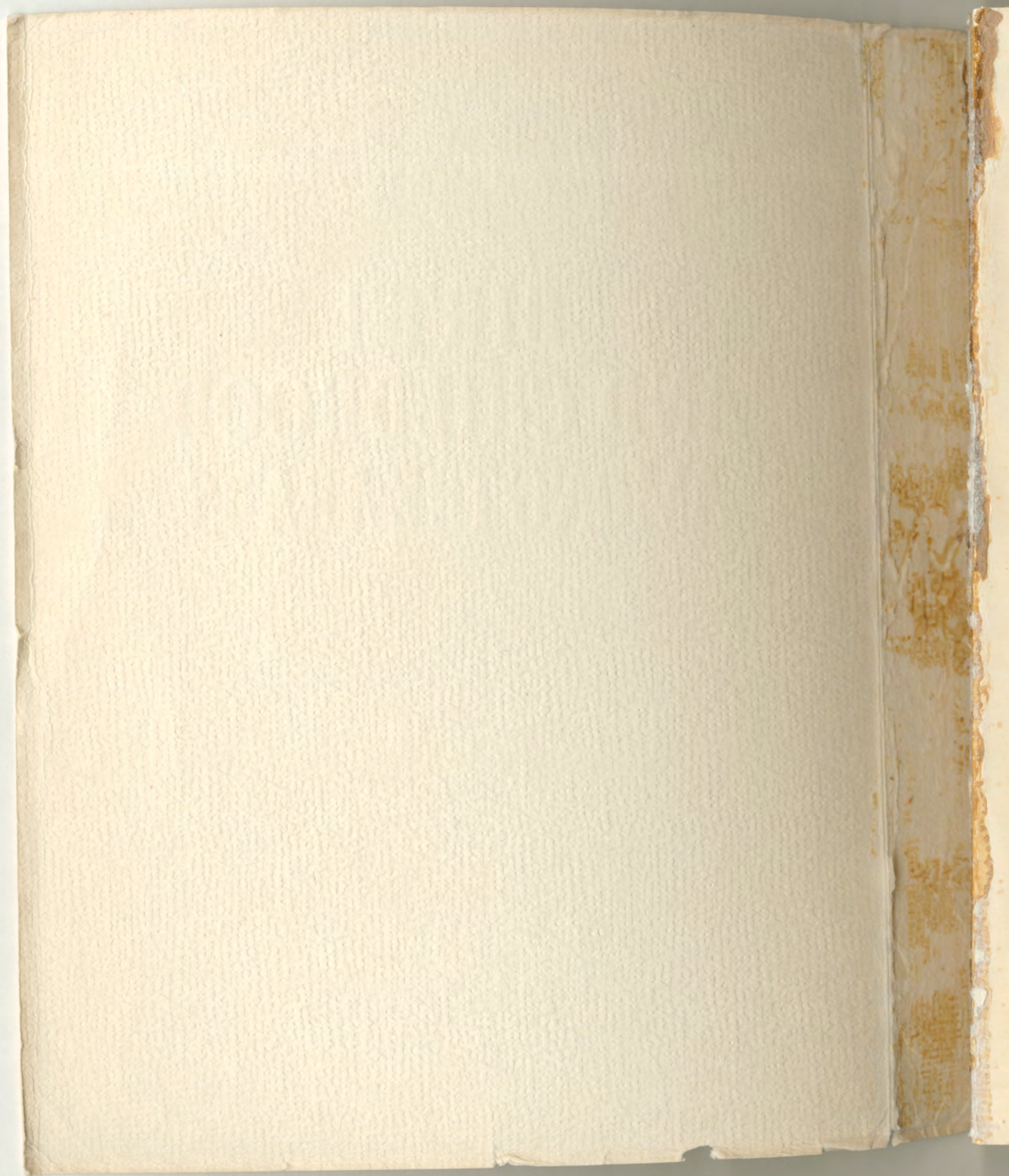


*Hilma Granqvist*

**BIRTH  
AND CHILDHOOD  
AMONG THE ARABS**

*Söderströms*



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AMONG THE ARABS

HELNA GRANQVIST

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD  
AMONG THE ARABS

Ulla Vuorela

PREFACE

# BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD AMONG THE ARABS

STUDIES IN A MUHAMMADAN VILLAGE IN PALESTINE

by

HILMA GRANQVIST

PH. D.

HELSINGFORS 1947

SÖDERSTRÖM & C.O FÖRLAGSAKTIEBOLAG

Ulla Uvill

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## P R E F A C E

This book is the first part of my study on the Arab child. The second part which I call 'Child Problems among Muhammadan Arabs' is ready in manuscript, but owing to post-war difficulties it can only be published later. It will include an Index, a list of Biblical Parallels, and References.

Illustrations have proved too great an expense. During my stay in Palestine I took about one thousand photographs, many of children, and I very much regret not being able to include some of them in my book. I have planned a separate volume of my photographs for the future.

Arabic expressions are used in exceptional cases only and the transliteration of the Arabic words is incomplete. In printing the same system has been followed as in my previous work 'Marriage Conditions', as far as available types have allowed, but for the 18th letter of the Arabic alphabet an apostrophe is used and signs for other sounds which have no equivalent in the English language have been omitted. The Arabic expressions are in dialect.

The words of my native informers are given in direct translation from the Arabic.

Part of the material for this book was collected during my second stay in Palestine when I had the benefit of The International Fellowship of the American Association of University Women.

Miss Agnes Dawson, B. Sc. (Econ.) and Miss Alice Eager have kindly assisted me with the English language. For this and their suggestions I am grateful.

During the war several scientists in Finland lost their manuscripts in air raids, and it was a great relief to me to be allowed to send a copy of mine to Sweden in 1944. Professor Sven Linder — for many years the Secretary and Editor of the Journal of the Swedish Jerusalem Society — and Dr. Anders Grape, the Chief Librarian, deposited it at the Uppsala University Library and for this I am greatly indebted to them.

*Hilma Granqvist.*

The 23rd of October 1946.

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Helsingfors. Finland.

# C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION		Pages
Views and Opinions concerning Anthropological Research . . . . .		9
Field Work in the Village . . . . .		18
Chapter I PRE-NATAL CUSTOMS		
Arabic Words for 'beget' and 'give birth to' . . . . .		29
Cohabitation . . . . .		30
Calling on God's name, p. 30. Woman must be pure, p. 33.		
Conception . . . . .		34
Pregnancy . . . . .		38
First signs, p. 38. Cravings, p. 38. Advice for pregnant woman, p. 45.		
Miscarriage, p. 47. Sex of foetus, p. 50.		
Chapter II BIRTH		
Exceptional Cases of Birth in the Open . . . . .		52
Childbirth in the Home . . . . .		56
No men present, p. 56. Women present, p. 57. Midwife, p. 60. Heavens open — Presence of angels, p. 62. Difficult birth, p. 64. Delivery, p. 70.		
First attentions to mother and child, p. 72.		
Chapter III POST-NATAL CUSTOMS		
Announcement of Birth of Child . . . . .		76
To the father, p. 76. Feast for boy, p. 78. Good news, p. 80. Dream revelations, p. 81. Glad tidings of return, p. 83. Announcing good tidings, p. 85.		
Treatment of Mother and New-Born Child . . . . .		86
Food for the mother, p. 88. Congratulations in the home, p. 89. Child's first food, p. 92. Cutting the navel cord, p. 93. Afterbirth buried, p. 97. Rubbing with salt, p. 98. Child's first dress and bath, p. 99. Midwife's wages, p. 102.		
The Forty Days . . . . .		104

<b>Chapter IV MOTHER AND BABE</b>	
<b>Nursing</b> . . . . .	107
By mother, p. 107. By others, p. 109. Nursing and relationship, p. 112.	
Adoption and new birth, p. 114. Mother's milk and substitutes, p. 115.	
<b>Lullabies</b> . . . . .	117
<b>Children in Village Life</b> . . . . .	123

<b>Chapter V PLAY AND WORK</b>	
<b>Boys' Games</b> . . . . .	127
Slings, p. 127. Stone games, p. 129.	
<b>Boys' Work</b> . . . . .	130
Terminology, p. 130. Ahmad's work, p. 131. Shepherd-boy, p. 132.	
<b>Girls' Games and Work</b> . . . . .	135
Dolls, p. 135. Terminology, p. 137. Fatme's work, p. 138.	

<b>Chapter VI EDUCATION AND CHARACTER</b>	
<b>Education of Boys</b> . . . . .	140
At home, p. 141. At school, p. 143.	
<b>Education of Girls</b> . . . . .	141
Person responsible, p. 154. Training for work, p. 156. Behaviour and morality, p. 159.	
<b>Education, Heredity and Character</b> . . . . .	151
<b>Determinism and Free-Will</b> . . . . .	165
<b>Morality and Society</b> . . . . .	177

<b>Chapter VII CIRCUMCISION</b>	
<b>Preparations for Festival</b> . . . . .	184
Garments, p. 185. Evenings of joy, p. 187.	
<b>Day of Circumcision Procession and Ceremony</b> . . . . .	185
Circumcision of Abd il-Salam's sons, p. 193. Circumcision of Khalil Mustafa's sons, p. 197. Circumcision feast, p. 202.	
<b>Expenses of Celebration</b> . . . . .	193
<b>Place, Age and Time</b> . . . . .	202
<b>Summary</b> . . . . .	208

<b>Informers mentioned in the Text</b> . . . . .	210
<b>PARALLELS AND REMARKS</b> . . . . .	211

# INTRODUCTION

## VIEWS AND OPINIONS CONCERNING ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The interest of the West for children outside its own cultural circle has been chiefly practical. Recently there has been an earnest endeavour to extend the modern care of children to as many people as possible, including the Orient. Education has older roots and has in a high degree been dictated by the wish to extend Christianity. It has been mostly missionaries who by founding schools in non-Christian countries have tried to win the children. Their work, at least at an early stage, has been directed more towards the removal of the child from its home and natural conditions. In any case the adaptation or assimilation which such children have to undergo in a Western institution is extremely radical.

Anthropology has greatly stressed the importance of suitable guidance when such people as the natives of Africa are brought into contact with Western culture.

It is no matter of indifference in what manner Westerners try to graft their civilisation upon a people with a totally different culture. A too rapid and thoughtless break with the past has its dangers and can injure both morally and otherwise. In cases where the children and the teacher belong to different cultural worlds it is of the greatest practical importance that the latter knows the milieu from which the children come, the influences of their homes and families, the native attitude to life, their religious and moral ideas and their community life in general. The child's psychology, its position in the household, its social background must be regarded.

Education has its share in the process of transformation due to Western influence. Cultural contact entails human responsibility. Those who guide their development must be in a position to understand the natives and their way of reasoning.<sup>1</sup> There is not only a culture change phenomenon but also a culture change problem, or rather a number of serious problems.

Culture change need not mean the extinguishing of the culture of non-Western peoples, not even of what is called primitive culture. We do not uproot every kind of flower for the purpose of cultivating one single kind, and similarly we do not wish to uproot other cultures for the benefit of that of the West. It is necessary that Westerners who are placed among people of other cultures have a genuine respect for their traditions and are able to see the world through the eyes of the natives.

Here the social anthropologists have a great task and this has already begun to be realized with practical applications of their studies. For a number of years there have been at the London School of Economics and Political Science courses in applied or practical anthropology. These lectures are "part of the course in Colonial Administration and are specially designed for administrators, missionaries on leave, and for educational cadets preparing for colonial work." The child in connection with Primitive Education is also an object of study in these courses. The syllabus of one of these courses in 1938 when I was in London is as follows: — The child in primitive society — the family, village, and clan. Indigenous methods of education — the acquisition of knowledge, ethical standards and technical skill. Modern field-work methods as applied to education.<sup>2</sup> Other universities have certainly similar courses of study.<sup>3</sup>

In the year 1906 *Dudley Kidd* published *Savage Childhood. A Study of Kafir Children* in which he treats the period of life from birth to the dawn of puberty. He says in the Preface: "We cannot understand the life of the savage until we study the childhood of the

savage." Some later works that may be mentioned are those by *W. D. Hambly* and *Nathan Miller*. — *Margaret Mead's* books based on her own field work: *Coming of Age in Samoa. A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation* (1929) and *Growing Up in New Guinea. A Comparative Study of Primitive Education* (1931), have attracted well-deserved attention.

And yet the non-Western child has been too little considered in literature.

As regards Palestine, as far as I know, nothing more extensive than *Canaan's* essay 'The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition' (28 pages),<sup>4</sup> has been written. I should also like to mention a study on the Syrian child by *Chémali*: 'Naissance et premier âge au Liban' (29 pages)<sup>5</sup> and *Musil*, 'Children' in *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (24 pages).<sup>6</sup> All the rest are either quite short articles in periodicals or more or less sporadic statements in connection with reports of Palestinean and Arab folk-life in general.

It is possible that during war some special work on the Arab child has been published. Even in such a case I trust this work is justified. It would be good to compare what has been written on the child independently. — The child can also be seen from different points of view.

This is a sociological study of the child.

When I began my university studies at home, my main subjects were Pedagogics and Psychology, especially Child-Psychology; these were later extended to wider sociological studies in Berlin, Leipzig and London.

I was twice in Palestine between the years 1925—31 for a total period of three years. I was there to get comparative material for a work on the women in the Old Testament which I had been preparing but I saw that I could not confine myself to the women. Oriental life and oriental attitude to life differ greatly from ours. It was impossible to study an isolated event, it had to be observed in all its

relations, in its organic connections; and to study these in their mutual influences and reactions the society as a whole must be studied which is best done by an intensive study of a limited area. I concentrated upon life and customs in a Muhammadan Arab village.

When later I began to work up my material I found it much too extensive for a single work. So I decided first to treat marriage which gave the opportunity of presenting the historical development of the village: its families and clans. In an inquiry regarding marriage it was easy to learn the structure of the community and the bases for the family. — Now comes the child.

This book can be read independently of my work on marriage but can also be taken as a continuation of it. Both works treat the same group of people. Both of them are based chiefly upon the experience of Arab folk-life and Arab customs and habits which I obtained in the village of Artas which lies south of Bethlehem on the edge of the desert.

In my opinion the conditions of the child as here described can be regarded as typical among the Arabs. The more I read Arab literature the more I see how genuinely Arab and Oriental is the view of life which I found in this village. This is true of the general Muhammadan and Arab rules, traditions and customs but also many details observed there. When reading a book like *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments of Thousand and One Nights*, especially in the original, it is remarkable how much it agrees with my experience, even as regards linguistic expressions. It may sound paradoxical but I am convinced that traits and characteristics of real living people from a definite community can give wider human truths — in any case a deeper insight — than when accounts are given of Arabs in general. A description of the position of the individual in and his attitude towards society, and his struggle may illustrate important social laws and problems, if given the right background. Literature treats of individuals who yet can be typical of mankind in

general. In science too definitions and theories in spite of their general form are often less 'real' than characteristic examples. As regards the study of man the individual traits must be taken into account.

Boas is right when in his Forward to Margaret Mead's study of primitive youth in Samoa, he says: "The personal side of the life of the individual is almost eliminated in the systematic presentation of the cultural life of the people. The picture is standardised, like a collection of laws that tell us how we should behave, and not how we behave. . . And yet the way in which the personality reacts to culture is a matter that should concern us deeply and that makes the studies of foreign cultures a fruitful and useful field of research."

I have tried to describe the personal side and the behaviour of individuals as well as general rules, prescriptions and customs.

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The intensive study of a limited area must not imply ignorance and disregard of other parts.

A place in Palestine has many connections, both through marriage and otherwise, with other places, and in Artas, on the edge of the desert, there is also a certain Bedouin influence. I made excursions from Artas to neighbouring places and also to the Bedouin. During my travels in Palestine and Transjordan I also saw life in other places e. g. Jerusalem, Haifa, Nazareth, and the neighbouring villages. In Nablus I lived for a month.

I also visited Egypt twice.

According to one theory Egypt is the country from which all culture originated<sup>7</sup> and then spread to the countries around. Thus W. J. Perry describes the idea in *The Children of the Sun* — the first comprehen-

sive and systematic exposition of Prof. Elliot Smith's theory — that "civilisation has developed only once, and that the original home of all human cultural achievement was Egypt" whence the "archaic civilisation, once crystallised began to expand and spread over the world", and Perry has also given "a scheme of these expansions".<sup>8</sup> The Bible says that Moses who gave the Israelites their laws and rules of life was born and brought up in Egypt. Freud goes still farther and considers Moses an Egyptian.<sup>9</sup> — There is still a certain Egyptian influence in Palestine.

Travels and excursions must widen views and opinions. I was able to make observations in many different places and in this way realize what was characteristic in Arab folk-life. And this was an advantage in my studies and in working up my material.

Finally I have also referred to literature although as so little has been written of the Arab and Palestinean children these references mostly concern details.

The treatise as such was finished in manuscript in Spring 1939. The notes were worked up later.

I was in London the Summer Term 1938 for the purpose of studying literature and of seeing how others work which is always stimulating.

I was there at a time when the Functionalist School was flourishing and had the opportunity to be present at a discussion between Professors B. Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, two prominent leaders of the Functionalist School. I also had the privilege of attending the seminars of Professor Malinowski and Dr. Firth.

Functionalism originated as a reaction against the Evolutionary School and its comparative method. This reaction is still noticeable in discussions between the two schools. Members of the Functionalist School like to speak of the 'old' and the 'new' anthropology.

It is natural that a science cannot always work along the same lines and apply the same methods. Even its development necessitates a different way of working at different stages. Also different people

regard a problem in different ways and, as the workers in science change, the methods of work and points of view must also change.

Yet it was curious for me who in the Summer Term 1929 had attended Professor Westermarck's seminar, and since then had not been in London, to attend another composed of rather similar people and find them working on another system and using another terminology. It is rather astonishing how students can adapt themselves to an enthusiastic teacher who by his brilliant mind and advanced thought can set his stamp upon them. With a different teacher the students will think and express themselves otherwise. Of course there were also some who had had a different education and professional training and therefore found greater difficulty in adapting themselves but they too had learned in Professor Malinowski's seminar to apply the doctrines of the New School. It is a question whether 'logical' thinking is not often merely a consistent and strict application of a certain system. This has its advantages but also its dangers. — Several of the students had already done field work, chiefly in Africa, or were trained for field work.

There was much in the New School that attracted me.

The creators and supporters of Functionalism have themselves written so much on their method and their anthropological attitude that it is not necessary to describe it here<sup>10</sup>. I only quote Radcliffe-Brown in an article 'On the Concept of Function in Social Science'<sup>11</sup>: "The 'functionalist' point of view here presented does therefore imply that we have to investigate as thoroughly as possible all the aspects of social life, considering them in relation to one another, and that an essential part of the task is the investigation of the individual and of the way in which he is moulded by or adjusted to the social life". — Quite independently of the New School I had come to similar results in several respects regarding methods. I refer the student to the Introduction in *Marriage Conditions*, the text of which was written before I ever went to London.

It was most interesting to become acquainted with contemporary works founded on field research, and especially the way in which the work had been done.

The text of my examination of the child like that on marriage is built solely on material gathered by me. In notes will be found parallels or contrasts, remarks and references to information in printed sources. Many modern anthropologists do not quote literature and this I understand.

Such research occupies time which could be more profitably spent in field work. Actually a division of anthropological labour ought to be organized so that those who have a gift for and love field work should have an opportunity to do it and those who prefer library study do that and give the world the benefit of their research into wider spheres of culture. A recent book *Dr. J. Henninger: Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete* (1943)<sup>12</sup> shows how excellent a work founded on literary sources can be when carried out with skill and carefulness. But field work now is so much more urgent as it cannot be done later. The old people know much about ancient customs and when they die, they take their knowledge with them into the grave, and the material disappears.<sup>13</sup>

The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures founded 1926 (with offices in London, Paris, and Berlin) is interested in co-operation between different research workers in the whole of that continent. Unlike the western research institutes in Palestine which are predominantly archeological in character the above Institute furthers and assists studies of living natives and their cultures — living history. A number of anthropological and linguistic research workers have been sent to Africa by the Institute and relevant problems are treated in their *Journal Africa*. The *Journal* and other publications of the Institute offer much of interest and are very useful, especially from a methodological point of view, not only to those who are directly engaged in studies among peoples in Afri-

ca but to others as well. The investigations and the scientific lines on which they are carried out are discussed. Culture contact and the culture change phenomenon are dealt with.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to see that the child and its education have been objects of study.<sup>15</sup>

When anthropologists before the present war discussed the questions of culture change and culture contact it was presumed that all the European peoples were ripe to manage alone. Other voices have now sometimes been heard. In any case when peace comes it must be one of the most important matters, and not only for the diplomats, to examine how nations should be able to live in peace with one another to avoid in the future a world catastrophe like the present World War. What a field of work for sociologists will here be open!

Palestine has its special problems. Efforts have been made to reconstruct its history in connection with the Jews in spite of Arab protests. The great influx of Zionists has changed much. Peoples of the same, Semitic, origin but of different religion, language and culture have to live together.<sup>16</sup> Among the Jews themselves there are great differences as they come from such different countries and in Palestine they have to fit in with each other. And Western influence is great enough to effect great changes even in Arab culture. The process of transformation in Palestine is such a complicated and difficult problem that the practical use of anthropological research there must be great. But even in studying culture contact and culture change it is necessary first to study and understand the earlier life of the people, and for this purpose my research work ought to be a contribution.

My real object was purely scientific. What I aimed at was an objective knowledge of the Arab people in order to help us to understand the culture of Bible times, and therewith the sources of Christianity.

For instance I think that the child in the Bible has not been

studied enough. An investigation might be undertaken to find out how the child and its world has influenced the religion and the language of the Bible, much of which is founded on observation of the child.

Not only excavations of old places in Palestine are valuable. Customs among the present day Arabs also show many parallels with biblical habits and customs, and illustrate the life described in the Bible.<sup>17</sup> The older the customs, the more suitable is the place for ethnological and anthropological studies.

Artas proved to be a fortunate choice.

#### FIELD WORK IN THE VILLAGE

The place has biblical traditions.

To the south-west, not far off, lies a hill which is considered by archeologists to be the Etam of the Old Testament which king Rehoboam at the end of the 10th century B.C. built as a fort in Judea.<sup>18</sup> Farther away, about ten minutes walk, are Solomon's Pools. In the village itself there is a spring in a deep narrow valley which according to tradition is the place of King Solomon's Gardens<sup>19</sup> where it is said he built a palace for Sulamith whom he praises in the Song of Solomon. There are beautiful gardens in the valley with fig, apricot and lemon trees, and the vine and the pomegranate trees still flourish.

The spring at Artas is the last spring to the east as the village lies on the border of the desert. This is the Wilderness of Judea where John the Baptist wandered about in raiment of camel's hair and "his meat was locusts and wild honey".<sup>20</sup> There is a wonderful view from the village right across the desert. A cone-shaped hill with the top cut off is Herodium containing the grave of Herod the Great, King at the time of the birth of Jesus. Far out in the desert Herod had

planned to create a paradise with a large palace and beautiful gardens. Water required for his gardens was to be led through canals from the source at Artas. But before he had had time to carry out his wonderful plan, he died, and was buried out there.

Not far from the village one can already see in the distance the houses in Bethlehem. On foot they can be reached in half an hour. The Bethlehem vineyards run right down to the edge of the village. In summer the Bethlehemites are there, watching their vineyards and their fig trees. The rich people have built watch towers, rising high up on the vine hills. Such watch towers are characteristic for the whole country and are mentioned in the Bible.<sup>21</sup> A bright and happy life is led out here, in the open, until the whole fruit harvest has been gathered. They make food, eat and drink and sleep out here. And at midday they rest "every man under his vine and under his fig tree".<sup>22</sup> The poor people have built themselves stone huts in the vine hills. The people of Artas live in the same way in their gardens and vine hills.

Bethlehem was King David's native town and as Artas lies so close to Bethlehem it is not improbable that David brought his father's sheep to the spring at Artas when shepherding them in his youth, just as shepherds of to-day water their flocks here daily at dinner-time. There are people who like to think that David wrote his Twenty-Third Psalm (The Lord is my shepherd) here.

The houses of the village are built upon the slopes of the northern of the two mountains rising from the valley, and here live the Muhammadan Arabs who are the object of this study. They live by agriculture and sell their products in Bethlehem. A few families keep flocks of sheep. The Bedouin influence in the village is, as stated, great.

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The conditions for anthropological research were especially good.

In the middle of the village is a house built by Henry Baldensperger, an Alsatian, who in the year of 1848 had gone to Jerusalem as a missionary. His idea was to farm in Artas at the same time but he was soon summoned by Bishop Gobat to the Zion School in Jerusalem where he remained. He then hoped that his sons would live in the village and so he built a house there. But neither did anything come of that. Two of his sons Philippe and Émile Baldensperger who had learnt bee-keeping were in Artas for a short time but then settled in other places; Philippe in Nice and Émile in Jaffa where they continued with their bees. The daughter *Louise Baldensperger* remained faithful to Artas. She had a room in Jerusalem but from time to time she visited the village.

It was in this house that I stayed which for me was a great advantage. It would not have given the same results to study the life of the people on visits only. As to the natives they live several families together. In one and the same room live not only a man and his wife or wives and unmarried children but also his sons and their wives and children. When I visited their homes the women used to show me where the beds of the various members of the family were spread out for the night. In the daytime they were taken up from the floor and were put in a recess in the wall.

It would not have been possible for me to live in a native house. The Arabs themselves would have been shocked. They place a woman's honour so high and think so much of the protection of a woman. As it was I lived protected and independent and yet among the people. All day long I had the women and children around me. As soon as something happened I noticed it and could at once hurry out with camera and note-book.

When I came to Artas for the very first time Miss Baldensperger was busy arranging her plants. She had no permanent job and made her living by doing temporary small jobs. One of them was to collect plants which she arranged into large Palestinean Herbariums, or into

smaller collections of *Bible Plants*. She also made flower cards which she sold in Jerusalem to people who wanted to send greetings from the Holy Land to friends in the West. In this way Miss Louise Baldensperger thoroughly, and quite alone, learned about Palestinian plants and what the natives had to tell about them and their use.

For a long time the family Baldensperger had lived in a natural relation to the people of the village.

Although her resources were small Miss Baldensperger was able to help the fellaheen with honey from her brother in Jaffa and many other things. She was not a missionary and therefore was more free in mixing with the people. Besides that she like her brothers had a rare faculty for getting on with the natives and they appreciated her ability to follow their thoughts, her gaiety and humour. Miss Louise Baldensperger was an excellent co-worker in the village. In the text I call her *Sitt Louisa*, her name in the village. *Sitt* means lady, Miss and Mrs.

The village people called me during the first time the Writer, because they always saw me making notes, but then I was generally called *Sitt Halime* which also sometimes appears in the text. Arabs use the first name, and Hilma became a good Muhammadan name. — The wet-nurse of the great Prophet was called Halime.

Thanks to Miss Louise Baldensperger the best informer of the village *Alya* was placed at my disposal.

She was born after her father Ibrahim Ode died. He left two wives, both had children.

When Alya was very young, she was betrothed to a half Bedouin from Beit Taamar. He had come to the village in a time of famine in the country and served her father's brother seven years for his daughter Khadra whom he married.

His wife died and at the burial he went down into the grave and asked the family to give him Alya instead of his dead wife.

In vain they explained to him that Alya was still a child and asked him to take the sister of the deceased instead. But he defied them and said: "She is too old. I wish to have Alya." Finally they let him have his will on condition that he should wait until Alya was grown up. He then served seven years as a shepherd for Alya but shortly after the marriage he left the village never to return again. Alya bore a boy whom she called Itayem (Fatherless) and who lived only 'forty days'.

Just at that time it was announced in Bethlehem that the French Consul was looking for a wet-nurse for his son. In those days Europeans in Palestine generally had a native wet-nurse. In this way Alya came to the French Consul Patrimonio and went with his family from Jerusalem to Beirut where she remained as a wet-nurse as long as the baby needed her.

When Alya returned to the village well fed and well clothed she felt very proud. Her humiliation was great when only 'forty days' after her return she was betrothed to Nofal, a sheikh from Surif, who already had a wife.

After having been in prison for some time the sheikh passed Artas on his way home. He was well received in the men's club. They arranged a meal for him and then the marriage was decided upon.

Alya who had gone to Bethlehem with tomatoes had no idea of it. On her return she heard that the betrothal feast had already been celebrated. 'Forty days' later she was brought as a bride to Surif riding on a camel.

The co-wives, both called Alya, could not tolerate each other. The first wife tried in every way to make her rival hated by her husband. Most of the time that Alya was married to the sheikh, she stayed in Artas. And there Rahme, her daughter by the sheikh, died. She

told me that he had called her to him when he was on his death bed, and I could see that she felt proud of it.

Alya was now a widow and blind. Her brothers were all dead and she was allowed to live in a small grotto made into a room by Baldenspergers to whom it belonged. In return Alya was the keeper of her key when Sitt Louisa was away. As a poor widow she received alms from the villagers.

Under such circumstances Alya had plenty of time and followed keenly all happenings in the village.

She was not at all interested in house work and it would not have been surprising if her husbands had had no reason to praise her as a "good wife". Miss Louise Baldensperger used to say that if Alya had lived in Europe, she would most likely have been some kind of an artist. Still in her old age she loved to be where song and dancing were going on, and she knew an immense number of songs.

She was flattered to have me for an audience when telling about incidents in the village and about Arab views and customs.

She came very early every morning. After the first greetings I jokingly asked her: "And what has happened in the village?" to which she answered: "Nothing but good!" — and she usually told me a lot. How very much of my material I owe to her will be seen in the book.

*Hamdiye*, another Arab woman, also came regularly to the house. She too was a widow and helped Miss Baldensperger with the household work. She too has told me so much of Arab habits and customs that I find it only right to give some facts of her life as well.

Hamdiye was betrothed to a man from Bethlehem at her birth and was later married to him. He already had a wife but she was old and Hamdiye was made a kind of servant to her. She did not feel very happy in her husband's house and one day she left him and returned

home to her parents. Then it was found out that she was with child.

Now there was much trouble. Hamdiye's mother went to the men's club in Bethlehem and called the men there as witnesses that her daughter was pregnant and that it was the child of her husband. Otherwise he could have refused to admit that the child was his and it would have been considered a bastard which would have had terrible consequences. After the birth of the child a reconciliation was arranged, the husband came and took Hamdiye and the child to his home.

Both husband and child died early and Hamdiye was remarried to a half Bedouin. During the First World War Hamdiye and her new husband went to Transjordan where they lived among different tribes, calling each other brother and sister. The Bedouin told Hamdiye: "If it is thy husband, we will slay him, for he does not know how to behave to people." And she heard them say: "If he is her brother, good and well, and if he has made brotherhood with her, it is good and well too, but if he is her husband we will slay him!"

Ever since olden times people in Palestine have often left their own country in times of hunger and distress. So did Naomi and her husband and their two sons, mentioned in the Book of Ruth,<sup>23</sup> and before them the great Patriarchs. Here it may be mentioned that Abraham and Isaac called their wives 'sister' in the strange country. It is said of Isaac: "And the men of the place asked him of his wife; and he said, She is my sister: for he feared to say, She is my wife; lest, said he, the men of the place should kill me for Rebekah; because she was fair to look upon." Abraham gave a similar explanation: "Because I thought they will slay me for my wife's sake."<sup>24</sup>

After the death of her second husband Hamdiye returned to Artas and remained in the village. There she lived with her brothers and their families. They too had made a grotto into a dwelling-house.

It was undoubtedly a good thing that Alya and Hamdiye had also

seen other conditions. They had learnt to regard their village in another way. Many people have experienced that after having been away for some time they return home and now really see their home for the first time.

It is sad to think that my Scientific Committee, as I used to call them, will never meet again. In Spring 1938 Miss Louise Baldensperger died, and a few years earlier she had herself written to me that Alya had died.

Though I so often quote Alya and Hamdiye it does not mean that I did not also listen to others. I met the village women and men too at the frequent visits made in the homes, at the festivals which I attended, at the village spring, and on the way to and from Bethlehem. But the other women had not time to tell me all I wanted to know. They had to look after husband and children, they had their work in the home and out in the gardens and fields which occupied them all their time. And all have not the gift of relating such things. Therefore if they were too much pressed they laughingly said: "Ask Alya! Let her relate!" And if the young ones in the village were asked, they answered: "We are children of to-day. What do we know?"

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I really do not know which is more valuable in field work: observation or information. Both are needed.

A Western woman in the Orient has of course much more freedom of movement than a native woman. It need not give offence if she openly watches a men's meeting. Within certain limits her sex is privileged. In many respects she is more free than a Western man is in the Orient. She is especially privileged as regards the study of women and children. She can sit with the women at the birth of a child and see what is done, and how it is done, and hear discussions and remarks. Children concern women in a special

way. They are also interested in a mass of details which native men would not notice and which perhaps is below their dignity to notice and tell about. Again, the women keep to old tradition, habits and customs more than the men who are more exposed to outside influences.

I was with the village people not only at festivals but also in every day life. I not only shared their pleasures but also their sorrows, I was present at births and at weddings just as at death and funerals. I think I can say that I have observed what it is possible to observe.

But observations are not enough unless perhaps for the naturalist. But an archeologist who excavates hopes to find inscriptions which are better than other objects as the key to a culture. Even to a dead culture the 'living voice', in this case written documents, is important.

The social anthropologist like any student of human nature needs information from the people themselves. With the best will in the world we cannot observe what has already passed. Yet much is to be learnt in statements concerning those who are dead. It is also a guide to hear people compare olden times with the present. In all actions the motive is just as important as the deed. Without hearing the people themselves it is not possible to know why they do one thing or another. Sometimes they may only answer: "It is the custom." But one can in this way learn general rules, get an insight into the thought and attitude of the individual — into folk-psychology.

"That is village gossip, but scientifically treated", said a German doctor<sup>25</sup> to me after having read the chapter on polygyny in *Marriage Conditions*. This instinctive remark by a man who was preparing a scientific expedition to Africa may have a certain justification. It could also be said otherwise: that it is the natives' own view of themselves. When Alya described situations and happenings in the village she did it as an author would have done it including different opinions and varying points of view. Something of an artistic gift

she undoubtedly had then showed itself. Realizing all that Alya knew and related one must respect her knowledge.

Also when it concerned events which I myself had witnessed I asked natives to tell me about them. This was to avoid a strange European explanation. I wished to have the people's own views and explanations.

In some places it may be thought that I idealize things.

It would not surprise me if someone should here miss the information often seen in descriptions of Arab life, that one of the first words small boys may learn is *abúk* i. e. "thy father", a shortening of "May God curse thy father!"

Arabs may think it curious to hear such a word from the mouth of a little innocent child. But at bottom they have a very serious conception of cursing and this has here been presented. If morality in the West was judged from what the boys in the street say, the result would be a much darker picture of our conditions than we now have.

In every culture there is more or less difference between theory and reality, and this is also true of Arab culture.

Statistics have been used in treating of names and child mortality. When statistics are given they should be complete. In asking about child mortality people soon realize what one is aiming at and perhaps unconsciously are led to mention the most extreme cases. I wonder if this is so with some of the statistical information which is given in literature and therefore child mortality is shown proportionally higher than it really is, and yet child mortality is terribly high.

Statistics ought to include all cases in a large area, preferably in the whole country. But the collection of statistics means so much labour that one hesitates to recommend it for the individual research worker. It is best if the local area or the state does this. They have a greater apparatus at their disposal. But when Palestine has come so far that there are reliable official statistics regarding child

mortality it may be hoped that child welfare has progressed so much that these figures have fallen.

A saying or proverb may be used in very different situations and varying meanings so repetitions could not be completely avoided.

Material collected in the field can be worked up in many ways. When I wrote this inquiry I thought it would be most useful to science to allow the statements on which I based my book to remain as such. In this way it will be seen what and how people relate. The student himself can judge whether my conclusions are right or whether he himself would have concluded otherwise.

Even if the printing of this work has been delayed it cannot affect this investigation. I desire to present life and conditions as much untouched as possible by European culture: old habits and customs. But also changes in customs have been included.

Much of my material would already now be difficult or impossible to get.

Finally I hope that this book will meet with the same kind appreciation as my previous work.

Autumn 1943.

## Chapter I

# PRE-NATAL CUSTOMS

### ARABIC WORDS FOR BEGET AND GIVE BIRTH TO

"Abdilloh begat Mhemmed and Mhemmed begat Saad and Saad begat Ode and Ode begat Ibrahim and Jedallah."

Thus Mustafa Jedallah in Artas explained the descent of his forefathers as far back as he could remember. In this genealogical account he used the Arabic word *khallafa* for the word begat. The verbs *jâba* and *'aqaba* are used with this one. Both *khallaf* and *'aqab*, according to the peasant women, also refer to the fact that "he left children behind him".

In the following case Alya all through uses the word *'aqaba*.

"How many boys has he left? — He has left four boys. He who has sons born to him does not die. The house is built up. Ahmad Jedallah left only four daughters. The house is ruined."

Thus *khallaf*, *jâb*, *'aqab* are the words used of a man. All these words can also be used of a woman in the meaning: she gave birth to a child. In contrast to classical Arabic they do not use *walada*<sup>1</sup> to mean: beget.

Alya: "*Walada* is not used of a man but of a woman." *Walada* is not a word which a woman likes to utter when she speaks to a man, she prefers the verb *wada'a*."

Alya says of the variations of these verbs: "In front of people it is more honourable to say *ôda'at*. To say *ôda'at* is no shame. But to say *wildet* is a shame. *'Aqab*, this is fine and good. *Khallaf*, this is fine and good. Between women *wildet* is used. The men in the club

say *óda'at*." The words used for a woman giving birth to a child are as follows: *waladat*, also bring forth; *khallafat*, also succeed, follow; *jábat*, also bring forth; *'aqabat*, also leave; *wada'at*, also bring low.

### COHABITATION

At sexual connection between husband and wife there are certain rules to be observed.

#### *Calling on God's Name*

Alya: "When a man wishes to have connection with his wife he lifts up her garment and says: 'I seek refuge in God, from the accursed Satan. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful!'"<sup>2</sup>

These words which are also otherwise used in daily life are, according to Hamdiye, uttered in order that Satan shall retire and God be present.

Alya again says: "The devil is always standing ready. When he hears his name, he becomes big and when he hears God's name he becomes little. He becomes as little as a sparrow."

Another time she said: "At cohabitation Satan is sitting round about them. If they name God's name, Satan flees."

Also for protection from the demons, the Jinn, who live beneath the earth, God's name is called upon.<sup>3</sup>

Alya: "The Jinnee is everywhere. He gets up to the praying-place, to the men's club, he is in the valley of Artas, in the gardens of the village, etc."

As a Jinnee can be present everywhere and at every moment the man (*ibn adam*) must always fear such a demon and be on his guard. Carelessness brings trouble.

If the mentioning of God's name is omitted, the woman is exposed to danger.

Alya: "Mhammad Ismain went with his wife down to the valley. When he came under a certain fig-tree in the valley he said to her: 'I want intercourse!' They chose this corner. Nor did they ask for pardon nor for forgiveness nor say the prayer.<sup>4</sup> He had connection with his wife. When she got up, she was not well. She cried out and fell down before the people."

From this day on Mhammad Ismain's wife Saada iz-Zir was subject to fits.<sup>5</sup> The fellaheen thought that she was possessed by a demon. And the demon refused to go out of her.

He said to the sheikh who tried to persuade him to do this: "I do not go out of her."<sup>6</sup> The sheikh said: "Why didst thou enter her?" and received the answer: "Why should they have come upon my head? Her husband got up and I rode her (had connection with her). I did not come to her. She and her husband came to me. She slept upon me without asking pardon or excuse. This is my booty. I will not go out of her until I have taken her life. She is my wife. I won't listen to thee!" No sheikh could help her or cure her. Saada il-Zir died and was buried at Rachel's Tomb near Bethlehem.

For the children's sake too it is necessary to call upon God's name on such an occasion. If this is omitted and a child is born, it has harmful consequences.

Alya: "If God's name is omitted children become devils."

Sitt Louisa: "Instead of being God-like they become children of the devil. — If a boy was good and pious the old negro of the village said: That is a child that has been created in prayer!"

In my Diary for the year 1927 I write of a walk in the village the 16th of March:

God's name ought to be called upon against the devils and the Jinn when having sexual intercourse.

We came to Ahmad Khalil Ayesh and found him making a kind of shelter outside the house and Khalil, Ibn Mhammad Khalawe, the village teacher, was helping him. He told us about the origin of the

Ayesh family. Then Ahmad began to curse about this family which is his family, saying that they were the seed of the devil. Not one of them named the name of God when they were with their wives.

To a wicked child it is said: "The devil came before thy father to thy mother!"<sup>7</sup> People reproach the father saying: "Thou didst not call upon God's name, when thou wert with his mother!" Then it is too late to find a cure for the misery, for as Alya expressed it: "A blessing remains a blessing, and a curse remains a curse."

On the other hand it is said of a man: "If he calls upon God's name the child will become a merciful child, whether it is a boy or a girl."

When I asked if the woman also has to do something Alya replied: "Should he forget, she will call upon God's name in order that the children may turn out merciful. But if they do not do this, Satan is sitting waiting, and the children turn out devils."<sup>8</sup>

And Alya added: "Are not the women the soldiers of Satan?" To which Sitt Louisa remarked humorously: "I thought there were soldiers of God, the Merciful, among them." But Alya declared: "We women are all soldiers of Satan." She added: "That is what the men say to the women: 'Are ye not the soldiers of Satan?'" — And if the men say it, it must be true!

In this connection may also be mentioned Alya's statement of the mating of thoroughbred horses.

"When the horse comes to the mare, one must drive Satan away and call upon God's name. One says: 'I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful! If one does not do this, something will go wrong, either the foot will be twisted or the face will be twisted or the ears will hang down.'"

Sitt Louisa: "The ears must stand up."

Alya: "Only for thoroughbred horses is God's name called upon, not for other animals. For other animals nothing is said."

Among the Bedouin thoroughbred horses have a special standing.

Alya here touches upon a Bedouin custom<sup>9</sup> which she heard mentioned by her second husband Nofal, sheikh in Surif.

Hamdiye who had lived among Bedouin for some time confirmed the correctness of Alya's statement that a thoroughbred horse is in many respects treated like a human being.<sup>10</sup> If one wishes to say of a woman that she is good and honourable one says: "She is a thoroughbred horse."<sup>11</sup> It can also be said: "She was a noble horse and became a common horse."

In Artas the Arabic word for filly (*féd*) is used for a bride price.<sup>12</sup> The obligatory gifts from a bridegroom to his bride's uncles, her father's brother and her mother's brother, for them to allow him to take her away<sup>13</sup> are compared to the first two fillies which the buyer of a thoroughbred mare must give up to its former owner in compensation for his agreeing to part with it.<sup>14</sup>

Alya: "The one who sells the mare has to get two fillies. The one who bought it gets the colts."

The purchaser will therefore be anxious to have a colt, the buyer to have a mare and this may be the origin of the following custom at the mating of thoroughbred horses.

Alya: "If he wants a filly, he asks for a filly. If he wants a colt, he asks for a colt."

At the moment when the horse comes to the mare, people say: 'My Lord, a mare!' or, 'My Lord, a horse!'

Here people try to affect the sex of the issue, while at connection between man and woman God's name is called upon so that the child shall become a child of God, the Merciful, and not of Satan; good and not wicked.

*Woman must be Pure*

Sitt Louisa had been told that, for the sake of the children to be born the woman must be pure at sexual intercourse,<sup>15</sup> and that if this is not the case the child born of such a connection will have a bad smell all his life.<sup>16</sup>

## CONCEPTION

*Naqlat* is the Arabic expression for the conception of the woman. Sitt Louisa pointed out that in this word lies also the meaning: to transfer from one place to another.

Once, when we were discussing the question of birth with the peasant women in Artas, I said: "Children thus come from the connection of the man with his wife?" but was at once corrected by the women.

Alya exclaimed, quite agitated: "God the Almighty protect me! The man sleeps with her and God creates."<sup>17</sup>

Here is a mysterious fact. Because a woman does not conceive every time a man and a woman cohabit the Arabs, like so many other people, have concluded that God himself has some interest in the matter. Only if God allows it, can the spark of life be blown upon and become a new human being.

Long before I came to Palestine, and while studying the women of the Old Testament, it was clear to me that in this fact is to be sought one of the most important origins of the rise in Israel of a religion of the individual, a relation between the individual and God. It is important for a woman to bear a child, especially important to bear a son, but in this respect she is in God's hands. Particularly when a woman is barren does she feel wholly dependent on His grace.

Among Muhammadan women there is apparently a similar thought.

Alya said: "If God gives with His hand, then she will receive."

She added the following saying: "If He will feed me with sons, He does not mistake where my mouth is, and if He shuts me out He does not trouble himself about me."

Eshe, who was present, agreed: "Certainly it is God who supplies with sons."

Turning to this woman Alya said: "God has fed thee with three sons."

Sitt Louisa said: "How well off thou art with three sons!"

Then Eshe said: "God be praised! I cannot reach heaven, I kiss the earth!" — At these words she first stretched up her right hand as high as she could, then, bending down, she touched the ground; then she raised herself, kissed her hand and stretched it up again. I have seen many women do this on different occasions. It is really a kind of woman's prayer.

A usual expression regarding a woman is: "It is God who feeds her with sons."

Alya: "The one that feeds is He, and He is the one who gives the food." In this connection she added:

Our Lord cuts away,  
our Lord gives courage,  
our Lord excludes,  
our Lord makes poor,  
our Lord makes rich!

At the Great Feast in 1927 I heard the wish expressed: "God give that during the coming Feast the single shall be married, the little boys circumcised, and the grown-up — may God feed them with boys!"<sup>18</sup>

If God is interested in the awakening of a new human life, He has His messengers who carry out His commands.

"The angels are the servants of our Lord," said Alya.

He who carries out God's will in regard to birth is the angel Gabriel.<sup>19</sup> It is the angel Azrael who must stand ready at the moment of death, when the flame of life is being extinguished, and it is the angel Gabriel whom God sends when a child is conceived and the lamp of life shall begin to burn.<sup>20</sup>

Alya: "When the man has sexual connection with his wife God writes down<sup>21</sup> whether it will be a male or a female. The Lord Gabriel is going up and down to God." If the angel then, as it

sometimes happens, makes some objection to God's decision he is rebuked by God who says: "Behave thyself, oh Gabriel!"

"The Creator created and lifted up His hand!" Alya finished and Sitt Louisa added in explanation: "What is written cannot be altered or changed."

Again Zarife Saad told me that she had heard from her husband, who reads the Koran that, when God wishes to create, the angel Gabriel bears the man's seed in his hand. It must remain sixty days between heaven and earth and then it will be said whether it shall be a boy or a girl.<sup>22</sup>

Alya: "The angel, our Lord Gabriel, brings the earth and kneads it together and makes it small and gives it to the woman in the night when her husband comes to her and God paints the spirit." — There is a saying:

"Man is of earth, sometimes muddy and sometimes clear."

Alya, wanting to explain why Sabiha Jedallah was not nice-looking, said: "Thus her Lord has painted and created her. Her clay was a little too much. The earth was trodden upon." — "For it was winter", added Sitt Louisa in explanation. "The dust of which she was formed happened to be frozen and therefore she is ugly and lumpy."

This view that mankind has come from the dust<sup>23</sup> has further led to an especially interesting idea that man is earthbound.

Hamdiye: "The angels bring a little dust from three places: from the place where he is created and from the place where he is born and from the place where he dies. The angels are present at the sexual connection. The angel brings this dust and kneads it and puts it into the woman, in her body<sup>24</sup> — and also the dust from the place where he is born and also dust from the place where he dies. Angels are to be found at all three places."

Alya gives a somewhat different version of the same tradition: "When God wishes to feed a woman with a child, the angel Gabriel

goes, brings his hand full of dust from where the child will die. He kneads the dust and puts it before the door of the woman's womb<sup>25</sup> and God draws and paints. Wonderful is the Creator!"<sup>26</sup>

It has been noticed that a woman married in a strange place has sought her way back to her birth-place just before she dies. Perhaps she did not at all know that she was ill when she started out, but she went home to die. "It was her dust which drew her", the people say then.

Although nothing is more tragic for a woman than to die among strangers,<sup>27</sup> yet if this does happen it is understood that nothing else was possible. And the same holds true of a man.<sup>28</sup> Until the very moment of death a human being must wander and seek the place from which his clay was taken.

Alya wept when she mentioned her sister Miryam who died in Transjordan during the first World War. People said: "Her dust drew her." Her dust was taken from there. The same explanation was given concerning the British soldiers who fell and were buried in Palestine during the war. Their dust was taken from that country.

It is an inevitable law which Alya describes in this way: "From whatever place the dust is taken to make a man, in that place he must die. The earth which owns the dust of which he is made swore that it would not walk to the person but the person must walk to it."

The man obtains from the earth the dust of which he is created. But the earth is a strict lender who, after a time, demands the return of the loan.<sup>29</sup> The earth, the permanent owner of the dust, summons the man, the temporary owner of the dust, but does nothing for the reunion. The man himself shall come to the place from which the dust he temporarily owns is taken, and bear it back to the rightful owner. Man is of dust and to the very part of the earth from which he was taken he must return.<sup>30</sup> In this view that a man will return to his starting-point there is a close and unifying conception of life.

## PREGNANCY

### *First Signs*

People in the village follow with special interest the progress of a new marriage and watch with close attention for the first signs of pregnancy.

Of a newly married wife Alya says: "Blessed is she, if she received<sup>31</sup> and no menstruation followed. Then if menstruation followed, people say: 'She is not blessed!' They add the saying: 'Their morsel is lost, jumped out of the cauldron.'"

In the case of a woman who has been married some time and has already had children, it is usually the small family circle that notices and discusses the first stage of her pregnancy.

Alya: "She gets the menstruation. After eight days she washes herself. If the following menstruation is not on the tenth or on the fifteenth day of the month, then it is not coming. Past is her time, the expectation of her menstruation.

She begins to dislike food, things are not to her taste. She says: 'I am not well!' They tell her: 'I am afraid thou hast swallowed a fly!'"

The woman understands the allusion to her condition and tries to deny it. "She says: 'Oh yes! did I not wash myself after menstruation the other day?'"

Then they tell her: 'Past is the time. Do not let others know it!'" — Her mother and her sisters warn her against revealing her secret too soon. It is not for other people, they think. But her condition cannot be concealed very long from the neighbours.

### *Cravings*

Alya pointed out that as soon as fifteen days after her last menstruation the cravings appear. It is said:

Two months craving  
and two months being miserable  
and two months to return to her old state.

— "After six months she gets healthy again."

Alya: "She craves. If she comes near food she vomits. Then they say: 'She is with child.'"

And Alya said another time that it is just through the cravings that people get to know that a woman is pregnant: "We know it from what she craves for. If she craves for things that are not there. She longs for lemons or oranges, apples, radishes, etc."

Hamdiye states: "The pregnancy has not shown itself until she longs for lemons and radishes" — here mentioning the things which she herself used to long for.

Alya: "She craves. She does not like bread. She likes something sour. No strength is left in her. She cannot bear to be told anything. Then people say: 'She is with child.'"

If she is with his family — so that she is not alone with her husband — she whispers to him: 'Get me roast meat or something like that!' She even likes a bit of salt. She craves for liver, tomatoes, etc. All this is for the child."

Mdallale Sleman said of any pregnant woman: "What she desires, that she gets", and added about herself: "If I desired radishes when I was pregnant, then the woman whom I told gave me these things."

Alya remarked: "The woman who does not get what she wants is miserable. The child which she bears takes harm." She quoted the following sayings:

What makes thee strong among the women?

— Thy eating when thou cravest.

And what makes thee strong among women?

— Thy eating when thou art in child-birth.

And: She is pregnant and craves for raisins,  
and whence, miserable one, canst thou bring such?

Alya adds: "If she does not get what she wants, her hand will make a mark where she touches her body."

Mdallale agreed and related the following of a woman whom she said she had seen and known: "A pregnant woman craved for sheep's head. She did not get it, and all over the cheek of the newborn child was hair like that of a sheep."

Another injurious consequence of not satisfying the cravings of a pregnant woman is that she may swell up, as is described in the following examples.

Alya: "Eshe craved for pancakes and another time for liver and became swollen. Then her mother went and fetched a piece of tent-cloth from the Bedouin, put it in the cinders and let her step over it and the swelling went down." Eshe herself happened to come in at that moment and said: "But my mother also made pancakes, and I was cured."

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It may be of interest to compare with this, some remarks of townswomen in Jerusalem which I heard from *Mrs Lydia Einszler*, née Schick, well known for her articles in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*. Mrs Einszler was kind enough, directly after my arrival in Palestine in 1925, to give me my first insight into the life of the people. She took me to see a peasant home in the village of Ramallah and then to townspeople near where she lived in the old city. In this way I visited several homes of both Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem. She also told me of the observations which she had made in Palestine during her long lifetime.

Here I give literally what she told me on September the 5th 1925 about the cravings of pregnant women. Thanks to the fine way in which she regarded her neighbours and the kindly way in which she talked the pictures she gives from everyday life are really small prose idylls.

"When the women are pregnant they have a desire to eat something. If they smell something cooking they must have it. Generally, as you have seen, several families dwell in one house and they cook different things. In so doing they often use fat, onions and garlic which smell very strongly. People who know that there is a pregnant woman in the house take her a little of it without being asked. If she is angry with this family they will send it to her by a neighbour, because it may happen that the birth will be premature if they do not do this.

Once a woman fried fish and it smelled very strongly. In the next house there was a pregnant woman who noticed it. She began to have pains in her body so that people thought her labour was beginning. A woman went quickly into the neighbour's house and asked for a little piece of the fish. Of course the woman gave it to her gladly and asked for pardon that she had forgotten about her. -- The whole street knew it.

A woman told me that when cauliflowers first came on the market, the heads were very small, but she had cooked some and, knowing that a pregnant woman was in the same house, she laid a little cauliflower on a piece of bread and took it to her. At first she refused saying: 'Oh! I am so sorry; thou bringest me an expensive thing which is now so very rare. I will not take it.' The reply was: 'I give it to thee willingly from my whole heart. Do take it!' And then she ate it with pleasure.

When she went back to her dwelling she passed a neighbour's in the yard and the door was open and she saw that this woman had a visitor from another house. Knowing this woman visitor was also pregnant she went home, took another little piece of bread, placed some cauliflower on it and took it to her. She was naturally delighted with the attention and thanked her very much.

When her husband came home to supper, she excused the small amount of cauliflower. She had given this and that woman some

of it, because they, as he knew, were pregnant. He praised her and said that she had done quite right.

The same woman had once cooked something which gave a very strong smell and then a woman relative said to her: 'Do not forget! In the next house dwells such and such a woman and as she is in a certain condition thou must give her some of the food!' She at once took some of it down to her and she was so pleased that a long time after she said: 'Thou knowest. It tasted so good and I only wished there was more.' Since then the woman has thought: 'Oh! if only I had given her more!'

Often when something is being cooked somebody comes and says: 'We have smelled the smell. Please, give us some of it for a woman!' And they all do it willingly. Some people are so careful that they take three different things: olive oil, sesame oil, cooking butter and cook it together with onions and garlic and keep it in their home. If there is a smell of food near them the pregnant woman must eat of that mixture. Some of this is also smeared on the navel. This is done, for example, when the neighbours do not think of bringing her some of their food; the woman thus has some compensation.

This custom is fairly general although more so in the town than among the fellaheen who live more in the open. It occurs among Jews, Muhammadans and Christians."

This last remark of Mrs Einszler is worth consideration. For she has studied all these groups, especially in connection with her great interest for the role played by the evil eye and the amulets used against it. For many decades she has devoted time and strength to collecting amulets and she has about six hundred, with a description of the history, use and significance, and ideas belonging to each. In this collection Mrs Einszler has aimed at having, as far as possible, Muhammadan, Jewish, and Christian parallels. This same line might be followed on a larger scale in studying the folk-religion of Palestine and thus drawing parallels between Muhammadans, Jews

and Christians. In this way one might discover the common older Palestinean belief; an ancient layer lies below the — often rather thin — surface of the official Jewish, Muhammadan and Christian religion.

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To return to *Artas* — once when speaking of the cravings of a pregnant woman Alya said: "Children, too, long for things, so also the old and sick."

This is a not unimportant factor in the psychology of the people. We here meet a whole complex worth detailed consideration, although I shall now only touch upon it in passing.

In general if a person cannot satisfy his desire for a special food this harms him. If he can see the food, it is also harmed and in that way they who eat of it. People are afraid to eat food which another has longed for. They say that his soul is in it.<sup>32</sup> This is one of the reasons why the fellaheen prefer the meat of an animal killed at home to meat bought in the town.<sup>33</sup> A Westerner understands that meat which has been hanging in the open, exposed to flies in the summer heat, easily goes bad. But the fellaheen think that, as it hung there in the bazaar, it was the object of many glances some of which may have rested longingly on it.<sup>34</sup>

Bread is blessed, for in the oven where it is baked it is hidden from all eyes. — The fellaheen always eat home-baked bread. When a woman comes from the oven which is always built outside, she carries the bread on the head in a basin well covered with a straw tray. The bread is not seen. She must offer some to any one she meets. It would be a sin not to do so. It might be someone who is hungry and longing for it, and then her bread would no longer be blessed. It would harm her people to eat of it. Their welfare is endangered.<sup>35</sup>

Here is an egotistic motive in helping the needy. It is probable that

the original psychological reason for good deeds was a similar fear that otherwise things might go badly, and that only by a development of ideas has one come to kindness and mercy as motives for a good deed.

A religious factor enters here when people say that it is really not man but God who gives, or as the saying runs: "If God gives, Ali can give and if God does not give, Ali cannot give." When Alya related that her mother gave bread to some strangers, she corrected herself at once: "No, God gave!" This is quite general.<sup>36</sup>

Yet the person who can feed the hungry and satisfy the thirsty is blessed.

In Artas it was related of a very rich man in Bethlehem named Jaber who during the first World War had kept open house for the needy and told the hungry to come and eat and the thirsty to come and drink.<sup>37</sup> It is also considered wrong for a man to keep his well closed, in case travellers want to water their animals and satisfy their own thirst.<sup>38</sup> In the same connection I was told that a man must not block a path with a wall or a gate, if by not doing so he can save another some steps.

This necessity to satisfy the longing of another person is especially important with small children. Sitt Louisa related how in her youth she had been told to be sure and give food to the small children of the peasant women, if they came in during meal-time. Otherwise the children could suffer and become swollen. Sitt Louisa's attention having been once drawn to this, she has all through her life seen that this is really the idea of the fellaheen. If a peasant woman came in with a little child or children while we were eating she always gave them some of our food. "So that they do not swell", she said jokingly to me. If a woman refused to take what was offered it was only necessary to say: "Take it for thy little child's sake!" or "For thy child!" and the woman took it at once. People are especially afraid that little children long for food which

they see and cannot have. They are not to be denied anything.<sup>39</sup>

And still it is said: "A pregnant woman comes before a child." In one of Alya's statements previously quoted she said of the things which a pregnant woman may crave: "All this is for the child!"<sup>40</sup> I assume that the quite special consideration paid to such craving can be explained as the demand of the child in the mother's womb.<sup>41</sup>

### *Advice for Pregnant Woman*

I have noted the following precautionary measures, advice, and warnings for pregnant women.

Hamdiye: "She who is pregnant must avoid bearing heavy burdens. If she lies down on the bed and turns round on her side she must not hurry but do it slowly. If she wants to turn on her other side she should first sit up and then turn."

Alya: "Do not burden thyself with heavy things! Take care of thyself when thou art pregnant!"

Another time she said: "Some people will not let her knead the dough,<sup>42</sup> or pull out a thorn<sup>43</sup>, or dig in the ground."

In this connection may also be quoted the following statement by Alya about sour dough: "The sour dough is not cut. A woman who has only one child may not cut it, and a woman who has only one brother may not cut it, for fear that his life will be cut off. They give a fictitious reason and say: 'Our sour dough is a bride, very small. Take all or nothing!'"<sup>44</sup>

Here is a kind of symbolic magic. To cut away something may influence a human life so that it is cut off.

A pregnant woman shall not walk in the burying-place, nor eat the meat of a funeral feast, nor eat certain pieces of meat cut from an animal's body — all this especially if she has earlier lost children by death.

A pregnant woman is warned against incautiousness.

"Take care of thyself! People are careful even of the chicken in the eggshell."

Sitt Louisa said: "How should they then not be careful of a woman, when pregnant."

Here again, in this theoretical emphasis on how a pregnant woman must be indulged and be careful herself, is an example of what false presentation a field ethnologist would be guilty of if he depended only upon his own observations however careful, precise and varied they may have been, without at the same time having regard to the expressions, opinions and judgements of the people in the community under research. If the worker restricts himself to his own observations, he must come to quite another idea, and be obliged to say that the fellaheen do not sympathize at all with the view that women in such a condition must at least to a certain extent be protected, not do too heavy work and avoid certain kinds of work.

I met at the end of December 1926, in the mountains of Artas, Sheikha Shahin carrying a heavy iron plough on her head only a few weeks before her youngest son was to be born. She was with her husband Abd il-Salam, and they were both on their way to Bet Sahur, where he was going to plough and cultivate the Shepherds' Field for the owner. He was driving the ass laden with a sack of grain. Now Abd il-Salam was weak and old and his wife young and strong but even if he had been able to do it he could not have carried the plough. Eastern custom does not allow a man to carry a burden, otherwise he will lose the respect of the others. The custom is a hard one, binding on both men and women, and does not allow either to overstep the limit set by society. As life is in the rural districts of Palestine the women must do heavy and severe work and they submit to it without complaining. The women would be the last to rebel against this order of things which cannot be helped.

However, the statements quoted entitle us to conclude that a

peasant woman can reckon upon a certain indulgence from society if during her pregnancy she fails in her work or becomes impatient. There is some understanding for the fact that a woman in such a condition is both mentally and physically more easily hurt and weaker than usual and therefore ought to be protected to a certain degree.

In many cases women are not harmed by this hard work. All went well with Sheikha Shahin. But this is not always so.

### *Miscarriage*

On the 4th of May 1932 we heard that Helwe Ali, who was in the seventh month of her pregnancy, had suddenly fallen very ill. We went at once to see her and found the house full of neighbours on the same errand. They related that Helwe Ali could no longer feel the movements of her child but that it was dead in her womb. This was confirmed by Helwe Ali herself. She sat pale and sad on her bed and listened to the others' talk. It did not seem to make much impression on her when in order to comfort her some one said that God was mighty to bring the child to life again. But they all said that it was her own fault that this had happened. She had worked too much all the spring. Why had she not taken care of herself. Were these reproaches really meant seriously? Were they not merely formal and, in spite of apparent severity, flattering to her, implying that she had exerted herself to the utmost in spite of her condition. At any rate she was not reproached any more when shortly afterwards she started to do all her work once more. They all knew that she had to do it if she had any strength at all.

A month later it was said in the village that now the dead child had come away and had been buried in all stillness. A few days after Helwe Ali came to see us — it was the 4th of June. She was very pale and delicate. Sitt Louisa offered her honey which is

regarded as good for sick people. She said that people had told her to drink Miryamiye<sup>45</sup> in order to get her strength back. Sitt Louisa also gave her some honey to take home.

Of a woman already dead Alya related how through carelessness she had a miscarriage.

Mahbube Jibrin, although she was pregnant, had lifted a heavy pot off the fire. "Why?" asked Sitt Louisa. "She could have called the women to help her." Alya answered: "But then she would have had to give something and she was afraid to part with the cooked food." Because of her meanness she did not want to give even a very little of the cooked food to any neighbour who helped her, and so Mahbube lost her unborn child.

Being asked to relate this for my notes Alya gave the following account:

"Mahbube lifted up the cauldron from the fire and at once the child in her loosened, it was hurt and died. She did not want to give away even a spoonful of the cooked food. It was a boy. She was scolded by her husband's family, and she was sorry too."

Alya finished with the following saying: "Bring them in due time to the world — nor will I throw them away when as large as a bit of chewing gum."<sup>46</sup>

Hamdiye said again: ". . . nor will I throw them away as large as a mouse."

Alya related a case from olden times in Artas where the husband was the cause of his wife's miscarriage.

"Abu Ahmad Ismain quarrelled with his wife. He had a barley-loaf in his hand. He threw the loaf at his wife and hit the child in its mother's womb. And that hour the child died and she had a miscarriage. It hit the child on his head. Nobody said: 'What didst thou do?'"

Sitt Louisa: "They did not make any fuss about it."

Alya added: "The cows in the convent are in the fields of the convent."

I asked: "What is the meaning of that saying?" and Alya attempted the following explanation: "See what the meaning of this proverb is. For instance: Here — the director of the convent sees cows in his cornfield. He gets angry and sends the servants to imprison the cows. They return. They had found out that the cows belonged to the convent. Cows of the convent in the corn-field of the convent. — So too with Isrnain and his wife."

Sitt Louisa: "This is a saying very often used. For instance: I break my tea-pot. Nobody can scold me. It is my own business. No outsider is hurt by it." And with reference to the event just related she said: "It was in the family circle. A stranger had nothing to do with it."

If the same crime had been committed by a stranger there would have been much fuss in the village and the guilty one would have had to pay blood money. Now nothing happened because the guilty one was the woman's own husband to whom the child belonged.

Yet Hamdiye says of a woman in this condition: "If her husband tries to beat her people will stop him", and continued more generally: "People do not touch her for everybody knows." She quoted the proverb:

"Love and pregnancy and riding on a camel, or, on mountains, are not to be hidden."<sup>47</sup>

And she finished: "If somebody beats her and something happens to her he must pay blood money for the child."<sup>48</sup> It is a soul."

If a woman when pregnant leaves her husband in anger and seeks refuge in her father's home and some accident happens to the unborn child her husband can force her nearest male relatives to play blood-money if it is a boy. The woman is only the vessel containing the child, it is said. Therefore it is her husband and not the woman or her relatives who have the right to the child and so they must pay

the husband compensation. On the other hand the man can refuse to recognize the child as his own if the wife has left him and her pregnancy begins to shew while she is not in his house.<sup>49</sup>

### *Sex of Foetus*

However interested people may be in the sex of the child to be born they must wait patiently. It is said: "A woman is a closed box.<sup>50</sup> Nobody knows what is in that box but God."<sup>51</sup>

Or they say: "A woman is like a pomegranate. Nobody knows what is in it. Nobody knows — is it a boy or a girl — but God."

But it is also said: "With a girl the load is heavy — with a boy light."

And according to Alya: "The mother of a boy feels movement in the fourth month, the mother of a girl feels movement in the fifth month. The male begins to move in the mother's womb in the fourth month and the girl in the fifth month. The male has a strong eye."

For this reason the following conversation can take place between neighbours, according to Alya:

"They tell her: 'Say the truth! How many months art thou pregnant?' She may answer: 'Four months. If it is a male, I stepped into the fourth month. I felt a movement.'<sup>52</sup> — This may seem rather a curious way of reckoning pregnancy.

In *Nablus* they said to me:

"Although it is not known whether it will be a boy or a girl, if the body of the mother becomes long and round at the top, it will be a boy. If she becomes swollen at the sides, it will be a girl. If a woman is carrying a boy, she is hot during her pregnancy. If she is carrying a girl, she is indolent."

In *Artas* Alya said: "Even when she is pregnant her husband has sexual connection with her." Another time she said: "If a man cohabits with his wife too much it is unhealthy. The child dies. An

honourable man does not cohabit with her even in the eighth month. In the ninth it is not good." But it can happen that even to the very last he does it. "The wise woman says: 'Please go far from me, I do not want this!' And the silly one does not mind."

When the pregnancy is nearing its end it is said: "This month is for her."

It is interesting from the point of view of folk-psychology that they believe that if a pregnant woman dies she will remain pregnant for ever and ever, and this seems to indicate that they cannot imagine any development after death.<sup>53</sup>

On the other hand there will be marriage in Eternity.

## Chapter II

# B I R T H

### EXCEPTIONAL CASES OF BIRTH IN THE OPEN

When one first arrives in Palestine and begins to ask about birth customs one can be sure that people will relate of women whose children have been born in the open. I also have some such stories from my first stay in Artas in the autumn of 1925, and I first give those concerning two of the village women: Hamdiye Sanad and Mhammadiye.

When Hamdiye bore her second son, she was the second wife of a man in Bethlehem. She had in anger left her husband and taken refuge with her parents who in those days still lived in the castle at Solomon's Pools. One day she brought milk as usual to Sitt Louisa's mother in the village, felt sick and tried to hurry home. But the pains came over her on the way and she was delivered of her son in the mountains between Artas and Solomon's Pools.

Mhammadiye again bore two children in a similar way.

The first time a child was born on the road it was a cold winter day and people were going from Artas to Bethlehem to condole with someone who had lost a relative there. "What is the matter with thee, Mhammadiye? Thy whole body is trembling." So said the women to her, and she answered: "Perhaps I am cold." But after a while she had to stop. It was quite impossible for her to go on. The women then sought out a sheltered place where the wind was not too strong. They took her there and placed themselves round her as protection from the wind. Mhammadiye is one of those who are

easily delivered. The afterbirth followed immediately and they placed everything in a hammock used for little children.

Mhammadiye bore her next child in the gardens which the Artas people have in the valley. This time it was summer. Her father's wife Eshe from the village el-Walaje happened to be there too. She bound Mhammadiye tightly round the body with the cloth which the peasant women use as a girdle. Then Mhammadiye went home with the child and the afterbirth in a basket. People meeting her asked inquisitively: "What hast thou in the basket?" Mhammadiye answered: "Entrails!" — which people use to fill with meat and make into a kind of sausage. After coming home she lay down on the bed and was given chicken broth according to custom.

From my first time in Artas I have some similar stories about a Bethlehem woman and a Taamre woman, a half-Bedouin woman, from the neighbourhood of Artas.

Sitt Louisa related of the former:

A Muhammadan woman from *Bethlehem* went out from the town at the last minute to gather wood. As she gathered she felt such terrible pains that she realized the critical moment had come. She took refuge in a grotto. When the child was born she took a sharp stone and cut the navel cord. Then she tore a strip of cloth from her skirt and bound it round the child's navel. "But it is a pity about the wood which I have gathered with so much trouble," she thought, and with a quick decision she laid the bundle on her head. The new-born child found a place in her sleeve. At home her old mother-in-law had begun to wonder why she was so long. She went out along the road to meet her daughter-in-law. "Why hast thou lingered so long?" she asked anxiously. "Look there and take the little thing which I have in my sleeve! The wood is too heavy for thee who art old," was the calm reply.

Eshe, wife of Ali Khalil in Artas, although herself a half-Bedouin from the Taamre tribe, told of a *Taamre* woman of her acquaintance

who had once gone to the market in Bethlehem. She had to go through Artas, and Eshe who had met her could see that she had not long to wait for her delivery. Eshe later heard that the woman did not even get as far as Bethlehem. In the vineyards between Artas and this town she gave birth to a boy. A man happened to be passing. She called to him: "Brother, throw me thy knife! I must cut the navel cord." He obeyed and the woman did as she had said and threw the knife back to the waiting man. He then went on his way. The Bedouin woman managed all right and had strength enough to reach Bethlehem. She sold her goods in the market, stayed a few days with a family she knew and then returned to her people.

Mrs Einszler in Jerusalem told me in September 1925 of her own experience from the peasant women's life. Many years ago a peasant woman from *Abu Dis*, a village near Jerusalem to the south-west, used to bring milk daily to the Einszlers, and although she expected a child she came till the last moment.

Then one morning she did not come. A few days later she appeared again and told them that the last time she was there with the milk, she had on her way back born a child. She had put it with the afterbirth in her sleeve — the peasant women have very wide sleeves — and continued her way home to Abu Dis. Now she had rested and could again do her work.

Every morning she came as before with her milk-pitcher on her head but now she had the child too, in a hammock, held fast to her forehead with a broad band as one can see any day in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

In *Artas* the peasant women say that among the Bedouin there is a custom that when they feel their hour approaching they go alone out into the desert, bring forth the child and return home when all is over.<sup>2</sup>

The meaning of the name Khalawe must also be remembered in this connection; it has been borne by only one man in Artas, namely the eldest member of one of the three branches of the Meshani

family.<sup>3</sup> The fellaheen explain the name Khalawe in the following way: "His mother gave birth to him out in the field. And Sitt Louisa added: "Outside — but not in front of the door nor near the village but in the fields, the wilderness. Also the woman woodgatherers say: 'I went out into wilderness' -- i.e. very far away."

It is quite natural that to a newcomer they relate cases of exceptional birth, just as when one first begins to ask about divorce in Palestine, one always hears of men who have divorced so and so many wives. Even if it is only the rumour of such a man that the people relate, yet one gets the impression that this is how it happens in Palestine and that such a man, far from being an exception, is the rule and type for the Muhammadan married man in the country. The people themselves, as in other places, find the exceptional cases more interesting and amusing than the everyday ones and present them first.

In many places in Palestine people can relate of women being taken unawares and giving birth to children out-of-doors. It is not to be wondered at that now and again such cases occur; the peasant women move about outside so care-free although they are already in the last stage of pregnancy. It harmonizes very well with the nature of the fellaheen to leave too much to chance and not make arrangements for a birth in time. With their total lack of forethought they let themselves quite calmly be taken unawares by something of which they know the natural course months before. Their hard life full of heavy work does not allow them to spare themselves. Considering this it is rather surprising that cases of birth in open air are not much more numerous.

In most cases there are also other experienced women at hand who can give advice to an expectant mother in such a situation. They observe her. With them she can discuss the matter when the pains begin to trouble her.

Here is such a discussion according to Alya:

"The pregnant woman says: 'I had my supper and slept; nothing is the matter with me.' They tell her: 'The pains of a woman in labour are like a thief. He will steal upon thee and thou wilt not notice it.'"

And: "When she cannot sit and cannot sleep, she says: 'I am lying on a heap of stones.' And people tell her: 'These are the balances of the pains of a woman in labour. It is either in the evening or in the morning — that thou wilt be delivered.'"

Also: "When rain is approaching and the clouds are threatening they say the same. 'Just like the pregnant woman. It will rain either in the evening or towards morning.'"

This expression has a special charm because of the parallel drawn between human life and nature.<sup>4</sup> They think that human life is reflected in nature.

From what has just been related it must not be at once concluded that the peasant women give birth easily. In the Old Testament it is put forward as God's hard punishment for the sex that they should give birth to children in sorrow.<sup>5</sup> Not even among the most primitive peoples does a child come into the world as easily as ripe fruit falls from the tree. When the peasant wives think of all the suffering connected with bearing children they sigh and shake their heads.

## CHILD-BIRTH IN THE HOME

### *No Men Present*

When a woman's hour has come the men leave the house.

Hamdiye says: "When her labour begins, her husband calls the midwife." Alya again remarks: "It is shameful if men are near when a woman is in travail."<sup>6</sup>

"Where are the men?" I asked Alya.

She answered: "They are in the men's club, on the walls, in Bethlehem, in the harvest, in the city of Jerusalem."

As a matter of fact the husband prefers to be as far away as possible. He is therefore glad if it happens to be harvest-time so that he may be in Bet Skarye working there in the fields. He likes also to go to the market in Bethlehem where he can meet others, drink coffee and talk. If it is a Friday that is better still, as he can go to Jerusalem. The men like to combine a visit to the market with a visit to the mosque in Jerusalem to pray. But if it is winter, raining, or evening so that he cannot be out then he goes with his brothers or other men relatives who perhaps live with him to the men's club where they like to go so much, if possible every evening, and especially if a visitor has come from a distance. He drinks coffee there or smokes the waterpipe and discusses village politics with the others, as becomes a man. Of course he tries to hide the fact that his thoughts are concerned with the important event at home. The others too may be wondering what news will be brought, whether he is the father of a boy or a girl, especially if it is his first child.

Now and then they steal a glance towards the home. Through the open door they can quite well follow what is happening in the village, and the people outside also talk to each other, and as they cannot speak quietly but, according to Western ideas, shout to each other, every one hears what they say. It is of course still better if it is so warm that they can lie out on the walls or roofs. The houses lie in terraces on the slope of the hill; the club lies in a kind of amphitheatre so that it looks out over a wide area. Or as Sitt Louisa expresses it splendidly when she says: "The men lie there with their mantles. The eyes walk. They do not need to walk." In this way it is easy for the husband to watch the women going to his wife.

#### *Women Present*

Hamdiye: "His woman relatives and her relatives come."

Alya: "Her mother and her sister and her neighbours are round her."

Then Hamdiye again remarked: "Women for women's business."

As many as possible like to come.<sup>7</sup> When Mdallale Sleman related that when she gave birth to her son she had ten women round her all the time, it may have been no exaggeration. If only they have time all the woman neighbours come. Those who cannot stay the whole time go away and others take their place. A woman who goes to the spring for water likes to go past that house. There are few women from the same quarter who do not consider it their duty to go in there at least for a little while and hear how the village sister is getting on and say some encouraging words to her, but also to take part in an event which is of such great interest to women in general.

Yet there are women who cannot be present, because it is unfitting for them or because they would harm either the mother or the child or both.

A pregnant woman must not be present because it would harm her. If she sees the pains of the other woman her labour might begin too early.

According to a midwife, Alya il-Hajje in Nablus, it would delay the delivery, for the child about to be born says: "I do not come down before my brother comes down."<sup>8</sup>

And in this town I heard that if an impure woman is present at birth it will be a long time before the mother is pregnant again, or it makes birth more difficult. "The impure woman may be present during her menstruation but not the woman who is impure from sexual connection. That is a great sin. That is before she washes herself; but after she has washed herself she can be present, she is no longer impure."<sup>9</sup>

It is in *Artas* said of an unclean woman that she can be there up to the moment the child is born, but when the mother rises from

the place where she has been sitting,<sup>10</sup> she must go away lest she should harm her.

Alya again said that her mother, Salma Sanad, who was a midwife did not like to have the mother of her charge present. She used to say:

God came to have mercy on her  
but found her mother beside her.

Yet Alya could not give any satisfactory explanation of this, although she had often heard her mother repeat these words. They can scarcely think that God considered it superfluous to help as the mother was there, for in that case Salma Sanad should not have repeated this expression as a reason for her objection to the mother's presence. It may be she did not really know herself what it meant. She said so because she had heard it on similar occasions. It is so with many expressions and sayings among the fellaheen: they are repeated under certain circumstances and come to have a certain import for the people although they cannot explain them. Psychologically one can imagine that Salma Sanad was right, because the mother, on account of her great anxiety, can be more hindrance than help.<sup>11</sup>

But generally among the fellaheen the mother should be present. It is not unusual that she comes a long way for this eventful moment in her daughter's life.

The midwife in N a b l u s spoke of the people who may be present at the birth:

"Always the mother, that is the main thing. If the mother lives in Jerusalem she goes to Nablus where the daughter is, or the daughter comes to her. If there is no mother then it is bad."

When I was in Nablus a woman among the Samaritans who was in Jaffa with her husband came to her own town and gave birth to her child there. The people referred to this fact which I knew to show the correctness of the midwife's words.

She continued: "There are also present at least one or two of the woman neighbours. The father's sister is present and other relatives and acquaintances. But no men. That would not be proper. In earlier times no unmarried woman might be present. But now they are not ashamed."

In Jerusalem the Arab teachers told me as follows of the people who may be present at the birth:

The mother and the mother-in-law of the confined woman, also her married sisters and the sisters of her husband, if married, ought to be there, especially if it is the first child. With the second and third it is not so important. A barren woman who wishes to have children also likes to be there. It is thought that in that way she will herself get children.

On the other hand a pregnant woman cannot be present. She could have premature delivery. Nor can an impure woman be present, because her influence is harmful. She may hurt the mother. If an impure woman enters during the delivery it will be much longer before the woman again has a child. And she hurts the child. It is said of an impure woman that if she treads on any of the child's clothing or even only steps over it without touching it with her feet this means that the child will be miserable and sickly. It is said of children whose heads are scabious that it is due to an impure woman.

So far the Arab teachers.

### *Midwife*

The most important person, however, is the midwife who must be so old that she has ceased to menstruate. This is because she can always be pure, and is connected with the fact that only a woman who has reached this stage can be with a sick person who is isolated as a remedy, and with the fact that women then seriously begin to

fast and pray, while earlier their periods of impurity put hindrances and difficulties in the way. It is also connected with the respect an older woman can enjoy as a 'mother'.

Often the midwife is an imposing personality who understands how to win respect for her wish and arrangements, so that her orders are obeyed. Her knowledge has been obtained mostly empirically, in some cases perhaps from her own mother, and in any case she employs old-fashioned methods.<sup>12</sup>

Sometimes it happens that, in order to save her fee, they try to manage without her or at least delay summoning her, and then the preparations are made by the other women. But as soon as she is there it is she who directs everything and gives orders which are obeyed by the others.

Alya: "The midwife asks the parturient woman: 'Pure or impure?' If she is unclean the midwife says: 'Quick! Warm up water! Let her cleanse herself!' — If she knows that her husband has had sexual connection with her two or three days before, she washes her from her impurity. For the impurity is a sin and is harmful when she gives birth. When the pains come they wash her. The eyes of the child may be hurt if she is impure."

Another time Alya said: "The midwife says: 'Get a stone and a basket full of dust for — be it far from the hearers — the filth! Get a rag to put on the stone! Not to break or crush the head of the child!'"

And: "They bring her the stone and some earth and rags, and the midwife before her and her mother and sister behind her."

Hamdiye: "They bring her some earth and a fine stone. They put rags on the stone. The midwife sits before the woman."

In reality this is the whole arrangement for a birth; they bring a stone which is placed on the floor and scatter a little earth in front of it. It is clear that here a little bit of nature is brought into the home. I cannot think otherwise than that this custom is derived

from the child being born out in the open, where they could dig a hole and bury the afterbirth etc. at once. Now that the birth takes place inside in the house they bring in the stone and the earth which will soak up the blood.

In the cities again the woman who is to give birth to a child sat on a "birth chair",<sup>13</sup> or if that was not at hand she sat on the bed. But the use of a birth chair is forbidden "since the English came into the country".

Or as a midwife in Nablus told me: "Now it is said that the confined mother must lie in bed. For this reason a birth chair is not used to-day but the confined woman does not lie in a bed but sits upon the bed leaning backwards with the feet on the floor. And the midwife sits in front of her."

This is not obeying the rule, but who is to see whether the woman lies or sits on the bed. The women in Nablus said that they do not like the new fashion.<sup>14</sup>

#### *Heavens Open — Presence of Angels*

The midwife keeps order among the women. They may not be noisy. They may not talk about their own sufferings. They may not quarrel or curse. If anyone does so she is reprov'd by the midwife. She exhorts them to remember the seriousness of the moment. The mother is in God's hands and she hovers between life and death. "So pray," she says, "and do not curse! Angels go up and down to record what happens and will happen!"

Every event and action in one's life are noted down in the Book of God<sup>15</sup> and there one's life is settled even before it has been lived. This is fate (*qism, nasib*).

"Think that the angels are going up and down!" the midwife says. "Now is the time when truth will be declared."

Alya: "Whilst in pain of childbirth angels are walking up and

down. Heaven's gate is open and all present make their requests to God. Heaven's gate is open.<sup>16</sup>

For instance: she whose brother or son is absent asks for his safe return. Those with debts ask God to pay them. What requests they may have thou canst see by the following prayers, which are general prayers, often repeated in daily life:

May God give safe return to every stranger to his family!  
May God heal every sick person!  
May God open the eyes of every blind person!  
May God enrich every poor person!  
May God release every prisoner!  
May God protect us from the evil of rulers and oppressors!"

Another time Alya said: "The door of heaven is open. He who wants to curse, curses (i.e. uses the opportunity to curse). He who wishes to bless, blesses."

Hamdiye: "The angels go up and down; will there be Death or Life? When her labour is difficult the angels tell God about her. Heaven is open."

Alya uses the expression: "The angels have the right to go up and down." To this Sitt Louisa remarks: "The Arabic word — *jâh* — which Alya here uses is interesting. The angels are privileged to go up and down. The angels have the ear of God."

Here are some other prayers, expressions and formulas used on such occasions.

The general exorcism of demons is: "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful!" It is said alternately with a more special prayer: "God's name over the child and the mother!"

If the delivery lasts very long they ask God's help still more urgently. For the mother the midwife prays:

"Slave, daughter of Thy slave, begs for help from Thee, from Thy hand!"<sup>17</sup> And they know that "from stage to stage God gives relief".

The women present also say: "For thee there is a prayer on the Prophet. We will pray for thee to the Prophet Muhammad."

Noah seems to be a kind of patron<sup>18</sup> for the mothers in labour.

They appeal to him, saying:

Oh, Prophet Noah! Thou who deliverest soul from soul!  
Thou Father helper! Deliver this woman!

The longer the labour lasts the more intensive become the prayers and formulas, and there are many phrases for addressing God. For example, the following I heard when I was present at a birth:

"Thou Father of the blue tent! Have mercy on me!"

It is a beautiful thought that the sky is God's blue tent which He has spread over the earth<sup>19</sup> and which He owns.

As to the earth in front of the stone where the birth takes place I wrote in my Diary: It affected me like a powerful sermon. It reminded me of the words: "Dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return."

#### *Difficult Birth*

Some women have great difficulty in giving birth. There are women who shriek and call out for a whole day, it was said. People imagine they have noticed that if a woman is mean it is more difficult for her than for others. Because she is mean God also is sparing with His mercy towards her. For the same reason a mean woman has later very little milk.

Alya: "The mean one has more difficulty, and the generous one, she has the baby already in her sleeve."

To this Sitt Louisa remarks: "The sleeve serves as a bag. The Bedouin women have very wide and long sleeves so that they almost touch the ground. When she gathers some edible green things she puts them in her sleeve. Similarly her bread when she goes to Jerusalem."

To a bad woman it is sometimes said: "It seems to me that thou hast forgotten the holding rope."

This expression referring to delivery is probably derived from the earlier custom of having a rope of goat's or camel's hair hanging from the roof, for the woman to hold on to, although it is no longer done in Artas so they cannot explain the expression satisfactorily.

They also say to a bad woman: "It seems to me that thou hast very swiftly forgotten the difficulty (*il-'aqabe il-mansiye*)!" This expression Sitt Louisa translated as: "It seems that thou hast forgotten the climbing up of mountains!" Elias Haddad, again, thought it meant: "It seems thou hast forgotten the forgetting" — when thou wast forgotten or deserted.

In any case this expression is used to indicate how very near to death a woman is in childbirth. And it may be that such a close contact and foretaste of death can bridle the bad woman somewhat and make her humble at least at times.

But such reproaches do not come till later. Now there is no time for that; although the fellaheen have both words for fate: *qism* and *nasib* on their lips, the women do not sit there idle and inactive and only submit to God's punishment; they do not only pray. They use also other methods to help and these will now be related.

When Alya il-Ali was to be delivered of her firstborn son, her labour began quite early, but the whole morning passed without any prospect of a quick delivery. Her mother was desperate.

Then one of the women present suggested, as was customary in such circumstances, that they should bring a Mekka rosary and she went away to Helwe Khalil's house. Soon she came back with Helwe — then the only inhabitant of the village Artas who had made the pilgrimage to the Prophet's city — and she bore in her hand the desired rosary. She went to Alya il-Ali who was sitting on the stone and put it round her neck. It was curious to see the calm expectat-

ion which now came over Alya il-Ali. For a while it had on her the same effect as when one takes some soothing medicine.<sup>20</sup>

Immediately afterwards the pains came over her again. She jumped up in complete despair. Her mother was frantic.

She had put off calling the midwife, because of the money, it was said. Other women had already made all preparations and had brought in the stone on which the child-mother was sitting and the earth was spread out in front of her. They had also brought out a sack of rags which now stood in a corner. The midwife had wisely enough not come voluntarily. At last — it was then about three o'clock — Alya's mother could no more bear her anxiety and called for the midwife. She went to the door and called to Sabha Ismain who was the midwife in the eastern part of the village where Alya lived. She came at once with her sister Nafise Ismain.

The entrance of the midwife had the same effect on the women assembled as the arrival of a doctor generally has. She stood there upright with a smile on her lips and the calm which great experience gives. And her glance as she took in the situation was such that one could imagine that she had greater insight into hidden things than ordinary women. All eyes were fastened on her but she was completely unaffected. Still without saying anything she sat down in front of Alya and looked at her for a while. Finally she ordered Alya to be smoked for.

The mother then took a piece of blue cloth from the sack of rags. She also took out a box of matches. But she was so anxious and her hands shook so that she could not strike the match. Smiling confusedly and murmuring an excuse she asked another woman to do her the service.

The midwife sat calm and watched it. But when the blue rag was alight she let it burn a little, then put it out and held the still smoking rag under Alya's nose. Alya smelled it and drew in the smoke in long breaths.

Then the women began to say that this was done against the evil eye. The whole time of her pregnancy Alya il-Ali had been so well. But of course this had aroused envy among her neighbours and so her delivery was difficult. And they must give her smoke in order to destroy the influence of the evil eye. After she had inhaled the smoke the midwife put the burning blue rag also under the hem of her dress and smoked her underneath.

Then the midwife ordered them to bring a clay bowl with glowing charcoal such as the men use in winter-time to warm their hands. The midwife now made Alya il-Ali step over it several times.

Alya also related: "The midwife says: 'Didst thou eat camel's meat? If thou didst, burn camel's hair under her!' And if she did not eat it, she says: 'No, I did not eat it'. — Any other meat does not matter. Only camel's meat is heavy."<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand there are some kinds of food which have an opposite effect and makes delivery easy. Some plants are believed to facilitate birth. An egg is a good means.

Alya: "The midwife says when the parturient is sitting on the stone: 'Fry an egg in oil for her and let her swallow it! If there is no egg, mix zimzem and let her lick that!'"

An egg or honey is used in order to bring the child quickly. — Honey is heating, the women said.

Alya: "If the husband is strict with her the midwife says: 'Let him wash his right foot that she may drink that water and that God may relieve us!'" Earlier Alya had told me why the mother drinks such water. "This is if the married couple do not agree. If she is to bear a child and it is difficult for her they tell the husband to wash his feet. She must drink the water. And then the child comes."

For example Alya when living in Surif had great labour-pains and they gave her such water to drink. She did not think this was unpleasant: "Such water is not unclean. He washes himself five times a day for prayer and his foot is always in the shoe."

Eshe who called the birth pains a fire in heart,<sup>22</sup> related that she had, at the births of three children, drunk water in which her husband's foot had been washed.

If the child delays coming very long they also assume it may be because it lies in a wrong position. They then take a big carpet of camel's hair, such as the fellaheen use. Four women take it, one at each corner. Then the mother is placed on it and rolled and shaken energetically and the child will take up its right position. This I saw the women do with Alya il-Ali. They spread out a carpet and told her to lie down on it. Calling on God's name she lay down. The mother and the midwife and two other women tried to swing her but they were both old women and Alya heavy, so that this was not very effective.

It must not be thought that the young mother sits still on the stone all the time. In her great anxiety she gets up time and again and wanders restlessly from one part of the room to another. I can still see Alya il-Ali before me. I sat on a box and she sat down beside me and smiled at me. Then suddenly she rose, took hold of a nail in the wall and clung to it until it loosened. She was not beautiful in herself but her appearance was beautiful as she wandered round in the cave which was her home throwing out her arms, raising and sinking them. She had on a blue dress which was now without a girdle and therefore trailed on the ground, and a great white kerchief which hung down over her shoulders and back. The peasant women even at this moment are dressed as usual,<sup>23</sup> only that they have an old dress on and are without a belt. The mother was extremely careful about this kerchief that it should be on her head. As soon as it slipped somewhat to the side she put it right again and Alya il-Ali did the same.

Now she sat on the birth stone, now she stood up again. As soon as she had a quiet moment she took part in the conversation of the village women around.

The whole day women neighbours had come and gone. Even late in the evening they looked in. On the way from the spring bearing water they turned in to see how it was going. "Hurry up!" they said. "We wish to see thy son before we go to bed!" But when it was nearly midnight most of the women had gone so that only a few old ones and the midwife were left.

During the evening Alya il-Ali's brother sometimes stole near the house, anxious at the long delay and hoping that some of the women would come out and tell him how things were.

Alya il-Ali herself became extremely impatient, so much so that she began to curse. "And all this suffering just for a child's sake. I ought to throw myself over the cliff!" Poor Alya had to wait still longer. Her son was not born until the morning "when the cocks began to crow".

On such occasions one can also hear such expressions as:

"If there was a noble woman, she would not give birth to children at all." And: "Two thirds of pregnancy is jealousy."

Finally, if a woman in labour continues to shriek and does not cease to complain and groan, the women are 'ashamed' lest the men, who prefer to know nothing about this side of the matter, should hear. If a woman begins to cry out for her husband it may be that she gets the answer: "Mother Eve was also pregnant and gave birth. Art thou better than she?"

And it is also said that a man is not to be disturbed, not even when his wife is in labour.

So the women try to find some means of stopping it. They mock her: "Why dost thou shriek so loudly now? Why didst thou not shriek when thou layest in the arms of thy husband?"

And the midwife also finally loses patience and threatens her: "Thou shalt lose thy child!"

"Then there comes more pains and so the child."

### *Delivery*

In the critical moment the midwife is helped by one or more other women. Either a woman stands behind the confined woman and lifts her up under her arms, or a woman sits with her back strained against her back while two other women stand one on each side: the natural chair. The women who support her also do their best to help her. They lift her by the arms and shake her as if they would shake the child out of her.

Alya: "The midwife warns the women supporting her back: 'Take care of her back!' They are afraid that the child will come from behind."

Sitt Louisa remarks that only a strong woman can support the woman. Mdallale stated that this is a very difficult task.

Alya: "And the midwife in front, and the mother or sister behind supports her and one supports her leg. When this leg trembles the delivery is near."

Alya says of the midwife at the decisive moment: "She puts out her hands for the coming child in order not to let the head of the child strike the stone, and says: 'Oh, Prophet Noah, divide one spirit from another!' and: 'Thy servant, the daughter of Thy servant, asks relief at Thy hands!'"

A boy comes with the face downwards and a girl with the face upwards.<sup>24</sup> Some children come feet first. This is made known at once. All the village know it.

The midwife can know the sex of the child beforehand. If it is shaped like a bee-hive and has a high breast she thinks it is a boy. A girl is broad at the hip, Alya said.

Hamdiye: "The boy is ashamed. He comes face downwards, and the girl on her back. When Miryam Khalil was born, her face was turned upwards. So I knew that it was a girl and said: 'May God change thee into a boy!' The angels heard it, but did not obey."

People believe that God can change the sex of a child even at the moment of birth.<sup>25</sup>

Alya: "The boy comes out on his face for fear of seeing his mother's shame and the girl comes on her back. She is like her mother and is not ashamed." According to Alya much blood flows with a girl and little with a boy.

"If the child is born already<sup>26</sup> and the afterbirth is not there, the women ask: 'What did God bring?' The midwife says: 'What was created arrived. We are now busy with the mother and not with the child.'

Sometimes the newborn child is enveloped in a thin membrane (*burnus*). The midwife tears it from the head and it comes away like thin muslin."

With some women the afterbirth comes at once. Others have very much pain. All the means which I describe for facilitating the coming away of the afterbirth I have myself seen used, with the exception of the tying of a thread between the navel cord and the woman's big toe, so that when she stretches herself it will pull the afterbirth.

Alya: "It has also its pains, the afterbirth. When it does not come quickly they tie a thread to the cord of the afterbirth and the big toe.

And they let her blow into a bottle in order to bring down the afterbirth. They burn a blue rag and let the smoke rise into her face. They also use snuff.<sup>27</sup> She sneezes and coughs and the afterbirth comes down. And then the midwife folds a thick cloth, puts it on her head, presses her head against the stomach and the afterbirth comes down."

The midwife speaks soothingly to the afterbirth too. The afterbirth is called 'sister' and Alya says: "If the sister delays long, the midwife says to it:

Thou hovering one, follow thy brother without regret!

We are neither happy, nor sad!

The women who are supporting the mother take hold of her under the arms and shake her roughly as if to shake out the afterbirth."

*First Attentions to Mother and Child*

When then the afterbirth has also come away there arises an indescribable excitement among the women present. They know that now something must be done. But losing their heads they run about aimlessly, and only get in each other's way. Then the midwife calls for something to wrap the child in.

At Alya il-Ali's delivery there was a sack on the floor with old rags, and from it they just took something to wrap the child in. But I also had the opportunity of observing that they are not always so thoughtful.

When for example Fatme Odtallah's child was born the women did not know what to do or where to get some suitable wrapping. They looked helplessly about the room without finding anything. The midwife who had got up from her sitting posture on the floor held the child in her hand covered with a bit of an old dress of its mother's, and said: "Surely there is an old shirt of its father's, one can take that and make the father a new one!"

The mother, who had also got up from the stone where she had been sitting and now stood supported by two women, tried in spite of her exhaustion to tell the women where they could find some old clothes. After long seeking and discussing they finally decided to take an old coat of the father's and began to tear away the lining. But the women who supported the mother called out that she had to rest, and the lack of division of labour appeared when they did not know what to do first, although the will to help was good. At the same time they were curious about the new-born child and nearly forgot the mother for it. Now, reminded of their duties to help, the women standing near began to look after her.

Alya: "Those who stand round bind some thick, strong cloth round her, generally a girdle cloth, so that her body will be drawn together and not bulge out."

Then they looked for a mat to put under her and a cover to put over her. She stood and shivered, her whole body shaking. But it was some time before she could decide which cover was old enough for her not to grudge using it.

In the meantime the midwife had begun to examine the child.

Alya: "It sometimes happens that a child is unconscious from the labour. Then the 'door of breath', the anus,<sup>28</sup> must be closed. The midwife closes it for fear that the new born child's spirit leaves him by that 'door'. It is only when he faints that this is done, that they close it for the child." She adds a more general remark: "For everyone who faints they close it, from the child to the governor. This is done to everybody: to boys and men, to girls and women."

The midwife also examines the child carefully in other respects.

Alya: "Oh! Yi! It seems the midwife did not look after the nose of the child! people say, when they see a flat nose."

If the child's head is not the right shape the midwife tries to alter it.

Alya: "By the labour of childbed a child is often pressed on the head. And the midwife puts the head right again, gives the head the proper shape."

Hamdiye told me that if the child has a long head when born the women press it down. She showed me how they interlace their fingers and then press on the child's head with both hands. It is of course as soft as dough, she said, meaning that it is so soft that one can shape it as one wishes. She said she was herself an example of how it is when the midwife omits to do her duty. According to what she said the midwife, Salma Sanad, who was her father's sister, was at once angry with her when she saw her dark skin and suspected that she was an illegitimate child. In her passion she would have

nothing to do with the child and omitted among other things to have her head altered in shape, so that, according to the ideas of the fellaheen, she never had the right shape of head.

The Bedouin women too, according to what I was told in Artas, have the habit of shaping a new-born child's head according to their wish.<sup>29</sup>

The following is a description of how a new-born child is swaddled as I myself saw it when Fatme Odtallah gave birth to a son in the spring of 1927.

The midwife took the old cloth she had been given and tore off first a narrow band which she tied across the child's head. Sick persons often do this when they have a headache. They say that their head is 'open' and by binding it tightly they will make it close again. This is, I supposed, the reason why the new-born child is given a head-band. Then the midwife tore off a bigger piece of cloth which she folded into a triangle. This she laid on the child's head so that one corner lay to the back, crossed the other ends over the breast and fastened the points under the armpits.

A still larger piece of cloth was then laid on the child's body from the neck to below the feet, and the ends folded over them in front.

Finally the midwife took another long band of the cloth — the middle of it was placed on the child's neck, brought round and crossed over the chest underneath the arms, crossed over again on the back below the knees and then brought to the front again and tied fast at the feet.

The child looked almost like a mummy. By using old, badly washed, or even dirty cloths, the colours are also very much like a mummy's wrappings.

Other women prepared the child's first bed.

Generally they now use a little bast basket with handles. In this case the women brought a straw tray on which they had spread some more straw. On this they had put the pieces left of the father's old

coat which the midwife had torn up. On these she now laid the swaddled child. When I saw this I understood a saying which Hamdiye sometimes quoted:<sup>30</sup>

How can I speak about my trouble and about my sadness,  
since my mother brought me into the world?  
She laid me at birth on a tray,  
and all the people cursed me.

Then the midwife wrapped the afterbirth in rags and put it also on the straw tray under the child: "well wrapt up" as the women remarked, "for fear of cats and dogs." When everything was ready the tray with the child was laid beside the mother.

During this time nearly all the attention had been concentrated on the baby. Only the blind old grandmother, Sabha Jedallah, had thought about the mother who lay there exhausted. The old woman worked at her with her hands.

"What is the good of this?" I asked.

Her answer was: "The bones that have been displaced must come together again." And as if to further emphasize the meaning of her words the old woman sat down on the mother and jogged up and down upon her. Then she stood up and continued her massage.

Suddenly she opened her blind eyes wide and her face lighted up as she cried out: "And this is Musa!" Her words were followed by a moment's silence. Then the other women clapped their hands with joy. — Yes, of course! it was Musa. They had had a Musa in the house. He was dead and now they had another Musa.

The old woman now brought us some figs which she had saved for this occasion, and dealt out a few to each woman. I also got some figs.

On such an occasion the women are constantly changing. Women come and go. Soon the news spreads in the village. It is no longer only the women who know it. The village boys, whom it is impossible to keep away, know what has happened.

The news also goes to the village men.

Chapter III  
POST-NATAL CUSTOMS

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BIRTH OF CHILD

*To the Father*

When after the birth the women ask the midwife: "What did God bring?" — wishing to know the child's sex, it is not only personal curiosity, they also think of the father. If it is a boy, especially if it is his first-born, he shall have the happy news as soon as possible.

Sitt Louisa: "No man is present at a birth. It would be a shame. But one of the women goes and says: 'Thou hast a son!'"

In the following account two things are to be noted: the announcement of the good tidings and the reward for the announcement. A reward is so closely connected with it that *bishâra*, the Arabic word for 'good tidings' or 'happy news' also means the 'reward' for them.<sup>1</sup>

The announcement takes the form of a dialogue between the woman who brings the tidings and the child's father. The woman is inclined not to tell her news before she knows what her reward will be. She does not wish to risk getting too little or perhaps nothing at all.

The first to know the child's sex is, as already stated, the midwife. As she sits waiting for the afterbirth to come and holding the crying child in her hands under the mother's skirt, well hidden from everybody, she knows quite well whether it is a boy or a girl. And then she tells the secret to the woman who shall take the news to the father.

Alya: "One woman comes to the midwife: a sister or a daughter, and whispers to her and then goes to the father and tells him.

She says: 'Good tidings!'"

He says to her: 'Tell me!'

She says to him: 'What wilt thou give me?'

He says: 'Thou shalt get a dress or a kerchief.'

The midwife gets the dress, and she who tells the news the head-cloth."

Hamdiye relates about the birth of her brother's son.

"When Abed was born we were among the Bedouin in Transjordan during the war. The Bedouin woman went to the father, Khalil, in the tent.

She said to him: 'O Khalil!'

He said to her: 'Hast thou something good to say?'

She said to him: 'I have good news. Thou hast a shepherd.'<sup>3</sup>

He said to her: 'I give thee a dress as a reward.'"

Up to more than half a pound is given for the news.

The announcement of a boy's birth is often rewarded with 20 Piasters and a dress. This gift is called: the reward for a boy.

"If somebody has many boys and then a girl is born he will give 5—6 Piasters." But in general: "A daughter is not announced. She is deficient.<sup>4</sup> It is only said: Blessed be the bride!<sup>5</sup> If the father asks: What did God bring, they do not say: Good tidings! but only: God bless the bride! Perhaps with the addition: May she live so long as her father and brother live!"

Sometimes there is no reward, even for a boy.

Hamdiye: "He who does not wish to give, says, for example: 'Tell it to the Sultan!' Or: 'This is to the Sultan.' Or: 'This is a son of the Sultan, not my son.' " She also states that the avaricious father says: "The whole Artas valley is for thy bag!"

Sitt Louisa relates as follows:

"When Abu Tawfik's son was born the little daughter went to her father in the men's club and said: 'Father, I have a brother!' The father answered: 'He is for the Sultan!' " To this Sitt Louisa remarked that when the father turns off the matter in this joking way he knows that his words make those men laugh who hear him in the club. He likes to be considered a witty man and knows that the rumour of his joke will spread into the village and there be repeated.

It is perhaps worth while noticing here that the expressions used are in one way examples of the fact that Oriental politeness demands that one never gives a direct negative answer.<sup>6</sup> People express an impossibility, they never refuse directly but by means of a grand phrase. It is in the same style to say to a beggar to make him go away: "May God give thee!"

Sometimes it may happen that two women compete with each other as to who shall first bring the news<sup>7</sup> of a son's birth to the father.

This was the case when a son was born to Ahmad Khalil. Miryam and Fadiye both ran to Bet Skarye where Ahmad was harvesting. Fadiye had had all the trouble with the birth but Miryam Hasan could run more easily. Alya showed us how each took hold of the other round the waist to prevent either getting in front. Miryam Hasan reached the father first and told him the good news.

" 'My father's brother Ahmad! Happy news!' — He said: 'Speak!' She said to him: 'Name' i.e. name my reward for the good tidings! He said to her: 'Thou art welcome with a head-cloth!' She said to him: 'A son is born to thee!' "

#### *Feast for Boy*

Now in Bet Skarye Ahmad Khalil had received the good news: a son is born to him.

The young men said: "If thou dost not give us a feast we will hang thee on the fig tree!" There is a big fig tree growing quite near the sanctuary, and it was related that when the locusts were in the country they could not touch it because it belongs to the saint Abu Sakari.

The older men also said to Ahmad: "We wish for some sweet things." He said: "May the blessing be spread out over you!" He brought two rattles of dry dates.

From my Diary I quote: Artas, Wednesday the 26th of November 1930.

This morning Alya relates that the men now celebrate the births of all the boys born lately in our village. It is still raining and the men are kept in the house and probably therefore they have thought of this. They have brought a big bowl with festival food to the men's club. All the men who have lately been blessed with boys now have to stand the cost of this celebration. This year, as a matter of fact, has been a boys' year.

I asked Hamdiye and Alya if it is only the boys' births which are thus celebrated, or if there is also a feast for the little girls born this year.

No, they declared with one voice. It is only for the boys. — "What does that mean? Is it not unjust?" I asked, and again my women answered, delighted, that the celebration is only for the boys who build up the house. But for the girls there is no celebration<sup>s</sup> for they ruin the house. They marry and go to strangers' houses and build them up.

Alya said of an Artas man who lives in Bethlehem:

"A son was born to Isa Khalil. — The Fawaghre people in Bethlehem said: 'Abu Shaker! We wish to begin the congratulations, we should like to have a feast!' — He said to them: 'I beg to be excused! Do not be offended! A Sheikh of my mother's relatives

died.' On Shaker, the firstborn child, he had spent eight pounds. Now he saves himself this."

Sitt Louisa remarked: "People do not eat sweet cakes when somebody has died." — "And no sugar in the coffee?" I asked. — Sitt Louisa: "Of course not, that is an old custom."

Such a custom to celebrate the birth of a son, as they have in Bethlehem,<sup>9</sup> does not exist in Artas. But, as it is said, he who has been with people forty days, he knows their secrets and has become one of them.

### *Good News*

The custom of announcing the child's birth demands special attention and is of great interest as it is based on a very ancient tradition, well known in the Old Testament. It is really the original form for "good tidings" in the New Testament. For what are the good tidings? — A child is born to you to-day.<sup>10</sup>

In Palestine of to-day, it is the women who announce the birth of a child. In the Old Testament this custom seems to have had even greater significance if one may draw this conclusion from the fact that then it was a man who brought the message.<sup>11</sup> In the form in which the birth of Jesus is related in the New Testament it is no longer a family affair but a gift to all mankind. Nor is the Child who is born an ordinary child, but the Son of God, who allows Himself to be born on earth. And wholly in harmony with this, it is angels who announce the happy tidings.

To what extent purely Palestinian, or Arab, or even Oriental influence is here found, to what extent again Greek influence, it would be valuable to know. The Greek word translated 'Gospel' means both reward for a message and the message itself — a joyful message.<sup>12</sup> Similarly in the Old Testament.

Among the Semites only good tidings are announced, others are

not mentioned. Just as in most cases the birth of a girl is not announced, so in general people avoid telling unpleasant or bad news.

For instance, if anyone is far away from home and one of his relatives dies, people do not send him the news, or at least they put off telling him as long as possible.<sup>13</sup> If the reason for this is asked the reply is that a person is happier so long as he does not know of the misfortune which has happened to him and his family. When he hears it later on, the misfortune is already long past and the pain and suffering on its account will not be so intense.

Perhaps this custom has its root not only in consideration for the person who has suffered the misfortune; malignant delight and an enemy's triumph are things which the Arabs believe in very strongly. It may have originated in anxiety for one's own person. Just as glad tidings is so intimately connected with a reward that *bishâra*, the Arabic word for good news, includes the idea of reward, so punishment belongs to its opposite. Not only in the Old Testament has a man lost his life for bringing bad news.<sup>14</sup>

#### *Dream Revelations*

The following announcement in a dream of a child's birth is in a category by itself.

Hamdiye: "Sheikh Omar of the Dervish order came to her in a dream when she was sleeping and said to her: 'Oh Mahbube! Thou art pregnant and thou wilt bear a girl and thou shalt call her Bahiye!'

She said to him: 'Who art thou?' He said to her: 'I am Sheikh Omar Ibn il-Attili.' — She asked him: 'Will she live?' He said to her: 'She will live.' — Mahbube said: 'And thy reward?' She said further: 'Thou wilt have a Majidi.'

Then he came to Artas and she said to him: 'Thou hast appeared to me in a dream and said to me that I should get a daughter and should call her Bahiye.'<sup>15</sup>

He said to her: 'It was not I. It was my angel'. — The members of the Order have a merciful angel."<sup>16</sup>

Alya: "Mahbube was sleeping and he awakened her. He said to her: 'Oh Mahbube, thou bearest a daughter. Call her Bahiye!'"

"This was an angel," said Alya when questioned.

Bahiye was her mother's only daughter. Mahbube's other children were sons.

This, the only example known of an announcement of birth before the child came into the world, concerns a girl. According to the revelation in the dream the child was to be called Bahiye and it was explained to me that in the whole village there had never been any one with this name. They said that the introduction of this new name into Artas was based upon the revelation which the child's mother had had in the dream.

Otherwise dream revelations are fairly usual among the people in the village.

Thus Imm Tawfik, Zahiye Hlal, related to us that her husband saw in a dream an old man who told him that his son Tawfik should die. And then he hastened to make a vow and sacrifice to St. George and the little son's life was spared.

St. George often shows himself in dreams, for when the people are in trouble they sometimes make vows to this Christian saint who has a sanctuary in the neighbouring village, el-Khadr, and is revered both by Christian and Muhammadan Arabs. But when the danger is over they forget and omit to perform their vows. Then it often happens that they see St. George in a dream and hurry to do their duty.

The appearance of dead people in a dream is also fairly usual, sometimes when they want to say something to their own people so that they may be at rest. In many cases the revelations in dreams are due to a guilty conscience on account of neglected

duties. In any case it is striking what biblical forms they assume and what biblical expressions people use when relating them.<sup>17</sup>

### *Glad Tidings of Return*

A typical example of announcing glad tidings is when someone returns home after a long absence.

It is said: "The absent one is a joy, even if it is only as large as a grain."

And: "Go farther from the eye, thou wilt find it becomes sweeter!"

For this reason a person who has been away in prison, fighting in a war, or on a long journey is honoured, especially if he has been far away in a foreign country.

In my research into marriage it is stated that some villagers had gone to America. In the winter of 1930 two of them came back to Artas.

When I reached the village a little later Alya gave the following account of how the negro Mhammad Salame was welcomed.

"Mhammad Salame comes from America after an absence of eighteen years.

A man named Kamus, living in Bethlehem, has children in America; the letter came to him. And he brought the news of the coming of Mhammad Salame.

They saw that he came to the usual stopping-place, they loaded his trunk on Jude. It was so heavy that he stumbled on the road."

Sitt Louisa: "They think — all money."

Alya: "The joy lasted twenty days. Every time the gift of a goat arrived they trilled and sang. — Sheikh Mhammad came from Shiyukh. Because of the death of Fadda Awwad they did not trill. In the morning they killed a goat and in the evening a goat. From Bethlehem two goats came."

Sitt Louisa: "Many relations are there: his aunt is there."

Alya: "From Bet Jala a goat has been sent." Sitt Louisa: "There a sister, Hadla, is married, and her husband's relatives have come."

Alya: "From Bet Ikxa a goat has been sent." Sitt Louisa: "From there his eldest sister Halime, her husband and his relatives have come."

Alya: "From Surif perhaps a goat from there. Also from Jericho the black Bedouin, relatives of his wife Adize, sent a goat. And his sister Saada's relatives-in-law came from el-Khadr and they too slaughtered."

The announcement to Halime, the sister of the absent one, by his cousin Miryam's mother was as follows:

"Happy news to thee, Halime!" She said: "Tell!" — The other one says: "What wilt thou give me for my news?"

She answered: "One Shilling." (5 Piasters) — She said to her: "Is it a chicken that I announce?" She said to her: "10 Piasters." — She said to her: "Is it a cow that thou offerest me only 10 Piasters." She answered: "15 Piasters." — She said to her: "Is he a camel?" She said to her: "A Majidi." (20 Piasters).

Then at last she said to her: "Thy brother returned from America!"

She said: "Let me kiss thee on the forehead, my dear! From whom hast thou the news?" — She answered: "From the girl who works with me." — His cousin, Miryam, works in the Government Hospital in Jerusalem, and she had the news from her mother.

And when Halime came to the top of the Artas mountains she trilled and sang.

And his sister Saada, married in el-Khadr, when the teller of the happy news came to her, took her head-dress and waved it in the air the whole time as she walked along, more than an hour, for joy. She sang:

My joy is a great joy! My brother, my beloved one!  
And should it be a little, add to it!

Sitt Louisa: "It means that it is too great to be added to."

From my own experience I learned something about the welcome given to a person who has been far away.

On my first morning in Jerusalem after my return to Palestine I met Abd il-Salam, a sheikh from Artas, in the bazaars. I heard from him that Miss Baldensperger, or Sitt Louisa, as he said, happened to be in the village. Later I wrote in my Diary about a talk I had with her about meeting Abd il-Salam:

I said to Sitt Louisa: "I met sheikh Abd il-Salam in Jerusalem and we greeted each other." — Sitt Louisa quoted an Arab proverb, saying: "Greeting is sweet after one has been away."

Then she related: "And I again met Abd il-Salam on the road, and he said: 'Sitt Louisa, I have good news! Sitt Halime has come back!'" — Sitt Louisa: "Where didst thou see her?"

Abd il-Salam: "I saw her in Jerusalem." He then said: "Give me the reward for the news!" — Sitt Louisa: "I must visit him and give him some honey. The news is expensive."

Every time we afterwards met Abd il-Salam, he smilingly asked for his reward and he was not pleased until Sitt Louisa one day brought him honey, saying: "This is thy reward for giving me good tidings about Sitt Halime's return."

Alya told me: "When Sitt Halime arrived at the village it was said: Welcome and welcome from the place she left to the place where she arrived!"

The women also sang some songs of welcome; this time putting my name in the songs.

#### *Announcing Good Tidings*

When the letter arrives with the news I will colour it with henna!  
I will walk unto her mother and colour her with henna!  
Give to the messenger his tools and knives!

The messenger says: "I will take a head-dress."  
Give the messenger a whole dress and two mantles!  
The messenger says: "I will not take less than one hundred  
Piasters."

Another song was to the ship that brings the person returning.

The ship that brought her is worth a banner!  
I lift up the white banner in my hand!  
The ship that brought her to our house is worth it.  
I will set up the white banner on the roof!  
The ship that brought her is worth it,  
I will set up the white banner<sup>18</sup> on the St. John's Bread tree!  
I will give thee an anklet, thou captain of the ship,  
For the gathering together of the relatives<sup>19</sup> it is not wasted!  
I give thee my collar, thou captain of the ship.  
My yearning is satisfied. It is not wasted.

Sometimes one could see in the village a British aeroplane high  
up in the sky. It was before there was an air-route to Jerusalem,  
but the women sang:

Fly around, thou aeroplane!  
Salute the forgiving face of Sitt Halime!  
Come to the foot of the mountain, thou aeroplane!  
Salute the long-necked brother!

The fourth and last song resembles a rain-song I heard in the  
village. The women clap their hands and sing and dance.

It is our duty, it is our duty,  
to sing and dance is our duty  
at the coming of Sitt Halime — a duty (to dance).  
Our friend, she filled our hands — a duty (to dance).  
She coloured our hands with henna — a duty (to dance).

#### TREATMENT of MOTHER and NEW-BORN CHILD

But let us now return to the house of birth and see what is happen-  
ing there.

The red earth which was spread out in front of the stone has been collected into a sack by the midwife who will later on bury it in the earth. But now she reminds the women of a necessary rite which is described by Alya as follows:

"When she has given birth a mother steps three times over the threshold and back, she and the child. Another woman carries the child, if the mother is very weak. This is for fear of harm, or fear that she will not have any more children. The unclean woman also comes in. And if they do not do it, the mother is harmed when the unclean woman comes in.

If an unclean woman is present when she has her labour it does not matter — but immediately after the birth it harms her."

Another time I was told that it is the midwife who goes with the child and the mother three times to and fro over the threshold<sup>20</sup> and it was said that each time the following words were repeated: "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful!"<sup>21</sup>

This rite is a preventive measure against the harmful influence exercised by an unclean woman and is intended to protect both child and mother. Is it quite impossible that it is also meant to protect the child from its own mother who, after its birth, is unclean?

As is seen from the words of Alya it is supposed to be a means of preventing barrenness after childbirth.

Should this rite be omitted or delayed so long that an unclean woman has had time to enter, there is a remedy.

Alya: "She who has harmed her, must give her urine and it is put on the head of the barren woman, and her head is washed and rinsed and she stands up."

After stepping over the threshold the woman can at last lie on her bed on the floor. There is however no question of real rest as the house is still full of people. Seeing people come and go it is

easily understood that the temptation can be so great for an unclean woman that she forgets to be careful and joins the visitors.

### *Food for the Mother*

The busy women have in the meantime provided coffee and now offer it hot to the mother.

It is seldom that they have coffee at home. Generally it is obtained from the men's club, where coffee should always be at hand in case guests come to the village. But when Alya il-Ali had given birth to her first son one night in May Hamdiye related the following day that when, as usual in such a case, they went to the men's club for coffee for the mother there was none, for it was harvest time and the men were away in Bet Skarye where the Artas people have fields of their own. So they had to run about the village, came also to Hamdiye's home, and awakened them, asking if they happened to have some coffee. The coffee given to the woman immediately after her child is born must be without sugar (*gahui murra*).

The mother must also have soup made from either a hen or a cock according to the sex of the child.<sup>22</sup> This is a symbol of its future marriage.

Alya: "If a boy is born a hen is killed. For the boy it is said: 'Wed him to the hen!' And if a girl is born, a cock is killed. 'Get her married to the cock!' — That is to be done."

Hamdiye: "For a boy a hen is killed and for a girl a cock. They marry him already. The girl marries the cock, and the boy, he marries the hen."

Alya reminded us that the midwife too has here an interest and a right. She must have a leg from the hen or the cock or the chicken. "This is a support for her in eternity."<sup>23</sup> — This last expression will be met also later.

The women present will also get some kind of food. They speak of the delivery bit.

Alya: "The midwife asks for the delivery bit. Some people listen, some people do not. The midwife says: 'No sin is on my neck.' — It is a sin if those present are not fed."

Thus it is here again the midwife whose duty it is to remind the people of what they have to do; by saying this she relieves herself of all responsibility if the duty is not performed.

Alya: "She says: 'Get the delivery bit!' — And those present have different things to enjoy: bread or figs — dry, or in fruit-time fresh fruit." — During my very first stay in Artas I was told that for a first-born as many as a hundred oranges are sometimes distributed.

This is for the people who come to congratulate the mother.

#### *Congratulations in the Home*

If a boy is born they say: "Blesséd be the bridegroom!"<sup>24</sup> As at a wedding the women's curious trills can be heard. If it is a girl this is omitted but people say: "Blesséd be the bride!"

In my work on marriage in Palestine I have pointed out that these words are not always an empty form but can, under certain circumstances, lead to a real betrothal so that the girl already then is bound to a certain man. A girl who is betrothed in this way at her birth is called: the gift from the pit. As I have described this in detail and given examples in that work,<sup>25</sup> I will not deal with it further here.

It sometimes happens that even people from other places come to congratulate them.

In January 1926 one of our neighbours, Zahiye, was visited at the birth of one of her sons by relatives and friends who came from Bethlehem with gifts. At the same time her husband's sister,

Sheikha Shahin, married into another clan in Artas, gave birth to a son and had no visitors at all to congratulate her.

When we visited our neighbour we expressed to Zahiye's father-in-law, old Shahin, our pleasure at her being so honoured and our surprise that no one took any notice of his daughter Sheikha. The old man Shahin answered with a sigh: "All this is debts!" He meant that a return would have to be made for all the gifts received.

When I returned from this visit to our neighbours I discussed the matter with Alya who confirmed the correctness of Shahin's statement. She added:

For the rich they sing  
and on the head of the poor they put clay.<sup>26</sup>

Only he is honoured who can honour in return.

Especially if a woman is from another place, and her blood relatives have the means, they come with presents to honour their daughter after the birth of her child.

When Musa Khalil's wife who is a Taamre woman gave birth to a child and I went to congratulate her, I saw outside the house two small lambs. I learned that her mother had brought them because of the birth.<sup>27</sup>

It may also be mentioned that if a woman bears a child in another house than that of her husband it entails extra expenses for her husband. He must slaughter a sheep or a goat for her in the house where the child was born.

One day Safiye in Artas was visited by her brother's wife from Sharafat. During this visit the woman gave birth to a child. Next morning when the Artas women went to sell vegetables and milk in the market of Bethlehem they met women from Sharafat and told them what had happened.

Thus the message came to the family in Sharafat. "Your woman has born a child! She has got a son!" Then they took with them

an animal and rice and sugar and coffee and all went to Artas. There they killed the animal and rejoiced and ate. And Safiye received from them a new dress.

The formula of congratulation varies. A woman who comes to a house where a son has been born may say to the father: "Blessed be what has come to thee! I hope that he may live!" And turning to the mother, she adds: "God be thanked that thou hast risen unhurt!"

In N a b l u s they told me that "Blessed be the Prophet!" or, "We pray for thee to the Prophet!" is said to a woman who has born a son. But if it is a girl, they only wish that the mother may get her health back. The women also sing:

She has born and is risen again,  
she has slept in her bed,  
the lord of the boys (the best of all boys) she has brought!

Or: The boys are our splendour  
and the girls are our desire!  
Praise be to Thee, oh Lord!  
She who has risen is our beloved.

These two songs I have from Nablus where on the third day after the birth there is a celebration called: the opening of the eyes.<sup>28</sup> — Friends and acquaintances then come and bring presents: money tied up in silk handkerchiefs.

In J e r u s a l e m again when all is over the husband comes to congratulate his wife.

"Blessed be what has come to thee!" he says. The wife answers: "Praise be to God!" The husband says: "I wish thee health!" And to this the wife replies: "God bless thee!"

The Arab teachers told me about customs observed immediately after birth:

"Among the Greek Catholics the priest comes and burns incense

in the house where he then sprinkles holy water. The women who were present at birth drink holy water." — "Also among the Protestants here it is customary that the priest comes in the first week after the birth and prays. At that time the birth is notified."

Among the old Israelites there was a prescribed purification period which varied according to whether a girl or a boy had been born. Nowadays "among the Greek Catholics the mother is pure after forty days when the child is a boy and after sixty days when the child is a girl.<sup>29</sup> The mother then goes to the church and prayer is offered. From the church she goes to her parents. And the grandparents present the child with a piece of money or something similar, as it is the first visit."

#### *Child's First Food*

While the mother is being congratulated the child must also be fed. So they put some food in its mouth, for then they say it will always be satisfied and not become a greedy person.

The young mother has not at once milk to give it, sometimes it may be three days before she can feed her child herself, the women told me. So they must do something else.

Among the Bedouin, people said, there was a custom that a woman who was nursing a child of her own should in the first place feed the new-born child.

In Artas again the juice of a pomegranate is thought to be very good in such a case and Sitt Louisa said that in Bethlehem there are always pomegranates for sale for this purpose.<sup>30</sup> None the less, as usual among the fellaheen, they are seldom at hand when they are needed.

Honey is regarded as still better. Honey is always offered to a guest and to the new-born child who in a way is also a guest in this world. I used to know of a birth or a guest's arrival in the village

because someone came to ask Sitt Louisa if she could give some honey for this purpose. At the same time the information was given that nobody in the whole village had pomegranates or honey.

Sitt Louisa: "Honey quick! so that the child can vomit all uncleanness. Honey brings the water out of the child, makes it vomit — either honey or pomegranate juice."

In N a b l u s I was told: During the three first days when the mother has not yet any milk there is anyhow something that comes and the child is constantly put to the breast so that it may suck. Sometimes they also give the child cooking butter, and sugar in water.

#### *Cutting the Navel Cord*

It has already been said that the midwife, after she has bound up the child, puts it in a basket or on a straw tray and beneath or under it the afterbirth wrapped in rags. The cutting of the navel cord is delayed, and the reason given is chiefly that mother and child shall first rest and that the new-born child is so wretched and tired that it shall first 'drink power' from the afterbirth which is also called a comrade or a sister. But I will let the women themselves speak.

Alya: "From the morning till the noon the afterbirth remains in the basket beside the child so that it draws power from it."

Hamdiye: "The child is put in a basket and the afterbirth beside it in the basket. That night it stays in the basket."

Eshe: "The afterbirth remains with the child from the morning until the afternoon or from the evening until the morning. It helps the child who drinks of its blood."

Alya said again: "If born in the evening, the string is cut in the morning. If born in the morning the string is cut in the afternoon so that the child shall drink from that string. This is for a boy and

for a girl. It is the same for both sexes. People say: 'The child is tired. Let him drink from his sister, the afterbirth!'

And still another time she said:

"The cutting-off of the navel cord takes place when the woman has rested. People do not hurry with it.<sup>31</sup> They let the child drink from the comrade. He who is born in the evening has it left till the next day. In the evening nothing is cut, also because the afterbirth is not buried in the night.

If there are twins each of them has a navel cord.

Until the child has rested they wait to cut it. He comes down tired."

The fact that they do not cut the navel cord late in the evening is certainly connected with the fact that there are many things which cannot be done after sunset or after dark. It may be that with the unwillingness to cut it at once there is also a certain fear of separating what has been joined by nature.

When I witnessed such a rite it was for Fatme Odtallah's new-born son. He was born at fourteen o'clock and the following day at 11 o'clock the navel cord was cut.

As at the birth, the gate of heaven again stands open when the navel cord is cut. Therefore the women, as before, can express their wishes.

Alya: "And when the navel cord is cut the women gather together. And at the cutting of the navel cord the gate of heaven is open."

Hamdiye: "The midwife says: 'He who wishes something, say it!'" Sitt Louisa: "Quickly! As long as there is still time."

Alya said of the occasion when Sara Mhammad had given birth to a son and the navel cord was cut: "Friends and dear ones were present."

Alya who was there related that she had first expressed the wish: "May God multiply you!" and then immediately added: "Oh Lord, be merciful to me!"

The child's mother's mother, Helwe il-Hammad, had said: "God leave me my son Musa!"

The father's mother Fadiye had said: "Oh Lord, thanks be to Thee that I see the children of my son Mahmud!"

To Fatme Ali, who is very unhappy because she has no children, the women said: "May God visit thee and give thee the gift for the patient one! May God give thee children!"

Hamdiye who had no recent examples from her own experience wanted to give proofs of wishes suitable for such an occasion. She said that on her behalf she would pray: "May God give us Paradise!" She thought that Alya who is almost blind could wish: "May God give the light of my eyes!" Referring to me she said that Sitt Halime would probably say: "May God bring me safely back to my country!"

When the navel cord is to be cut, a thread is bound round it firmly, quite close to the body. Then three finger-breadths are measured from there and at this place the navel cord is cut. On the portion thus left on the child, a pad with salt is placed, and it is bound tightly with the same thread as was used earlier.<sup>32</sup>

Alya: "The midwife says: 'Get a thread so that we may cut the navel cord! Get some grains of salt and a rag to wrap round the navel of the child!' — Three fingers away from the navel."

Hamdiye: "The midwife cuts the navel cord. Then salt and oil is mixed and the midwife puts salt and oil on the child."

Alya added: "When the navel cord is cut, they crush a handful of salt and mix it with oil. And smear the child with it. And anoint the whole child, even his eyes, ears and nose, and his mouth — the 'sweetheart' of his mother. He remains one day and one night in this ointment."

When the child has been smeared with the oil it is wrapped up again by the midwife.

The women told me some more about the navel cord left on the body.

Alya: "On the third day it falls off<sup>33</sup> and the mother keeps it. She rubs the child with it between the eyelids as an eye medicine, so that the child shall not have bad eyes."

It is also good to keep as an amulet. They keep it for fear of Karine, the special woman enemy of women and small children. They think that she is afraid of it.

Hamdiye: "Finally it becomes dust. It dies off and again becomes dust."

Alya: "The little piece is hidden or kept in the child's cushion. This is good. The cats will not eat it and no one will tread on it so there is no danger that she will not bear children in the future."

Hamdiye also said: "Nobody must tread upon it. If somebody who menstruates treads upon it, it cuts away the children from her."

Hamdiye also related of an unclean woman who came into a house in Bethlehem. "She, the unclean one, 'pressed upon'<sup>34</sup> the lying-in-woman. The unclean one prevented her from bearing."

Then she said: "And at the cutting of the navel cord those present eat. The midwife cuts the navel cord and rubs salt and oil on the child. Then the midwife washes herself. Nobody eats before the midwife is ready to eat."

Alya: "And all get some presents: sweet things."<sup>35</sup>

Sitt Louisa: "Only small presents as for example dry figs."

It must be added that in some places a kind of betrothal takes place in connection with the cutting of a girl's navel cord.

It is asked: "For whom will the navel cord of this girl be cut?" The answer is: The navel cord is cut for so and so and the name of a boy is mentioned. This means that the boy or man whose name is mentioned has the right to claim her as his bride. He need not

exercise this right, but neither the girl nor her nearest relatives can later refuse their consent if he really wishes to marry her.

Such a bride is called: the gift from the navel cord.<sup>30</sup>

### *Afterbirth Buried*

It is the midwife who attends to the afterbirth. It can be treated in two different ways.

In exceptional cases it is left above the earth.

"They put salt on the afterbirth and hang it inside the doorpost," Alya related when Sara Mhammad gave birth to a son on the 22nd of October 1926. She was a widow when she was married to her present husband, Mahmud Ali, and her relatives were afraid that she would bring misfortune on the house. Not only her first husband but also their child had died. For safety's sake they took special measures of precaution. It is for fear of Karine who is woman's special enemy that they think they must attend to the afterbirth.

Something similar was done when Fatme Odtallah gave birth to a son in March 1927. There they also preserved the afterbirth, and also hung a piece of ass's meat above the door-post. If Karine wants to come to harm the child, they think she would be frightened away by the half-bad meat.

Alya told me once how a family had preserved the afterbirth in a jar beside the door inside the house just as a means of frightening away Karine.

When Sitt Louisa and I on the 25th of October 1927 visited one of our neighbours, Khaliliye Mhammad, in order to congratulate her on the birth of a girl, we asked if they had kept the afterbirth unburied. She said: "No, this we do only for boys!"

In most cases the midwife buries the afterbirth with the earth which was spread in front of the stone where the woman in labour sat, and which she collected in a sack — for fear the cats eat it or

somebody treads upon it, which might hinder her bearing children in the future.

Eshe said that the afterbirth must be buried very deep, so that the dogs cannot eat it, and lest she becomes barren. The earth with blood and all is buried with the afterbirth. Sitt Louisa remarked: "All must be taken up. No drop of blood remains above."

Eshe also said that only women do this. Hamdiye: "Certainly. Women for women. There is here no asking for pardon."

Alya: "The midwife is bound to bury the afterbirth. It is put in a rag and she digs a hole with the hoe and buries it. The place where she buries it must be noted by her."

To my question why, she answered: "If the mother does not become pregnant again she takes it up and washes herself with water in which it has lain."

#### *Rubbing with Salt*

Hamdiye said: "After the birth the midwife comes every day, morning and evening. For seven days the child is rubbed with oil; salt and oil mixed together."

It is quite generally said: "This is good." But they also give a more detailed explanation of this custom.

"If somebody walks a long way and his skin is rubbed off they say: This is lack of salt. His midwife did not rub him enough with salt."

They also seem to think that it can have an effect on the character. It is said: "The children who do not get salt and oil become impudent. They who get salt and oil become modest."

To an impudent youth people say: "Be ashamed of thyself and put a little salt in thy eye!" And of such a person people remark: "He is an impudent fellow. It seems that the midwife did not put any salt in his eye."<sup>27</sup>

### *Child's First Dress and Bath*

People speak of the child's salt dress. It consists of the salt-chemise and the cap.

When, the day after Alya il-Ali had given birth to her first-born son, I came to see her, she was lying on the floor on a mattress which was her bed, with a cover over her. She was extremely happy over the little boy who had caused her such great pains.

Sitt Louisa had with her some honey, and when a woman took some of it on her finger and put it between his lips he sucked it to the pleasure of those present.

The young mother's half-sister, Fatme Ali, was sewing a little shirt for the newcomer. This was the salt-shirt.

We learned that the women had earlier said to Alya's mother: "Get an outfit for the child!" but she had refused saying: "God will provide the outfit!"<sup>38</sup> meaning, when it was necessary. And she had prepared nothing.

They managed somehow. A bit of the lining of the cover on the mother was taken and the shirt made of that. The women showed me from where the piece had been taken. I shall later in another connection have reason to relate that they must not buy new things. Especially for certain children they must beg for clothes. I think the reason is not to be sought only in carelessness and laziness but in an underlying idea that a great fuss shall not be made of the expected child. I came to think of it once when Hamdiye told me that so-and-so had made so many preparations and — she added scornfully: "Then the child died from them."<sup>39</sup>

Alya gives the following description of the first clothes of the child: "Salt-dress and head-dress: half an ell of material. They bring a little cotton-wool to pad it. They bring a bit of red material and sew it on to the other material. This is the head-dress called *bukhnuq*."

Sitt Louisa: "Similar to a tea cosy."

Alya: "They put on it a chin-chain and a tape."

After describing the salt dress she remarked smilingly: "The rest are all rags." Further she said: "The one who often gets pregnant, keeps the little things: the clothes of her first boy for the future ones." To that she added:

"The head is bound round the forehead until the fortieth day to prevent the forehead becoming a bad shape. In older times they always did it and tied up the head. The new fashion does not tie it up."

Forty days the child is wrapped in swaddling clothes.

In Jerusalem they told me that the baby is swaddled for four months, in winter for six months.<sup>40</sup>

When a peasant woman swaddles a little child she sits on the floor or on the ground with the legs stretched out close to each other. Then she lays the child between her legs so that its head is supported by her feet and toes. Then she bends forward and binds it up.

Once when Eshe was visiting us she said: "The child's swaddling-clothes must not be touched or carried by the unclean woman. It harms the child." She told us how her son Mahmud's bandages had been used by an unclean woman and he became like a stick, so stiff. I quote her own description of how she cured him:

"Then I collected flour from seven houses and made a loaf on a Bedouin tin. I kneaded the flour and baked it and cut it up and put it on Mahmud. Then I gave it to a black dog to eat."

Eshe also used another remedy which she described as follows.

"I took water from seven cisterns and set it out under the stars. The sun must not see it. I left it for seven days and on Saturday evening (literally Sunday evening) I washed him with it and he and I slept covered with seven different kinds of clothes. No one was allowed to go in and out. Then he was washed. He must be washed at the crossways. — After a week he was well again."

It is a medicinal or magic bath which Eshe here describes. The water with which she baths the child exercises a magic influence on him. For this purpose they use water that has been standing out all night under the stars.

Of a usual bath Eshe said: "Between the seventh and the tenth day children are washed. Then not again until they wash themselves."

Alya: "After a fortnight the child is washed and until the fortieth." Sitt Louisa doubts this and thinks it is the fifteenth and the fortieth, and that very little water is used for the child.

Hamdiye: "When he is seven days old they wash him. After seven days and after fifteen days. Then after forty days."<sup>41</sup>

She says in the same connection that the seventh day is called: the day of the bathing, and adds: "At his bathing the neighbours are given something to eat."

Hamdiye also gave a nice little bath song which runs:

Bean, bean! — It likes the hot and the soap.  
The cool water is more merciful than the mother!  
On the hands there are ten (fingers)  
and on the feet there are ten (toes)  
And the water on thee — mayest thou be protected and tended!  
In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful!  
He who is distant may not come to us  
and those who are near may not harm us!

The end of the bath-song<sup>42</sup> is a kind of incantation, and seems to indicate that to bath a child is not quite without danger. When, as just related, I saw the midwife rubbing the new-born child with oil after the navel cord had been cut, I asked if she would not bath it now.

She answered: "There are children whom one can bath and there are others whom one does not dare to bath." The child in question belonged to the latter category; for his mother had previously lost

several boys and so special care had to be taken with him. As already mentioned, they kept the afterbirth with the ass's meat above the doorpost to frighten Karine away from him. For the same reason they did not dare to bath him. The risk would have been too great. Adults, too, must never bath without first calling on God's name to preserve them from harm.

The following treatment also belongs to the care of a little baby.

Alya: "They sprinkle it on the tender parts. Every time they see him sore they sprinkle this red earth-powder on him."

I have myself seen the women with a large stone crush red earth for such a purpose. But it does not help very much as the children are not really well looked after. The midwife's visits are few and far between. After the bathing on the seventh day her visits cease entirely — often even earlier.

#### *Midwife's Wages*

The midwife must be paid her wages.

Hamdiye says to this: "The midwife earlier used to get 10 Piasters and two pieces of soap and — may it be far from the hearers! — two brooms, for a girl. And for a boy she used to get 20 Piasters. And nowadays the new rule made by the Government is 25 Piasters for a girl, and for a boy — the same."

Alya relates the following conversation between a midwife and a lying-in-woman:

"She says to her: 'I want two brooms: one for me and one for thee. I want two pieces of soap: one for me in order to wash myself in the water of Kawthar!'"

Alya did not know for certain what Kawthar was but said: "We are told that Kawthar is a river of Paradise."<sup>43</sup>

She then continued: "When the hen or cock is killed at the child's birth they put aside the leg for the midwife and the young mother says: 'This is for the midwife! She will make me responsible!' She

must have a leg from the hen or cock or chicken and this leg is support for the midwife in eternity."

Alya knew this so accurately because her mother, Salma Sanad, who had been a midwife, had asked a sheikh about it. She reported the following conversation as taking place between her mother and a sheikh:

"The sheikh tells the midwife: 'Thou hast to get two brooms: one for thee and one to sweep the blood in eternity. Thou hast two pieces of soap: one for thee and one for her — in order to wash thyself in the water of Kawthar.'"

The present midwife Sabha Ismain complained that people do not like to pay. Yet it is very hard work to sit and wait for a child and not only at the moment of birth but also later there are duties, she said.

In connection with this Alya told me that her mother had also asked the sheikh's advice how to act if people refused, or, were unable to pay the midwife's wages.

"The sheikh said: 'Ask for thy wages three times! Tell her: 'Give my wages!' If she does not listen to thee, thou wilt get them by force in eternity. Tell her: 'I have taken the sin from my neck and put it on thy neck!'

The mother will then in eternity say to the midwife: 'Why didst thou not ask for it in the world whilst all was wide?' Then the judge asks the witness: 'Has she, the midwife, asked for it three times?'"

If she can assure them that she has done this, those who have neglected their duty towards her on the earth are indebted to her for all eternity.

In N a b l u s too the midwife receives soap and money. If the people are very poor she does not receive any payment. Then she does it for God.

The Arab teachers in J e r u s a l e m told me:

"On the seventh day when she washes the child for the last time

she receives her wages. Then relatives and friends are invited. Everybody gives the midwife something. Earlier the fee was about one Pound (LE), now perhaps four Pounds (LP), according to conditions. Rich people may also give a dress."

### THE FORTY DAYS

An expression frequently used is: "For forty days her grave is open," and this implies that a woman's life is in danger for some time after she has given birth to a child. For this reason there is a quite decided view among the people that for some time after the birth she must be especially careful and look after herself, even if this is mostly in theory.

The following expression has already been quoted: "What makes thee strong among the women?" and the answer was: "Thy eating when thou hast born a child." It has also been said that the mother immediately after delivery gets hot coffee to drink and then chicken-broth.

Mdallale Sleman told me: "First the hens are killed and then put in rice and fat and the meat is for the lying-in-woman."<sup>44</sup>

According to her every such woman gets pancakes with onions.

Further the mother also gets a special food called Shadde which means strength. It is also called Forty because it contains forty ingredients. The drugs used for it are bought from the druggists in the bazaars in Hebron and Jerusalem.

Sitt Louisa told me that water with grape juice or honey is put on the fire first. Then the other ingredients are added<sup>45</sup> and lastly olive oil. It must cook about one hour. It tastes very good. When the mother is hungry, she takes a little of it. Shadde is to strengthen the woman who has given birth. According to Sitt Louisa it can be kept a month. According to Mdallale it can even be kept four months. The woman takes it in spoonfuls; or, as Mdallale

said: "Three spoonfuls in the morning and three spoonfuls in the evening." They think that as she has lost much blood she must take care to get her strength back.

Alya said once: "After forty days her grave is shut again. The bones are together again and her strength has returned."

And another time: "The mother washes herself after 15 days and after 40 days. The mother and the child are washed.<sup>46</sup> Then after the 40 days her husband can come to her. She dresses herself nicely.

— The fortieth day he and his mother are bathed. Her tomb is closed and her bones go back to their place."

People tell her: "Be greeted, thou escaped from the evil!"

Or: "Thank God that thy fortieth is in health!"

Sitt Louisa: "After the forty days she has washed herself, and has had a bath; she expects her husband, and puts her bed in order for him."<sup>47</sup>

In this connection may be told the following story from the family history of the Prophet Muhammad. I have two versions of it.

Our Lord Ali came in unto Fatme as she was still open through Hasan. (Her legs were open when she expected the child.) She bore Hasan and the forty days were finished and Ali did not sleep in her bed.

She went and told her father: "I am shut out from the bed."

The Prophet called the chief Imam Ali and said to Imam Ali: "For what reason hast thou excluded Fatme from the bed?"

First Ali, Abu Taleb, entered to Fatme, found her flesh open.

He thought her flesh would always remain so — wide and open.

She went to her father and told him: "Father, I am excluded from the bed" i.e. from cohabitation!

He said:

"Why?"

He said: "Oh Apostle of God! I went in to her and she was apart with the boy. I found her shame open. I was disgusted, oh Apostle of God!"

Muhammad said: "Make this sweet food, Hetaliye,<sup>48</sup> this evening!" And they invited the Imam Ali.

The Imam Ali came. The Prophet Muhammad said: "Bring all the things for the meal so that we can eat!"

Muhammad said: "Wait! Do not eat!"

He came with the knife and divided the food in the dish.

The food is apart.

He said: "Silence! Do not eat!"

Then the sweet food went together as before.

Muhammad said to Imam Ali: "A woman when she gives birth goes apart with the child. Her shame opens thus and then goes together again when the child has come forth.

And then the angel Gabriel waves his wings over her and it closes."

Imam Ali said:

"Oh Prophet! I ask forgiveness of Fatme!"<sup>49</sup>

— "He came in, when I was open through Hasan."

He said: "Invite Ali, Abu Taleb!"

He said: "Make this sweet food, Hetaliye, for us for supper and let it get cold!"

He said: "Reach me the knife! Cut it with the knife in the middle!"

It opened so.

He said: "Wait! Do not eat!"

It closed again so.

He said: "Thou Imam Ali! Just so is the flesh of the woman, when she is opened through the child."

He said to him: "Thou Prophet of God! What closes it again?"

He said: "Our Lord Gabriel waves his wings over the woman. And everything returns as it was before.

Then Ali said to Fatme:

"Forgive me my cousin! I have sinned."

## Chapter IV

# MOTHER AND BABE

## NURSING

*by Mother*

Even after birth the mother and the child are closely connected for a long period.

To be fed the baby requires its mother all the time, for it must not be hungry. Both in everyday life and at festivals one can observe how, as soon as a little child cries or shows the slightest sign of restlessness, it is at once laid to the mother's breast.<sup>1</sup> Very often a woman who is nursing a child has an opening in her dress over each breast and thus she can feed it at once. And she does it unhesitatingly in any place, at any time, and very often.

In consequence of this a woman in the eyes of the people is specially compassionate, quite otherwise than a man.<sup>2</sup> The mother's breast is a symbol of compassion. It is said: "A man's breast has no milk". This means that compassion is not to be expected from a man.

Here it may also be mentioned that if a woman has something very important to ask of God, she may seek to move Him and appeal to His mercy by first baring her breast and saying: "By my right breast and my sad heart!"

If the women bless somebody they do it in the same way as men, bare the head; or they take out the breast and express the blessing.

When a woman blesses her son she may say to him: "May God

be gracious to thee by the number of my breasts, as they have given thee richly!" She wishes that as often as she has fed him from the breast so often may God bless him.

It has already been said in another connection that one explanation of a nursing mother having little milk is that she is mean, and that God has therefore been sparing of His mercy to her.<sup>3</sup>

"How long does a mother nurse her child?" I asked; and the women answered by quoting the following saying: "The boy is suckled two and a half years and God does not reward thee, and the girl is suckled one year and a half and God rewards thee."

This saying is to be understood as follows: that God certainly rewards the mother for nursing the girl so long as a year and a half, but that a boy can never be nursed long enough. And that this does not necessarily signify that the boy is of greater value than a girl appears from the following saying, which was quoted also in this connection:

Pampering a girl disgraces thee,  
pampering a boy makes thee rich.

A young mother is warned by this, saying that it is dangerous for any girl to be too much pampered: she can easily fall, or she does what she chooses. The mother must remember, they say, that more strict morality is demanded of a girl; and if she does not learn very early to control herself, an accident may happen, and the daughter will draw shame not only upon herself but also upon her family who then will regret that they were not strict enough with her. This is a fundamental idea often met with in different connections.

According to Mdallale Sleman they must not nurse a girl very long. She becomes obstinate. But the longer a boy is nursed, the better. She herself had nursed her son Jibrin two and a half years.

Although the women gave a quite fixed period for the nursing, it can be both longer and shorter. They said themselves that if a

mother with a baby becomes a widow — and of course presuming that she does not remarry — she may suckle her child a longer time, as much as four or five years. Nor is it impossible that women, in some cases, deliberately prolong the nursing period not only for the sake of the child but also hoping in this way to postpone another pregnancy.<sup>4</sup>

There have been cases where a mother is suckling her child although she is conscious of already carrying a new life in her womb, but such a thing is condemned by public opinion, which demands that in this case the nursing shall cease even if the fixed period has not elapsed.

Thus Alya reproached a village woman Zarife Saleh:

"She is pregnant and her daughter drinks a pregnant woman's milk. It is a sin. The girl is very weak."

It is thought wrong towards the child who is not getting good milk. There is a special Arabic word: *ghêl*, for the milk of a pregnant woman. People think that such a child is not only harmed for the time being but will be weak and suffer from it all its life. A boy who has been fed thus remains slow in his movements even when he is a man. Or as a saying runs:

"Milk of a pregnant woman, it shows in the riders."

Alya added: "You can notice him for example when climbing the hill; he lingers. And if they must hurry, he is last. It is said: 'He drank milk of a pregnant woman!'"<sup>5</sup>

#### *Nursing by Others*

Great difficulty arises if the mother, on account of divorce or death, is separated from her baby.

According to what Alya once said the expression of a divorce formula would not be valid, if the wife is nursing a child. Yet there

is a case where this was certainly not so. In my Diary for the 16th March 1927 I wrote about a walk in the village:

"We saw Sabha Ethman who, when she was only forty days old, was deprived of her mother whose husband had to divorce her. The little girl was nursed by some women in the village. Her father's mother Amriye brought her up."

This was a specially tragic case where the divorce was insisted on because the wife's relatives had been concerned in the murder of the husband's father's brother. But judging from the information which exists it seems to be the usual custom among Muhammadans in Palestine and even in other places that the divorced wife, if she is suckling a baby, takes it with her to her parents' home until it is weaned.<sup>6</sup>

During the walk mentioned above I also met Halime Ali by the canal which carries the water from the spring to the gardens, and she told us about her older daughter Miryam, who was married in Bet Ummar and died at the birth of her first child, a little girl, and she, Halime Ali, who had a little child at the same time, took the new-born baby and nursed her for a whole year, after which it died.

In Nablus I was told by Mrs Salim, the wife of a well-known and highly esteemed Arab doctor from a village near this town, that her husband's mother died when he was born. And then his father's mother had taken the little boy day after day to different women in the village who were suckling their children for them to feed him.<sup>7</sup> But she was old and felt she could not continue this tiring method. And one day when she came home quite exhausted she struck her breasts in despair and cried:

"O, Lord! Perform a miracle! Let these dry and shrivelled breasts be filled again with milk!"

And it happened so. No longer did she need to wander through the village but could feed her grandson herself.<sup>8</sup> The rumour of this spread far, and people came from long distances to look at the

little boy who was nourished in such an unusual way, feeling sure that he ought to become something special.

Here I quote a song recorded by me in Artas about Halime who nursed the Prophet when his mother had not sufficient milk for him.<sup>9</sup>

Stand up, thou Halime, breast for orphans!  
(Let thy milk flow!) Thou nurse of Muhammad!  
Stand up and make a feast  
(on the birthday of Muhammad)!

And the mother of the Prophet is supposed to say:

Thou foster-mother, my faithful partner!<sup>10</sup>  
The Lord of Heaven gave thee to carry Muhammad.  
May the Lord of Heaven let it go well with thee!

A very usual way out, if the mother dies, is to give the baby to a relative to be nursed.

But even when a mother lives, especially in the busy harvest time when all labour is needed, it may happen that, however she tries to help her child and have it with her, she is forced to leave it at home in the care of the old women for some part of the day. They try to calm the child by giving it something sweet in a rag to suck.<sup>11</sup> Or, according to Sitt Louisa: "When the mothers are gathering wood or have gone to Bethlehem to sell things, the old women give their old dry breasts to the baby to suck."

It may also happen that a woman who has a baby offers her service, if the mother is away for a while or has not sufficient milk. But in any case when a baby is given to another woman to be nursed great care must be taken.

It can have an influence on the child's character. It is said:

Character impressed by the mother's milk  
cannot be altered by anything but death.

Even such feeding on one occasion only, can have a harmful influence. Here could be quoted the saying: "All milk is white; it depends on the source." People are especially afraid of the milk of a negro woman.

An Arab woman teacher in *Jerusalem* gave me the following information: "Families with negro servants do not let their children be nursed by one of them, because they may easily get angry. Of one who gets so curiously angry it is said: He has taken a negro's milk!"

And in *Artas* they told me: A boy shall not take the milk of a negro woman. If he does, he gets this unreasonable crossness when he suddenly bursts out and is furious. Poor thing, he cannot help it, he has taken a black woman's milk.<sup>12</sup> His anger is just the anger of the black ones.

As traits are considered transmissible to a baby through nursing, it lies in the parents' interest to prevent such harmful effects and to see who nurses their child, even if only on a chance occasion.

#### *Nursing and Relationship*

Then there is the relationship to which the nursing leads; this can be one method of adoption. On this account anyone who wishes to give her milk to the child of another must observe certain rules.

The Arab teachers in *Jerusalem* said to me: "Among Muhammadans a woman may not give of her milk to another person's child without asking permission of her husband." Sitt Louisa had also heard that it is the husband who decides in this case and she gave as a reason: "The husband is the owner of the milk." Just as he is the owner of the child.

However, it is probably chiefly because a boy and a girl who have been nursed by the same woman are considered brother and sister, and a future marriage between them is impossible.<sup>13</sup> The following case was related to me:

When Ali Khalil thought of marrying Fatme people said: "What! He wishes to marry his sister's sister!"

Ali's father had two wives at the same time: Hasna, the mother of Ali, and Salma who had a daughter, Helwe, by Ali's father. Then Salma, after the death of her first husband, married another man, and by him had a daughter Fatme, whom Ali wished to marry. When people now reproached him for wishing to have as his wife his sister's sister, he turned to a sheikh for advice and asked if there was any objection to such a marriage. The sheikh however put the whole question on another plane, wishing to know if they could be considered as foster-brother and -sister. So he asked to speak with Salma and they brought her to him.

Alya: "The sheikh asked and said to her: 'Hast thou never put thy breast in the mouth of thy co-wife Hasna's children?' Salma swore: 'No, never have I given suck to Hasna's children!' The sheikh said: 'The sin is removed from my neck and from the necks of the witnesses and hangs upon Salma's neck.'"

Sitt Louisa: "The sheikh meant by these words that if Salma lied, the sin was hers; she must take the responsibility. If she had said: 'I have put my breast in the mouth of Hasna's children,' then the sheikh would have strictly forbidden the marriage between Ali and Fatme, the daughter of his mother's co-wife Salma."

In general it is only those children who are nursed by a woman at the same time who are reckoned as foster-brother and foster-sister. It is they who must not marry.

For this reason a woman with a little baby must be careful that she does not give her milk to a child of the opposite sex, as there may later be question of marriage between them or such a marriage may be already planned or decided. Brothers' children are very often destined for each other by their parents, because cousin marriage is highly esteemed. And it is easily understood that if the brothers live together there is good reason for a woman to

remind herself that she shall not feed her child's cousin, however inclined to do so, if she wishes the latter to become her son-in-law or daughter-in-law; for after that marriage between them is impossible.

According to Sitt Louisa they will help each other, if they are foster-sister and foster-brother<sup>14</sup> and call each other brother and sister. The boy asks: "How is my foster-sister?" and says: "Greet my sister!"<sup>15</sup>

### *Adoption and New Birth*

If a woman wishes for any reason to adopt a stranger boy or man, she can do it by offering her breast.

Alya: "An orphan — a woman wishes to educate this child. People are standing around her. She puts the nipple of her breast in his mouth saying: 'Thou art my son in God's Book, thou hast sucked from my breast; thou shalt be my child, a child among my children!'"

She can act in a similar way even if it is a grown-up man she wishes to adopt; or a symbolical birth ceremony may be carried out.<sup>16</sup>

"As the mother brings forth a child, she lets him slip through her dress from the neck to the hem. If he is so big that he cannot pass through her dress in this way she must place him under the hem of her dress.

This custom occurs among the Bedouin and the fellaheen belonging to the Kais party."

I have an example of a mother whose daughter was accused of a crime for which the punishment is death; a sheikh demanded that she should in his presence give her breast to her grown-up daughter who then crawled round the floor like a little child, so that next day he could bear witness before the people that the suspected

woman had done no evil since the very day when she had sucked her mother's breast and crawled on the floor.

Here it is quite clearly a case of new birth with a view to blotting out for ever the sin that has been committed. And it is very possible that the basis of the Christian idea of new birth, as it has found its way into theological and religious literature through the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus,<sup>17</sup> lies in similar concrete cases, although it has been accepted and preserved in the more refined form of spiritual new birth given it in the Gospel.<sup>18</sup>

### *Mother's Milk and Substitutes*

In discussing the importance ascribed to the mother's milk it must also be stated that it is supposed to have medicinal value.<sup>19</sup>

A Christian Arab from Bet Jala opposite Bethlehem had for a time a shop in Artas. When I was there in 1931, just before I left, several men from the village were also in the shop. His wife, who had a little baby, was sitting on a chair pressing milk from one of her breasts with her right hand into a cup. I was told that this milk was to be used as a cure for bad eyes.

During a stay in *Nablus* in summer 1926, I lived with Mrs Salim who was a kind of inspector for the children of the Samaritan quarter of the town. One day she told me that she had just heard of a Samaritan woman who had gone with her husband to Jaffa where he had some work; she had returned to Nablus when it was time for her child to be born, but had not managed to get inside her home and gave birth to the child at the entrance, in the archway. Now Mrs Salim was just going to make a round of inspection to see how the children were looked after and especially to see the young woman she had just heard about. She was kind enough to invite me to accompany her.

When we entered I at once noticed the wooden partition which separates a woman who is unclean from the rest of the family. As the time prescribed by the 'law of Moses' for a woman's uncleanness after birth had not yet elapsed, the young mother still sat within the partition. But the child was not to be seen.

When Mrs Salim asked for it, she was told that it was dead. She asked the cause of death. The women answered laconically: "It is from God!"

At this answer Mrs Salim was angry. She reproached the mother for not even mourning her child. Sitting there she just looked very pleased at this unexpected visit which was a pleasant change for her. — Oh yes! She had been very sad when it happened and had even wept, the women assured us. — But now all was over and forgotten.

Mrs Salim did not take much notice of this and again began to ask the cause of the child's death. And again the women answered as before with their laconical: "From God!"

"No, no!" replied Mrs Salim. "It was not from God", and she demanded details. It was not easy to get anything definite out of the women but she was energetic and she was not pleased when one thing which came out was that they had given the child tinned milk, unprepared, immediately after birth.

One of the last things I noticed in Artas before I left in the year 1931 was that the rubber teat and feeding-bottle had found their way into the village. I saw a woman using them; and it seems extremely probable that this novelty will be increasingly used.

It is curious to think that when such a small thing has once been introduced it will mean the definite end of a series of important customs. The milk of animals will be used as a substitute for women's milk. Then nursing by another person will not be necessary: then the relationship of foster-brother and -sister will also come to an

end: and this in its turn will have an effect on the question of adoption which in this form may gradually disappear.

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When the nursing period is over, the child is considered to have reached another period of age. The babyhood is past. — It is now weaned.<sup>20</sup>

This event is not celebrated<sup>21</sup> but the following saying gives expression to its difficulties:

My first trouble is that of the teething,  
and my second trouble is the weaning<sup>22</sup>  
(or: leaving of the mother's breast).

### LULLABIES

A little child needs not only food to grow. It must also sleep. And it is the mother who rocks it and watches over its sleep. In Artas I have heard lullabies.

Here is an analysis and the words of ten of them.

In several of them the mother sings of the love she has for her child. It is its helplessness which appeals to her. The mother is for the child the same as wings and feathers for the bird.<sup>23</sup> She shall give it warmth. She shall cherish it. She will hide it in her heart, she says. And at these words she presses it closely to her. No, the child could not manage or live without her.

The love the mother has for her child is explained not only by its helplessness. She herself longs for it. If she is away from it she feels an emptiness. If it is away from her she feels lonely. If it is with her she has the feeling that she is entertained. How she longs to give expression to her tenderness and love for her

child! When she sees it sleeping she waits almost with impatience for it to awake so that she can kiss it. She thinks it is an eternity since she last did so. And she complains that she must so long deny herself this great joy.

The mother is convinced that her child is more beautiful than other children.<sup>24</sup> Do not come and say that her boy is like other children! His mouth, his head, his lips are not like others'. His mouth is beautiful, like the ring of her mother. His eyes are black as the night, his lips are red roses from the garden which will open when he awakes. Her child is like the moon among the stars.<sup>25</sup>

The child is worth more than the best wheat and sesame.

Such and other parallels from nature appear.

There is also the bird from the valley, the bird from two seas, the bird from the garden which brings sleep to the child in a little basket or a cup. The scene is delightful as the mother, sitting outside with her child, notices the pigeon over the door and asks the child to sleep, so that she can kill the pigeon for the child. But when she sees the fright of the pigeon she immediately addresses comforting words to it, saying: "No, pigeon, do not be afraid! It is only a joke to amuse my child!" Here can be traced a real feeling for the pigeon which, according to legend, is holy. Other animals are also mentioned. Seven camels shall be loaded for the child. And the gipsies also come into the song, they who ride upon asses and set up their tents.

The form of these lullabies is short and simple like those of other countries and peoples.<sup>26</sup>

1

It is right for the Creator to furnish a bird with wings.  
A baby without its mother, how can it sleep?  
It is right for the Creator to have furnished the birds with feathers.  
A baby without its mother, how shall it live?

2

Welcome! Be greeted eight times!  
Thou art our moon — mayest thou give light — and if the stars  
disappear,  
mayest thou, delicious one, never disappear from among the young  
men  
(i.e. mayest thou live)!

3

Ho nanny! Ho nanny!<sup>27</sup>  
I wish thou wouldst never disappear from before me.  
If thou art absent from me I feel lonely  
and if thou remainest with me, thou entertainest me.

4

Darling, I love him.  
I hide him in my heart!

5

My darling, thou sleeping one,  
open the roses of the garden!  
For seven years I am fasting, not kissing his cheek.

6

Thus says a mother to her son:

God protect for me this eye  
which is black as night!  
It is not like other people's eyes,  
half-blind and they are in misery.

God protect for me this head  
as round as a copper dome!  
It is not like the head of other people  
bald-headed and they are in misery.

God protect for me that mouth  
which is like the ring of my mother!  
It is not like other people's mouths  
crooked and they are in misery.

7

Nobody brought such sweet wheat for sale.  
Thou sesame of Ramleh, thou rich one who brought it!  
Nobody is good only the gipsies, the sons of the gipsies,  
who rode on their donkeys and put up their tents.

8

I sing thee, I sing thee!  
Seven camels I load for thee!

9

Sleep, my darling, sleep,  
so that I may kill for thee the pigeon!  
Thou pigeon, fear not!  
I am only joking with the baby, so that he may sleep!

10

Thou bird of the wilderness!  
Bring sleep in a little basket!  
Oh bird of the two lakes!  
Bring sleep for the eyes!

Oh bird of the valley!  
Bring sleep for the little boy!  
Thou bird of the plain!  
Bring sleep quickly!

Oh bird of the gardens!  
Bring sleep in a cup!

It is really touching to think that a peasant woman in spite of all the work she has to do can find time to sing to her child. Yet she cannot always sing it to sleep.

This is impossible for her if, as often happens, she takes the child with her when she goes out to her work in the field or where there

are many other people. I quote the following scenes from my observations.

When I first went to Palestine I attended a course in archeology arranged in Autumn 1925 by the 'Deutsches evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes' at Jerusalem under the direction of Professor D. A. Alt. Two weeks after it began I wrote in my Diary, 28th of August 1925:

"I sat this morning in the Institute Library and read what Löhr writes of the women in Palestine and had an opportunity for direct observations.

In an open place just off the road sat a peasant woman with her little child whom she had placed in a kind of hammock. And she got up and swung it energetically from one side to the other. She swung it and swung it. Then with a hasty swing she put it up on her back with the band round her forehead while continuing to swing her body from one side to the other, she apparently wished to send the child to sleep and at the same time begin to walk without it noticing any change in the movement. But the little thing was obstinate and cried with all its might. The mother continued the violent twisting of her body but nothing helped. The child only cried.

Another woman came along. She had a somewhat bigger child riding on her shoulder. She stopped and laughed and went on.

Immediately afterwards a third woman appeared. She had a basket on her head and on her back a hammock out of which I could clearly see sticking the bare legs of a child. This woman also stopped and began to talk with the first one.

Then both sat down on the ground and the crying child was soothed with mother's milk which, as a matter of fact, is given at any minute when the child is restless. This I have noticed when visiting among the Muhammadan families in Jerusalem. Then again the child was put in the hammock, slung up on her back and held

with the band round the forehead. Then the basket of stores was placed on the head and both women walked off homewards each with her baby in the hammock on her back and a basket on her head."

The first time I saw something like this was on an excursion which the members of the Institute made into the country the day after their arrival. On the way we passed some peasant women. Professor Alt came to me and said: "There are your friends, the women! They have now been to market with their products: milk and vegetables. Then they have made their purchases and are taking them home." These women too carried crying babies in hammocks on their backs. It was easy to understand that the child was not too comfortable and liked to express its discontent. But the mothers stopped and looked smilingly at us as we went by, much too interested in the strangers to bother about the child's cries.

When I had been longer in the country I heard that the mother often hangs up the hammock with the baby in it on a nail in the bazaar. When she has finished her selling and buying she takes down the hammock and places it again on her back. In Artas I often saw the women coming back from Bethlehem carrying the children in this way or on their arms. I have photographed Salma Salem like this. It was a very hot day with a burning sun, and she had placed her long white head-cloth over the hammock to shelter the child.

Even when the women go to work out in the field they often take their children with them. In my Diary for March, 15th, 1927 I wrote:

"We met Zarife Ahmad with her baby. She carried it in a hammock. It is now two weeks since he was born. And she was taking the bigger boy with her to swing his little brother in the hammock which she hangs on a fig tree. And then she is free to work."

Sometimes a woman ties three sticks together at one end — as

is done for churning — and hangs the hammock with the baby on these where she can swing it until the child falls asleep. Here it is safe from snakes.

Even in the wedding processions one can see women carrying their babies in such hammocks. When they come to the home of the bride or bridegroom the hammocks are hung across the corners of the room and the children are swung to sleep.<sup>28</sup>

A woman who takes care of a babe in arms may not pray or fast. He who prays must be ritually clean and people think that the child makes her impure.

If a woman is not specially careful she may be tempted for the sake of the little child to neglect herself and her home duties and this may at times have uncomfortable consequences. Thus for example in the case indicated in the following saying:

"A careless woman, she has a baby, and guests come unexpectedly." Here the proud visitors with their trailing robes — a sign of dignity — are contrasted with the careless woman with her baby.

It is said that a baby who sleeps at night, loves its father; and that a little child who sleeps in the daytime, loves its mother. The better the child sleeps in the daytime, the less it hinders the mother in the household duties and other work.

### CHILDREN IN VILLAGE LIFE

As a baby is so much with its mother — either carried in its hammock or in her arms — it is, from the very beginning, accustomed to being with other people both in the daily work and at festivals. The same is true of the child at a little later stage.

A usual way of carrying it then is to let it ride on one shoulder, or on the neck with the legs hanging over its mother's breast. In order that it shall not fall, the mother sometimes holds one leg or

hand, or the baby holds its mother's head.<sup>29</sup> From this high place the child can look out upon the world. When I met a little girl proudly riding thus I could not help thinking: Ah, little friend! Not many years hence and thou wilt probably be walking along the road with a little child riding thus on thy shoulder or neck, and perhaps thou wilt then understand thy mother and the trouble she now has with thee.

The child mixes in the village life already during its early 'silent' period; 'silent' because it has not yet learnt to express its feelings in words, but is storing up experiences, adding impression to impression, until gradually conscious observations and thoughts arise and it begins to try to affect its surroundings also in words in order to get its demands and wishes satisfied.

The child gets its name very early and is called by it. A mother also says *yamma* when talking to her child, the word *yamma* here meaning 'my child'. A father uses the word *yâba* in the same way. The child says *yamma*, 'oh mother', and *yâba*, 'oh father', to its parents.<sup>30</sup>

When a child greets its parents or an older person politely, it does it in the same way, as when a wife politely greets her husband or his relatives. It takes the person's right hand which it kisses and presses it against its forehead.<sup>31</sup> I remember especially a little girl in the village and how she delighted in greeting visitors in this way. The others smiled at her eagerness, but the girl said solemnly that so had the school teacher, the sheikh, taught the boys to greet people.

\* \*  
\*

What do the little girls and boys look like?

As soon as the hair of a girl has grown long enough, it is plaited

like the women's in two firm plaits with red ribbons which bind them together and hold them in place.

The head-dress is best described in the words of Sitt Louisa who said: "The old fashion in the whole country was for the peasant women to wear a hood, called *shatwe*, not so high as the Bethlehem hood. I knew four women in the village: Imm Ahmad Ismain; Salma, Imm Saad; and the mother of Hamame; and the mother of Khadr Ehsen, who was from Abu Dis, who all still wore such a hood or cap. To-day no one wears such a hood in the village. Now they have the *takiye* for a married woman and a *wuqâ*, an oblong piece of cloth, for an unmarried girl."

The little growing girls wear a long dress, often embroidered, with a cloth tied round the waist as a belt. Very early they begin to wear an oblong piece of cloth on the head and a long white cloth hanging down the back. They look like grown-up women in miniature.

A growing boy or a youth has a tuft of hair (*shûshe*) on the crown of the head and another tuft of long hair (*turra*) over the forehead but otherwise it is cut closely.<sup>32</sup>

A growing boy wears a striped shirt-like garment, and a leather belt like the men.

On the head he wears a small round knitted cap in black and white until he begins to wear the head-dress of the grown-up: a white or black or coloured cloth kept in place by means of a black goat's hair cord, or lately a fez like the town dwellers.<sup>33</sup>

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Mother and child are intimately connected, yet a woman who leaves her husband's house is not allowed to take her children with her. Even if a married woman can earn her living outside the

home among strangers, she is blamed if she takes her children with her. Not even when visiting her own father's home, has she a right to take her children with her, at least not without her husband's permission. In the case of a breach with her husband the wife loses her children. In the same way a woman who, after the death of her husband goes away from his house must leave the children there with the husband's relatives.

It is stated drastically that the woman is merely a vessel containing the child and preserving it for a time but she has no right to it. Therefore: "The body that has preserved must give it back."

The children belong to the father and his house, not to the mother.

## Chapter V

# PLAY AND WORK

People in the West began to appreciate only fairly late the value of a child's instinct to play as the expression of a desire for activity, promoting to a high degree the training of useful faculties and forming a preparation for the tasks of life. But quite independent of whether or not it is encouraged there is more or less a desire to play in all peoples and individuals. Here I shall begin by relating the games which I saw and heard while studying Arab children and Arab youth, and then go on to how the children's activity and ability are made use of in work.

## BOYS' GAMES

### *Slings*

Many tourists have learned to know that the sling is something which Arab boys like, as I did when visiting the Tomb of Lazarus in Bethany near Jerusalem. The villagers eagerly offered us what they called: David's sling. In this place it is already an article of sale but this is, of course, not the case in more distant places. The sling is woven and is often made by the boys themselves. They watch, when something useful or ornamental is being woven at home, for an opportunity to get the necessary material.

Alya: "The boys who make the slings learn from each other. If their relatives will not give them wool, they steal it. When the

mother asks her son, he says: 'I have not taken anything!' He may have hidden it under his arm or on his back and says: 'Look! I have nothing on my chest!'

I realized in 1926 when I made an excursion to Bet Taamir with Sitt Louisa and Hamdiye that a sling is not only used in play. It was spring and the earth was green and the anemones and other flowers were springing up.

We met a shepherd-boy who, clad in a mantle and stick in hand, was watching a flock of sheep belonging to a man from Bethlehem; he was a hired shepherd. We began to talk with him, but the whole time he kept an eye upon the sheep. If one of them wandered too far from the others, he took a stone and slung it so skilfully that it fell just in front of the animal and made it turn. I came to think that just so must David have done as a shepherd when he watched his father's flocks in the same neighbourhood. Probably he also used a sling for the same purpose and this would explain his great skill with it, for it was necessary that the stone fell just in front of the animal without hitting it. Certainly a sling was a necessary part of a shepherd's equipment.<sup>1</sup>

Very often the boys in the village are seen running about with a catapult. Sometimes one can even observe a grown-up man with one. In my Diary — Thursday the 26th of February 1931 — I have a note of it:

"To-day a peasant Ali, Ibn Yusef Mhammad, stood leaning against the trunk of the olive-tree outside our house.

'What doest thou there?' I asked. — Ah yes, he wanted to have birds for the children, he said in reply. Then I saw his catapult. I said: 'That is wrong!' and asked him to go away.

Sitt Louisa heard of this and made a fuss and ordered Fatme Jedallah, a woman neighbour, to call out to Ali her opinion of his behaviour, so that it was heard all over the village, and he was angry and said he had enough. Then he took his clay pot with

the charcoal which he had brought with him — probably to roast the birds — and went back without any booty. My women suppose that he wanted to catch birds for himself and his young wife.

'Is it then the custom to eat small birds?' I asked Sitt Louisa, just to be sure, and she first answered with a counter question: Did I not remember that it is said in the Bible that two sparrows were sold for a farthing and are you not of more value?<sup>2</sup> Then she added: 'And it is still the custom to eat roast sparrows.'

Alya: "With the catapult they kill the birds to eat, they cast a stone to hit the birds for eating."

Often the village boys worry the small birds and take the young ones from the nest if they find one.

In some cases the boys' games reflect the work of the adults. Thus in the following example related by Alya:

"The boys make a sack and fill it with earth. Then they place it on a stone and say: 'That is our camel.' — A camel interests the boys. They watch closely how the men act when they load it and try to copy them when playing.

### *Stone Games*

During my wanderings through the village I often saw boys on the open place in front of the houses busy with a game described by Alya in the following way:

"One holds a stick in his hand and strikes the stone, a rough stone. The stone is to go into the hole. They say of the stone: That is my mother! When the stone goes into the hole, they say: My mother is in the hole, i.e. at home! If the stone does not go into the hole, they say: My mother is out walking! — Instead of a stone they may have a piece of wood to be driven into the hole."

One day when I went up on the mountain and saw two small

boys sitting there I went nearer and watched them. It was quite curious to see them 'play stones' exactly in the same way as I in my childhood. Five small stones are thrown out, caught up and thrown up in many different ways requiring a certain amount of skill.<sup>3</sup>

Alya: "They play with small stones, with five stones. Or they play with ten pairs of stones and one more — this game is called: the Ten. Or they play a game called *is-siĵe*.

Or they play with rings. 'Guess in which hand is the ring!' He who guesses right gets many figs, four and four. If there are no figs, they bring flour and they make a loaf, and bake it on the fire."

Sitt Louisa again said of these same games: "This game with five stones is for girls and boys. The one with ten stones is when they are on guard under the fig trees; also for girls and boys. The ring game is mostly for the young men, often in the men's club."<sup>4</sup>

## BOYS' WORK

### *Terminology*

Children also have to work; and this will be realized from the expressions and terms used for a child's age.

The fellaheen do not reckon their age in years, so one cannot depend upon their statements if they use figures. In my work on marriage I have given a complete list of the terms used to indicate different ages, which partly show the physical development and partly the work a boy or girl can do.

Of a boy it is said: 'he chases the animals', i.e. he is able to prevent the animals from running away, from spoiling the gardens, etc. Another stage is when they call him: a goatherd, and a still higher one when he is called: a shepherd. Now he is able not only to have

watch over one or another goat but a whole flock can be trusted to his care. When it can be said of him that he is a ploughman, he has already come far in his development. A still later stage has been reached when he 'can bear arms'. He is then a young man who could be a 'soldier'.

### *A h m a d's W o r k*

"Tell me all the things a boy does!" I said once to Alya and asked for a concrete case. Sitt Louisa proposed that we should take one definite boy and Alya chose Ahmad Ismain, the son of our nearest neighbour.

"How old is he?" I asked. This Alya did not know but said: "Four bodies are on his head" — he has four younger brothers and sisters." The father was asked and even he could not tell the boy's age but said: "He can be about eight or nine years old."

Then I asked Alya again what he did, and received the following graphic account of a boy's duties and occupation.

"His work? — Sometimes he watches the garden, sometimes he looks after — may it be far from the hearers! — the ass. Sometimes he waters the gardens. His father wants something from Bethlehem. He goes and brings it. Yesterday his father said to him: 'Take to Zarife, thy father's sister, her festival meat!'

When his mother is absent, he keeps the children quiet: three brothers and one sister. He takes them down into the gardens. He keeps them away from the people, so that they do not trouble them. When the mother is away he does not let anybody come into the house.

He goes and buys the milk: *laban immo*<sup>s</sup>, from the father's sister."

Sitt Louisa remarks: "Only in spring is butter made: from mixed goats' and sheep's milk."

Alya related further: "To his father who works in the Convent

he takes the bread. (There is a Convent in Artas.) 'That is a gift from God!' the boy said of the food. The nun said: 'Thou art a child, and we are smaller than thou!' — May God protect them, the nuns in the Convent!

Ahmad takes his father's share to the men's club: bread and simple food, not meat. He goes to the shop and buys what is needed. His father's brothers make use of him when they want something, he goes and brings it. The father's brothers say: 'Ahmad, look after our place!' He helps the men in little things.

He helps his father. — Yesterday he rode the ass and went to Bet Skarye where the villagers have fields, two hours from Artas.

I said to him: 'With whom didst thou go?' He said: 'Alone.' — I asked him: 'Who pulled the grass for thee?' He said: 'I pulled it myself and Yamne (the wife of a relative) helped me to load it on the ass.'

Thus he went to Bet Skarye alone, such a young boy, to bring grass for the cows, because his father was ill. He also brought dung for the baking-oven."

### *Shepherd-Boy*

Hamdiye again said of her brother's son:

"Mhammad Isa is ten years old and is now a shepherd at Bet Safafa, independent of his father's brother and his father's sister; the father is beyond the Jordan. This is because he has too many debts to pay. Mhammad receives 3½ Liras (LP) a year and board and clothing."

When a boy serves as a shepherd he often goes to live in another place.

For a long time there was such a shepherd under my window, a youth of the Taamre tribe, in service in Artas. He had to spend the night too with his flock and slept with them on an open place

in front of the house where I lived. In my Diary I have some notes which I quote.

*Friday the 14th of November 1930.* — It is early morning. The sheep are still here. The shepherd is just putting on his coat. The daughter of the owner of the sheep comes and takes away the bed which he has had there among the sheep. Now there seems to be an examination of the sheep before they go up in the hills to graze.

*Thursday the 11th December 1930.* — Already before dawn I awoke. I heard the sheep bleating and the shepherd playing his flute to them. It is now the time when the lambs and kids are born and their cries are heard mingled with the mothers' and perhaps also the fathers'. Alya told me to go out one morning and watch how the herdsman, when he takes the sheep and goats out to graze, takes a small kid and a lamb one on each arm and goes up the hill in front of the flock.

There are two kinds of sheep.

The one is the summer sheep. Of those Alya says:

"The summer sheep are those born in the beginning of the harvest (April—May). Their mothers' milk is taken for the harvesters. It is splendid. The sheep and goats go behind the harvesters and feed. They go early in the morning before sunrise, and when it is too hot the shepherd must go back with them to a shady place. They must not stay out in the sun the whole day."

The other kind is the winter sheep, born in the rainy period. The first of them are born at the olive-gathering time. New lambs are also born in December, and then again at the beginning of January. Of all these sheep Alya said:

"They are weaned in the summer ploughing, as long as there is still some green left. That is the work of the herdsman. And he is the helper at birth. He brings them to the mothers to be fed, and he carries them in his bosom. It is said: 'No one has more trouble than the herdsman, only the moon.'"

In a description of the month of March there is a passage about the herdsman's life.

March is the father of earthquakes and rain.  
In March come out the fig leaves like a mouse's ear.  
Wean thy little goat, even if it is as small as a mouse  
(as long as there is still some green left!)  
And shorter will be the night and longer the day  
and warm and dry will be the herdsman without a fire.  
And he goes up onto the mountain and says:  
"Oh, my mistress! Make my loaves larger!"  
And the thick milk will become too sour.  
And the camel becomes ruttish,  
and the snake comes out again,  
and the partridge lays eggs.

Alya also said: "At the end of the spring the herdsman chooses the best goat.<sup>6</sup> No one may take it away from him. He makes cheese and dips his bread into the milk."

Besides his wages and food the herdsman is allowed to take a lamb or a kid from the owner of the flock for the trouble he has had, especially of weaning the young animals.

This can also explain the Bedouin proverb in which the herdsman says: "I have served for seven years and I have not yet weaned a single goat." It is very possible that he means that he has not yet received an animal for himself.

The herdsman of the present day has the same anxiety as Jacob in olden times in a corresponding situation when, after presenting his complaint, his right is acknowledged to take from his father-in-law's — Laban's — herd sheep and goats in order to get a special herd of his own. He served seven years for each of his wives and six years for the cattle.<sup>7</sup>

In my inquiry into marriage I have also quoted the same Bedouin proverb, and mentioned Sitt Louisa's and Alya's remark: "Out of

pure love he forgot to fulfil his duty as a herdsman," while Elias Haddad rejected this theory and explained it by saying that the herdsman did not get any wages for his trouble because he was serving for his wife. For as Jacob served for Rachel and Leah, so it happens sometimes to-day that a herdsman gets his master's daughter instead of wages.

If a young man is in love with his father's brother's daughter, he wants to serve with her father, or her, as a herdsman.<sup>8</sup> There is a song:

My cousin, take me as a shepherd!

I will guard thy sheep and bring them back with my sling.

As is seen from the above a little boy can begin to look after the herds and continue this work as a youth.<sup>9</sup> Among the Bedouin of course there are also men who do this work.

## GIRLS' GAMES AND WORK

### *Dolls*

Alya says of little girls: "They make dolls out of rags. They knead clay and make small hand-mills and ovens and little clay containers. They play with small stones."

It seems as if the girls have less time for play than the boys.<sup>10</sup>

Much as I moved among the village people, I cannot say that I ever saw little girls playing with dolls. Yet I found that dolls are not unknown to them. A doll is called: bride. — I wanted to see how a doll is made, so I asked Hamdiye to make one while I watched.

A long and a short stick of wood are bound together with a strip of cloth to form a cross, the basis of a person. A piece of white cloth is stretched over a round button to make the face, leaving a piece of the long stick showing above it. More strips of

cloth are bound round the two sticks with special care for the head and neck. These strips hold the button, the face, in place.

A little embroidered cap is placed on the top with strings tied under the 'chin'. This is made to look like the high cap and the chin-chain worn by Bethlehem women.

A dress is then made which is held on and stretched out by the arms of the cross. Hands are not needed or missed, because a respectable girl, and especially a bride, has her hands covered by the long sleeves. Similarly the legs and feet must also be concealed, so they are quite satisfied if only the dress is long enough to hide the stick. A piece of cloth is bound round the waist as a girdle. Then when a head-cloth is in its place, the doll-bride is ready.

The rumour was spread in the village that I was interested in dolls with the result that many girls brought me dolls which they had made themselves. In this way I saw many examples of dolls. The most interesting was made in the way just described, except that the face was not a covered button. Instead of a button there was a padding of cloth which had exactly the same effect. Probably this was even more genuine; it is not very probable that little girls can get buttons. The dress was cleverly pieced together from old bits of cloth in such a way that it really resembled a Bethlehem woman's festival dress. The girl who had made this doll was about ten years old.

Other girls had made their dolls so that they had a trunk to which were fastened arms, legs and a head; all of pieces of cloth sewn together and filled with sand or seed.

Further the wife of the shopkeeper in Artas, a Christian Arab woman from Bet Jala, made me a doll. This doll had even hair which she had tied up with a band of red cloth. I myself saw her resolutely cut a tuft of hair from her husband's head for this purpose. On the face of the doll, mouth and nose were drawn.

In contrast to this, the dolls of Muhammadan girls have no

marks on their faces. When Sitt Louisa for a joke drew in a mouth, nose and eyes on the doll which Hamdiye had made, she did not like it at all. "Thou hast made its face dirty," she said and was very displeased.

Perhaps the difference between the doll of the Christian Arab woman and the 'Muhammadan' dolls may be explained in the following way: — Christians in their churches are used to seeing pictures of saints, while the Muhammadans in their sanctuaries are not allowed to have pictures of people but may only represent plants in their religious art.

In this respect a thorough change will certainly be brought about by film-theatres which have begun to find their way even among the Arabs in the towns. Both Muhammadan men and women go to the Cinemas, although not together. In this way they become accustomed to see pictures of people. In earlier times Muhammadan Arabs: fellaheen and Bedouin did not even understand what pictures of people were and this is still true of the older men and women. The younger generation, especially in towns, are brought up with them.

### *Terminology*

A girl's work is indicated by the list of expressions used to show the age of women.

The first of these is: "She hands things and chases the animals; drives the chickens away from the sitting-place." There is also another expression very similar: "I marry her even if she can only chase the hens from the sitting-place."

Some information can be obtained from negative expressions like: "I could not yet comb my hair"; "I could not yet gird myself";<sup>11</sup> and "I could not yet bake" — i.e. I was too small

to lean over the oven.<sup>12</sup> All these I have heard women use of their own childhood — up to about seven years of age.

As a girl grows older she is called: a goatherd and guardian of fig-trees. Already before she reaches puberty she is called: a woodgatherer and drawer of water.

### *Fatme's Work*

In this case too it was desirable to have an account of the work done by a definite girl in everyday life.

It is again Alya who tells us about the daughter of another of our neighbours who might be about nine years old and was already betrothed to a cousin somewhat older. Alya calls her: attendant on her mother.

"When the macaroni is made she says: Fatme, give me the board; get me the rolling-pin, the cloth for putting the macaroni on and she then rolls out and folds it up together, she cuts it and puts it on the straw tray. And the saucepan when boiling — Fatme, get the macaroni! Get the salt! Get the firing-pan for oil and onions!

A waitress for the mother. She hands it to her mother who says: Give us the spoons! Give us the knife! Give me the ladle! And she washes the spoons and the ladle and the wooden basin, etc.

Give us the mattress, the cushions and the covering!

Open the door and shut the door!

Fatme Ali carries her brother, puts him to sleep in his cradle. Then she airs the bed-clothes, then she sweeps. If the mother is absent, she looks after and plays with her little brother. When her mother comes back from Bethlehem, she tells her mother: 'Look after my brother! I want to go and gather dung.'

Then she is told: 'Go and gather the little stones for the baking-oven! Go to Kusta, the shopkeeper, and get petroleum! Another time: Get matches! etc. She does not ask anything for herself.

She gathers all the small wood for burning.

She gathers all the dry dung from the terrace and puts it ready for burning in the oven. If the child, i.e. her little brother, is sleeping, she fetches water and gives water and food to the chickens. In the evening she closes the chicken-house.

She gathers the eggs. In the evening she is asked: 'How many eggs didst thou gather?' She answers: 'I gathered three or two.' Sometimes there are none."

In addition I may say that I have often seen Fatme Ali carry out these different duties, when she came with the little basket of dung on her head, when she looked after her little brother, aired the bed-clothes, when she shut up the hens in their little stonehouse at night, etc.

And I have seen other girls do similar things. I have also seen the girls go to collect wood, and in the spring to help to gather grass and wild vegetables and also seen them in the fields. In short the work of a growing girl is a grown-up woman's work in miniature.

Alya in her account of the boy Ahmad Ismain and the girl Fatme Ali has brought out very well that which is characteristic in the life and work of children; when they must run errands and otherwise help in the house and when told to do so by their elders. This is a very important part of their education and will be further dealt with in the next chapter.

## EDUCATION AND CHARACTER

While staying in Palestine for the second time I one day happened to say to some friends in Jerusalem that one of the things I meant to study was education among the fellaheen. I do not forget the smile with which my remark was received. My words were taken almost as a good joke.

One can safely say that the Europeans in Palestine do not think highly of the pedagogy of the fellaheen.<sup>1</sup> And of course I understand it. We of the West have become accustomed more or less to consider teaching in schools as the standard when judging the development and position of education in society. And if such a point of view is held the Arabs in Palestine must fall short. In so far as the schools in the towns employ modern, rational methods, this is mostly due to their being under the influence or the direction of Westerners. And as regards teaching in a village school, I soon, as will be seen, lost all my illusions.

Yet apart from the school and the character of its teaching, there must, I thought, be some education<sup>2</sup> and it would be an attractive task to find out about it. So I set out to obtain as much information on the subject as possible and now present the results.

As an introduction I give Alya's remark; "The father trains the boy and the mother trains the girl."<sup>3</sup> The education of the boys and the girls are treated separately.

## EDUCATION OF BOYS

### *A t H o m e*

The proverb: "Pampering the boy makes thee rich", we heard directed to the mother. Yet Alya may be right in her statement: "Boys whose heads are hard are whipped." The father can be very strict, but it is by no means only punishment<sup>4</sup> and hard words which he employs.<sup>5</sup>

Alya: "The father says to his son:<sup>6</sup>

If thou eatest in the men's club, eat nicely!<sup>7</sup>  
When the men ask thee to do something, obey!  
Do not be lazy! Be willing!  
When the men have eaten, bring the jar  
(without being asked or told to)  
and pour water over their hands!  
Be careful and make no mistakes!<sup>8</sup>

Watch how the men plough, and plough as they do!  
Come and I will show thee how people sow!  
Be careful!  
Watch that the animals do not tread upon the vines!  
When thou seest a stone in thy way pick it up!

Curse not or I will whip thee!  
Greet thy mother! Obey thy parents!  
Thy Lord will reward thee!  
The curse of parents brings thee no success!<sup>9</sup>

This programme clearly contains rules and good advice.

The father wishes the boy to have good manners. He is especially anxious that the son shall behave well in the men's club where he shall show respect to his elders and wait on them.<sup>10</sup>

I quote a death song. Yusef and Abed who in the song are told by their father to wait on the guests are sons of a sheikh.

His club is full of sheikhs.

— "Yusef! Get the cups!

Spread the mattresses at the door of the court!"

— "My father! It seems our guests are Princes!"

— "Oh Abed! Get us the straw tray!

Prepare us a clean club!"

(When spreading out the mats.)

— "My father! It seems our guests are Princes!"

When the men have eaten it is a young boy's duty to bring water and pour it over their hands. During my first stay in Artas I saw a boy wait in this way on a bridegroom who was washing himself the morning after his wedding.

One day I noted from my window a little boy about five years old doing it for a somewhat older brother. Seriously and with great care he poured from a little can some drops of water over his brother's hands and when the soap-suds had been somewhat washed away he again poured water over the hands — both were crouching — until the little can was empty. The boys were practising for their future duties in the men's club.

The boys and youths also listen in the club to the talk of their elders;<sup>11</sup> in this way they learn much and gradually absorb views of society and life.

When the boys are admonished to be obedient and industrious this has naturally a wider reference than the immediate tasks.

Although the rules mentioned have only two injunctions which concern work they do express the methods of training them for their work. They appeal to the power of observation and instinct for imitation. The rule is: Watch the grown-ups in their work and do as they do! But sometimes also the father shows how a thing is to be done and the boy has to imitate him.

When the boys are told to take the stones off the paths it is a kind of social training. Any one who has gone along these ways

and tracks in the mountains knows how stony they are. It is interesting to find that the father advises the boy to do this so that people and animals shall not slip on a stone.<sup>12</sup> It is another thing whether this advice is followed.

This is also true of the moral rule that they must not curse. The boys do curse. But it is easily understood that a father strictly enjoins his sons regarding this rule because cursing can have such terribly fateful consequences. And the boy is warned not to expose himself to the curses of his father and mother. It is also said:

Dost thou curse thy mother's brother and thou art from him!  
Dost thou curse thy father's brother and he is like thy father!

#### *A t S c h o o l*

The school has always been a more or less sporadic phenomenon in Artas. Even as late as when I was there it was very irregular. I quote my Diary as to my first knowledge of it when I wrote how I tried to see the school at work.

The 8th of November 1925 after I had returned from a short stay in Jerusalem I went with Sitt Louisa into the village to see the school. The last time I was in Artas I heard: "The school has been open for fourteen days!" And I wanted to visit it at once. People said: "No, now they have holidays for the sake of the olive harvest-gathering!"

Oh! I thought, it seems to be in Artas as in Bethlehem that the children have a holiday when the olives are to be picked, and I forgot the matter. But now I wanted to be sure and see the school, so we went down to the mosque where the children are taught.

On the roof of the mosque there was a whole crowd of people. Tradesmen from Gaza had spread out their wares. A row of old men and children sat there while the mulberry tree spread its leafy branches over the whole. We greeted Helwe il-Hajje who enjoys the

honour of being the only woman in the village who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

We looked at the fig-tree which belongs to the mosque and is planted for the poor and the stranger, so that they may take its fruit.<sup>13</sup> Then we went down from the roof to the entrance of the mosque where industrious schoolboys ought to have been sitting and absorbing wisdom under their master's direction. Outside we came upon a group of lively youngsters who were jumping gaily about but we could not discover any teacher.

"Where is the schoolmaster?" we asked. Nay, that they did not know.

"Has the teacher not been here yet?" — "No, but perhaps he will come", answered the crowd. They seemed to be quite indifferent as to whether he came or not. The boys ran off into the gardens and we stood there alone wondering at the teacher being so late. Here the day begins early.

"But perhaps he will come," we thought and decided to wait. "He can't be very much longer." Then we too went down into the gardens which they were just watering. After having seen the gardens we came up again.

"Has the teacher not come yet?"

The boys sprang wild and jolly in all directions.

Can he be ill? I thought. But then he would have sent a message to the school. What can have happened?

"There comes his uncle," said Sitt Louisa. "I will ask him what is the matter."

"Good morning. How art thou?" etc. After greetings had been exchanged: "We want to see the school. Where can the teacher be?"

"The teacher has visitors," was the uncle's answer.

And then he began to relate how some men had come from the village of el-Walaje to Ismain's house to congratulate them, as a wedding was to be celebrated there after a week. They had brought

goats with them, which had been slaughtered and eaten in honour of the family. And the teacher was now sitting with the guests in Ismain's house.

All this was very interesting but I could not help expressing a certain astonishment. A holiday, so that the teacher could be with the guests?

"There he now sits quite calm at the feast and not even a message to the children!" said Sitt Louisa to me.

Should the schoolmaster not do his teaching before everything else? — But when Sitt Louisa said this to the teacher's uncle, he was not less astonished at the opinion which underlay our careful words. Almost offended he said: "How strange! Should he leave his guests for boys?" And he added: "First comes beard and moustache!" — We said good-bye and went on — I still amazed at the wisdom I had just heard. But from that moment I had a quite special interest in the village school.

Of course Sitt Louisa and I in our daily visits to the different homes heard much about the school.<sup>14</sup> In my Diary I describe a visit we paid to Fatme Jabr. After having related how she showed us her home and her store of wheat, rice and raisins, and how she offered us raisins I wrote:

Finally she brought out a dirty, dog-eared book. It belonged to the only son who is now going to the school in the mosque. She stood there with the book in her hand and talked much about the importance of learning and her son's great future as a learned man. The mother meant to see to it that he studied. First he should go to a lower school and then higher and higher until the highest.

In one way I have never seen so much reverence for a book. For her who could neither read nor write, it was a kind of talisman. When difficulties occur people turn to a sheikh who consults his book for the influence of the stars on human beings, an illness and its cure, whether the married people's names harmonize with their

stars, etc. And he writes out mysterious lines for an amulet which helps in cases of illness and evil influences. Even Fatme's voice reflected mysteriousness when she spoke about studies. The dirty school-book became in her eyes the bridge over which one passes to another, unknown world.

When visiting another family a man sitting with his little son on his knee said: "He shall study!" But a relative who was present said that he would rather work with a plough than with a pen. I quote my Diary again:

*9th of November.* — Rain! I asked: "Is there school to-day? — "No, it is raining and it is too cold!" said Hamdiye. — "Rain is a reason for staying away even from the court," Sitt Louisa added.

*November the 10th:* Now tools and implements are put in order and the ploughs are being examined and repaired. People prepare for the ploughing.

"Is there school to-day?" — "No, it is rainy." It was a bright morning but according to theory it would rain for three days. And later Hamdiye tells us that the teacher did have school a little while yesterday.

Afterwards I heard that the teacher had gone to Bethlehem. He went with the people from Ismain's house who are buying the bridal outfit for the double wedding next Sunday. Paradise for the school children!

*On 1st of December* I again have a note in my Diary on the school. It had been closed. While walking in the village Sitt Louisa said to a woman: "How lovely that the children must not be plagued with school!" — "Yes, it is," said the woman. "Now they can have a rest."

The teacher then was Abed Khalawe who was a village priest, and an Artas man. But after Christmas a new teacher came from Beit Ikse, a village north of Jerusalem.

Alya came in one day and said that now the village had a teacher.<sup>15</sup>

She was not at all pleased. She complained, there is no limit to what a teacher can swallow. He has the stomach of a camel.

On the other hand, the first of February, 1926 when the school question was again being discussed because of the new teacher's arrival Ali Khalil thought: now the boys would be taught. His eldest son Mhammad who had only been under his mother was like an unhewn stone.

All the spring the boys could be seen sitting on the roof of the mosque. They learned the difficult arts of reading and writing. The mulberry tree's branches swelled and the leaves opened out and thus the boys were protected from the hot sun. Still it might happen that merchants and others who had come to the village also went up to the roof of the mosque and then the teacher could be seen there half-lying in his black mantle and amusing himself with them after having told one of the boys to see that the reading and writing went on. Each pupil had a wooden tablet with a short handle. One side was painted white and there they printed their letters, some verses from the Koran. When the tablet was full it was easy to paint it over again.

*The 26th of May.* — We met two boys coming from school.

"He can read and write!" said the one proudly of his comrade. The latter opens his book and gives some proofs of his power. It was just the boy whose mother in the autumn had dreamed and formed great plans for her son's future as a learned man. He is the only child and was in a long bright blue cloth kaftan covered with orange-coloured embroidery.

After reading his comrade wanted backsheesh for him. He was however quite as pleased when he did not get anything. He proudly showed his combined ink and pencil holder. Stuck in his belt he had writing materials of the old fashion.

He boasted that the teacher had at times appointed him to look after the other boys. His face and hands were dirty.

The day before 25th of May Alya came in and said:

"The school-teacher wishes to marry. He is now 'strong' after the alms' collection at the Little Feast after the end of Ramadan and wants to take a new and second wife. So they say in the village."

"Can it be an Artas woman?" I asked.

"No, nobody from our village," Alya said. "Here the women are too dear. He is to take one from Hebron."

During the whole of his time in Artas the sheikh every Thursday afternoon went to Beit Iksa to visit his wife, and then took part in the Friday prayer in the Mosque at Jerusalem and returned to Artas. I thought that perhaps he now also wanted to have a wife in Artas. But shortly after he had led the men's prayer on the roof of the village mosque at the Great Feast, this year on the 20th of June, as he had done it at the Little Feast, he went away from the village and did not come back. The following autumn and winter there was no school.

Here is a list made of what the villagers gave the teacher, the sheikh from Beit Iksa, as payment.

Food given by the pupils in turn.

Each boy pays 10 Piasters a month.

In the school there were 20 boys,

that made 200 Piasters = LP2 a month.

Every Thursday each boy pays half a Piaster,

that made 10 Piasters a week for his journey to Jerusalem for his Friday prayer in the Mosque. At the same time the sheikh visited his home in Beit Iksa.

Extra gifts as e.g. in Ramadan.

When a boy can read a certain part of the Koran the teacher receives an extra reward, backsheesh.<sup>16</sup>

Parents also give extra so that the teacher may take more pains with their boy that he may make progress.

When I returned to Palestine in spring 1930 there was still no school in Artas. *The 9th of October 1930* I wrote in my Diary:

On the way to Bethlehem we met Khalil Khalawe who, people say, will be the teacher in Artas.

"How is it with the school?" — "There will be none at all!" he said. The people do not want to pay the 10 Piasters per pupil per month that he demands for his teaching; and he cannot do it for nothing. He of course has his land to cultivate and he cannot leave that without receiving payment.

It was indeed bad news. In all the other villages there is a school. But Artas does not receive support from the Government, Khalil Khalawe said. In Jerusalem I have just learned that the Government supplies a teacher if the village gives the room for the school. But when I said this to Khalil Khalawe, he answered that Artas was too small for the Government to supply a teacher there. The villagers must see to it themselves.

The following day I met a Muhammadan sheikh in Jerusalem who said that he knew Artas and had been there only the previous week with a Syrian sheikh who had been thinking of being a teacher in the village but did not like the place at all when he saw it. It was much too small a village for him, he thought.

In any case during this long period the matter had developed so far that some of the village boys had begun to go to school in Bethlehem. They went in the morning and returned in the afternoon. Like the boys in the town they wore the fez and in this way this headgear — until recently the mark of a town dweller — came into our village. In the school in Bethlehem they also learned the beginnings of English, now one of the three official languages in Palestine. The idea that it could be useful for them seems to be spreading to the village. One of the younger sons of Abd il-Salam who was an apprentice to a carpenter in Bethlehem also wished to learn this Government language. In the morning when he went to work he had the red fez on his head and carried in one hand his

food in a red handkerchief and a notebook from which he tried to learn some new English words.

Thus the learning of English made its way into the village. To Sitt Louisa who has been with the people now for about 40 years and has been watching their primitive life it seemed curious to think that before long even in this distant village on the edge of the desert there would be young people reading and speaking English.

Before this there had been only two men in the village who had learned a foreign language. One of these was Atiye Abed who, as an orphan boy, had been for some years taken to a German orphanage where he had learned German. He came back to the village, married an Artas woman and worked at Solomon's Pools. The other was Salim, the negro, who had learned English.

When I first came to the village in 1925 I heard about a young orphan, Ibrahim, who had been taken to an institution in Jerusalem where he could be taught. But one fine day he reappeared in the village. He had run away. He preferred to practise playing on the shepherd's flute during the wedding period in Artas. I have caught him with the camera doing this. It did not occur to anyone in the village to scold him. School has no real roots in the consciousness of these people.

If teaching nowadays leaves much to be desired, to say the least of it, it was of course much worse earlier. Many of the village men can now neither read nor write. Not even the civil head of the village always had these accomplishments. That is why he and the others used stamps. In the accounts given by the people the stamp plays a great part. Very often the phrase is heard: "He must give his stamp." Probably inability to write was the origin of the seal — a stamp has had to be used instead of the written name.

Since the English came to the country at least one of the two civil heads of the village must be able to read and write. In my time one of the civil heads could neither read nor write. Previously

there was only one civil head and he was equally illiterate. Ahmad Ismain, the finest man in Artas, had been such a civil head. It was a proof of the esteem which he enjoyed that he was called as a *judge* even to other places where there was some difficult question to settle. He judged according to ancient patriarchal laws.

Now and again for a short time there has been a sheikh in the village who could say that he had been in the el-Azhar mosque in Cairo, this ancient stronghold of Muhammadan orthodoxy. The people have much reverence for such a man and like to ask his advice. In this way a certain Egyptian influence can still be noticed.

When men visit the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem they have also the opportunity of listening to the Grand Mufti, the religious head of Muhammadans in Palestine. He exercises a certain political influence.

There are now newspapers in Bethlehem. When the men go there they can sit in the Cafés and learn the news of the day. And when more people can read, the influence of the newspapers will naturally increase. The sphere of interest will be changed and extended.<sup>17</sup>

Less than in many other places in Palestine has our distant village been exposed to foreign Western influence. Inherited customs, habits and ideas continue to exercise their strong power over the people, binding them to ancient tradition in home and village life.

### EDUCATION OF GIRLS

The lack of school-teaching and book knowledge is even greater among the girls than the boys. If the boys only go to school very irregularly the girls do not go at all.<sup>18</sup>

Yet one Artas woman has I think learned to read and write. Left an orphan very early under specially tragic circumstances she was brought up in a German institution in Jerusalem where she was

educated and became a Lutheran. Later she came back to the village through marriage with a cousin, but it soon appeared that she could not stand the life there. She who had enjoyed a European education in a town now found the village life quite strange and it was quite impossible to fulfil her tasks satisfactorily. She had not from a very early age ground corn with the handmill, fetched water and carried heavy burdens. In desperation she left her husband and went back to Jerusalem where she became a Roman Catholic but without obtaining the further advantages which she apparently hoped for.

I met her once in the streets of Jerusalem but she was extremely shy and reserved. Homeless, without any real protection and support, her existence was an unhappy one. She was, one may say, a victim of European civilisation.

Later also there was another attempt to give an Artas girl a school education though it was unsuccessful.

In the village there is a Convent of the Order of the Sisters of Mary of the Garden, *Santa Maria dell' Orto — Hortus Conclusus*. It is a closed world, quite independent of the life in the Muhammadan village outside its walls. Although Arab girls are taken and educated in the Convent, no girls from Artas are there.

Once there was an exception. In response to an appeal from Miryam Ahmad's relatives this girl was allowed to enter the Convent school, where of course she had to live. But when the people in Artas celebrated the Great Feast the same year they demanded that Miryam should come out and get her share in the sacrifice.<sup>19</sup> When this was not permitted the people were angry. Should an Artas girl go without her festival meat? They began to throw stones at the Convent gate and the girl had to leave for ever.

Sitt Louisa once said quite impulsively: "Wild birds like the Artas children cannot be caged. Miryam could not stay in the Convent nor Ibrahim in Jerusalem. Miryam can dance so prettily at the weddings and the boy Ibrahim play on the flute in Artas."

Sometimes at very long intervals there has been something that might be termed a sewing course for girls. Thus a woman missionary from Jerusalem once tried to teach the girls sewing but had to stop almost at once because the leading men in the village were afraid of Christian propaganda. In 1930 the wife of the shopman from Beit Jala collected some young village girls who for a small payment learned under her direction to embroider patterns such as the women have on their dresses. For some weeks I saw them from time to time sitting on the steps of the little shop.

On the other hand no attempt has ever been made to teach girls to read. Thus as regards ordinary schooling, especially the teaching of girls, Artas is very badly off and it is not likely that the villagers will voluntarily do anything to change their condition.

One consequence of the village women not being able to read or write is that in many respects they are more conservative than the men. I have myself on some occasions been in a position to see how the women, as against the men who put forward some 'newer' views, hold to what is prescribed by the old pre-Muhammadan tradition.

For example, when at the Great Feast the women demanded that the sacrificial animal should be killed on the threshold of a new house in return for which they believe a human life would be spared, the men thought that this was unnecessary but the women had their own way.

Similarly I was beside a death-bed where the village priest told the women not to strike their faces, wail and shriek, not to rend their garments and loosen their hair when the dying one expired. But scarcely had this happened before the women did all that the village priest had forbidden them to do, although he had expressly said that it was sin and forbidden by the Muhammadan law. They knew well enough, they said, that they would be punished for it in the other world but not even the fear of the everlasting fire could keep

them from performing the duties laid upon women by a custom older than Muhammad.

Another example. — When the day after the burial the women go early in the morning to the grave to sit there and wail and the men come and drive them away, even strike them, the women themselves say that this is because their own action is not according to the Muhammadan law. After the men have driven the women away they remain a while by the grave and read prayers from the Koran.

An evening scene in a Muhammadan home has been described to me: the little daughter of the house hands her father the Koran because the mother is unclean and may not touch it. A ritually unclean man is also forbidden to touch the Holy Book but a woman is so much oftener ritually unclean. It may be for this reason or because the women cannot read, but on the whole it seems that both the men and the women think that the Koran is something which does not concern the women and this may account for their holding fast to the ancient customs.

The women are not so isolated that they have no opportunity to listen to the men,<sup>20</sup> and in spite of their being unable to read they have a very good knowledge of customs, habits and questions in regard to family and village life, and this is something upon which all those who have come in real touch with them will agree.

#### *Person Responsible*

At home a girl is chiefly educated by her mother, although the father may do his share. Alya says of mother and daughter:

"If she cannot govern her, she tells the father about it. The father says to his daughter: 'If thou dost not obey thy mother, I shall whip thee. And if thou dost not listen to her, I shall whip thee very

much!' Then the girl is frightened. For: 'The breasts of men have no milk — the men have no mercy.'

Further a brother has all his life to answer for his sister's behaviour, even if she is married. He must obtain redress for her or punish her when it is necessary.

If a girl is married very young she is mainly brought up in her husband's home. The mother-in-law then takes her mother's place and the young wife must obey her orders and work under her direction. Many an Artas woman has said to me: "My mother-in-law brought me up." The latter has greater firmness than a weak mother, and therefore she can be a more skilful trainer.

And for the mother-in-law it is of course an advantage to obtain power over her daughter-in-law while she is still pliable. The young girl gradually grows into the customs and views of her husband's family; one need not fear that she will bring forward her own ideas and wishes, if she has, in her early years, lived under the disciplining hand of her mother-in-law and been moulded according to her desire; by this means the housekeeping proceeds in the old way. This is especially important when the bride comes from another place where the life is different and other manners and customs prevail. On the other hand it is very good for the young girl to have someone who can teach and educate her and initiate her into the customs of the place. An Artas man who hesitated to send his daughter among strangers saying: "She is still so young that she does not understand how to protect our honour among strangers," had his misgivings quietened. — "Dost thou think that they will put a bridle on her, as on a bear or a monkey, and let her dance to amuse the people? Has she not a mother-in-law who will educate her?"

### *Training for Work*

We have already seen that a girl by helping her mother in little ways gradually grows into the house-work; but it also happens that the mother gives her daughter direct instructions.

Thus according to Alya she says: "Come! I will teach thee to sew!"

Or the mother teaches her daughter to bake. — I quote Alya:

"Sit near me when I knead and watch what I do! Just as I do, thou shalt do! She gives her the last of the dough, or she cuts a piece from the dough and the daughter throws it into the oven: one or two pieces. — The girl by copying her mother, learns how to do it."

Alya continues: "Those who have barley knead the dough in the evening and, when it is leavened in the morning, it is mixed with wheat-dough. Wheat and barley flour cannot be mixed."

Another time she said: "Wheat is kneaded in a bowl by itself. Barley dough does not need to be worked very much but wheat dough is the plaything of the girls."

Sitt Louisa: "They like to set the 10—13-year-old girls to knead and the girls like to knead the dough."

The girls must also be present and help when the baking-oven is attended to, especially by fetching dung for fuel<sup>21</sup> and the small stones which are placed on the bottom of the oven and on which the bread lies. The oven calls for much labour and great attention.

People say: "The oven is a lady and needs a slave." In accordance with this it is said that the oven orders her slave, the woman, who attends to her with the words: "Scrape all ash away and give me my little stones!"

One day I had the opportunity to see a girl learning to make a clay place for a fire (*môqade, kânûn*).

Two of the village women had asked permission to make one on

the roof of our house, where it could then dry in the sun. Suddenly I heard such loud voices outside our house that I knew something special was happening. So I took my camera and went out. Although I hurried all was quiet again, the women had disappeared. I could only see a girl who sat at a little distance away busy with something.

When I came near to her I saw that she had a lump of clay that she was trying to knead and shape.<sup>22</sup> And at once the women were there again. It was the girl's mother, Hamde il-Zir, and a relative, Fatme Mahmud. The latter bore on her head a deep tray on which was clay which she had brought from el-Khadr and had mixed with straw and water here at home. With the young girl I followed the women up onto the roof.

They formed their fire-place with great skill and speed out of a big lump of clay which was kneaded and spread out on the roof. I took as many pictures as I could of the women in different positions, as they did this.

I was especially interested in the girl who still had the wet clay on her fingers. How closely she watched, intent upon catching every detail of the women's work! No doubt she would manage it next time.

Of course the women themselves are interested in learning their work and doing it well. It spurs them on, too, when they know that they will be scolded if they are incompetent, and on the other hand that they will be praised if they are industrious and competent. They know the whole village hears about it.

People of the West bewail the heavy burdens the women of the East must bear; it is true that the women in many cases do and must overstrain themselves. But think of the pressure and competition which prevails in the West! Think of the achievements in sport which require the exertion of every last bit of power, physical and mental. Then think of the women who come in from the wilderness carrying great bundles of wood on their heads<sup>23</sup> knowing they

are watched by all the people. What a triumph it is for them! The greater their burden the greater the attention and praise they receive. The women are proud of being able to carry heavy burdens. They train themselves to be strong and competent. It makes them respected personally. They are conscious that everybody is watching them and expressing their opinions.

Strength is not the only thing necessary. They must also show that they have staying power. She who springs from one thing to another is blamed. She who sticks to her work until it is done, is praised. For example: in the spring the women go out into the wilderness to gather green plants for food.<sup>24</sup> As they always go together they watch each other, give each other advice and afterwards speak about it.

Alya: "Not keeping in the same place will never gather the greens out of the wild. One girl may say: Here is Malva. She goes on and on gathering to fill her bundle. And the other one, from every corner she takes one plant."

As regards the young girls there is a special practical reason to watch and value their work, and the young girls themselves are eager to show what they can do.

Sitt Louisa: "People like to choose one who sticks to her work. These young girls, they are watched. Before people take a bride, they observe."

When considering a girl as a bride, industry and skill are highly valued. — The proverb says with a certain humour:

The one who picks the wheat  
and the one who picks out the lice  
and the sewing one,  
take her, even if ye have your eyes shut!

### *Behaviour and Morality*

There are many rules and much advice as to the behaviour and morality of a girl.<sup>25</sup> Quite early it is impressed upon her that she must learn to control herself and watch that she does nothing improper. Of how she is taught good manners Alya says:

If she scratches her head, she is scolded.  
If she licks the ladle from the cooking-pot, she is scolded.  
If she eats out-of-doors, she is scolded.  
In the evening after the hens are shut up,  
the women should not be out-of-doors.

Fatme Jedallah: "Except at weddings when they may go out, otherwise it is a shame." Sitt Louisa: "Indeed, weddings mean great freedom."

I shall treat the question of women's honour and protection in greater detail in a separate study.

A woman has the right to be out in the morning because her work requires it. And if a man then assaults her, his punishment will be very severe. But already at noon it is different. She really ought to have finished her work outside. And if a man then assaults her his punishment is not so great. But if this happens in the evening the fault is hers. Why was she out so late? She has no right to be out in the evening.<sup>26</sup> This concerns the women who are on the outskirts of the village where they must go to get water and collect wood, grass and herbs.

Nor must a woman run about in the village itself or to the neighbours. This is wrong in itself, and besides leads to gossip, quarrelling and trouble of all kinds.

Alya expresses the disapproval such behaviour arouses in the following way:

Running about means gossiping and mischief-making.<sup>27</sup>  
She must not be a running-about-woman.

She must not go among the women.  
She must not go from house to house.<sup>28</sup>  
If she repeats what others say, she is scolded.  
If she repeats what others say, it is as if she carried dust about.<sup>29</sup>

The Arabs condemn gossip by comparing it to the carrying of dust from one house to another. Nor shall gossip be carried from home to the neighbours.<sup>30</sup>

The woman warns her daughter: "Tell not the neighbours what we cooked!"

It is considered especially improper to go and lift the lid of another's cooking pot and see what they are cooking; the neighbours shall not talk about and discuss what is being cooked in any house. It is no concern of the neighbours what happens in the family.

Least of all shall the members of the family gossip about each other. Hear again the advice given to the daughter by the mother concerning her co-wife:

"If thy father's wife speaks against me, do not tell me about it!"

The mother threatens that if the daughter does this, she will punish her. "I shall whip thee!" And her argument is very fine.

"The one who said it, does not bear the shame but the one who carried it further!"

Further, a mother says to her daughter:

Do not steal from the gardens! It is shameful!  
Neither figs nor tomatoes! Do not steal anything!

A father gives similar advice to his daughter, when as a bride she leaves his house:

Be careful and take nothing from the property of the neighbours,  
and lay not thy hand on a stranger's property!  
Be perfect! Let not the women make fun of thee!

And the mother uses the same opportunity<sup>31</sup> to repeat some of

the advice she has already many times earlier tried to impress on her daughter.

See, my child! If she laughs (much), it is shameful!  
If she repeats what others say, it is shameful!  
If she lies, it is shameful!

An Arab proverb again, told to me by Émile Baldensperger, runs: "The lie is the salt of the men, and shame be upon him who speaks the truth!"

The mother adds:

If she steals, it is shameful!  
If she laughs with young men, it is shameful!

In the Arabs' moral code for women the rules and advice for their behaviour towards men are very important. Some concern their behaviour towards the husband and others their behaviour towards strange men.

"A woman must not raise her voice against her husband. This is a reason for divorce. He is her lord (*ba'el*)."

The tongue of the wife shall be 'sweet'. If a bride is praised for her stately figure and her beauty, the reply may be:

The milk is white too,  
a tree is high  
and a cow fat!

This implies that praise of a bride's beauty is superfluous. Other qualities are necessary.<sup>32</sup> The tongue is the most important. What if a woman is beautiful, if she has an evil tongue? The faculty of speech distinguishes man from all the other beings on the earth. Much in life depends upon how this gift is used.<sup>33</sup> Does not a proverb say: "A kind word can attract even the snake from his nest."<sup>34</sup>

And a woman shall speak to her husband in such a way that he

shall be good-tempered. She shall not cause trouble and bring disharmony into his house.

Again, a woman shall always show her husband a happy face.

Another saying is: "The woman is her husband's mirror."

To this Sitt Louisa said: "This means that the one face expresses the same as the other. If thy face smiles, it brings joy. If the wife's face is sour and angry, the husband gets bad-tempered."

How the Arabs dislike a gloomy face appears from the following statement.<sup>35</sup>

My first trouble is a miserable face.  
My second trouble is blood-guiltiness,  
and my third trouble, war with my father's brother.

It is also said:

The first evil, from which I take refuge in God,  
is entering an unlighted house,  
and the second is the company of mad people,  
and the third is a defiant face!

Émile Baldensperger again told me of the Arab view:

The Prophet — upon him be prayer — said:  
"There are three things in the world which give joy."  
"What?" — "Firstly, fresh water. Secondly, fresh green.  
Thirdly, a fresh and beautiful face."

This does not imply that a woman shall show a friendly face to everyone. As far as strange men are concerned a woman cannot be careful enough.

Alya: "If she talks with the men, she is scolded. Thou hast no right to speak with the men!"<sup>36</sup>

If a woman must pass some men, she shall modestly draw her head-cloth over her face, so that they cannot catch a glimpse of it. She shall also conceal her hands.<sup>37</sup>

The first-born is praised in many respects, not least morally. People think she is more exemplary than her younger sisters.

Alya: "The first-born daughter is modest. She wraps herself up in her head-cloth and holds her tongue" — i.e. is careful with her speech.

The mother says to her daughter: "If thou art walking alone, and a man is behind thee, do not turn round!" The men talk in their club and say: "So-and-so walked and turned round!"

And: "So-and-so we met — may God protect her! She wrapped herself up in her head-cloth!"

Alya states: "If she does not turn out to be a well-behaved girl, the one who brought her up is cursed."

The mother is blamed for all faults.<sup>38</sup> Therefore a mother appeals to her daughter and says: "Dost thou not wish to protect my honour from others? Dost thou wish to shame me?"

Again, to a good daughter it is said:

Let the womb live that bore thee!  
Let the breasts live which suckled thee!<sup>39</sup>

The mother of a good girl is blessed and is wished long life on the earth.

A married woman must also be very careful in her behaviour towards the men. This is especially important for a woman married in another place.

"Say to the stranger woman: Thou enterest a prison!" they say.

By this is meant that a woman who comes to another place through her marriage, must be prepared for all her words and actions to be observed very critically and for her slightest fault to be censured.

When Saada, wife of Mhammad Yusef, in the year 1926 was brought as a child bride from the neighbouring village of el-Khadr to Artas, she went the next morning to the spring to fetch water.

Hamdiye who was also there, told me how all those at the spring saw Saada lift up her dress so high that her henna-decorated feet and legs were seen. The girl-bride was naturally so happy and proud of them that she could not help showing them. But this at once gave offence. And Hamdiye, according to what she said, went and reproached her for the raised dress.

"Remember", she said, "that thou art now in Artas!" She implied: "In thy home village people may not be so particular of women's morals. But here in Artas we demand respectable women!"

This is only one example of how the self-satisfaction of the people appears towards a woman who comes as a stranger wife. Such self-righteousness makes people hard and intolerant, and makes life so difficult for her.

Her parents and the people in her village know it only too well. So they warn her already beforehand and urge her to be extremely careful not to give offence in her husband's village.

The exceptionally strict morality demanded from a stranger wife, gives rise to the advice given to a daughter when being educated and to the advice and the warnings addressed to her when leaving her home, and this gives an extremely good idea of the moral standard to which the women are educated.

I give here some examples:

"As a stranger — thou must not speak to men and not lift thy dress! And not sit with the neighbours and not smile at the men! The men will take hold of thee, the men will try. Watch! Be not free with them! If they curse thee, look angry and curse them again and strike!"

And: "In thy life among strangers — do not quarrel with the people! Do not carry tales!"

And: "Be careful in thy stranger life! Let nobody speak about thee, nor the women make fun of thee! The women flatter thee to

thy face and afterwards are stinging scorpions. Cleverness is needed for the men — and purity! The stranger woman must be perfect!"

This advice finishes with the wish:

"Let the people say: Let her live and may the house from which she comes, live! Bravo for her! And let them not say: May she be cursed!"

Only a good daughter can bring her family honour and blessing.<sup>40</sup>

And yet people sometimes bewail, and have reason to bewail their hard fortune in being obliged to bring up a daughter only to be cursed by strangers in her husband's house later on.<sup>41</sup>

#### EDUCATION, HEREDITY AND CHARACTER

The fellaheen consider that training should begin in earliest youth, best of all in childhood.

One of the advantages of child marriage is said to be the pedagogic reason that the mother-in-law is able to train her daughter-in-law while she is still very docile and that it can only be good for everyone concerned that the young woman as early as possible becomes accustomed to the atmosphere, the habits and the way of working prevailing in the husband's home where she is to remain.

It is said that a woman has two kinds of education. She is educated in her own home and then in her husband's home. The sooner the latter begins, the better it is.

The following proverb illustrates the belief that training to be effective and to have permanent value must begin with the child:<sup>42</sup>

Teaching the grown-up is like writing in sand.

Teaching the youth is like engraving in stone.<sup>43</sup>

Yet education can be very difficult. People complain: "Teaching boys is like crushing hard stones."

It is recommended that to obtain a good result boys and girls

should be treated differently. A boy may be pampered but not a girl.<sup>44</sup>

Yet if a boy later shows himself good-for-nothing it may be because he had been too much petted.<sup>45</sup> And if a girl goes wrong people begin to reproach the parents. Why have they not brought her up more strictly? — Parents are often so weak and indulgent to their children that they cannot deny them anything.

The effect of education is determined and limited to a great extent by inherited characteristics and tendencies. Many expressions, sayings and proverbs show that the fellaheen have a strong belief in the importance of heredity, whether good or evil. I refer the reader to the proverbs and sayings containing rules and advice given for choice of a bride and quoted in my work on marriage.<sup>46</sup> In all these the importance is emphasized of seeking the 'roots' and the origin. To take a bride of good descent does not only lead to good family connections. It is the best guarantee for individual ability. Thus it is said: "If thou hast forgotten whence someone comes, be guided by his deeds!"

One from a noble family does noble deeds as a rule. A good tree bears good fruit. Or as it is said:

An oil jar brings oil,  
a pitch jar brings pitch,  
a honey jar brings honey,  
a butter jar brings butter,  
a vinegar jar brings vinegar.

But people also realize that this is not always the case.

First as regards appearance:

Sitt Louisa: "It happens that very ugly parents suddenly bear a beautiful child. The parents are not beautiful and still the child is beautiful. For example. Mahbube Jibrin was such a child. She was fair although the rest of the family are dark."

People say to such a child:

O flower of Jenin!  
What brings thee to us, the ugly ones?

And the child answers:

Oh, my mother, I am not of you,  
I only came to make you beautiful.

In the same way an ugly child can be born into a family where all the others are pretty. But not even at this are people surprised. Does not the saying run:

"Fire brings ashes and thorns bring roses."

Similarly with the character.

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The disposition or tendency to regard oneself and one's own people as something specially good is very general in the world. The Bedouin call themselves: 'the salt of the world.' And the people in Artas are quite sure that they are better than the people in other places. They also think that their daughters are better than girls from other places, and this they do not hesitate to say.

Yet there are cases which do not confirm this.

On an excursion which I made with Sitt Louisa and Hamdiye we met a woman from the neighbouring village el-Khadr who told us that she had left her husband and was for the time being staying in her father's house. The reason was that she had quarrelled with her co-wife who had insulted her and even attacked her. In order to prove the truth of her words she lifted up her dress against the light and showed that it was covered with holes. Her co-wife Miryam Ethman had made these holes with a knife, and she was from Artas. We were so startled that we could say nothing.

Further on, sitting by the roadside to rest, Sitt Louisa asked Hamdiye: "What does this mean? Imagine an Artas girl behaving

like this in another place!" Hamdiye admitted that it was serious but added:

"Even among the finest wheat there grow tares!"

Another time an Artas girl was found to have had sexual connection with a man, and her parents, hoping to silence evil tongues, hastily married her in a distant place. Sitt Louisa had expressed her surprise that such a thing could happen, the girl being of a good family, and the Bethlehem woman to whom she was speaking said: "Dost thou not know that most moths are found in the best cloth?"

Thus no family, however noble it may be, can be quite certain of not getting a blot on its reputation. At any time it may happen that one of their members suddenly causes a scandal. This is especially the case with the daughters. As a matter of fact people are always in fear and dread that they will get into difficulties.

If a woman member of the family misbehaves it is a scandal for the whole family.<sup>47</sup>

When another woman from Artas, although unmarried, bore a child — it died at birth or anyhow disappeared — an Artas man who was betrothed to her sister withdrew in disgust from his engagement. But a man from another village, in spite of what had happened, hastened to take the deserted girl as his son's wife.

He said: "It does not matter." And he supported his more liberal conception with the saying:

Two sisters are from one navel-string.

The one is a harlot and the other is a good woman.

He added further: "I don't mind. I let the harlot go and take the good woman."<sup>48</sup>

In order to explain how children of the same family can vary both in appearance<sup>49</sup> and character, they say:

"Children of the same father and mother are like the beggar's box."

The beggar carries a box which contains contributions of very different kinds: coins of copper and silver, food, etc.

Some information which I received from the Arab teachers in Jerusalem has been given already. During a conversation we discussed the Palestinian idea of a child's character and they said:

"If a child is good it is said of a boy: 'He is like his father's brother!' And of a girl: 'She is like her father's sister!' — If a child is naughty it is said: 'He is like his mother's brother!' or 'She is like her mother's sister.'"

This expresses a certain partiality but it is natural in a strictly patriarchal community that people are inclined to say that no good can come from the mother's family, that a child cannot inherit good qualities from his mother's side.

On the other hand a general rule says: "Two-thirds of a child belongs to the mother's brother."<sup>50</sup>

This is not only so in theory but is also applied in practice, for example in choosing a bride. It sometimes happens that a man is so charmed with a woman that he wishes to have her daughter as his or his son's wife on the presumption that the daughter will be like the mother.<sup>51</sup>

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The difference in children of one and the same family can also be explained otherwise.

The Arabs are persuaded that the age of the parents when a child is born influences it. They say that a Bedouin with his powers of observation can tell from the footsteps in the sand whether the person who has left them is born of young or old parents, or if one has been young and the other old.<sup>52</sup>

Alya: — "The son of the young woman can run fast.

The son of the old man is always in danger and unsuccessful."

Sitt Louisa: "Unsuccessful because the father dies and the child without a father is without protection."

Alya: "The son of an old one is disappointment,  
but the son of the young man jumps down from a high wall."

And: "The son of the old is in danger,  
The son of the lap is in misfortune."

Sitt Louisa: "A petted fellow is worthless."

Alya:

"The son of the young woman and young man is like an iron rod, but the son of an old woman is like a sycamore tree — very brittle and weak — as soon as the wind blows on it, it breaks."

The words used by Alya are general sayings.

The Arabs think it is very important for both parents to be young or at least one of them. They speak with a certain condescension of an "old man's son". When the Arabs quarrelled with the Jews in Hebron they tried to insult them by saying: "Ye, children of a half-dead woman!"<sup>53</sup> They thought that as the descendants of Abraham and the young Hagar they are above the Jews who are descendants of the old Sara.<sup>54</sup> People born of young parents in their full vigour are also stronger and more alert.<sup>55</sup>

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It has already been shown that the mother's milk has an influence on the child's future physical and mental characteristics. A child who has drunk milk from his mother when she was pregnant will all his life long be slow in his movements and thought like the son of an old man.<sup>56</sup> If a man has when a child drunk milk from a negro woman, the unreasonable crossness distinguishing the negroes<sup>57</sup> is transferred to him and he can never overcome it.

The following saying shows that a person's character in so far as it is not determined by heredity is in any case decided very early:

Character impressed by the mother's milk  
cannot be altered by any thing but death.

This expression also gives a very pessimistic view of the possibilities for a person to develop and be influenced by education. On the whole he remains the same all his life and cannot change his character.

Mr. Émile Baldensperger who lives in Jaffa has, as a nomadic bee-keeper, come into intimate contact with the people in very different parts of the country. He began this form of bee-keeping with his brothers; it is the only one which is profitable in Palestine where blossoming time is so short in each place. But on account of the varying height conditions this occurs at somewhat different times, and a bee-keeper, by moving from place to place, can prolong the season for his own benefit.

Once when Mr. Émile Baldensperger was out in Artas there was a person who was extremely nervous and very troublesome to those around her, giving them no peace. He understands Arab views so very well and said: "Poor thing! Really she cannot help it. A defect never leaves a person!" And then he told the following story which the Arabs like to relate in such cases.

When Moses dwelt in the desert he had there a young horse which was admired by all the Bedouin in the neighbourhood.

Then a sheikh came one day and said to him: "Oh Prophet, thou Speaker with God (*kalîm allâh*)! Thou ownest a beautiful horse which all admire. But it has one fault, it always scrapes with its foot." — Among the Bedouin this is a bad sign for they say that a horse which scrapes with its forefoot digs the grave of its owner. — "Now, oh Prophet, thou canst ask God to change this habit of thy horse."

Then Moses spoke to God and said to Him: "Oh God, I have a fine horse which is admired by all Bedouin in the neighbourhood. But it has one fault. It always scrapes the ground. And



whole atmosphere around them is light. They have not a depressing effect on those around them."

This belief in the influence of the blood resembles somewhat that of the traditional Western theory based upon that of the ancient Greeks. According to the Hippocratic school the four temperaments: the sanguine, the melancholic, the choleric and the phlegmatic, depended upon the mixture of the four body fluids in the blood vessels, or the blood in modern sense. This view exercised a dominant influence until the 19th century.

Now the Arabs have another view which is very similar to it.

They also distinguish four types of human beings.<sup>60</sup> The difference is that instead of believing in the influence of four fluids in man, the Arabs believe that the feelings and reactions of people are dependent upon the mixture of the four elements. This view presumes that man is not only, as was earlier pointed out, created of earth but also of the three other elements. According to the one or the other element predominating, they speak of: air or wind people, earth people, water people, and fire people.<sup>61</sup>

The wind man or wind people are like the wind which blows where it wishes. Such a person gets excited without any real cause. He is the capricious person. The water person remains cold and unaffected. The fire person flares up at the least cause and crackles and sparkles but easily burns out.

But as usual I give also the cause of these reflexions. I let Alya speak and immediately after what she says of the different types are added Sitt Louisa's remarks.

Alya: "There are four kinds of people in the world.

1. An *Air person*. — A word sends him away and a word brings him back."

Sitt Louisa: "That is the changeable person. He who gets too much air is a weathercock. He takes everything too easily. He makes love here and there."

Alya: 2. The *Water person*. — His heart is cold like January water. If his family starves, he remains cold. And if his animal starves, he does not ask after it."

Sitt Louisa: "This person gets too much water and is cold."

Alya: 3. The *Fire person*. — He crackles as when salt is put on the fire, while the other one remains cold."

Sitt Louisa: "She means, if two different natures are together. If there is too much fire, then the person is fiery."

Alya: 4. The *Earth person*. — He has his wealth in the earth. He succeeds in everything. His hand is green — i.e. prosperous. What he sows grows. His castle is of dust."

Sitt Louisa, not satisfied with this last explanation, says: "If there is too much earth, then he becomes a sluggard, lying still like the earth."

Alya in any case kept to her idea. Another time she said:

"He who has a castle of dust has a fortune in the earth and he who has fire is clever. What he wishes to have, he wishes to have quickly. He who has a fine castle shines like a beautiful candle. For example. — Fatme Khrewhish, her good fortune is great. He who has a sunken castle no one likes."

In a case when a marriage was followed by misfortune from the very beginning the despairing husband and his nearest relatives turned to a sheikh for advice as to how this could be avoided in the future. No one doubted that there was something wrong with the wife. The learned man consulted his book.

Alya:

"He asked: 'What is her name?' They said: 'Her name is Sbeha.' He said: 'It does not harmonize. The star does not suit.' He added: 'Change her name!'

They said: 'How is her name according to thy book?' He said: 'Call her Fatme!' Further the learned one said of husband and wife: "Her house is of fire and his of earth. Her house is higher than his."

They followed the learned one's advice and altered her name from Sbeha to Fatme. — "Then there was great harmony like honey and butter."

As in olden times the Wise Men followed the star of the newborn Child<sup>62</sup>: "We have seen his star!" — still to-day among the people the star plays a great part. In important matters they therefore like to turn to a reader of the stars, *falakî*. — The idea that people belong to different houses is sheikh wisdom and could not be satisfactorily explained by my women.<sup>63</sup>

By this last example I wish to emphasize that when things go better the change is attributed to magic. Man as such cannot be changed. The evil one remains evil,<sup>64</sup> the good one remains good.

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Here follow some proverbs<sup>65</sup> which further confirm this Arab view. If someone does not follow the advice given him, it is stated:

I have advised thee, thou hast not acted upon it, or, accepted it, I have found that thy nature is stronger than my advice.<sup>66</sup>

Or, it is said:

The tail of a dog remains curly,  
even if it is put into a hundred presses.

And it is also said:

A lion remains a lion, even if its claws are worn away.  
A dog remains a dog, even if it is brought up amongst lions.

The good and noble one is recognised by his deeds and manners.

If there was no smell from the smoke,  
people could not distinguish aloe from ordinary wood.

People say this, when they wish to praise the fine character of a man and his good deeds.<sup>67</sup>

Even if a noble person mixes with ordinary people, he looks different.

So it is with the purest gold:  
Mix the gold with the yellow of the copper,  
the gold stands out.

Milieu and personal intercourse have as little effect as attempts to influence a person by direct advice.

This is true especially at a later stage when a person has already left childhood behind. And no upbringing can blot out or remove the inborn nature of a human being. Physically and mentally he is a product of his family and blood relatives. Family characteristics are inherited. Traits and qualities which distinguish the individual are the same as those which distinguish the family from which he comes, yet with certain variations. As people are not and cannot be blind to the fact that all members of a family are not quite similar they have, as already reported, tried to explain the differences. Here only some of the most important points will be summarized.

Variations depend upon whether inherited characteristics are chiefly from the father's or the mother's side. Sometimes the one is emphasized, sometimes the other. Further special circumstances at the moment of creation have a deciding effect, for instance: if the child comes to life with prayer or not, the quality of earth from which man is taken, as well as the age of the parents. — They do not think about acquired characteristics or at least attach very little importance to them. Yet very early influences received during suckling are supposed to set their stamp upon a child. All these are factors of extreme importance in the final formation of a person's nature and are quite outside his own control.

## DETERMINISM AND FREE WILL

The character is determined<sup>68</sup> and remains the same whether good or bad all through life.<sup>69</sup> It can later be influenced or changed by the individual himself as little as by the external world. By his character man is destined to a certain line of life.

Added to this is the view according to which the events of a person's life are determined from the very beginning. This is true to such an extent that he really has only to go through the course of events which have been written down for him in God's Book to the smallest detail. Not even in everyday life can a man do anything either to hasten or otherwise influence events.

To prove the correctness of this statement I was told an episode. A woman from Artas went one morning with tomatoes to the market in Bethlehem. In order to get a really good position and thus a better price, she started out earlier than any one else in the village. What happened? The basket of tomatoes fell from her head. She was delayed for she had to stop and pick up the tomatoes. When she arrived late at the market all the other women were already there. And more than that. She now had bad tomatoes; they were sandy and somewhat broken from the fall.

This shows that it does not pay and is not even possible to try to do anything to procure an advantage. This only carries its own punishment.

The lot which falls to a person, that he receives and nothing else. He himself can do nothing either for or against it. In small things as in great, man is absolutely subject to Fate: *qism*, *nasib*. Even his deeds and the way in which he acts are decided beforehand.<sup>70</sup>

The logical consequence of such a view is that man has no free will, and further is not personally responsible for his morality and his deeds.

Is there, however, really a society or a people who actually apply

only pure and absolute fatalism in the whole of its extent and draw all the consequences in practice?<sup>71</sup> The Muhammadan Arabs do not themselves observe how often they live and act contrary to the view of life they profess.

The theory is that a man on every occasion in his life cannot act in more than in one way; none the less people try to influence him, for example to show mercy. This appears especially clearly in quarrels. Then it is usual to try to bring about reconciliation. Then they appeal to one of the quarrellers to make allowances for his opponent.

"His common sense is different" — i.e. is little, they say.

Thus the one man is flattered at the cost of the other in order to get him to make friends. He is asked to consider that it is beneath him to be angry with or to have a grudge against a man who cannot compete with him in intelligence and common sense and who is not so important as he.

Or they say: "The vessel, the large one, contains the small one."

By this is also meant that the great and superior must be tolerant towards him who is smaller and weaker and silly.

Further a man is praised for his generosity.

"A camel can turn round inside him." — So large-hearted is he.

People are destined to be good, and so it is not to their credit, or to be evil, and so it is not their own fault. — Yet they are praised for their good qualities and blamed for their bad ones. — And men and women are responsible for their actions and have to take the consequences.

Only little children are an exception to this rule. Only they are morally irresponsible. Only they are free from sin.<sup>72</sup>

Hamdiye: "Children who are innocent have been compared to mad people.<sup>73</sup> When he is grown-up, his understanding has become complete. Before that he is innocent. The angels wait until he is mature and from that time onwards he is accountable for his sins.

The angel who is on the right side writes down the good and the angel on his left side writes down the bad.

Every son of Adam has his angel."

An evening prayer is:

God give that our angels are merciful  
and our death an easy one!  
God, the Lord on the Throne, have mercy upon me!

Hamdiye then added: "The devil's angels teach the evil: adultery, theft, murder, etc."

A grown-up person excuses himself when he is reproached for a crime, answering that he did not mean to do it. An excuse often heard is: "The devil tempted me and I fell."<sup>74</sup>

The belief in the influence of the spirit world, both good and evil, is Eastern and very common. It is especially the devil who tempts to evil and sin. However, both good and evil spirits try to exercise influence upon human beings. They are not indifferent to the doings and actions of men. In any case they watch to see whether people do right or wrong.

Alya told me about people's angels:

"Everybody has two angels: one for the good, the alms. That is the angel of the right. And the angel on the left is for the bad. He who stands on the right writes down the good deeds, the alms. And the angel on the left writes down the bad actions."<sup>75</sup> This is written on the tablet which is lifted up" — as Moses lifted up the tables of stone in the wilderness.

The thought of the angel following the daily doings of a man appears also in the advice and rules with regard to work. — Thus I was told that there are many things which are forbidden after sunset. "In the evening weaving, spinning and sewing is forbidden. And sweeping cannot be done at all." And the reason for this prohibition is consideration for the angel.

"Sheikh Salim surprised a woman, Nafise, as she was spinning in the evening. — He called to her: 'No, for God's sake! What doest thou there?' She answered: 'Why, my Sir?' He said to her: 'Thou sinnest against the angel who has to stand before God. When he returns to heaven, they ask him there: Where hast thou been so long? — He answers then: Oh, I was with the spinning woman.'"

Man must not work after sunset and so delay the angel who in the evening must ascend to heaven to give account of man's actions during the day. In this way there is a kind of double book-keeping: the actions as they are put down in God's Book when they are determined beforehand and the actions written down when man has performed them.

When man leaves the earthly life he must answer the questions of different angels who treat him according to his deserts.

Alya: "He who gives up the ghost quietly, his angels are merciful. And if his angels are bad, he raves, he throws off his cover and gets up from his bed. As he has worried others in this world, so the angels plague him."

The angel Azrael who has to receive the soul, takes it from the body with great care, if it is a good man who died. But if the man was evil and unmerciful during his lifetime his angel has no mercy on him but seizes the soul violently and pulls it out forcibly. Alya says of the death angel Azrael:

"When the soul leaves the body the angel Azrael draws it from the body, puts it on his hand and ascends with it to the seventh heaven. If his deeds were good and satisfactory, the angels say: Oh, what a good smell! If a bad smell comes, they say: Throw it into hell! — This is what the village teacher tells us."

Another time I heard the assumption that it is the angel Gabriel who has so much to do with the birth who also brings the soul back to God.

"The angels are the servants of our Lord. When the spirit goes

out of a person, our Lord Gabriel puts it on the palm of his hand and ascends to the seventh heaven. If he was a righteous person it is said by the angels in heaven: Whence comes this good smell?" — A good soul, good deeds, spread a good smell.

From heaven the soul is then brought back again to the body in the grave to account for his deeds to the death angels *Nakir* and *Munkar*. They come to the dead person the first night after the burial and examine him as regards his creed. If he now proves not to be a good Muhammadan, he is scourged mercilessly by the angels in the grave.

Only a child does not need to undergo this examination in the grave. The angels show great consideration for a child and do not judge it.

When the women pointed out that it is the sheikhs who teach people this about the angels, they were right. It is Muhammadan tradition and is to be found in interpretations and commentaries on the Koran. People have great fear of the death angels. They pray: "May our angels be merciful!" It is, however, uncertain to what extent this belief affects their actions. It is too far away and too vague and strange to everyday experiences to inspire and frighten them into being good.

#### MORALITY AND SOCIETY

Besides the different theories and views which can be traced and are held among Muhammadan Arabs, the fact that man lives in society is a great restraint on him and disciplines and corrects him. The individual acts to a great extent in agreement with and subjects himself to public opinion. The effort to do what is considered right in the cultural sphere to which he belongs is one of his strongest motive powers and dictates his deeds. Consciously or unconsciously,

more or less, he tries to act so that he wins the approval of his fellow-creatures, and in any case he wishes to avoid their disapproval. This also colours his view of life. If the chains and restrictions which are laid upon the individual by the opinions of society were suddenly to loosen and break, then the average human being would sink morally to a much lower level and would be tempted to give way to his passions and fancies.

The smaller a society is, the stronger is the control exercised on the individual by his surroundings. Larger circumstances create wider views but also a certain kind of greater freedom which is not always good for people if their characters are weak. In this respect the people of a little village may be right when they think that their village is better than a larger one and better than a great city like Jerusalem.

A person is especially sensitive to the opinion of those who live under similar conditions as he himself. He feels specially dependent upon those who belong to his group. It is their praise that he values. It is their blame that affects him. And in a small society where all know each other, it is impossible for one to hide anything from the others. They know if he behaves well or badly, if his deeds are good or evil.

Everybody in a Muhammadan community also knows that the day and hour will come when an appeal will be made to that community to give their judgement concerning him.

Alya: "When he is taken away from the washing board and laid in his death clothes, they say: 'What do ye witness for this dead one?'. They say: 'We witness only what is good!' If he has been bad, they only say: 'Bury him!' and are silent." — When a fallen woman is buried all are silent.

Who does not wish that, when this question is asked concerning him, the answer may be: "Nothing but good!" Both during lifetime and for eternity the witness of his fellow-creatures is needed and

their approval is demanded. Public opinion is both a straining and an impelling factor.

Taken in a wider sense education is not limited to childhood or to any definite age at all. It never really ceases. As long as an individual lives, he remains under the discipline and educating influence of society.

## C I R C U M C I S I O N

Circumcision is one of the most important events in a Muhammadan boy's life, not only for himself but also for his parents.

This event proceeds according to a programme which in many respects is similar to a wedding. For instance, circumcision is preceded by evenings of joy when men and women in a village dance and sing, often during a whole week; henna and a new outfit are provided; festival garments are presented to relatives and henna to the village women. Also just as the bride on the wedding day, when she is taken from her parents to her husband's home, is led in procession round the village, so a boy clad in his new outfit and decorated with leaves and flowers and waving feathers is led round the village in procession and this culminates in the ceremony itself, which is followed by a great feast where the guests present gifts.

I had the opportunity to witness the different stages of two circumcision celebrations in Artas. I was there when Abd il-Salam the 15—21 of November 1926 celebrated the circumcision of three of his sons, of whom the youngest was about eight months old, the next three years, and the eldest five years. And similarly I was present at the circumcision celebration arranged by Khalil Mustafa and his wife Fatme Ali for their three sons of similar age the 21—26 of April at the Great Feast of the year 1931. What I here relate is chiefly founded on my observations on these occasions supplemented naturally by what the villagers told me.

## PREPARATIONS FOR FESTIVAL

### *Garments*

On the 21 April 1931 when the first evening of joy was to begin for the second of the celebrations I have mentioned, my Diary note is as follows:

"This morning Alya began to relate of the preparations which Khalil Mustafa is making for his sons' circumcision which will take place at the Great Feast. She told us about the woman relatives who had received new festival clothes from the father of the small boys. Altogether fifteen festival garments had been presented to them, the women of the clan. But such a present carries with it a duty.

Alya: "Everyone who gets a garment must give a money present. Fifteen garments were presented and distributed, each one worth 10 Piasters. The one who receives a garment gives some money present." And of the sister of the boys' father she said: "His sister Zarife who is married to a Taamre Bedouin, brought him an animal for slaughter, a male goat, in return for the garment which she received."

In my work on marriage I have shown that only those who give a present can count upon getting one. But the strict principle of recompense which prevails also leads to complications when a relative thinks that the garment she has received does not correspond in value to the present she is going to give. My Diary note is as follows:

"Two of the women were angry and brought back the garments. They thought they ought to have had more expensive clothes. What they will give is of more value, they say. Then when the feast is eaten the guests have to give their presents.

Then one says: 'Blessed be thou! Here is ten Piasters'. And another says: 'Blessed be thou! Here is half a pound!' and so on.

So say the guests when they put down their money gifts to the children's father.

But if a poor person comes, he says: 'There is no need for thee to give. Thou art poor. We excuse thee!'

The father must give a garment also to the children's mother's father."

Later the same day I wrote about a walk I took in the village with Sitt Louisa:

"On the way back we passed Khalil Mustafa's house, where the circumcision festival will be held. Ali Mahmud, a relative through his mother Nafise, sat outside the door by a fire and roasted coffee. Inside the house in a corner sat another relative Mhammad Khalil, married to Itayme Salem, a father's sister of the children's father, crushing coffee in a brass mortar, while in front of him on the floor sat Ali Salem, the children's mother's father, dressed in a white shirt, and crushing coffee in the old way with a mortar and a wooden pestle. The mother of the children was also there and spread out mattresses for us to sit upon.

We asked to see the outfit. The mother brought out from a cupboard three new coats, in striped red and yellow silk, which the boys were to wear in the procession; also their new head-cloths. She also showed us the new mantle which her father was to get; confirming what Alya had told me in the morning about the clothes for the relatives. She herself was also to have a new dress although it was not yet ready but as she said she was to wear a *malake*, a real festival dress, on this important day.

Sitt Louisa said: 'Blessed be thou!' and they replied: 'God bless thee!' And all who were present said: 'This is better than a wedding!' And the children themselves who were to be circumcised were excited and expectant.

'Welcome this evening!' they said to us and repeated: 'This is better than a wedding!'

Further we learned that the outfit had been brought home without song and that on Saturday they would prepare the henna dye and dye people. 'And then Sitt Halime will also redden her hands with henna,' said the mother to me, smiling happily.

But outside stood the father chopping wood. He had just come back from Ali Asad's house where he had been to borrow a tool, a combined axe and pick. It was an olive tree he was chopping. He told us that he had bought it.

When we came home we told Alya what we had heard and seen. And she told us how the village people are invited to the circumcision feast."

### *Evenings of Joy*

"The mother of the children, the sister and the mother's sister go to the different houses and say: 'Come to us! May it also happen to you!'

His brother, his father's brother and his father's brother's son go to invite the men. But the father cannot go because he is busy with the coffee, the water-pipe and the tobacco. He who goes to invite them gives them cigarettes."

As the day went on I could notice increased excitement in the Eastern part of the village, where the festival was to take place. I quote again from my Diary, where I noted down events as they happened.

"It can be seen that there is something going on. All the village children in the Eastern part are so expectant and excited. Long before the festal singing began they were humming and singing in snatches. I opened the window in order to watch events. My neighbour, the husband of Fatme Mahmud, went off. One man after the other made his way to the festival. It was already dark.

Then the children's mother came; because of her dark complexion

she was often called the Brown one. She invited the women. And she led Alya who is nearly blind. It was a great moment for her to be taken in this honoured way. 'They want her because she can compose,' Sitt Louisa said. — She added: 'They are also afraid of her curses. God listens to one who is blind!'

We were also invited and we thanked them and enjoyed seeing the woman neighbours going down the steps.

'Come with us to the wedding!' they all said gaily. They added: 'This is better than a wedding!'

It looked so beautiful, as they went with their long white head-cloths falling down behind.

As at every festival the men and the women were in separate groups. The men drank coffee and smoked tobacco and danced and sang in the children's father's house. The women again gathered to sing and dance in the house of Ali Salem, the children's mother's father."

When the woman guests arrive, they greet in song thus:

Good evening! We passed by this quarter  
to sing to Mahmud, because he is one of us.  
Good evening! We have marched by this quarter  
to sing to Ahmad because he is our relative!

They continued:

We came to your house, you loved ones, we came.  
Blessed be your joy! Answer us!  
We came to your house, you loved ones, this way.  
Blessed be your joy! Answer me!  
We came into your house, into my father's brother's house.  
We came into your house to dance and to sing!  
We came to sing, we did not dare!  
We were afraid that your Sheikh would be angry with us!

Sitt Louisa remarked: "What a great thing it is to give his house

to be used in this way for several evenings. He and his family are homeless all this time!"

The following evenings began after sunset with an invitation in song by the boys' mother. The next evening my Diary note is as follows:

"And now it is dark out there and the invitation of the boys' mother is heard through the village. She calls to the guests in song and trills. Then there will be jubilation and gladness all this evening again. The whole village will be there except Abd il-Salam's house who are in mourning." — Directly after this I saw the villagers starting out.

Alya: "When the women and the girls arrive, the mother sings:

Oh, welcome my beloved ones!  
Two hundred brown mares are neighing!  
And who does not rejoice at your coming,  
may she break like the breaking of glass!"

The last words refer to the enemy. One can never exactly know whether there is somebody who is envious of such happiness.

The mother's invitation on the last evening of joy is quite special. In 1926 I noted in my Diary how I heard Sheikha, the children's mother, summon people to the circumcision festival in the western part of the village.

First came the introduction:

Ye people, pray to the Prophet,  
a prayer with two prayers:  
a prayer to drive away the devil,  
and a prayer to keep away the evil eye!

Again there comes their fear of the enemy, of the envious one. When with her words she has tried to break the power of the evil eye, she continues to sing of her great happiness on this day, when she can celebrate for three of her sons.

Praised be God that my heart has expected this and did not break!  
My heart is strengthened after having been broken,  
and, by the life of Him who lets the stars illumine the night,  
my heart has longed for this day.

Then she greeted the men in song:

A-i! — Thou sesame in the pod  
with the lengthening day his share dissolves.  
God give you good evening  
each of you by name!

Alya, who with us listened to these words, pointed out that this is a general custom and said: "The mother of the boy who is to be circumcised sings this with trills. This is in order that the people may get ready." — The villagers hear these words and know that the festival of the evening will soon begin.

People can also be invited from other places and as usual when honoured guests are caught sight of in the distance a woman relative goes up to the roof and begins to trill and sing in welcome.

Alya: "When the men arrive a woman relative sings:

How much wood have we not already chopped and thrown on  
the way!

How many letters have we not already sent for love!  
And by the life of your heads, ye company who come to us,  
if we fell into poverty ye would not be inactive  
(but would come to help)!"

On the last evening of joy preceding the circumcision of Sheikha's sons, Sitt Louisa and I were also present in response to her invitation.

We first went to the women who were collected at Safiye's. She, a widow of Abd il-Salam's father, had given up her house for their dance. As usual when we came the women at once looked for a good place for us. Some of them made a way through the women who sat close together on the floor. Another passed us cushions to sit upon. And as so often the women amused themselves by repeat-

ing a song into which they introduced my name and likened me to a basket of tomatoes. They turned smiling to me and I nodded and smiled back to acknowledge this attention to their European visitor.

A new song began — after singing the same thing for a little while there was always someone who began another song and thus throughout the evening song followed song, while the women clapped their hands and a young girl now and then beat time on a petroleum tin. The songs were an accompaniment to the dance. In the middle of the crowd was a little space and there danced one woman solo or two women together. I especially remember Fatme Ali who roused admiration for her beautiful dance. It was really a joy to see her fine graceful movements and the seriousness with which she did it.

Yet no one danced so much as the mother of the boys, Sheikha Shahin, although one could see clearly how tired out she was after having had guests all the week and so many different things to arrange for the feast. She danced time after time. This aroused my amazement and I asked the reason. The answer was: "To all the women who now dance for the festival of her sons, Sheikha must in turn go and dance when they have some celebration. The more she herself dances the less the other women of the village need to dance at this festival. It is in order not to owe so much dancing to the others that she now dances so much."

I had again come up against this strong and unescapable principle of recompense which governs the fellaheen. All is debt! Sympathy in both sorrow and joy must be repaid in full.

We left the women's house of joy to go to see the men.

Outside Abd il-Salam's house stood some of the younger ones, but by this time most of the men were inside the house, whence through the open door came the sound of a single voice and the tones of a musical instrument. Abd il-Salam had summoned a reciter from Beit Jala in order to increase the effect. I knew about this for

in the stillness of the evenings his voice could be heard all through the village right up to our house. Alya and Hamdiye had also told me about him, and Sitt Louisa had said: "Now there will be much singing about Abu Zeid and his deeds." Then it struck me as interesting that these same poetic stories are recited to the people here in this distant Judean mountain village as in the bazaars of Cairo.

We took the liberty of peeping inside and when Abd il-Salam saw us in the open door, he invited us to come in. At the other end of the room beside the host was the reciter and in front of him sat the men, in many rows on carpets on the floor. So they had sat here evening after evening all the week, listening in breathless eagerness as he accompanied himself on a one-stringed violin and related stories which he or someone else had composed, and old romances of battles and heroes. Abd il-Salam looked proud and happy. It is considered very superior to have a reciter to stimulate the spirits of the guests.

When we came home again Alya said:

"All women who sing will be dyed with henna. It will be done this evening. Early to-morrow the boys will be dressed in their new clothes and the ostrich feathers and coins will be sewn on to them and they will be placed on a horse. The people follow in procession, dancing and singing. They go from the house to the St. John's Bread tree, taking about an hour over it.

— In the morning already the animals are killed and food prepared. All is ready."

The night before the circumcision of the sons of Khalil Mustafa I wrote in my Diary:

"I have had a quiet and pleasant evening. From the village the sounds of dance and song reached me, this last evening of joy for the circumcision. To-morrow the main ceremony takes place. This evening henna has been brought and people will be dyed with it."

Just as at a wedding, people must also now seek out those who

have lost a near relative by death and ask for their sanction and pardon for arranging a great festival when they are in mourning. People fear that otherwise they will curse them and say: "They are rejoicing, while we are mourning."

My last note for that day is as follows:

"They have also been to the houses of mourning where relatives have died during the year to ask them not to be offended by this joy, and have taken with them coffee and sugar as bribes. And they answered: 'Be joyful! Neither joy, nor gladness, nor mourning, is cut off in the world.'"

## DAY OF CIRCUMCISION PROCESSION AND CEREMONY

### *Circumcision of Abd il-Salam's Sons*

This day has been wholly devoted to the circumcision. All the morning I was looking forward to the great attraction. But I had to wait a long time. However often I looked out towards the village nothing seemed to be really happening. Yet not for anything would I miss seeing this procession and the ceremony.

Then the sound of trilling reached me. I hurried off to the house of circumcision only to find that it was for the slaughtering for the great evening meal. No one in Abd il-Salam's house could say exactly when the procession would start. Out on the stone wall sat the reciter from Beit Jala. The whole atmosphere was one of preparation and expectancy.

The above was written in my Diary immediately after I came back from Abd il-Salam's house on Sunday the 21st of November 1926. It continues:

Again I had to wait some hours. Finally in the afternoon the trillings once more sounded through the village. Women in gold embroidered dresses went from the eastern part to the western. And

again I made my way to the house of the festival. The men were making their ablutions for the afternoon prayer.

The women in their festival clothes stood on the open place in front of the house. First they danced there and then went into the room and continued. I followed them.

There they were dressing the three brothers who were to be circumcised that day. They had long coats of black and yellow striped silk, and dark broad-striped head-cloths kept in place by a double cord. When they turned their faces towards me I saw that they had in the middle of the forehead a big spot of blue, the colour which protects against the evil eye. Several amulets such as necklaces of blue beads were fastened on them. They were also decorated with coins sewn on to their clothes as is done for brides. And like a bride they had ostrich feathers and a bunch of green leaves fastened on to their head-dress.

Finally the father, Abd-il-Salam, came and hurried them up. The boys were brought out. We still had to wait a little. The mother, Sheikha Shahin, sat outside with the smallest boy in her lap. Then the horse is led forward. The boys are placed upon it. The procession starts.

First come the men; one is playing the flute; old Shahin, the boys' mother's father, dances with his stick in the air in front. A little girl sits on the horse behind the boys. On an open place near the great St. John's Bread tree outside the village they stop for a while. Now the young men also begin to dance in a ring to the music of the flute. And all the women are following, clapping their hands and singing, some of them with a baby in their arms or riding on their shoulders.

Alya: "After the procession the boys are circumcised while the men stand round and the mother holds the smallest of them; he is only a baby. And the women stand behind the men. But no unclean

woman may be present. It would be a sin, for the boys are regarded as being ill."

Abd il-Salam's house lies quite near the village road somewhat below, and I took up a position by the stone wall at the edge of the road, so that the men who took part in the ceremony were beneath me.

They had formed a close ring around the circumciser and among the men further away two relatives held the two boys, while farther away still stood the mother with the smallest one in her arms. Then the eldest boy was lifted over the men's heads into the ring. A piercing cry was heard and immediately afterwards he was lifted up again already bandaged after the operation. With tears streaming down his face, he was carried into the house. The second son, warned by his brother's reaction, was already crying when he was lifted into the ring of the men and similarly the youngest one whose turn came last.

In the meantime the men standing in a ring nearest the circumciser, had drawn still closer together bending their heads, so that they almost touched each other so that unauthorised glances were completely unable to penetrate their circle.

During the whole of the ceremony they clapped their hands and sang time after time the same words:

Thou eye, pray to the Prophet!  
And the roses are open for the Prophet!

The women who stood farther away also sang, clapping their hands. First they sang:

Give the circumciser his tool — the beautiful one!  
The circumciser has sworn not to take less than a hundred Piasters.

Other songs they sang are:

Circumcise him, thou circumciser, with the Egyptian knife!  
Oh Ahmad, thou little one! — Do it slowly  
(i.e. draw it out until the afternoon)!

\*

By God! thou beautiful one! God be with thee!  
Sharpen thy knife and make thy hands light!  
Do not hurt the boy or I will be angry with thee!

\*

Thou aunt, sister of my mother, hide me under thy coat!  
If the circumciser comes and asks, say that I am at the young  
men's dance!

Thou, my father's sister, hide me under thy girdle!  
If the circumciser comes and asks for me, say that Mahmud is with  
the men!

Finally the women sang:

Circumcise him, thou circumciser, and pass him to his father!  
Thy tears, oh Mhammad, are like pearls to be threaded  
(so beautiful are they)!

Circumcise him, thou circumciser! Give him to his mother's brother!  
Thy tears, oh Mhammad, have wetted his mantle.

Circumcise him, oh circumciser! Give him to his father's father!  
Thy tears, oh Mhammad, have wetted his head-cloth.

After the ceremony I went into the house where all three boys now lay bandaged and quiet on a bed on the floor. It was already dusk and I went home, while the people arranged themselves for the meal which was just beginning.

Later Hamdiye told me about the circumciser and the foreskin: "What he cuts off, the foreskin, is put into a little bag and is buried." And Eshe who was present said: "When it is cut off, it is put in a little box and then wrapped in a piece of cloth and buried lest the dogs eat it. If they eat it, harm will come."

Here the women reminded me about the afterbirth being buried saying:

"The afterbirth is also buried. The midwife buries the afterbirth. That is her duty. If the dog eats it, the mother will cease to bear children. The midwife knows where she has buried it. If the next pregnancy is long delayed, the midwife looks for it, even if it is by this time only a handful of earth."

It is then put in water in which the woman washes and then she is cured.

### *Circumcision of Khalil Mustafa's Sons*

Sunday the 26th of April 1931 after I had returned from watching the procession and the circumcision ceremony itself, I at once wrote as follows:

"And now the important operation is over. Sitt Louisa and I went out into the village. We stayed for a while outside Ali Salem's, the children's mother's father's, house where the women sat and sang a song which I quote and to which I give some remarks.

When I sing, I sing well — in good order.

Thou fortune of the house! — Circumcise the owners of the house!

When I sing, I sing well — with rules.

Thou fortune of the house, the prisoner has come back!

When I sing, I sing in harmony.

Thou fortune of the house, those who were in America have come  
back!

Part of the song was about the man who has come back from prison, referring to Mhammad Ibn Abed Salem, a cousin of the children's father.

Sitt Louisa said: "Notice, it is a great thing to have been in prison. A hero, not a rascal, sits in prison. Even if he has thieved he is considered a hero. This is Bedouin influence. It is a noble father who steals for the sake of his boy."

In the song they also mentioned those who have come back from

America; this is a joyful event worth singing about. A man has been away in a foreign country for a long time and has returned home! In this special case it referred to the children's mother's father, Ali Salem, in whose house the women were now sitting.

From where we stood we could see that outside the children's home, the circumciser, just arrived from Jerusalem, was cutting and shaving a man. The circumciser is often a barber. When the women realized that the circumciser had arrived, they altered the song and sang:

The circumciser came to me.  
My confusion! — What shall I give him for dinner?  
A honeycomb on a loaf of bread  
and make a drink for him.

Sitt Louisa remarked: "Honeycomb — the Arabs do not drain the honey but cut up the wax as it is and eat it. That is a great thing when they give it to people."

We also went past and into the children's home and sat awhile there. Then we went down to the village mosque which lies beside the gardens in the valley. Passing the spring we began to wander up the slope towards our house. We agreed that it looked as if it would be a long time before the procession began. So Sitt Louisa said: "I will go home and make the tea." I answered: "Yes, do!" and promised to follow immediately.

But then I saw the horse with a gaudy saddle led forward. After it came Khalil Mustafa, the father, carrying a sword before him and holding a boy on his arm. And the boy was dressed in his new clothes, with roses on his head-cloth and coins and ornaments fastened there — like a bride. After them came a young man, the mother's brother, Fatme Khadr's son, with the second boy on his arm. Then came the mother with the smallest boy. Then came the village women dancing and singing and clapping their hands. The procession was about to begin.

As they had said that it would pass the village mosque, I went and stood there. But then they turned off to the eastern part. So I went that way along with the procession.

First came the men. They were dancing: the father with a sword in his hand, another had a stick as a substitute for the sword. They placed themselves in a ring and danced.

And then came the horse with the children to be circumcised, adorned with roses, and the eldest with a bunch of flowers in each hand. Previously they used green leaves and twigs. The children looked quite frightened now, but their mother's brother, Fatme Khadr's son, walked beside them and talked to them, coaxing them to smile.

When the men stopped to dance on an open place, the horse with the children stopped too. And round them the women sang and danced, clapping their hands and trilling. And there was also a pitchfork carried high on which a woman's clothes, a bridal dress, had been hung. This is in order to turn away the evil eye from the children. And while they walked in the procession, and while they stood still, the boys' mother's brother, the son of Fatme Khadr, danced sometimes. And sometimes Fatme Ali, the mother, took the youngest son down from the horse. He was still so little. And while she held the child she danced too.

Alya said: "One does not return the same way as one comes. This is for the circumcised and the brides. It is not praiseworthy and not good. The animal on which the boy or bride is riding either dies or gets caught in something."

In my Diary I wrote: "On the way back they passed Alya Ali il-Kur's house and she threw salt on the children. 'That is for the eye,' said Fatme Mahmud, one of the women in the procession. And the sword is for the eye."

In spite of the crowd I managed to take some pictures of the circumcision procession. In one of them all the three boys are sitting

on the horse. In front sits the youngest; on his dark cap rows of coins. The other two sit behind him. The eldest is just listening to his mother's brother, who is saying some encouraging words to the boys. Like his brother he has flowers on his head-cloth and the bouquet in his hand hides the face of the middle brother. It would be interesting to see whether in the future flowers will replace the green branches and twigs which until now have been used; their green colour has symbolised good luck and blessing, future prosperity.

In the other picture is to be seen the two elder boys on the horse led by a man. And behind them is the pitch-fork with the bridal dress. First they have placed on it a festival dress and in front of it a red veil with fringe, and behind a man's long coat fastened in front, and there can also be seen hanging a woman's ornament, a chin-chain. This is done for safety's sake in order to protect them from the evil eye.

Or as Alya says: "A pitch-fork is dressed up as a bride and carried with them in procession. That is beauty. He who does not know that it is a pitch-fork dressed up, thinks it is a bride who dances there. One looks at this and leaves the children."

Of the ceremony itself I wrote also in my Diary:

"They lifted the children down from the horse at their home. And all the men placed themselves in a ring round the circumciser and to him were brought the three boys in turn whilst the men sang. First the father brought the eldest son; and soon came back again with him crying loudly. After a while the mother's brother came out of the circle with the second son. He too was crying. And the mother's brother comforted him with a promise of money. Finally came the mother with the youngest child crying in her arms. Behind the men stood the women singing. — *Yá rabbi*, oh my Lord! an old woman was heard to cry out. Up on the edge of the roof small boys and girls sat and looked down upon the scene.

After all the three boys had been circumcised the groups broke up.

Hamdiye reached our house as soon as I did. She had stood with the women during the ceremony. From her I learned that to distract the boys while they are being circumcised a coin is held in front of their eyes and promised them. But among the Taamre Bedouin they let a little girl hold two pigeons in her hand and then they say: 'Look how the pigeons fly!' And while the boy looks up, his little foreskin is taken from him.

Alya heard these words of Hamdiye and she said:

"The circumciser shows the boys who are to be circumcised neither the knife nor the wood. They say to the boy: Look at the pigeon up there! Look! And while he looks up the circumcision is done.'"

I had already earlier heard that the children get money from their relatives when they are circumcised. Hamdiye had explained that among the Taamre Bedouin also the custom prevails of giving a present to the one who is to be circumcised. It may be a cow or some other animal. It can happen as follows:

"When the boy is offered to the circumciser he says: "*Hobar ya snobar*, my father's brother Ahmad!' He says to him: 'Speak my son! Thou shalt have my daughter (or, animals, or money)! Be witnesses ye who are present, that my daughter is to be for him!' The father of the boy says: 'I accept her!' — No bride price is given."

So he who is sad and frightened of the ceremony is comforted with a bride. Hamdiye says that she has seen it herself in Transjordan, that there a youth is circumcised later and as soon as the wound is healed, he marries the girl.

In this example can be traced a certain connection between circumcision and marriage. It is not impossible that circumcision was originally a kind of preparation, an initiation rite for marriage. That such an idea was not quite strange to the Muhammadan Arabs in Palestine appears also from the fact that it is not considered proper for a man to marry if he has not been circumcised.

### *Circumcision Feast*

Every circumcision ceremony is followed by a meal with rice and meat for the guests. In my work on marriage I have described in detail such a feast, how it is prepared and eaten, so I shall not repeat it here.

Just as at a wedding there is, besides the general meal, a more intimate one, called the Bride's supper, so there is at a circumcision, a special meal for a more intimate group, those who have to give presents to the boy's father or to the boys. As at a wedding the men vie with each other for the honour of preparing the Bride's supper so every one at a circumcision celebration wants to prepare the meal for those guests who wish to contribute to the money gifts.

### EXPENSES OF CELEBRATION

After such a festival the hosts are often quite exhausted. This was the case with Khalil Mustafa especially as the day after his sons' circumcision came the Great Feast of the Muhammadans.

Two days later I visited their home and wrote in my Diary about it. Tuesday the 28th of April 1931:

"The father lay outstretched on his bed, quite exhausted. For a moment he raised his head. Then he drew it under the cover again. He was tired after the celebration, having entertained so many people with coffee and tobacco, having had dances in his house evening after evening until midnight for a whole week, and then the great day itself with the procession and the feast and the circumciser and the dance in front of the procession.

On Sunday evening it was already quiet and still in the village. All were resting. But yesterday again it was the Muhammadan Great Feast with slaughtering. And then the man who had circumcised the boys was here again and looked at them and changed the

bandages. And finally Khalil Mustafa has been in Jerusalem to see and pay the circumciser. And now he was lying down resting. The mother we did not see at all. The second boy lay on another bed on the floor, like his father. The boys' mother's old father sat there and talked with Ahmad Mustafa who wished to offer me coffee. I declined. There was a charcoal fire and a black can with a spout. The husband of Helwe, Bint Ahmad Ismain, sat there smoking the waterpipe and took a cinder from the hearth for it."

After such a great festival the expenses connected with it are often eagerly discussed. I have already mentioned the festival clothes which the father of the children must distribute at a circumcision.

Besides this I received detailed information regarding all the expenses which Khalil Mustafa had for his sons' circumcision and what it costs the guests. These expenses are typical.

#### *The father's expenses*

1. To the circumciser 10—15 Piasters for each boy
2. The entertainment on the evenings of joy — each evening:
  - 2 sugar-loaves
  - 1/2 Rottle Coffee = 1.44 Kg = 3.18 lbs. (Avoir)
  - 1/2 Rottle Tobacco (*tunbak*) for the waterpipes
  - 10 gilded cigarette boxes. — This is modern; formerly ordinary tobacco (*titen*) was given.
3. The general feast on the day of the circumcision:
  - Goats were slaughtered and cooked.
  - 20 Rottles = 57.6 Kg = 127.2 lbs.
  - 20 Okiyes = 10.6 lbs. Sesame oil was added to it.Sitt Louisa:

"To every Rottle is added 1 Okiye (half a pound) sesame oil, which among the fellaheen is more valuable than olive oil. Cooking butter is very expensive and only for townspeople."

Alya: "The children's father's brother and his father have cooked and the women have brought wood and water. This feast is called *Iqrâ* and is for all the guests."

4. Gifts for the guests: Festival dresses  
15 garments

*The expenses of the guests — Gifts in return*

1. Money contributions

Alya:

"Everyone who gets a dress must present a money gift. 15 garments were distributed, everyone worth 10 Piasters. Whoever receives a garment must present a money gift. — His sister Zarife who is married to the Bedouin brought him an animal for slaughter in return for the dress which she received."

2. The special feast called the Invitation

Alya said of Miryam's Invitation:

"At this circumcision Miryam Mustafa, the boys' father's sister — a widow — prepared the feast for the men who have given money, for the nearest relatives and acquaintances."

Her expenses were estimated as:

1	animal for slaughter	80	Piasters
4	Rottles rice	16	"
4	Okiyes Sesame oil	4	"

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100 Piasters = 1 pound

Alya added of the Invitation: "He who eats of this feast must make a money present and he who does not wish to make a money present does not appear."

At the same time Miryam presents money gifts for the two festival dresses she received as a gift from the children's father."

She finished her account with the words: "Everything is a debt. When Miryam circumcises her son's boys, he must repay, make a return for her Invitation."

Sitt Louisa remarked with regard to the fact that Zarife, a sister of the children's father, had brought a goat as a gift: "Then it remains a debt for him, the father. When Zarife has a joyful event in her family, he must give the goat back again" — its equivalent in value.

Alya said another time: "Noble people give back more than they receive."

It is said ironically: "A gift comes on a cat and goes back on a camel."

Anyhow: "A gift is expensive, it is a debt."

The gifts are in reality not gifts. In reality they are considered as loans and pile up new debts which demand full repayment or even more. In my work on marriage I have pointed out that the system of gifts and counter-gifts is not only a means of mutual help. It also produces a burdensome feeling of debt under which the fellahcen suffer. This strict principle of recompense has certainly led to the thought that it prevails also in the sphere of religion.

#### PLACE, AGE AND TIME FOR CIRCUMCISION

A circumcision generally takes place in the home village. As in the cases I have described, people like to combine the circumcision of several boys, because it is cheaper. For the same reason they like to combine a circumcision with another festival: a wedding and a circumcision can be celebrated at the same time. As a circumcision celebration means great expense it may be postponed as long

as possible and sometimes too long. Thus it may happen that a boy dies without being circumcised.

This was the case with a son of Yamne Abdallah married in the village of Shiyukh. While this woman was visiting her home village Artas her little boy died. It happened at the time of the circumcision of Abd il-Salam's three sons. At the burial the mother sang:

My wish is that they shall say this:

"The mother of the circumcised, where was she called upon?"

My wish is that the relatives of the husband's house say:

"The mother of the circumcised where is she, ye women?"

Alya explained: "That is a saying for a boy who is not circumcised. The mother sings this and laments."

Thus the mother here gives expression to her great longing to be called the Mother of the Circumcised which sounds well in a woman's ears.

In this special case the mother's sorrow was twice as bitter, because the death occurred while the evenings of joy were being celebrated for the circumcision of some other boys.

On the same occasion I also observed how the village people are absorbed in a circumcision. They only talked about how they would arrange to have their sons circumcised. I heard mothers of small boys say that they would have them circumcised at the next Great Feast. As I had to leave Palestine before that I do not know whether they carried out their intention or not.

In any case there are examples of Artas men whose circumcision was postponed very long, even too long. In the year 1931 I was given the following examples:

"Shihade Hasan who is already 19 years old was circumcised this year."

And: "Khalil and Rashid Awadallah went to be circumcised secretly when they were already grown-up men." They did this because it is a shame to be grown-up and uncircumcised.

"Ibrahim Khalil, the husband of Zarife Mhammad, went to Jerusalem and had himself circumcised and this was after his marriage."

And: "The father of Salem Ethman was circumcised as he lay on the death board. When there was a quarrel in the village this fact was thrown in the face of his family."

As his circumcision was omitted during his lifetime, they had to do it after his death. Sitt Louisa: "Uncircumcised he cannot enter Paradise. His children and grandchildren will still to-day hear about it. — "Thou whose father', or, 'Thou whose father's father was not circumcised!' "

Foreskin is in Arabic *ghulfe*. The insulting name for an uncircumcised person is Abu Ghulfe, Father of the Foreskin. In the Bible too 'uncircumcised' is a word of abuse.

At the circumcision of Abd il-Salam's sons the father was already old and one could see he felt it should be done while he still lived — in order not to be guilty of the sin of leaving his sons uncircumcised. He died only a few years afterwards in 1931.

Some special religious quality is attached to this rite when it is done in a holy place. The sanctuaries in Jerusalem and in Hebron are used by the Artas people. A circumcision can also be combined with the Nebi Musa Feast, when the Muhammadans, at the time of the Greek Easter, walk in procession to the Tomb of Moses and stay there a whole week.

Very often in these cases it is the result of a vow of both parents or one of them. For example, the mother has vowed that if she gets a son and he lives, he shall be circumcised in the sanctuary.

I have made a note that the villagers of Silwan opposite Jerusalem go first into the sanctuary of the Holy City and take part in the pilgrims' procession and after that the circumcision takes place. Yet it is only some of them who go out to Nebi Musa, the Tomb of Moses. Others content themselves with going to the Mosque of Omar. I have myself seen such small boys on their fathers' arms in

the procession. One recognizes them by the fez with coins and waving ostrich feathers fastened to it.

Sitt Louisa: "Most of the boys are circumcised at the Nebi Musa Feast at Eastertime, especially those who live in the neighbourhood of Nebi Musa; from Transjordania especially the Bedouin. It is summer, it heals more quickly and, as it is said: 'The carpet of the summer is wide.'"

Concerning the Artas people Alya said:

"Three sons of Salem Ethman, namely Mustafa, Ali and Musa, were circumcised in the Mosque of Jerusalem. The Sanad sons: Saleh, Khalil and Isa were circumcised in Nebi Musa. The reason for this was a vow.

Nijme Ahmad has this year had her sons circumcised at Nebi Musa. At the same time her brother Shihade was circumcised with his sister's sons, the children of the Negro, from Ghor from Transjordania. The Bedouin women have brought them in procession. They brought to this place (Nebi Musa) a slaughtering animal, and also killed one at home.

This was a vow made by the mother Nijme Ahmad that she would circumcise her sons at the Nebi Musa Tomb during the Nebi Musa Feast."

## SUMMARY

To summarize, circumcision is performed on boys and not on girls. Further, circumcision can vary as regards age but ought to be done before a boy has grown up and in any case before marriage. Otherwise it is a shame, as it is a shame to be the descendant of an uncircumcised person. If that indicates a certain connection between circumcision and marriage, this seems to be still clearer when a young man at the circumcision ceremony gets a bride whom he marries almost at once.

At the same time the rite has a certain religious character, for a man cannot enter eternity uncircumcised. And this I believe is the reason why the rite is carried out on children. It is scarcely for a humanitarian reason that the ceremony takes place in early childhood but because it is a religious duty. It is like marriage. It is a duty for the father to marry his children before he dies and in order that it may not be too late he does it as early as possible. The religious character is emphasized when circumcision is carried out in a sanctuary or in connection with a religious festival, especially at the Nebi Musa Feast when people go in procession to the Tomb of Moses. This is chiefly for vow children and the circumcision in these special cases is a link in the protective means against death.

### INFORMERS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

1. *Alya* — Artas, p. 21.
2. *Alya* — a midwife in Nablus, the old Shechem, p. 58.
3. *Arab teachers* — woman Arab teachers in the Swedish School in Jerusalem, a missionary school for Arab children, supported by the Swedish Jerusalem Society. Head Mistress, Miss *Signe Ekblad*, Cand. phil.
4. *Émile Baldensperger* — Jaffa, p. 20, 171.
5. *Louise Baldensperger* (Sitt Louisa) — Jerusalem, p. 21.
6. *Lydia Einszler* — Jerusalem, p. 40, 42.
7. *Elias Haddad* — Arab teacher in Jerusalem.
8. *Hamdiye* — Artas, p. 23.
9. *Lydia Salim* — Nablus, p. 110, 115.

#### *Several women and men from Artas:*

Eshe — wife of Ali Khalil, Fatme Jabr, Fatme Jedallah, Halime Ali, Khaliliye Mhammad, Mdallale Sleman, Sabha Ismain, Zahiye Hlal, Zarife Saad, etc.

Ahmad Khalil, Khalil Khalawe, Mustafa Jedallah, Shahin, etc.



PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

This part — the commentaries — was not originally so comprehensive. The references to the Bible in particular have been added to. Pages 213—288 as they are now were worked out in the years 1943—46.

## INTRODUCTION

(Pages 9—28)

Page 10

<sup>1</sup> Radcliffe-Brown says, *The Present Position of Anthropological Studies*, p. 169: "What the administrator and educator amongst dependent peoples need above all is a detailed knowledge of the social organization, the customs and beliefs of the natives and an understanding of their meanings and their functions. This can be attained only by means of a general study of comparative sociology, followed by an intensive study of the particular people in question." — Similarly *Idem*, *The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology*, p. 142 sq.: "The study of the beliefs and customs of the native peoples, with the aim, not of merely reconstructing their history, but of discovering their meaning, their function, that is, the place they occupy in the mental, moral and social life, can afford great help to the missionary or the public servant who is engaged in dealing with the practical problems of the adjustment of the native civilization to the new conditions that have resulted from our occupation of the country."

<sup>2</sup> Reader D r. R e a d.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Edwin W. Smith, *Anthropology and the Practical Man*, p. XVII. sq.: "To-day Anthropology has an assured position in our leading universities, not in England only, but also in South Africa and Australia. Colonial probationers are given a year's training at Cambridge, Oxford and Sydney, and facilities are offered for men on leave to continue their studies. Anthropology has become a recognized element in the equipment of administrative officers." And he refers to J. H. Driberg who advocates an extension of the period of training in *The East African Problem*, p. 79: "Our future administrators, like our soldiers, require specialized instruction extending over a period of four years."

See also Smith, *op.cit.* p. XXV: "I sometimes claim that Anthropology is almost a missionary science, both because of its utility to missionaries and the share that missionaries have had in building up its material. No one will deny, I think, that their contribution has been considerable, particularly in regard to linguistics." — Also Westermann and Thurnwald, *The Missionary and Anthropological Research*.

Page 11

<sup>4</sup> In *JPOS*, VII, 1927, p. 159—186.

<sup>5</sup> In *Anthropos*, V. 1910, pages 734—747 and 1072—1086.

<sup>6</sup> P. 243—266.

Page 13

<sup>7</sup> Lowie in *The History of Ethnological Theory*, p. 161, on Elliot Smith: "Being at one time stationed in Cairo, this reformer of ethnology decreed that Egypt must be the source of all higher culture."

Page 14

<sup>8</sup> Malinowski in his review on the work, *New and Old Anthropology*, p. 299—301.

<sup>9</sup> Freud, *Der Mann Moses und die monoteistische Religion*, p. 7 sqq.

Page 15

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. Boas, *The Methods of Ethnology*; Kroeber, *History and Science in Anthropology*; Lesser, *Functionalism in Social Anthropology*; Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory*; *Idem*, *Essays in Anthropology*; Malinowski, *op. cit.*, and The "functional method". Foreword to the 3rd edition of *The Sexual Life of Savages* p. XXIX sqq.; *Idem*, *Social Anthropology*; Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*; Seligman, *Anthropological Perspective and Psychological Theory*; Smith, *op.cit.* — See also Westermarck, *Methods in Social Anthropology*, and Ginsberg, *The Life and Work of Edward Westermarck*.

<sup>11</sup> P. 400.

Page 16

<sup>12</sup> In *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, XLII, Leiden, 1943.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e.g. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology*, p. 146; "The very material on which the ethnologist and the social anthropologist rely for their studies is disappearing before our eyes. There is, I think, no other science that is in this position. There is no other in which work which is not done at once will never again be possible."

Page 17

<sup>14</sup> For example. — *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*. Memorandum XV of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Articles by Lucy Mair; Monica Hunter (*Wilson*); I. Schapera, etc. Reprinted from *Africa* with an Introductory Essay by Malinowski. — Malinowski, *The Present State of Studies in Culture Contact*. Some Comments on American Approach, in *Africa*, XII, p. 27—48. — Schapera, *Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa*. Studies in Culture Contact. — Westermann, *The African Today and Tomorrow*. See also *Idem*, *The Changing African*, in *Research and Progress*, I, p. 56, and *Afrika als europäische Aufgabe*.

<sup>15</sup> Fortes, *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in TALELAND*, in *Africa*. Supplement and Memorandum XVII. — Jones, *Education in Africa being the Report of the Phelps Stokes Education Commission in South Africa*; *Idem*, *Education in East Africa, a Study of East, Central, and South Africa by the second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps Stokes Fund in co-operation with the International Education Board*. — Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire*; *Idem*, *Aims and Methods of Indigenous Education in Primitive Societies*. — Murray, *The School in the Bush*. — Raum, *Chagga Childhood*. A Description of Indigenous Education. — Westermann, *The African Today and Tomorrow* (Child-bearing, p. 119, 121—3, 145. — Pawning of children, p. 151. — Education of girls and of women, p. 143—6. — Education and Missions, p. 209 sqq.: The character of indigenous education.

Educational value of initiation rites. Tradition in the Native system of education, etc.) — Young, *Principles and Methods in the Christian School*. A Handbok for Teachers in Africa.

<sup>16</sup> Granqvist, *Arabiskt familjeliv*, p. 18, 20 sq. and 23.

Page 18

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Neil, *Peeps into Palestine*, p. 1: The Bible is an Eastern book, as much an Eastern book, as the Arabian Nights, and therefore only to be rightly interpreted in the light of the colouring of the East.

<sup>18</sup> Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. p. 12 n. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* p. 12 n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *St. Matthew III. 1 sqq.*

Page 19

<sup>21</sup> *Isaiah V. 2; St. Matthew XXI. 33.*

<sup>22</sup> *1 Kings IV. 25; Micah IV. 4.*

Page 24

<sup>23</sup> *Ruth I. 1 sqq.; also 2 Kings VIII. 1.*

<sup>24</sup> *Genesis XXVI. 7, 9 and XX. 11.*

Page 26

<sup>25</sup> Dr. Hermann Baumann.

## PRE-NATAL CUSTOMS

(Pages 29—51)

Page 29

<sup>1</sup> In the Arabic translation of the Bible the verb *walada* is used e.g. in the genealogies *Genesis V. 3 sqq.* and *St. Matthew I. 2 sqq.*

Page 30

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 156 sq. Also Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> For the belief in demons, Jinn, and their head Iblis (Satan), see e.g. Goldziher, *Islam fordom och nu*, p. 78 sq. and Lane, *op. cit.* I. p. 305 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I. p. 305 sq.: Necessity to ask permission or crave the pardon of any Jinnee that may chance to be there, when pouring out water on the ground, their dwelling.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Musil, *Rwala Bedouins*, p. 213: "Women and girls are in constant danger from the male spirits." A woman with whom a spirit has intercourse should not marry, "should she do so voluntarily the spirit would torment her still more, and if she is compelled to marry the spirit would attack her husband." For Jinn and other spirits (irdische Geister), see also Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 320 sqq., and Einszler, *Mosaik*, p. 3 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Musil, *Rwala Bedouins*, p. 412, where a seer cures a Bedouin possessed by a female spirit and commands the female spirit to come out, and her answer is: "I will not, I will not crawl out". Then the sorcerer again shouts: "Crawl out and away with thee to the place whence thou comest!" — Euringer, *Das Netz Salomons*, in *ZS* VI. p. 86: A person, if suddenly ill, is considered to have a devil that must be driven out. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I p. 670: A Jinne enters into a human being, rendering him possessed or mad.

The same ideas are found in the New Testament. There are several examples.

People possessed by spirits or devils turned to Jesus for help just as the people of to-day go to the sheikhs who have power over the demons. *St. Luke* VI. 18, VIII. 2, also *Acts* X. 38. — "They brought unto him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word" (*St. Matthew* VIII. 16; also *St. Mark* I. 32, 34.), for, as it was stated, "with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him." *St. Mark* I. 27.

Discussions between Jesus and the spirits are quoted. *St. Matthew* VIII. 29, 31 sq.; *St. Mark* I. 23 sqq., III. 11 sq., V. 7—10, 12; *St. Luke* IV. 33—36, VIII. 28, 30 sqq.

Jesus gave orders to the spirits just as the sheikhs do nowadays: "Come out of him!" and "he came out of him". *St. Mark* I. 25 sq. — It is remarkable that once after having said to the spirit: "Thou

dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him!" Jesus added: "And enter no more into him!" *St. Mark IX. 25.* — It is said in *St. Matthew XII. 43—45*: "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none", and then returns to his house from whence he had come out, taking seven other spirits with him. They enter and dwell there. Another time Jesus asked the name of the spirit to whom he had said: "Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit!" and received the answer: "My name is Legion: for we are many." *St. Mark V. 8 sq.* — Out of Mary, called Magdalene, went seven devils. *St. Luke VIII. 2.*

The power of Jesus was so great that even at a distance, and though he did not see the sick person, he could drive out the devil. *St. Matthew XV. 22—28; St. Mark VII. 25—30.*

The question arose: how could Jesus have such power over the spirits. Some people thought that he himself had a devil in him and the Pharisees maintained that "he hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils", but Jesus proved that this way of reasoning was incorrect and illogical. *St. Mark III. 22 sqq.; St. Luke XI. 15 sqq.; St. Matthew IX. 34 and XII. 24 sqq., also IX. 34.*

The disciples who once had tried in vain to drive out the devil from a man's son, a lunatic who had "a dumb spirit" and then saw Jesus do it, asked him: "Why could not we cast him out?" Jesus explained to them: "This kind can come forth by nothing, but by prayer and fasting". *St. Mark IX. 17—29; St. Matthew XVII. 14—21.*

Later Jesus gave the disciples power to cast out unclean spirits, and they were joyful, saying: "Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name." *St. Matthew X. 1; St. Mark III. 15 and XVI. 17; St. Luke IX. 1 and X. 17, 20; also Acts VIII. 7, XVI. 16—18.* — Even other persons could cast out devils, if they did it in the name of Jesus. *St. Mark IX. 38 sq. and St. Luke IX. 49 sq.; also Acts XIX. 13 sqq.*

In other cases Jesus healed sick people by laying his hands upon them. *St. Mark I. 41 sq.; St. Luke IV. 40 sq., also St. Mark VIII. 23, 25 and XVI. 18. Cf. 2 Kings V. 11.*

The evil goes out if it touches holiness. "And the whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all." *St. Luke VI. 19*; also *St. Mark III. 10*.

Holiness is transferred to the clothing of a holy person.

A woman who touched the garment of Jesus was healed. *St. Luke VIII. 43—48*. — "They laid the sick in the streets, and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment: and as many as touched him were made whole." *St. Mark VI. 56*.

In the *Acts V. 15* it is said that people "brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them." Paul, the Apostle, says: "There was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me" (*2 Corinthians XII. 7*) but in the *Acts XIX. 11 sq.* it is said of him: "And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them."

Similar customs are still practised in Palestine.

At Eastertime I saw an Arab in Jerusalem come to the Holy Sepulchre carrying a bundle of clothes under his arm. He stopped at the Stone of the Anointing on which, according to tradition, was laid the lifeless body of Christ when he was wound in linen clothes with the spices before being laid in the sepulchre. *St. John XIX. 40*. — The man loosened the bundle, took the different clothes, brushed them carefully against the stone and tied them up again and took them home. The clothes had now acquired holiness.

I often saw, both in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and in the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem, a mother with a little child stop before a picture of a saint, lift him up and make him touch the picture with his forehead, or, the mother would first touch the picture with her hands and then the face of the child in order to transfer the holiness of the saint to the child. — Again *Haggai II. 12*.

It has been customary among Muhammadan and Christian Arabs from Jerusalem and its neighbourhood to bring insane

persons to St. George's sanctuary in el-Khadr. People think that the sick are possessed by devils that could be driven out of them in the sanctuary. St. George is believed to have the power to heal insane people. Earlier the sick persons were kept in the church, bound by chains; sometimes they were even hit with the chains. Now they are kept in a separate building near the church and a wire is drawn from the altar with St. George's picture to the building, and in this way holiness is transferred to the sick. The idea is the same as in the time of the New Testament: touching holiness heals.

Page 32

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 157 and Canaan, *Dämonenglaube*, p. 22: "Bei der Ausübung des Beischlafes soll der Mann, der nicht vorher den Namen Gottes ausruft es erleben, dass gerade im entscheidenden Moment der Befruchtung ein *ginn* an seiner Stelle der Erzeuger ist und so ihn um die Vaterschaft bringt."

<sup>8</sup> People place *rahmâni*, or divine or, literally, relating to the Compassionate, which is an epithet of God, and *shaitâni*, or satanic; the children of God and the children of the devil, as opposites. For these Arabic expressions, see also Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 360. When the Bible (*1 John III. 10*) speaks of the children of God and the children of the devil, these expressions may partly be rooted in similar ideas. — See also *St. John VIII. 44*: "Ye are of your father the devil", etc. — Also *1 Corinthians VII. 14*: unclean and holy children.

Page 33

<sup>9</sup> Alya: "The thoroughbred horses are got from the Bedouin and so too the camels." Sitt Louisa remarked: "There are innumerable kinds of thoroughbred horses but only among the Bedouin. The fellaheen do not breed and rear either camels or thoroughbred horses, but buy them from the Bedouin." I was told the names of several kinds of thoroughbred horses.

<sup>10</sup> Alya: "When a thoroughbred horse gets a foal or a filly, people come to congratulate upon it. If a thoroughbred horse dies, it is

washed with hot water and wrapped in a shroud and buried, and the people say: "May your head be spared!" — Hamdiye says: "The thoroughbred horse is buried in order that it may not be eaten by dogs." — Otherwise no one thinks of burying a dead animal; it is allowed to lie on the ground until it is decayed or taken by the hyenas.

<sup>11</sup> See also Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. p. 131, 144 sq.; II. p. 190, 209 sq.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* I. p. 144.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* I. p. 127, 131, 144; II. p. 13 n. 3, 71 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* I. p. 144.

<sup>15</sup> Matthews, *Mishkât*, I. p. 97: Man forbidden to have sexual intercourse with menstruating woman. — See also *Leviticus XVIII. 19; XX. 18; Ezekiel XVIII. 6. Cf. Leviticus XV. 16 sq., 18, 19 sqq.*

<sup>16</sup> Gollancz, *Pedagogics of the Talmud*, p. 93: "What the modern pedagogues and psychologists demand, that the mother should have regard even before the birth of the child for its later moral and spiritual development, is discernible in the utterances of the Rabbis long ago, when in figurative language they remark: A woman who eats lemon regularly, will have children of pleasant odour (Ket. 61a; *vide* from 60 b)."

Still older examples are found in the Bible pointing out the importance of what the mother should eat and drink before giving birth to her child. *Judges XIII. 4 sq., 14*: The angel said to Samson's mother before his birth: "Drink not wine nor strong drink, and eat not any unclean thing for thou shalt conceive and the child shall be a Nazarite unto God from the womb". Cf. *St. Luke I. 15*. See also *infra*, p. 227 sq. n. 40 and 41.

#### Page 34

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Matthews, *Mishkât*, II. p. 97: It is told that the Prophet said: "a child is not produced by every emission; but when God wishes to create any thing, nothing can prevent it."

Of Ruth and her husband it is said: "When he went in unto her, the Lord gave her conception, and she bare a son." *Ruth IV. 13*.

— Also *1 Samuel I. 19*: "Elkanah knew Hannah his wife; and the Lord remembered her." — Observe the conformity of these words with the words of the Arab woman of to-day: "The man sleeps with her and God creates."

Page 35

<sup>18</sup> According to the Old Testament, God, as punishment or blessing, closed up or opened the womb of a woman.

In *Genesis XX. 17 sq.* it is said that "the Lord had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech", because he had taken Sarah into his house. He then sent Sarah back and upon Abraham's prayer to God, Abimelech and his wife, and his maid-servants were healed; and they bare children. — Further, Sarai to Abram: "The Lord hath restrained me from bearing". *Genesis XVI 2.* — When the Lord finally promised her a child she found it impossible because of her age, but the Lord said: "Is any thing too hard for the Lord? . . . Sarah shall have a son." *Genesis XVIII. 14.* — "And the Lord visited Sarah as he had said, and the Lord did unto Sarah as he had spoken." For Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age. *Genesis XXI. 1, 2.* — "Isaac intreated the Lord for his wife, because he was barren: and the Lord was intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived." *Genesis XXV. 21.* — "When the Lord saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb: but Rachel was barren". *Genesis XXIX. 31.* — Jacob to Rachel: "Am I in God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb?" *Genesis XXX. 2.* — God remembered Rachel and God hearkened to her, and opened her womb. And she conceived a son and said: "God hath taken away my reproach." *Genesis XXX. 22 sq.* — In *Psalms CXXVII. 3* it is said: "Lo, children are an heritage of the Lord: and the fruit of the womb is his reward."

For God giving children or shutting the womb, see also *1 Chronicles XXVIII. 5*: For the Lord hath given me many sons; *Isaiah VIII. 18*: "I and the children whom the Lord hath given me"; *LXVI. 9*: "Shall I cause to bring forth, and shut the womb? saith thy God"; *Hosea IX. 14*: "Give them, O Lord . . . a miscarrying womb and dry breasts."

<sup>19</sup> See also *St. Luke I. 11 sqq.*, esp. verses 19 and 26 *sqq.*

<sup>20</sup> In a description of death and burial customs I shall explain in greater detail, the Arabs' idea that, when the oil in the lamp of life is finished, then the life of a man also goes out. "There is no more oil in the lamp, so he must die," people say.

Cf. *Job XVIII. 5 sq., XXI. 17, XXIX. 3; Proverbs XX. 20, XXIV. 20.* — See also B e n t z e n, *Praedikerens Bog*, p. 135.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. God's Book, *supra*, p. 62, 177, 180 and *infra*, p. 233 n. 15.

Page 36

<sup>22</sup> It is said in M a t t h e w s, *Mishkât*, I. p. 27 of the progress of the embryo in the womb, when it is vivified, and when its fate is determined: "The Prophet of God related this tradition to me, 'verily the root of creation of every one is semen, which is collected in his mother's womb forty days in embryo; after that it is like a clot of blood, and in forty days after it assumes the appearance of a piece of flesh; and then God sends an Angel to it to write four things in its fortune; when its actions, its life, and its portion are specified and whether fortunate or unfortunate: after that he breathes a spirit into it. Therefore I swear by God that some of you will be appropriated to paradise, and some of you to hell.'" And in a marginal note *ibid.* p. 27: "The place of all mankind in paradise or hell is predestined by God."

Cf. P l o s s - B a r t e l s, *Das Weib*, II. p. 412 sq., esp. 413: The Talmud physicians on the development of the embryo in the womb: "Die Differenzierung des Geschlechts liessen die Talmudisten, wie gesagt, erst mit 41 Tagen eintreten."

<sup>23</sup> For Adam created from the dust of the ground, see *Genesis II. 7.* — G u n k e l, *Genesis*, p. 6: Adam = "Ackersmann". — W e n s i n c k, *Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 11: Adam was created of dust from different parts of the world. P i e r o t t i, *Customs and Traditions*, p. 80 sq.: "It has frequently been asserted, that Adam was made from the earth of the plain 'Campus Damascenus', near Hebron, which is of a red colour; from this his name is supposed to be derived, since Adam in Hebrew signifies red. . . . it was Azrael, the angel of death, who brought to God the dust of which Adam was formed. This had been gathered from the four quarters of the world, and was of different colours,

corresponding with those of the different races of men." See also H a n a u e r, *Folk-Lore*, p. 9. — F r a z e r, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, I. p. 29: Our first parents moulded out of red clay.

M a t t h e w s, *Mishkât*, II. p. 644: "The angels were created from a bright gem, and the genii from fire without smoke, and Adam from clay." — *Enzyklopaedie des Islâm*, I. p. 134, II. p. 609 sq.: When God wanted to create man he ordered angels to bring a handful of dust. The earth refused to give the dust, and the angels did not like to take it by force. Only Azrael carried out the order. On account of his uncharitableness he became the angel of death. — *Ibid.* II. p. 373 sq.: Iblis refuses God's order to pray to the man, Adam, "weil er, der aus Feuer geschaffene, es für unter seiner Würde erachtete, den aus Erde geschaffenen anzubeten. Da wurde er verbannt und verflucht. . . . Darauf haben die Engel ihn angebetet, ausser dem Teufel, der eifersüchtig geworden war und sagte: Er sollte mich anbeten, der ich Licht und Luft bin, während er nur Erde ist." — *Koran XV. 27*: "It is not fit that I should worship man, whom thou hast created of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into shape." — For angels, see also *1 Corinthians VI. 3*; *2 Peter II. 4*; *Jude I. 6*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. W e n s i n c k, *op. cit.* p. 22: Angels "appointed at the womb of pregnant women."

#### Page 37

<sup>25</sup> Lit. before the woman's soul-door. — Cf. Job cursed his birthday, "Because it shut not up the doors of my mother's womb". *Job III. 10*. — For cursing the birthday and what it means, see L i n d b l o m, *Boken om Job och hans lidande*, p. 139 sq.

<sup>26</sup> Also, according to the Bible, it is not only Adam, the first man, whom God once formed of dust, it is the case of every individual.

We are all dust. *Psalm CIII. 14*. — "We are the clay and thou our potter", is said of man and God in *Isaiah LXIV. 8*; also *XXIX. 16*, *XLV. 9*. — The Lord has made the man and formed him from the womb. *Isaiah XLIV. 2, 24*; *Jeremiah I. 5*. — Job says of God: "Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about", "thou hast made me as the clay". And in another

connection: Did not He that made me in the womb make my manservant and my maidservant too? Man or woman, master or slave, rich or poor, we are all the work of God's hand. *Job X. 8, 9; XXXI. 15; XXXIV. 19.* — *Romans IX. 20 sq.*

<sup>27</sup> Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 289.

<sup>28</sup> Again, Matthews, *Mishkât*, I. p. 353 sq.: The Prophet once said on the advantage of a man dying in a foreign country: "Verily when a servant dies any where but at his birth-place, he will obtain a space in paradise, equal to the distance from the place of his birth to the place of his death." — "Dying when travelling is like a martyrdom."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 224 n. 23: According to tradition the earth refused to give of its dust to man.

<sup>30</sup> It is remarkable that among the old Israelites there was a similar idea of man not returning to the earth in general but to that part from which his dust was taken.

In *Genesis III. 19* it is said: "Till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." — But *Psalms CIV. 29*: "Thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to *their* dust." Similarly *Psalms CXLVI. 4*, "His breath goeth forth, he returneth to *his* earth" — to which Delitzsch (*Genesis*, p. 111) says: i.e. to the earth from which he is taken. — The author remarks on the Hebrew expressions in *Genesis III. 19, Ecclesiastes III. 20* and *Job XXXIV. 15* — with reference to *Ecclesiastes XII. 7* and *Psalms XC. 3*: "Der Samar. hat in allen drei Texten: zu deinem Staube d.i. dem Staube deines Ursprungs sollst du zurückkehren".

See also *Psalms CIV. 30; Ecclesiastes III. 21* and *Ben Sira XVII. 1, XL. 11.*

Page 38

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Canaan, *The Child*, p. 160: "The moment the young wife becomes pregnant the relatives rejoice and thank the Almighty for his blessing." . . . "God be blessed, she is pregnant", is said of a young wife. — Cf. Elisabeth's words to Mary: "Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb". *St. Luke I. 42*; also *I. 28* and *48* — even if "be blessed" is also a very common saying.

Page 43

<sup>32</sup> Cf. C a n a a n, *Dämonenglaube*, p. 43: "Bis zum heutigen Tage zeigt der weitverbreitete Sprachgebrauch die selbstständige Wirkung der bösen Seele; *manfûs* = er ist beseelt; *nafsuh fihâ* = seine Seele ist darin (= er wünscht es)".

<sup>33</sup> Another reason is that they cannot be quite sure that the animal has been ritually slaughtered in the name of God. *Koran II. 173; V. 3 sq.* — Cf. L a n e, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 134 and 398 sq. — For the idea that every slaughtering has more or less the character of a sacrifice, see G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, II. p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> According to L a n e, *op.cit.* I. p. 198 people say that, "in the food that is coveted", or upon which an envious eye has fallen, "there is no blessing". And *ibid.* I p. 346: Meat hanging openly for selling is poisoned by the eyes of man.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* I. p. 198: Pressing a stranger to take part in a meal.

Page 44

<sup>36</sup> G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I. p. 107

<sup>37</sup> Was it noble to call to the hungry: "Come and eat!" and to the thirsty: "Come and drink!" also in Biblical times? Christ may have used a customary expression when he stood and cried, saying: "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink." *St. John VII. 37.* — Cf. *Isaiah LV. 1* and *Revelation XXII. 17.* — In any case it was a religious and social duty to give water to the weary to drink and bread to the hungry to eat. *Job XXII. 7;* also *Deuteronomy XIV. 29; Proverbs IX. 5; XXV. 21; Isaiah LVIII. 7; St. Matthew XXV. 35, 42, 44.* Cf. *Proverbs IX. 5* and *Revelation XXI. 6; XXII. 17.*

See also fig-tree reserved for travellers and the poor in the village, *supra*, p. 144. A traveller has the same right as the birds and the wild animals to satisfy his hunger on the spot.

According to M a t t h e w s, *Mishkât*, II. marg. n. p. 66: "A hungry traveller may eat fruit from a tree; but must not carry any away." — Compare the fig-tree outside Jerusalem to which Jesus when hungry went "if haply he might find any thing thereon" to eat. *St. Mark XI. 12 sq.*

In *St. Luke VI. 1—4* it is said: Jesus and his disciples went through the corn fields "and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands." The fields probably did not belong to them, but the Pharisees did not reproach them for having taken corn from a stranger's field but for having done it on a Sabbath day. — A traveller could even take and eat hallowed bread from the house of God, if there was no common bread at hand. *1 Samuel XXI. 3 sqq.* and *St. Luke VI. 3, 4.*

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Matthews, Mishkât, II.* p. 765: The Prophet of God arrived at Medinah, when there was not any sweet water, excepting one well, and his majesty said: "Who will purchase the well *Rúmah* and bestow it among the *Muslemàns*, for which he will meet with atonement in paradise!" *Ibid. II.* p. 57 marg. n.: "Water, salt and fire, not to be withheld from whoever asks for them." P. 58: "and whoever gives a *Muslemàn* a draught of water where it is not to be got, you may say has given him life." — Similarly in the New Testament. Jesus said: And whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink he shall not lose his reward. *St. Matthew X. 42* and *St. Mark IX. 41.*

In a country like Palestine where water is lacking in so many places the water plays a great part. In the desert a drink of water may mean life.

Page 45

<sup>39</sup> See also *Canaan, The Child*, p. 171: "The child craves it, and withholding it will undoubtedly result in some ailment . . . . It is further believed that if a child smells cooked food, it must have some, or else it will fall sick. The mother generally dips one finger in the food and touches the lips of the baby." Even after being weaned children are given whatever they desire, and whenever they desire it. A proverb says: "O mother of the child do not be stingy, with little things you can satisfy your baby". Cf. nursing, *infra*, p. 247 sq. n. 4.

<sup>40</sup> *Supra*, p. 39. — Cf. *Collancz, Pedagogics of the Talmud*, p. 93: "While the child is still in its mother's womb . . . it eats of that which the mother eats, and drinks of that which the mother drinks." *Supra*, p. 221 n. 16.

<sup>41</sup> I here give Mrs Lydia Einszler's attempt at a psycho-physical explanation. She had wondered why women had these cravings and believed she had found the reason: the food comes from another kitchen, it tastes and smells differently and this perhaps gives them an appetite. More interesting ethnologically is the following statement by her: "Then the women, too, tell me that it is the child in the mother which desires the food and when the woman is satisfied the child is also."

<sup>42</sup> Sitt Louisa: "Because a woman sits on the floor when she kneads, and the dough basin touches her body."

<sup>43</sup> Sitt Louisa relates as follows of different kinds of thorns used as fuel: "*Thymus capitatus*: this is a favourite fuel, liked by bees. Every bee-keeper objects to the pulling up of such a useful plant. — *Poterium spinosum* grows wild everywhere and is used for the heating of limekilns." For *Poterium* compare Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, I. p. 372 sq., 549.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 101.

#### Page 48

<sup>45</sup> *Salvia triloba*.

<sup>46</sup> Sitt Louisa: "This chewing-gum from the Pistacia tree is used in Palestine by women and children to sweeten breath." See also Crowfoot-Baldensperger, *From Cedar to Hyssop*, p. 92: Pistacia lentiscus, L. *Mastika*. Gum Mastic; and Dalman, *op.cit.* I. p. 541 sq.

#### Page 49

<sup>47</sup> See also Einszler, *Mosaik*, p. 71 Nr. 14; Baumann, *Volksweisheit*, p. 165 Nr. 53, and Singer-Littmann, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 6 Nr. 8.

<sup>48</sup> For beating a woman, not pregnant, see Haddad, *Methods of Education*, p. 43. — Matthews, *Mishkât*, II. p. 166: Blood money for the death of a woman and of the child in her womb. — For hurting a woman with child, see also *Exodus XXI. 22 sq.* — A stillborn child is mentioned in *Numbers XII. 12.*

Page 50

<sup>49</sup> For complications and difficulties which may arise in such a case, see Granqvist, *Marriage*, II p. 227 sqq., 260. About the danger of a married woman taking her children to her blood relatives, see also *ibid.* II. p. 178, 222, 232 sq.

<sup>50</sup> Box = womb, *infra*, p. 256.

<sup>51</sup> I was told that the Prophet said: Five things are known to none but God. Nobody but God alone knows what will be to-morrow, nobody knows what is in the womb, and no one knows what he will do or gain to-morrow, as no one can know in what land he will die or if it will rain to-morrow or not. Cf. Matthews, *Mishkât*, I. p. 337, and Rescher, *Über Zahlen-sprüche in Bochrâri*, p. 209.

<sup>52</sup> Canaan has heard (*The Child*, p. 160) old women say, "that a pregnancy which has reached the tenth month predicts a girl."

Page 51

<sup>53</sup> Is there a similar idea in *Jeremiah XX. 17*: "Because he slew me not from the womb; or that my mother might have been my grave, and her womb to be always great with me."

For the womb, called grave or pit in the Bible, Mishna, and amoraic sources, see Epstein's review on Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* XXIV. 1934, p. 256, and Granqvist, *Arabiskt familjeliv*, p. 42. — Cf. *Job I. 21*: "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither". See also Lindblom (*Boken om Job och hans lidande*, p. 332 sq.) on the earth as a mother or a womb to where Job knows he shall return. After having quoted a similar passage in *Ben Sira (XL. 1 sq.)* and referred to the conception of mother-earth in the Greek and Roman world, Lindblom adds: "By 'mother's womb' in the first part of the sentence Job probably means the womb in its true sense. He may however have had the idea, that he originates from the earth to which he will return again." (Author's transl.) *Ibid.* p. 366 (in a note to p. 333) there is a reference to *Psalms CXXXIX. 15*, and to modern literature on the subject.

See also *Deuteronomy XXXII. 18*; *Isaiah LI. 1*; *Jeremiah II. 27*.

## BIRTH

(Pages 52—75)

### Page 54

<sup>1</sup> Goodrich-Freer relates (*Arabs in Tent and Town*, p. 60) a similar story of a woman who bore a boy on her way to town to sell eggs.

<sup>2</sup> Musil (*Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 214) has heard of Bedouin women who give birth in the pasture and then bring home both child and goats. — Thomas, *Anthropological Observations in South Arabia*, p. 91: "With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day."

### Page 55

<sup>3</sup> See Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. p. 160.

### Page 56

<sup>4</sup> Another such parallel is often used in daily life. "To-day the sun is a bride", is said in the country, when the sky is clouded and dark as the bride is covered with a veil on her wedding-day. According to Sitt Louisa the Christians in the town say, when the sky is sprinkled with small clouds: "To-day the Virgin Mary is washing". It is her clothes that hang in the sky to dry.

<sup>5</sup> *Genesis III. 16*: "Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children". See also Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 21 sq.

Fear and pain as of a woman in travail is often used in the Bible, in a religious sense, as a picture of great fear and desperation felt by people who are subjected to God's punishment, and as a picture of difficulties and days of evil. — *Psalms XLVIII. 6; Isaiah XIII. 8; XXI. 3; XXVI. 17; XLII. 14; Jeremiah IV. 31; XIII. 21; XXII. 23; XXX. 6; XLVIII. 41; XLIX. 24; L. 43; Hosea XIII.*

13. *Micah IV. 9 sq.; V. 3*; also *St. Matthew XXIV. 8*; *St. Mark XIII. 8*; also *Revelation XII. 2*.

A time of great difficulty is also expressed in the following words: "This day is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and of blasphemy: for the children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth." *2 Kings XIX. 3*; *Isaiah XXXVII. 3*.

Of two women in the Old Testament it is said that they died at the birth of their sons. *Genesis XXXV. 16 sqq.* and *1 Samuel IV. 20*. — The Arabs use the verb *ghaddarat* of a woman dying in childbirth. It is said *ghaddarat 'as-sabi*, if a boy is born and — *'al-bint*, if a girl is born.

Because childbearing is so difficult the woman is saved in childbearing. *1 Timothy II. 15*. — Sudden destruction, as travail upon a woman with child, in *1 Thessalonians V. 3*. — Sorrow of a woman in travail turning into joy that a man is born into the world, used by Jesus of his own death and his return. *St. John XVI. 21*. — For easy and painless birth, see *Isaiah LXVI. 7—9*; also *Exodus I. 19*.

<sup>6</sup> See also Baldensperger, *Birth*, p. 127: Women, but no men, not even husbands present. It is considered indecent and unclean. — Again Musil says (*Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 214) of a certain tribe that among them the husband is present at the birth. *Infra*, p. 233 n. 13.

Page 58

<sup>7</sup> The same was the case with the Jews in Palestine. Mrs Einzler said: In the Jewish Hospital there is a section for lying-in-women. The old women complain: "Oh there she must be alone." Now they begin to appreciate the need of rest for such women.

<sup>8</sup> A similar contact between children in their mother's wombs is mentioned in the Bible.

Mary pregnant with Jesus visited Elisabeth pregnant with St. John, the Baptist. "And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb". *St. Luke I. 41*. — Hauck, *Das Evangelium des Lukas*, p. 27: "Der Gedanke der bewussten Mitbeteiligung der ungeborenen Kinder

am Leben der Erwachsenen ist so eigenartig jüdisch (vgl Str-B II 100 f), dass schwerlich Lk von sich aus diese verbindende Szene geschaffen hat". — B o u s s e t-H e i t m ü l l e r, *Die drei älteren Evangelien*, p. 403: "am wunderbarsten aber ist . . . dass das Kind im Mutterleibe die Nähe seines Herrn fühlt und in frohlockende Erregung gerät." — I remember having seen an old painting depicting the meeting between Mary and Elisabeth, and the children clearly seen in the mothers' wombs, both with the aureola of saints.

See also P l o s s-B a r t e l s, *Das Weib*, III. p. 13: "Der Embryo sucht absichtlich die Niederkunft zu verhindern."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Leviticus XV. 18 sqq.*

#### Page 59

<sup>10</sup> *Lit.* When the mother rises from the pit (*jôra*).

<sup>11</sup> C a n a a n gives another explanation in *The Child*, p. 162.

#### Page 61

<sup>12</sup> This holds good in the country districts. Mrs Lydia Einszler told me as follows of the qualifications of midwives in Jerusalem: "The midwife is like the dentist to-day; they must both have diplomas. Earlier every barber could be a dentist and extract teeth. He only pulled out teeth, never made new ones. Until now a midwife only learnt by experience, no special training was demanded." — The Arab teachers in the Swedish School said that a midwife in the town must have a diploma or she will be imprisoned for practising.

G o o d r i c h-F r e e r, *Arabs in Tent and Town*, p. 60: "There are no trained mid-wives among the villages, nor in the desert." See also *ibid.* p. 61 and 63. — M u s i l, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 214: "Die Araber kennen keine Hebammen; entweder helfen sich die Frauen gegenseitig oder sie gebären auch ohne jede Hilfe."

#### Page 62

<sup>13</sup> *Dr T. Canaan* told me: "Orientals, while giving birth to a child used to sit on an elevated object — in cities, a chair with a large hole in the centre was used. In villages the woman sits

during the procedure on one or two stones. The space between the ground and the body is called 'pit' (*jôra*)."

"Stools" on which Hebrew women in Egypt sat at delivery are mentioned in *Exodus I. 16*. The Hebrew word translated as "stool" means "stone", and as only Dual is used, literally "two stones". It is very possible that the women in those days sat on stones at delivery. — For "pit" as mother's womb, see *supra*, p. 229 n. 53, and *Isaiah LI. 1 sq.* in which verses the "pit" evidently is a synonym for "Sarah that bare you".

In Palestine of to-day the following expressions are used: "When she came to the pit", for "when she gave birth to the child", and "when the mother rises from the pit", for "she has been delivered". — J a u s s e n quotes (*Naplouse*, p. 33) a proverb: "La femme enfante sur le creux" (*al-djawrah*). — For *jôra* see also *ibid.* p. 33 sq. and G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I. p. 23.

M u s i l says, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 214, of a tribe: "steht die Mutter während der Geburt. Zwei Frauen stützen sie unter den Armen und der Mann, der vor ihr hockt empfängt das Kind auf seine Knie." Musil does not mention this as a kind of adoption; but in the Old Testament the expression to "bear upon the knees" has been considered to have this meaning. *Infra*, p. 252 n. 16.

Of Phinehas' wife it is said (*1 Samuel IV. 19*): "She bowed herself and travailed"; and of animals (*Job XXXIX. 3*): "They bow themselves, they bring forth their young ones".

<sup>14</sup> Cf. G o o d r i c h - F r e e r, *op. cit.* p. 61: "The Jewish women are despised for going to bed when a child is born. It is looked upon as one of the unclean habits introduced by the frenjy. The *medaniye*, townswoman, has a special chair for such occasions".

<sup>15</sup> For God's Book mentioned in the Bible, see *Psalms LVI. 8, CXXXIX. 16*; also *Isaiah XXXIV. 16* and *Malachi III. 16*. For names written in heaven see *St. Luke X. 20*, and for names written in the Book of Life see *Philippians IV. 3; Revelation III. 5; XIII. 8; XVII. 8; XX. 15; XXI. 27* — and *XX. 12*: "the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works". See also *supra*, p. 223 n. 21.

Page 63

<sup>16</sup> As in Jacob's dream the angels of God were ascending and descending. *Genesis XXVIII. 12.* — For an angel descending from heaven see e.g. *St. John V. 4.* See also *St. John I. 51:* "Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man."

For heavens open, see *St. Matthew III. 16; St. Mark I. 10; St. Luke III. 21; The Acts VII. 56 and X. 11;* also *2 Peter I. 18; Revelation IV. 1; XIX. 11.* — See also *supra*, p. 94. — Heaven shut, it does not rain, *1 Kings VIII. 35 and Revelation XI. 6.* — The windows of heaven opened, *Genesis VII. 11 and Malachi III. 10.* The doors of heaven opened, *Psalm LXXVIII. 23.*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Psalm CXVI. 16:* "O Lord, truly I am thy servant; I am thy servant, and the son of thine handmaid". Similarly *Psalm LXXXVI. 16.* — Mary calls herself "the handmaid of the Lord", *St. Luke I. 38;* also *I. 48.*

Page 64

<sup>18</sup> See also J a u s s e n, *Moab*, p. 298 sq.

<sup>19</sup> I heard a Bedouin woman call the tent 'God's house' (*bêt allâh*). — In *Isaiah XL. 22* it is said of God: It is he that spreadeth the heavens out as a tent to dwell in. — *2 Samuel VII. 6:* God has dwelt in a tent and in a tabernacle and does not like to dwell in a house.

Page 66

<sup>20</sup> See also C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 160: "The rosaries of many saints hasten a difficult labour."

Page 67

<sup>21</sup> See also M a t t h e w s, *Mishkât*, I. p. 76 marg. n.: Ritual ablution for prayer "optional after eating mutton, but necessary after camel's flesh."

Page 68

<sup>22</sup> It may be remarked that Arabs often use the word heart as a refined word for womb or belly.

<sup>23</sup> This is true also of townswomen. A Muhammadan midwife

in Nablus said to me: "The confined woman wears ordinary clothes. Then after birth she dresses herself finely."

Page 70

<sup>24</sup> A midwife in Nablus again said: "Almost all children both boys and girls come with their faces turned down. It is exceptional if a child comes facing upwards. If a child comes into the world with the feet first or with the head first, this is from God. If it is a boy or a girl that is from God (*min allâh*)."

See also Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, I. p. 635: "Im Altertum war man davon überzeugt, dass die Mädchengeburt beschwerlicher vor sich gehen als die Geburten der Knaben." (Aristoteles, Plinius and Galenus). The authors add: "Auch in dem babylonischen Talmud findet sich eine ähnliche Anschauung." And the reason: "Die Rabbiner glaubten nämlich, dass der weibliche Fötus bei der Geburt mehr Rotationen machen müsse, als der männliche, denn die Kinder lägen im Uterus, so wie die Eltern bei dem Beischlaf gelegen hätten, also der Knabe mit dem Gesicht nach unten und das Mädchen mit dem Gesicht nach oben."

Page 71

<sup>25</sup> For the belief that a child's sex can be changed even when born, see Goodrich-Freer, *Arabs in Tent and Town*, p. 63.

<sup>26</sup> *Enzyklopaedie des Islâm*, III. p. 369: The first cry of the child after birth is because the devil touches it. Only Christ and his mother Mary were not touched by the devil. Calling on God's name as protection for the children. — Cf. Matthews, *Mishkât*, I. p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> The same custom is practised in Nablus. There a midwife said: "If the afterbirth is delayed, they give the confined woman olive oil to drink and the midwife puts her own finger in the mother's mouth. Then the afterbirth comes."

Page 73

<sup>28</sup> In Arabic *bâb in-nafs*, one of several words used for anus. Another word used in Artas is *bâb khatmo*, lit. 'the door of the ring'. Elias Elias gives in his Arabic Dictionary the word

*báb il-badan*, lit. 'the door of the body'. For different use of *báb*, see also C a n a a n, *The Palestinian Arab House*, p. 223. Cf. *supra*, p. 63, 94, p. 224 n. 25 and p. 234 n. 16

Page 74

<sup>29</sup> Artificial shaping of the skull among Arabs is mentioned in a letter from Dr. L. A. G o s s e (Père) to R. Virchow published in the latter part ("Verhandlungen") of *ZE*, V. 1873, p. 77.

Page 75

<sup>30</sup> G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I. p. 27.

## POST-NATAL CUSTOMS

(Pages 76—106)

Page 76

<sup>1</sup> See also L i t t m a n n, *Arabische Beduinenerzählungen*, II. p. X: "und es wird ein Lohn dafür erwartet". — L a n e, *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, I. p. 23: "a reward is due to me for bringing good news", and p. 254: "O my son, I desire of thee a reward for good tidings."

Page 77

<sup>2</sup> For similar introductory words at announcement of news compare 2 *Samuel XVIII. 31*: "Tidings, my lord the king".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M u s i l, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 215 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L a n e, *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, I. p. 103: "woman, deficient in sense and religion".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L e e s, *Village Life*, p. 106: If a boy is born the good tidings are told to the father. *Ibid.* p. 107: "If a girl is born, there are no good tidings." See also J a u s s e n, *Naplouse*, p. 31. — *Koran XVI. 60 sq.*: "And when any of them is told the news of the birth of a female, his face becometh black (with confusion and sorrow), and he is deeply afflicted: he hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him; considering within himself whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust." (Pre-Muhammadan time).

Page 78

<sup>6</sup> Compare Abraham's evasive answer to Isaac, *Genesis XXII. 8.*

<sup>7</sup> For a similar competition between two men as messengers, see *2 Samuel XVIII. 23.*

Page 79

<sup>8</sup> See also Macalister and Masterman, *Modern Inhabitants of Palestine*, in *PQS XXXVII.* p. 348 sq.: "If a boy were born, the father brought fruit (dried raisins or figs out of the fruit season) or bread steeped in *samn* (melted butter) or oil, and presented it to anyone who happened to be in the guest chamber of the village; or else he killed a goat and made a feast for the sheikhs and his friends. If a girl were born, there was no special observance; indeed, in some places the family made demonstrations of mourning."

Page 80

<sup>9</sup> *Canaan, The Child*, p. 168: Christians in Jerusalem, especially Greek Catholics "make on the second day after the birth of the baby a meal for the relatives. Where the child is the first born son such a meal may become a great family feast."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Jeremiah XX. 15.*: "A man child is born unto thee!" The messenger speaks these words to the father "making him very glad". — *Job III. 3.*: "The night in which it was said: 'There is a man child conceived!'" — *St. Luke II. 10 sq.*

<sup>11</sup> *Jeremiah XX. 15.* — Again *Genesis XXXV. 17* the midwife says to the mother: "Fear not; thou shalt have this son also", and *1 Samuel IV. 20* the women present at birth say to the mother: "Fear not; for thou hast born a son." In *Ruth IV. 17* the neighbour women giving the child a name say: "There is a son born to Naomi!" *Ibid. IV. 14 sq.*: There is a kind of congratulation, and praise of the Lord, by women, on the birth of a child.

<sup>12</sup> *Wells, Gospel*, p. 333: The word Gospel has been used since Anglo-Sax-times and is derived from Godspell i.e. 'God-story' or 'Divine Word'. — *Kilt, Biblisches Reallexikon*, p. 495: "*Evangelium* bedeutet . . . zunächst den Lohn für eine gute Botschaft (*2 Sm 4, 10*), dann die gute Botschaft selbst".

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 308.

<sup>14</sup> David said: "When one told me, saying, Behold, Saul is dead, thinking to have brought good tidings, I took hold of him, and slew him in Ziklag, who thought that I would have given him a reward for his tidings". *2 Samuel IV. 10.* — See also: a good man comes with good tidings. *2 Samuel XVIII. 27* and *1 Kings I. 42.*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Genesis XVI. 11*: The angel of the Lord said to Hagar: "Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael; because the Lord hath heard thy affliction." — There is also an explanation of the name to be given to the child, and in v. 12 a prophecy of the child's future character and fate.

For the type of the formula used when announcing the birth of a child before it is born, see *Genesis XVII. 19; XVIII. 10; Judges XIII. 3; St. Luke I. 13; St. Matthew I. 21* and *St. Luke I. 31 sqq.* — Elisha's words to the good Shunammite who had no child, and whose husband was old, may be added. "About this season according to the time of life, thou shalt embrace a son!" *2 Kings IV. 16, 17.*

In all these cases, except the last one, an angel foretold the birth of the valuable child: Ishmael, Isaac, Samson, John and Jesus.

In his work *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion*, Freud after referring to the way in which Kulturvölker glorified their great people quotes (p. 14) Rank, *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden*: "Besonders haben sie die Geburts- und Jugendgeschichte dieser Personen mit phantastischen Zügen ausgestattet." — Evidently in ancient Palestine an announcement before birth was considered an essential characteristic in that of a great man.

This may explain the words laid in the mouth of David about Solomon: "But the word of the Lord came to me, saying, . . . Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about: for his name shall be Solomon . . . and he shall be my son, and I will be his father". *1 Chronicles XXII. 9 sq.*

Page 82

<sup>16</sup> See also *Acts XII. 15*: They said: "It is his angel."

Page 83

<sup>17</sup> Lane states, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 358, that the Egyptians place great faith in dreams, and *ibid.* I. p. 357: Some "beg of God to direct them by a dream".

The faith in dreams and visions has old roots among Oriental peoples. In *Job XXXIII. 14 sqq.* it is said: "For God speaketh once, yea twice . . . In a dream, in a vision of the night". The cases of dreams and visions, and their influence on the conduct of people mentioned in the Bible, are too many to be quoted here; visions are seen not only by Israelites but also by men of neighbouring peoples: the dreams of Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, the wife of Pilate. — *Genesis XLI. 1 sqq.*, *Daniel II. 1 sqq.*, *St. Matthew XXVII. 19*, etc. — Also *Jeremiah XXIII. 25 sqq.*

Page 84

Line 7: Read Azize (not Adize).

Page 86

<sup>18</sup> For this custom, see Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 85 n. 1 and p. 297.

<sup>19</sup> If someone returns from prison, from a long journey or from a long stay in a foreign country the event is celebrated every evening for a whole week. Each in turn the families of the village give a feast for him. — Cf. the celebration for the prodigal son on his return home, *St. Luke XV. 22 sqq.*

Page 87

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 126: A man and his wife must go three times out and in over the threshold after the wedding-night before anybody goes in to them. And in this case also it is said: "This is for fear that she will not bear children."

<sup>21</sup> For mentioning God's name when going over the threshold, see *ibid.* II. 96, 98.

For the Muhammadan profession of faith and call to prayer spoken into the ears of the new-born, see Jausen, *Naplouse*,

p. 35, and Wensinck, *Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 44. Also Matthews, *Mishkât*, II. p. 316. — According to C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 170, this was done before the new-born child was placed at the mother's breast.

Jennings-Bramley (*The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula*, in *PQS XXXIX*. 1907, p. 22) on charms: what a male child must "swallow" before he tastes his mother's milk, or before anything has crossed his lips.

#### Page 88

<sup>22</sup> This is a general custom. In Nablus a woman told me that she had received a sheep for each of her two sons. A sheep was slaughtered so that the child might live. — For sacrifice for a newborn child on the third or generally on the seventh or eighth day after birth, see J a u s s e n, *Naplouse*, p. 37 sqq.

This sacrifice may be combined with the shaving of a child's head for the first time and also with the naming of a child. — M u s i l, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 216: On the seventh day after birth there is a sacrifice for the child, "und dabei spricht der Opfernde: 'Dies ist das Löseopfer, um Gotteswillen, Gott.'" Then they give the boy a name and congratulations follow. For variations, see *ibid.* III. p. 216 sq. — *Ibid.* p. 215: In el-Kerak there is a sacrifice of a cock or a male kid to turn away bad luck if the child is born on a Friday. — For sacrifice of a hen, see also G o l d z i h e r, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II. p. 347.

<sup>23</sup> Similarly in Nablus. Once it even happened, a midwife said, that when she was helping a woman the husband slaughtered a sheep for his wife and then he gave the midwife the whole of the right leg.

#### Page 89

<sup>24</sup> C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 168: May the bridegroom be blessed! — May God bless what you have received! — May God give you the joy of marrying him! — Cf. G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I. p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I. p. 23 sqq., 52, 110 sq., II. 294.

Page 90

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Amos II. 7*: "That pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor". Earth or clay upon head means great sorrow and distress: a man "with his clothes rent, and earth upon his head", *2 Samuel I. 2*. — "And Tamar put ashes on her head, and rent her garment of divers colours that was on her, and laid her hand on her head, and went on crying." *2 Samuel XIII. 19*. — "They cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing" *Revelation XVIII. 19*. — In *The Acts XXII. 23* they threw dust into the air because of great wrath.

<sup>27</sup> C a n a a n says, *The Child*, p. 168, that presents are offered: coffee, sugar, tobacco, rarely money; and refers to the wise men who brought gifts, *St. Matthew II. 11*. — For this custom see also Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III p. 214: Gifts: various dishes given to the new mother by relatives and neighbours. In el-Kerak the visitors say on that occasion: "Du sollst es in Frieden geniessen". Her answer is: "Gott schenke euch Frieden!" — Jennings-Bramley, *op.cit.* in *PQS XXXIX*, p. 22: "At his birth his mother is visited and congratulated by her friends in that she is the mother of a boy. They bring her presents according to their means. The rich, a goat; the less wealthy, flour, lentils, or any other household food. The birth of a girl is allowed to pass without any notice being taken of the occurrence."

Page 91

<sup>28</sup> See also Jaussen, *Naplouse*, p. 37.

Page 92

<sup>29</sup> For the period of purification of a woman after the birth of a child varying if she has given birth to a boy or to a girl, see *Leviticus XII*.

<sup>30</sup> C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 166: "It is generally believed that every pomegranate has one seed which has come from heaven. Therefore many children are given pomegranate juice to drink with the hope that this Paradise-seed may have been squeezed into their drink". He adds: "The Mohammedans cherish the idea that the love and devotion of Christ to his mother was all due to the

date-fruits which made up the greatest part of his food. Therefore new-born children are often given, as the first drink, a few drops of water in which a date — if possible one which has been brought from Mecca — has been washed up." See also Matthews, *Mishkât*, II. p. 315: Children were brought to the Prophet, "and he prayed for blessings on them; and he chewed dates, and then rubbed them on the roof of their mouths."

Page 94

<sup>31</sup> C a n a a n says, *The Child*, p. 165, of the cutting of the navel-cord: "About fifty years ago this was not done before the seventh day."

Page 95

<sup>32</sup> For formula at the binding of a child's navel-cord uttered by the person who does it, see G o l l a n c z, *The Book of Protection*, p. LI sq. § 45.

Page 96

<sup>33</sup> C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 165: Among Christians of Jerusalem the grandmother, after the falling off of the navel-cord, prepares a feast for her daughter, the new mother. Relatives and friends are invited.

<sup>34</sup> The Arabic expression for "she pressed upon her" is *kabsatha*. An unclean woman harms the child, too. For *kabse* see also G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, II. p. 161 and 181; C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 182 sq. and J a u s s e n, *Naplouse*, p. 37.

<sup>35</sup> M u s i l, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 215: At the cutting of the navel-cord a camel or goat or sheep is given to the child.

Page 97

<sup>36</sup> G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I. p. 32. For another kind of betrothal at birth, the "gift from the pit", see *supra* p. 89 and p. 240 n. 25.

Page 98

<sup>37</sup> It is a general custom to treat the newborn child with salt. The explanation is everywhere the same. Here I quote what the Arab teachers in Jerusalem said:

The child is washed at once. About a handful of salt and olive

oil is put into the water. The child is also rubbed with oil. That is to strengthen the child. Salt is put into lukewarm water for seven days, but no soap. "He has not been treated with salt (*mush mumalla*)", they say of a child who has not a good skin afterwards. If the child for example cuts itself and it does not heal quickly, they say: "He did not get enough salt". — The teachers meant that as one preserves meat with salt, so also the human body requires salt.

Baldensperger says of a child immediately after birth (*Birth*, p. 127): "It is now rubbed all over with salt, water and oil; its eyes and mouth are salted." The child is wrapped up so that it cannot move. — Canaan, *The Child*, p. 163: "A common belief insists that non-salted children have a weak and silly character." And *ibid.* p. 163 n. 11: "Formerly the salt-powdering used to be continued for a few weeks." — Jussen, *Naplouse*, p. 31: "Newborn child bathed in salted water. — Ashkenazi, *Tribus Semi-Nomades de la Palestine du Nord*, p. 70: "Dès que l'enfant naît, on le frotte avec un mélange d'eau salée et de *samneh* (beurre cuit)". — Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 215: "Child washed and rubbed with oil and salt — salt, lest it be fearful. — Sessions, *Some Syrian Folklore Notes*, p. 7: "When a child is born, it is rubbed with salt, or with oil in which green myrtle is ground. It is washed and tightly swaddled."

As to the Israelites *Ezekiel XVI. 4* gives a clear insight into the methods of dealing with a child at its birth: the washing in water, rubbing with salt, and winding in swaddling-clothes.

#### Page 99

<sup>38</sup> Compare Abraham's words to Isaac: "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering. *Genesis XXII. 8.*

<sup>39</sup> Again, a Greek Catholic Arab woman in Jerusalem told me: "If a child is expected and it is the first child the maternal grandmother makes the outfit. She also buys the cradle and makes the quilt, the pillows etc. Then the decorated cradle and the whole outfit is carried from one house to the other." — In Nablus they make for the baby about two shirts, kimono-like, a square cloth with bands, and two caps. Both rich and poor people had these earlier.

Page 100

<sup>40</sup> C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 173: Three months or a longer period depending upon if the child is strong and healthy or weak.

Page 101

<sup>41</sup> For bathing the child for the first time: earlier, about forty years ago, on the seventh day, now on the third day; also every day until it is forty days old, see C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 165.

<sup>42</sup> For a similar bath-song see E i n s z l e r, *Mosaik*, p. 19; for bath also *ibid.* p. 18 sqq. — For naming the fingers, among people in Syria, see H o f f n e r, *Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, p. 179 sq.: the thumb, "der Zerdrücker der Läuse"; the index finger, "der Auslecker des Topfes"; the long finger, "lang aber nutzlos"; the ring finger, "Träger des Ringes"; the little finger, "der Reiniger des Ohres".

Page 102

<sup>43</sup> *Kawthar*, a word used in the *Koran CVIII. 1.* — For *Kawthar*, the river, or the four rivers in Paradise, see W e n s i n c k, *Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 183. — *Ibid.* p. 834 sq.: The word means 'abundance' but according to early traditions the Prophet himself explained *Kawthar* to be a river in Paradise, or Muhammad said that it was a water-basin intended for him personally, and shown to him on his ascension to Paradise. — In M a t t h e w s, *Mishkât*, II. p. 625, the following description of the river *Kawthar* is found. The Messenger of God was asked: "What is the *Cawthar*?" — "He said, 'it is a river, which God has given me in paradise; its water is whiter than milk, and sweeter than honey, and on it are birds whose necks are like the necks of camels.'" — *Enzyklopaedie des Islâm*, II. p. 894.

Page 104

<sup>44</sup> See also *supra*, p. 88. — For food for a lying-in-woman, see also M u s i l, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 214.

<sup>45</sup> See also C r o w f o o t-B a l d e n s p e r g e r, *From Cedar to Hyssop*, p. 96 sqq.

Page 105

<sup>46</sup> *Supra*, p. 101. — The Arab teachers in Jerusalem: The midwife washes the child for seven days and rubs it with olive oil. The treatment with oil lasts forty days. — Baldensperger, *Birth*, p. 127: On the 40th day the midwife bathes the child. 40 days she has been responsible for him and now hands the child over to the mother's care. *Idem*, *Woman in the East*, p. 178, on the peasant woman: 40 days the midwife is responsible for the child.

<sup>47</sup> Stephan, *Studies in Palestinian Customs and Folklore*, p. 216, on the number 40: Forty days of young mother after birth. — Einszler, *Mosaik*, p. 28: The mother during the 40 days. — Musil, *Rwala Bedouins*, p. 231: 4—5 days after menstruation and 40 days after child birth husband shall not have sexual intercourse with his wife. — Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II. p. 140 sq.: Durchschnittlich veranschlagt das Gesetz den Zeitraum, den die Wöchnerin für ihre Reinigung, bez. Wiederherstellung, braucht, auf 40 Tage." The author says that there is a small feast on the 40th day when the mother lays the child on the threshold of the Kaaba temple, "die Schwelle des Hauses Allahs".

Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I. p. 398: The mother regarded as unclean and considered to be in a delicate state for forty days. "I was told that for forty days 'her grave is open'."

For the number 40, see also *supra*, p. 22: periods of forty days; p. 80: forty days with people; p. 100: forty days in swaddling clothes; p. 104: the food called Forty. — In the Bible, *Genesis VII. 4, 12, 17*; *Acts I. 3*: forty days; *Joshua V. 6*; *Acts IV. 22* and *VII. 23, 30*: forty years. — See also Roscher, *Die Zahl 40 im Glauben . . . der Semiten*; Wünsche, *Die Zahlensprüche in Talmud und Midrasch*, in *ZDMG*, LXVI. p. 455.

Page 106

<sup>48</sup> Sitt Louisa told me of the preparation of *Hetaliye*: Wheat is crushed a little in a mill; it is then put into water where it lies for two to three days. Then it is pressed and the starch falls to the bottom and the husks float on the top. These are taken away and given to the hens or other animals. Then the starch is cooked

in milk with sugar or honey, and butter is added. It is very good. — In Silwan they also add a spice, black cummin (fitch), which Jews and Muhammadans put on bread. This spice is bought in Jerusalem from the druggist's in the bazaar. — Fitches also occur in the Bible, *Isaiah XXVIII. 25*. — Hetaliye is given as a present. They who have goats and sheep bring such a gift, a dish of Hetaliye. — This food is mentioned also by Musil in *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 153.

<sup>49</sup> See also Wensinck, *Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 76: Fatme complains of Ali treating her badly.

## MOTHER AND BABE

(Pages 107—126)

### Page 107

<sup>1</sup> Similarly C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> In the Old Testament God is usually spoken of as a father of the Israelites (e.g. *Jeremiah III. 19*) — and a strict father.

For expressing God's mercy *Isaiah (LXVI. 13)* uses a simile: God comforts Israel as a mother her child. Similarly in *Isaiah XLIX. 15* where God's mercy to man is compared to a mother's compassion for her baby: "Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb?" It is a very strong expression when it is said in *Job XXIV. 20*: "The womb shall forget him. . . he shall no more be remembered". A very high degree of mercilessness appears in the words in *Job XXIV 9*: "They pluck the fatherless from the breast."

### Page 108

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 64. — H u r g r o n j e, *Mekka*, II. p. 124: Karine stops the mother's milk. There are certain cures however.

C o n d e r (*Heth and Moab*, p. 296) says of a spring in a ruined convent above Ras Baalbek: The water of this spring is believed to be capable of giving milk to women who are nursing, and the same belief exists with regard to the chips of limestone from the rock of the 'Milk Grotto' at Bethlehem, which are sold to be dissolved as a drink.

According to tradition the Holy Family before their flight into Egypt (*St. Matthew II. 13 sq.*) hid themselves in the Grotto of the Lady Mary, or, more commonly called the Grotto of the Milk. — Meistermann, *New Guide to the Holy Land*, p. 322: "The Grotto of Milk is a favourite place of pilgrimage with women of all countries, Musulmans and Christians, Catholic and shismatic. If whilst nursing they lack milk, they fly to the grotto and, after praying there, break off a piece of the soft rock, which they grind to a powder and then mix with their food or drink. Of course, there is no more medicinal virtue in this powder than in the water of Lourdes, but for centuries millions of women from far and near have declared that, thanks to the intercession of 'Our Lady of the Milk Grotto', their wishes have been granted." — It is said that powder from the Milk Grotto will increase the milk even of animals.

Zachariae, *Ein jüdischer Hochzeitsbrauch*, p. 300: "Nach einem unter den Juden (in Syrien) verbreiteten Aberglauben wird die Milch einer Wöchnerin vermehrt, wenn man ihr am Halse oder am Kopfe das Rückgrat eines fliegenden Fisches befestigt." The author refers to ZDPV VII. p. 116 Nr. 239 and to more examples from other sources: Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, II. 492; cf. II. 485, etc. on fish in medical magic. — Ermann, *Aegypten*, p. 417: "Wir lernen. . . wie man einer Amme Milch zuführen kann".

#### Page 109

<sup>4</sup> Suckling time and reason for long nursing period. — Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 96: Long nursing period. Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 108: Long nursing period, boys 3—4 years. — Jausen, *Naplouse*, p. 41: Generally 10—12 months; in some families until 2 years, but this is exceptional. — Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, p. 72: Often 2 and 3 years, the mother's milk being "das einzige Präservativ gegen die Misèren der ersten Jahre." — Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 191: 2 years, the mothers "putting it off so long because the climate is very injurious to infants." — Baldensperger, *Birth*, p. 129: "Generally till the mother is again with child, but in some cases longer", sometimes a boy may be seen

sucking with his new-born sister. — C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 170 sq.: 18 months, 2 or 3 years, rarely 4 years — to postpone pregnancy and make child strong. "It is believed that the longer a child is so fed the stronger it will become. Thus a well-developed and strong child is often described with the words: 'he has nursed to satiety from his mother's milk,' or 'his head is filled with his mother's milk.'" A widow nurses her child for a long period to show her love and devotion to it. — L e e s, *The Witness of the Wilderness*, p. 93: No child weaned before 2 years or more. — A s h k e n a z i, *Tribus Semi-Nomades de la Palestine du Nord*, p. 71: Until the mother is pregnant again. — J a u s s e n, *Moab*, p. 16: 2 years and p. 29: No fixed time, generally 1 1/2 years or 2 years, sometimes 3 or even 7 years, one example of suckling until the 10th year. — J e n n i n g s - B r a m l e y, *The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula*, in *PQS XXXIX*. 1907, p. 22: 2 years for boy or girl — "the Mohammedan law to this effect being rigorously enforced among the Bedouin with the special intention of protracting the time during which a woman is not likely to be with child." — N e i l *Strange Figures*, p. 18 sq.: 2—4—5—7 years. — *2 Maccabees VII. 27*: 3 years; B a r r o i s, *Précis d'archéologie biblique*, p. 145: about 2 to 3 years. — E r m a n, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 191: "Die erste Erziehung genießt das Kind natürlich bei seiner Mutter, die es drei Jahre lang säugt und mit sich herumträgt — ganz dem Gebrauche der heutigen Aegypterinnen entsprechend." — L a n e, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 79 sq.: "The mother is prohibited, by the Mohammadan law, from weaning her child before the expiration of two years from the period of its birth, unless with the consent of her husband, which, I am told, is generally given after the first year or eighteen months." — W e s t e r m a r c k, *The Future of Marriage*, p. 182: Long suckling period often for years leads to polygyny when connected with abstinence from sexual intercourse. Abstinence after childbirth until the child is weaned is a very widespread cause of polygyny, "and all the more important as among simple peoples the suckling-time often lasts for years."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. C a n a a n says, *The Child*, p. 171, that pregnancy changes completely the composition of the mother's milk. "Every

ailment of the baby is attributed to this milk". He adds: "A mother who has lost many children will not suckle the next with her first supply of milk. . . believing that in this manner she misleads the evil spirit, the *qarînêh*, who has killed her earlier children." For quality of mother's milk, see also *supra*, p. 170. — E r m a n, *Aegypten*, p. 417: "Wir lernen, wie man die Güte der Muttermilch am Geruch erkennen. . . kann".

Page 110

<sup>6</sup> R o b e r t s writing on divorce (*The Social Laws*, p. 41) quotes the *Koran II. 233*: "Mothers shall give suck to their children two full years for the father who desires the time of giving suck to be completed. . . . But if they (the parents) choose to wean the child (before this time) by common consent, and on mutual consideration, it shall be no crime in them." A nurse may be used.

Among the old Israelites it was probably the mother who usually nursed her child.

G o l l a n c z, *Pedagogics of the Talmud*, p. 32: "The mother's task it was to suckle her child (Ket. 59 b). She received help from nurses, which were held in high esteem by those for whom they had cared in infancy, and they were often kept for life." — Of Rebekah it is said that her wetnurse Deborah was sent with her when she married into the strange country, and that Deborah died and was buried there. *Genesis XXIV. 59, XXXV. 8*.

Samuel was nursed by his mother and during this time he was allowed to stay with her at home but when he was weaned he was taken to the priest Eli. *1 Samuel I. 22—24*. It is said that the child was young but he was probably old enough to be able to assist the priest. — This agrees with the Prophet's words (*Isaiah XXVIII. 9*) that those who are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts, shall be taught knowledge and made to understand doctrine — from which the conclusion may be drawn that a weaned child was old enough to understand instruction.

When Pharaoh's daughter saved Moses, who at that time was already three months old she wished to give him a Hebrew woman for a nurse and in this way his mother — as a paid wetnurse — was able to keep him at home and nurse him. Then he was brought to Pharaoh's daughter and became her son and was

learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. *Exodus II. 5 sqq.*; *Acts VII. 22.*

In *2 Kings XI. 2 sq.* and *2 Chronicles XXII. 11 sq.* it is said that Joas and his wetnurse were hid from Athaliah, so that she slew him not, and he was hid with his nurse for six years. — For a nurse cherishing her children, see *1 Thessalonians II. 7.*

In the light of the long suckling period the words by Jesus (*St. Matthew XXI. 16*): "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise" could be literally true. Cf. *Psalms VIII. 2.* See also *Psalms CXXXI. 2.*

<sup>7</sup> C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 171: Wetnurses only in exceptional cases. — Wetnurses not quite unknown in Nablus according to J a u s s e n, *Naplouse*, p. 39, or they appeal to "la bonne volonté d'une jeune mère de la parenté ou du voisinage pour donner le sein à son bébé". — *Idem*, *Moab*, p. 28 sq.: Child generally suckled by mother, only exceptionally by a female relative or by a wetnurse, even from a strange tribe. The author gives an example of a boy in Madaba having been given the surname of his wetnurse's tribe. — Wages are given.

*Idem*, *Naplouse*, p. 39: "Si la famille est pauvre, l'enfant est nourri au biberon avec du lait de brebis ou du lait de chèvre, plus rarement avec du lait de vache." — Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 191: "The mothers suckle their babies, but if their milk fail, that of goats is used, and sometimes, with the nomads, camel's milk and water." — J a u s s e n, *Moab*, p. 29: "A cette pénurie de nourrices, les Arabes suppléent en offrant aux lèvres assoiffées des enfants le lait d'une chèvre ou d'une brebis. Il n'est point rare d'entendre dire qu'un tel a eu comme nourrice une chèvre et, d'après une tradition populaire, la grande tribu des 'Anezeh serait ainsi nommée parce que le premier ancêtre avait été allaité par une chèvre ('anz)."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P l o s s - B a r t e l s, *Das Weib*, I. p. 223 sqq., "Das Säugen durch die Grossmutter", and esp. p. 224: "Für dieses eigentümliche Säugen durch alte Frauen hat M. Bartels den Namen Sp ä t l a k t a t i o n oder L a c t a t i o s e r o t i n a in Vorschlag gebracht."

<sup>9</sup> Alya believed that Halime was the Prophet's mother's sister. The Prophet's father died early; according to one legend already before the birth of his son, according to another legend when Muhammad was 28 months old. A third tradition says that the child "was scarce two months old when his father died, leaving him no other inheritance than five camels, a few sheep, and a female slave of Ethiopia, named Barakat. His mother, Amina, had hitherto nurtured him, but care and sorrow dried the fountains of her breast, and the air of Mecca being unhealthy for children, she sought a nurse for him among the females of the neighbouring Bedouin tribes. These were accustomed to come to Mecca twice a year, in spring and autumn, to foster the children of its inhabitants; but they looked for the offspring of the rich, where they were sure of ample recompense, and turned with contempt from this heir of poverty. At length Halêma, the wife of a Saadite shepherd, was moved to compassion, and took the helpless infant to her home. It was in the pastoral valleys of the mountains." (Irving, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 17.)

Muhammad's mother died when he was 6 years old. In the *Koran XCIII. 6 sq.* Muhammad is spoken of as an orphan.

<sup>10</sup> Or, Halime is in the song supposed to say to Amina, the Prophet's mother: "O Amina, my faithful partner!"

<sup>11</sup> See also C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 171. — J a u s s e n, *Moab*, p. 17 n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> In the same way a person who suddenly and without reason loses his temper is excused, if he has been obliged to eat mule flesh. This is the case of two men in Artas. They were both soldiers in Yemen for ten 10 years. During their absence they had to eat mule flesh, and when they returned home again they were noticed to fall into fits of frenzy. Their wives understood that they had eaten mule flesh and should be excused. — It is a kind of madness.

<sup>13</sup> G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I. p. 64. — *Koran IV. 26 sq.*

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J a u s s e n, *Naplouse*, p. 39: "L'enfant, devenu grand, conserve en général une certaine reconnaissance envers sa nourrice, à la famille de laquelle il déclare appartenir. On sait qu'au point de vue coranique, il ne peut épouser ni sa nourrice, ni sa soeur de lait, ni la fille de sa nourrice." — *Koran IV. 27.* — J a u s s e n adds *op. cit.* p. 39: "La nourrice peut être musulmane, chrétienne ou juive."

W e n s i n c k says (*Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 178) concerning nursing that it has the same consequences as relationship and mentions a case when a husband "divorces his wife because it is reported to him that they had the same nurse Bu. 3,<sub>26</sub>."

<sup>15</sup> It is possible that in the *Song of Solomon VIII. 1*, "O that thou wert as my brother, that sucked the breasts of my mother!" is to be understood as "O that thou wert my f o s t e r b r o t h e r!" Such an assumption seems to be supported by what is said in the continuation of verse 1: "when I should find thee without, I would kiss thee; yea, I should not be despised", and v. 2: "I would lead thee, and bring thee into my mother's house".

In a death song I put down in Artas there is also the expression: "He who has not sucked the breasts of my mother". Here it is understood as: "he who is n o t my brother", more precisely "he who is n o t my mother's son"; but also in the wider sense of "he who is n o t (a son) of my clan", and in the song it is said that "for him I need not to be anxious or mourn". The 'foster-brother' is also referred to in the saying: "Brother without father is a blessing".

<sup>16</sup> Among the old Israelites there was an adoption ceremony: to bear upon the knees — implying that a child was born or brought up upon the knees of the person who adopted it. *Genesis XXX. 3; L. 23.*

Sarai may have thought of this custom when she said to Abram: "I pray thee, go in unto my maid; it may be that I may obtain children by her." *Genesis XVI. 2.* G u n k e l remarks to this, *Genesis*, p. 185: "Nach israelitischer Rechtssitte kann das Ehe-weib, wenn es unfruchtbar ist, sich ein anderes Weib substituieren und deren Kinder adoptieren." — *Genesis XXX. 3:* Rachel to

Jacob: "Behold my maid Bilhah, go in unto her; and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may also have children by her." — G u n k e l, *Genesis*, p. 333: Rachel's adopted children, and p. 334: Leah's adopted children. — Also *Genesis* L. 23: The children of Machir who was the son of Joseph's son Manasseh "were brought up upon Joseph's knees". See G u n k e l's remark in *Genesis*, p. 491 and M e y e r, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 516.

According to *Genesis XLVIII. 5 sq., 16*: Jacob had adopted his son Joseph's first two sons by means of an adoption formula.

He said: "And now thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine; as Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine." And again: "Let my n a m e be n a m e d on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac".

In a Patriarchal and Oriental society a man and Patriarch of a family may call his son's sons his own and act as if they really were his sons. (For a somewhat similar case, see G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I. p. 53.) But when Jacob in the words quoted, called his son's sons his sons there is no doubt that there is a question of adoption in this case.

Perhaps Jacob was obliged to take Joseph's sons into his family in this way and a c k n o w l e d g e them as members of his tribe. Joseph had been sold as a slave to Egypt, he was an Egyptian official, and was perhaps an adopted Egyptian. It may have implied adoption when Pharaoh gave him a n e w, an Egyptian, n a m e. He also gave him an Egyptian woman for a wife. She became the mother of Joseph's first two sons. — *Genesis XLI. 45, 50—52*.

Joseph was an Egyptian and instead of him his first two sons should become heads of the tribe and should be considered ancestors, each of his own tribe, on account of the adoption. Jacob expressly said that Joseph's younger children should remain his own and should "be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance", which expression has been understood to mean that they should be reckoned as sons of their brothers Ephraim

and Manasseh. Or might it mean: 'brethren' = countrymen, i.e. Egyptians. This could then explain G u n k e l's remark (*Genesis*, p. 496): "Solche Söhne Josephs kommen sonst nicht vor." Being Egyptians they disappeared from among the Israelites.

Jacob not only adopted Ephraim and Manasseh as his own sons.

When blessing them by laying his right hand upon the younger brother he gave him the greater blessing and the right of the first-born, *Genesis XLVIII. 14, 17 sqq.* Jacob himself, although a younger brother, had received the blessing of the first-born, and for this ceremony he put on goat skins (*Genesis XXVII.*) — a fact in which F r a z e r (*Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. p. 39) sees "a reminiscence of an ancient legal ceremony of new birth from a goat, which it was deemed necessary or desirable to observe whenever a younger son was advanced to the rights of the firstborn at the expence of his still living brother".

In the Bible there are more or less clear traces of a person receiving a son as his own by means of another person.

This fact may explain the use of: "sons of his body begotten", or "my son, which came forth of my bowels", or "he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels", or "thy son that shall come forth out of thy loins", and other similar expressions. A man might have liked and sometimes found it necessary to point out that a son was a 'real' son, the fruit of his own body, in contrast to other children in the family. *Genesis XV. 4; XXXV. 11; XLVI. 26; Judges VIII. 30; 2 Samuel VII. 12; XVI. 11; 1 Kings VIII. 19; Acts II. 30; Hebrews VII. 5.*

Similarly "sons of thy womb" for children of a woman — an expression used also of a man. *Ruth I. 11; Proverbs XXXI. 2* ("the son of my womb"); *Isaiah XLIX. 15; Deuteronomy VII. 13; XXVIII. 4, 11; XXX. 9; Micah VI. 7.*

Compare with this the Arabic expression used for a 'real' brother: he who came from my father's back and my mother's womb.

Especially in polygynous families people feel the need to distinguish between 'real' brothers and brothers with different mothers, but also between brothers with different fathers. "He

who sucked my mother's breast" is an expression for a brother from the same mother and for a foster-brother, *supra*, p. 252 n. 15. See also G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, II. p. 216 sq.

The emotional side of the above expressions has not been discussed.

In ancient Palestine a man could, even after death, have a son of his own by means of levirate marriage. There was a law that the first-born son in such a marriage was reckoned as the son of the wife's dead husband and was named after him and not after his physical father. This was called raising up seed to the deceased. *Deuteronomy XXV. 5 sq.*; *St. Matthew XXII. 24*; *St. Luke XX. 28*.

In the *Book of Ruth*, where there are traces of mother-right, this is seen from the woman's point of view.

Both Naomi's sons had died childless. Ruth, the widow of one of them, married a close relative of Naomi's husband (*levirate marriage*). Now, when Ruth gave birth to her first son by her new husband the neighbouring women said: "A son is born to Naomi!" and not: "A son is born to Ruth!" Naomi had complained and said that she was too old, that she had no more sons in her womb, and yet she could have a son born to her by Ruth, her former daughter-in-law.

According to the rules of a levirate marriage in a Patriarchal society, it could have been expected that the neighbouring women should have praised the Lord and congratulated Naomi that her son, although dead, had received a son. Now they spoke of the new-born as Naomi's son. Again, to Orientals a son's son is like a son of their own, and in the *Book of Ruth*, as is already stated, the incident is looked upon from the woman's point of view. — It may be added that here it is said that a daughter-in-law who is willing to make a levirate marriage and bear a son is worth more than seven sons.

Further, when in *IV. 16* it is related that "Naomi took the child, and laid it in her bosom, and became nurse unto it" these words are perhaps not as one is first inclined to think, an expression of Naomi's love for the child. They may be a description of how Naomi became the child's fostermother. (Cf. *Numbers XI. 12.*)

If these words are a description of adoption they may be compared with the adoption ceremony to bear upon the knees and the new birth ceremonies still known in Palestine, when a woman who wishes to bring up a strange child adopts him by giving him the breast, or by a symbolical birth. (*Supra*, p. 114.) Anyhow, first after these words it is related (v. 17) that the women gave the child a name and said: "There is a son born to Naomi!"

Was there sometimes a formal adoption in connection with the first-born from a levirate marriage?

When Moses was adopted by the Egyptian princess he was brought unto her and was named by her, although he later refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. *Exodus II. 10; Acts VII. 21; Hebrews XI. 23 sq.*

In his work *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion* Freud starts from the fact that the name Moses is of Egyptian origin and concludes that this "Befreier, Gesetzgeber und Religionsstifter" of the Israelites was an Egyptian. The author is astonished that before him "kein Historiker" has come to the same conclusion: "vom Namen auf die Volkszugehörigkeit". But although he in passing mentions (p. 12) that "Namensänderungen und Angleichungen unter neueren Bedingungen nicht ausgeschlossen sind" he does not apply these in the case of Moses.

What would be more natural than if an Egyptian princess adopts a child she should give him an Egyptian name? It is obvious that from the name of an adopted child one cannot draw conclusions as to its nationality. Freud's psycho-analytical argument for the Egyptian nationality of Moses is not convincing. He overlooks the fact of Moses' adoption.

Freud says (p. 17): "Die Aussetzung im Kästchen ist eine unverkennbare symbolische Darstellung der Geburt, das Kästchen der Mutterleib, das Wasser das Geburtswasser." But not even from this remark does he draw any conclusion as to new birth or adoption.

The truth in the case of Moses may very well have been that he was born a Hebrew but through adoption became an Egyptian and remained so until he renounced it to join his own people.

As the birth of Jesus is told in *St. Matthew I. 18 sqq.* it is also

here a kind of adoption. Joseph was not the child's physical father, but he was to name him, and also to take the child (and its mother as his wife) unto him.

Page 115

<sup>17</sup> *St. John III. 3 sqq.*

<sup>18</sup> Box *Adoption (Semitic)*, in *ERE*, I. p. 115: "Adoption as an institution was evidently unfamiliar in Palestine during the NT period".

Yet adoption seems to have been known among the Jews at the time of Jesus in the form it has still to-day among the Arabs.

When on the cross, Jesus said to his mother: "Woman, behold thy son!" and to the disciple: "Behold, thy mother!" (*St. John XIX. 26 sq.*) it really is a formula of adoption, although in this case it is not expressed by the persons themselves but by a third person. If such an assumption is correct it would be verified by the fact that "from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home." Without this formula of adoption such an action would most probably not have been as little possible in those days as nowadays in the Orient. — We are accustomed to the fact that a rite in order to be legally binding must be performed by a third person.

In the *Book of Esther II. 7, 15* it is said that Mordecai brought up Esther, his uncle's daughter, and it is stated that he took her for his own daughter. There is no information as to how the adoption took place but this need not mean that it was informal, although Box says so (*Adoption, Semitic*, in *ERE*, I. p. 115). I do not believe that any importance should be attached to the fact that several examples of adoption in the Old Testament are said to have taken place outside Palestine. In any case, referring again to the last mentioned example, Mordecai could scarcely have taken an unmarried female cousin into his house without adoption, as the exogamous rules of the Old Testament which forbid marriage between close relatives, do not include cousins.

When a man and woman of to-day have to be together on a journey or in the house, the man says: "Thou art my sister in the Book of God!", and the woman says: "Thou art my brother in the Book of God!" From that moment they are considered to be

brother and sister, and no sexual connection can be put in question between them. They are above suspicion. This custom prevails both among Christian and Muhammadan Arabs in Palestine although the form of adoption varies and different means may be adapted. I was told of a Christian wife in Jerusalem who had to receive a stranger in her home. She took her male guest to the Holy Sepulchre in order to make brother- and sisterhood.

Cf. G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, I p. 9 n. 1 and p. 65, for new birth; *Idem*, *Aus dem Erzählungsschatz palästinischer Bauernfrauen*, p. 126, 128; S c h m i d t - K a h l e, *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*, I. p. 12, 14 sq.

See also H u r g r o n j e, *Mekka*, II. p. 104: "Nun macht man aber wohl solche Freunde, mit denen man ganz ungezwungen verkehren will, zu Adoptivverwandten seiner Frau und stellt sie dieser je nach dem Alter als Vater, Sohn oder Bruder vor. Es versteht sich, dass der Gatte dies nur in der festen Überzeugung thut, von einer Ehe zwischen beiden könne nie die Rede sein". *Ibid.* p. 105: A marriage would be immoral and is considered forbidden by God among laymen.

From what Hurgronje says it is seen that when a man adopts a woman — as a sister, mother or daughter — the ceremony may be arranged by a third person, in the above case the woman's husband, in whose interest lies the fact of an adoption.

J a u s s e n says (*Moab*, p. 24 sq.) of adoption: "L'adoption en effet n'est pas un acte inconnu aux nomades; ils en distinguent même deux, semble-t-il: une partielle et une totale." *Ibid.* p. 25, on adoption of a son: "Naturellement, c'est le père de famille qui joue le rôle principal dans cette admission; c'est lui qui prononcera les paroles de l'adoption; c'est lui qui déclarera que le nouveau venu est son fils *damawy* et *samawy*, c'est-à-dire qu'il portera désormais son nom, et participera à son sang; la première condition sera aisément remplie: il portera le nom de sa famille nouvelle; la seconde le contraindra à se marier dans la tribu." To the adoption belong: confirmation by the sheikh and a sacrifice "à la face d'Allah". — "Le fils adoptif, s'il est seul surtout, aura droit à l'héritage, et le recueillera tout entier; mais il est tenu également à toutes les obligations qui incombent aux fils."

J u y n b o l l writing on *Muhammadan Adoption*, in *ERE* I. p. 111, points out that several cases of adoption are known in the literature and gives the circumstances under which adoption has been made. But in the canonical orthodoxy of Islam adoption is not regarded as a valid institution with binding legal consequences.

This contradiction of custom and law is also found in the Koran and the reason was an incident in the Prophet's private life. Muhammad had an adopted son, Zaid, and fell in love with his wife, Zainab. Zaid divorced his wife and then Muhammad married her. This was regarded as incest and therefore scandalous: according to the *Koran IV. 27* a father is forbidden to marry his son's wife. Then the verses of the *Koran XXXIII. 1—5* and *37* were revealed, pointing out that to call an adopted son a real son was wrong. Marriage to the repudiated wife of an adopted son was therefore not contrary to the will of God. Cf. S m i t h, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 52 sqq., 135 sqq.; J a c o b, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, p. 212; G r a n q v i s t, *Arabiskt familjeliv*, p. 63 sq. Also R o b e r t s, *The Social Laws*, p. 49 sqq.

*Ibid.* p. 51: "The only form of filiation which is recognized by Muhammadan law is the one which is created by *iqrâr* — 'acknowledgment'. The father alone has the right to establish this relationship, to the total exclusion of the mother and all other relations." And p. 52: "in order to make an acknowledgment of a child by a married woman valid, it must be confirmed by her husband's own declaration."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. J a u s s e n, *Naplouse*, p. 39 n. 2: "La mère nourrit sa fille avec la même bonté que son fils. Pendant qu'elle nourrit sa fille, son lait est appelé . . . 'lait de fille'." The author adds that this milk "entre dans la préparation de certaines potions employées contre les maladies d'oreilles, d'yeux, de tête, etc. Il sert aussi à la composition de cataplasmes émollients et parfois il est appliqué directement sur le membre malade."

Compare with this, the healing power which is attributed by tradition to the virgin Mary's milk. *Supra*, p. 246 sq. n. 3.

Page 117

<sup>20</sup> For the Arabic words for baby, a sucking child, and a

weaned child, see Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. p. 36. It is also said: "A child remains a baby until he is weaned from his mother's breast."

A still earlier age is: "in his mother's womb".

Similar expressions for the time before birth are found in the Bible. "From the womb", *Isaiah XLIX. 1*; *Psalms XXII. 10*; *LXXI. 6*; "from the bowels of my mother", *Isaiah XLIX. 1*; "from my mother's belly", *Psalms XXII. 10*. — For birth: "thou art he that took me out of my mother's bowels" said of God in *Psalms LXXI. 6*; and similarly in *Galatians I. 15*.

Also the following expressions of early stages of age in the Bible should be considered: — "the children and those that suck the breasts", *Joel II. 16*; "them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts", *Isaiah XXVIII. 9*; the sucking child and the weaned child, *XI. 8*; the sucking child and the young children, *Lamentations IV. 4*; and "an infant of days", i.e. young, *Isaiah LXV. 20*.

<sup>21</sup> Again, Jaussen, *Moab* p. 29: At the moment when a child is weaned some Arabs slaughter an animal. *Genesis XXI. 8*: "And Abraham made a great feast at the same day that Isaac was weaned."

For sucking and weaning as mentioned in the Bible, see also *Genesis XXI. 7*; *XXXII. 15* (of animals); *Isaiah XLIX. 15* (woman cannot forget her sucking child); *XLIX. 23* ("nursing fathers" and "nursing mothers"); *LX. 16*; *LXVI. 11 sq.*; *Job III. 12*. — In *Job XX. 16* there is the expression: "suck the poison of asps". In the New Testament in a figurative sense: "As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby". *1 Peter II. 2*.

<sup>22</sup> Canaan gives a variation of this saying in *The Child*, p. 175: "A proverb tells us that every child has three periods of anxiety: the periods of salting, of weaning and of teething." In this version the trouble of weaning comes before that of teething. This does not agree with the long suckling period. He adds: "The following words are put in the mouth of a child who is teething: 'When my teeth begin to cut through, prepare me my shrouds'." — Cf. Chémali, *Naissance et premier âge au Liban*, p. 745:

"Trois dangers, dit-on, menacent les enfants: la dentition, le sevrage et l'école; et un dicton populaire dit: 'Si ma mère savait quand mes premières dents pousseront, elle me préparerait mes lir.ceuls'." — For teething, see also C a n a a n, *op.cit.* p. 175: "Often babies are given a piece of polished bone . . . to bite upon", and C h é m a l i, *op.cit.* p. 745: "Pour faciliter la première dentition, il faut frotter les gencives de l'enfant avec la cervelle d'un petit moireau."

In order to draw attention to the fact I quote L a g e r c r a n t z, *Anomalous Dentition and its Ritual Significance in Africa*, p. 5 sqq: if child born with teeth; and p. 8 sqq.: if upper teeth appear first. *Ibid.* p. 19: "The Arabs of Zanzibar regarded as monsters such children as cut their first tooth in the upper jaw." *Ibid.* p. 35: Children born with teeth were usually killed, and "appear to have been even more dangerous than those whose teething was abnormal". Also E v a n s - P r i t c h a r d, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, p. 57 sqq.: Person who cuts his upper teeth first, and possessor of bad teeth.

<sup>23</sup> Song Nr. 1, p. 118. The mother protects her child as the bird protects the young with her wings, an often used simile of which some variations are found in the Bible. In the *Psalms* for God and man: "He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust" (*XCI. 4*); "hide me under the shadow of thy wings" (*XVII. 8*), and: "O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings" (*XXXVI. 7*).

In the New Testament God says: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" *St. Matthew XXIII. 37* and *St. Luke XIII. 34*. Also *Exodus XIX. 4*, where God says how He bare His people on eagle's wings. In *Isaiah XXXI. 5* it is stated: "As birds flying (i.e. over their nest), so will the Lord of hosts defend Jerusalem." Also *X. 14*.

Page 118

<sup>24</sup> B a u m a n n, *Volksweisheit*, p. 167 Nr. 68: People find their children beautiful.

<sup>25</sup> Song Nr. 2, p. 119. — L a n e, *The Arabian Nights*, I. p. 21:

"I was blessed with a male child, like the rising full moon". A person like the full moon is an expression often used of a beautiful person in Arab literature. Tallqvist says, *Biblskt bildspråk*, p. 112: "An extremely beautiful woman is called full moon by an old Arab poet while other women must be satisfied with being called stars." (Author's transl.) Cf. The beloved is "fair as the moon, clear as the sun", *Song of Solomon VI. 10*. — In Joseph's dream his parents are compared with the sun and the moon and his brothers with the stars. *Genesis XXXVII. 9 sq.*

<sup>26</sup> For lullabies and songs for children, see also Stepanan, *Palestinian Nursery Rhymes and Songs*, in *JPOS XII. 1932*, p. 62—85; Chémali, *Naissance et premier âge au Liban*, in *Anthropos, V. 1910*, p. 745: Les Songes, and p. 1076 sqq.: Berceuses et chants pour les enfants; Bergsträsser, *Ramadan-Kinderlieder aus Kairo*, in *ZS VIII. 1932*, p. 149—161, and *Zu den Ramadan-Kinderliedern aus Kairo*, in *ZS IX. 1933—34*, p. 136. Also Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkpoesie*, p. 134—7, Nrs. 1—66: Wiegenlieder für die kleinen Kinder; Hurgronje, *Mekka, II. p. 199*: Mekkanisches Wiegenlied.

For expressions used by mother to child, see Canaan, *The Child*, p. 170: "my soul", "my eyes", "light of my eyes", "my heart's leaf", "my heart", "my supporter", "my camel", "my life".

Page 119

<sup>27</sup> *Chémali, op.cit.* p. 1086: nanni = gâteau, douceur.

Page 123

<sup>28</sup> I saw a cradle in one house only in the village, the mother being a native of Bethlehem. In cities cradles are used. — Sessions, *Some Syrian Folk-Lore Notes*, p. 7: "The cradle is a curious structure, into which the child is so tightly strapped as to be unable to move hand or foot. It is unlucky to the child to rock an empty cradle."

Page 124

<sup>29</sup> Similarly Canaan, *The Child*, p. 173. — Jaussen, *Moab*, p. 17. On journeys the mother carries her child in a sack on her back.

Petrie, *Social Life in the Ancient Egypt*, p. 122 sq.: "During infancy children were carried by slinging in a shawl wrapped round the mother or elder sister, sometimes in front and sometimes behind." — Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 79: "The young children, of both sexes, are usually carried by their mothers and nurses, not in the arms, but on the shoulder, seated astride, and sometimes, for a short distance, on the hip."

There are some expressions in the Bible about the way in which children are carried.

Moses said to God (*Numbers XI. 12*): "Have I conceived all this people? have I begotten them, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing father beareth the sucking child". In *Isaiah XLIX. 22* it is said of sons carried in the arms and daughters carried upon shoulders, and *LX. 4*: "and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side"; also *LXVI. 12*: "then shall ye suck, ye shall be borne upon her sides, and be dandled upon her knees."

<sup>30</sup> C a n a a n remarks (*The Child*, p. 174) that the first words of an Arab child are *bâbâ* and *mâmâ*. — Also among the old Israelites the words for father and mother were probably the first words of a child. In order to point out the early stage of age *Isaiah* says (*VIII. 4*): "For before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father and my mother". — See also Chémali, *Naissance et premier âge au Liban*, p. 1085 sq.: Le langage des petits enfants. — Cf. Paul, the Apostle's, observation of children's speech, understanding and thoughts, contrary to those of adults, *1 Corinthians XIII. 11*.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Chémali, *Moeurs et usages au Liban. L'éducation*, p. 628: "Jamais un enfant libanais ne se permet d'embrasser ses père et mère, mais il leur baise la main, si haut placé fût-il". For kissing on hand, see also Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 275: "The son kisses the hand of the father; the wife, that of her husband; and the slave, and often the free servant, that of the master."

Page 125

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Lane, *op.cit.* I. p. 79, also p. 39. — *Ibid.* I. p. 79 n.: "It is customary among the peasants throughout a great part of Egypt,

on the first occasion of shaving a child's head, to slay a victim, generally a goat, at the tomb of some saint in or near their village.

... Their Pagan ancestors in Arabia observed this custom, and usually gave, as alms to the poor, the weight of the hair in silver." — In *Matthews*, *Mishkât*, II. p. 316, the following explanation is given: "BURAIDAH said, 'We used, in times of ignorance, when children were born to us, to slay goats and rub their heads with the blood. Then when the *Islâm* religion came, we slew a goat on the seventh day, and shaved the child's head, and rubbed saffron upon it'."

<sup>33</sup> For dress of children, see *Canaan*, *The Child*, p. 179: no distinctive clothes; *Ashkenazi*, *Tribus Semi-Nomades de la Palestine du Nord*, p. 137; *Lane*, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 81 sq.: Children generally very dirty and shabbily clad, and reason for their being so.

## PLAY AND WORK

(Pages 127—139)

### Page 128

<sup>1</sup> For great skill in stone throwing, see also *Judges XX. 16*: Of "seven hundred chosen men lefthanded every one could sling stones at an hair breadth, and not miss."

### Page 129

<sup>2</sup> *St. Matthew X. 29*, and a slight variation in *St. Luke XII. 6*.

### Page 130

<sup>3</sup> See also *Hoffner*, *Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, p. 180—3: Games with marbles.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly *Haddad*, *The Guest-House in Palestine*, p. 280 sq.: ring games and riddles. *Infra*, p. 274 n. 11. — *Mülinen*, *Jugendspiele der Karmelbevölkerung*; *S.*, *Kinder und Kinderspiele in Damaskus*. — For games for adults, see *Lane*, *Modern Egyptians*, II. p. 51.

### Page 131

<sup>5</sup> *Laban immo*, lit. "his mother's milk", is probably a mutilated

form of an expression that was "the kid in his mother's milk." In any case this dish consists of the flesh of a young sheep or a young goat boiled in milk. *Laban* does not only mean milk but also sour milk. More milk is obtained during the milk period than can be used immediately, butter and milk for churning butter are kept for some time, occasionally for a long period. The more possible it is that for boiling the kid or lamb *laban* is used in which the milk of his mother is mixed.

This was forbidden in the laws of the old Israelites. It is stated in the Old Testament: "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk". *Exodus XXIII. 19; XXXIV. 26; Deuteronomy XIV. 21.* — At least for burnt offering a sucking lamb was taken, as is stated in *1 Samuel VII. 9.* According to *Exodus XXIX. 38* lambs of the first year were offered upon the altar but not before the eighth day. In *Leviticus XXII. 27* it is prescribed that the young of a bullock, sheep or goat shall be seven days under the dam before slaughtered for sacrifice.

Fitch, *One God. The Ways We Worship Him*, p. 20, on dietary laws in Jewish religion: "It is forbidden to mix meat and milk products, so there is no butter on the table with a meat dinner, and no creamed chicken."

Page 134

<sup>6</sup> *manúha.*

<sup>7</sup> *Genesis XXXI. 41*, also *XXX. 30 sq.* Cf. *Hosea XII. 12:* "Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he kept sheep."

Page 135

<sup>8</sup> Among people where cousin marriage is highly esteemed, and the cousin is considered to be the best wife, it often happens that a young man falls in love with his father's brother's daughter — and she must marry him. The son of a girl's father's brother has the first right to her. "The cousin comes first", it is said. Also in every kind of sale the cousin, the son of the father's brother has the first right of purchase.

Cf. *Jeremiah XXXII. 7, 8:* The son of the uncle said: Buy thee my field, for the right of inheritance is thine, and the redemption

is thine; buy it for thyself. — And this leads to cousin marriage. *Numbers XXXVI. 8, 10 sq.* Also *Tobit VI. 11—16*: If a man has only one child, a daughter, who is his heir, he must, according to the law of Moses, give her to a close relative for a wife, or else he is committed to death. — For the nearest kinsman's right to buy or redeem field and wife of a dead childless man, see *Ruth III. 9, 12 sq.; IV. 4 sqq, 9 sq.*

<sup>9</sup> Jennings-Bramley on the development of a Bedouin boy (*The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula*, in *PQS XXXIX* 1907, p. 22 sq.): First years with mother, helps to shepherd goats and must be able to look after himself at the age of eight; he also learns to play the flute. After he is eight years old things begin in earnest. The author saw a ten-year-old boy shepherding camels alone. He must find water and grass for them. "While out with the flocks he lives chiefly on camel's milk and bread, varying his diet with roasted corn."

In free time he plays the flute and knits the camel's wool, which women have spun, into caps, or twists it into the rope with which the camels are fastened at night, or into a cord for keeping on the head-kerchief. His wages consist of food and clothes and one male baggage camel per annum. A man is usually married before he is twenty years of age and must then possess a few camels.

Littmann again says about Bedouin boys (*Arabische Beduinenerzählungen*, II. p. X): Free life, little boys train for future life and feel themselves far above the peasants who are so unfree and live in houses.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Canaan, *The Child*, p. 177: Playtime period very short for peasant children, and in general no real childhood for boys and girls in Palestine. — Lees, *Village Life*, p. 113: Little girls early at work, carry water, knead and bake bread, cook; ready for marriage at twelve years of age. — In Egypt I saw childworkers, boys and girls, weaving rugs. — Again, Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens*, p. 103: "Es gibt manche Spiele der Kinder; in den ersten Lebensjahren spielen Knaben und Mädchen noch zusammen, später nicht mehr." — Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II. p. 106: Up to the eighth and tenth year girls are

allowed to associate rather freely with boys and love marriage may be founded already during play. Cf. Henninger, *op.cit.* p. 22 n. 70.

In *Lamentations V. 13* it is lamented that the enemy "took the young men to grind, and the children fell under the wood." — To grind and to gather wood is woman's work; and in ancient times, as to-day, it was slavery and a shame for a man, probably also for a boy, to be compelled to gather wood. — Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 293.

Among Arabs, as among all peoples, singing, dancing and music play a dominant role. Adult women are not allowed to sing songs of joy or dance if it is not the season i.e. weddings or circumcision feasts; nor would it be suitable to sing funeral songs if not some one is dead.

If there is a wedding or a circumcision or some other feast of joy even little girls may be seen imitating dances and songs of the grown up women. Similarly the boys. They too begin early to take part in the dances and songs of the men, and are never so busy to practise playing the flute as in times when there is a feast of joy in the village. What would a feast be without dancing and singing? In the villages they do not hire music and professional singers. Relatives and friends have to produce the musical entertainment. It is their duty. When the children practise dancing and singing at play they are preparing for future social functions at the same time.

There are statements in the Bible of similar playing and dancing and singing by children.

In *Zechariah VIII. 5* it is said: "And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof." And Jesus refers to what he surely often had witnessed "children sitting in the markets" playing and when quarrelling complain and call to their playmates: "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not wept". *St. Matthew XI. 16 sq.*; *St. Luke VII. 32*. — The prophet who speaks of death and future misfortunes says to the women of his time: "Teach your daughters wailing, (and every one her neighbour lamentation)". *Jeremiah IX. 20*.

David, when a young shepherd, was a clever harp player. *1 Samuel XVI. 16 sqq.* Music was a suitable occupation for boys but in unhappy times when the enemy ruled the country, the young men ceased from their music, the joy of the heart ceased and the dance turned into mourning. *Lamentations V. 14 sq.*

Victory in war again was celebrated by singing and dancing, by men and women, with tabors, with joy, and instruments of music. *Judges XI. 34; 1 Samuel XVIII. 6 sq.; XXI. 11; XXIX. 5; Ben Sira XLVII. 6.* Singing and dancing before the Lord by men and women was a religious rite and duty. *Exodus XV. 1 sqq., 20 sq.; 2 Samuel VI. 16.* And music was considered a remedy for a sick mind. *1 Samuel XVI. 16, 23.*

For allusions in the Old Testament to children, and even to small children, playing with animals, see *Isaiah XI. 8* and *Job XLI. 5.*

It is interesting to notice that observations were made already in the Old Testament (*Proverbs XX. 11*) that a man's character may be seen already in the child's games and doings.

Page 137

<sup>11</sup> In the Bible there is a similar expression for age but in this case it is used of a man. In *St. John XXI. 18* it is said: When thou wast young, thou girdest thyself, but when thou shalt be old, another shall gird thee. To gird oneself means strength. Cf. *Job XL. 7* where it is said: "Gird up thy loins now like a man", and *Proverbs XXXI. 17* of a woman: "She girdeth her loins with strength." See also *Isaiah XLV. 5.* In *2 Kings III. 21* the expression "all that were girded with a girdle" means "all that were able to put on armour". — Cf. Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. p. 37 and *supra*, p. 131: "can bear arms" as an expression of age.

Page 138

<sup>12</sup> *tábún.*

## EDUCATION AND CHARACTER

(Pages 140—183)

Page 140

<sup>1</sup> Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 191 sq.: "The Arabs, Christians or Mohammedans, pay little or no attention to the instruction of their children." — Conder says (*Tent Work in Palestine*, p. 299) of the fellaheen: "entire absence of education", and (p. 324): the native children as a rule receive no education. — Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness*, p. 94: No education for children, they learn expressions and general sayings and imitate their elders. General opinion only leads them.

Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, I. p. 56: "With respect to education, a young Aeneze boy may be truly styled the 'child of nature'. His parents leave him to his own free will; they seldom chastise him, but train him from his cradle to the fatigues and dangers of nomade life." The father does not teach the boy civil manners but instead desires him to beat and pelt the strangers who come to the tent, to steal or to secrete in joke some trifling article belonging to them. The more troublesome with strangers the more well suited for their nomadic life they are. *Ibid.* I. p. 65: When grown up the boy receives a camel from his father and is allowed to go out on voyages of plunder. So far Burckhardt.

It is however necessary to point out what may be called the 'inner' morality: conduct towards members of their own tribe or Arabs in general, in such a high degree unknown to Westerners. Tourists often show very little tact towards natives, neither western nor oriental politeness is shown, and they cannot judge Arab morality from their experiences. — Cf. also Hamblly, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples*, p. 10: "Similarly, the inquirer may reasonably look askance at a primitive code of morals, and ethical teaching which rules within the tribe only, while members of a neighbouring unit may have to suffer theft, slaughter and slavery, as there is no extension of the moral code which provides for the toleration of a probable enemy."

<sup>2</sup> Ashkenazi says *Tribus Semi-Nomades de la Palestine*

*du Nord*, p. 73: Education primitive, no school in the tribe but the Bedouin loves his children and devotes much of his time to them. "Pendant la journée, il se trouve la plupart du temps sous sa tente, s'occupe de ses enfants et leur raconte maints récits héroïques de juments, de guerres, de combats et de hauts faits passés et présents, accomplis par des hommes vaillants de la tribu. Ces récits constituent toute l'instruction sociale et morale du jeune Bédouin."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 140: How long the mother may retain children under her care, valid in the case of divorce.

Often in Arab literature it is said of a boy that he has been with his mother in childhood. — Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens*, p. 103: "Bis er 7 oder 8 Jahre alt ist, bleibt er bei seiner Mutter, dann schliesst er sich mehr dem Vater an. Die Mädchen bleiben mehr unter der Obhut der Mutter, bis zu ihrer Verheiratung".

Page 141

<sup>4</sup> In *Proverbs XIII. 24* it is said: "He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes." — For: "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him." Also: "The rod and reproof give wisdom: but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame." *Proverbs XXII. 15* and *XXIX. 15*. Cf. *XXIX. 17*; *XIX. 18*; *XXIII. 13 sq.* and *Ben Sira XXX. 1 sq.* Even the Lord corrects man as a father his son, God chastens him with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men. *Proverbs III. 12* and *2 Samuel VII. 14*. — Similarly *Psalms LXXXIX. 30—32*: "If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; If they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments; Then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes." Again, "In vain have I smitten your children; they received no correction". *Jeremiah II. 30*.

But however much importance and value of correction is stressed in the Old Testament there is also the thought that too hard a punishment destroys man if it is not accompanied by moral support and encouragement. *Isaiah LVII. 16*. Also v. *17 sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Paul, the Apostle, warns: "Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath." *Ephesians VI. 4.*

<sup>6</sup> Among the old Israelites the father was responsible for the education of his child and it was his duty to teach him God's commandments.

"And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." *Deuteronomy VI. 7* and *XI. 19.* Compare *Proverbs I. 8*: "My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother." Similarly *Proverbs VI. 20.*

Tradition was a command. Sayings of old and the law in Israel should be taught to the young.

"That the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born; who should arise and declare them to their children." *Psal'm LXXVIII. 3—6*; also *LXXI. 18.* — "And when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord our God hath commanded you?" Then the father shall teach his son the fate and history of his people, and how and why the Lord commanded them to do all these statutes and observe all these commandments. *Deuteronomy VI. 20—25*, also *VI. 2*, and *Exodus XII. 26 sq.*, also *XIII. 8.*

Even on his death bed the father repeats his instructions to his son and admonishes him to follow the law of Moses.

When Tobit had prayed to God to be allowed to die, he spoke to his son of his last will and gave him good advice. *Tobit IV. 2. sqq.* — Similarly David. When he was old and full of days he gave his son Solomon practical advice of how to act and of how to treat different persons. I quote the following words, interesting also from a modern psychological point of view: "I go the way of all earth: be thou strong therefore, and shew thyself a man"; and similarly: "be strong, and of good courage; dread not, nor be dismayed." *1 Kings II. 1—9*, esp. v. 2; *1 Chronicles XXII. 6—15*, esp. v. 13.

Of David's son Adonijah, again, it is said (*1 Kings I. 6*): "And his father had not displeased him at any time in saying; Why hast

thou done so?" which may mean that his son had conducted himself so well that the father had no reason for reproaching him, or that his father was very weak with him, or that he had not taken very much notice of him.

Sons of kings had special educators.

When David's officials are mentioned we find (*1 Chronicles XXVII. 32*): "Jehiel the son of Hachmoni was with the king's sons", and in *2 Kings X. 1, 5 sq.* "the bringers up of the children" of king Ahab are mentioned. King Ahab had 70 sons. — A king could not have time for all his sons.

There is an example in the Old Testament of a boy, a king's son, who was sent to his mother's sister, to another country, to be brought up there. Pharaoh gave the sister of the Egyptian Queen Taphenes in marriage to Hadad, the Edomite, and their son Genubath was weaned in Pharaoh's house by Queen Taphenes, "and Genubath was in Pharaoh's household among the sons of Pharaoh." *1 Kings XI. 19 sq.* — For the remark that this example is perhaps a case of an "informal adoption", see Box, *Adoption (Semitic)*, in *ERE*, I. p. 115. We know too little about the case to be able to draw any definite conclusions. Genubath may have been a foster brother of some of the children of the Egyptian king. In any case it is evident that he was under the supervision of the Egyptian queen for some time.

In *Proverbs XXXI. 1 sqq.* there is an example in the words of King Lemuel of how a mother teaches her son and gives him advice.

For rules of upbringing, see *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*. Also *Ben Sira XXX. 1—13*: The training of children; *XXII. 3—6*: Evil children; and Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus)*, p. 8: "Ecclesiasticus is a Moral Guide-Book to Right Living".

Attention must also be paid to the teaching of adults by the prophets sent by God, when studying education in the Bible. But we find direct guidance by God in the words: "Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest, O Lord, and teachest him out of thy law". *Psalms XCIV. 12*. Cf. *LXXI. 17*, *CXIX. 33, 66*; *Isaiah LIV. 13* and *L. 4*. Also Bentzen, *Jesaja*, II. p. 112 — and *Isaiah I. 2*

where God says: "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me".

God was the Father and men His children whom He brought up, corrected, punished and rewarded. The methods used should be analyzed from a general pedagogic point of view, and from the point of view of what insight they give into the special pedagogics and methods of upbringing among the old Israelites.

<sup>7</sup> Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 91: "Sons scarcely ever sit, or eat, or smoke, in the presence of the father, unless bidden to do so", and even if told by the father that they might do so, they may decline. — Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, I. p. 201 sq.: "A boy, not yet arrived at puberty, shows respect for his father by never presuming to eat out of the same dish with him, nor even before him. It would be reckoned scandalous were any one to say, 'Look at that boy, he satisfied his appetite in the presence of his father.' The youngest male children, till four or five years of age, are often invited to eat by the side of their parents, and out of the same dish."

<sup>8</sup> Sitt Louisa: "Do not get into trouble, especially keep thy mouth shut when in the men's club."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. in the Bible: Father and mother shall be feared and honoured, he that smites them or curses them shall be put to death, or otherwise seriously punished, and he that setteth light by them shall be cursed. *Exodus XXI. 15,17; Leviticus XX. 9; XIX. 3; Deuteronomy XXVII. 16; Proverbs XX. 20; XXVIII. 7; XXX. 17.* Also *St. Matthew XV. 4; St. Mark VII. 10, and Romans I. 30, 32.* — For treatment and punishment of a stubborn and rebellious son who does not obey his parents, see *Deuteronomy XXI. 18—21.* His father and mother shall bring him unto the elders of the city and all the men of the city shall stone him with stones that he die. — For penalty of death of a daughter, or of a man's brother, son, wife or friend, and the reason thereof, see also *Deuteronomy XXII. 13 sqq., 21 sqq. and XIII. 6—10.* — *Ben Sira III. 1—16:* On filial duty and its reward.

<sup>10</sup> Lane says (*op.cit.* I. p. 91) of sons and their father: "and they often wait upon him and upon his guests at meals and on

other occasions: they do not cease to act thus when they have become men."

Page 142

<sup>11</sup> H a d d a d, *The Guest-House in Palestine*, p. 280: "Babies and children up to three years of age are strictly forbidden to enter the guest-house. Fathers who visit the guest-house carrying their children in their arms are responsible for their cleanliness." If something happens they have to pay a penalty of a meal or an animal to all those present in the guest-house. Evenings are spent in the guest-house — by me called the men's club: the men smoking, grinding and roasting coffee, and drinking it. "Disputes of every kind should be presented before the chiefs and mukhtars to be settled here. These decisions are more acceptable than those of the law of the courts." Games and jokes of all kinds take place and make the gathering lively. "Proverbs and moral tales while away the evening hours." Male guests remain there for the night. Women are not allowed to stay there.

See also Jennings-Bramley, *The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula*, in *PQS XXXVII*. 1905, p. 218 sq., of what men talk about together.

Page 143

<sup>12</sup> It is understandable that in such a stony country as Palestine among the promises of a man standing under God's special protection is the promise that his foot shall not dash at any time against a stone. *Psalms XCI. 12*. In the New Testament this is applied to Jesus. *St. Matthew IV. 6*. — See also *Proverbs III. 23*: "Then shalt thou walk in thy way safely, and thy foot shall not stumble." Again *Jeremiah VI. 21*: "I will lay stumbling-blocks before this people, and the fathers and the sons together shall fall upon them; the neighbour and his friend shall perish."

Page 144

<sup>13</sup> *Supra*, p. 226 n. 37.

Page 145

<sup>14</sup> Chémali, *Moeurs et usages au Liban, L'éducation*, p.

632—9: L'école; and Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 86, on schools in Egypt.

Page 146

<sup>15</sup> Lane, *op.cit.* I. p. 85, 88: schoolmaster, and p. 290: schoolmasters in the mosque El-Azhar, which is regarded as the principal Muhammadan university of the East. — *Supra*, p. 151.

Page 148

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Lane, *op.cit.* I. p. 88: Money given to teacher at several stages of the boy's progress, as when he begins to learn the Koran, "and six or seven times as he proceeds in learning the sacred book; each time the next lesson being written on the tablet." How the boys learn the chapters of the Koran.

Page 151

<sup>17</sup> See also Armstrong, *Ibn Sa'ud*. Öknens konung, p. 380 sq.

<sup>18</sup> Nowadays there are schools and institutes of different kinds also for girls in all large towns.

In Haifa I had the opportunity to see a State school for Muhammadan girls. A Muhammadan teacher told me that if the inspector comes, he sends word to the form-room that he is going to pay a visit to them. The teacher and the girls then cover their faces, before he enters the form. I asked the teacher about the girl's opinion of the veil and she said that small girls need not use it and that they often long for the time when they may do so but then many of them regret having begun too early. If they have once started to use the veil they are not allowed to leave it again. The head mistress of the school was Miss Gertrud Nassar, a Christian. — See also Jansen, *Naplouse*, p. 42: "L'éducation des filles de 6 à 13 ou 15 ans."

Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 90: "The female children are very seldom taught to read or write; and not many of them, even among the higher orders, learn to say their prayers . . . There are many schools in which girls are taught plain needle-work, embroidery, etc." Or a female teacher of such kinds of work is engaged to attend the girls in their own homes.

Harrison, *The Arab at Home*, p. 259: "A few indulgent fathers have their daughters to read the Koran, but it would be fatal to a woman's reputation to know how to write. She might write a letter to some one other than her husband."

Page 152

<sup>19</sup> *1 Samuel XX. 29*: A man takes part in his family sacrifices and if away he may go to his father's house for such an occasion.

Page 154

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Sarah in her tent hears the men's talk, *Genesis XVIII. 10*.

Page 156

<sup>21</sup> The Israelites, too, used animal dung for firewood when baking, as the people of to-day in Palestine do, where, even in the cultivated areas, there is a great want of firewood.

This custom seems very strange to Westerners who cannot understand it. Böök, *Resa till Jerusalem*, p. 230: "Rationellt arbete är något ytterst sällsynt i Österlandet. Åkrarna gödslas aldrig, spillningen eldas upp". But I have been told stories of how very useful and practical it has been, especially for the Bedouin in the desert — and the Israelites had been nomades too.

On the other hand it was a punishment for them to be compelled to bake cakes "with dung that cometh out of man" and especially in the sight of enemies, and the Lord says to the Prophet: "Lo, I have given thee cow's dung for man's dung, and thou shalt prepare thy bread therewith." *Ezekiel IV. 12, 15*.

Page 157

<sup>22</sup> Petrie, *Social Life in the Ancient Egypt*, p. 123: Modelling of clay toys like modern African children do.

<sup>23</sup> *Supra*, p. 139. — See also *Jeremiah VII. 18* and *Isaiah XXVII. 11*; *1 Kings XVII. 10, 12*.

Page 158

<sup>24</sup> Nassar, *Bilder aus dem Leben der mohammedanischen Frauenwelt Galiläas*, p. 96 sqq.: on women's work and the remark: "In der Wildnis ist Freiheit," the women say.

Page 159

<sup>25</sup> See also Gollancz, *Pedagogics of the Talmud*, p. 113: Female education.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Deuteronomy XXII. 23 sqq.*

<sup>27</sup> Fatme Jedallah: "It leads to trouble."

Page 160

<sup>28</sup> Sitt Louisa: "Seeing what people cook."

<sup>29</sup> Sitt Louisa: "What one happens to say, go not and carry it to another house."

<sup>30</sup> *Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus) XXVI. 10 and XLII. 9—14* "The care of daughters".

People are warned about the daughter: And in the house of women let her not gossip. Paul, the Apostle, disapproves of young women being idle and "wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not" and recommends marriage with its duties for such women in order to improve them. *1 Timothy V. 13 sq.*

<sup>31</sup> For advice to bride, see also Granqvist, *Marriage*, II. p. 74 sq.: A woman married into another place is warned to beware of the women there, the women are stinging scorpions. Also *supra*, p. 165. — In *Ben Sira XXVI. 7* a woman is compared to a scorpion.

Page 161

<sup>32</sup> Price and praise of a good wife in *Proverbs XXXI. 10 sqq.*

<sup>33</sup> The value of the right use of the tongue and of sweet words both for men and women is pointed out in the Bible, e.g. in the *Proverbs XV. 1, 4; XVI. 24; XVIII. 21; Ben-Sira V. 9—15; XX. 1—8; XXII. 6, 27; XXIII. 2; XXVI. 5; also James III. 5 sqq. and Romans III. 13.* — The evil tongue: *Ben-Sira XXVIII. 13—26 and XXVI. 6.*

<sup>34</sup> This proverb — universal — is quoted also by Singer-Littmann, *Arabic Proverbs*, Nr. 64, p. 32.

Page 162

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Burckhardt, *Arabische Sprüchwörter*, p. 316

Proverb Nr 716: "Saure Gesichter und tückische Herzen", and the author's remark: "Es giebt nichts verhassteres für den Morgenländer, als ein solches Gesicht." Also Nr. 718, p. 317: "Sein Gesicht schneidet jeden Gewinn ab."

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Wensinck, *Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 255: "Conversation with men prohibited to women." — And a good man does not try to tempt a woman to speak with him. A man from Artas said about Jude's wife who came from Silwan near Jerusalem that he had not spoken one word to her, although she had married a villager and had now lived in Artas for many years. It might seem unfriendly but the man said it in self-praise to show how well he had behaved. No wonder that it is said: "A strange woman enters a prison." — Cf. *St. John IV. 27*: The disciples marvelled that Jesus talked to a strange woman. — See also *Ben-Sira IX. 1—9*: Conduct towards women.

<sup>37</sup> It is striking to observe how a Bedouin woman in the desert when meeting a stranger, wraps herself in her headcloth already at a distance, or at least covers her face with her wide sleeve.

Similarly in *Genesis XXIV. 65*. When Rebekah was on her way to Isaac and saw him at a distance "she took a veil, and covered herself." Gunkel remarks, *Genesis*, p. 260: "nur verschleiert will sie ihrem Bräutigam begegnen", and explains this as "die Sitte der Verschleierung der Braut", but it is not necessary to interpret her action as a wedding custom. Rebekah observed what custom demands when a woman meets a man on her way and was of course especially anxious that Isaac's conception of her should be favourable.

Page 163

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Jeremiah L. 12*: "Your mother shall be sore confounded; she that bare you shall be ashamed." Even a father may curse his wife if he is angry with their child.

So did Saul, *1 Samuel XX. 30*. When his anger was kindled against his son Jonathan he said: "Thou son of the perverse rebellious woman", reproaching him for his deed, as being "to thine own confusion, and unto the confusion of thy mother's nakedness".

The mother is punished if her children are evil. *Isaiah L. 1*: "for your transgressions is your mother put away." — *Jeremiah XXII. 26*: "I will cast thee out, and thy mother that bare thee, into another country, where ye were not born; and there shall ye die." Cf. *2 Kings XXIV. 15*.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *St. Luke XI. 27*: "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked." See also a similar expression in negative form, *St. Luke XXIII. 29*: "Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck."

Page 165

<sup>40</sup> A good and wise child is a joy to the father and the mother. *Proverbs XXIII. 24, 25*. Cf. the words of welcome by Tobit to Sarah, his daughter-in-law (*Tobit XI. 18*): Blessed is thy father . . . and blessed art thou, daughter!

<sup>41</sup> For a woman cursed in her husband's house, see Granqvist, *Aus dem Erzählungsschatz palästinischer Bauernfrauen*, p. 125 sqq., and *Idem, Marriage*, I. p. 94. — See also Gollancz, *Pedagogics of the Talmud*, p. 43 sq.: "The greatest blessing which a man can have is to have children worthy of him (Mid. R. IV. 2); while the world often says: Cursed be he who has given birth to this one (Sanh. 52 a)."

<sup>42</sup> Chémali quotes a proverb (*Moeurs et usages au Liban. L'éducation*, p. 629) of the following contents: Teach thy son while young and when he is grown up treat him like a brother. See also *ibid.*, p. 630 sq.: "Proverbes relatifs aux enfants et à leur éducation. — Éducation du caractère et de la volonté."

<sup>43</sup> In *Job XIX. 23 sq.* there are the expressions: words written or printed in a book, "graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" Both these kinds of writings were customary e.g. in Egypt. A fortune teller writes in sand when telling fortunes. Cf. *St. John VIII. 6, 8*.

Page 166

<sup>44</sup> *Supra*, p. 108.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Ben-Sira XXX. 1—13*: The training of children, and

esp. v. 7. *sqq.*: Petting a son makes trouble. — *Proverbs X. 5*: "a wise son", and "a son that causeth shame". In *XIX. 13* it is said: "A foolish son is the calamity of his father".

<sup>46</sup> Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. p. 65 sq.

Page 168

<sup>47</sup> *Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus) XLII. 9—14*: The care of daughters; a fallen daughter pleases the enemy. Cf. in olden times daughter as prisoner of war.

<sup>48</sup> Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. p. 101 sq.

<sup>49</sup> Matthews, *Mishkât*, p. 128: A child unlike its parents may derive those features from a remote ancestor. — Wensink, *Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 44: A husband must acknowledge the child even if it does not resemble him.

Page 169

<sup>50</sup> A saying which Stephan (*Palestinian Animal Stories and Fables*, p. 170 n. 2) finds "largely true". — Cf. Littmann, *Arabische Beduenerzählungen*, II. p. 11 n.: "Es ist ein alter arabischer Glaube, dass körperliche und geistige Eigenschaften vom Oheim mütterlicherseits auf den Neffen übergehen." And *ibid.* p. X: "Ebenso findet er sich in Abessinien, wo man sagt: 'der Oheim hat Kinder, ohne sie zu zeugen' ... Dieser Glaube geht auf die Zeiten zurück, in der das Matriarchat herrschte."

<sup>51</sup> For such a case, see Granqvist, *Marriage*, I. p. 105. — Singer-Littmann quote (*Arabic Proverbs*, p. 10 Nr. 16) a proverb about a daughter resembling her mother which is also a Palestinian proverb: "Pull a girl by her sleeve, she always resembles her mother." — Cf. *Ezekiel XVI. 44*: "Behold, every one that useth proverbs shall use this proverb against thee, saying, As is the mother, so is her daughter." — Gollancz, *Pedagogics of the Talmud*, p. 44: "One sheep follows the other i.e. As the mother so the daughter (Ket. 63 a)."

<sup>52</sup> Similarly from a woman's footsteps whether she is married or unmarried. See also Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 212—214: Sagacity in tracing of Footsteps, or "Athr."

Page 170

<sup>53</sup> For similar expressions used in the Bible, see *Romans IV. 19*: "he considered not his own body now dead . . . neither yet the deadness of Sarah's womb", and *Hebrews XI. 12*: Innumerable seed "of one, and him as good as dead."

<sup>54</sup> For old age of parents, especially the father, see *Genesis V. 3, 6, 9*, etc.: Adam begat Seth at the age of 130 years; Seth begat Enos when 105 years old; Enos begat Cainan when 90 years old, etc. — Abram was 86 years old, "when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram." Abraham was 100 years old and Sarah 90 years old when Isaac was born. *Genesis XVI. 16; XXI. 5, 7* and *XVII. 17*; see also *Genesis XXI. 7* and *Hebrews XI. 11*. — Isaac was 40 years old when he took Rebekah to wife and 60 years old when Esau and Jacob were born. *Genesis XXV. 20, 26*. — See also *2 Kings IV. 14*: old father, and *St. Luke I. 7, 18*: both parents old.

Pierotti remarks in *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 176: Late marriages for men during the patriarchal epoch but in later days they married after having passed the period of puberty. "For example, Jehoram king of Judah, who died at the age of 40, left a son 22 years old; Amon, aged 24, left a son of 8, who also became a father at 14; Jehoiakim had a son born to him when he was 18; and we may fairly conclude that the example of the royal family would be followed by the other classes of society. According to the rabbinical traditions a youth ought to marry at the age of 18, and the daughters are pronounced marriageable at the age of 12." — Maimonides, *Hebraeorum de Connubiis*, c. 2, § 1. Paris, 1673.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Psalms CXXVII. 4*: "As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man; so are children of the youth", and the high value of the first-born in the Bible, because he is the beginning and chief of his father's strength. The first fruit is something fine.

<sup>56</sup> *Supra*, p. 109.

<sup>57</sup> 'aqel il-'abid — also *supra*, p. 112.

Page 172

<sup>58</sup> *Supra*, p. 36.

<sup>59</sup> See also C a n a a n, *The Curse in Palestinian Folklore*, p. 241: "Your blood is as heavy as the blood of bugs (= a clumsy parasite)."

Page 173

<sup>60</sup> Christ also divides people into four types in the parable of the sower: the wayside, the rock or stony place, the thorns, and the good ground. *St. Matthew XIII. 4 sqq.*; *St. Luke VIII. 5 sqq.*

<sup>61</sup> In Arabic: *il-hawâwi*, *il-mâwi*, *in-nîrâni*, *it-trâbi*.

Cf. *supra*, p. 224 n. 23. Man created of earth or clay, the angels of light and air, or a bright "gem", the "genii" of fire.

Page 175

<sup>62</sup> *St. Matthew II. 2, 7, 9 sq.*

<sup>63</sup> H a h n, *Der Sternhimmel des germanischen Bauern*, p. 106: "Der Mond ist drei Tage in jedem Monat nicht am Himmel zu sehen. Dann geht er jeweils wieder als ganz schmale Sichel 12 mal im Jahresrund an einer anderen Stelle auf. Im alten Babylonien sah man hier je ein Haus und fügte die bedeutenderen Sterne dieser Stellen zu Bildern zusammen, denen auch wir die Namen als Tierkreiszeichen geben."

<sup>64</sup> B a u m a n n, *Volksweisheit aus Palästina*, p. 167 Nr. 67: "Kot bleibt Kot."

<sup>65</sup> Given to me by Émile Baldensperger.

<sup>66</sup> Again, if a man is reproached for having done a thing which only harmed him, he may answer that the fault is not his but theirs who gave him the advice, maintaining that he is the victim of the speculations and intrigues of others. "They have thrown us in the water and no one has drawn us out; our feet reached the water, then they draw us back again thirsty." G r a n q v i s t, *Marriage*, II. p. 179. — Cf. B u r c k h a r d t, *Arabische Sprüchwörter*, Nr. 719, p. 317: "Er führte ihn zum Flusse, aber brachte ihn durstig zurück." — Also *Jeremiah XXXVIII. 22*: "Thy friends have set thee on, and have prevailed against thee: thy feet are sunk in the mire, and they are turned away back."

<sup>67</sup> Good deeds smell good. This is said of man and woman, and also of the dead in heaven (*supra*, p. 180). A man says of a good

girl: "She is mysk, I put her in my pocket", when he marries her. The orientals take great delight in perfumes and rich people fumigate their apartments. Several substances are used. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 280: Aloes-wood is a substance most commonly used for the perfuming-vessel. — *Psalm XLV. 8*; *Proverbs VII. 17*; *Song of Solomon IV. 14*; *St. John XIX. 39*.

Page 177 .

<sup>68</sup> In the Bible there are examples of a child's fate and character being determined before birth, e.g. the children whose births were foretold. *Genesis XVI. 12*; *Judges XIII. 5*; *St. Matthew I. 21*; *St. Luke I. 14—17*. See also *Genesis XXV. 22 sq.* — Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 295; *Romans IX. 11 sq.*; and *Jeremiah I. 5*: "before thou camest forth out of the womb ... I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations." Belief in determinism in the New Testament has influenced Christian doctrine.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *Isaiah XLVIII. 8*: "called a transgressor from the womb", and *Psalm LVIII. 3*: "The wicked are estranged from the womb: they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies."

<sup>70</sup> *Supra*, p. 62 and p. 223 n. 22.

Page 178

<sup>71</sup> See also Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 97 and II. 230: Predestination, and (I. 387 sq.) its influence upon the character of the Muhammadans.

<sup>72</sup> Christ may have meant something similar when he called a little child unto him and said: Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven. *St. Matthew XVIII. 2 sq.*

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Matthews, *Mishkât*, II. p. 119: There are three persons whose acts are not counted: a sleeping man, a boy who has not yet reached maturity, and an insane person until he has regained his senses. — Moses does not speak to the children, because they have no knowledge and experience. *Deuteronomy XI. 2*. — Again: "I speak as unto my children". *2 Corinthians VI. 13*.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *St. Luke XXII. 3* and *St. John XIII. 2*. Also *St. Matthew IV. 1 sqq.*; *St. Mark I. 13* and *St. Luke IV. 2 sqq.*

<sup>75</sup> See also Matthews, *Mishkât*, I. p. 23 marg. n.: "Every man is attended through life by a good and an evil angel." — *St. Matthew XVIII. 10*: In heaven children's angels do always behold the face of God. See also *Acts XII. 15*.

## CIRCUMCISION

(Pages 184—209)

### Procession, Ceremony, Songs and Feast

Spoer-Haddad, *Volkskundliches aus el-Qubêbe bei Jerusalem*, p. 233 sqq.; C a n a a n, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, p. 218 sq.; Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II. p. 141—3; B u r t o n, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, III. p. 80, 141—3.

### Religious Character of Circumcision

C a n a a n, *The Child*, p. 179: The processions take place in the shrine of some important saint like Nebi Musa, Nebi Rubin, Nebi Saleh; in the villages children are taken to the most important saint of the locality to be circumcised. — A rich man makes a vow to take upon himself to circumcise poor children, i.e. the vower must take the expenses of the operation and give every child some clothing as a present. — J a u s s e n, *Moab*, p. 363 sq.: Circumcision combined with sacrifice of an animal, and some examples to show that the sacrifice is obligatory and is done before the face of God. *Ibid.* p. 351: "sacrifice de la circoncision". — G o l l a n c z, *Pedagogics of the Talmud*, p. 34: Father's duty to see that the male child was circumcised.

### Circumcision of Girls

J a u s s e n, *Naplouse*, p. 40 sq.; *Idem*, *Moab*, p. 35: as marriage approaches, and p. 364: exists e.g. in Kerak; Hurgronje,

Mekka, II. p. 142: takes place quietly; Thomas, *Anthropological Observations in South Arabia*, p. 101: takes place the day of birth or the next day; Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, p. 60: also girls; Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, p. 282: on the seventh day for both sexes; Wensinck, *Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 44: how far circumcision is recommended for boys and girls. Also *Enzyklopaedie des Islâm*, II. p. 1028 sqq. and Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, I. p. 377.

#### Time of Circumcision of Boys

Canaan, *The Child*, p. 179: "at any time"; generally done between the age of three and ten; Lees, *Village Life*, p. 111: 5—12 years; *Idem*, *The Witness of the Wilderness*, p. 95: generally 5—7 years; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 190: generally on the eighth day; Ashkenazi, *Tribus Semi-Nomades de la Palestine du Nord*, p. 72: at the age of 5, 7, 10 and 15 years; in some cases one month before marriage; an example of a man married at the age of 21 and circumcised a year and a half after his marriage; and an example of an old Bedouin who circumcised himself; Jausse, *Moab*, p. 363: no fixed time; examples from different tribes; 4th or 5th year; from one year; 2 years; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 82: at the age of about 5 or 6 years, or sometimes later; Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II. p. 141: on the 40th day; 3—7 years; when grown up, in front of his bride; Burton, *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, III. p. 81: usual age 5—6 years; among some classes, ten years later; Maltzan, *op. cit.* p. 282: on the seventh day; Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 101: on approaching adolescence, sometimes after reaching it; Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 60: rather late; Wensinck, *op. cit.* p. 44: at what age a boy is circumcised.

#### Circumcision at Marriage

Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II. p. 141; Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 87: the night before marriage.

## Biblical Parallels

For circumcision and marriage, see also *Genesis XXXIV. 14*. Jacob's sons said: We cannot give our sister to one that is uncircumcised, and they demanded circumcision of the bridegroom before the marriage. — An uncircumcised was considered an outsider and unclean, *Isaiah LII. 1*; also *Ezekiel XLIV. 9*. The uncircumcised could not keep the passover, "for no uncircumcised person shall eat thereof", *Exodus XII. 48*.

For uncircumcised as an abusive word, see *I Samuel XVII. 36*; *XXXI. 4*; *2 Samuel I. 20*; *1 Chronicles X. 4*.

It was a punishment to "die the deaths of the uncircumcised", *Ezekiel XXVIII. 10*. It was said: "they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword", *Ezekiel XXXII. 21*; and *XXXII. 24* of people "which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth."

In the Old Testament already a more spiritualized conception of circumcision may be found. "Uncircumcised lips" is mentioned in *Exodus VI. 30*; uncircumcised ear in *Jeremiah VI. 10*; and in *IX. 26*: "uncircumcised in the heart". Further, *Deuteronomy X. 16*: "Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart". Similarly *XXX. 6* and *Jeremiah IV. 4*; also *IX. 25 sq.* and *Ezekiel XLIV. 7, 9*. Cf. *Acts VII. 51*: "uncircumcised in heart and ears".

In the New Testament there is a total breach with the earlier view when circumcision is no more required of Christians. *Galatians VI. 15*; *Colossians II. 11*. See also *Romans II. 28 sq.*: that is not circumcision "which is outward in the flesh", but "circumcision is that of the heart".

It would demand a special examination to explain any possible connection between the circumcision among the ancient Israelites and the Muhammadan Arabs in present-day Palestine.

In the Old Testament circumcision was undoubtedly of a religious character and was a sign of the covenant God made with Abraham and his descendants. Several of Abraham's family were probably quite old when circumcision was introduced according to the story in the Bible. Abraham himself was ninety-nine years old "when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin", and

Ishmael, his son, was thirteen years old. The circumcision of Abraham took place after the birth of Ishmael but before that of Isaac. Thereafter every boy was to be circumcised when he was eight days old. *Genesis XVII*. See also G u n k e l, *Genesis*, p. 272.

In *Exodus IV. 24 sqq.* Zipporah rescues her son by Moses from death by circumcising him when the Lord came to take his life. Her mysterious words: "a bloody husband art thou to me" could perhaps have some dim connection with the covenant God made with His people which during a later period acquired the character of a marriage, and Israel's unfaithfulness to God was termed as 'whoredom'.

There are different theories as to the origin of circumcision.

Here I mention: P a y n e, *The Child in Human Progress*, p. 159 sq.: "To make the substitution of an animal for a human being more effective, and more popular, Abraham entered into a covenant with Yahweh by which the deity was still given the blood of humans without a life being sacrificed. The rite of circumcision is the substitution commanded by Yahweh himself."

— See also B a r r o i s, *Précis d'Archéologie Biblique*, p. 145. — H a n a u e r, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 33 and 72 sq. n.: origin of circumcision on account of Sarah's and Hagar's hatred.

B u r t o n, *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, III. p. 80 sq.: two kinds of circumcision: "Taharah" as usual among Muhammadans, and "Salkh" an Arab invention, derived from the times of Paganism; forbidden during Wahhabi rule, now people have readopted it. — *Enzyklopaedie des Islâm*, II. p. 1028: The word *Khitân* for circumcision means pre-Muhammadan custom. — The word commonly used is *tuhûr*, purification. J a u s s e n, *Moab* p. 364: "La circoncision est appelée purification"; the word *khaten* "n'est pas compris de la plupart des bédouins."

According to W e s t e r m a r c k, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I. p. 432 sq., "it was probably for humanitarian reasons, or in order to lessen the risk of the operation, that circumcision came to be performed when the boy was younger."

For origin of circumcision, see also S a l e, *Introduction to the Koran*, p. 83, in which he says that circumcision is not so much as once mentioned in the Koran. — Also B r y k, *Die Beschnei-*

*dung bei Mann und Weib. Ihre Geschichte, Psychologie und Ethnologie.*

Page 203

*In South Palestine :*

1 Okiye = 240.6 g = 0.53 lbs. (Avoir)

1 Rottle = 12 Okiyes = 2.880 kg = 6.36 lbs.

*In Syria and North Palestine:*

1 Okiye = 213.6 g = 0.47 lbs.

1 Rottle = 12 Okiyes = 2.56 kg = 5.65 lbs.

Finally an expression mentioned in this chapter. When it is said (p. 199) that it is dangerous to return the same way as one has come it may be a parallel to *1 Kings XIII. 17*: "nor turn again to go by the way that thou camest"; these words mean forbidding the prophet to return to the place to which he was sent by God. Perhaps this may have some connection with *Genesis XIX. 17, 26*: danger to look back at the place which has been left. — For the belief in the Palestine of to-day that returning the same way brings death, see also Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, p. 228.

## ARABIC WORDS

Transliteration of Arabic letters and their numbers in the Arabic alphabet:

a = 1	d = 8	' = 18	m = 24
b = 2	(dh = 9)	gh = 19	n = 25
t = 3	r = 10	f = 20	w (u) = 26
th = 4	z = 11	q = 21	h = 27
j = 5	s = 12	k = 22	y = 28
kh = 7	sh = 13	l = 23	

List of words containing letters incompletely denoted. — If one of the letters in the words below is repeated and followed by a number, e.g. *sabi* — s=14 is denotes that *s* in this case is the 14th letter of the Arabic alphabet.

hetaliye — t = 16	ramadân — d = 15	tâbûn — t = 16
manûha — h = 6	rotl — t = 16	taqiye — t = 16
nasîb — s = 14	sabî — s = 14	tuhûr — t = 16
rahmâni — h = 6	shaitâni — t = 16	wada'a — d = 15

The letter *k* is sometimes used instead of *q* especially in names:

Kais (*qês*); Karine (*qarîne*); Koran (*qurân*); Tawfik (*tawfîq*); also Okiye (*ûqîye*). — *gahui* and not *qahwe* as *q* in this word is pronounced as *g*. In some words quoted *g* and not *j*.

The sign ^ over a vowel indicates that it is long.

Remarks:

'*aqel* lit. intellect; *jâh* lit. dignity, honour; *khalafa* = succeed, follow, and *khallafa* = to bring forth young, to leave behind.

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