radiating from the Lord of Dignity.

¹ ed-Djlâni is buried in Mesopotamia.

He who says the evening prayer therein	Obtains happiness and help.
Sûfâ is girt with might	Coming from the Lord of Might.
He who prays there early (in the morning)	Obtains happiness and honour.
Sûfâ is fair and comely	There is not her equal among the fair ones.
Our <i>şêhs</i> therein are two ¹	who have increased in honour renowned.
On Sûfâ there have descended	Blessings of my Lord on her have descended.
And difficulties have been cleared away	By their good deeds they were cancelled.
O our <i>şêh</i> , O Râbî, ²	His (good) deeds outnumber all good things.
The head of the Frank (the in- fidels) he has brought	With his (superhuman) resolution and (mighty) blows.
O my Lord, O Abû Hamâdi	O thou who livest at the entrance of the valley,
(I beg thee for) help and horses of noble breed	O thou who livest in Sûfâ.

Nor should one forget the generosity of the saints, as a quality which belongs to every leader of every village or Bedouin tribe. Whenever a *ḍbīḥah* is offered it belongs in reality to the saint, thus all who partake in the meal are his guests. As during life so also after death a true saint has an open house for all visitors and needy persons. He still satisfies the hungry and welcomes the wayfarer. A man once had a dispute with his wife, so that he ran away from home and lived in the shrine of el-Qaṭrawânî. The *welî* supplied him with his daily food, commanding him to keep the way he was fed a secret. As long as he kept the secret he was never in need. But the moment he spoke about it, the *welî* withdrew his help.³

¹ El-Madjdûb and *şêh* Ibrâhîm.

² He is the grandfather of all the saints in Sûfâ. His name was Maḥmûd er-Râbî and he was the father of el-Madjdûb.

³ It is often said that *madjâḍib* receive their food in a miraculous way. See 1 Kg. 17.

c) Saints as Judges

In the chapter on oaths we got a glimpse of this important feature of the saint's office. There are many phases of life where a misunderstanding, a crime or an act of oppression cannot be solved, settled or revenged. In most of these cases recourse is had to a saint. It is firmly believed that *awliâ* who know all the hidden secrets, are also able to pronounce a true judgement, to disclose the guilty party and to take just revenge. If a person is suspected of a murder and the Bedouin judges as well as the accusers are unable to find proofs of his guilt, he is asked to take an oath which must be seconded by a notable man¹ chosen by the accusers. Three² have to sanction the oath of the two. The four persons who swear with the accused go to a well known saint or prophet. The judge either goes with them himself or sends somebody to act as his representative. They take off their shoes and enter with reverence. The accused man couches (*biqarrfis*) in the niche, stretches out his hand and swears. The *djaiyed el-'amâneh* comes next. The three others follow to sanction the oath of the two. If one is absent a rifle held by one of the *muzakkîn* takes his place. The oath, which must not be interrupted, runs as follows: "By the great God (repeated three times), the creator of night and day, the only One, the victorious, who deprives children of their fathers and makes women widows, who vanquishes kings, who subdues oppressors, I have not acted, nor killed nor seen, nor heard, nor known nor accomplished evil, nor helped to do it."³ If such a person is guilty and he swears falsely the saint will surely, sooner or later—in many cases not later than in seven days—punish him very severely. His hand, which he has stretched out while swearing, will wither; he may, while leaving the shrine, fall and break a limb, or a disease may assail him. This part has been treated more fully under the head of oaths.

d) Saints as Superhuman beings

All acts hitherto described comprise only things which could be done—in a more or less imperfect way—by any chief. We now come to actions which cannot be accomplished by any mortal, and thus

¹ Called *djaiyed el-'amânah*.

² Called *muzakkîn*.

³ *JPOS* II, 51.

show clearly the superhuman powers of the saints. Disease is an infliction sent by God, *min allāh*, "from God." No human being can cross the way of the Divine. The saint is a friend of God, he is chosen by him, to work in his name and for his honour. Through this distinction he can accomplish miracles which really are only a property of God. The reputation of the saints for curing disease is widespread and every peasant believes in it.

The same idea holds true in ascribing to the *awliā* the power of preventing or removing the scourges which may befall human beings. In the first place there is lack of rain. On rain depends the whole agricultural year of the Palestinian, and even his whole existence. This subject has already been treated above, so we need not dwell on it longer here. In some places certain saints are regarded as the givers of good crops, the donors of successful harvests, the protectors of undertakings, and the like.¹ This idea can be traced back to Biblical times.²

4. RELATION OF THE SAINTS TO GOD AND POPULAR RELIGION

a) Relation to God

All saints were once human beings and became more like God through their piety. It is their degree of nearness to God which puts them in different classes. But, to whatever class they may belong, the saints stand higher than men and nearer to the deity. There are no precisely known methods by means of which a person may become a *welā*. When discussing their origin we shall come one step further toward the solution of this problem. The honours which the saints receive from their Creator differ according to their rank. Their power depends in most cases also on this point. But there are many *awliā* belonging to the middle or even to one of the lower classes, who enjoy in the eyes of the peasants as great a reputation as those of the higher classes.

In what follows I shall give the classes of the saints according to their importance, without going in detail, for such a classification

¹ Curtiss, Chapter XVII.

² Hosea 2 3, 7 12-14.

is no longer specifically Palestinian, but belongs to the whole Mohammedan world. Nor do I claim that the list is absolutely complete or safe from criticism. It has been compiled after a critical study of my list of saints and a thorough examination of the stories and definitions given to me by different people of Palestine. This study may throw some new light on very important points of comparative religion.

The Palestinian distinguishes the following classes of saints:

1. Al-anbiâ (pl. of nabî), prophets.¹ Although the Qoran knows only of 25 prophets,² the Palestinian has given many others this title. Thus *en-nabî* Dâniân, Zêtûn, Raiyâlûn, etc. Even Samuel who is greatly honoured by all Palestinians is not mentioned in the Qoranic list. There are many so-called prophets whose shrines are well known in Palestine, but whose personalities are not at all known. One example is *en-nabî* Hanzal near Tell Bêt Imm Mirsim. He is supposed to be the son of the prophet Şafwân; neither of them is known.³ I have been told the following difference between a prophet and a simple *welî*. *En-nabî haiyun yurzaq yankah*, "the prophet is living, may have children and coitus;" while a *welî* is living and may have children. Although this distinction is not known everywhere in Palestine, we find that it has some parallels in the Qoran.⁴ The martyrs who are raised to the degree of sanctity after death, are said to live, eat, drink, marry and beget children. While the belief extends these abilities to all saints, the present superstition reserves the sexual power to the prophets alone. I was told

¹ Some Palestinians make the distinction between a prophet, who is at the same time *mursal* (sent to a tribe) and a simple prophet.

² Generally counted as Adam, Idrîs, Noah, Hûd, Şâleh, Ibrâhîm, Ismâ'il, Ishâq, Ya'qûb, Yûsef, 'Aiyûb, Şu'eb, Elyâs, Hârûn, Alýsa', Mûsâ, Lot, Dûl-Kafl, Dâhûd, Suleimân, Yûnis, Zakaryâ, Yahîâ, Christ and Moḥammad. Some believe that Alexander the Great was a prophet, others that he was a pious king, while still others say that his mother was a *djinniyeḥ* (*dâiratu l-ma'ârif*, VIII, 411.)

³ *Handal* means Colocynth plant and *Şafuân* = stone. The shrine is a built cave, a part of a Byzantine church. A '*adqah* (another name for *sarris* = pistacia lentiscus) grows there. Some broken columns and a row of hewn stones are still visible above ground.

⁴ Sura III, 166. See also 'Abdallâh el-'Aţţâs, *zuhûr el-ḥaqâiq* 231, etc.; Taqiy ed-Dîn es-Sabkî (*ḥifâ l-'asqâm fî zîaret ḥêr el-'anâm*) gives many sayings of the *hadîṭ* to prove this theory (pp. 134, 135, 136, 142, 143, 145, 147, 154).

that *en-nabî Şâleh*¹ appears at times during nocturnal dreams to women who feel that they have had sexual intercourse with him.²

Although the prophets belong to the highest class, they do not take offence when people visit others of their class, or even of a lower one. Thus a *ḥadîṭ* says that the prophet Mohammed exclaimed once, *man zârâ 'aḥî Yûnis ka'annah zâranî*, "If one visits my brother Yûnis, it is as though he had visited me."³ A woman of el-Bireh assured me that Moses said once: *illî mâ biṭiqş 'aziârtî izûr Şibân ibn ḥâltî*, "Let one who cannot visit me visit Şibân the son of my maternal aunt."

2. The *ṣahâbeh* are the companions of the Prophet.

3. *Awliâ*⁴ (friend, companion of God) is the collective name for several subdivisions. The peasants compare them with the stars, while they liken the prophets to the moon, because when the latter appears, it dims the light of the former. It is easier to recognize the Almighty God than to recognize a *welî*, for the latter *yatasattar min al-karâmeh kamâ tatasattar el-ḥurmah min el-ḥêd*, "He conceals himself from (being known as the doer of) a miracle, as the woman conceals her menstruation."⁵ In practice this rule is not true, as we shall see later.

Another slight difference between the different classes of saints must still be noted. The sanctuary of a prophet is generally called *ḥadrah*,⁶ that of a common saint *maqâm*, while those of especially honoured and recognized *welîs* are known as *maṣhad*.⁷ The subdivision of *awliâ* includes:

¹ Heard from O. S. Barghûṭî.

² See also Gen. 6 1-4. Another difference is well expressed in the sentence *an-nabî lahu el-mu'djizah ual-walî lahu l-karâmah*, "The prophet has (really, shows himself through) a miracle (like the resurrection of the dead) and the *welî* shows thaumaturgical powers (as the healing of the sick)."

³ Another saying is *la tufaḍḍilûnî 'alâ aḥî Yûnis*, "Do not prefer me to my brother Yûnis." For other sayings see Mudjîr I, 53.

⁴ According to Abû Bakr Furîk the *welî* does not know while he is living that he is chosen by the Almighty, while according to Abû 'Alî ed-Daqqâq he does know, *er-Râzî* V, 465.

⁵ *Zuhûr el-ḥaqâiq*, 235.

⁶ The place of his presence, his abode.

⁷ This is true of the shrines of Ḥasan, Ḥusên, Dja'far eş-Şâdiq, etc. The Şâqiliyeh call the sanctuary of 'Alî a *maṣhad*.

- a) *al-aqtâb* (pl. of *qutb*¹), "Poles," the four who founded their four orders bearing their names: 'Abd el-Qâder ed-Djilânî, Aḥmad el-Badawî, Ibrâhîm ed Dasûqî, and Aḥmad er-Rifâî. The first who is the descendant of the Prophet's family, is called *qutb el-aqtâb* (the main pole). It is generally believed that the Almighty has given these four the control of this world.² The greatest number of *šîuḥ* and *darâwîš* follow one of the *aqtâb*. The following verse expresses the devotion of a follower of er-Rifâî to the four *aqtâb* and especially to his own master:

zaiy 'anzâm uisyâdî ḥumât el-ḥaiy
arba' salâtîn hum lâbsîn ez-zaiy
uallâh law šarraḥû laḥmî ušauḥ šaiy
mâ 'afût lašēḥî bitaufiq el-ḥaiy.

How can I be oppressed while my masters are the protectors
of the quarter,

Four kings³ wearing crowns are they.

By God, even if my flesh should be cut and roasted,

I shall not leave, by the help of the Merciful, the Living (God),
my *šēḥ*.

It is related that every one of these leaders received his inspiration from a prophet, whose instructions (*ḥittāh* = pathway) he followed. These men of God are also known by different appellations which are derived from some of their characteristics or from a miracle performed. El-Badawî is also called al-Mulattam,⁴ "the Muffled (of mouth)." Er-Rifâî is known by the names Abû el-'Awâdjiz⁴ (the Father of the Needy), el-'Isâwî, Abû Hammâdî and Šēḥ el-'Erêdjah. The last name is derived from his curing a lame woman (*'ardjah*) by touching her with the seam of his mantle. Verses mentioning these names are:

¹ *Muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ* gives as a synonym *ghôṭ*.

² According to 'Alî el-Ḥauwâs, the Almighty God favours only one *qutb* at a time with his solitude. When he dies another *qutb* is chosen. *Lauwâqîḥ el-anwâr*, II, 157.

³ They are often called *salâtîn*, as being the monarchs of their order. Lane, Customs and Manners of the Modern Egypt. II, 155, note 1.

⁴ In the text there is a verse with this appellation.

sâdât lēnâ lēnâ

ṭâl el-maṭâleh 'alēnâ

sîdî yâ-Abû Hammâdî

dîr anẓâarak 'alēnâ

Our master (twice repeated).

Our waiting (for your help)
has become too long.

O my master, O Abû Hammâdî, Cast thy gaze upon us.

*min sughur sinnî u'anâ fî hubbkum sawwâh
uallâ zamân eṣ-ṣibâ wiṣ-ṣēb atânî urâh
uihyât turbit nabî sârluh ed-dalîl urâh
biddî min ṣēh el-'Arêdjah lafḥah fîhâ nadjâh¹*

Since my youth have I been a pilgrim in your love,
Youth has flown and white hair (old age) has come and gone
(i. e. even my white hair has fallen out).

By the life (= truth) of the tomb of that Prophet (= Mo-
hammed) to whom the guide led and went away,
I ask ṣēh el-'Arêdjah for a blast of success (cure).

*ṣîwânuh 'alâ ṣaṭṭ baḥr en-Nîl mansûb ṣîwânuh
el-'Isâwî illî mâ ṣakâ ed-dēm 'aiyânuh
nâdâ l-mnâdî fî eṣ-ṣabâḥ ul-masâ
tihtazz silsilî en-nabiyn 'alâ ṣânuh*

His tent is pitched on the bank of the Nile,
El-'Isâwî whose patients have never complained of oppression
(want).

It is the herald who cries (his power) in the morning and evening.
Even the chain of prophets tremble in his honour!

Ed-Djilânî is also called el-Bâz, as he is supposed to have been the first one to use this kind of drum in religious music. Often the name is written el-Kilânî, and is then connected with *kâlâ* (from *kayala*, "to measure grain"). This name is explained by the following story. The saint once went to Baghdad to buy wheat. The merchant tried to cheat him in measuring the corn. Irritated by this mean behaviour ed-Djilânî snatched the measure from the hands of the merchant and threw it on the heap of wheat, whereupon it began to be filled by an unseen power

¹ This verse is thought to have been said by 'Abd el-'Âl.

which emptied it into the sack of the saint. Ed-Dasûqî is known by his first name Ibrâhîm.

Each *qutb* had a devoted disciple, who was endued with the supernatural powers of his master. They are still known and greatly honoured. Some families in Palestine boast that they are direct descendants of these men of God. They follow their tenets and still produce *mašâyh* and *darâwîš* of the *ṭarîqah*. As has already been mentioned each *qutub* has the power to appear in the form of an animal. The following table gives a summary of their characteristics:

Name of <i>qutb</i>	Appellation	Inspired by	Family following his <i>ṭarîqah</i>	Name of favourite disciple	Appears in the form of
el-Badawî	el-Mulattam Ḥâiyd el-Bihâr ¹	‘Isa (Jesus)	ez-Zu‘biyeh (Hauran)	el-Jâzdjî	a green bird
er-Rifâ‘î	el-‘Isâwî Abû l-‘Awâdjiz Abû Hammâdî Šêḥ el-‘Arêdjah	Gabriel	el-‘Arûrî	‘Abd el-‘Âl	peacock
ed-Djilânî	el-Kilânî Abû Šâleḥ ¹ el-Bâz	Mohammed	en-Nûbânî	‘Abd eš-Šamad	lion
ed-Dâsûqî	Ibrâhîm Abul-‘Alamên ¹	Abraham	es-Sa’dî (Acco)	el-Bahlûl	the bird named Ghreiyb.

b) *El-Abdâl* (pl. of *badal*) are saints who change their shapes whenever they like, according to common Palestinian belief.²

c) *Ašhâb el-Ḥaṭmih* or *Ašhâb el-Ḥaṭweh* are those saints who are able to go in an instant from one end of the world to the other. Thus they may be seen in the same day in widely separated cities.

¹ These names were given to me by šêḥ ‘Alî Šaraf (Nablus).

² According to *muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ*, I, 73, *abdâl* is the pl. of *badîl*. They are pious men, 70 in number, of whom 40 are in Damascus and the 30 others are distributed elsewhere. Whenever one dies the Almighty God chooses another in his place. This explanation is based evidently on a different interpretation of *badal*, "to change."

- d) *Mašāiyh* are those who have withdrawn from all worldly affairs and live a purely religious life.
- e) *Ḥalīfeh*, pl. *ḥulafā* are the founders of a *zāwiyeh* (pl. *zawāyā*) a sort of a convent, as well as the heads of such places. The head of all the *zawāyā* of one and the same *ṭariqah* is called *el-ḥalīfeh el-'aṣam*. This name is not to be confounded with the title conferred on the religious head of all Mohammedans.
- f) The *Mudjāhidīn* (pl. of *mudjāhid*), "warriors" (in religious wars), *mghāzīn* (p. of *mghāzī*), also "fighters," and *ṣuhadā* (pl. of *šāhid*),¹ "martyrs" are very numerous. In Jerusalem we have the following places, which are said to be dedicated to martyrs:
- aa) In el-Qêmarriyeh² five *'umarā* (pl. of *'amîr*),³ princes, namely: Ḥusām ed-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan el-Qêmarî, Diyâu'd-Dīn, Ḥusam ed-Dīn Ḥaḍer, Nâsir ed-Dīn el-Qêramî and Nâsir ed-Dīn Moḥammad Djâbir. Beside these princes many other martyrs are said to be buried here.
- bb) In eš-šēḥ Djarrāḥ we find the tomb of this man of God as well as of *mudjāhidīn*.
- cc) Irdjāl el-Badriyeh or Šuhadâ el-Badriyeh. Here Bader ed-Dīn Moḥammad Abî Qâsim el-Hakkârî⁴ who died in the Jordan valley was buried.
- dd) Eš-Šuhadâ⁵ outside Bâb es-Sâhirah. A few tombs are shown.
- ee) El-Mudjāhdīn in the cemetery of Ma'man Allāh.⁶ The heads of 70000 martyrs are said to have been interred here.
- ff) Inside the Jaffa Gate there are two tombs dedicated to such saints.

¹ Near Qalansāwiyeh (S. of Tûl Karm) we are shown *el-mghāzīn*. The Mohammedan historians tell us that the Beni el-'Abbās defeated the Beni Umayyah here (Yaqût).

² Situated near the English Mission Hospital. The *maqām* is a beautiful large room. In front of the entrance is a *fustqiyeh* (room-like tomb) in which the dead members of the ḥuddām are buried. The five tombs in the shrine lie parallel to each other. Every one has a head stone covered with a green *laffeh* and the cenotaphs have green *stârât*. The place is neglected.

³ Mudjîr, p. 399.

⁴ Mudjîr, p. 398.

⁵ Mudjîr, p. 413, They appeared once to the mother of Imâm Moḥammad Kl. as a great flock of sheep.

⁶ They are supposed to be the most important martyrs of Jerusalem, but the place is completely neglected.

- gg) In the north of the Ḥaram Area one is shown several tombs belonging to the same category.¹
- hh) Masdjad el-Mudjāhdīn,² situated near el-Aqṣâ, was built by the *sultān* 'Isâ, surnamed al-Mu'azzam.
- ii) The tombs of el-Mudjāhdīn in the court of the Ḥāldiyeh library.
- kk) El-Ghawānmî (near Bâb el-Ghawānmî of the Temple Area, NW corner) are by some considered martyrs; by others pious men.
- ll) Irdjal el-Arbīn in the western complex of the Temple Area, are said to be martyrs.
- mm) *eṣ-ṣēḥ* el-Mansi,³ on the Mount of Zion.⁴
- g) The *Bahālīl* (pl. of *bahlūl*) are a class of hermits who abjure all worldly riches, live alone in the fields and behave abnormally in many respects. *El-madjādīb* (pl. of *madjdūb*) belong to this class.⁵ More will be said later about this class.⁶

4. A'djām are the enemies of the Ṣūfiyeh, as described above.

There is one *welī* in my list who is supposed to have been a Christian converted to Islam, Yukannâ el-Ḥalaby. All female saints are reckoned in the *awliâ* group.

b) Position of the Saints in Popular Religion

The folk-religion of to-day differs greatly from orthodox Islam, though the same may perhaps be said about popular religions

¹ Opposite Bâb el-'Itim. According to some there are the tombs of scholars attached to the Mu'azzamiyeh school.

² Mudjir, p. 355.

³ Kahle mentions only six of these twelve places.

⁴ There are many other places dedicated to martyrs scattered all over Palestine. Some were mentioned on p. 24.

⁵ There is a slight distinction between *bahālīl* and *madjādīb*, which will be disregarded in this work.

⁶ There are still other minor classes, such as:

zuhhād (pl. of *zāhid*) "ascetics." Although they may possess some material riches, they abstain from the use of them, and spend their life in devotion and prayer, as in the case of Ibrāhīm el-Adhamī.

nussāk (pl. of *nāsik*) are those who leave their homes, with all their comforts, and live as pious hermits in caves. *Eṣ-ṣēḥ* Sa'īd of Lydda, who is still living illustrates this class.

I shall not enter into further descriptions of these classes, which do not play any great role at present.

everywhere. The orthodox Mohammedan religion knows only one God.¹ Every one who believes in more than one God is said to give God "associates" (*šurakā*) and is therefore a *mušrik*, or polytheist. Even the prophets, as we read clearly in the Qoran, are nothing but *rusl allāh* (God's apostles), chosen by Him to fulfil His divine work. Many of them were simple, illiterate persons, some even with bodily afflictions. It needs no further discussion to prove that the holy book, el-Qoran, does not allow any created being to be worshipped.² Even more, according to the tenets of Islam, the Mohammedan should be a fatalist, where life cannot be prolonged by any prayers, tears, vows and sacrifices.³ No prophet can change the *qadr*. Nevertheless human nature tries to overcome all difficulties. As nobody knows "his hour" (*sā'atuh*) duty obliges him to do all he can to escape misfortune. Human beings have always felt the great distance between them and God. They know that it is impossible for the sinner to approach the Holy One⁴ directly, so he needs a reconciling mediator. *Lôlah-l-wâstah ladahab el-mawsût*, "Were it not for the mediator, the person for whom mediation is made would perish." This feeling is characteristic of all peoples, ages and religions. The Palestinian has inherited it from his ancestors, Heathens, Jews and Christians. Many conceptions of these ancestors can be still traced in the folklore of the modern Palestinian.

Thus mediators arose who were slowly raised to the superhuman rank,⁵ and gradually their number increased, and the conditions for becoming a *welî* became easier. Once having left the rigid paths of orthodoxy popular worship drifted into superstition. At present we

¹ The many exclamations connected with the name of God and used in the daily life of the Palestinian point clearly to his belief in the almightiness of God. Dalman, *Der palest. Islam*, PJB XIII, 21 ff.; Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 8, 106.

² The first heads of the Mohammedans were very strict in keeping their religion pure. Thus we are told that Abû Bakr said to those who were inclined to worship Mohammed, "Let those who wish to worship Moh. know that Moh. died, but those who worship God know that He is living and shall never die." 'Omar cut down the tree under which the Prophet was declared leader because many believed in its blessing.

³ See also Curtiss, chapters V and VI.

⁴ Lev. 11 44, 45; I Peter 1 16; Ex. 19 10-13.

⁵ This is true also of other religions.

find that popular religion is completely different from the inspired one. This folk-religion interests us, for as Condor says: "It is in worship at these shrines that the religion of the peasantry consists. Moslems by profession, they often spend their lives without entering a mosque, and attach more importance to the favour and protection of the village saint¹ than to Allah himself, or to Mohammed, his prophet." Nor will this surprise those who realize that these same Palestine *fellâhin* are heirs and to some extent descendants of the heathen inhabitants of prebiblical times, who built the first high places.

All *awliâ* were once human beings, who lived as we live, and experienced in their own flesh all miseries, difficulties, diseases and woes of our life. They also know human falsehoods and intrigues. Thus they feel with us in our afflictions and understand us better than God does.² At the same time their anger can be more easily soothed and thus one always hopes, by taking the necessary precaution, to escape or to moderate their punishment. This explains partly how they have gradually taken the place of God. More vows are made in their names, more offerings are brought to them and more help is asked from them than is the case with God. In reviewing the formulae used in oaths, vows, etc., this point becomes clear. The first recourse is always to them, while the Almighty is thought of only on especial occasions.

5. ORIGIN OF THE SAINTS

In studying closely popular superstition with regard to supernatural powers, we find that there are three classes: Spirits,³ Saints and the Souls of the Dead.⁴

Spirits may be good (heavenly, upper, godly or believing spirits)⁵ or bad (earthly, hellish, lower or unbelieving).⁶ The soul or spirit of

¹ In the original *maqâm* stands for saint.

² Hosea 119.

³ Canaan, *Aberglaube*, etc. pp. 7 ff.; *ibid.* *Haunted springs*, etc., *JPOS* I, 153 ff.; Doutté, *Magie*, etc., pp. 119, 120, 160, 222; Jaussen, *Coutumes*, etc., pp. 218 ff.: Einsler, *Mosaik*.

⁴ Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 11.

⁵ The respective Arabic words are *samâwîyeh*, *alâwîyeh*, *rahmânîyeh*, *mu'mînûn*.

⁶ *'arḍîyeh* and *turâbîyeh*, *djahannamîyeh*, *sufîyeh*, *kâferûn*.

the dead may become a good or a bad spirit, according to its good or bad actions on earth. The souls of those who have met an unnatural end always haunt that spot where the blood of the slain flowed. Such a spirit is known as *mfâwil* (or *rasad*)¹, Gen. 4 10. The good souls of the dead are in many a case elevated to sainthood.

We thus see that all supernatural powers are divided into good and bad ones. The first group contains the saints, good spirits and souls of the righteous dead.² The second category is formed by the bad spirits and the souls of wicked men. These two powers are continually at war with each other, but nevertheless they possess many points of resemblance. They appear in different forms, are able to fly, perform miracles, etc. The degree of supernatural power which they can exercise depends upon their rank. The saints are the most powerful of the good, and the *djinn* of the bad group. The almighty God reigns over all and they all have to obey his orders. The modern Palestinian believes just as his biblical predecessors that every thing—good and bad—comes from God. The Arabic expressions used when evil befalls a person express this idea well: *min allâh* (from God), *b'iḍn allâh*, (with God's permission), *taqdîr allâh* (God's irreversible decree).³ Both good and evil powers are God's messengers⁴ who fulfil his decrees.⁵

In some cases it is easy to find the origin of the saints, while in others it is most difficult. I shall try to catalogue the saints in the following categories:

¹ Such a spirit is always dreaded. Cemeteries are always avoided during the night. Any child who is beaten in a cemetery gets sick.

² It used to be a wide spread custom, which still exists but to a somewhat less extent, to place with the dead in his grave the things to which he was most attached, his gun, *argileh*, coffee pot or even his most beloved dish. This, as well as the belief that the soul may appear to the living (especially on the eve of Friday, see *Aberglaube*), shows that the peasants believe that the spirit continues to live and remains attached to the objects which it preferred during its life on earth (*JPOS* IV, 28). But I cannot verify for Palestine the statement of Curtiss (in chapter 11) that a dead man can approach his wife after his death.

³ Job. 2 10; Amos 3 6.

⁴ Ex. 19; 1 Sam. 16 14-16, 18 10, 21 5.

⁵ Very interesting is the belief that where there are many *awliâ*, many *djinn* try also to be present. Thus some saints try to drive away these *djinn*. El-'Adjamî in Bêt Djibrîn asked to be buried at the entrance of the village to prevent the *djinn* from entering (see also *QS* 1915, 172).

I. Historical saints,

a) Biblical characters,

b) Qoranic characters,

c) Characters from Mohammedan history.

II. Saints whose descendants are still living.

III. *Darâwîš* of some *ṭarîqah* and saints of unknown origin.

Before describing the different items in the list, it will be important to give some details which may throw some light upon the origin of the *awliâ*. The examination of the names of *welîs* often is of value, though the explanations given by the peasants are often based on popular etymologies.¹ Here is a list to demonstrate this point:

Name of saint	Location	Origin of appellation
Abû Ša'r (Father of Hair)	Mâlḥah	Because of the thick hair on his back.
Ibrâhîm el-Ḥauwâš (I. the worker in palm-leaves)	Dêr Ghassâneh	From his craft of making baskets from palm-leaves.
Bišr el-Hâfi (the Bare-footed)	Nablus	He always walked barefoot.
Aḥmad Abû Sall ² (the Father of the basket)	Irâk el-Manšiyeh	Said to have carried a basket full of water, without its leaking.
<i>en-nabî</i> Hušan	Ḥirbet Hûšah, SW of Šafâ 'Amr	He frightens and confuses robbers who approach his shrine.
'Asfûr (the bird)	Dêr Ghassâneh	He flew to Mecca.
Nâfûḥ (the blower)	E. of Kifr ³ ed-Dik	He blows up every transgressor so that he swells.
Abû 'Arqûb ⁴ (the father of the leg)	Dûrah	He fought the infidels with a camel's legbone (cf. Samson).

¹ Such etymological explanations are not new. See Goldziher, *ZDMG*, vol. XXIV, pp. 207 ff.

² *QS* 1915, p. 174.

³ *Kifr* = *kafir*.

⁴ *QS* 1916, 15.

Name of saint	Location	Origin of appellation
<i>en-nabî Ša'leh</i> (father of the flame)	Sebastiâ	He sent a flame to devour his enemies (cf. Elijah).
<i>eṭ-Ṭaiyâr</i> (the flying)	in many places	They flew during their life.
<i>Abû Ḥarrûbeh</i> (the father of the carob tree)	SW of ed-Ḍähriyeh	A carob tree grew beside his grave.
<i>el-Ḥaḍrâ</i> (the Green)	Nablus	The Almighty saved her virginity.
<i>Irdjâl el-'Amûd</i> (the men of the column)	Nablus	They used to carry a column in one hand (originally pillar-saints).
<i>Ali el-Bakkâ</i> ¹ (the Weeper)	Hebron	He used to weep much.
<i>en-nabî Nûḥ</i> (Weeper)	'Aṭâb	He mourned greatly in his life time.
<i>Lûlû</i> (Pearls)	Jerusalem	He changed <i>kaskasûn</i> ² into pearls.
<i>el-Kilânî</i> (the Measurer)		He measured out grain.
<i>Ḥalîl Allâh</i> ³ (the friend of God)	Hebron	He was chosen, by God, as a friend.
<i>Abû Tôr</i> (father of the ox) ⁴	Jerusalem	He used to ride on an ox. ⁵

While for some of the shrines certain data can be secured from the sources we have, for many we must resort to conjecture. Many sanctuaries honoured by the modern Palestinian are doubtless older than Islam and even than the Christian period, as Renan writes:

¹ Mudjir ed-Dîn II, 492.

² *kaskasûn* (Classical Arabic *kuskus*) = gruel of coarse semolina (Hava 645). *QS* 1917, 120.

³ He is called in the Bible twice the "Friend of God", Is. 41, 8; James 2, 23.

⁴ Mudjir II, 488.

⁵ Some saints govern the rain (eš-šêḥ Ghêt, eš-šêḥ Maṭar), the dew (Abû en-Nadâ, Schumacher, *Der Djolan*, *ZDPV* IX, 350), vapour (Abû Ḍabâbeh, Curtiss, chapter IV), etc.

"Men have since their beginnings worshipped at the same places,¹ which were often on mountain tops, where men of remote ages felt themselves nearer to the Divine, with whom they sought to hold converse,"² Ps. 121, 1. The Palestinian has often kept the place as a shrine, but has changed the name of the being worshipped there. Thus, for example, the cave situated on the Mount of Olives, honoured by the Mohammedans as the shrine of er-Râb'ah³ was revered by the Christians as the place where Pelagia atoned for her sins, while the Jews cherish the still older belief that this place is the shrine of the prophetess Huldah.⁴ Not only were many Christian churches changed to mosques, but many Christian sanctuaries became Moslem *awliâ*.

One of the best examples of this is *eš-šêh* Moḥammad Ša'leh in Sebastia.⁵ The following story is told about him. Once a fight took place between the believers (Mohammedans) and the unbelievers. The men of God helping the former sent fire from heaven which devoured their enemies. Hence this name Ša'leh (flame). In the ruins adjacent to the shrine Prof. Alt found a Greek inscription dedicating the church to Elijah the Tishbite in memory of the miracle of sending fire down from heaven to consume men sent by Ahaziah king of Israel. Tradition has preserved the Biblical story with slight modification; Ša'leh takes the place of Elijah.

It is very interesting to investigate different shrines, get the stories connected with them and note all the superstitious beliefs attached to them. Such data will often be of great topographical and even historical value.

Another very important fact which is to be noted is that many villages bear the name of their most important saint. The question arises whether the village is called after the name of the saint, or vice versa. As in most of such cases, either principle may apply. In my collection I have the following such cases:

¹ *Mission de Phénicie* (after Goldziher).

² A. R. S. Kennedy in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

³ Mentioned already *JPOS* IV, 57. Not Râb'ah el-'Alawiyeh as mentioned in *QS* 1917, 121, but el-'Adawiyeh. The story mentioned in *QS* is unknown to all whom I have questioned.

⁴ Mudjir, 238, thinks wrongly that er-Râb'ah was buried here.

⁵ Alt, *Ein vergessenes Heiligtum des Propheten Elias*, *ZDPV* XLVIII, 393.

Village	Saint
El-Ḥaḍer	El-Ḥaḍer el-Aḥḍar
Dêr Yâsîn	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Yâsîn
Qaryet el-'Inab	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> el-'Inbâwy
Bêt Laḥim (Galilee)	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Laḥḥâm
'Arûrah	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> el-'Arûrî
Dêr Šaraf	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Šaraf
Ḥirbet Dêr es-Sidd	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> es-Sidrî
Mazâri' en-Nûbânî	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> en-Nûbânî
Dêr eš-Šēḥ	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> (<i>es-sultân</i>) Bader
Bêt Djibrîn	<i>en-nabî</i> Djibrîn
Bêt Lîqîâ	<i>en-nabî</i> Lîqîâ
Dâniân (Lydda)	<i>en-nabî</i> Dâniân
Yânûn	<i>en-nabî</i> Nûn
'Alût	<i>en-nabî</i> Lût
Yâmîn	<i>en-nabî</i> Benyâmîn
Bêt 'Ûr et-Taḥtâ	<i>en-nabî</i> 'Ûr
Kafl Ḥâris	<i>en-nabî</i> Du l-Kafl
Ḥân Yûnis	<i>en-nabî</i> Yûnis
El-'Êzariyeh	el-'Uzêr
Ḥalîl er-Raḥmân (Hebron)	Ḥalîl Allâh
Ḥirbet Tell el-'Arbîn	el-'Arbîn
el-Falûdjeh	Aḥmad el-Falûdji
Ḥirbet Idjdûr	<i>en-nabî</i> Idjdûr ¹
Dêr 'Aiyûb	<i>en-nabî</i> 'Ayûb
Ḥirbet 'Azzûnî ²	Irdjâl 'Azzûn ³
<i>en-nabî</i> Šâleḥ	<i>en-nabî</i> Šâleḥ
ed-Daḥî ⁴	ed-Daḥî
Ḥirbet el-Kaḥîrah (Kfêrah)	Abû Kfêr
Dêr Istiâ	<i>en-nabî</i> Işyâ
el-Yahûdiyeh	<i>en-nabî</i> Yahûdâ
Ḥirbet Hûšeh	<i>en-nabî</i> Hûšân

¹ The biblical Gedor, Jos. 15 58; 1 Chr. 4 39, 13 7.

² Half an hour from Sannârîyeh.

³ The full name is Irdjâl 'Azzûn bin 'Atmeh.

⁴ The mountain on which the *welî* is built bears the same name.

Even some quarters of cities, small uninhabited places, mountains, etc., bear at present the name of a shrine, situated in or near them:

Hâret <i>en-nabî</i> Dâhûd	<i>en-nabî</i> Dâhûd
Hâret <i>eš-šêh</i> Djarrâh	<i>eš-šêh</i> Djarrâh
Hâret Sa'd u S'id	Sa'd u S'id
Bâb Sittî Mariam (Lion's Gate)	The Virgin Mary
Djabal et-Tôri ¹ (Jerusalem)	<i>eš-šêh</i> Aḥmad et-Tôri (also pronounced et-Tôri)
<i>eš-šêh</i> Badr (NW Jerusalem)	<i>eš-šêh</i> Badr
Tell Bal'ameh ²	Bal'ameh
Ḥariqet el-Lîqânî ³	<i>en-nabî</i> Lîqîâ
Nahr Rûbîn	<i>en-nabî</i> Rûbîn
Tell Yûnis (S. of Jaffa)	<i>en-nabî</i> Yûnis.

I shall try to analyse⁴ a few of the above names to show how in some cases the saints receive the name of the villages, while in others villages are called after the name of their most important *awliâ*. It is unquestionably an important field for further investigations, for the results will clear away many obscurities in the topography and local history.

The two following cases, although not mentioned in the above list, well illustrate how saints perpetuate the names of ruined villages. Near Bîsân is the mound of Tell eš-Šârim, once the Canaanite city of Rehob (a name meaning wide place), destroyed about the eleventh century B. C. In Byzantine and early Arabic times it was represented by a village of the same name, mentioned by Eusebius, now Ḥirbet er-Rhâb just to the south of Tell eš-Šârim. Here in the later ruin is a *welî* who has taken the name of the ancient city, and is called *eš-šêh* er-Rhâb. The same is true of the Canaanite royal city Eglon, probably Tell el-Ḥesî. A *šêh* 'Adjlûn

¹ According to Mudjir II, 488, the mountain used to be called Dêr Mâr Morqus (from a Christian convent which had the same name). The name Dêr Abû Tôr was given to the place after the king Abû-l-Faṭḥ 'Oṭmân, the son of Šalâḥ ed-Dîn, presented the whole village (on the mountain) to *eš-šêh* Aḥmad Abû Tôr.

² Between Djenîn and Qabâṭiah.

³ Bêt Lîkiâ.

⁴ Mader, *Altchristliche Basiliken*, has given us much important information about this subject.

in the immediate vicinity of the mound, on a Byzantine or early Arabic ruin called Ḥirbet 'Adjlûn, commemorates the place and perpetuates in his name that of the long destroyed city. I owe these last two cases to the kindness of Prof. Albright.

Eš-šêḥ Yasin¹ in Dêr Yasin is also the original Christian St. Yason.² *En-nabî* Hûšan in Ḥirbet Hûsheh perpetuates the name of the Talmudic Osheh. Nabî el-Yaqin (IV, 78) may perpetuate the city of Cain (Qâyin) mentioned in Joshua 15 57.³ *Eš-šêḥ* Abû Tôr (originally Tôr, the father of the ox) is built on the site of the Christian convent of St. Luke,⁴ whose emblem was an ox.⁵ So also probably el-'Uzêr of Abû Ghôš is the originally Eleazar, the son of Abinadab, who was set apart by his father "to keep the ark of the Lord" during its stay in Kirjathjearim (I Sam. 7 1 ff.). The sanctuary was probably on the neighbouring hill.⁶ Bêt 'Ûr is the ancient Beth Horon and has now as its most important saint a *nabî* bearing the name of the village—*en-nabî* 'Ûr. No such prophet is known.⁷ In Bêt Djibrîn, the ancient Bêt Gabra or Bêt Gubrin,⁸ *en-nabî* Djibrîn (or Djibril, Gabriel) is honoured. There is no prophet (but an angel) of this name, and the saint's name is clearly derived from that of the village.⁹ Ed-Djazâirî, commemorates the ancient name of

¹ There is no *nabî* Sâleḥ in Dêr Yâsin as Abel says in *Revue Biblique*, 1924, 620, but only a *šêḥ* Sâleḥ. The shrine is a very neglected, undecorated room, without a *mihrâb*, tomb, mattresses, oil lamps or votive offerings. The room forms a part of a building called ed-Dêr. The spear of the *šêḥ* is planted on the roof of the shrine.

² H. Goussen, *Über georgische Drucke und Handschriften* (after Abel in *Rev. Bibl.*).

³ See for bibliography Mader, l. c., 166 ff.

⁴ Meistermann, 1923.

⁵ Cf. on the other hand the tradition transmitted by Mudjîr, and already referred to.

⁶ Dêr el-Azhar exhibits ruins of a Byzantine church probably dedicated to the "stay of the ark of the Lord." See Pierre le Diacre (1137).

⁷ It may be that the town was connected in Jewish times with the Aaronical Hûr (probably Hôr), by a popular etymology, and that Bêt 'Ûr stands for Bêt Hôr [W. F. Albright].

⁸ It is not mentioned in the Bible. Josephus calls it Begabris, the Talmud Bet Gubrin. The Crusaders built here a fortress which they called Gibelin (Meistermann).

⁹ About the new *maqâm* see *QS* 1915, 171.

Gezer, Abû Šūšeh being the new name. On Tell el-'Asûr the šēh el-'Asûr perpetuates the name of Baal Hazor of II Sam. 13 23.¹ I do not doubt that eš-šēh² el-'Inbâwy has the same origin as that of ed-Djazâirî. Abû Kfêr perpetuates the name of the old Canaanite city whose ruin is still known as el-Kefirah. Qabr Ḥabrûn³ (near Hebron) perpetuates the Hittite Ephran⁴ of Gen. 23 4-20.⁵

It is to be noted that these ancient city names are often certainly not derived from personal names, but the Palestinian has personified them with eponymous saints. In another set of cases the saint has given his name to the village in which he is honoured:

Old name of the locality	Name of the saint	Present name of the locality
Hebron	Ḥalil Allâh	el-Ḥalil
Bethany	Lazarus (el-'Uzêr)	el-'Êzariyeh
Mizpeh of Benjamin	Samuel	Nebi Šamuḥl ⁶
no village	St. George (el-Ḥaḍer)	el-Ḥaḍer.
a hill	Jonas	Tell Yûnis.

Kafl in Kafl Ḥâris is originally Kafr. The change of consonants is due to dissimilation of the "r", as in Sûrbâhil for Sûrbâhir, etc., and is quite regular in Palestinian Arabic. After Kafr had been changed into kafl the latter was connected with the Qoranic prophet *Dul-Kafl*, and a sanctuary of this 'prophet arose.

¹ The trees are called *šadjarât* el-'Awâsîr. In oaths Irdjâl el-'Awâsîr is used. Both point to the plural. On the other hand the *miḥrâb* and the cave are connected with the sing. 'Asûr. The *miḥrâb* does not exist any more. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, II, 264, note 1, mentions a *welî* on the top of the mountain.

² See also Rev. Bibl. 1907, 445.

³ Mudjir I, 40 calls him 'Afrûn.

⁴ Mader, *Altchristliche Basiliken*, 146, note 3.

⁵ Near el-Qaṭrawâny are the ruins of a Byzantine church. Some Christians of Bir Zêt cherish the tradition that there was a Christian convent bearing the name of "St. Katharina." The etymology of Qaṭrawânî corresponds more with Katrînâ than with Qaṭrah (a village near Gaza).

⁶ Abel, Rev. Bibl. 1912, 167. The identification with Mizpah is disputed. Alt makes it=Mizpeh, but not Mizpah; Albright makes it=both (with G. A. Smith and Buhl).

Before leaving this part I venture to draw the following comparison. I have been told that *en-nabî Zêtûn*¹ (near Bêt Ūniâ) stands for Zebulon.² Raiyâlûn in the shrine of el-'Anbiâ (Nablus) stands also for the same patriarch. I would suggest that زبلون is the source of both زيتون,³ and ريلون, and that an early Arabic or even a Qufic inscription with the word زبلون—which would be then written ريلون—was misread and changed by some to ريلون and by other to زيتون.⁴

In many cases we are told that many saints live in one and the same shrine. I have found the numbers 10, 40, 60 and 70 to predominate, forty being the most important and the most common. In analysing the shrines dedicated to the "forty" we find that this number is always combined with some descriptive appellation, such as *welî*, *nabî mu'mîn*, *mghâzî*, *rdjâl*, *šahîd*, *maḥsûmiyeh* and in one case *'adjamî*. Leaving the last expression aside for the present, we observe that these appellations may be grouped into two categories:

1. Those pointing to sanctity of life, like *welî*, *nabî*, *mu'mîn*.
2. Those pointing to martyrdom, *šahîd* and *mghâzî*.

It is a most difficult problem to know who the forty were. In the Oriental Christian church we have seven occasions on which forty persons are celebrated.⁵ Six times they are martyrs⁶ and once saints. One group of these seven were killed in Palestine.⁷ The most im-

¹ The popular tradition about the origin of this saint runs as follows: Imm eš-Šêḥ (the daughter of Aḥmad ed-Dadjdjâni) whose shrine lies near, beheld one day a column of fire reaching from heaven to earth. The same night a reverend šêḥ appeared to her and said that his place lay at the point where the fire touched the earth. Early next morning she hurried to the site, which was known to be absolutely treeless and to her great astonishment found a large olive tree growing there. She called the place eš-šêḥ Abû Zêtûn. I cannot verify Drake's statement in QS 1872, 179, that Abû Zêtûn was the son of Imm eš-Šêḥ.

² Heard from several people of Bêt Ūniâ.

³ Schumacher, ZDPV IX, 353 mentions an Abû Zêtûn (in Djûlân), whose name came also from an olive tree.

⁴ Some have even misread the ز as a د and read Dabbilûn.

⁵ See Greek SYNAXARY.

⁶ In one case forty virgins, in another forty children suffered martyrdom.

⁷ It is to be noted that out of 108 occasions on which Christians suffered persecution and death we find only seven times that the number of the martyrs was forty (Synaxary).

portant group, the forty martyrs of Sebaste (Asia Minor),¹ perished from cold in a frozen lake, due to the persecution of Licinius. Probably the Christian legends have given the impulse to the Mohammedan idea. This is doubtless the case with *maqâm el-Arbîn* in Nazareth, which was erected on the site of the church of the martyrs.² The same may be said of the *mašhad el-Arbîn*³ on the djabal Rumêdeh (near Hebron),⁴ and with probability of the sanctuary of the forty on the Mount of Olives, where according to Jerome there were thirty basilicas and many convents.

It is curious that the Mohammedans, whose sacred book makes very little use of this number, have so many shrines dedicated to the "forty," while the Christians and Jews, in whose literature we meet with so many references to this number, have far fewer.⁵ I suppose that in many cases the original idea was "many" or "several" saints, who were thought to have been seen praying in one place. Sooner or later a person claimed to have seen as many as forty, whereupon his statement was at once accepted and the definite number replaced the vague one.

Forty is a much used number in magic formulae, superstition and religious beliefs, but it cannot compete with the holy numbers three, five and seven.

In examining the shrines dedicated to ten, sixty and seventy saints we find that they are less common than those mentioned. I have only one example representing each class:

¹ On the 10th of March the Orthodox Church has a feast in their memory.

² This church was mentioned by Burckhardt (1283) and Corsenus (1628), see Maṣṣûr, *Tarîḫ en-Nâsirah*, 1924, p. 188. He writes that while Şâleh Djabbûr was digging in his property, which lies to the SE of the *maqâm* four pillars of granite were found. Two were bought by the Franciscans and two by the Greek priest Nifon.

³ Mentioned by Mudjîr II, 427.

⁴ Mader, *op. cit.*, 148ff., gives the proofs for this theory.

⁵ It is said that when the Prophet had forty followers he ordered his muaddîn to call for prayer.

Ḥarrûbet el-'Ašarah	Êsawiyeh, ¹
Mghâret es-sittin nabi	Banî N'êm, ² and
sab'in 'Azêrât ³	'Awartah.

In regard to the last I observed some contradiction. On the one hand their names denote that they are thought to be female saints, and they appeared as female doves; on the other hand some people of 'Awartah told me that they were male prophets.⁴

The following is the list of the "Forty" which I have visited. There are many others scattered all over Palestine:

Forty <i>welîs</i>	in the cave of Rdjâl el-'Amûd (Nablus)
<i>madjma'</i> el-Arb'in	in one of the rooms of R. el-'Amûd (Nablus)
Arb'in Mghâzî	Bêt Likîâ
Rdjâl el-Arb'in	Biddû
Djâmi' el-Arb'in	Êsawiyeh
arb'in Mghâzî	Şôbâ
el-Arb'in	el-Qubêbeh
el-Arb'in	between Şaţâf and 'Ên Ḥabîs
Qubbet el-Arb'in	Mount of Olives
Rdjâl el-Arb'in	Temple area.

Before continuing, it should be stated that many shrines have completely disappeared, while the local name of the quarter, cistern, rock, hill, etc., still points to the old shrine. The following are some examples. In Bêt Djâlâ there used to be a sanctuary for Mâr 'Aiyâš,⁵ St. George,⁶ Gideon⁷ and for his son Abimelech.⁸ It was believed that the double miracle of the fleece placed on the threshing

¹ Another Ḥarrubet el-'Ašarah used to be on the Mount of Olives. Mudjîr II, 411, mentions Masdjad el-'Ašarah which was connected with a carob tree.

² Mudjîr I, 67; of the 60 prophets, 20 were apostles.

³ In the Christian Church we have 60 occasions where 70 martyrs and three where seven martyrs are celebrated (Synaxary).

⁴ The inhabitants of this village believe that these prophets prophesied during the time of Moses.

⁵ A Greek Catholic sanctuary.

⁶ At the place where at present the German Mission has its buildings. The whole quarter is still known as Ḥâret ed-Dêr.

⁷ Where the Latin Patriarchat has its building.

⁸ In the northern part of the village.

floor and given to Gideon¹ as a sign that he would smite the Medianites took place in Bêt Djâlâ. The place was known up to thirty years ago as 'Irâq ed-Djizzeh, "the rock of the fleece."² Into Bîr ed-Damm (the cistern of blood) it is supposed that Abimelech threw his brethren whom he had killed.³ A few other forgotten places have already been mentioned in the text.

I. Historical Saints

a) Biblical Characters

Palestine as the land of the Bible naturally possesses the sites where different persons of both Testaments lived, acted and were buried. Many prophets enjoy several sanctuaries, one commemorating the place of his nativity, a second the spot of one of his most important actions, the third his tomb, and still another the place where he is supposed to have appeared after death, etc. It goes beyond the scope of this work to give a list of all Biblical characters who are honoured at different spots of Palestine. Their number is very great.

Some of the prophets have changed their names completely, as we have seen in the case of Š'aleh and Abû Zêtûn. The shrine of en-nabî Yaqîn on the mountain al-Marţûm, near Benî N'êm, has been already described (IV, 78). St. Jerome states that a sanctuary of Abraham was founded in the village of Benî N'êm, then called Caphar Barucha. The modern inhabitants place the tomb of Lot here. His sanctuary is certainly erected on the ruins of a church.⁴ Other biblical persons who have changed their names are:
Raiyâlûn (Nabulus) stands for Zebulon.

El-'Uzêr ('Awartah) stands for Ezra, originally Eleazar, son of Aaron.

El-'Uzêr (Abû Ghos)⁵ stands for Ezra, originally Eleazar the son of
Abinadab.

El-'Uzêr (el-'Êzariyeh) stands for Ezra, originally Lazarus.

el-Manşûrî ('Awartah) stands for Phineas son of Eleazar.

¹ The inhabitants of this village believe that Gideon lived at this spot.

² Judges 6.

³ From the written notes of my father.

⁴ St. Jerome says that this was the spot to which Abraham accompanied the angels, who went down to Sodom, which belief is, as we have seen, still cherished by the inhabitants of Benî N'êm (and by Mudjîr).

⁵ It is curious that Mudjîr (138) thinks it was Jeremiah and not Ezra whose story is mentioned above (IV, 51).

There are many other examples. Cases like the classical Yaḥiâ for Yoḥannâ (John) and Idrîs for Enoch have been omitted. The following list illustrates how one and the same biblical prophet may be honoured in several shrines:

Abraham	north of Hebron	Bêt el-Ḥalîl, ¹
		Bir el-Ḥalîl,
	in Hebron	his tomb and Ballûţet el-Ḥalîl, ²
	Benî N'êm	the place from which he beheld the destruction of Sodom.
	Jerusalem	a <i>miḥrâb</i> where he is supposed
	(below the Şaḥrah)	to have prayed ³
Jesus	Bethlehem	nativity and Mghâret es-Saiydi (the milk-grotto)
	North of Bethlehem	the field of the Grey Peas. ⁴
	Jerusalem	Beside the tomb of Christ, there
	(Holy Sepulchre)	are many spots connected with his life history.
	Jerusalem (Aqşâ)	Foot imprint, below the Aqşâ Srir 'Îsâ.
	Mount of Olives	imprints of both feet in the As- cension chapel.
	Bêt Djâlâ (Bir 'Ônâ)	Imprints of the knees.
	Jordan	Baptism.
	Mount of Quarantine	a grotto where Jesus spent his fast.
	Mount Tabor	Transfiguration.

¹ Mentioned by Mudjir ed-Dîn II, 424, as the place where Abraham had his tents. It is to be noted that several places in the neighbourhood still indicate biblical places: en-Namreh (a summit of a mountain), er-Râmeh (another summit), djabal el-Baṭrak (the highest mountain in southern Palestine), 'En Sârah, Ḥallet el-Buṭmeh, etc.

² Really Ballûţet Sebtâ.

³ In Berzeh, near Damascus, is supposed to be his birth place.

⁴ The Arabic legend tells us that "one day a man was sowing dwarf peas in that field, when Jesus passing by asked him: 'What are you sowing there, my friend?' 'Stones' was the answer. 'Very well, you will reap stones.' And truly when the sower came to gather them, he found nothing but petrified peas" (Meistermann). See another version of the story given in IV, 80, note 2.

David	Bethlehem	David's cisterns (2 Sam. 23 14 etc.)
	Jerusalem	his tomb
	Jerusalem	<i>mīhrāb</i> Dâhûd
	(below the Şahrah)	
	Jerusalem	a <i>mīhrāb</i>
	(outside of el-Aqşâ)	
	In the "Tower of David" ¹	a <i>mīhrāb</i>
	In Qubbet es-Sinsleh	a <i>mīhrāb</i> .

The different shrines of the prophet Job² and those of el-Ḥader³ have been already enumerated. In some cases several tombs of one and the same prophet are shown. The inhabitants of each village are certain that their sanctuary is the correct one. A few examples are: Jonah has a tomb in Ḥân Yûnis, another in Ḥalḥûl⁴ and a third⁵ in Meşhed.⁶ There are still other places commemorating Jonah: *Nebî Yûnis* at Nahr Sukrêr⁷ (6 km to the north of Mînet el-Qal'ah), a Tell Yûnis six and half km south of Jaffa,⁸ and Ḥân en-nabî Yûnis between Sidon and Beirut. In this place tradition tells us that the fish cast up Jonah upon the dry land.⁹ Joseph has his main shrine near Nablus. This is honoured by Mohammedans, Christians, Samaritans and Jews, while the shrine (also with the tomb) in Bêt Idjâ

¹ Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 213.

² 'En Aiyûb south of Ḥalḥûl was not yet mentioned.

³ He is confused with St. George, Elijah, Eleazar and Phineas, Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*, p. 51. The last two names must be exceptionally rare, as I never heard them.

⁴ Mudjîr I, 142. The minaret was built in the year 623 A. H. (1226). The Jews placed here the sanctuary of Gad (M. V. Guérin, *Descr. Geogr. et Archéol. de la Palestine, Judée* III, 284 ff.).

⁵ Goldziher, *Moh. Trad. über den Grabesort des Jonas*, ZDPV II, 13, etc.; Abel, *Le Culte de Jonas en Palestine*, JPOS II, 176; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 165; This place is the old Gath-Hepher associated with a prophet Jonas in 2 Kg. 14 25.

⁶ Meşhed (place of martyrdom) owes its name to the story of the prophet.

⁷ Abel, l. c. 179.

⁸ Schick, QS 1888, p. 7 ff.

⁹ Mudjîr's account about the place where Jonah was cast up is uncertain.

enjoys only local honour and was neglected when I visited the place.¹
A third shrine is shown in Hebron in Ḥaram el-Ḥalil.²

It is curious to note that for most of the sons of Jacob there are shrines situated in different villages on the western mountains of Middle Palestine. There are:

Raiyâlûn (Zebulon)	Nablus	Yâmîn	Kafr Sâbâ
Yašadjar (Isachar)	Nablus	Binyâmîn	Yanûn
Ašar	Nablus	Yahûdâ	Yahûdiyyeh
Yûsif	Nablus	Dâniân (Dan)	Dâniân
Yûsif	Bêt Idjzâ	Rubîn	S. of Jaffa
Simon	Qalqiliyah	Târî (Ashar)	Râs el-Ên
el-Ḥadrâ			
(Jacob's daughter)	Nablus	Banat Ya'qûb	W of Kafr Ḥâris.

b) Qoranic Personages

In this group we count the personages who are first mentioned in the Qoran, and are not biblical. There are only few representatives, the most important of whom is Mohammed himself, whose main shrine is not in Palestine. In Palestine we have several places connected with his life history, namely, those of the miraculous night-journey (*lêlatul-mi'râdj*). The following are the places I know of:

1. His twelve foot imprints on the Holy Rock,
2. The tongue of the Şahrah which spoke with him,
3. The place where he prayed, below the Rock,
4. Ta'djet eş-Şahrah,
5. The hole in the Rock through which he ascended to heaven,
6. The impression of his foot on a separate piece of stone,
7. The Prophet's hair,
8. Under the Aqsâ two *mîhrâbs*,
9. The place where Brâq was tied,
10. Zêtûnit en-Nabî,

¹ While the preceding and the next places are mentioned by Mudjîr, he knows nothing about this sanctuary.

² See *Manâsik el-Quds ual-Ḥalil*, p. 34, and *Murşid laz-zâyir*, p. 40. Some Mohammedans believe that Joseph was thrown by his brethren in a pit (bîr Sindjil); others think that this well is inhabited by *es-şêṣ* Şâleḥ, Canaan, *Haunted Springs*, etc. *JPOS* I, Nr. 4.

11. Qubbet el-Mi'râdj,
12. A *qubbeh* in which it is said that the prophet prayed with the angels and the prophets,
13. A foot imprint near Dêr Ghassâneh,
14. Another 'in H̱aram el-H̱alîl.¹

The prophet is by no means connected only with these spots, but he meets every Friday with some *awliâ* in their shrines, where he has been observed praying.²

Beside the prophet Mohammed there are four prophets peculiar to the *Qoran*: Hûd,³ Şâleḥ⁴ Şu'êb⁵ and Dû l-Kafl. Hûd was sent to the tribe of 'Âd, Şâleḥ to Tamûd, Şu'êb to the Medianites and Dûl-Kafl⁶ succeeded Alisa'. Of these four Şâleḥ and Dû l-Kafl are the more important for Palestine. I have collected the names of five places where Şâleḥ is honoured. Two (in Qariyet *en-nabî* Şâleḥ⁷ and in Ma'lûl) show tombs of the prophet, although it is known that he died in Mecca.⁸ The feast in Ramleh—where his third shrine is found—is called *ed-djum'ah* el-Hâmiyeh and *dj. ed-djâmî* el-Abiad.⁹ The shrine between Idnah and Talqûmeh has no cenotaph. The

¹ See the above mentioned Arabic guide books.

² This same property is even more peculiar to el-H̱aḍr. If a person meets another several times a day, at different places, he says: "You are like el-H̱aḍr, wherever one goes, one finds him."

³ Some think that he was Hebar, others give his genealogy as Hûd son of 'Abdallâh, s. of Rabâḥ, s. of H̱lûd, s. of 'Âd, s. of 'Auḡ (biblical Uz), s. of Arâm, s. of Sâm, s. of Noah.

⁴ Son of 'Obêd, s. of Aşâf, s. of Mâsiḥ, s. of H̱âḍir, s. of Tamûd. (This genealogy, as well as that of Hûd, is taken from Sale).

⁵ Many think that he is identical with the father-in-law of Moses (Ex. 2 18). Mudjir I, 68, knows his tomb in H̱iṭṭîn (near Safad). The place is now called H̱irbet Madîn, which perpetuates the name of the Canaanite royal city of Madôn, but was identified with Madyan, Midian. [W. F. Albright.]

⁶ Mudjir I, 68, thinks with other writers that he was Biša the son of Job. See also *Dâiratu l-ma'ârif* IX, 232.

⁷ A *şeh* of Dêr Ghassâneh justified the tomb of *nebi* Şâleḥ of his district by saying that tradition teaches us that his tomb lies on an elevation near which seven *wâdîs* arise; and this is true of the village of Nebî Şâleḥ.

⁸ Sale, p. 6.

⁹ *JPOS* II, 165.

fifth shrine is in Acre. Dû l-Kafl¹ has a shrine in Kafl Hâris² which bears his name (cf. above). The tomb lies outside the *maqâm*. It is said that a cave lies below the *maqâm*. Another shrine of this prophet is to be found in Kafr 'Aṭṭiyeh. Here we find again a tomb. En-nabî Šu'êb has a sanctuary in 'Adjûr which is very much neglected.³

We observe here again how uncertain these locations are, and we may agree with Mudjîr ed-Dîn who writes: "The site of the tomb of no prophet, except those of the prophet Mohammed, Abraham and his sons, can be located with certainty."⁴

c) Saints from Mohammedan History

A large number of these saints were commanders or warriors of distinction in the armies which conquered Palestine. It is curious to note that many whom we know to have died and to have been buried in some other country,⁵ nevertheless possess one or several shrines in Palestine. Many of the stories told to explain the origin of these shrines are legendary. As examples we may give the following:

Ed-Dasûqî has a shrine north of Dêr Ghassâneh, though his tomb lies in Egypt, and none of his important deeds were performed in Palestine. The shrine of er-Rifâî commemorates some of the blood of the *quṭb* which dripped here after his return from a fight with the *kuffâr*. Salmân el-Fârsî, who has a beautiful shrine on the

¹ He is said to have been called by this name because he made himself responsible to the prophet Elîsâ' to follow his steps in worshipping the Almighty. For further details see *dâiratu-l-mâ'ârif* VIII, 413.

² Mudjîr I, 68, thinks that this is the real tomb.

³ According to Mudjîr.

⁴ Mudjîr II, 424.

⁵ An old man of Dêr Ghassâneh, a descendant of *es-šêḥ* 'Abdallâh assured me that the tombs of most of the *awliâ* cannot be located with certainty. He quoted:

*uamâ ta'lamu maqâbiruhum biardîn
yaqînan gheiru mâ sakana er-rasûlu
uafî Hibrûna aiḍan fihâ ghârûn
fihî ruslun kirâmun ual-Ḥalîlu*

No one knows with certainty the places of their tombs, except where the Prophet lived,
As well as in Hebron where there is a cave sheltering the honourable Prophets and Abraham.

Mount of Olives, showing his supposed tomb, was actually buried in el-Madâyin.¹ Although it is known that 'Okâšeh² (one of the *ṣaḥābeh*) did not die in Jerusalem, his shrine here has a tomb.³ It is said that he appeared to a person praying at this spot and ordered him to erect a *maqām* for him.⁴ 'Obâdah bin eṣ-Šâmet has his tomb in the cemetery, known as Turbet Bâb er-Raḥmeh. Mudjir ed-Din (pp. 231, 232) says that "nobody then knew whether his tomb lay in Jerusalem or Ramleh."⁵ Abû Hureirah died in el-Medînah and was buried there,⁶ but a shrine with a cenotaph dedicated to him is found at Tell Abû Hureirah between Gaza and Beersheba (on the Wâdi eṣ-Šallâleh). Mudjir thinks that this tomb belongs to one of his children. Some other saints having shrines with tombs, where the saints are known not to have died in Palestine, are:

Damrah	in Mazâri' en Nûbânî,
Ibrahîm el-Hauwâṣ	in Dêr Ghassâneh, ⁷
ed-Djunêd	in Ĥirbet ed-Djunêd, ⁸
Abû l-'Ôf	in Sindjil. ⁹

Shrines which are historically correct and which belong to this category are:

Šaddâd bin Aus	Bâb er-Raḥmeh, ¹⁰
eṣ-šêḥ el-Ḥalîlî	Temple area,
eṣ-šêḥ Aḥmad Abû Tôr	S. of Jerusalem, ¹¹
eṣ-šêḥ 'Alî el-Bakka ¹²	Hebron. ¹³

¹ Mudjir I, 232; Kahle, *PJB* VI, 79.

² 'Okâšeh bin Muḥsin (not Miḥsin with Kahle) bin Ḥarṭân bin Kaṭîr, bin Murrah bin Ghunm bin Dudân bin 'Asad bin Ĥuzejmah el-'Asadî (*usdu l-ghâbah*).

³ On the tomb we find the following writing:

لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله هذا ضريح سيدنا عكاشة صاحب رسول
الله لروحه الفاتحة ١٢٨٠

The date is that of the reconstruction of the tomb.

⁴ Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 102, note 1; Kahle, *PJB* VI, 78.

⁵ El-Hâfiz Abû Bakr el-Ḥaṭîb states that he died in Jerusalem.

⁶ Mudjir I, 233.

⁷ Buried in Egypt.

⁸ Buried in Mesopotamia.

⁹ Buried in the Hidjâz.

¹⁰ Mudjir I, 233.

¹¹ Mudjir II, 410.

¹² Mudjir II, 492.

¹³ For other instances see Jaussen et Savignac, *Exploration du vallée du Jordain*.

After the Crusaders there was a Moslem reaction which led to the foundation of some sanctuaries and to the reconstruction of others.¹ Fear of future attacks caused the Mohammedan rulers to bend their efforts to keep a large Moslem population at the most important points, and to ensure the presence of numerous well armed Moslems at the most dangerous periods of the year. This goal was attained by founding sanctuaries of various renowned saints and assigning suitable times for their feasts. The rulers were supported by the religious leaders, interested rather in the development of religious life than in the political aspects of the new foundations. The authenticity of the new holy places was easily established, and the nation was encouraged to revere these *welîs* and to attend their feasts. The pilgrims came with their horses and weapons. For every important *welî* large tracts of land were set aside as *waqf*, so that all expenses connected with the celebrations were well covered without imposing any obligations on the pilgrims. These places were generally chosen near the most strategic centres: Jerusalem, Ramleh, Gaza and Acre. Not all such *maqâms* were newly created, but many unimportant and forgotten ones were elevated to new positions of honour. The repair of the roads and the restoration of the caravansaries made it possible for the people to be directed in time of need easily to any spot. This strategic policy was inaugurated by the *sultân* eḏ-Ḍāhir Bêbars and not by Şalâḥ ed-Dîn as used to be supposed. Thus were founded east of Jerusalem en-Nabî Mûsâ,² to the west (in Ramleh) en-Nabî Şâleḥ, and to the north (in the village of en-Nabî Şâleḥ) a second sanctuary for the latter. As the most dangerous period of the year to Islam was the Greek Easter when thousands of Christian pilgrims flocked to the Holy City, the week preceding this Christian feast was appointed for the festivals of these saints, so that a still larger number of Mohammedans was gathered around Jerusalem. In Gaza two *mawâsim* were founded, ed-Dârûm and el-Munţâr.³ Near Acre a third shrine for en-nabî Şâleḥ and near Sidon one for en-nabî Yûnis were established.

King Bêbars' strategic plan required the destruction of the convent of Euthymos, situated at Ḥân es-Sahl (also called Ḥân el-

¹ I owe some of these considerations to the kindness of Aḥmad Zakî Pasha.

² Dalman states, PJB, IV, 98, footnote, that Bêbars built only the dome.

³ Popular etymologies. Darûn = Aramaic Dârômâ; Munţâr = Aram. Mantârâ.

Aḥḍar¹⁾ which housed many monks,² so that the way from Nebi Mûsâ to Jerusalem would be free in case the pilgrims had to march on Jerusalem.

At those times only men attended the feasts which were even more fanatical than now. But gradually they became true popular feasts, and men, women and children flocked to them.³

In this connection we may give a brief account of the *zawâyâ* in Jerusalem. These are buildings erected to house either the *darâwîš* of a *ṭarîqah* or the pilgrims of a particular nation. The founder of such an order or some important *darwîš* connected with this place is buried in it and is still more or less honoured.

1. Zâwiyet el-Hnûd, also known as *es-šêḥ* Farîd Sakrakandj, was originally built for the *fuqarâ* of the Rifâ'i order. Later the Hindû Moslems took hold of it. The present head* is *es-šêḥ* Naẓîr Ḥasan el-'Anṣârî.⁴ The tomb in the *zâwiyeh* has no special importance.

2. *Ez-zâwiyeh* el-Buḥâriyeh houses the pilgrims of Buḥârah. *Eš-šêḥ* Mohammed el-Buḥârî was buried here, and his tomb enjoys some honour. The present head is *es-šêḥ* Ya'qûb el-Buḥârî.

3. *Ez-zâwiyeh* el-Mauwlawiyeh, headed by *es-šêḥ* 'Âdil, has three tombs, two of which lie in the court and one in a room. The latter enjoys some honour.

4. Zawiyet el-Maghârbî contains a tomb dedicated to *el-ghôṭ* Abû Madian. It is the richest Mohammedan convent and has many *awqâf*. Abû Madian was one of the great Mohammedan theologians, who erected his building and built a tomb for himself, since he wished to be buried here, but he died in Morocco, after all, and was buried in Thelmeccen. Tradition has it that his hand lies in the Jerusalem tomb.⁵ The present head is *ḥađj* Moḥammad el-Mahdi.

¹ Not Ḥân el-Aḥmar which is Ḥaḍrûr. Ḥân es-Sahl was situated to the south of the Jerusalem-Jericho road, and WSW of Ḥân Ḥaḍrûr.

² Who lived in the convent and as hermits in caves.

³ The preceding view is supported by Mudjir I, 93, who writes that Bêbars built the *maqâm* in 663 A. H.; and by the inscription found on the minaret.

⁴ Mudjir II, 399.

⁵ 'Abd el-Wahhâb *es-Šarânî*, *lawâqih el-amwâr* I, 153; Canaan, *Aberglaube*, 86, note 7.

5. Ez-Zâwiyye el-Buṣṭâmiheh¹ is said to enclose the tomb of Abû Yazîd² el-Buṣṭâmî. According to another belief he was buried in his great zâwiyyeh in Ramleh. The present place which contains two tombs (one for the *welî* and the other for his wife) is very much neglected. In the rooms above the shrine lives the *qaiym* *es-šêh* Mûsâ el-Ghuṣên,³ with his family.

6. Zâwiyet el-Qadriyeh (known at present as Dâr Abû es-S'ûd) lies in the SW corner of the Ḥaram area. It is the centre of the Šâf'iyeh sect, whose *muftî* belongs to the family Abûs-S'ûd.

7. Zâwiyet en-Nabî Dâhûd, on the Mount of Zion, contains the supposed tomb of King David, and used to be a very important convent. The present *ḥalîfeh* is *es-šêh* Maḥmûd ed-Dadjânî.

8. Zâwiyet el-Ḥânqah (*es-Şalâhiyeh*) at the SW corner of the Holy Sepulchre was founded by Şalâḥ ed-Dîn. The present *mutawallî* is *es-šêh* Amîn el-'Alamî.

9. Ez-zâwiyyeh el-As'adiyeh, on the Mount of Olives, used to enjoy a great reputation. It contains the tomb of the founder of the 'Alamî family who are *aşrâf* (pl. of *şarîf*, descendant of the Prophet Mohammed) through Ḥasan the son of Fâṭimeh (therefore called also Ḥasaniyeh). The founder, *es-šêh* Moḥammed el-'Alamî, came from the mountain el-'Alam (therefore el-'Alamî) in Morocco, and is the descendant of *es-saiyd* 'Abd es-Salâm Maşšîš.⁴ The present head of the zâwiyyeh is *es-šêh* Tâhir el-'Alamî.

10. Ez-zâwiyyeh el-Afghaniyeh lies in the NW corner of the Temple Area. The acting superior is called Beyram.⁵

It used to be customary, and is still, in most of these places to read a *dîker*⁶ every Thursday evening. To this invocation of God, which may be combined with religious music and *darâwîš* dances,

¹ Founded by *es-šêh* 'Abdallâh el-Buṣṭâmî, Mudjîr II, 399.

² Abû Yazîd died in Ḥorasân. According to Mudjîr the members of this family were buried in the cemetery of Ma'mân Allâh.

³ The family of el-Ghuṣun (Ramleh and Jerusalem) are said to be the descendants of el-Buṣṭâmî.

⁴ The genealogical tree of the 'Alamî family may be found in Fêḍî el-'Alamî, *fath er-raḥmân liṭâlib 'ayât el-Qorân*, p. ب.

⁵ There are a few other *zawâya* which are not important.

⁶ The *muḥîṭ* explains *ed-dîkr* as *tawḥîd*.

a *wird*¹ may be added. The last expression denotes a section of the Qoran recited at intervals, but it is also used for hymns praising God and the Prophet. One of the important *wirds* is Wird el-Mahyâ which is employed in a special ceremony during the last ten days of Ramaḍân. The *muftî* with some members of the Huseiny, Yûnis, 'Anṣârî, and other families go in a procession from the *muftî's* old house, inside the city, to the shrine of the Qêramî and after reading the *fâtihah* they proceed to the Dome of the Rock. During all of this procession they repeat the *wird*.²

The primary aim of the *zawâiâ*—to feed and to house the poor and the pilgrims—is generally forgotten. In *zâwiet en-nabî* Dâhûd some poor are still fed. The food comes from the families of ed-Dadjânî, which take turns in providing the food. In the *zâwiyeh* of the Maghrebines, Mawlawiyeh, Buhâriyeh and Hindus the expenses are covered by the income of the *waqf*. From the Tekiyeh Ḥaskeh Sulṭân³ the poor receive food twice daily.⁴

II. Saints whose Descendants are Living

In many villages we are told that the descendants of a *welî* are still living. Although in some places this relation may be legendary and doubtful, in most it has some historical foundation. The descendants are proud of their forefathers, and in many cases the eldest of the living family enjoys the honours of a *šêḥ*. It is customary to inter the principle descendants around the grave of the saint, or in its immediate neighbourhood.⁵ An exception to this rule may be noticed in the case of the *šiyûḥ* (Ismâ'îl, Ramaḍân, 'Abd er-Raḥîm, etc.) el-Masâlmeh (Yâlô), who have never allowed any of their descendants to be buried in their neighbourhood. Whenever somebody tried to dig a grave beside theirs, it was always found that the irons of the picks bent.

¹ Not *burda* with Kahle, *PJB* VI, 76, note 1.

² The last two days of Ramaḍân are known as *layâlî el-mahîâ*, while *lêlatul-mahîâ* is *lêlatul-qadr*, the 27th of Ramaḍân.

³ According to Mudjir II, 413, she was Tunsuq the daughter of 'Abdallâh el-Muzaffariyeh. She died 800 A. H. (See also Kahle, *PJB* VI, 84.)

⁴ The entire "Old Serai" belonged to the Tekiyeh, which was built as a *zâwiyeh*.

⁵ See also Kahle, *PJB* VI, 72, on *ḥadj* 'Obêd.

In a few cases neither the saint himself nor his descendants are much respected. This is true of *eš-šēh* Abû l-'Alamên (of Biddû) whose family is known as 'Êlet Samârah. عش شه

The following list gives those saints of this group whose shrines I have visited:

Name ¹	Location	Origin	Living family
Abû Yamîn	Bêt 'Anân	Yaman	'Êlet Abû Yamîn
ed-Dawâ'ri	Sûrbâhir	Mecca ²	<i>eš-šēh</i> Ibneiyâ
Aḥmad el-Ḥuwêš	Biddû		'Êlet Šḥâdeh ³
Ḥamdallâh	Biddû	Biddû	Dâr eš-Šēh
Ḥasan Abû l-'Alamên	Biddû		'Êlat Samârah
'Abd es-Salâm	'Anâtâ	Ḥirbet 'Almît	the inhabitants of 'Anâtâ
Darwîš	Bêt Surîk	Bêt Surîk	See below
Têlah	Bêt Surîk	Bêt Surîk	See below
'Alî	Qaṭṭaneh	Mecca	The inhabitants of the village
Ramaḍân			
'Alî 'Obêd			
'Abd el-Mahdî			
'Abd el-Hâdî			
Isma'îl el-'Inbâwy	Abû Ghôš	Qariet el-'Inab	a part of the inhabitants
I'mar	Bêt Duqquh	Hauran ⁴	a part of the inhabitants

Others of this category whose shrines I have not visited, are:

Name	Location	Living family
Taldjeh	Qabâtiah	Abû er-Rabb عرب
Quddâmeh	Djildjîliah	en-Nâbulî (Nablus)
Sûfâ	Dêr Ghassâneh	el-Madjdûb
Djabr	Rafât	in Rafât and in Dânyân
Muḥammad en-Nûhî	Dêr Abân	en-Nûhî

¹ I have omitted the titles *šēh*, etc. in this list.

² But they did not originate in Mecca.

³ I met Maḥmûd Šḥâdeh as well as one member of each one of these families.

⁴ He is supposed to have come from a village called Imm Walad.

Name	Location	Living family
Hâlid	Dêr Ghassâneh	Barghûti Family
Maṭar	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Kafar'inî
el-Habîl	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Nâsir
Ghêt	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr <i>eš-šêh</i> Ghêt
Madjdûb	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr er-Râbî
Ibrâhîm		
'Alî		
'Aşfûr	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Abû l-Aḡras ¹
Šhâdeh	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Abû Harfil ¹
Dîb	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Abû Diâb ¹
el-Ḥilû	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr el-Ḥilû ¹
Muḥammad	Bêt Djibrîn	Dâr el-Mahdî ² .

¹ The family of ed-Dadjânî has also produced many *awlîâ* in past times. Imm *eš-šêh* (Bêt Ūniâ) is believed to be their great grandmother. It is customary for some of the descendants of the *welî* to tour the villages around the *maqâm* once a year and collect vows made to the *welî* of their family. Even Christian priests of St. George used to go around to the different villages to collect the vows made for el-Ḥader. They took with them one of the chains of the sanctuary, and many used to put it around their necks to prevent future insanity.³

In this connection it may be of interest to note the genealogy of some *welîs*. That of *eš-šêh* 'Abd es-Salâm has already been given (IV, 86). The genealogy of *eš-šêh* Darwiš of Bêt Surik is said to be the following: *Eš-šêh* Darwiš, son of *ḥadj* Moḥammed, son of *ḥadj* Zâiyd, son of *ḥadj* Aḥmad, son of *ḥadj* Moḥammad. Darwiš begot 'Abd er-Raḥîm, who begot *eš-šêh* Moḥammad⁴ who is still living and is the *imâm* of the village. The uncle of Darwiš is also regarded as a *welî*.—*Eš-šêh* I mar's (Bêt Duqquh) family tree is: Šâleḥ begot I'mar, who begot Dâhûd, who begot Marrâr, who begot 'Alî, who begot Qâsim, who begot 'Abdallâh, whose son Ismâ'îl is still living

¹ These four families are descendants of Dâr er-Râbî.

² *QS* 1915, 172.

³ From the written notes of my father.

⁴ This Mohammed gave me the information.

and is the *muhtâr* of the village.¹ It is said that *es-šēḥ* 'Abdallâh of Qubêbeh and *es-šēḥ* Itaym of Bêt Iksâ are brothers of *es-šēḥ* I'mar. This belief seems not to be based on historical fact, since many of the inhabitants of Bêt Iksâ and Qubêbeh knew nothing about this relationship. The same uncertainty exists about *en-nabî* Abû Lêmûn, who is said to come from the family of Abû Yamîn. Another example are the *Dawârî*. One of them is buried in Jericho (*es-šēḥ* Ghânim), 'Abd el-Fattâḥ in Šu'fât, a third in Qrûn el-Ḥadjar (in the territory of the Sawâḥrî Bedouin) and the others in Sûrbâhir. The most important of these are el-'Enênî, Abû Miṭâ, Bḥêt, Ḥilû and Šâleh. *Es-šēḥ* Bneyâ and *es-šēḥ* 'Âyd are still living in Sûrbâhir. It is said that the tribe of *en-Nsêrât* are the descendants of *ed-Dawârî*.²

Very interesting is the tradition of *es-sultân* Badr, who is said to have had three daughters, all honoured as *waliyât*. El-Badriyeh,³ the most important is buried in Šarâfât, el-Ḥmêdiyeh in Bêt Faghûr and Nadjlah in Djørîf.⁴

The traditions connected with *es-sultân* Badr and his descendants are very instructive as illustrations of the transformations of ideas. The family of Badr has produced several *awliâ*. The title *sultân* is given often by the people to important men, who were never rulers. Badr was a *quṭb*, not a prince. His family tree is supposed to go back as far as 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib. According to Mudjîr ed-Dîn⁵ all the saints of his time followed his teachings. The saints and even the animals came to visit his tomb, erected in a *zâwiyeh* built by him in Wadî en-Nusûr.⁶ Most of his sons became *awliâ*. Moḥammed died (663 A. H.) and was buried near his father. Moḥammed's son 'Abd el-Ḥafîz (died 696 A. H.) left Wadî en-Nusûr and settled in a

¹ This person gave me the information.

² Every time one of this tribe dies, the *'iddeh* of the dead *welî* of Sûrbâhir is heard to play.

³ On the door of the sanctuary I read:

نَصْرٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ وَبَشِّرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَا مُحَمَّدُ هَذَا مَقَامُ الْوَلِيَّةِ الْحَمِيدَةِ
There is no tomb in the shrine.

⁴ QS, 1916, pp. 1, etc. says that Badr had only two daughters. Nadjlah is not mentioned at all.

⁵ pp. 489 ff.

⁶ Not Nasûra with Kahle.

village called Šafârât,¹ a name said to have been changed to Šarafât, from the title *šarafâ*, a surname of Badr's family. His son Dâhûd's (died 701 A. H.) first miracle was the changing of the wine, made by the Christian inhabitants of this village, into vinegar. This he did because the *mušrikîn* continually sold this alcoholic drink to the true believers, thus helping them to disobey the holy rules. The Christian believing that he was a sorcerer, left the place. Dâhûd built a *zâwiyeh* where he and his children were afterwards buried. Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭaiyâr² whose history will be described below was the cousin of Dâhûd and lived in his time. In the written version of this story we hear that the cause of the destruction of the *qubbeh* by Aḥmad was solely jealousy. The son of Dâhûd, also called Aḥmad, was surnamed *el-Kabrit el-Aḥmar* ("Red Sulphur," died 723 A. H.) and is said to have been a great theologian. Aḥmad had five sons and three daughters. Two of his sons—'Alî (died 754 A. H.) and Moḥammad el-Bahâ—were greatly beloved, and even the wild animals respected them. 'Alî's son Tâdj ed-Dîn Abû l-Wafâ lived in Jerusalem (died 803 A. H.) and was buried in the cemetery of Ma'man Allâh. He left two sons, 'Alî and Abû Bakr, who were also greatly honoured. One of the relatives of this Badr family, *eš-šēḥ* el-Kamâlî, was buried in the sanctuary known at present as *eš-Šēḥ* Badr on the way to Liftâ.³

The preceding details have been excerpted from Uns ed-Djalîl.⁴ No mention is made of a female member with the name el-Badriyeh; in Šarafât only male descendants are mentioned as having been buried, Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭaiyâr being the first. One of these, Badr Asyâd, (pl. of Saiyd, "Lord, Master") had three daughters as we have seen, but no names are given them. The circumstance that they are the only females mentioned may point to their relative importance, and they may be the three said by the popular tradition to be the daughters of *es-sultân* Badr, as said above. The whole family was

¹ Kahle reading the text of Mudjîr "Qariet Šafârât" omitted the real name of the village, and noted only Qarieh.

² Not eṭ-Ṭêr with Kahle.

³ Mudjîr II, 489—492. Kahle has mentioned this part in *PJB* VI, 72—73.

⁴ In *QS* 1915 and 1916, Masterman and Macalister give an account of *es-sultân* Badr told them by a Palestinian whose name and position are not told. The story resembles ours in many respects. Important differences are given in the foot notes.

known as ed-Diriyeh el-Badriyeh (el-Êleh el-Badriyeh) from whence the name el-Badriyeh. It is interesting to see how a female saint has taken the place of several *awliâ*, a result of a verbal misunderstanding. It will be interesting to compare the story of el-Badriyeh as I heard it from the *ḥaṭīb* of Bêt Şafâfâ.

The grandfather of el-Badriyeh was a king in Ḥarasân. His son Badr¹ came with his family and his cousin Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭaiyâr to Jerusalem² where he devoted himself to a religious life, spending most of the time meditating in the fields. Liking Kurâfât (the former name of Şarâfât), he bought a rocky place with several caves.³ Being disturbed in his solitude by the Jews, who were pressing wine near by, he asked the Almighty for help. All the wine made in three years then turned into vinegar. They, thinking that he was a sorcerer, and irritated by their loss, left the place. The daughter of the *sultân*, Badriyeh, was married to her cousin Aḥmad,⁴ but died shortly afterwards. Aḥmad begged that she might be embalmed, but the father, refusing, built a *qubbeh* over her tomb, which was destroyed twice by Aḥmad, who had been expelled by his uncle. Each time Aḥmad came flying like a large bird,⁵ but the third time *es-sultân* struck the bird with his stick and it fell down dead, after which it was recognized to be the unhappy Aḥmad, and was buried near his wife.⁶

Badriyeh's father could no longer live in Şarâfât. Walking aimlessly westwards he reached the spring of the *welî* el-Waḥşî,⁷ where two⁸ daughters of the latter were sitting. While Badr was washing his dirty clothes,⁹ one of the two young ladies, Fâṭmeh,¹⁰

¹ Badr was born, according to *QS*, in the Ḥidjâz and became later a king in Persia. After seven years' reign he was ordered by God to become a *darwîş*.

² *QS*: At this time the king eḍ-Dâhir was besieging Jerusalem. Badr came every day to help him.

³ These caves are still shown.

⁴ No mention of this Aḥmad is made in *QS*, first story. In the second he is erroneously called eṭ-Ṭabbâr instead of eṭ-Ṭaiyâr.

⁵ *QS* refers this story to Dêr eš-Şêḥ, but it is not accepted by the inhabitants of Şarâfât, Mâlḥah, Bêt Şafâfâ and Waladjeh.

⁶ It seems that Kahle was never told this story.

⁷ Not far from Râs Ibn 'Ammâr.

⁸ According to *QS* el-Waḥşî had six daughters.

⁹ The word *mraqqa'ah* was used by the story teller.

¹⁰ *QS* calls her Ḥadîdjeh.

threw a stone at him and wounded him. The *sultân* remained calm and hanged his clothes on a dead pomegranate¹ tree, which at once came to life, sprouted green leaves, blossomed and yielded fruit. Soon afterwards he left the place. *Es-saiyd* el-Wahšî, who happened to pass this way soon afterwards, saw that the pomegranate was loaded with fruit, although it was not the season. Knowing that only a few hours before it had been a dead tree, he enquired what happened, and his daughters told him the story. At once he followed Badr and overtook him in Wâdî en-Nusûr, which is now called Wâdî Ismâ'îl. El-Wahšî begged Badr to forgive the act of his daughter, persuaded him to return, and gave him Fâtme^h to wife.² Badr lived in a cave, where he was afterwards buried, the place receiving the name Dâr eš-Šêh, later corrupted into Dêr eš-Šêh.³ The *ḥaṭīb*, who told me the story, assured me that Badr had a son, Ibrâhîm el-Hadamî who was buried in eš-Šiyûh, E. of Halḥûl.⁴

¹ QS says that he became very angry, left the place and went to Dêr eš-Šêh where he spread his clothes on a carob tree.

² Badr's condition was that he would return only if he made her bleed as she did him.

³ Whenever a village has as its name a word derived from the stem *šarîf*, "noble" (like Šarâfât), or the element *šêh* (as Dêr eš-Šêh and eš-Šiyûh), the inhabitants claim to be descendants of the Holy Mohammedan Family, or of an important *šêh*.

⁴ QS (1916, 13ff.) mentions the following episode which is very interesting. One day the *sultân* saw that there were soldiers in the valley, in number like the sand of the sea, and he knew that these were the soldiers of king Dâhir. He descended from the mountain and invited the king: "I invite you to be my guests, you and your soldiers, and to pass the night here." The king wondered at the *šêh*, and instructed his soldiers to ask their host for water for their horses, thinking it was impossible that the *šêh* could have water and food enough for all. Sultân Badr said to his servant Marzûq: "Take this jug and go with the soldiers to water the horses, climb with them to the summit of the mountain and exclaim there 'O sultân Badr'." Reaching the top of the mountain the servant cried out, as he was told, and behold the *sultân* appeared and ordered his servant: "Stand on this rock and throw the jug with all your might." The jug broke into six pieces, and at each place where a sherd fell there burst a spring of water. The soldiers, after watering their horses, returned to the king and narrated what had occurred. He was astonished at the mighty power of the *sultân*. The soldiers then asked the *šêh* to give them barley for the horses. He brought a *ṣâ'* (= 5 roṭl) of barley and spread it on his 'abâh (cloak) and told them to help themselves. Every one took the necessary quantity for his horse, and there was left over at the end as much as there had been at first. With one kid and one roṭl (3 kg) of rice he fed all the soldiers and the inhabitants of the village.

The story of el-Badriyeh illustrates one way in which a saint may be developed by tradition. But in many cases the development may have been even more complicated. Many of the *welîs* were originally influential elders of their village, who may have possessed at the same time certain exceptional qualities. After their death they were first honoured by their relatives only, but gradually their reputation spread. While the peasants of Palestine will recite the *fâtîhah*, whenever they pass a tomb of their relatives, in the case of such a dead leader most of the inhabitants of the village and even of the district will perform this duty. The personality, power and reputation of such a person do not disappear at death, but, on the contrary, are believed to become intensified, since the soul, which is the source of all greatness, is freed from bodily trammels.¹ The soul continues to live and can see all that happens around it. Thus many peasants and Bedouin come to the tombs of their dead to swear fidelity to the clan, innocence when falsely accused and to tell their difficulties and ask for help.

This was surely, in principle, the origin of ancestor worship² which is still found all over Palestine. A person does not need to be a political leader to attain the rank of a *welî* after his death. There are some religious teachers who have gained the confidence of the inhabitants and have obtained the ascendancy over their simple minds. The sons of persons who were thus elevated to the rank of *šêh* or *welî* may attain this distinction much more easily than their fathers.

Most of the *awliâ* of this group and some of the other categories are considered practically as local deities. They are not only the owners of the small piece of ground surrounding their tomb and shrine, but are the protectors of the properties of their descendants and the patrons of the whole village. Palestine has inherited from

¹ Some Mohammedans of Aleppo believe that the dead may appear in different forms during the night. Once a man went to his work a few hours after midnight. Passing along the Mohammedan cemetery he found a she-goat, which he at once took home. His wife fastened the animal and went back to sleep. When she arose she found a dead woman in place of the she-goat. Frightened she called her husband. They kept the matter a secret. In the evening the dead woman changed again into a she-goat, and was at once taken to the cemetery where she was left.

² See Jaussen, p. 313 ff.; Curtiss, chapter XI, brings only two examples.

its heathen ancestors the idea that the whole country is not governed as a whole by any one deity, but that each locality has its own divinity. Although there may be several saints in one and the same village, only one of them is the real patron of the village. The resemblance of this belief with biblical statements is striking.¹

III. Darâwîš

Many shrines belong to a *darwîš*² of some *ṭarîqah*. It is not an easy thing to become a follower of a *darwîš*. A person must have a predisposition to it or an inner call. Sometimes it is very easy to get such a call. If a saint appears to a mortal and gives him something which he takes, the condition is fulfilled and the latter must follow the saint. A man passed one evening in front of the sanctuary of *es-sultân* Ibrâhîm (Bêt Ḥanînâ) and saw the saint smoking his pipe. The *welî* offered it to the man, but the latter, frightened by the apparition, ran away. Had he smoked the pipe only once, he would have become a *darwîš*.³

A boy spent the night on a heap of barley which was put under the protection of *es-šeh* Abû Ḥasan (Dêr Abân). At midnight he was awakened by a band of religious music which came out of the shrine and passed beside him. One of the holy persons, approaching the child, gave him some drink, explaining that as soon as he drank it, he would become a follower of el-Badawî. Next morning a member of an-Nûhî family, hearing the story, took away this precious drink. The boy related his misfortune to Abû Ḥasan, who appeared to the oppressor, threatened him, took back the miraculous drink and returned it to the boy, who after drinking it became a *darwîš*.

The call may be so sudden, and the person may follow so quickly, that he is thought to have become mentally deranged. This state which is thought to be the normal beginning with many *darâwîš*, makes the person called *madjdûb*, "drawn".⁴ A *madjdûb* whose spirit forgets all earthly things and follows only the internal call, lives, so

¹ Cf. Ruth 1 15; Judges 11 24; 2 Kg. 17 27; 1 Kg. 11 7.

² *Darwîš* is commonly explained as derived from the Persian, and as meaning "seeking doors," i. e. mediant.

³ See also story told in *QS* 1916, pp. 66 ff.

⁴ Goldziher, l. c. II, 287 ff.

to speak, with his "caller". He is thought to communicate with him, receiving his orders and instructions.¹ He is so absorbed by his supposed inner life that he neglects all else.² He talks disconnectedly,³ repeating one and the same sentence, roams aimlessly in the streets or in the fields and lives at times only on herbs⁴ or even, as in the case of *eš-šēh* Dāhūd,⁵ on carcasses.⁶ In *Lawâqih el-Anwâr* we read: "A drawn (inspired) person adheres to the outer condition in which he was found when this state befell him. I have seen Ibn el-Badjâ'i repeating continually one and the same sentence, which he happened to be reading when he was overtaken by the inspiration."⁷ In the course of this work I have given several examples of these *madjâdib*.⁸

In 1924 I saw a man with uncovered head, barefoot and very poorly clad running violently down the steep mountain of *eš-Šālhiyeh* (Damascus). On my asking what had happened to him, I was told that he was a *darwîš* who behaved abnormally in everything. Whenever he acted abnormally in such a manner the people of Damascus knew that something extraordinary would take place.⁹

¹ Modern Christian saints show the same symptoms, *nafhu l-yâsmîn fî nâdirat Filistîn*.

² Dalman, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJB, XIII, 27, 28.

³ This disconnected speech is thought to come from praising God. They may shout at times so loudly that pregnant women miscarry. (*eš-Ša'rânî*, II, 151.)

⁴ In *Mudjir*, II, 510, we read that *eš-šēh* Moḥammad used to eat serpents and beetles, pretending that they were cucumbers and raisins.

⁵ *Eš-šēh* Dāhūd used to roam aimlessly in the streets of Jerusalem. Whenever he passed a restaurant (*aššî*) he picked up some of the cooked food and put it into his pockets. Nobody ever reproached him or prevented him from doing so. Reaching home or a lonely place, he began to empty his pockets, wherupon each article of food came out by itself, clean, warm and appetising. Once he was observed eating from a carcass. A passer-by cried: "O *šēh*, are you not ashamed to eat from a carcass?" Without answering the *šēh* thrust his arm into the open abdomen of the carcass, took out a handful and threw at the man. To the great astonishment of the latter it proved to be warm and well made sweets.

⁶ *Eš-Ša'rânî* gives many such examples in *lawâqih el-'anwâr*, II, pp. 144, 145, 151 etc. See also E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Eg.*, II, 168 ff.

⁷ II, 128.

⁸ *Eš-šēh* M. bin 'Anân teaches that the repulsive appearance of a *darwîš* or low acts performed by him often only appear to the public as low and repulsive, while in reality they are the contrary, (*eš-Ša'rânî*, II, 151).

⁹ See also the story told in *QS* 1915, p. 173.

This verse describes figuratively the way in which the saints act. They enter the house like thieves and take people away to become their followers, acting with such suddenness that nobody perceives them.

It is not necessary that every *darwîš* must go through the above described phases of *ed-djadb*. Many of them, after deciding to follow a *ṭarîqah* visit a *šêh* of repute and learn his teachings, assisting in his prayers and ceremonies, and in playing the *'iddeh*, accompanying him on the different *ziârât*, learning his methods of cures, etc., and as soon as the master judges that his disciple is worthy of practising, he gives him an *idjâzeh*: This certificate is a long scroll of paper, certifying that N. N. (giving his genealogy) who has taken (*aḥada*) and has received the initiation from the *ḥalîfeh* (the whole chain of *šêhs* is given, until the founder of the *ṭarîqah* is reached) has found that his adept . . . (with the entire genealogy of the latter) is a worthy follower of the order. He is therefore empowered to act according to the rules of the order, as all the secrets thereof have been disclosed to him. Praises of God and the prophet and verses of the Qoran are never omitted. The maker of the certificate must affix his seal to the document. On both margins of the scroll one finds the seals of various *šêhs*, certifying the authenticity of the "diploma."¹

Sometimes a person may receive the permission to become a *darwîš* without having undergone such a period of study. The act of giving the permission is called *a'tâh el-'ahd*.² There are different degrees or stages of these *'uhûd*.

This scroll, placed in an elongated tubular case, is carried by its owner on his side. Such a *darwîš* will begin often, under pretence of praising the power of God, to boast of his miracles and to discant on the powers which he derives from the Almighty. In this way he tries to extend his own reputation, which is magnified still more by the simple *fellâh*. This method of advertising oneself

¹ An *'idjâzeh* may be of two kinds:

- a) A simple one which allows its owner to practice the functions of a *darwîš*,
- b) a higher one which allows its owner to appoint other persons as *darwîš*.
A man with this certificate is called *ḥalîfeh*.

² The giving of the oath.

under the pretence of exalting the glory of God is not peculiar to Palestine.¹

In many cases we remain in entire ignorance of the origin of a saint. The *fellâh* does not bind himself to facts, but often bases his faith upon supposedly observed unexplained signs.

As an appendix to this chapter I will describe a *diker* as performed by the *darâwîš*.

The *darâwîš* assemble in the house of the *ḥalîfeh* or in the *maqâm* which he guards. All must be ritually clean and have performed their evening prayers. The *ḥalîfeh* orders the *naqîb* (his religious servant) to distribute the musical instruments. The disciples form a semicircle or a circle. The *naqîb* holding a *ṭabel* stands before his master, and while he swings his arms to and fro, says:

auwal qaulî šaraf lillâh el-fâtîḥah (repeated three times), *qidwatî na'ustâdî el-bâz 'Abdel-Qâder ed-Djilânî*.

"My first word Honour to God, (recite) the *fâtîḥah*, My example, and my master is the falcon 'Abdel-Qâder ed-Djilânî."

Then follow some praises to him and the other *aqtâb*. He now places the drum in front of the master, who beats it. Every *darwîš* stands up and does the same. The small drum (*el-bâz*) leading the other instruments which follow its rhythm. The music continues 10—15 minutes and is followed by the recitation of hymns of praise (*našîd*). The drums are now warmed over the fire in order to adjust them better. After repeating the music and the recitation three times the real *diker* begins. The *ḥalîfeh* appoints one who possesses a good voice (*šauwîṭ*) to lead the service. This person begins *allâh, allâh allâh, ḥaiy, ḥaiy, ḥaiy, qaiyûm, qaiyûm, qaiyûm, allâh ḥaiy* (three times), or *allâh qaiyûm* (three times). All repeat it and slowly swing their bodies from side to side, or backwards and forwards. Generally the rhythmical swingings become more energetic and rapid and the recitations wilder and louder. This state (*ḥâlet el-gheibûbeh*) may become so wild that the head-dress falls down and the foam comes out of the mouth. Sometimes several persons unite to lay such an excited *darwîš* on the ground to quieten him. The *ḥalîfeh* calls in his ears the prayer of the *mu'addîn* which is believed to sooth him. The *diker* is repeated often three times.

¹ The book of eš-Ša'rânî is full of such self-praises.

At last a part of the Qoran is read and the leader calls, "I close this meeting with the name of the preacher, warning and lighted lamp." The *fātiḥah* is recited. All kiss the hand of the *šēḥ* and leave.

We append some songs or verses not mentioned in the text but which well describe the characters and miracles of the saints, as well as the devotion of their followers:

*yâ sîdî yâ bû Šnêwar 'Obêd Allâh
a'tâk allâh uilâyeḥ naḡrah lillâh
anâ el-mrîd ilêkum farḥamu bil-lâh
mâ atruk el-'ahd lâ wallâh lâ wallâh*

O my master, O Abû Šnêwar 'Obêd Allâh,
Thy Lord hath given thee supremacy (in religious affairs). I implore
thee for God's sake, throw a glance (of help) upon me!
I am your servant, have pity upon me, I implore thee by God!
I shall never break my vow (to the order), never by God, never by God!

*yâ sîdî yâ welî yâ sâkin el-ḥilwah
fasqî murîdak bîdak šarbeh ḥilwah
in kunt 'anâ zallêt 'an 'ahdakum ḥaṭwah
fasmah illaiyâ uḥallîšnî min el-balwah*

O my master, O *welî*, O thou who livest in a hermitage,
Give thy adherent a sweet draught by thine own hand!
If I have strayed a step from my vow to you,
Forgive me and save me from misfortune.

*yâ sîdî int Ibrâhîm yâ Hauwâs
fasqînî min šarâb eṣ-šâlḥîn el-ḥâs
la'allhum yktbûnî 'indhum min ḥâs
djumlit mahâsibhum yâ hall tarâ bihlâs*

O my Lord, thou art Ibrahim, O Hauwâs,
Give me to drink from the special drink of the pious,
That they may happily write me down as one of their own,
Belonging to the band of their servants. O who knows if it will end
successfully?

*yâ sîdî yâ waliy allâh yâ šēḥ Ghêt
innanî bikum mustadjîr min kull mâ bihî ghêt
fabiḥaqq man 'anzal el-amtâr fîḥâ l-ghêt
dîr 'anzâr sîdî Ibrâhîm yâ šēḥ Ghêt.*

O my Lord, O *welî* of God, O *šêh* Ghêt
 I ask you to save me from all trouble,
 For the sake of the One who sends down rain in pouring streams
 O *šêh* Ghêt, turn the attention of my lord Ibrâhîm¹ toward me.

sîdî sâkin fî darîhuh uismuh 'Aşfûr
usirruh fî bilâd el-haddj şâr maşhûr
bhaqq sîdnâ el-Halîl uishâq uil-Ghaiyûr
tismaḥ la ḥâtrî uitrudnî madjbûr

My Lord lives in his tomb and his name is el-'Aşfûr,
 His secret (power) is renowned in the land of the pilgrimage (Mecca
 and Medina)
 By the truth of our master Abraham, Isaac and the Zealous one
 (Jacob),
 I implore thee to hearken to me and to bring me back restored!

yâ sîdnâ yâ baṭal yâ šêhnâ Raḥḥâl
uîlak karâmât ka'amuâdj el-baḥâr uid-djibâl
maḥsûbkum bil-'ahd mâ yôm 'ankum mâl
lâ tiqṭa'û uiddkum 'anhu biṭîb el-ḥâl

O my Lord, O hero, O our *šêh* Raḥḥâl
 Thy acts of benevolence are like the waves of the sea and the mountains,
 Your servant has not deviated from his vow to you,
 Withdraw not your love from him (but let him continue) in good
 circumstances.

Šêh Habîl uanâ bil-'ahd iluh ṭâ'y'
usirruh fî zalâm el-lêl lâmi'
'ad ûk rabbî uîtkun ladî âyeh sâmi'
biḥyât Ṭîbâ uahl el-ghâr fid-djâmî'

(My) *šêh* (is) Habîl and I am obedient to the vow;
 His secret (miracle) shines even in the darkness of the night
 I implore Thee O my Lord, to hear my prayer,
 By the existence of Ṭîbâ² and the people of the cave (situated in
 the mosque)!

¹ Ibrâhîm el-Ḥauwâş is meant.

² Medînâh is meant.

*yâ sîdî yâ walliy allâh yâ 'Atêrî
râšî mrîdak uint el-quṭb fid-dîrî
dâḥîl 'alâ bâbkum uṭâlîb lad-djîrîh
min kullu mâ qadd ḥallâ 'alaiya min ḍêrî*

O my Lord, O God's *welî*, O 'Atêrî
Help thy adherent for thou art the Pillar of the district
I enter your door, asking for a neighbour's rights,
'That I may be saved from all harm which may befall me!

*'anâ ilî sîd mašhûr bism Ḥâlid
uîluḥ karâmât mašhûrât lal-wârid
naṣrah 'alâ man yarîdkum djâlkum qâšîd
lâ tiqṭa'ûluḥ radjah sîdî Ḥâlid*

I have a famous master named Ḥâlid.
His acts of benevolence are famous to the suppliant;
Cast a (helpful) glance on the suppliant who comes seeking you;
Do not cut off his hope, O my Lord Ḥâlid!

*maḥsûb 'alêk sîdî yâ šêḥ Maṭar
uîlak karâmât titwârad 'alênâ maṭar
mâ 'umrî zallêt fî 'ahdak kidb u baṭar
naṣrah tnaddjî mrîdak min mašîr el-ḥaṭar*

I am thy servant my Lord, O šêḥ Maṭar.
Thy acts of benevolence descend upon me like rain.
I have never strayed from my vow to you (by) lies or idle gossip.
(Cast on me) a glance to save thy follower from the dangerous way.

*ḍîr en-naṣar 'amrîdak sîdî šêḥ Dîb
'âlem 'allâm fî silk el-wlâyah ḍîb
in 'aiyurûnâ uḡalû sirr šêḥak djîb
landah uaḡûl faj'ah lî šêḥî Dîb*

Turn thy attention to thy follower, O my šêḥ Dîb,
For thou art wise, passing wise; in the art [path] of being a *welî*,
a wolf [play of words] thou art.
If they reproach me and say, "Tell us the secret of thy šêḥ,"
I will cry out and say: Help me, O šêḥ Dîb!

*yâ 'izz el-Başrah uyâ šêḥ ilnâ râ'i
hallaftillî dġurḥ dġuwâ muhdjatî ra'i
in tâlanî eḏ-ḏēm bandah hê yâ Rfâ'i
šêḥ eṭ-ṭarîqah bidġinâ 'al-qadam sâ'i*

O pride of el-Başrah, and, O šêḥ, our shepherd,
Thou hast left me with a lasting wound in my soul.
If difficulties befall me, I cry, Hither, O Rfâ'i!
(And behold) the šêḥ of the order comes running on his feet.

*yâ sîdî yâ walî yâ Muṣṭafâ el-Bakrî
uîlak karâmât titġâhâr kamâ l-fadġrî
nazrah b'ên er-riḏâ ṭhallîl bihâ 'usrî
maḥsûbkum qadd 'atâkum yṭlub el-yusri*

O my Lord, O *welî*, O chosen one, el-Bakrî!
Thy miracles shine like the breaking day!
(Cast on me) a glance from a favourable eye, delivering me from
my troubles;
Your servant has come to you, asking for easing of his circumstances.

*yâ sîdî yâ walliy allâh yâ Nâbulî
'Abd el-Ghanî sîdî el-maḥsûb¹ fî ḥabsî
farriḏj humûmî uzîl el-yôm lanahsî
'ind allâh du'âk maqbûl bil-'unsi*

O my Lord, O *welî* of God, O Nâbulî.
'Abd el-Ghanî is my lord, I am his servant in my bondage.
Drive away my sorrows and cause my ill-luck to cease to-day,
For your petition is accepted kindly by God.

*sîadî mâšîn allâh ma'âkum
salabtû r-rûḥ uîl-muḥdġah ma'âkum
da'êtunâ ihnâ nrûḥ ma'âkum
'asâ min yammkum yṣlah šarâb eṣ-ṣâlihîn²*

¹ It is to be understood, us *anâ el-maḥsûb 'alêḥ*.

² This verse is *'atâbah*, all others are called *taḥwîq*.

My lords are going, God be with them.
 You have stolen the soul and the heart is (wandering) with you
 You have called us to go with you;
 We hope that from your ocean (of piety) there will come a draught
 for the righteous.

*yâ sâdatî in nasêtûnî 'anâ ed-dâkir
 uil-ḥamdu lil-lâhi 'anâ min faḍlakum šâkir
 uhaqq man 'anzala l-qurâna umin fîhi fâtîr
 in ghibtum 'an el-ên mâ tghîbû 'an el-ḥâtîr*

O my lords, if you happen to have forgotten me, the evercalling,
 Thanks be to God I am to your kindness ever grateful.
 By Him who sent down the Qoran, including Fâtîr (Surah XXXV),
 If you are out of sight, you are never out of mind.

*yâ 'urbî illî nadahtûnî hê 'anâ dîjt
 wâqîf 'alâ bâbkum ta'umrû ḥaššêt
 bilḥyât Tîbâ u Zamzam uil-Bêt
 ḥallû nazarkum 'allaiyâ uên ma ḥallêt*

O Arabs, who called, behold I have come,
 Standing at your door awaiting your order to enter.
 By the existence of Tîbâ [Medinah], Zamzam and the Ka'beh,
 (I implore you) to keep your eyes on me wherever I go!

*yâ sâdatî fî hawâkum zâdat ašwâqî
 uil-hubb lil-lâh ḥaiyun wâhidun bâqî
 ardjûhu yaghfir dunâbî fahuâ ḥallâqî
 yôma l-ḥisâbi uanâ fil-ḥašrî bidîqî*

O my lords, in love of you my longings have increased,
 And in the love of God, the Living, the One, the Enduring.
 I pray him to forgive my sins—for He is my creator—
 On the Day of Judgement, when I am in distress in my trouble!

*yâ sâdatî yâ rđjâl allâh zidûnî
 antum rđjâl eş-safâ bil-hubbi zidûnî
 yâ hall tarâ min maḥabbtî hall tridûnî
 uakun ḥâdiman binafsî tummâ bi'yûnî*

O my Lords, O men of God, increase in me (the love of God),
 You are the chosen men increase in me the love (of God)!
 O can it be that you will accept me for my love,
 That I may be (your) servant, (first) with my soul and then with
 my eyes.

*yâ sâdatî lâ thî'û man bikum wâtîq
 uqalbuh bilhawâ fî ḥubkum 'âšiq
 uallâh yâ lam biḥâluḥ fil-qaṣdî ṣâdiq
 bil-hubbi uarḥam muta'iyam 'anta yâ ḥâḥq*

O my lords, do not betray the one who trusts you,
 While his heart in love cleaves to you.
 God knows his state (of mind) that he is sincere in his aim
 Of love; have mercy, O Creator, on a slave (to your love).

*nadaht hê yâ Yaman qâlat anâ ismî rūḥ
 uin kân tihuâ djamâlî lal-masâdjid rūḥ
 uhaqq man 'anzala l-Qorâna uast el-lôḥ
 firqit siâdî aṣ'ab min tlu' er-rūḥ*

I called, Hê, O Yemen [Ka'beh]. She answered: "My name is 'Go'!"
 If you love my beauty, 'go' to the mosques.
 By Him who sent the Qoran, including the tablet,
 The separation from my lords is more difficult than the departure
 of my life.

*šôbaš¹ 'alâ-r-rđjâl ḥarâmiyeh unaššâlîn
 iqallqû biḍ-dubab² uin-nâs ghaflânîn
 lauww šufthum yâ ḥaliy bil-lêl madjmû'în
 djawârâ qabr en-nabî bil-ḥubb mašghûfîn.³*

¹ *šôbaš šûbâš* to chant a song aloud and in company.

² *Dubab* = lips. *Muḥîṭ*, 1230, does not give it, though it gives as one of the meanings of the verb "to speak aloud."

³ This line is also recited in the following way:

*es-sâlik illî 'iqîm el-lêl bit-tahlîl
 fî djannet el-ḥald ytmahṭar šamâl uyamîn.*

Call out a šobâš for those who are thieves and robbers,¹
Who stammer (prayer) with their lips while people are unconscious,
O my friend, if thou seest them gathered at night
In the neighbourhood of the prophet's tomb, seized with passion for
his love.

¹ The saints are compared to robbers and thieves, as has already been mentioned and explained.

INDEX

OF PLACES AND "SAINTS" (*awliâ*)

Since the "List of Contents" at the beginning of the book is sufficiently detailed as a guide to the subject matter, only the proper names of places and saints are here indexed. The order of the European alphabet is followed, and under each letter will be found the Arabic letter concerned and its manner of transcription. Names beginning with 'ayin, ع, are given at the end the alphabet.

Under each letter names of places are first given, and then those of the *awliâ*. A dotted line marks the division between the two.

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