Hilma Granqvist

CHILD PROBLEMS AMONG THE ARABS

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CHILD PROBLEMS AMONG THE ARABS

STUDIES IN A MUHAMMADAN VILLAGE IN PALESTINE

BY

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FOREWORD

Child Problems among the Arabs is the second volume of my study on the Arab Child.

In the first volume **Birth and Childhood among the Arabs,** Studies in a Muhammadan Village in Palestine published in autumn 1947, a description is given of prenatal customs, babyhood, games, work, education, and circumcision.

In the second volume various questions with regard to the child, its health and welfare, are discussed. An idea with deep roots in ancient times among the Arabs is — similarly as among many other, even non-Semitic peoples — that the name has a hidden power, good or evil, which influences the fate of man. The name may bring happiness or misfortune, life or death, to the bearer and to the members of his family. Orphanhood, child mortality, the value of boy and girl, the relationship between children and parents, between sisters and brothers, and between young and old in society are child and youth problems discussed.

The material and methods used in my study of the Arab child are described in the Introduction to **Birth and Childhood.** But as the first two chapters of this book are based on genealogical data and statistics I should like to add some words of explanation.

Similarly as in the first volume, most of the people mentioned here belong to the village of Artas, south of Bethlehem.

In the text the names of the villagers are used. In the tables the names are replaced by numbers to save space. Thus I have used a similar system as for members of the forces in many countries where they carry an identification disk with a personal number by the aid of which their data can be found in the military records. I was not acquainted with the military system when I started working out my statistics and decided to give every villager of Artas a number.

My method of genealogical tracing of the whole population of Artas, from the beginning of the last colonization of the village up to the year 1927, is given in the Introduction to **Marriage Conditions.** Genealogical trees, lists and tables regarding the married people in the village during

four to five generations, covering a period of about one hundred years, 1927 inclusive, are attached. Statistics regarding the unmarried are included in this volume on the Arab Child. These particulars complete the picture of the population of Artas.

To the village belonged in the year 1927: 112 husbands including six husbands living in America and two in Palestine but outside Artas, 155 wives, three widows who had been married in some other place but had returned to the village after the death of their husbands, and 225 »still unmarried» children and youths which makes a total of 495 persons.

For the whole period examined: 199 husbands, Nos. 1—199; 243 wives (of whom 136 born in the village and 107 in other places) Nos. 200—442; 55 village daughters married outside the village Nos. 443—497, and 570 unmarried: children and youths Nos. 498—1067.

All information I was able to obtain regarding the children was recorded under the following headings: Number and name of parents, Number and name of children born in each marriage and married, Number and name of the »Still unmarried». The group »Dead before Marriage» is subdivided in: At Birth, In Infancy, Growing Up, and Youths. Further headings are: Abortion and Twins. In each group there are separate columns for males and females. In the column Remarks the age of each child if still alive is given, also its age at death, cause of death etc. in the villagers' own words.

By this procedure a general survey of the number, sex, and fate of the children born in each marriage was obtained and used as a base for the tables included in this volume.

Due to the present difficulties it has not been possible to publish such exhaustive and complete tables as I should have desired. In the »List of Villagers» at the end of the book the data on which the statistics are based are however briefly given. In it every person's name and statistical number is given followed by the numbers of the father and mother (if in the village) and in the case of a wife also that of her husband. The total number of children born to each man by his wife or wives is included. A note is made in each case whether dead or alive. By a very simple procedure the generation to which an individual belongs may be found, also the number of people bearing the same name. It may interest the reader to find out for himself how often the name of a deceased child is given to the next child, sometimes there are a whole series of the kind.

My statistics are in my opinion as reliable and complete as is possible considering that all information comes from the people and is not based on official statistics.

I lately heard a professor express the view that studies in political economy should be given in figures only. In social anthropology there are important parts which may be presented in the form of statistics.

Already in my earlier books I pointed out that the genealogical and statistical methods are excellent instruments of research for the field worker.

On ending my genealogical and statistical research work I should like to mention some results of my studies — treated in detail in **Marriage Conditions** — which would have differed had I relied only on the accounts of the people. Firstly, in theory cousin marriages are given preference, in reality they are not numerous. Secondly, the bride price is no »beauty prize», there is a fixed price for a cousin bride, a clan bride, a village bride, and a stranger bride, and, in addition, a virgin price and a widow price. Thirdly, the greatest difference between theory and fact concerns divorce. Marriages are not dissolved by divorce as frequently as is generally considered customary among the Muhammadans. — On the other hand there are cases where statistics confirm general sayings, for instance, the numerical proportion between males and females found in this volume.

When encountering conflicting statements in practice and theory the reason thereof had to be discovered. My conclusions in this respect were of such psychological, economical, and social nature that they may be assumed to be valid in regard of Muhammadans in general, and distinctly show the necessity of investigations in other districts as well.

Collecting genealogical data the field worker's questioning may rouse memories in connection with the person discussed which in other cases would not have been revealed. And these data bring the field worker into close contact with the real life of the people. It is not an empty phrase when the tragedy of the loss of the first-born or the only son is told. And when the Arabs speak of their personal experiences they use very old expressions, parallels to expressions found in Oriental literature of ancient times.

Whether the genealogical statistics lead to alteration or confirmation of prevalent ideas or not, they have a documentary value of their own.

In books on ethnology I have occasionally found a genealogical tree

giving the descendants of one man or of one married couple only. But I have never found a pedigree of a whole village, and I have had to work out my own system. All the inhabitants must be included to form a synoptic chart of the natural grouping of the population. The genealogy will simultaneously give a picture of the historical development in the village.

Genealogical statistics require much time and immense patience, yet I hope other research workers will use the genealogical and statistical methods in their field work as one of the means of acquainting themselves with the mentality and behaviour of the natives they are interested in.

I should have liked to give the Arabic names in transliteration in connection with translation and explanation of them but this has not been technically possible. In my book on marriage the names are transliterated.

Instead of italics which are not available fat-faced types are used e.g. in personal names; Arabic expressions and others are given in spaced-out types — also quotations from literature. An apostrophe is used for the 18th letter of the Arabic alphabet, and signs for other sounds which have no equivalent in the English language have been omitted.

I am greatly indebted to Miss Agnes Dawson, B.Sc. (Econ.) and Miss Alice Eager for kindly assisting me with the English language. For this and their suggestions I am grateful. Miss Eager has kindly helped me in reading the proofs.

My sincere thanks are due to friends and experts in many countries for their kind and encouraging words and letters reaching me on the publication of **Birth and Childhood.**

Palestine is at present passing through a difficult crisis. A whole world is now following the developments out there, and taking part with anxiety in the fate of that country. A solution is ardently hoped for. May order and harmony be established in the land which the adherents of three religions call the Holy Land.

Whitsun-eve, 15th May 1948

The Author

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Chapter I

NAME

GIVING OF NAME

No Ceremony — Giver of Name

There is no ceremonial in connection with the naming of a child.[1]

It seems that usually the father chooses the name for a boy, and the mother if the new-born child is a girl.[2] But this is not always so. Sometimes the case is reversed and sometimes another close relative chooses the name, or even an outsider may do so.

Early in January 1926 Sitt Louisa and I were told that in the Shahin family, our nearest neighbours to the West, a boy had been born at New Year and we at once went to congratulate them on the happy event. The baby's father's father told us that he had chosen the boy's name. He was to be called Mhammad Fuad. Mhammad after the Prophet, and Fuad after the then Egyptian King.

At the birth of a boy where I was present, the child's father's mother gave the name — Musa — after a deceased relative. By calling him thus the old woman wished to say that the boy, just born, was a compensation for the dead man, and all were delighted. Musa is dead. Musa lives.[3]

At a birth a concentrated, almost exalted atmosphere may prevail among those present and then it may happen that a neighbour suggests a name[4] which appears so suitable to the situation that it is accepted. At times they do not exactly know who first suggested the name which is given to the child.

In the autumn of 1926 a girl was born in the village when Mhammad Yusef was preparing to bring home his bride. It happened on one of the evenings of joy which precedes a marriage festival. When I congratulated the mother, Khaliliye Mhammad, and asked the little girl's name, she told

me that it was Farha, which means joy. »We have called her Farha, for she was born at a time of joy.»

An old man in the village, Mustafa Jedallah, related that his grandfather was born in el-Khadr when it was being built. Then they said: »We want to call this boy Ammuri!»[5] — a name derived from the Arabic word for »to build».

General Principles

The examples mentioned also throw light upon the general principles followed in giving the name.[6] Either the name reflects a situation at the birth of the child or, the child is called after a certain person. In both cases the name often has a religious character also. In the first case it expresses a person's attitude or relation to God. In the latter case this is expressed by giving the name of the Prophet, of a saint, or of some other historical religious person. But when a boy is called Mhammad or a girl Fatme it need not always be directly after the Prophet or after his most beloved daughter. In the first place it can be after a near relative, but this of course does not exclude the possibility that there is a thought of the Prophet or of his daughter, giving it special importance.

It is customary for a boy to be called after his father's father and a girl after her father's mother. In mentioning some such cases in the village it was emphasized to me that the persons whose names were given were dead.

In J e r u s a l e m the Arab teachers said to me:

»The first boy is named after his father's father, the first girl after her father's mother. A child may also have a second name and this is used as long as the person lives after whom it was named.»

At a visit which I paid to Mrs Lydia Einszler in Jerusalem in the autumn of 1925, there came a young seamstress, a Christian Arab. In speaking of a boy she said:

»He gets his name from his father's father. And he has a right to it. It happens sometimes that a woman who has no son is called the Mother of so and so, mentioning the husband's father's name; for if she had a son he would be called after him.»[7]

The Arab seamstress gave as an example that a friend of hers, a washerwoman, was generally called Umm Jirjis — George's Mother — although she had no son.

And she added: »If the father's father is dead, there is no question as to what the child's name shall be — that of his father's father. But they do not like to give the name as long as he is alive.»

She said further: »It is the same with the girls.»

And she related how she and her two sisters lost their parents very early and had been brought up by a father's sister, Safiye. Then her sisters married and had daughters and they would have liked to express their admiration for her by giving one of them the name Safiye. Yet the father's sister herself said nothing. So they named all their four girls after relatives already dead. Then when the fifth girl was born, Safiye said that she wished this girl to have her name. And the sisters were very glad as this was what they had so long desired. But as the seamstress said: »Without her expressed wish we would not have dared to give the girl our father's sister's name. It would have been to shorten her life, so to say.»

This last remark may be a reason why children are not named after their parents.

In making my family lists in Artas I was surprised to find that in the Shahin clan a son had the same name as his father: Ibrahim. I thought it was a mistake. Perhaps my informers had forgotten, and it troubled me constantly. Different members of the family were asked at different times, and they always confirmed the information.

Finally, one day when visiting one of their families I again took up the question and learned that the father had died shortly before the child's birth. Then the family said: »If the child is born a girl we will call her Itayme, the Fatherless. But if it is a boy we will call him Ibrahim, so that this name will not die out in our family.» — And still I was inclined to doubt it.

The discussion took place outside the house and a neighbour married to another member of the Shahin clan overheard the conversation and observed that I was not convinced. Later, when I went to see her, she said to me: »Why art thou so astonished at that? And why didst thou not believe? Have we not a similar thing in our family? Is not my son called Abed like his father?» She was Fatme Ethman.

I had not thought of comparing these two cases because although the father's name was Abed the son was called Abd il-Rahman. It is of course a compound of Abed.

Of such cases there are several examples.

In the Sliman Ode family Abed Sliman's eldest son is called Abd il-Hamid. In the Shahin clan Abed Ahmad called one son Abd il-Rahman, a second son Abdallah and when they both died a third son received the name Abdallah; and he called his son Abed. In the Meshani clan Abd il-Salam's eldest son is called Abd il-Rahman. In these cases the father was still living when the son received his name.

Later I found that a boy had been called Ethman like his father. This child died only »fifteen days» of age, after the father had been murdered. A son by another wife of the same man, also born after his father's death, was called Khalil; he lived.

After my return from my first stay in Palestine I learnt that the custom exists among other Muhammadan peoples of giving the fathers' name to his son if posthumously born.[8]

As to female names there are some examples of a girl receiving the feminine form of her father's name. The father's name is Khadr, the daughter is called Khadra. The father is Ethman, the daughter's name is Ethmane. Mhammadiye is the daughter of Mhammad. Salma is the daughter of Salem. And a sister may have the feminine form of her brother's name, for instance, Khadr for the boy and Khadra for the girl, Mhammad — Mhammadiye, Khalil — Khaliliye. People sometimes like this kind of conformity in names. She is called thus to »fit in» with her brother, they say.

NAMES AND TABLES

In the discussion concerning the different names their translations are given; so also the fellaheen's explanations of their meaning and the reason for giving them. These statements may be compared with the etymological explanations of names given by the people in the Old Testament, for example in the struggle for a child which arose between the sisters Rachel and Leah.[9] Even if they are not scientifically justifiable they are none the less real.

The tables are the final results of very careful inquiries and calculations. Yet there are 27 males and 35 females out of 514 males and 553 females included in my statistics whose names are unknown to me. It may seem a

rather large number but considering that this group includes only four living male infants — 23 being dead — and four living female infants — 30 being dead — it is not strange. Many of the children had died at a very early age — some died at birth and had never received a name. In addition there is the name of a stranger wife who never lived in the village and whom Isa Sliman of the Sanad family married »without money» — as it was said — during a temporary stay in Tripolis.

The number of people bearing or having borne the names is stated and thus the proportion in which the different names occur may be estimated. In giving the percentage I have included the persons whose names are known to me but not the N. N. group. In that way there will be 487 males with 72 different names, 518 females and 84 different names.[10] To these names come some used only as a second name. A stranger woman whose name during her marriage with an Artas man was changed from Sbeha to Fatme is listed under her new name.

MEN'S NAMES

Muhammad — Mahmud — Ahmad

It is remarkable how frequently the name **Mhammad** appears. 79 of 487 males bore this name, and there are 3 with the name **Mhemmed,** a variation of Mhammad and both a variation of Muhammad. That is to say 82, or 16.84 per cent, have received the same name as the Prophet. Expressed in another way, every 6th male has this name.

That this is not merely in honour of the Prophet is seen from the following expression by Alya:

»Mhammad after the Prophet. He is under the protection of the Prophet.»

The most frequent names next in order are **Mahmud** and **Ahmad.** It can be noted that the people themselves place these groups of names in a special category.

»Ahmad, Mhammad and Mahmud — they have a light which shines on the black mountains. Ahmad, Mhammad and Mahmud — his name is praised in heaven.»

Really all these names are derived from the same root, the verb h a m i - d a: to thank, to praise. The noun is h a m d: thankfulness and praise.

About the first of these three names Alya said:

»Ahmad, that is he who praises and always says: Praise be to God!»[11]

And she added:

»I have not created you to give me meat and drink. I have created you to praise and pray to me.»

In fact Alya here gives a characteristic expression for the Muhammadan view of life. No one who has lived among Muhammadan Arabs for a time could fail to notice how often they say: »I l-h a m d l i l l â h, Thanks be to God!» when exchanging greetings and in their daily speech. Of course this has to a great degree become stereotyped, but still not so much as for example the French »adieu» in some countries of Europe where the speakers do not at all think of, and often do not even know the real content of the word. There are occasions when people really ponder upon words they repeat every day.

I have heard them say: »If things go well with me I say: Thanks be to God! and if badly, I still say: Praise be to God! For all things, good or bad, come from God.»

A person asked by another: »How dost thou?» answers: »Praise be to God! I am well!» and in his turn puts the same question and gets the same answer.

»God thought of, and visited me!» is a Muhammadan expression used by a person who is, or has been sick. And then both hands are raised in thanks.

I shall never forget a meeting with Itayme Salem one day in the village of Artas, soon after a severe misfortune had fallen upon her family. Her husband had taken the responsibility for a son-in-law, Mhammad Mahmud, who could not pay his debts and then the creditor had come and taken possession of all their sheep. Sitt Louisa who was with me wanted to express her sympathy. But Itayme realized this and even before she met us she raised her hand to heaven and said: »Praise be to God!» Then she bent and touched the earth with her hand, kissed it and again raised it to heaven saying: »I cannot reach heaven, I kiss the earth. It is from the Lord (m i n a l l a h). Praise be to God!»

According to the Muhammadans, life should be continuous praise and thanks to God, both in good and evil times.

The Abed Group

Alya's statement regarding Ahmad, quoted above, points out that man should pray, and praise God — in other words — man is created to worship his Creator.

There is a name which means the Worshipper of God. This name is **Abed.**

But Abed includes another meaning: Slave[12] of our Lord, or, Servant of God, a man or human being as a bondman to his Creator applied to a person, whether free or slave.[13]

Alya: »We all — black and white — are the servants or slaves of God. If someone asks a man: What is thy name? and he replies: Thy slave or servant Mahmud; then the answer is: God forbid! We are all the servants of God.«[14]

In the name Abed the word God is understood. But the name **Abdallah** is a combination of Abed, Servant, and Allah. There are many other compounds of Abed indicating some of the attributes of God.

According to a Muhammadan tradition God has a hundred names. Ninety-nine names are known to man. Ninety-nine are the beads in the Muhammadan rosary, a bead for every one of God's ninety-nine names which the Muhammadan theologians can say. The hundreth name, so say the people, is only known to the angels of heaven and to the camel.[15]

Altogether 62, or 12.73 per cent, of the males in the village have been called Abed or by a compound of this name, and Allah or some of God's attributes.[16] In meaning the names are identical.

Biblical-Historical Names

In the third group of names I have included those in the Bible.

Ibrahim and **Khalil** — Friend— another name for Abraham, are the most frequent, thirty-one persons having one of these names, or, in all, the same number as in the Abed group. — **Khalil Allah,** the Friend of God, is often added to the name Abraham when referring to the Patriarch.[17] — No other Biblical name is so often given.

Musa and **Isa,** the next in order, are only borne by seventeen and thirteen people respectively.

Musa of course is Moses of the Bible. Around his name there are still many beautiful legends.[18] There is a celebration in his memory each year. At the Orthodox Easter the Muhammadan Arabs go in procession from Jerusalem to his grave, Nebi Musa, near the Dead Sea. — The epithet of Moses is: **Kalim Allah,** He who talks with God.

Isa is the Muhammadan form for Jesus.[19] The epithet of Jesus is: **Habib Allah**, the Beloved of God. Sometimes Moses and Jesus are mentioned together, and both epithets are attached to both names.[20]

Ten people have been called **Yusef.** This Old Testament figure is well known to the Muhammadans both through the Koran and tradition. His tomb is shown near the village of Balata, formerly Sichem. But in the Mosque at Hebron, which according to tradition was raised on the graves of the Patriarchs Abraham and Jacob and their wives Sara and Leah, there is also a memorial with an Arab inscription: »This is the tomb of the Prophet Yusuf. May he rest in peace!»

It is astonishing that so few people, only seven, are named **Sleman,** the Bible's Solomon. And yet according to tradition the village was the place of King Solomon's gardens, Hortus Conclusus, and this great King of Israel still lives in the memory of the people.

The same is true of **Ismain,** the Biblical Ishmael. Although the Arabs consider him their ancestor, his name has been given to only seven people.

Dahud, the Biblical David, has been given to two people.

Similarly **Jibrin** (Gabriel). — One oath is: »By the life of him who named thee in thy father's back!»[21] These words refer to the angel Gabriel who has so much to do with conception and birth of a child.

Finally the names **Kanaan, Izhak** (Isaac), **Yakub** (Jacob), and **Yunes** (Jonah),[22] have each been borne by one person in the village.

All over Palestine it is noticeable that the Arabs, whether Christian or Muhammadan, like to give their sons names which are found in the Bible. The visitor may meet Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David etc. and realize that the times and customs of the Bible are much in existence.

Regarding the reason for giving these names Alya said:

»Dahud after the servant of God,[23] the worshipped one.» She of course meant: the Worshipping one, or, he who prays to God.

»Ibrahim after our Lord Abraham, Yakub after our Lord Jacob, Jibrin after our Lord Gabriel» etc.

Similarly she said:

»**Khadr,** after St. George. — **Saleh,** after the Prophet Saleh in Lydda.»

The former is the Christian saint St. George, called by the Muhammadan Arabs the Green One,[24] or, the Living One. The Muhammadan people of Artas on certain occasions visit his church in the neighbouring village el-Khadr.

I have no other information regarding the Prophet Saleh than that he is connected with Lydda. The name signifies: the Pious one.

I feel it is right to add **Ali** to these two names. Sidna Ali — our lord Ali — has, as the husband of the Prophet's daughter Fatme, become almost a legendary person. — Ali means the High one. And al-Ali is one of the names of God.

Another name, **Shaker,** meaning the Praising One, may be mentioned here. It is also said: People praise him, his cleverness, and his goodness.

Two well known historical names **Rashid** and **Ethman** (Othman) — borne by three and six persons respectively — will be found also later.

The names hitherto discussed can be summarized as follows. The figure after each name shows the number of males bearing it.

Summary

I

Names derived from a verb meaning »to praise«

Mhammad	79
Mhemmed	3
Mahmud	35
Ahmad	36
Shaker	2

Total 155
or 31.83 per cent

II

The Abed Group »Servant of God«

Abed	24
Abdallah	18
Abd il-Hamid	5
Abd il-Rahman	4
Abd il-Aziz	3
Abd il-Minem	2
Abd il-Hadi	1
Abd il-Jamil	1
Abd il-Karim	1
Abd il-Majid	1
Abd il-Kadr	1
Abd il-Salam	1

Total 62
or 12.73 per cent

III

Biblical Names

Ibrahim	31
Khalil	31
Musa	17
Isa	13
Yusef	10
Sleman	7
Ismain	7
Dahud	2
Jibrin	2
Kanaan	1
Izhak	1
Yakub	1
Yunes	1

Total 124
or 25.46 per cent

IV

Historical Names

Ali	27
Khadr	3
Saleh	3
Rashid	3
Ethman	6

Total 42
or 8.62 per cent

Other Male Names

V

Ehsen	= the Good,	11
and	or	
Hasan	= the Beautiful	11
Mustafa	= the Chosen[25] one	10
Ayesh	= the Living	9
Ihya	= Life	1
	Total	42
	or	8.62 per cent

Similar in meaning to **Ayesh,** the Living, is **Ihya,** meaning Life, given to a boy, »so that he may live». — One boy in the village has the latter name, and Alya said of him: »He was dead and the spirit returned to him.»

Altogether we have now considered: 40 names of the total 72 borne by 425 of 487 males. There remain 32 names and 62 males.

VI

Atiye 2, Atallah 2, Jude 2, Jedallah 2

According to the prevailing religious ideas the child is a gift of God. Therefore a woman sometimes calls her child **Atiye,** which means Gift. She may call him **Atallah,** Gift of God. — Alya: »That is a gift from God. It is God who gives».

The son may by called **Jude** which means Goodness, i.e. Goodness of God. — Or **Jedallah** which means God has been good.

VII

Awwad 1, Awadallah 1, Ode 2, Odtallah 1, Aiyad —, Jaber 1, Jabr 1

If God gives He can also take away. But it may also happen that He has pity upon man and gives again.[26] Instead of the lost child He gives a new child, and this is expressed in these names. Two of them are compounds of Allah, and in the others God's name is understood.

Awwad, He who returns. — Alya said: »Her older children had died and

she was pregnant. When she bore him she said: 'God has compensated you for them!' They called him A w w a d, Return.»

Or, a woman may say to her husband: »God gives again. I had no children and then at the end of my life He gave» — to which the husband says: »God has compensated.»

Awadallah, Compensation from God. — Alya quoted the saying of the mother of a new-born son to her husband: »God has compensated thee and given thee again a man. All is from God». The husband: »A gift from God». — And Alya reminded me of the words:

> He brings to life and He sends death.
> He makes rich and He makes poor.
> He feeds and He withholds.
> All is from God! Praise and thanks be to God!"

Ode, Return. — Alya: »God has given in return. They had no sons and feared that the fortune would go to others and then God sent them a boy. They called him Ode — Fortune has come back, or, the Return of Fortune.»

Odtallah, a variation of the classical A w a d a l l a h, the Return of God. — Alya said: »God gave again. God gave them a boy again and they called him Odtallah.»

Aiyad, He who often returns — a name not found in Artas — is mentioned by Alya.

Jaber — of which **Jabr** is a verbal noun — means literally the bone-setter but can be used in a wider sense, as by Alya when she said: »He has put the wishes in order again. When Jaber was born there were no boys in the house and they called him Jaber.» — For example: »Khadr Ehsen's two sons by his first wife, Sara Ismain, both died, similarly two sons by a second wife. He then took a third wife who bore him Jaber.» Thinking of this special case Alya added: »The older brothers had died: Dahud shortly after his marriage and sonless, and Ibrahim before his marriage. Now when Jaber was born the wishes were put in order again.»

VIII

Shahade 4, Naje 2, Msallam 3, Salem 3, Salim 7, Salame 1, Salman 1

It sometimes happens that a woman whose children have all died or who has waited long for a child, in her despair begs God to give her a son

and to let him live. Such a child is called **Shahade,** and this can also be a second name.

Alya said: »Begged of God. They had no children and God gave this boy, as begged for.«

In this name, as used by the people, there is the meaning: the child Begged of God, and, the Begging one. In order that such a child may live the mother begs his clothes from others. — A child begged of God is a vow child and a parallel to Samuel, who was prayed for by his mother, Hannah.[23]

The name **Naje,** the Saved one, is a little different to the others. I was told that Ibrahim, Ibn Mhammad Khalawe, who served for ten years in Yemen during the first World War, brought this name from Mecca, and his son was the first in Artas to be called so. »Before his son no boy in Artas was called thus«, Alya said, and added: »So that God may protect him from all evil.«

The names Shahade and Naje are similar to the following ones in meaning. I give the names and Alya's explanations:

Msallam — »God preserve him for his mother!«

Salem and **Salim,** Safe — »May God preserve them!«

Salame — »God preserved him!«

Selman — »He who is preserved from unpleasantness.«

Thus in all these names there is the wish that no evil may happen to the child and that it may live.

IX

Said 6, Asad 3, Saad 1, Rizq —, Tawfik 1

The following names express the thought that a child is good fortune.

Said, the Happy one.

Asad, the very Happy one. — Alya: »Happiness from God.«

Saad, Good Fortune. — Alya: »Happiness from God.« And: »Came at a time of good fortune. God gave them good fortune with this child.«

Rizk, Wealth. — Alya: »Brings wealth. With the child wealth came to the house.« One of the ancestors of the Meshani clan was called so.

Tawfik, Success from God. — Alya: »There was no harmony, peace. The family had been constantly quarrelling but then came peace.«

Thus there are in these names also other shades of meaning: the Fortunate, the Bringer of Good Fortune, and, he is born in a time of good fortune.

X

Hlal 1, Rabia 1, Id 1, Khalawe 1, Khadr (3), **Talje —, Amer —**

Some names express the time or the place of birth.

Thus **Hlal.** — The word means the New Moon. In Arabic literature and tradition man is often compared to the moon. Here Alya said: »His mother bore him when the new moon appeared.

Similarly, **Rabia** — meaning the green spring grass or the spring. Alya said: »His mother gave birth to him in spring.«

Id, Feast. — He was born on a feast day.

It is said of **Khalawe:** »He was born in the open. His mother bore him in the field. It is far from home«. — »His mother gave birth to him in the field, i.e. outside, not before the door, not near the village, but in the open country. That is not fine. The women woodgatherers also go away in the open — far away.«

Khadr, the Green one — is explained as born in el-Khadr, a neighbouring village. They also said: »Because his relatives built el-Khadr.« Alya said of a man and his sister: »They were both born in el-Khadr and they called them Khadr and Khadra.«

Talje, Snow. — He was born in snowy weather. In Artas a second name.

Of the name **Ammuri** it is said: »The house was built. The building of the house is children. He built or repaired with children. God repaired or built with the descendants of this man.«

And of **Amer:** »If she gives birth to children when it is being built the boy is called Amer; and if a girl is born she is called Amriye.[29]

XI

Zalame 2, Kamel 1, Rashid (3), **Ethman** (6)

As regards the name **Zalame** it is not necessary to think of Mother Eve's cry of joy over her firstborn son, »I have gotten a man from the Lord«,[30] to understand that nowadays a boy is called Zalame, meaning Man.

Other names express the characteristic they wish to find in a son, e.g. **Kamel**, Perfect. Alya said: »He shall be perfect among those of his age.«

Rashid again refers to morality and religion. It means: He who follows the right way, or, He who has the right belief. And al-Rashid is one of God's names. Alya said: »After the Sultan Muhammad Rashid.« — »There was drought and barrenness, bad harvest and locusts, and the government of Muhammad Rashid came. He took the young men and ruined the country.« So said Beit Jala women. — The Artas people seem not to know much about the occurrence of this name in history.

The same is true of **Ethman** (Othman). — Ottoman, pertaining to the Turkish Empire, founded by Othman.

XII

Derwish 2, Saleh (3), Fuad —

Alya said of **Derwish:** »So that he may live in front of God's door.« Sitt Louisa said: »That means that he may live pious, not wordly-minded. He who is not wordly-minded. He who only asks for God.« — But to »live beside God's door« can also mean: to live as a pious beggar. I think that in every Muhammadan village there are one or more representatives of some derwish order (t a r î q a). The Arabic word means way, path, but also method, system, creed. I assume, although I have not seen it stated, that Jesus meant the same thing when He said: »I am the way.«[31]

It has already been said that the name **Fuad** is taken from the Egyptian King and that **Saleh** means Pious.

XIII

Shahin 2, Meshani —, Jazin 2, Kasem 1, Hilmi 1, Sanad —, Fareh —

In Artas there is only one male name of an animal and that is **Shahin**, meaning Falcon. Compare the proverb in which it is said: »Falcon catch a Gazelle; that she is dark matters not.«[32]

Meshani, the Forsaken (Plur.) — is the name of a clan in the village. Alya: »His mother did not let him suck the breast; like a kid whose mother does not allow him to suck.« An old dispute in the village is still spoken of, a member of the Meshani clan being abused with these words. You have

no say, you, who have not had enough mother's milk! A man is scoffed at if his mother did not suck him enough.

There still remain **Hilmi, Jazin** and **Kasem,**[33] of which I have no details; **Sanad,** which means Support, and **Fareh**, Joy.

I have now discussed the names of the males in Artas. I have noted other names from various places but they are more sporadic. Perhaps it should be pointed out that people of Artas meet men from other places and therefore know other names. And then there are all the names of the people who become connected by marriage with people in Artas.

Of these I mention the names of the Taamre tribes, some of whose women have married Artas men. I was told as follows:

Names of Taamre Tribes

Asakre	—	Army, Soldiers.
Hajaje	—	their ancestor was called **Hajj,** Pilgrim. His mother wanted to go to Mecca and bore this boy on the way. They called him Pilgrim.
Masa'de	—	their ancestor was called **Saad.**
Muharbiyat	—	their ancestor was **Harb,** War. He was born in war and they gave him the name War.
Sawahri	—	from a word meaning Sorcerer.
Salahat	—	their ancestor was **Saleh.**
Sharai'a	—	from a word meaning Thong, Strap. Their ancestor had stolen a piece of leather from the plough.
Shawawri	—	their ancestor was called **Shauwer.**
Zawahre	—	from **Zhur,** Flower. — Their ancestor was called **Zihri** because there were flowers and grass when he was born.
Abayat	—	Plural of a very fine kind of thoroughbred horse. Their ancestor sucked from such a horse. It is also said: the mother of their ancestor had drunk milk of this horse.
Nawara	—	It is said of another tribe named Nawara, Gipsies; a gipsy gave milk from her breast to the ancestor.

Finally there are many names[34] mentioned in stories, sagas, and songs, known to the villagers.

WOMEN'S NAMES

The female name most prevalent is **Fatme** — the Weaned one — the name of the Prophet's favourite daughter, of whom so much is related in tradition.[35]

It does not seem accidental to me that the female name, second in frequency, is **Helwe,** meaning the Sweet one. Does this not show their love for their daughters? — Alya said: »H e l w e, the Sweet one — there is nothing sweeter than the sweet one.»

Among the female names there are more indicating a quality than among the male names. If a girl with such a name grows up into a good and charming or beautiful woman it is said that she is like her name. Or as the expression runs: »Her name is on her body.»[36] If the reverse happens they say: »in spite of her name» she has become, or her life was, so and so.

The historical-religious name, next in favour after Fatme is **Miryam. —** Alya said: »Miryam from Our Lady.»[37]

Then follows **Sara.** — Alya said: »Sara, from Our Lady Sara.» — This name occurs only half as many times as Miryam does but is yet much more usual than purely Muhammadan names, perhaps because the people, and especially the women, know so little about orthodox Muhammadanism and its religious history.

Thus Alya believed that **Khadija,** the first wife of the Prophet Muhammad and ancestress of all his descendants, was a »sister of Fatme, the famous one.»

In any case this name is encountered more often in the village than is **Aysha,** the name of his most beloved wife.

Halime, meaning the Gentle one, is very popular in tradition although it occurs in Artas only eight times. Alya said: »Halime nursed the Prophet and was a sister of his mother.»[38]

Next comes **Yamne.** — Alya said: »Yamne was the mother of the Prophet.»[39]

In recent years the name **Zeinab** has been given. In the short period of only a few years five girls in the village were called by this name. This may be an influence from the pilgrimage to Mecca which some of the Artas people were able to make after the World War.

Alya said: »Lady Zeinab is the Queen of Land and Sea.»

It appeared further that Zeinab is considered a kind of guardian saint

on the pilgrimage to Mecca, especially on the sea where people are afraid of storms. Alya related how the pilgrims call upon Zeinab and make vows to her, offering some money to assure themselves of a good journey to the Holy City.

»The Lady Zeinab is for the sea, she is the guardian patroness. When the boat starts they say: 'Oh Lady Zeinab! Thou protector by land and sea!' High on the mast there hangs a bag for the vows to Lady Zeinab. When they arrive at her place, it is given to her servant.» Probably Zeinab has a shrine and the bag with the pilgrims' gifts is given to the watchman.[40]

In speaking of **Eshe** and **Safiye** Alya said: »Safiye, called after our Lady Safiye.[41] People swear: 'By Eshe and Safiye and the Kaaba Temple at Mecca!'» — She added: »Eshe, Safiye, Sara and Hejar (Hagar), the graves of all these women are in Hebron.»

According to general Muhammadan tradition Sara, but not Hagar, is buried in Hebron. It seems as if Alya wished to put in a good word for Hagar who is considered to be the ancestress of the Arabs. Alya also boasted: »Our Lady Hagar drove away all the other wives of our Lord Abraham, the Friend of God.»

The name **Hejar** was given to two girls in the village; both died soon after birth.

The name **Irkiye** (Ruqiye) occurred once and Alya said: »Irkiye is also a daughter of the Prophet.»[42]

I Summary of Historical-Religious Names of Women

	Total	Women born in village		Total (143)	Women born in village (116)
Fatme	65	51	Yamne	6	4
Miryam	35	30	Zeinab	5	5
Sara	18	16	Irkiye	1	1
Khadija	13	10	Eshe	4	—
Aysha	4	3	Safiye	15	10
Halime	8	6	Hejar	2	2
	143	116	Total	176	138

Of 518 females in the village 176 or 33.98 per cent have been named after a historical or a religious person.

If only the women born in the village are considered the proportion will be 412 to 138, or 33.5 per cent.

Similar figures for Fatme are 12.55 and 12.38 per cent. Thus every eighth woman is called after the Prophet's favourite daughter. — I remember that Sitt Louisa said, quite at the beginning of my stay: »In nearly every house there is at least one Muhammad and one Fatme» — an observation which is confirmed by statistics.

The following classification of women's names shows the n u m b e r of females bearing each name, its m e a n i n g, and an example of its u s e.

II Names expressing Feeling or Attitude towards God

(Yet not a single one is a compound of God's name Allah[43])

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Abde	1	Servant or Worshipper (of God)	
Neome	6	Grace, Favour	Alya: The favour of God (ni'me min allah) is a very ordinary expression. »May God increase such favour and calm the soul and give the rest.«
Rahme	9	Mercy (of God)	Alya related of Dabla, the wife of Khalil Ode: »Mercy. — It was dry before the first rain. And when she gave birth to the child God sent rain.' She said: 'May God be praised. God has had mercy upon us.' She called the girl Rahme.« And: »The mother said: 'Praise be to God. He has had pity upon us.' So we called her Rahme.«
Jaziye	6	Reward, Compensation	
Salha	1	The Pious one Fem. of Saleh	Alya: »Salha was born in peace, when it was peaceful.«
Rada	1	Blessing, Contentment	Alya: »Came on a day of blessing.«
Hamde	30	Thanks, Praise	
Hamdiye	1	Thanks	Derived from »to praise«, »to thank«.
Mhammadiye	3	Praise, Thanks Fem. of Mhammad	
Rashide	4	She who guides on the right way	To follow or guide on the right way; chiefly in the religious sense.
Total	62		

III Names expressing Esteem or the Reverse

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Alaya **Alya**	1 13	The High	Alya says of girls with these names: »Are high above all girls. — A bird calls in Heaven: 'Greet Alya and Ali.'»
Jalile	1	The Honourable or Glorious	
Sheikha	4	Fem. of Sheikh	Alya: »Shall be the great one, chief of all maidens.»
Mesha-yekh	4	From Sheikh	Alya: »Shall be the head of all women.»
Nafise	12	The Precious	
Mdallale	3	The Petted	Alya: »She was the eldest and all petted her. There were as yet no children in the house.»
Dalal	1	The Petted	
Mahbube	5	The Beloved	Alya: »All loved her.»
Sitt il-Ekhwe	1	The Lady of Brethren Play upon words. Sitt means both Lady and Six.	Sara's daughter in her second marriage with Ibrahim Ayesh was called Sitt il-Ekhwe. Her sons by him had died and she was sorry to have given birth to a daughter and not to a boy. Yet there were several sons of her co-wives in the house. So Alya said: »They comforted Sara and called her daughter thus, because she has six brothers and she is their Lady.»
Tamam	2	Sufficient	They do not want any more girls (or children).
Total	47		

IV Names expressing Qualities in Women

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Akle	1	Quiet, Modest, Intelligent	Alya: »Because she is quiet and modest.»
Azize	4	The Dear or Noble	Applied to a woman.
Halime	(8)	The Gentle	Supra, p. 27 and 29.
Hasibe	1	The Reckoner, Noble	Alya: »She is always counting.»
Haniye	1	The Pleasant, Agreeable	Alya: »She was born on a day, when everything was going well. They were glad that Hasan had got children and that they were all at home; not in a foreign country.»
Salha	(1)	The Pious	Supra, p. 19, 25 and 30.
Latife	4	The Friendly	Alya: »So called from her friendliness.»
Radiye	—	The Contented; always Willing	Is always content, always friendly; is never angry with other people.
Helwe	38	The Sweet one; Beautiful; Delicious	Alya: »The Sweet one. There is nothing sweeter than the sweet one (h e l w e).
Najibe	2	The Noble	
Sabha	27	The Friendly	Alya: »Her face is bright; with her came wealth.» Haddad: »When an animal: a horse or an ox, has a white spot on the forehead, it is called so. They are glad to have such an animal.»
Sabiha	5	The very friendly	See also Latife.
Total	83		

V Names referring to Appearance and Beauty

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Bahiye	4	Beautiful; Pretty	Mahbube had no girls. Before Bahiye was born, she had a vision and was told: Thou shalt bear a girl. Call her Bahiye. — She remained the only daughter in the house. Previously there was no one called Bahiye in the village.
Dabla	1	The Very Pretty	Alya: »From her beauty and prettiness.«
Hadba	2	Having, or, with long eyelashes	Alya: »Because she had long eyelashes she was called Hadba.« Lane: A horse having a long forelock is held in high estimation by the Arabs.
Hasna	5	Beautiful; Comely; Pleasing; Good	
Hesen	7	Beauty; Goodness	Alya: »Because of her goodness.«
Jamile	13	The Pretty; Elegant	Alya of Jamil and Jamile: »Because of their beauty and elegance.«
Shakra	2	The Fair	Alya: »Because she is fair.«
Shelebiye	1	The Beautiful	Alya: »Because she is beautiful.«
Zahiye	4	The Blossoming; Bright; Lively	Alya: »From the fairness of her skin. — Her name corresponds to her body.«
Zarife	19	The Bright; Clever	
Rasmiye	—		Alya: »From her beauty, her goodness.«
Total	58		

VI Names referring to Circumstances

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Farha	4	Joy or Joyful A thing whereby one is made joyful or glad, or happy. And: Farha meaning bishâra.	Alya: »When Khalil Ode came home on leave from the army, he came over the threshold, as his daughter was born. He said to his wife: 'What has God brought?' She answered: 'A bride.' He said: 'Call her Farha.' The one who is born in joy is called Farha.
Jabriye	1	Fem. from Jabr	See supra, p. 22, infra p. 38.
Itayme	1	Orphan; Fatherless Fem. from Itayem	Alya: »If the father dies when the child is still in the mother's womb, it is called Itayem or Itayme.» The woman called Itayme lost her mother by divorce.
Habse	1	Prison	Alya: »The father was in prison, when her mother gave birth to her.» — »This is no shame.»
Total	7		

VII Names referring to Time of Birth

1. A Time of Harmony

Safiye	(15)	The Bright, Clara	Alya: »On a clear day without clouds people say: 'It is bright (safiye).' — She was born on a day when there was no quarrel.»
Fadiye	2	The Pleasant	Alya: »She was born in a time when it was 'light' in the family.» Sitt Louisa: »Morally, financially. They were not in trouble.»
Salha	(1)	Pious	»Was born in a time of peace.»
Total	2		

2. Time of Day

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Subhiye	2	The Friendly. Derived from Subeh, Morning	Alya: »She was born at dawn.« Lit: »at the face of the morning.«
Sbeha	(1)	As above	Alya: »Was born at the day-break.«
Fada	1	Brightness	Alya: »Her mother gave birth to her towards morning and they called her Fada. The daughter of Abu Hmede, although she was called Fada — Brightness — was all her life in trouble.« Sitt Louisa: »Fada means 'brightness of the day'; daylight.«
Nijme	10	Star	Alya: »The star rose, as her mother gave birth to her.«
Total	13		

3. Time of Year

Kadriye	1	Fem. of Kadr	Alya: »She was born in Leilt il-Kadr«, the Night of Power, the night of 27th of Ramadan.
Ide	2	A Festival; Feast; A Feast day Or: Periodical Festivals An annual Festival, so called, because it occurs every year with renewed joy.	Alya: »Her mother had no daughters. Then this girl came on a festival day. The mother said: God compensated us with this girl. Let us call her Ide.« »God returned to us with this girl. Let us call her Ide.« The name also includes the meaning both of a repetition and a returning.
Nuara	(1)		See VIII, 2.
Total	3		

VIII Names derived from Nature

1. Animals

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Hened	1	Hind	Old female name.
Muhra	1	Filly	A woman is sometimes compared to a horse, especially to a thoroughbred horse.
Hamame	1	Pigeon	Alya: »The mother called her thus because as she was born a pigeon looked in.«
Total	3		

2. Plants

Ward il-Sham	1	The Rose of Damascus	
Zhur	1	Flowers	Alya: »She was born in cauliflower time.«
Nuara	1	Blossom, Flowers	Alya: »Born in blossoming time.«
Ghusun	1	Branch, Twig	Alya: »Is a green branch on the tree.«
Khadra	15	Green Fem. of Khadr	Alya: »She comes when all is green. There is green, i.e. happiness on her face.« Alya said of a man and his sister: »They were both born in the village of el-Khadr, and they were called Khadr and Khadra.«
Rab'a	2	Spring	Alya: »Born in spring« — when everything is green.
Nazha	2	Excursion, Picnic	Alya: »A walk among flowers. Born on a day when they trilled, as they go to breathe the air in spring.« Sitt Louisa: »For people say: Let us go out and walk!«
Total	23		

3. Precious or Beautiful objects

Metal, glass, etc.

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Fadda	11	Silver	
Bannura	3	Crystal	Alya: »As fine and beautiful as crystal.»
Nijme	(10)	Star	See TIME VII. 2.
Total	14		

IX Names: Building and Living

Amriye	1	Living long, i.e. remaining, staying Dwelling (in a place) Inhabitant (of a house)	Alya: »The house is built up with children.» — »When she gave birth to children during building — if it is a giri she is called Amriye.» Supra, p. 24.
Aysha	(4)	Living	Alya: »She has already lived. So that she may live!»
Eshe	(4)	Life	Alya: A girl is called so in order that she may live. Eshe means: she will live for her mother. Her mother had no daughters. 'Oh, my Lord, if I get a daughter I will call her Eshe, so that she may live!' Aish means Bread, e.g. in the expression: »Between us is bread and salt.» — Wheat and barley are called so but not durra and rice.
Shihde	—		Second name. See masc. Shahade.
Ihya	—		See masc. Ihya.
Total	1		

X Names: Happiness and Comfort

Name	Borne by	Meaning	Remarks
Sada	9	Happiness The Happy one	Alya: »The one who brings good fortune and happiness.»
Masude	1	The Lucky one	Alya said of Masude Jedallah: »She was born in wealth and happiness. Her father was a sheikh, and her brothers were at home when she was born.»
Salma	7	The Well-Preserved	Alya: »Her brothers were called Salman and Sallam. They called her Salma to fit in with her brothers names.»
Total	17		

XI Names: Miscellaneous

Ethmane	1	Fem. of Ethman	Supra, p. 19 and 24 sq.
Rashide	(4)	Fem. of Rashid	Supra, p. 19, 24 sq., and 30.
Nazriye	1	The Little one	
Khaliliye	4	Fem. of Khalil	Born in Hebron. Supra, p. 17.
Jabriye	(1)	Fem. of Jaber	Supra, p. 21 sq. and 34.
Raya	1	Soft land or earth; To be watered	Woman and earth are often compared.“
Hadla	1		
Lika	1		
Thraya	—	Pleiades	Alya: »After the star.»
Hadiye	—	Gift from God	
Total	9		

A general remark may be added.

Out of the 84 female names in Artas 32 are names of females born in the village, while 16 belong to women married in the village but born in other parts of the country and 36 are common both to native women and stranger wives in Artas.

THE USE OF NAMES

Although there is a certain meaning attached to the names people do not make quite new ones. The older the tradition of a name, the more people favour it on certain occasions and the clearer, most likely, is its significance. Many names, probably the majority, are directly inherited and generally accepted in the village.

Every Arab village may have a group of names which diverges somewhat from that of other places. A Christian Arab village will, to some extent, have different names to a Muhammadan village.[45] Some names are added and others are dropped. Perhaps there is also a difference between a town and a village in this respect.

Family Names

In the towns they also have family names. At least the educated Arabs and those who have been in contact with the Westerners have a family name. In the village this is not the case[46] though a few names tend to become family names: in Artas, e.g. Khalawe, Ode, Sanad, and Shahin which is the name of a clan. But the custom of having a family name is unknown.

Addition of Parent's Name

A person is called by his first name plus the father's name, whether a child or an adult, unmarried or married, woman[47] or man. As there are comparatively few names to choose from it may easily happen that even when the father's name is added several people in the village have the same name.

Ali Khalil, by his first wife, has a daughter, Fatme, who, of course, is called Fatme Ali. His second wife's name is also Fatme, and as her father is Ali Asad, she is also called Fatme Ali. Thus, in this home there are two

women, a young girl, and her father's wife, who have the same name.

What happens in the small family also happens in the larger circle of the villagers as a whole. During the period covered by this inquiry there have been five women called Fatme Ali — three unmarried women and two wives — of whom all are still living. As to the men there have been, during the same period, four called Ali Mhammad: of whom two still live; five called Ali Ahmad: of whom one lives; four called Ahmad Khalil: of whom two still live. Other names occur somewhat similarly.

Yet there is no danger of a misunderstanding in a little society where all know each other so well that they at once realize which person is really concerned.[48] And if necessary there are ways of saying who is meant.

Thus they will add, for example, child or adult, dead or living, to the name, or may add the name of the clan to which the person in question belongs. Or they will say of a married woman: wife of so and so. Or if it is a stranger woman married into the village they mention the name of her home and in this way form attributes. For example: Fatme il-Betteriye is called so because she comes from the village Bettir. — Fatme il-Shamaliye is Fatme, the »Northern one», because she came from a place north of the Jerusalem district. As there are only two Northern women in the village and only one of them is named Fatme, it is at once clear who is meant although there are so many village women bearing the name Fatme.

Another way is to say: The daughter of so and so, or, the son of so and so, giving the father's complete name. For example: Fatme, daughter of Ali Asad, and Fatme, daughter of Ali Khalil, or: Ali, son of Khalil Ibrahim, and Ali, son of Khalil Shahade. — The difference is at once clear.

Another way is to go still farther back in time in giving the genealogy, as is often done in Arabic literature. For example: Ali, son of Khalil Ibrahim, son of Ibrahim Ode, son of Ode Mhemmed, son of Mhemmed Saad. If the »son of» is left out and only the first name of each person is given there will be a series of names in which each one refers to a special generation. In this way the speaker can go as far back as the ancestors are known.

As the Arabs like to give the father's father's name to a boy and the father's mother's name to a girl the same double name can be found two generations later. Thus e.g. Jibrin Ethman Jibrin Ethman, i.e. Jibrin Ethman's father's father was also called Jibrin Ethman.

It happens occasionally that one of several children in a family is called by a first name plus the father's name, and another with the addition of the father's father's name.

Thus they always spoke of the sister of Alya as Miryam Ibrahim, while Alya was sometimes called Alya Ode. And similarly with one of her brothers. It was said: »Actually he was called Khalil Ibrahim. Officially, for the Government, he was called so, and also in letters. But in the village he was usually called Khalil Ode.» — Ibrahim was the father and Ode the father's father.

The reason given in such cases is that it is easier to pronounce, or, that they think it sounds better. This sense of harmony in names can to some extent help in the formation of family names.

Alya once said:

»There are people who are named after the mother.»

She gave as an example Ahmad Reya and Asad Reya, ancestors of two branches of the Saad clan. Their father was said to be Mhemmed, son of Saad, son of Abdilloh, but they were called Reya after their mother.

Alya further said:

»Sara, widow of Ibrahim Ayesh, is called Sara Alya; and as to Miryam Ethmane, she lived and died with this name.» These two women were both called after their mothers.

After mentioning a young relative, Ibrahim, who was called Ibrahim Jamile after his mother, Jamile, daughter of Abu Hmede, Alya explained: »In this quarter they call him so. The rest of the village call him Ibrahim Mahmud after his father.» When the neighbours called the boy after his mother it was because she survived her husband and people became accustomed to associate the child with her. But there is no doubt that when he is grown up, he will generally be called Ibrahim Mahmud after his father.

In Artas they spoke of another boy as Salim, son of Helwe. His mother, an Artas woman, had been married to a stranger man in Sur Bahir, and after his death she returned to her father's house with her little son, so it was quite natural that people called him after his mother. But it is equally natural that in his father's village, to which he was recalled to marry the bride selected by his paternal relatives, he should be called after his father in the usual way.

The Jamile just mentioned, Ibrahim's mother, was from Bethlehem

and belonged to a family called Abu Hmede which means Father of Hmede (a woman). Thus this family has been called after a woman, and this was pointed out to me. But the custom of calling a child after its mother is an exception.

Names and Paternity

A Muhammadan woman in Lifta, Umm Daud, the Mother of David, told me about customs and habits, and it appeared from her account that, in this place, when at the marriage contract ceremony a bridegroom and a bride are called son and daughter of so and so, the mother's name is given and not the father's.

I discussed the matter with Mr Elias Haddad, an Arab teacher in Jerusalem. He said: »But the father is so uncertain!»

I here quote: »In giving each other the hands, which is the real marriage act, the Muhammadans mention the names of the mothers of the bridal pair and not as the Christians do, the names of the fathers, because that is a sin. The father is not 'released' but the mother is 'released', because she has borne the child in her womb.»[49]

In my experience this is not the case in all places and this exemplifies the danger of generalizing.[50]

Sitt Louisa had heard that when on the Last Day everyone is summoned, Jesus will be called I s a I b n M i r y a m — Jesus, Son of Mary — because he had no father.[51] And for this reason — with regard to Jesus — all others will be summoned as the son or the daughter of this or that woman. Also, because one cannot be certain of paternity the mother's name is given on the Day of Judgement.

Hamdiye quoted, smiling:

»If my mother speaks the truth this is my mother, but my father — who knows!»

This saying significantly expresses the uncertainty as to fatherhood.

When people are so eager to give a daughter in marriage as early as possible it is because an unmarried woman is always in danger and marriage is regarded as a protection.

If the brothers of a married woman doubt that it is a true marriage, they ask her: »Is thy husband of use to thee?» And if they learn that he is impotent or does not have connection with his wife they demand divorce for her. The expression in this case runs:

»A woman's honour — and with it the family's honour — cannot be protected with the sword.» And: »A husband is »— and must be —» protection.»

If anything happens she is married, after all. If she is with child she has a husband. But this is no guarantee that the child is really his. Who can tell?

In Artas they used to say that they would rather see their daughters married within the village or some other little place, than in the larger and richer villages whose women take their vegetables, milk and other products to sell in Jerusalem. But in a town it is the men, and never the women, who go to market to buy for the family. How easily it can happen that an Effendi, when buying things asks her to bring them to his home, and then she may be in danger. The parents often say of their daughters:

May they come with their sack and not with their gifts.

The fathers and mothers much prefer their daughters to beg from them rather than that they should have money and give their parents presents obtained in a wrong way.

All this of course may be part of the suspicion with which a small remote place regards a larger and a richer one, an expression of their pride in their own excellence and the corruption of others. In all countries there is a belief that the level of moral is low in the large cities.

However, in the accounts I heard from both town and country — especially from towns — many of them from Mr Émile Baldensperger, a frequent motif is the unfaithful wife. The husband is helpless against a woman's cunning. She knows how to arrange meetings with her lover behind his back. But this may also be mostly theory and have little to do with reality. People's imaginations like such things. And probably the men like to listen to such stories just because they know their women are very well protected in the home. Yet the girls are married so early that it is scarcely possible for them to have an experience of this kind. A married woman may perhaps be involved in a love adventure.

The fact is that in theory people reckon with the possibility that the husband is not the child's father.

The custom of announcing the birth of his child to a man may be connected with this theory. In former days the announcement was perhaps not only a case of bringing good tidings — it may also have been done to give the man an opportunity of acknowledging his fatherhood.

In Artas there is an example of a man who refused to admit his parenthood. The situation which then arises is extremely serious and painful. In this special case the consequence was that the mother's family, to avoid the shame and disgrace, and still more serious results, were obliged to leave the village, the mother and son for ever, the others for a period. It was said that the son, who remained with his mother even after her second marriage, had threatened his father's family before he fell ill and died, saying: »When I grow up I will show the House of Khalawe!»

If this assumption is correct it implies that a child is not regarded as the child of a certain man only through his birth — in order to be regarded legitimate he must be a c k n o w l e d g e d as such by his father.

This hypothesis may have a certain support in a custom observed when the people had slaves. I heard of it from the Arab teachers in J e r u s a l e m who said:

»Children of a white father and a black mother have the same right as his other children, if the father first acknowledges them.» — When a woman slave has a son by her master the latter must acknowledge him if he is to be a son of the house, otherwise he will merely be the property of his father, and a slave.[52]

In this latter case the acknowledgment signifies a kind of adoption of a boy by his physical father.

This matter certainly has its roots in the past[53] but yet more detailed research into conditions in different places would probably give more information.

It is not astonishing that a boy's birth must be announced, as it is the man who is reckoned as the constant and real member of a society and who remains so.[54] A girl's position may change. She may leave the family, the clan, or the village, and become a member of a stranger house and another village through marriage. Besides this there is a general theory — although I believe there has been too much dogmatism about it — that infanticide prevailed among the old Arabs, new-born girls being buried alive in the sand.[55] If so, could such a thing have happened without the father's consent or command? Must he not first have been informed of a girl's birth and decide whether she should live or die!

In any case it seems to me that these facts: a mother giving a child its name, a child being called after the mother and the uncertainty of

paternity have nothing to do with matriarchy.[56] The Muhammadan Arab society is partriarchal all through. The children wholly belong to the father and to his family.

When an Artas man did not acknowledge his wife's child as his son, the mother, while pregnant and giving birth, had not been in her husband's but in her father's house. Even in such an exceptional case as when a woman remains in her own home after marriage and there receives her »visiting husband», their child is considered to belong to his father — who later claims him.[57] Similarly in the very few cases where the child goes with his widowed mother he must later return to his father's house and marry there. — There are few exceptions to this rule.

ALTERATION OF NAME

Teknonymy — Kunya

In the North of Europe it has been customary to call a person after the father, e.g. John's son or John's daughter — and this has later become a surname. In the East the custom is to call the parents after their eldest son: e.g. if the eldest son is Ibrahim, a man is called Abu Ibrahim, Ibrahim's father, and a woman Umm Ibrahim, Ibrahim's mother.[58]

The Arabic word k u n y a is the technical term for this custom.[59] The term generally used in sociology is t e k n o n y m y, derived from the Greek, and introduced by Tylor.[60]

Something similar can also be observed in the West. In a family where a child has been very much desired it can become the centre around which everything turns and the grown up people willingly group themselves, and this is also expressed in their speech. The words of address are changed. Very often immediately after the child's birth the adults begin to address each other in terms showing their relationship to the child. The parents say »father» and »mother» to, and of each other, and often extend this action to other relatives like grandparents, uncles and aunts. To an objective observer this sudden change may seem almost curious. But they themselves, who previously may have made fun of the same thing in other people, do not notice the transformation because they are so absorbed in the new situation and their emotional life has a new direction: the

child. Or the relatives of the child may use the new words of address with a purely pedagogic aim, that of helping the child to fulfil the demands of convention in this respect. Sometimes it even happens that long after the children have grown up a man and his wife address each other as mother and father, their own parents as grandfather and grandmother, etc. They have become so used to it that they cannot return to the more natural terms of address. The origination of this custom may partly be connected with the same instinct, or power, which makes parents begin to speak baby language. They admire the child so much that they enjoy even what is a weakness and a lack in the children. They become like an echo of the child, and the adults have certainly had a great share in building up this language.

It is also a pure reflexion of what the child ought to say when an Arab father adresses it, whether a boy or a girl, as »father» (y a b a), and a mother in a similar way adresses her child as »mother» (y a m m a),[61] and in certain cases they continue to do so even when the children have grown up. There is another psychological factor which explains this phenomenon. It is understandable that people take the child's point of view so completely that they use the words of address that the child should use. It depends on the new psychological attitude, naturally often unconsciously brought about by the birth of the child. Related to this is a person's k u n y a. When a man and a woman thus get a new name, he as the father and she as the mother of their first-born son, the child becomes the centre, and the names of the adults show the relation in which they stand to it.

This custom is of course well-known in Artas. But it has never been really quite systematically practised. A woman in the village can call her husband, for instance, Abu Ismain — Father of Ishmael — because it would not be fitting to say »my husband». In speaking to, or of him, she may use other words also.[62] But of course in Artas, as in other places, people like to be called father or mother of such and such a son. Therefore it is used by other persons out of politeness, especially on occasions when they wish to honour or flatter someone, or ask of someone a favour.

In the East, however, another significance is attached to the change of a name. It has been said that it is not only symbolic but has a real value, because the name is a »Kraft- und Geschicksquelle»[63] to its bearer and therefore a change of name implies a change of personality and fate as well as a blessing. Thus, in the Old Testament, when God alters Abram's

name to Abraham in saying the words: »For a father of many nations have I made thee.»[64] And similarly: »And God said unto Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her name be. And I will bless her, and give thee a son of her and she shall be a mother of nations; kings of people shall be of her.»[65] Gunkel refers in this connection[66] to the custom of changing names[67] at the birth of the first son: a man's name is altered and from that moment he is called father of such and such a son.

Change of Unlucky or Unsuitable Names

According to the present-day belief among Arabs certain names are not lucky for certain persons, and in such a case a change of name is necessary.

In Artas there is a typical example of how a wife's name can bring misfortune to the family of her husband.

Sbeha was her name. She was a Bedouin woman married to an Artas man. Sbeha is derived from the same root as s a b â h which means morning. Alya said: »When they called Sbeha the enemies said s a b â h,» i.e. 'morning'!

— What was the meaning of that? I asked. And from the answer I learned that this word can also be used as a morning greeting.

But what a morning greeting! »If goats have been stolen from some one or if his people have died then this word is used.»

In ordinary cases when all is well, people say: »A l u c k y morning!» But to say this when a misfortune has happened would be very tactless. Then they only say: »Morning (s a b â h)!» Now, it is considered to bring bad luck to the family, if every time they hear the name Sbeha, the enemies call out a greeting which is used after misfortune has occurred.[68] And so it was in this case. Animals died. Children died in the family. They complained: »When somebody calls her by name we are cursed!»

Alya: »The name did not harmonize with the family and they did not want her name to remain Sbeha.»

In another connection it is related how, as is customary in these cases, they went to a sheikh for advice. He »looked in his book» and said that the star did not suit and her name must be altered. And after her name was altered everything went well.[69]

In Nablus I was told:

»A man from Nablus took a wife from Jaffa. Before the bride was brought here they asked a sheikh if her name suited. He looked in a book, some people say in the Psalms, and said: 'No, the stars do no suit. She must change her name!' She was called Malake and became Jamile.

These were Christian Arabs. Muhammadan Arabs go to a Muhammadan sheikh.«[70]

Much misfortune can be avoided by finding out before the marriage whether the wife's name suits and if not, by changing it. The same idea is true of a child's name. It must be such as fits into the family.

People often call a newborn child after a brother or sister who has died. Several families have done this. But this is not always for the best.

One day Eshe told me that she had had six daughters named Sara and they had all died. Then her husband Ali Khalil said: »We have no luck with this name.« When the next girl was born he said: »Call her Fatme!« And so they did. And Fatme survived.

This family had a similar experience with a male name. »Two sons called Ibrahim died. One died at birth and the other at six months.« The next boys were called Mahmud and Ahmad and they lived to grow up.[71]

A curious explanation is given in the following case.

Alya: »Safiye il-Atrash called her son Ayesh and he died.

Miryam Abdallah from the same family called a son Ayesh. He died. She called her next son Ayesh and he too died.«

And so with seven sons, and they all died. Then they did not dare to keep to this name any longer. Yet it is explained that the name Ayesh is given to a boy »so that he may live«. But for these deaths there was a special cause which Alya stated as follows:

»Their father's father has drawn them after him.«

Although the ancestor of a branch of the Meshani clan was called Ayesh and although they have tried to keep it, his name is no longer represented in the family. It seems that the dead old man is jealous of each one who receives his name and does not like them to live.

In other ways also a name can harm an individual.

During some visits I paid to Samaritan families with Mrs Lydia Salim who was inspecting and giving advice on the care of babies in the town of Nablus, we came to a family where, according to the official list, there was a little boy called Aref. She asked for him. But there was no Aref.

There was much discussion during which Mrs Salim asserted that the

family had registered with the authorities a boy with this name and many questions were asked and answered. Finally she said: »But there is a boy in the family. Who is he and what is he called?» Then they admitted that he was at first called Areİ but he was always crying for no reason. And then they began to think: »Perhaps the name does not suit.» To be quite certain they went to a sheikh who said: »The star does not suit. He must have another name.» Then he was called Abd il-Hadi, Servant of God.[72]

Such customs and ideas seem to be general. The explanation given to me was: »His name does not agree with the star. His star does not agree with the name.» And this cannot remain so. The name must be changed for one that the star suits.[73]

Names must not be too sensational. People do not like to give quite new names, or names not used before. When a woman in Artas called her daughter Bahiye, thus introducing a new female name into the village, it was said that it happened on account of a vision in a dream.[74] A little girl in the village was called Ward il-Sham — the Rose of Damascus. She died as a baby and the name was not repeated probably because it was considered too beautiful and showy. It was said of a little girl born in 1926 that she was to get a very unusual and beautiful name which had not appeared in the village before. But in any case they called her Yamne. It seems that they did not dare to give the first name they chose. Children must not draw the attention to themselves and such a name could be directly dangerous.

Sometimes people go so far as to give a name which is terrifying or implies disgust.

In some places appear such names as Asad, Lion;[75] Nimr, Tiger; Fahd, Leopard; or, Dib, Wolf for a boy. The reason for giving it is »so that he shall be protected from wild animals». Sometimes especially delicate children whose lives are considered in danger from evil people or spirits are called after wild animals.[76]

The reason for giving such a name as Khreiyan, Excrements or Faeces[77] (the diminutive form) was said to be that the name should not be striking and should protect the boy from the evil eye.

Temporary Names

Compare the temporary use of a second name in case of the child being given the name of a near relative still alive so as not to shorten the life

of his namesake.[78] A temporary name may be used also for the child's own sake.

In the beginning of my stay in Artas Sitt Louisa told me of a man in the village:

»Salem Ethman said of his son: Mhammad is too fine a name. He must be called Khreiyan which means Excrement. So that he should live they did not dare to utter so fine a name. He could have been harmed by the evil eye. In this way they helped the boy to live.» — Later on he was called Mhammad.

Thus, when a boy is called by a name which implies disgust it need not be intended for his whole life. Perhaps the parents have already given him another name but they are afraid to call him by it. This agrees with the thought that a human being, in the beginning of life, is more exposed to danger from the evil powers than during a later period.

A temporary name could also serve as a kind of disguise in order to deceive Karine and other evil powers who are threatening the child's life. Then the thought would be that the enemies do not recognize the child if it is not called by its right name.[79]

A name also used temporarily is S h a h a d e, the Beggar or Begged by God, and the same thought may be behind this.[80] It is also a very humble name.

When the most dangerous period is over, that is at seven to nine years of age, then people dare call the boy by his right name.

Thus, according to the belief of the people some names under certain conditions can be misfortune and curse, or blessing and protection.

Chapter II

CHILDREN AND CHILD MORTALITY

MANY CHILDREN AND THE VALUABLE CHILD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

I begin this chapter with an extract from my studies for a work on the Women in the Old Testament, planned, and partly written before I went to Palestine. Of course reservations have to be made in regard of something written much earlier. The style is different, the tone is polemic. I complained that those who had already treated the subject had generalized the available information too much, regarding the women of the Old Testament and especially their different kinds of work, the cultural importance of which, it seemed to me, had not been sufficiently considered. It had been overshadowed by what was thought to be the women's chief task, that of producing children.

Benzinger says,[1] after emphasizing the Israelite view that a woman was her husband's property:

»Bei dieser Beurteilung der Frau als eines wertvollen Besitztums wird sie ursprünglich nicht unter den Gesichtspunkt der Arbeitskraft gestellt; so gering dachten die alten Semiten doch nicht vom Weibe. Vielmehr sind die Frauen die künftigen Mütter, die dem Stamme das Wertvollste, die Söhne, schenken. Auf der Zahl der Speere beruht die Macht des Geschlechtes.«

This is only one example of how a woman's work has been overlooked, sometimes with the best intentions, in order to emphasize her part in the continuation of the family. The more brilliantly this latter was done the more was the importance of the women's work lessened. It seemed self-evident that when a woman had many children it would be a great enough aim in life. And no one seems to have doubted that the Israelite women in the Old Testament had many children.

»Zahlreiche Kinder zu bekommen, war der Herzenwunsch des alten Israeliten. 'Schaffe mir Kinder, wo nicht so sterbe ich', war die Sehnsucht der israelitischen Frau (Gen 30,1); 'Werde zu unzähligen Tausenden', lautete der Segenwunsch für die scheidende Tochter (Gen. 24,60).»[2]

There is something fascinating in these words of Benzinger. Scarcely anyone who has written on the subject has omitted to point out the ideal of having many children.

The assumption that the women had many children has become a dogma which may be difficult to alter. My scepticism in this respect is however due to my observation that the women in the Bible had very few children.

S a r a, the wife of the Patriarch Abraham, had, as is well known, only one son.

R e b e k a h who, when leaving her father's house as a bride, had received the wish, quoted by Benzinger, that she would be the mother of thousands of millions, really only had two sons. This deprives the blessing of its impressiveness.[3]

In speaking of the sisters L e a h and R a c h e l, the wives of Jacob, Gunkel says:

»Der israelitische Mann hat nicht selten zwei Frauen. Die beiden — leidenschaftlich, wie es israelitische Frauen sind 30₁ — machen ihm durch ihre E i f e r s u c h t das Leben sauer 30₂. . . Der beständige Grund des Haders der Frauen ist die Zahl ihrer Kinder. Viele Söhne zu haben ist der grösste Stolz der Fruchtbaren, das sehnlichste Verlangen der Unfruchtbaren.»[4]

And before that the same author says of the Old Testament narrators:

»Als Motiv der Erzählung haben sie das V e r h ä l t n i s z w e i e r S c h w e s t e r n gewählt, die Weiber derselben Mannes sind: natürlich sind sie auf einander eifersüchtig und wollen sich durch Kinder überbieten, so dass sie schliesslich gar ihre Sklavinnen ihrem Manne hingeben».[5]

Gunkel, like other writers, does not, however, emphasize the difference between this competition and the children who were the result of it. No one seems to have thought of comparing an expressed wish for many children with the actual results. After such an introduction one could reasonably expect great numbers. But Leah's seven children: six sons and a daughter, Dinah,[6] can scarcely be regarded as a record. And yet Leah was the one who outshone all the others in productivity. Both Rachel and the maid-servants, Zilpah and Bilhah, had to be satisfied with only

two sons each.[7] Even if the servants' children are reckoned as belonging to their mistresses, which need not be in opposition to the old Israelite custom, the total is not more than nine and four; and that Jacob really required four wives to present him with thirteen children cannot be considered impressive. In our modern society, although a large family has not been so highly appreciated, better results than this can be found.

Now the objection may perhaps be made: the wives of the Patriarchs were an exception. But it was always the same. In my studies I have tried to work out the average number of children per woman. I have recorded all the cases mentioned, counted the children, and made a statistical table over them. But however carefully I searched the text in general and the genealogical lists in particular, I did not succeed in finding any woman with a great many children. Even when the absolute number of them was pleasingly great in a family, it may not have been to the credit of any single woman.

For example. It is said: »And Gideon had threescore and ten sons of his body begotten», but the explanation is given: »for he had many wives».[8]

Or, King Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, certainly had 28 sons and 60 daughters, but he had 18 wives and 60 concubines.[9] Now it is stated of one of his wives that she had 3 sons and of another that she had 4 sons. But if the remaining 81 children are equally divided among the other 76 wives and concubines only 5 of them could have had 2 children each, while the other 71 women could have had only one child each.

King Rehoboam's son, Abijah, again, had 14 wives and 22 sons and 16 daughters,[10] i.e. not even an average of 3 children per wife.

One more extract from the descendants of David:

> And unto David were sons born in Hebron:
> and his firstborn was Amnon, of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess;
> and his second, Chileab, of Abigail the wife of Nabal the Carmelite;
> and the third, Absalom the son of Maacah the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur;
> and the fourth, Adonijah the son of Haggith;
> and the fifth, Shephatiah the son of Abital;
> and the sixth, Ithream, by Eglah David's wife.
> These six were born unto him in Hebron; and there he reigned seven years and six months.[11]

It is so striking that only one son is mentioned here in connection with

each wife that it sometimes seemed to me that there was some special meaning involved.

Unfortunately we have not similar detailed information in regard of his children by Jerusalem wives. We are only informed that when »David perceived that the Lord had established him king over Israel», then »David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem, after he was come from Hebron: and there were yet sons and daughters born to David.»[12]

According to 2 Samuel V. 14 sq. there were born to him in Jerusalem, where he reigned thirty and three years, eleven sons and, according to 1 Chronicles III. 5 sqq., thirteen sons besides those who were the sons of the concubines, and Tamar, their sister. But how David's eleven or thirteen Jerusalem children were divided among the individual wives we do not know with certainty. The information of 1 Chronicles III. 5 that the first four of them belonged to Bathsheba is scarcely correct. It can be assumed that David had already reigned a long time in Jerusalem and had had several sons before he took Bathsheba.

In a non-biblical legend he is described as being at this time so old that he believed himself distant from all erotic attractions and was so sure of himself that he risked asking God to let him be tempted. But put to the test the old passion burst out again and he committed the deed which more than anything else has been considered to cast a dark stain on his honour. This corresponds to what is related in the Books of the Kings[13] according to which Bathsheba is described as the clever, powerful woman who understands how to procure the throne for her son Solomon, whereas David is already so old and infirm that it is understood that he could not last much longer. In 2 Samuel XII. 24 it is said that Solomon was born immediately after David's and Bathsheba's first son who was the fruit of their connection, while Bathsheba was still Uriah's wife, and whom God struck with such a severe illness that he died. Thus, in any case Solomon could not be the fourth and last-born son of Bathsheba and David, although in reckoning the sons' names in the Chronicles his name is the fourth — the dead son is not counted.[14] It may be mentioned that the Chronicles ignore Bathsheba as Uriah's wife and mention her only as the daughter of Ammiel.[15]

If Bathsheba had four sons there remain only seven, or possible nine sons and Tamar to be divided among the Jerusalem wives of David, in any case among several women.

A possible explanation of the small number of children per wife is that

the King had sexual intercourse only for a short time with each wife and then she returned from the King's house into the house of the women and was no more called unto the King.[16] Or was it customary to mention only one son of a woman, the son after whom she was named?[17]

I do not wish to go to the opposite extreme and believe that a wife generally had only one son, yet there are so many important facts indicating that a woman had few children that the onus of proof must fall on those who maintain that the ideal aimed at was definitely numerous children. They must at least explain how it is that such a great difference exists between the ideal and reality, as expressed in the genealogical tables. It is not said that these numbers always correspond to actual conditions, especially those of ancient times, concerning which knowledge was lacking to a great extent, but due to this the writers of the Old Testament had a greater liberty. What they say about the Patriarchs' ages shows that they were not afraid of big numbers.[18] If the ideal had really been a wife with many children tradition and history would certainly have preserved the names of specially prolific women.

All this I have quoted from my earlier studies of the Women in the Old Testament. Once, in discussing this matter with Professor Edward Westermarck, he said: »But the dead children! You have not reckoned with the fact that in the Bible they speak of the living children only. If you go out to Palestine, you will find the same thing. The women do not like to speak of the dead children.»

This was of course a valid objection, but what support had it? I have found none in my studies of the Bible accounts and literary sources. High child mortality would not explain the striking fact that no special woman in the Bible is distinguished by having many children. Some women must have had more children survive than others and if this was a special mark of distinction then it is strange that we have no record left of it.

I then asked myself whether the solution was not to be sought elsewhere and I thought I had found it in the v a l u a b l e child. The estimation and position of a woman in ancient Israel depended, not so much on the number of children she had, but whether she had the v a l u a b l e child.

Perhaps this is clearest in the »Mother of the King» — a relationship which first drew my attention to the importance of the valuable child. It is striking when reading the reports of the kings how a woman is not mentioned as Queen but as the Mother of the King.

For example. — »He reigned three years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Michaiah the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah».[19] — Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign, and he reigned one year in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Athaliah the daughter of Omri».[20] — »Joash was seven years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Zibiah of Beer-sheba.»[21] — »Amaziah was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Jehoaddan of Jerusalem.»[22] — »Sixteen years old was Uzziah when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty and two years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Jecoliah of Jerusalem.»[23] — »Jotham was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem. His mother's name also was Jerushah, the daughter of Zadok.»[24] — »Hezekiah began to reign when he was five and twenty years old, and he reigned nine and twenty years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Abijah, the daughter of Zechariah.»[25] — Only 2 Chronicles XV. 16 differs: »And also concerning Maachah the mother of Asa the king, he removed her from being queen, because she had made an idol in a grove».

All the others are given according to the formula: the King's name, his age, the length of his reign and the name of the King's Mother. In addition it is mentioned whose daughter she was but not whose wife.[26]

A king had many wives but only one of them could be the mother of the future king. The competition between the wives of the king was not so much concerned with how many children they bore but whose son should be the heir.[27]

What was true in the king's house may have been true also in other families. Sara quarrelled with Hagar over the recognition of her son as the heir and future Patriarch of the family. To attain this she even drove Hagar and her son away from the home.[28]

It is fairly certain that a similar struggle arose elsewhere in many families. Also in these cases the mother of the heir and the future head must have had a special position among the women in the house.

The future king, the head of the tribe, or the head of the family was the v a l u a b l e child.

The v a l u a b l e child, however, could also be the child who in the future would do great things in the spiritual sphere. It was the mother of the great prophet or miracle worker, the mother of a remarkable child, who was praised and considered fortunate in having borne just this child.

Here I mention only Elisabeth, the mother of St. John the Baptist who was born in his parents' old age.[29]

It is often characteristic of the valuable child, unlike the ordinary child, that he comes after long waiting, sometimes so long that the mother already begins to doubt whether she can ever have a child. And this circumstance creates a special glamour around the mother and child in strict contrast to the idea that a woman's honour and prestige depends upon how many children she bears. Such a late birth is a miracle of God and the people already have a presentiment that the child will be something special. And if this really happens, they remember the circumstances in connection with his birth, how long his mother had to wait for him, how, for many years, she was troubled[30] and had to suffer the scorn of her neighbours and — finally, this exceptional child was born. Such a mother was highly esteemed.

In Hannah's song of praise after the birth of Samuel, there is also the rejoicing over the enemy:

> My heart rejoiceth in the Lord,
> mine horn is exalted in the Lord;
> my mouth is enlarged over mine enemies;
> because I rejoice in thy salvation.[31]

Of the intervention of God Hannah said:

> The Lord killeth, and maketh alive:
> He bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up.
> The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich:
> He bringeth low, and lifteth up.

There is a striking similarity between these words and what the Arab women of to-day say. For comparison I repeat the Arabic expressions:

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

And:

He brings to life and He sends death.
He makes rich and He makes poor.
He feeds and He withholds.
All is from God! Praise and thanks be to God![32]

Later Hannah had other children but who thinks of that? She has remained the mother of the Prophet Samuel.[33]

It is peculiar that the mother and not the father is so often mentioned in connection with the valuable child. — A man had other possibilities than a woman: he could have several wives.[34]

In the Old Testament it is once clearly stated as an advantage that a man is born in his parents' old age and is the only son of the family. Abraham's servant asks for Rebekah in marriage with Isaac and states that he is the only heir to his father's great riches, young, and yet independent, and thus a good match for her.[35] He presents it from the point of view of the future wife and her relatives, but this need not have been an isolated case. The very fact that such a thing is mentioned is worth consideration. And when Christ is called the only begotten son of his Father I wonder whether the expression was not taken from the daily life of the time, and whether it was not something very special to be the only begotten son,[36] as it was to be the only son,[37] and the first-born.[38] All first fruit and all the first-born »that opened the womb» really belonged to God and should have been offered to Him[39] and it was probably a later regulation that allowed the first-born boy to be redeemed.[40]

When in the Bible many descendants are mentioned it is nearly always

in general terms. It is a beautifying of the future, pious wishes, prophecies of what will come. People saw around them the great empty spaces and stretches of wilderness and dreamed of a time when the earth's surface would be crowded with people. »And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it»[41] which means mankind in general. When it is said of Abraham that his seed shall be as numerous »as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore»[42] they are not afraid of over-population and that was very probably beyond their imagination. Besides, they hoped for expansion, that their descendants would possess the gate of their enemies.[43]

There is also the dream of the minority of some time becoming a great and ruling nation. All this is not a description of a true state but of a dream of the future, the hope of a time to come, which will be different from the hard present.

Besides, and in spite of these general blessings, in the distant future for the people as such, it is very often considered a very special blessing for the individual to get a child from God.

In: »If a man beget an hundred children»,[44] the h u n d r e d is quite a fictitious number and would in any case presume many wives. It is no guide to the number of a man's children.

As to women, we learn that »Eli blessed Elkanah and his wife, and said, The Lord give thee seed of this woman for the loan which is lent to the Lord» and that »the Lord visited Hannah, so that she conceived, and bare three sons and two daughters»;[45] thus, six children in all. It seems to be quite unconnected with this when Hannah, after having weaned Samuel and taken him up with her unto the thouse of the Lord in in Shiloh, prayed, saying: »so that the barren hath born seven; and she that hath many children is waxed feeble.»[46] Here the figure seven is obviously fictitious. And similarly when it is said of Ruth: »for thy daughter-in-law, which loveth thee, which is better to thee than seven sons».[47] Is one justified in considering from these expressions, that to have seven children, seven sons, is a kind of high attainment for a woman?[48]

I cannot here treat the matter exhaustively; I have only given some facts and indicated certain main lines. In the beginning I over-emphasized

the problem as is easily done when a certain association of ideas arises. It must also be noted that my conclusions are founded upon my study of the women in the Old Testament. Regarded from the man's point of view the picture may be somewhat different.[49] Yet I am still convinced of the importance of carrying out a general examination of the child question in the Bible, and with regard to the valuable child, the many children, and the relationship between them.

FIRST INQUIRIES IN PALESTINE

When I arrived in Palestine it was quite natural that I should study parallel questions among the people and collect statistics about living and dead children and the proportions between them.

I very carefully began to put questions regarding the dead children to the women and they answered that the dead children were birds who adorn paradise. It sounded encouraging. Was that the opinion, there really seemed every hope that they would give me some information.

I had not been long in the village before I realized how important it was for a married woman to bear a son and by this means confirm her position in the husbands' house. Even if a woman had many daughters she was not entitled to remain in her husband's house after his death. If she bore a boy she had this right. Here even among the simpler people there was a variation of the v a l u a b l e child.

A fairly long time passed before I reached my goal and dared to begin systematic recording of the dead and living children of all women. Every woman in the village, as far as possible, had to be examined and answer for herself, and it is easy to understand that in the beginning they were reserved and did not at once reply to my very personal questions. They could not tell what lay behind these questions. What had this stranger to do with their children? It was not unthinkable that it was some one sent by the Government to spy upon them. But even after the women had overcome their suspicion, this questioning took much time and demanded special patience and care, to give reliable results.[50]

Sometimes the difficulties concerned the dead children.

I have a note, from an excursion in the village, of how Fadiye, the wife of Ali Sleman, was questioned as to how many children she had brought into the world. She considered and counted; but she did not know and

said: »I have forgotten it.»[51] And she excused herself by saying: »When the child is there we forget the pains.»[52] — Another woman, Halime Ali, was not able to give the name of a son who died early. »Perhaps there was no time to give him a name.» — »Oh yes, the father gave him one but I do not remember it,» she answered. — Sabba Ethman told me the names of two living and seven dead children but of three girls who had also died she could not give any particulars. She however declared that she had given birth twelve times.[53] All women know precisely how many times they have given birth. Yet they reckon twins as one birth. For this reason too I wished them to give the names of all their children, both dead and living; and not only the number of births.

In some respects it is perhaps still more difficult with the living children.

Especially if a woman has only one child, it is necessary to express oneself very carefully. Then one must mention God's name and say: »She has for God — one — a loaf in the bread-basket.» But there is always a certain danger in counting. If a woman has several children one must first call upon God's name and express a protective formula before the number of children is stated. »God preserve them! She has two boys.» The same fear of counting is found among the present-day Arabs in Palestine[54] as existed in ancient Israel.[55] Also when they measure corn they avoid mentioning figures. They use pious formulae: »God is one»; »there is no second», and so on.[56] — And regarding children people must not be proud or boast about them. It may also cause envy.

CHILD-MOTHER — FIRST-FRUIT — LAST-BORN

In a country where child-marriage has been practised and highly esteemed it is natural that very young wives bear children although not fully developed physically. From the beginning of my stay in Artas I have the following note from the village:

»Meshayekh Abed was 13—14 years old when her child was born. Her breasts were scarcely developed. She still played with other children and did not know that she was with child.

The child began to move in her. She went to her mother and said: 'Give me some medicine, I have a worm inside me.' The mother said: 'Be quiet!' All joked with her, because she did not at all know what had

happened to her. She said to her father's brother: 'Horrible! The worm moves to and fro.' She jumped so that the worm should go away. — At the same time as Meshayekh bore her daughter, Hamde, who died young, her own mother also bore a child.»

When Meshayekh was with child she had not yet menstruated. The same is said to be the case also with other women in Artas. In such a case people say: »A child bore a child.»[57]

Sitt Louisa told me that when visiting a family in Jerusalem the matter had been discussed. Someone then said: »That is a sin!» But a woman from Lifta — a place near Jerusalem — said: »Oh no, it is fine, a gift — lit. food — from God!» In such a case it is really the first fruit.

»Every child throws down a pillar of the mother», it is said, and by this is meant that the mother is weaker after every child she bears. For this reason too the first-born is highly valued.

The first-born is contrasted with the last-born[58]: »the last berry of the bunch».

TWINS

Alya: »He whose back is twisted from carrying or cold, someone who has borne twins shall tread upon him.

She then asks: 'Who has twisted thee?' The reply is: 'It is from God.' — This is asked and answered three times. And then he is cured.

Or, one of the twins acts in the same way.»[59]

One day in September 1930 I heard that Itayme's daughter-in-law had given birth to twins, two boys. »One came down and died. A death invitation was arranged for the dead boy by a brother of Itayme. The other was healthy.»

They said to me: »In Artas there are now no twins. Sara Khalil, the wife of Ibrahim Ayesh, had twins, two girls, but they are now married into another place. Of the other twins no one is alive.»

In all I have made note of six pairs of twins up to the year 1927, but later Jude had a pair of twins.

ORPHANS

Orphans, or children who have lost one parent, either through death or divorce, or in some other way, are a group whose position in society must be considered.[60]

If the father dies or is away the mother can remain with the children if she has one or more sons. And then the mother brings them up in their father's house.

Only in exceptional cases has the mother taken away her child or children when she remarries.

This was the case, for instance, with Sleman Ode's mother who, as a widow, married an ancestor of the Khalawe family, Abu Khalawe, while they were in her village Ajur. It was at a time when the Artas people had to leave their village on account of disturbances.[61] When they were able to return, Sleman Ode — a son from her earlier marriage — accompanied his mother and his stepfather, and was brought up in Artas with his half-brother, Khalawe. Children of the same mother but different fathers are called »children of the same womb». But when, on the other hand, Khalil Shahade was taken by his widowed mother to her new husband's house in Seir, the boy's paternal relatives would not allow him to stay there. His father's sister, Helwe, went and took him back to Artas on the pretext that his mother's husband ill-treated him. When later the mother came to get him back, appealing to the civil head of the village, he told her she must choose between remaining with her new husband and losing the child, or keeping the son and leaving the husband.[62] She chose the latter, came back to Artas and looked after her son's property and increased it and built a house for him.

In many cases the widow has remained in her husband's house and taken care of her children and their property.

But there are also widows who return to their father's house and remarry, as e.g Sheikha Shahin who married a second husband, Abd il-Salam, and had to leave her daughter by her first husband in his house. In 1931 Sheikha was left a widow for the second time and when I left Palestine she was still in the house of her husband, by whom she had sons.

If the mother dies the children of course remain in their father's house and are brought up by the new wife.

When Sara Khalil had to be divorced from her first husband because his father's brother, Salem Ethman, had been murdered in the year 1874 by a relative of hers, her daughter Sabba was only fourty days old and the child remained in her fathers house, nursed by different women in the village, but not by her own mother. She was brought up by her father's mother. Similarly the other children. Sara Khalil who was married to

another man called them to her secretly for she loved them[63] and threw oranges and other good things to them when she could, but she could not visit them openly.

It is not good for a child to have a stepmother or a stepfather.

Of a stepmother it is said:

> The father's wife is a punishment from God.
> She neither loves nor is loved.

And as regards the stepfather:

> He who is indifferent to thee
> recommend him to the husband of thy mother.

If both parents die, the children remain in the home. Their father's brother is responsible for them.[64]

According to Alya the good father's brother says:

»Eat from this my shoulder and then go to the other, and when this is finished go and eat from the rest of my heart!»

Or: »I am thy camel[65] with four knobs.»

When a sack is to be carried, a rope is fastened to the two top corners. In order to make it more firm a stone is first placed in the corners of the sack and the rope is wound round the knobs thus formed on each side. The load of a camel must always be equal on both sides, it must have two sacks. Therefore four knobs.

Similarly as the camel carries the burdens of man the father's brother wishes to carry the orphans' burdens and to help them in trouble. But in spite of his fine words he may easily be tempted to abuse the helplessness of the minors.[66]

Haniye is an example; her father, Hasan Ibrahim, went to America, and her mother, Miryam, during the First World War, left Artas with stranger soldiers and then disappeared. Haniye now lives with her father's brother whose wife is not friendly towards her, although she herself, in her earliest years, lost her mother and had to suffer much from her father's wife. So it is said in the village.[67]

Ibrahim Mahmud, who had lost his father and mother at an early age, was brought up by his father's mother, Sara Misleh.[68] In the year 1930 he was betrothed to Fatme Ali, a father's brother's daughter, who was about eight years old. It looked as if she would be an industrious

and hard-working wife. Yet Ibrahim was not satisfied. He would rather have had Safiye, the still younger daughter of another father's brother. She looked much nicer, but the father's brothers had arranged the marriage and he had to obey. Shortly after this I met him when he returned from Bethlehem where he had been working for a time. He was carrying his bed: a straw mat rolled round a pillow and a cover. I now understood what was so incomprehensible to me as a child: the command to a sick man to take up his bed and walk.[69] Later I often saw him sitting in the village watching the two little girls at play. He looked extremely sour and bad-tempered. He was probably comparing the two and was vexed because he could not marry the cousin he preferred.[70]

Ibrahim Khalil had lost both his parents very young. He was brought up by the brother of his father's father, Mhammad Khalil, who also looked after the boy's piece of land, and as soon as he was grown-up married him to his daughter. What an unsuitable pair they were is seen from the fact that when I first went to the village she had already been a mature woman for many years while he was only about twelve years old.[71]

Another orphan with land in Artas is Shahade,[72] son of Hasan Ehsen. His father's brother, who is his guardian, is said to have sold part of the land belonging to the orphan and excused himself by saying: »He is going to get my daughter Nazha as a wife.» The boy must later give a bride price and so the father's brother thinks he is within his rights. What he is taking is only part of the bride price in advance.

In a song the dead mother is thought to appeal to people to be kind to her little boy, to look after him well and stitch his pocket, if he tears it.

Alya: »Khadra Asad has brought up two orphans[73] and when she died, she was yellow and she smiled. There is nothing better than this» — to bring up orphans. To be yellow after death is considered a reward. — According to Alya it is also said :

»Blessed is he who brings up an orphan. If he caresses an orphan three times all that day's sins fall from him.»[74]

It is stated: »If the father dies, God is the representative.»[75]

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

In my statistics there are no illegitimate children.

Formerly, if an unmarried woman bore a child, both she and the child

had to be killed.[76] This was demanded by the strict moral code of the Arabs. Yet there is now a clear divergence in the ideas of the people and of the Government. The latter interferes when there is a suspected case. But although the fellaheen fear punishment by the Government, their ideas of morality still demand that the child and the mother must die. In any case a thick veil must be thrown over her shame if the unmarried mother's life is to be spared and her relatives escape misfortune. It is of course not easy for a woman to give birth to a child secretly and then let it disappear without leaving any trace. In any case the child's life is threatened. Some of the women once hinted at the possibility of placing such a child in a monastery or in a convent where it would be safe and its secret kept. The question of absolute moral purity before marriage will be discussed in connection with the honour and protection of women. Here I will only state the fact that no child born by an unmarried woman can be registered in the village.

I was told of a Western woman who came to Transjordania to find and protect such unfortunate women. But she was not understood.

»Fallen women?» they asked with surprise. »There are none. We do not let them live.»

— »Then what about the women in prison?»

— »Prison for women!» again they wondered. »We do not let women go to prison. It is only men who go to prison! If a woman has committed a crime which requires such a punishment she has of course a brother or a father who can be taken in her stead.»

In this respect there is a difference between the West and the East.

NUMERICAL PROPORTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS

The villagers speak of a difference in proportion between men and women in Artas,[77] a lack of women, and point out with a certain proudness that their village is a place with many m e n. They speak of other places too, some having a surplus of men and some a surplus of women.

Alya: »Artas and el-Khadr and Bethlehem, Bet Jala, Bettir, Hosan, Surif, and el-Walaje are famous for having boys.»

— Which places are known to have more girls than boys? I asked.

— »Bet Sahur, Sharafat, Ein Karim have mostly daughters.»

It is natural that people try to explain this.[78]

Some influence is attributed to water, which plays such a great part in Palestinian folk-lore and life.

According to Alya people say: »The Upper Kawafne who now live in Bet Ummar and the original Bet Ummar people, they all drink the same water and have equal numbers of sons and daughters. Of the Lower Kawafne, on the other hand, in Surif, those who drink from the spring of Jdur have more girls, and those who drink of the well Imzerea have more boys.«

And it is the quality of water which decides.[79]

We speak of hard and soft water. The Arabs speak of masculine and feminine water. In a place with masculine water more boys than girls are born, and the men in such a place are distinguished by their beauty and strength. In a place with feminine water more girls than boys are born and the girls in such a place are beautiful and vigorous.

Religious ideas also appear in the people's explanations.

Sitt Badriye, a Muhammadan woman saint, has a shrine in Bet Safafa and this is said to be the reason why in this village, near Jerusalem, there are more women than men.

Alya: »Sitt Badriye prayed for daughters for this place.«
— But why does she wish to have women?
— »Isn't she herself a woman?« Alya asked.

Again the surplus of men said to exist in Bethlehem and of women in the neighbouring village, Bet Sahur, is attributed to a blessing and a curse of the Blessed Virgin.[80]

According to Muhammadan tradition the Virgin Mary lived in Silwan near Jerusalem. — Also in a Muhammadan legend about the birth of Jesus, which Alya told me, it is assumed that she was in Jerusalem or very close to it.[81]

»The Virgin Mary — prayer and greeting upon her! The Jews drove her away. They wanted to kill her and to take our Lord from her womb. She fled.«

During her flight southwards the Virgin Mary came to a field where the people were gathering peas.

»She ran from fear, hungry and bare-foot. She said to them: 'Give me to eat! I am hungry. Just a few peas!'

They answered: 'These are not peas.» She asked: 'Then what is it?' — They answered: 'They are stones.'

She said: 'May God make them stones!' — And they became stones.»

Near Tantur, half-way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, there is a place with many pebbles called the Field of the Grey Peas which, according to tradition, is the pea-field cursed by the Virgin Mary.

»Then she went down to Bet Sahur. She said to them: 'Protect me!' They answered: 'Go away! Thou hast no place here!'

'Please let me, even if it is only under the cradle of the child!'

They said: 'Not for anything! Here thou canst not stay. Go up to Bethlehem!'»

Mary saw a little child in the cradle and begged for protection for its sake.[82] For the sake of a little child people will do much. But this time the Bet Sahur people hardened their hearts and sent her away.

Then she came to the Shepherds' Field.

»She met the shepherds. They herded their sheep and broke of the dhurra. She said: 'Give me to eat!' They answered: 'Take! The blessing has come down. And take some with thee too!'

She went up to Bethlehem. She said: 'Hide me! I have fled from the Rabbi!' They answered her: 'Go into this cave! It is warmed by the cows.'

She said: 'Oh ye people of Bet Sahur, may your number not exceed forty men! May daughters be born to you, may your daughters survive! — By God, ye Bethlehemites! May ye be thousands and thousands, like the creeping locusts. And may God protect your women, as ye have protected me!'

They put her among the cows, one red and one black. And God delivered her and she bore her child from the armpit into the manger in the straw.

And thus she escaped, she and our Lord Jesus. And the cows blew on him to warm him with their breath.»

The Virgin Mary was persecuted because she had no husband. An illegitimate child and its mother are not allowed to live. But as the Virgin Mary, fleeing, in her great need turned to ask protection from strangers, the people of Bet Sahur were cursed and punished because they refused

her refuge, while the Bethlehemites were rewarded because they helped her and showed her mercy.

The proportion of boys to girls varies at different times[83] in the same place.

A saying runs:

The boy's year is unfruitful.
A fruitful year is a girl's year.

Two good things do not come at once.

The proportion varies in different clans in the same place.

In some cases it is said to depend upon the family tree, whether it is bitter or sweet.[84]

Alya: »The fruitful tree: many male descendants. The sweet tree: only one son!»

Hamdiye said of the sweet and the bitter tree:

»Oh tree, for death thou art sweet and pleasant! And other people's tree is a gourd and bitter.[85] The bitter one lives.»

Alya also gave an example of an Artas family which has a decidedly and typically bitter tree, saying:

The tree of the Meshani family is two gourds and bitterness, and the fruitful tree is strong.»

Sitt Louisa interposed: »By two gourds they mean very bitter, bitter as quinine.»

And Alya continued talking about the different trees.

A saying of the sweet tree runs:

From sugar it is impossible to become strong.
My darling, my eye! few or none at all!
My darling, it is not possible with three or four boys!
One or two — there are no comrades in the house!

Fatme il-Sheikh, a woman who came from Halhul to visit relatives in

Artas, told me that their tree is sweet: daughters and not boys survive in their family.

Even in the same clan there may be a difference between the families with regard to the number of children and the proportion between boys and girls.

Here again this is connected with the idea of a special blessing or a curse.

Leilt il-Kadr, the Night of Power[86], the 27th of the Muhammadan month Ramadan, is not like other nights. Then it may happen that a person sees the heaven open and the trees bow to earth. If he who sees this mystery at once asks for a special blessing it will be granted. But it is necessary to have the presence of mind to see and use the favourable opportunity which only lasts some moments.

In Artas three persons had this opportunity.

Alya: »Mhammad Ali of the Shahin clan was watering his gardens in the night when at once he saw the world light up. Instead of uttering a wish, he said: 'Wirr! Wirr!' — For he was frightened.[87]

Immediately afterwards he repented. He saw how stupid he had been. He said: 'Ah! what have I done! This is the Night of Power!'«

But as Sitt Louisa remarked: »Then it was already too late. Heaven was no longer open.«

The other Artas man who had a vision in the Night of Power also failed to use the opportunity.

It was Odtallah of the Saad clan and he was then in an open stony place in Bet Skarye, a place with ruins from an older colonization, where the Artas people have land and where there is a shrine to Abu Sakari.

Alya: »God has not given him his share. He lay sleeping. Abu Sakari awakened him and said: 'Stand up! It is the Night of Power!' He opened his eyes and found the world like a torch.

But he at once fell asleep again and was awakened for the second time by the Saint who said to him: 'To-night is the Night of Power!' He raised his head and found the world like a torch. Again he laid down his head.

Yet a third time Abu Sakari awakened him from slumber, calling him loudly.[88] Abu Sakari said: 'Get up! to-night is the Night of Power!'

And for the third time heaven was closed.«[89]

Odtallah had definitely lost his chance. Of course the people reproached him for having been so silly and he excused himself by saying that everything was not as it should have been. »The trees did not bow!» and therefore he did not notice it.

They said to him scoffingly: »Do then trees grow among these stones!»

It was different in the case of the third person in the village who had a vision in the Night of Power. It was a woman, Nafise, married to Ibrahim Ayesh. She was intelligent enough to recognize the importance of the moment.

Alya related of her: In the Night of Power she said:

A house full of goods
and a house with men
and a house full of bliss
and not to be wiped out
and a pilgrimage to Mecca![90]

To Sitt Louisa's question: »Who awakened her?» Alya answered: »God awakened her», adding: »There are only some people who have visions.»

Ibrahim Ayesh belongs to the Meshani clan whose tree is bitter and so from the beginning he was destined to have many children, in particular boys. His wife's prayer on the Night of Power brought an extra blessing to his house. Thirty-one children were born to him by four wives. Of them eighteen were boys and thirteen girls. He had more children than any one else in the village.

In the same way as a general blessing to a clan or a family can be increased, it can be removed if a person draws a curse upon himself.

Ahmad Khalil, although be belongs to the Meshani clan, has no sons living. The three who were born to his first wife, Hadba, of the Taamre tribe, all died in infancy. Hoping to get sons, he took a second wife from the village. Her name was also Hadba, and her sons also died in infancy.[91]

The explanation is that Ahmad had to suffer for the wrong which his father had done to a woman; disliking his brother's widow, he was angry that she remained in the house and spread the rumour that she was with child. On account of this her brother killed her and then it was found

that she was innocent. She was ill and had become swollen because of the growth. — People think that Ahmad's sons were not allowed to live as a punishment for his father's crime.

Also the brother who killed his innocent sister on account of false slander lost his sons by death and has no male descendants; the whole family has died out.[92]

A saying goes:

> The sin against a woman[93] cuts off the descendants
> and the descendants of the descendants.

In another connection it is related how Ibrahim Shahin thought he had reason to pray to God that no daughters of his family should survive. But when his prayer was heard it proved to be a misfortune. There arose such a lack of women in the family that the young men did not know how to get wives, as they could not marry within their own family, nor had they sisters to exchange for wives from stranger families. And in their need they made a counter vow and prayed that daughters might again be allowed to survive in their family.[94]

WHAT THE STATISTICS SHOW

From the statistics it is seen that in the Meshani clan the total number of births — 287 — is greater than in the other clans. The total number of births — 283 — in the Saad clan is almost as great but in this clan there are more marriages — 89 marriages (63 husbands) — and in the Meshani clan 69 marriages (49 husbands).

Concerning the proportion between the sexes there is no great difference in the Saad and the Rabaya clans considering the whole period: in the Saad clan, 7 girls less than boys, and in the Rabaya clan only one girl less than boys; expressed in per cent, 51.24 boys and 48.76 girls in the Saad clan, and 50.77 boys and 49.23 girls in the Rabaya clan.

Conditions are different in the two other clans.

Of the total 287 births in the Meshani clan 156 are males and 131 females, i.e. 25 males more than females.

Of the total of 157 births in the Shahin clan 88 are males and 69 females, i.e. 19 girls less than boys.

Or, the Meshani clan, 54.36 per cent males and 45.64 per cent females, and the Shahin clan, 56.05 per cent males and 43.95 per cent females.

Thus the Shahin clan is the one of the four village clans which has had proportionately fewer females born during the period contained in my statistics. And the minority of women has — as we have just found — been felt very acutely by the members themselves. Sometimes it seems to have been almost catastrophic.

In the Meshani clan, where the number of births of males similarly exceeds the number of births of females, the disproportion has not been considered a handicap. In this connection it is not necessary to stress the lack of women. More suitable than to speak of a want of women in this case is to use the expression »richness of men». — And why?

One reason may be that the Meshani clan — at least its greatest family, the Ayesh family — has been in fairly good economical circumstances. How one of the oldest members of the family came to be rich is another story. If required, the bride price could be taken from the property. Another reason may be that the age of boys and girls in this clan was more proportionate and, consequently, when a male member was to be married there was a clan girl of suitable age whom he could take for a wife or exchange for a bride. Finally it seems as if the people in this clan have, so to say, taken out girls in advance for the purpose of getting wives. In any case, during the course of time a greater number of girls have been given in marriage than have boys. Perhaps girls who mature earlier have generally been married at an earlier age.

In the Meshani clan 54 of the »still unmarried» are males and 24 females, i.e. 69.23 per cent males and 30.77 per cent females in 1927. Within this group about one-third are females and two-thirds males. The surplus of males is thus extremely high among the young generation.

A similar development is observed in the Rabaya clan.

The Shahin clan alone has given in marriage a smaller number of girls than boys: 25 girls to 39 boys married. So economical have they been with wives that in this clan there are only 43 marriages to 40 men, and as wives, whose first marriage has been dissolved, have been remarried within the clan there are only 39 wives and 40 husbands in the clan — the number of wives is less than that of husbands — which is quite exceptional in the village. It may be added that the Shahin clan is the only one in the village in which all men have been monogamous — a fact which probably is more due to necessity than to virtue. Yet, however

Births and Deaths

The village of Artas — about five generations, 1927 inclusive

Husbands	Marriages	Clans and Families	Births			Still Unmarried			Married			Died Unmarried			Abortions
			Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	
63	89	Saad	283	145	138	74	40	34	121	57	64	88	48	40	5
16	22	Rabaya	65	33	32	12	8	4	30	13	17	23	12	11	—
49	69	Meshani	287	156	131	78	54	24	97	46	51	112	56	56	6
40	43	Shahin	157	88	69	29	16	13	64	39	25	64	33	31	—
11	16	Shahade	62	29	33	18	10	8	21	10	11	23	9	14	—
2	2	Kanaan	6	2	4	—	—	—	3	1	2	3	1	2	—
6	8	Sanad	32	17	15	7	4	3	11	5	6	14	8	6	1
5	6	Sliman Ode	13	8	5	3	3	—	9	4	5	1	1	—	—
2	3	Taamre	8	5	3	2	1	1	1	1	—	5	3	2	—
5	6	Negroes	22	12	10	2	1	1	8	4	4	12	7	5	—
199	264	Village	935	495	440	225	137	88	365	180	185	345	178	167	12
				Per cent			Per cent								
				52.94	47.06		60.89	39.11							

sparingly daughters in the Shahin clan have been given in marriage, there are, in 1927 — fewer unmarried girls than boys — even if the surplus of unmarried males is proportionately not so great as in the Meshani and the Rabaya clans.

In the smaller families — of which none is great enough to form an independent clan — there are some variations.

In the biggest of the »small» families, the Shahade family which originates from Silwan, a village near Jerusalem, the number of males born does not even reach that of females: 29 males to 33 females, or, in per cent, 46.77 males and 53.23 females.

In the Kanaan family 2 males to 4 females were born. This family is too small to allow conclusions to be drawn, similarly regarding the Sliman Ode family, with a total number of 8 boys to 5 girls, and the Taamre family with 5 boys to 3 girls.

The two remaining families follow the general rule: more boys than girls.

In the Sanad family there are 17 males and 15 females in a total of 32 births. In the Negroe family with a total of 22 births there are 12 males and 10 females.

There is a similar difference between the sexes calculated on the total numbers of villagers.

In 935 births there are 495 males and 440 females — 55 females less than males. Or, 52.94 per cent males and 47.06 per cent females.

This applies to the whole period examined. Regarding children and youths the difference between the sexes is still greater.

Of a total of 225 »still unmarried» 137 are boys and 88 girls — 49 girls less than boys. Or, 60.89 per cent »still unmarried» boys, and 39.11 per cent »still unmarried» girls.

It may be said that the entire population has taken out girls in advance. The villagers have used more women than they could afford if the rule were to be followed that every man should marry and marry by means of his sister, i.e. a sister (or another near relative) shall procure a bride for her brother for her bride price — a custom discussed in my book on marriage.

The villagers' expressions: a lack of women — a place of men — are justified.

The conformity prevailing between the statements given by the people and the statistics is of principal interest. It is probable that in another place, too, statistics would confirm the statements of the people, whether the surplus is of men or of women.[95]

IMPOTENT HUSBAND

The impotent husband is not altogether unknown.[96] A woman married to such a man has the right of divorce if her brothers demand it for her. The women gave me to understand that sometimes a wife tries to conceal such a fact even from her brother out of pity for her husband. In a folk-tale I made note of the wife of an impotent sheikh, with this purpose in view, secretly having connection with a stranger, and all believed that her son was the sheikh's son. Only long afterwards were the real facts discovered.[97]

BARREN WIFE

There is also the barren wife. Scarcely any place or any generation lacks some example of this fact. It is always very tragic when it is said of a woman that she is barren.[98] In people's minds, and in her own, she is contrasted with a fruitful woman. She herself is exceedingly sensitive regarding her defect and is distressed every time she hears that someone is expecting a child. It is also easy to understand that the husband thinks he is obliged to take a new wife.

In some cases the woman herself insists that he shall take a substitute for her so that he can have children, and not die without heirs and his portion of land go to others. But in such cases the first wife must take the risk and danger that the new wife will be more than a substitute. How easily it may happen that he comes to love the other one and think more of her. Or, the second wife, having children may look down upon her, like did the Egyptian handmaid, Hagar, upon her mistress Sarah. And when Sarah, contrary to all expectations bore a son, and drove Hagar away,

it is possible that this was due to her fear lest the first-born son should set aside her own son, even if he was only the son of a handmaid.[99]

There is always a certain glory round the wife whose son vill succeed his father. If a childless wife is to raise herself and her position in relation to such a dangerous rival it requires unusual personal wisdom and strength of character. Much depends in this case on the children. If she can lure them away from their own mother to herself she has gained much; such cases have occurred.

Of the dead women in my lists two were certainly barren, namely Fadda Mhammad and Khadra Asad. Sitt Louisa told me of the latter:

»Khadra Asad was bewitched so that she could not stand her husband or any man. She was as if mad. She went away from her husband. She could not go to her father's house, because her husband had not ill-treated her. She slept in a tree. The explanation: the village priest must make the marriage contract secretly, because enemies can cause the two to be separated. In this case, however, they had not taken sufficient care at this important moment and so the misfortune happened. The mother had to go Jerusalem to release her from the spell.[100] But she remained without children.«

Of three other dead wives I have no notes as to children, although I have no direct information that they were barren.

Among women still living Sabha Ismain is barren and an old woman. When there was no more hope that she should have children her husband's brother was already rejoicing that he should inherit the land. But when Sabha Ismain heard of this it hurt her so that she persuaded her husband to take another wife who then bore him sons and daughters. But her position in the house was that of a servant. Her children address Sabha as »mother« (yamma), although »my father's wife« (mart abûyi) is the usual word of address for children to their mother's co-wife. Sabha Ismain, and not their mother, looked after them and even arranged their marriages. It was remarked that these children were all an old man's children.

There are also in the village two young wives of whom it is feared that they are barren, because they have been married several years without bearing children. The one is Latife Musa who is her husband's only wife. The other is Fatme Ali and she is her husband's second wife. The husband does not love his first wife but she has children. Fatme, who is the beloved wife, is childless. As she has many attractive qualities her husband gene-

rally says that he does not mind that she has no children. But again there are times when he gets angry with her and says: »It is lawful to hew down a tree which does not bear fruit.»[101]

This has happened several times and Fatme, wounded in her most sensitive spot, has left her husband each time and gone to her father's house. On one such occasion her father related that her husband compared her to a mule who could only leave dung after her and no descendant. It made a deep impression on me to observe how unhappy her father was and how upset he was over the insult to his daughter.

Of course Fatme tries to find a cure for her evil. In the spring of 1930 I saw her go eastwards with some Artas people to bathe. In the valley of the river Zerka, beside the Dead Sea, there are hot sulphureous springs where in olden times there were big Bath Houses and people still go there to take a cure.

Hamdiye once said: The bath of Zerka is for healing. She who has no children says:

> Oh Zerka where shall I find thee?
> I come with a prayer.
> I wish for a child in my hands!

Fatme's husband certainly spoke contemptuously of women's ideas. But it sometimes happens that a woman really bears a child after taking one of these water cures and this strengthens the people's belief in the miraculous power and healing effect of the water.

Also barren Christian women who would like to have children sometimes go to the River Jordan to bathe. I have heard of some cases which led to the wished-for result.

WOMAN CEASING TO BEAR CHILDREN — REMEDY

It may happen that a woman suddenly ceases to bear children.

If, in such cases, people suspect a certain woman of being the cause thereof they try the following remedy, described by Alya: »She who has harmed her must give her urine and it is put on the head of the injured woman and then the head is washed and rinsed and she gets up.»

When they take a bath they squat on the ground or on the floor and pour the water over themselves.

Another remedy is as follows:

»A woman who does not get children takes the dust of the afterbirth, puts it in water and washes herself in this water.[102] Then she rinses herself with clean water.»

A further variation of magical washing in such cases is as follows.

Nijme had five children by her first husband. Two daughters and two sons died in infancy and the surviving son had to remain with his father, when she was divorced. By her other husband she had no children for many years but desired them.

Alya told me:

»Nijme collected seven stones from the grave of a killed man, stepped over his grave, put the stones in water and washed herself with it.»

And of Helwe she said:

»The daughter of Salem Ibrahim did it and God has fed her and she bore children.»

This is an old remedy, often tried. I think there is here some connection with the idea that a murdered man has still some years to live and that something which has been in contact with his grave can, on that account, give life from the life of which he was robbed.[103]

It is said of Hesen, a Taamre wife in Artas, that an Algerian has cured her. The remark may be made here that a man who wishes to cure a woman must first enter into brotherhood with her. She became pregnant and bore a daughter who, however, only lived a few months.[104] As long as I was in the village she bore no more children.

CHILD-BEARING AND INFANT MORTALITY DUE TO ENVY

I have said that before my journey to Palestine I assumed that a woman did not willingly have many children and I still believe it. I have also in another connection indicated that the comparatively long nursing period — one-and-a-half to two, two-and-a-half, even up to as much as four years — is perhaps not only to allow the child to enjoy mother's milk as long as possible. As it is generally assumed that nursing makes a new pregnancy more difficult it may be thought that women use it in self-protection, to postpone the unwished-for pregnancy. Women's work is so hard that it is almost unbelievable that they should wish to be constantly

bearing children. But there are other things which counteract such an attitude.

When it is said: »If there was a noble woman she would not give birth to children at all», it is of course a paradox.[105] The explanation given of this curious expression is:

Two-thirds of pregnancy is jealousy.

According to the fellaheen most cases of child-bearing are due to envy and jealousy. If a woman sees another one who has children she envies her, she wishes to be like her or to surpass her. And then there is the fear that if the husband does not have sexual intercourse with her he will be tempted to take another wife. Or, if he already has a second or a third wife, all these women maintain their right to have intercourse with him.

When a woman has washed herself after her menstruation, she puts on her best clothes which, for the husband, is the sign that she is clean again and is at the same time an invitation. According to Alya people in Surif speak of the »begging dress» in such cases; they say, she begs the husband for intercourse.

The husband is not always pleased to respond to the invitation. He would perhaps much rather be with another wife whom he prefers. But if he does not respond, she gets angry and accuses him of neglecting her, or she may leave him. Both he and she know that it is his duty to come to her because according to the Muhammadan law he must treat all his wives alike.[106]

Under such conditions it is clear that a woman must be especially anxious to insist upon her right of intercourse and to bear him children.[107] For other people the children are a sign that she has succeeded in maintaining her position as his wife and is not separated from his bed.

Eshe said that her husband, Ali Khalil, had assured her younger co-wife that he no longer had connection with her, the first wife. »And then my son Mahmud was born,» she added smilingly and very pleased. So all the village could see that she was not deserted.

Psychologically sexual intercourse with the husband is of value and increases the wife's social position.

Thus it may be true that envy and jealousy stimulate child-bearing. And, of course, it is not of free will — in its real meaning — but severe conditions and competition drive them to it.

It can also be good to have many children as the death rate is so high.

In explaining infant mortality the fellaheen ascribe a great part to envy; according to them this quality is responsible for two-thirds of it.

This envy comes partly from the evil spirits, among whom is Karine, the women's special enemy. And the evil eye cuts off many young lives when one woman envies another her children. There are also women who influence their surroundings in such an unfortunate way that, willingly or not, they bring death even upon small children. Such a woman is called Kashra.[108]

There is envy even in the closest family circle.

It happens that a child cannot tolerate his younger brothers and sisters, and his hate and envy may cause their death. Such a boy is called Kasher, the masculine form of Kashra.[109]

A boy of this kind must be treated as follows:

»A cut is made in his forehead, so that blood runs out, a rope is tied round his body and he is let down into a well; and all this is done very roughly to strike fear into the boy.«

The negro boy, Ali Kheir Allah, was an example of this.

Is it not a general observation that when nature is left to itself too much power and energy is used? Nature wastes power, because there are so many incalculable counteracting conditions. I need scarcely refer to the common example of the seed of a tree scattered by the wind. Only some of the many take root and develop the potential life within them. Even where there is no birth-control to reduce productivity nature itself regulates the matter. Many more children are born than have any prospect of surviving. Nature allows a large number to be born because under the prevailing severe conditions many of them will die early. One can speak of natural selection where the weak ones succumb at an early stage and those only who can stand the hardening process survive — the survival of the fittest.

NATIVITY AND CHILD MORTALITY IN FIGURES

It appears from my statistics that, although marriage is obligatory for all, for both men and women, although it takes place as a rule at an early age — even child marriages have occurred — of a total of 935 people born in the village, 345 or 36.9 per cent died unmarried.

Child Mortality

The village of Artas — about five generations, 1927 inclusive

Clans and Families	Births			Deaths			Died											
		Sex			Sex		At Birth			In Infancy			Growing Up			In Youth		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Saad	283	145	138	88	48	40	3	3	—	70	33	37	12	10	2	3	2	1
Rabaya	65	33	32	23	12	11	—	—	—	20	10	10	—	—	—	3	2	1
Meshani	287	156	131	112	56	56	2	1	1	99	52	47	11	3	8	—	—	—
Shahin	157	88	69	64	33	31	—	—	—	48	24	24	8	5	3	8	4	4
Shahade	62	29	33	23	9	14	1	1	—	21	7	14	1	1	—	—	—	—
Kanaan	6	2	4	3	1	2	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Sanad	32	17	15	14	8	6	—	—	—	11	6	5	1	—	1	2	2	—
Sliman Ode	13	8	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Taamre	8	5	3	5	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—
Negroes	22	12	10	12	7	5	—	—	—	12	7	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Village	935	495	440	345	178	167	8	6	2	285	140	145	35	21	14	17	11	6

Their deaths may be classified as follows:

8, or 0.86 per cent at birth;

285, or 30.48 per cent in infancy — up to about seven years;

35, or 3.74 per cent growing up — approximately between seven and twelve years of age;

17, or 1.82 per cent in youth — above twelve years, but unmarried.

As a matter of fact child mortality must have been higher than what appears from these figures in my statistics which covers a period of about a hundred years. There must, of course, have been some children who died long ago and have now been forgotten, as their mothers are dead too. But generally a daughter will know how many children her mother bore and relatives and neighbours may be relied upon to remember births and deaths. The women in the village are naturally interested in their fellow-sisters and living so close to one another they know all about what happens to them. In some cases even more correct information may be obtained from villagers as a woman who, for instance, has lost many children is not always inclined to talk about her losses. This is quite human — personal adversities are not mentioned, yet those of others are freely discussed. But, as already mentioned, every woman in the village was, as far as possible, questioned about her children.

There is an advantage in including the children of dead men and women too. A more adequate picture will be obtained of the actual number of children in the various families. In the opposite case new marriages with no children, or just a few, will dominate in the statistics.

Reverting to the statistics it is found that my inquiries give the high figure of 293 deaths — including 8 deaths at birth — in infancy, i.e. 31.34 per cent of all babies born in the village died at an early age. In other words, almost one third of the villagers died at the age of less than about seven years[110].

In addition there are 12 cases of abortion before 1927 and one in 1930. — Dalal, wife of Awadallah Khalil, died pregnant. She was from Beit Ummar, and in that village the Artas woman, Miryam Awadallah, for whom she had been exchanged as a bride, died at the birth of her child. — In Artas three wives: Nafise, wife of Ibrahim Ayesh; Miryam Ethman, wife of Ehsen Abdallah, and Fatme Awwad, wife of Ahmad Jabr, died in childbirth. Also the babies — a boy and a girl — of the two first-mentioned women died at birth. The baby girl of the third woman survived but died at the age of two.

Total Number of Children →	0	1			2			3			4			5			6			7			8		
	Husband	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'
	7°	4°	1	—	8	1	1	*14*	—	3	*9*	2	2	21°	1	4	*15*	4	2	*6*	3	4	22	3	5
	17°	*10*	—	1	*11*	—	2	41	—	3	*12*[2]	—	4	33	—	5	25	2	4	*34*	4	3	31[4]	1	7
	23	13°	1	—	20	—	2	43	—	3	*18*[2]	—	4	38[2]	—	5	32	3	3	*52*[3]	—	7	51[2]	—	8
	28	*16*	1	—	*46*	—	2	44°	3	—	26°	3	1	*56*	—	5	54	—	6	*101*	4	3	*69*	2	6
	(*29*)	24°	1	—	*49*	1	1	*59*	1	2	*36*	2	2	*58*[2]	3	2	*102*	3	3	158	4	3	81[2]	—	8
	37	*30*	—	1	*57*[2]	—	2	*70*[2]	—	3	*55*	—	4	67[2]	—	5	129	—	6	*174*	1	6	*99*	3	5
	45°	48°	1	—	64°	1	1	*73*	—	3	66	—	4	83[2]	—	5	*176*	5	1	*193*[2]	5	2	108	—	8
	47	*50*	—	1	*72*	1	1	76	—	3	68[2]	1	3	88	3	2	*196*	2	4				109[2]	1	7
	(*60*)	*61*	—	1	84°	1	1	*103*	2	1	80[2]	—	4	*96*	3	2							*112*[3]	—	8
	63°	*62*	—	1	*86*	—	2	*104*	3	—	93	2	2	*110*[3]	1	4							118[2]	3	5
	75	65°	—	1	*87*[2]	1	1	*105*	2	1	*95*[2]	4	—	*121*	2	3							119	—	8
	(*78*)	*74*	—	1	111	—	2	*123*	—	3	*106*	3	1	122°	5	—							*144*	3	5
	(*79*)	*94*	—	1	124°	1	1	*125*	3	—	117	—	4	134	1	4							164	5	3
	100	*116*	1	—	131°	—	2	142°	3	—	130	—	4	*139*	1	4							*166*	5	3
	107	*141*	—	1	137	1	1	*148*	—	3	133	—	4	167	4	1							172[2]	4	4
	115°	143°	1	—	*151*	—	2	*150*	—	3	136	—	4	188	—	5							184	3	5
	126	145	—	1	157	—	2	*160*[2]	1	2	*146*	3	1	189	1	4									
	127	*147*	1	—	162°	2	—	180	—	3	*154*	—	4												
	128	*152*	1	—	165°	2	—	181°	3	—	*159*[2]	3	1												
	132°	*153*[2]	—	1	*177*	1	1	182	—	3	*185*	2	2												
	149	*163*	—	1				190[2]	—	3	*186*[2]	2	2												
	155	*168*	1	—				195	—	3															
	(*161*)	169[2]	—	1				*199*[2]	2	1															
	(*187*)	175°	—	1																					
	191	*178*	—	1																					
	192	*179*	—	1																					
		194	—	1																					
		198	1	—																					
Total of Husbands .. 199	26	28			20			23			21			17			8			7			16		
Cols. 'D' .. 345			11			13			23			27			25			19			21			33	
Cols. 'L' .. 590				17			27			46			57			60			29			28			95
Total Births 935																									

Children per Husband

five generations, 1927 inclusive

9			10			11			12			13			14			15			17			31		
Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Husband	Children 'D'	Children 'L'
1[1]	4	5	*19*[2]	2	8	*171*[2]	2	9	3[2]	2	10	2[1]	1	12	*85*[2]	9	5	*40*[1]	4	11	5[2]	12	5	82[1]	12	19
27	5	4	39[2]	3	7				*35*[2]	6	6	*89*	12	1	*90*[2]	3	11	*140*	10	5	77[3]	8	9			
53[2]	1	8	*91*	—	10				*42*[2]	6	6	183[2]	7	6	135	4	10									
113	3	6	97[3]	7	3				*71*	10	2				*173*[2]	9	5									
114	3	6	*98*[2]	7	3				*92*[2]	4	8															
120	1	8	138	3	7																					
197	7	2	156	5	5																					
			170[2]	1	9																					
7			8			1			5			3			4			2			2			1		
	24			28			2			28			20			25			14			20			12	
		39			52			9			32			19			31			16			14			19

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1st Col: Husband's statistical number
2nd Col: Children 'D' = died unmarried
'L' = living till married, or still unmarried
Italicized number = husband still living
° above number = died without sons
2. 3. or 4 above husband's number shows number of wives
Figure in brackets = betrothed only

The total number of children born to each husband, also the number of children dying before marriage, and those living till married, or still unmarried (»Surviving«) may be seen from the table. Numbers are used for the husbands instead of their names; these will be found at the end of the book in the »List of Villagers«. As the sex of children is not given in the table some examples of fathers with m a n y s o n s — and daughters — are given below.

Father Number and name	"Surviving" Sons	"Surviving" Daughters	Total Sons	Total Daughters	Total Children
2 = Jedallah Ode	6	6	6	7	13
3 = Khalil Ibrahim	7	3	8	4	12
5 = Saad Ibrahim	4	1	10	7	17
40 = Khadr Ehsen	6	5	8	7	15
77 = Ethman Jibrin	4	5	9	8	17
82 = Ibrahim Ayesh	12	7	18	13	31
85 = Hasan Abdallah	4	1	8	6	14
90 = Salem Ibrahim	5	6	7	7	14
92 = Abd il-Salam	6	2	8	4	12
170 = Khalil Shahade	5	4	6	4	10

Ibrahim Ayesh with twelve »surviving« sons is quite an exceptional case. Next in order are fathers with seven, six, five, and four »surviving« sons.

In Artas 25 married men out of 199, or 12.56 per cent — in other words, one eighth of all married men in Artas — died without leaving sons. Six of these husbands have had no children at all while ten husbands have had one or more girls. Nine husbands have had sons; five husbands have had one son; two husbands have had two sons each, and two husbands have had three sons each but all these sons died at an early age.

What use is there in having sons if they die before they marry and have a family! It is equal to having had no sons. To die without sons is the most tragic fate that may befall a man.

I believe however that dying without having male descendants is not so tragic in the case of a young man living with his father — and brothers — as it is if an elderly man with property of his own dies childless[111].

And sometimes the Arabs, as well as many other peoples, have an overbearing humorous smile for a man with daughters only. People joked about

Ahmad Jedallah who had no sons but five daughters, saying that he really should be placed among the goats as their female offspring is highly valued.

As to the married women the barren wife and her problems have already been discussed. The boundary cases are of special interest and here is a list of wives with several children.

Wives with four »surviving» sons:

Mother Number and Name	Wife of	"Surviving" Sons	"Surviving" Daughters	Total Sons	Total Daughters	Total Children
207 = Sara	3	4	2	5	3	8
269 = Hamde il-Zir	53	4	4	4	4	8
319 = Fatme Ahmad	90	4	5	4	5	9
360 = Sheikha Sliman	120	4	4	4	5	9
369 = Helwe Saleh	130	4	—	4	—	4
375 = Rahme il-Naime	138	4	3	6	4	10
379 = Hamde Khalil	144	4	1	5	3	8
406 = Hasna Smain	170	4	3	4	3	7

Wives with five »surviving» sons:

Mother Number and Name	Wife of	"Surviving" Sons	"Surviving" Daughters	Total Sons	Total Daughters	Total Children
307 = Nafise	82	5	—	8	3	11
308 = Safiye Mustafa	82	5	3	5	6	11
353 = Sabha Musa	114	5	1	8	1	9
368 = Meshayekh	129	5	1	5	1	6
373 = Helwe Saleh	135	5	5	7	7	14

No woman has had six »surviving» sons.

Only one woman, Sara Khalawe, wife of 91 = Mhammad Ibrahim, has seven »surviving» sons.

The children of a daughter of Artas married outside the village are not included in the statistics as they belong to another community.

If a woman married in Artas, whether a native or not, has, before or

Total Number of Children→	0	1			2			3			4			5			6			7		
	Wife	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'
	201	200	1	—	*215*	—	2	202	2	1	208	—	4	203	1	4	205	1	5	*211*	3	4
	221	204	—	1	*260*	—	2	224	1	2	*213*	2	2	210	4	1	*219*	4	2	*225*	1	6
	222	*214*	—	1	*262*	1	1	251	2	1	*217*	—	4	237	—	5	*230*	2	4	*241*	4	3
	228	*220*	1	—	266	—	2	*253*	—	3	*223*	—	4	240	—	5	*239*	3	3	*242*	3	4
	232	236	—	1	*273*	—	2	254	—	3	247	—	4	*243*	3	2	*255*	2	4	248	2	5
	(*233*)	246	—	1	*274*	1	1	*257*	—	3	*252*	1	3	*250*	1	4	*270*	—	6	265	—	7
	238	*263*	—	1	280	1	1	*258*	3	—	*271*	—	4	*272*	—	5	*336*	3	3	305	—	7
	245	264	—	1	288	—	2	*275*	2	1	282	—	4	317	3	2	*344*	—	6	*330*	4	3
	259	*267*	—	1	*291*	1	1	*276*	1	2	284	—	4	*320*	3	2	368	—	6	*335*	4	3
	261	268	1	—	302	—	2	*292*	—	3	286	1	3	*328*	3	2	*409*	4	2	357	2	5
	(*277*)	*278*	—	1	303	—	2	295	—	3	*299*	2	2	*332*	3	2	*414*	5	1	*393*	4	3
	294	*279*	—	1	311	1	1	*327*	3	—	306	1	3	*333*	4	1	*438*	2	4	406	—	7
	296	281	—	1	*314*	—	2	331	3	—	310	—	4	*361*	2	3	206[2]	—	6	*407*	2	5
	(*300*)	283	—	1	343	1	1	*337*	2	1	*324*	2	2	*362*	5	—	*323*[2]	1	5	*412*	1	6
	(*301*)	*289*	—	1	346	—	2	*338*	3	—	*340*	3	1	372	1	4	370[2]	—	6	*435*	5	2
	329	*293*	—	1	*347*	—	2	*339*	2	1	*351*	—	4	*376*	1	4				*226*[2]	1	6
	341	304	—	1	348	—	2	349	—	3	356	—	4	403	4	1				249[2]	1	6
	354	309	—	1	374	1	1	*363*	—	3	369	—	4	428	—	5						
	365	315	1	—	*386*	—	2	*364*	3	—	*381*	3	1	429	1	4						
	366	*316*	—	1	392	—	2	*383*	—	3	*389*	—	4	*229*[2]	1	4						
	367	*325*	—	1	399	2	—	*385*	—	3	394	3	1	*312*[2]	4	1						
	384	*326*	1	—	408	—	2	396	1	2	*424*	2	2									
	390	*345*	1	—	*415*	1	1	418	—	3	*426*	2	2									
	395	350	—	1	212[2]	1	1	*419*	3	—	216[2]	3	1									
	397	*355*	1	—	*234*[2]	1	1	420	—	3	*218*[2]	1	3									
	(*398*)	*358*	1	—	235[2]	1	1	430	—	3	*244*[2]	2	2									
	411	*377*	—	1				437	—	3	371[2]	—	4									
	425	380	—	1				*441*	2	1	*378*[2]	4	—									
	(*427*)	*382*	1	—																		
	431	*388*	—	1																		
	432	*400*	—	1																		
	433	*404*	1	—																		
	434	405	—	1																		
	442	413	—	1																		
		416	—	1																		
		417	—	1																		
		421	1	—																		
		436	—	1																		
		440	1	—																		
		387[2]	1	—																		
Total Wives 243	34	40			26			28			28			21			15			17		
Cols. 'D' .. 345	—		13			13			33			32			44			27			37	
Cols. 'L' .. 590	—			27			39			51			80			61			63			82
Total Births 935																						

Children per Wife

five generations, 1927 inclusive

8			9			10			11			12			13			14			15		
Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'	Wife	Children 'D'	Children 'L'
207	2	6	*231*	5	4	*298*	5	5	307	6	5	*290*	10	2	*318*	12	1	373	4	10	*285*[2]	10	5
227	3	5	*313*	5	4	321	—	10	*308*	3	8	422	6	6	*209*[2]	9	4	*410*	9	5			
269	—	8	319	—	9	*375*	3	7															
322	4	4	*352*	3	6	*391*	5	5															
334	3	5	*353*	3	6	*287*[2]	4	6															
342	—	8	*360*	1	8																		
359	—	8	*439*	7	2																		
379	3	5	*256*[2]	5	4																		
401	5	3																					
402	5	3																					
423	3	5																					
297[2]	3	5																					

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1st Col: Wife's statistical number
2nd Col: Children 'D' = died unmarried
'L' = living till married, or still unmarried
Italicized number = wife still living
2 above wife's number = twice married in the village
Figure in brackets = betrothed only

12	31	65	8	29	43	5	17	33	2	9	13	2	16	8	2	21	5	2	13	15	1	19	5

later been married in another place, her children in that marriage will not be included as they belong to their father's house and are strangers to Artas.

Twenty-one women were twice married in the village. It should be said that six of these women, widowed, were remarried to their deceased husband's brothers: six of them were married to a near relative (cousin, second cousin, father's brother) of the deceased husband, and furthermore, three widows were remarried within the clan of their first husband. If the widow had no children the clan members anyhow wished to keep her as they had given a bride price for her. If the widow had children she could, by marrying a close relative of her first husband, remain with her children, or near them. In six cases the widow married into another clan.

In all two hundred and forty three women were married in Artas, and the number of their »living» and »dead» children is given in the table. Six cases of betrothal are included because they were included already in the marriage lists in my book on marriage.

As there are large numbers of marriages with no children or only one child it should be observed that many of these are young marriages.

In any case there are several marriages in which the first-born — or even the only child — died.

Infant mortality varies greatly. There are women who have lost many children.

Sabha Ethman who has one boy and one girl states that she has given birth twelve times. — Safiye Abd il-Salam has had one boy and two girls and all three died before they were a year old, while she was still nursing them. — »Poor thing!» said Alya of her. — Helwe Mustafa is another who had three children: two sons and one daughter, and they all died about one year old.

And Miryam Abdallah bore thirteen children: seven boys and five girls, of whom only one son survived. — People say: »It was always being said: Miryam has born a child! and then: The child is dead!»

SAYINGS ABOUT CHILD MORTALITY

It is said of women whose children die immediately after birth:

She brings children into the world and buries them.

There is also an expression:

The poor thing is pregnant, tell it to the graveyard!

»This year many little children have died», said Alya in November 1925. But she added: »All the women whose children died are again pregnant.»

And then triumphantly:

The pregnant ones — the women — have conquered the graveyard!

In a song sung at the death and burial of a boy, the dead one comforts his mother with the thought that she will soon have another child in his place.

Oh, mother, do not tell my father!
But my hand is already in my brother's hand!

In my Diary I have some notes on child burials in the village, usually carried out quietly and simply.

Thursday the 23rd of October 1930, I wrote I had to go to Jerusalem but could not count upon the women neighbours who usually carried my things.

Neither Zarife nor Fatme are available. They are in the eastern part of the village with Khalil Saad whose little boy has been ill for several days and who died this morning. Some women went to Bethlehem very early to get grave clothes for him.

Alya wept a little. »He is to be buried. No men are working to-day», she said. Musa Khalil, a cousin of the father, is to make the invitation, i.e. pay for the burial meal.

Some time earlier, on the 28th of September, I had been for a walk to Bethlehem.

As I approached the village I saw a crowd of men standing round a grave. »Why are the men gathered there?» I asked, and they told me that Nijme, the wife of Ali Zalame, had that day borne a girl who died immediately. It was this child who was being buried. I saw the village preacher making his way towards the grave. »Is then a little child buried like a grown-up?» I asked and was answered: »Yes». No women were at the grave except one who brought water to plaster up the grave and to wash the men's hands. After a little while the group of men scattered.

In spring 1927 I was present at the burial of a little girl, an only child. Her mother wept inconsolably and the father's mother told me that the child had died in the night quite suddenly and then the mother had begun

to wail and weep so loudly that all the neighbours heard it. And she, the mother-in-law, had thought to herself: »What can be the matter? Can it be my son beating his wife?» Then in the morning she heard the sad news.

It was touching to see the mother's despair. She took her dead child on her lap, felt its arms and face and stroked it and wept over her loss. Finally an old woman came and took the child and washed it and wrapped it in the grave clothes which had been brought from Bethlehem the same day. Then the dead child was placed in the father's arms and he buried it in a »new» grave.

Even if a woman is not pleased at the prospect of having another child and would like at least to postpone the pregnancy, she loves the child when it comes.

Fadiye, the woman who had once said to me: »When the child comes we forget the pain,» may be considered typical. How often she came to us in the spring 1930 and wept because she was again with child! It was the ninth time and four of her children had already died.

Friday the 15th of August in the same year I have a note in my Diary:

We had a visit from the peasant woman Fadiye who, when I arrived, was always complaining about the child she was expecting. It was born in May. Now again she sits and weeps bitterly, this time because Mhammad — the child — is dead. That happened last Saturday. She took out her breast and showed us how full of milk it was. For Mhammad! And Mhammad was no more! And he was so beautiful and so good !

To this Alya replied that when a man wishes to choose a sacrificial animal he takes a good and perfect lamb and not a sickly and poor one from the flock. And so does God when He chooses a child from a family.[112]

This was meant to be a comfort. But the mother would not be comforted. She did not even drink the tea which Sitt Louisa offered her, nor would she let her little girl eat anything.

It is frequently the case that a child who dies is regarded as the best. There is a saying:

> If they live they are only neighbours,
> but if they die they are fire — i.e. sorrow.

Children may be a sorrow also when living. For instance, Eshe, the wife of Ali Khalil, had a daughter, Helwe, whom her father gave in exchange for a second wife. In that way Eshe got »a co-wife from her own navel

string». — »That is more bitter than gall.» A mother says: »If we had known, when this daughter was born, that she should bring us a co-wife, we should certainly not have bound her navel string at birth!» Such a woman would rather have seen her daughter die at once.

Speaking of her eight dead children Eshe quoted: »Before me and not after me!» This is a kind of self-consolation.

And some people say to them who have lost their children:

> Only he who has sheep can have small lambs die,
> he who has a family, his small children die!

meaning: »Thou art rich! If thou hadst no children, thou couldst not lose any.» But if people try to comfort a woman in this way, she answers:

> Every finger is precious to me![113]

To lose a child is like having a bit of oneself torn away.

Or, as it is said by a mother in a song about her dead child:

> My child, a piece of my ribs!
> The cutting away of flesh is very hard for me!

And the father says in the same song:

> I have brought you up from inexperience to usefulness
> in my old age.
> When my hair becomes gray then I have lost them!

The worst thing however is to lose the only, or, the eldest child. It is said:

If his first-born dies he loses his reason.[114]

At the burial of a little girl, the mother's first and only child, I heard one of the women say this to the grieving mother. But at once another woman interrupted: »Don't say that! This is only one seed of the pomegranate!»[115]

And they say:

Children are like dust on the high place.

As long as the father and mother are alive children are born.

Even if they lose children, they can have more.

Another saying is: »In the light and not in the heavy wood!»

It is better that the children die than that death should take the parents. The children, the light wood, can be replaced.[116]

They also say:

»How many small lambs go before their mothers to the slaughterer's bench!»[117]

That is the way of life.

Chapter III

WELFARE OF CHILD

In using this heading I may say that I do not intend to describe Child Welfare in the modern meaning which, through Western influence, has been adopted in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem. Out in the countryside people in general know very little of that, even if here and there the first signs of a new period with new ideas are appearing.

I observed the following in Artas.

Hitherto it has been an axiom among Arabs to protect the head both from heat and cold by thick headgear. This was true both of men and women, boys and girls, even the babies were no exception for they also wore thick caps. Yet during my second stay in Palestine one of our neighbours used to make experiments now and then, by taking off her girl-baby's cap. She had heard, she said, that in Jerusalem some people begin to do so, and now she wanted to try the new fashion. Sitt Louisa remarked: »This is the first little girl in Artas to be allowed to be bareheaded in the sun.«

Another novelty which I noticed was a feeding bottle with a teat,[1] although their value and use are questionable in many respects, especially as the fellaheen do not know how to take care of them.

These two cases are the only ones which up to 1931 could be reported from Artas as influences of modern western child welfare. Still, one is perhaps justified in saying that the fellaheen have always considered the welfare of the child, but they do it in their own traditional way, continuing in the old style in Artas as in most other places in Palestine. Customs and prescriptions inherited from earlier generations are practised. The greater part of them are, of course, such as medical science rejects and condemns, and the representatives of modern child welfare stigmatize as neglect and superstition, and carry on active propaganda against them, with both humanitarian and hygienic arguments. — The anthropologists however

see these things from another aspect. They try to find their underlying ideas.

In any case it has been seen that even among the fellaheen the child must be protected also before it is born. The pregnant woman must take care of herself lest she harm the child. It is said that as people are careful of a chicken in the egg, all the more so should they be of a child in its mother's womb. If a pregnant woman is away from her husband's house and an accident happens, her family have to pay blood-money. If someone strikes a pregnant woman and the child is hurt the one who did it must pay blood-money. Only if the father causes the death of the fetus they do not interfere, because the child belongs to him.

As soon as the child is born the women are anxious to shape its head according to their ideas of beauty. They give it the first necessary attention, give it honey, mother's milk, rub it with oil and salt, etc.

SOME COMMON CHILDREN'S AILMENTS AND THEIR TREATMENT

A very important part of the care of the child is the treatment of it when ill. As the fellaheen do not go to a doctor I have no medical information. But if a child falls sick it is not left at that. People try to cure it.

Cauterizing

When Fadiye in the spring of 1930 came to us several times to weep and to complain of her new-born baby having died,[2] I heard that he had had pain in his tongue and that to cure this they had burnt the tongue with a heated nail. This is not done in the village. But in Bethlehem there are two women whose names were mentioned to me, who carry out this very usual »operation». The danger is that the tongue is burnt through and the child dies in agony, as in this case.

Or people can go to Jerusalem to have this operation done. Mrs Lydia Einszler told me in the autumn of 1925 of this custom in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, saying:

»The children sometimes get ill. They cry and are restless and will not take the breast. Then it is found that there is a little boil under the tongue. They take the child to a woman who is famous or has a name for

curing this ailment. She heats a needle or a nail and burns the child under the tongue. They say that the child has a frog under the tongue. After the burning a powder is put on it and after a short time the child is quiet and can again take the breast. They believe that this illness originates from an unsatisfied desire of the child or of the mother.

It also occurs among adults, but very seldom, and then people think it is due to great excitement. In this case also the place must be burnt and covered with powder. Before the burning it is very painful.

In order to prevent this illness the mothers hang little silver frogs on the head of the child or on a bead necklace. The children must not be bathed during this time.»

As a matter of fact this burning or cauterizing with a heated nail is a very general remedy. It is used just as often as cupping has been used in the North of Europe: and this remedy is applied both to grown-ups and to children.[3]

Here is an example of it being used on a young woman.

Zarife Mhammad — she was not yet married — came to us one day in spring 1927. She was ill and she told us of how she had carried too heavy a bundle of wood on her head and now she had a pain below the breast and felt very ill. Then she went to Bethlehem to one of the wise women mentioned above, who, with a red hot nail, burnt a cross under the breast. In this way I learned that when it is said in a death song: »It burns a cross on my breast!» this is not only a metaphorical expression, it has a true basis.[4]

Stomach Disorders

Babies in Palestine, as in other places, very often have disorders of the stomach.[5]

In my Diary of 1927 I have noted how one day on the way to Artas I met a village woman, Alya il-Ali, who was going to Bethlehem to buy »medicine». — What medicine? — »Meat and spices.»

When I reached Artas I told Alya and she said:

If a child has diarrhoea and becomes weak it needs mutton and onions, cinnamon, cloves and other herbs. All these are put together and wrapped in dough and then baked. And directly it is taken from the oven it is broken over the child's face.»

Sitt Louisa: »So that he smells it.»

The reason for this remedy being used seems to be that an illness may be caused by some great fright. Thus, for example, some cases of leprosy are said to be due to the fact that the sick man has killed someone and is afterwards seized with such horror of his own deed that he develops leprósy.

In the summer of 1930 a man in Artas suffered from a very severe illness. Like Job, he sat on an ash-heap and rubbed himself with a stone and yet he had no relief.

The whole village spoke of his misfortune; now one explanation was given, now another. But after his death people began to whisper among themselves that during the revolts in the previous summer of 1929 he had been present in another place when a Jew was killed by Arabs. The horror he felt at what he had been obliged to witness began to take hold of him more and more as time passed, till, finally, it came out in this dreadful illness which, after much suffering, put an end to his life. Horror and fright was the real cause of his tragic death. This was the opinion of the people, and what holds good for a grown-up does so for a child too.

As like is cured with like, evil with evil, poison with poison, so the child is to be cured by giving it a fright. For this reason the loaf with its contents of strong medicinal spices is broken quickly over its face, directly after having been taken hot out of the oven. The sudden strong smell frightens the child and that is thought to cure it.[6]

Honey and »Scorpioning»

In many cases of illness honey is used as a medicine both for children and adults and the fellaheen think that it has a curative power.

One day shortly after I had arrived in Artas, Hamdiye found a little scorpion in my room. She came with it in her hand happy and proud of not being frightened of it. Sitt Louisa said:

»Hamdiye is scorpioned. She can carry a scorpion in her hand and it does not do her any harm. Even if the scorpion struggles and stings it does not hurt her. And her explanation is as follows. Just before she was born her mother was stung by a scorpion and that is why she is immune to their stings. Many a mother is said to do it on purpose for the sake of their children. The child is said to be scorpioned.[7] The idea resembles our vaccination.»

Bad Eyes

I think that many other Westerners have felt as I did, when they first arrive in the Orient and see the faces of the small children covered with flies; they want to go and drive them away. Very soon one observes that the children seem to be so accustomed to them that they do not disturb them. They sleep in spite of them, and when they are awake they do not seem to be uncomfortable. During the fruit season even the small children get figs and grapes to suck and of course they smear the juice over their faces which are not washed. Thus they are as attractive to flies as a bowl of sugar. The children rub their eyes with sticky, dirty hands and therefore the flies collect mostly around these parts. To give an idea of how it is I generally say that the little children have flies as eyelashes. It is no wonder that they have bad eyes.

Antimony is used as an eye-medicine both for children and adults, and it is also supposed to protect the eyes from strong, hot sun. Is is uncertain whether antimony was originally used as a medicine or as a make up.[8]

If a child has sore eyes they are sometimes rubbed with a piece of the navel-cord. It is also used as a preventive and as an amulet.[9]

Sometimes the parents may be anxious lest anything should happen to deprive their child of its sight. But they comfort themselves with the saying:

> The eye and the child are protected by angels.[10]

»Infection»

There seems to be a certain sense of the danger of infection among the fellaheen, because a woman with a healthy child is warned not to approach a woman with a sick child. They remind her of the truth of the saying:

> Illness is infectious, health is not!

But on the whole the fellaheen are very ignorant regarding the cause and real nature of disease. They know nothing of the modern theories concerning bacilli, the fear of germs and germ carriers. They have their own explanations, and attribute illness and accidents to the mysterious enmity of supernatural powers.

PROTECTION FROM DANGER

Many dangers lie in wait for people in general and little children in particular.[11] Danger arises from unclean women, from the Jinn, from Karine, and from the evil eye.

In the course of time various opinions have arisen as to the most suitable means of warding off the dangers attributed to the powers which threaten the life and happiness of mankind. The explanation of the cause determines the means used which are not in our sense practical or rational. Here the theory may be applied that religion and magic, at a lower stage of development, compensate in some degree the lack of scientific knowledge. The preventive measures taken include magic formulae, such as incantations and the calling on God's name, also amulets, and »smoking». Or people try to terrify the evil powers or even to trick and deceive them. Sacrifice and the holy vow form a special category in protection of children.

Calling on God's Name

Nothing is so effective in breaking evil power as the name of God and it is uttered perpetually either alone or in connection with, and as part of some longer formula. The introductory formula of the chapters in the Koran: »In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful!» is often used in this way. It is easy to observe how these words are used both as a blessing and an incantation. Still more common than this introductory formula is to say: »In the name of God (bismillâh)!» or, »God's name over thee (smallah 'alêk)!»

It is very good for a man to have a wife who constantly calls upon God's name or, as they say in short, calls. In this way blessing comes upon the house. For example, when a woman omits to call upon God's name when taking flour from her store for baking, the flour will disappear. The demons, the Jinn, have a right to take it, if she does not »call». And they are always on their watch against man. The same refers to all other stores.

This may happen in all other daily tasks. Nothing can be more thoroughly interwoven with God's name than the daily life of the fellaheen; particularly everything that concerns the children.

Fear of Demons

When a man has sexual connection with his wife God's name must be called upon. Otherwise the devil will be before him and the children will be the devil's instead of God's. Or, a demon, a Jinnee, will enter the woman first and she will be possessed by an evil spirit.[12]

According to a tradition the demons are a kind of degraded men. Eve is said to have felt so ashamed of her unbelievable fertility that she would not admit to having more than half the number of her children and tried to hide the rest. This only created enmity between the two groups and their descendants for all time.

Alya: »Eve had forty in her vomb.

Our father Adam asked her: 'Where are thy children?' She said: 'Those are my children.' — Twenty were to be seen and twenty were hidden.

He said to her: 'What is seen shall remain visible and what is hidden shall remain hidden.' The latter became demons, Jinn, living invisible under the earth.«

The demons are thus descendants of the children whom Eve was ashamed of acknowledging to Adam, because she had so many.[13]

Sitt Louisa: »People still say that each child, each son of man (i b n a d a m), has a hidden spirit and those hidden spirits are the demons, the evil spirits.«

But they do not keep to their province under the earth. They envy the human beings who can live on the earth, and try to hurt and irritate them. For this reason people must be on their guard not to offend them. Otherwise they will take their revenge. People must always remember that they have the demons beneath them. For example, at meal-times when it is usual to put the dish on the floor and sit round it.

Alya: »When they begin a meal the demons gather beneath. Then there may be a woman who is weak and draws the dish along the floor.

People sitting there say to her: 'Thou hast hurt the head of him who carries the dish, i.e. he who is beneath the dish. It is thy sin.'« They are afraid of the consequences if the woman hurts the head of the demon beneath the dish by dragging it along the floor instead of lifting it up carefully.

When the mother of a new-born child, to avoid the evil influence of an unclean woman, goes with it three times to and fro over the threshold,[14] she must be extremely careful not to tread upon the threshold and thus

hurt a demon. In general people do not dare to tread upon the threshold and least of all sit or stand on it for the same reason. They do not even step over the threshold[15] without first calling upon God's name, saying: B i s m i l l â h, in the name of God! This is partly to excuse themselves, partly to warn the demons in time so as not to hurt them. Before they open a door they call upon the name of God. Those who are able to s e e are aware of the demons collecting like hens round the door just before someone opens it. But God's name frightens them away.

Changelings

As the demons envy people their happier lot to live upon the surface of the earth, it is easy to understand their efforts and their delight if they can exchange one of their own for the human child.

Alya: »During the delivery they must keep on saying: 'In the name of God!' or, they say: 'May the name of God come upon the child and the mother!'»

If this is omitted a demon has the power to take the child. The demons watching will in an instant exchange the child of man for one of their own, and the parents have a changeling.

Sitt Louisa: »It is said: y a b e n i a d a m, but the demons who call people a n s, say i b n i l - a n s instead of i b n a d a m, son of man.»[16]

— How does one know if a child is a changeling? I asked.

Hamdiye: »The changeling (i l - m b a d d a l) is thin and like a stick. His teeth fall out and his eyes are terrifying. His mouth is large. He does not creep or sit. His eyes are red. He eats and is never satisfied.»

During my first stay in Palestine Alya told me what she had heard of a woman in Surif who was beginning to fear that her little son was a changeling. This doubt became so horrible that she could not rest and had to make certain of it.

»When the child was a year old she took an egg, blew out the contents, and filled it with ashes. Then she put it on the fire and said to the little son: 'My boy! I have work outside. When the egg is ready thou canst take it off the fire.' The mother sat behind the door however to watch everything through a hole.

Then she saw her little son take off the egg. He was going to eat it.

He said to it: 'I have already lived sixty years in this world and I

have never seen this trick!' The mother said to him: 'Thou art not my son!'

Then the old one disappeared and her own son came back.»

According to this story a changeling is an old man who has taken the shape of a baby. Or perhaps the children of the demons are old? Here again is the idea that a changeling can be taken away and the real child returned.

These two characteristic beliefs of the people regarding changelings appear again in the examples from the village of Artas.

Abdallah Mhammad was a changeling. People used to call him S h e i k h because they thought he was an old man and not a child.

Hamdiye told of a visit to his home as follows:

»He cried in the cradle. First he played by himself with his own fingers and clapped his hand.» Hamdiye showed me how he, while playing, stared at his hands with an idiotic look.

She added: »When he saw me he cried. I said: 'Oh fie! May God curse thy old age! Dost thou cry? Dost thou then think that thou art a little one? Shame upon thee!'»

Turning to his mother Hamdiye said: »Oh Helwe! Thy son is an old man! that is not really thy son!»

The reason for this given in the village was that one night when her son was so restless that he could not sleep at all and gave her no rest, she threw him away from her in desperation, saying: »Mayest thou be changed!»

In spite of frequent urging by the neighbours nothing was done to get him changed back. The father had to go to his military service and the father's brother was not at all interested in the matter. Finally the poor creature died.

Another changeling in Artas was Yusef Saad.

Alya: »His mother Halime Canaan took him with her once when going to collect wood, and while she did this the child lay on the ground and she saw a snake come and play with him. The mother came and cried out: 'Oh, my son!' The snake glided away at her cries and had not hurt the child.»

Sitt Louisa: »This was before he was changed back.»

People try in different ways to persuade or to compel the demons to take back the changeling and restore the child of mankind.

The most usual means is that which was used in Yusef's case. Of this Alya said:

»He became very thin and his appearance terrified people.

Then we dug a hole and placed him in it and covered it with a basket[17] and shot a gun over his head and said: 'Take your son and bring our son back!'

After this he became well and healthy but later he fell ill and died.«

Another means is as follows. — It was used in November 1926 when Khadr Ehsen feared that he had a changeling and Alya related as follows:

»As to the changeling — they brought for him flour from seven houses. The doors of all these seven houses must be towards the East, the Key of the Jewels. Then they baked a cake of this flour and cut a hole in the middle of it and pulled the child through it. The piece cut out is for the dogs.

If he is a changeling and God has pity on him the demons, Jinn, bring that one back and take this one. The head of the demons says: 'Take up this son of man and bring your son from the surface of the earth!'«

Alya uses a beautiful name for the East when she calls it the Key of the Jewels. The jewels of heaven are the moon, and the stars and the sun.

If a child has been changed it does not necessarily happen at birth. It may happen later, as already stated[18] in one case.

Alya: »A child becomes a changeling, if he falls down and no one calls God's name over him, saying: God's name upon thee, or around thee from above and all round!'«

Sitt Louisa here reminded me that the inside of the earth is full of evil spirits.

Protection Formulae

Many times I have heard a mother call out: »God's name over thee!«[19] immediately her little child falls down on the floor or on the ground.

To show the constant use of this protective formula I give an extract from my Diary:

Saturday the 7th of March 1931: — Returning home alone I passed our neighbours. I spoke with Fatme Mahmud who said: »Welcome! And health for thy body!« And we looked at the little daughter, Neome, who was brought out by her brother.

»Thou hast not seen her since she was born», said the mother, Fatme Mahmud. I then told her that I had just seen Fatme Ali wrap up her co-wife's son. Fatme Mahmud asked if I would like to see her wrap up Neome. Of course I did.

She invited me in and took a cover which she folded for me to sit on. Then she took the rags which unfortunately were not clean. She sat down on the floor with her legs stretched out and had the little one in her lap. Then she placed the baby with its head towards her feet. Saying: »In the name of God!» she went through the procedure,[20] until little Neome looked like an Egyptian mummy.

Then the girl had to be laid in a little hammock stretched across a corner of the room. As the mother laid the baby down, she said: »In the name of God!» — Does one say so? — »Yes, of course! And then she will want food,» said the mother. »Then she will sleep.» The brother was swinging the hammock so hard that I feared that the little one would fall out.

The mother spread a cover over her and sat down on the ground beside the hammock and took out her breast: »In the name of God!» she said. — Does one say this too when the child is fed? I asked. — »Of course! And one says: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful!» — Thus also runs the formula in the Koran.

Fatme then invited me to stay for supper. I thanked her and said that I had to go back, to Sitt Louisa.

When I told the latter how Fatme Mahmud said all the time: »In the name of God!» as she attended to the little girl, she remarked: »And this quietens the women. You see that is the thing!»

It is very probable that Sitt Louisa was right in her assumption. Who knows, the women, tired out as they are by the hard work of the day, might often feel tempted to push the children out of the way and use hard words to them. Perhaps the fear of the danger from these hidden powers, which their impatience might call forth, restrains them and is a necessary reminder always to treat children kindly. Instead of impatient words they utter the name of God and their temper is softened.

Besides this frequent repetition of God's name over the child there is also a custom of surrounding the child with God's name.[21] This ceremony takes place before the seventh day of life and is sometimes combined with fumigating the child.[22]

In any case the following formula is pronounced:

May God be around thee
— in the first place with God
and in the second place with God
and the men of God —
from my eye and the eye of the God-created
and from him who does not pray to the Prophet of God
and those who pray to the Prophet of God!

In the eye of the neighbour there is a fire,
in the eye of the guest there is a sword,
in the eye of the man there is a stone.

In the eye of the maiden there is a spike,
in the eye of the woman there is a burning coal,
in the eye of the woman neighbour is something bitter.

In the eye of the child there is a peg.
In the eye of the jealous one there is a stick.[23]

The eye has disappeared and runs swiftly in the darkness
of the night.
The Lord Solomon, son of David, came
and found the black eye in the dark night.
He said to it: 'Whither goest thou, oh eye?'

It replied:

I will take the young men
and put them in the grave.
I will take the camel from its burden,
I will take the baby from its bed.

He said:

Turn back, oh eye!
And divide thyself into two parts!
I will put thee in a copper box
and throw thee into the sea,[24]
for fear that thou wilt hurt the children!

And mayest thou be kept and have health!

I was further told: »This is an amulet.»

This formula of incantation is quite clearly uttered against the evil eye. King Solomon's name appears in many legends which still live on the lips of the people. He, the great and wise King, had also power to nullify the evil eye.[25]

When in bathing a baby they pour water over it, they say:

Mayest thou be protected!
In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful!

May he who is distant not come to us
and those who are near not harm us!

Thus, by calling on God's name, people try to protect their children from evil, which very often is identical to the evil eye, or the enemy, and the envious person.

Amulets and the Evil Eye

Amulets are used for protection against the harmful influence of an unclean woman, but quite especially from the evil eye, and from Karine. The use of amulets is found all over Palestine.[26]

In Nablus the midwife Alya il-Hajje told me in summer 1926:

»Especially if an unclean woman was there the mother takes an amulet and steps over the threshold immediately after the birth of her child. If the amulet is not her own, she keeps it until she goes into the bath which happens on the ninth day. Some do not go to the bath until the tenth or the twentieth, or even until the fortieth day.»

While visiting an Arab family in Nablus in the afternoon of the same day I saw a little boy who wore such an amulet on his chest; he was 15 days old. The mother did not know whether an unclean woman had been in the room. But for safety's sake! She really thought the amulet had protected him.

I also had the opportunity of examining the amulet. It consisted of three green stone beads threaded together and each had its special name.[27] There was also a little bag of alum hanging from it.

The mother of the little boy, whose name was Aref, said: »This amulet can be worn either by the mother or by the boy or, it may only hang in the

room.» There is danger not only at birth and immediately after, but also later, if an unclean woman comes into the room.

Mrs Lydia Einszler told me that amulets are also used during the delivery.[28] The Jews generally have tablets with printed or written prayers, or other suitable formulae.[29] The Arab women, again, like to use Jericho roses (Anastatica hierochuntica.)[30] Such plants are dried, and for sale in the bazaars of Jerusalem and will open in water. If a woman has a difficulty at the delivery the women put a Jericho rose in water and wait for it to open. They believe that the child vill then come.

Mrs Einszler also told me of the following protective measures:

»A woman in Jerusalem lost three children by death at about the age of 3—4. It was said that when she was again pregnant she should put a ring about her ankle. She became pregnant and wore a brass anklet. It may only be made by a man whose father and grandfather were goldsmiths.»

Written amulets are very usual.[31] Children are often seen wearing them.

One of the most feared things is the eye. The destructive effect ascribed to it[32] appears from their statement that two thirds of all graves are due to the eye. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the belief in the eye[33] greatly dominates the imagination of the people, plays a part in daily life, and has a paralyzing effect on them. They are in constant danger as a matter of fact. Not only the enemy but also the friend, not only the stranger but also the close neighbour, not only the woman but also the man may be dangerous; it is best and safest to guard oneself against even a child's look, as appears from the formula just quoted.[34] But yet some persons are more dangerous than others. Of them it is said that they strike with the eye.[35]

I remember having heard in Jerusalem of a man who had this terrible gift in a very high degree and that he amused himself in a company of men he happened to be with by giving a convincing proof of his power. The men were outside. Then one of them discovered a caravan of camels. They were very far away but could in any case be seen against the horizon. The man said that he would pick out a certain camel. Scarcely had he turned his glance in that direction when the camel men-

tioned was seen to fall. Afterwards they learned that in falling it broke a leg and had to be killed. — Such incidents inspire fear.

Mr Emile Baldensperger related from B e d o u i n life a similar typical story.

»There was a man who was famous for his evil eye. He heard that a loaded camel, unusually fine and fat, with a very well-shaped back was passing.

They were sitting there in the sand and he asked if they could show him in the sand how high the back of this camel was. They then made a model of it in the sand and he, instead of mentioning God's name, said: 'Oh how wonderful is such a back!' Immediately afterwards he added: 'I think that you can go now and eat the flesh of this camel!'

Then the news came that the camel had fallen and broken its leg, it had to be slaughtered.[36]

According to the people this was caused by the eye.«

From Artas I have the following case. I quote my Diary.

March 15th, 1927: — Yesterday we went to Sada Ahmad. She told us about her son Rabia. They had called him so because he was so strong. A Taamre woman entered, looked at the boy, and he was changed at once.

The father came and asked: »What's the matter with the boy?« In the evening the Taamre woman had come. In the morning we had to bury the little boy. The eye pressed upon his bowels. — The eye hits our family.

Here the cause of death is wholly ascribed to the influence of a strange woman who came to help with the harvest. She was evidently one whose glance could kill.[37]

Tradition says that Muhammad also knew the power of the evil eye.

Alya: »The Prophet gave amulets and took amulets against teeth which are separated from each other and against blue eyes.«[38]

As blue eyes are the most dangerous, blue is used as a protective colour according to the principle of like against like. No amulets are more common than blue beads. They are to be seen on small children, but also on camels, horses, on motor cars, and on new houses. Ostrich feathers are especially used on festive occasions. They wave on the head of the boy when he is to be circumcised. They are fastened as a kind of coronet to the bride's head. Motor cars are also provided with ostrich feathers as protective amulets. People also make use of wolf's teeth, alum, etc.

Very often the amulets consist of small bags holding a paper with writing, given by a sheikh.[39]

From what Sada Ahmad related it appears that not all persons are equally sensitive to the eye but some are affected more easily than others.[40] The Artas family into which she was married belongs to those.

Nor is one and the same person at every moment equally sensitive to the eye. If there is a special occasion when glances are directed more than usual towards a person he is in greater danger. This is true of a boy in the circumcision procession, of bride and bridegroom at their wedding. The same is also true of animals and objects. A bought animal is more sensitive and subject to the eye when it is new in the house than later on.

Alya: »On the cattle, on the mule, or on the horse, if newly-bought — and may it be far from the hearers! — on the ass we put a little bit of sour dough »between the eyes». To prevent people causing them harm we put sour dough on them. We put sour dough on a newly-bought animal for the sake of good luck, so that it shall be blessed, and to avert the evil eye of the people.»

Similarly, a new house is more sensitive and subject to the eye than an older one.

In the same way a person, as long as he is new in the world, a child, is more sensitive and subject to the evil influences of the eye. And closely connected with this is the fact that it is the first glance which is harmful and it is therefore desirable to avoid it.

This explains to a great extent the idea of the use of amulets as protection against the eye. Fastened, as the amulets are, to the child's cap or breast and if possible so that they dangle and move at the least movement of the child, they are usually well in sight, and deliberately so. The idea is that the amulet should attract the glance first and only later fall on the child or on the object to be protected. This can in some way be compared with a lighting-conductor which turns the flash away from a special object to nullify its effect, the amulets are to catch the glance of the eye and nullify the harmful effects.

It is not only the evil eye which is harmful. An admiring glance can have the same effect;[41] so children should rather arouse and inspire disgust than admiration. The simplest way to accomplish this is to take as little care as possible of their appearance.

I have already mentioned a visit paid us by Zarife Mhammad and the conversation we had with her, recorded in my Diary on February 11th, 1926.[42] I continue from there.

Eshe, too, now comes in with her youngest son in her arms. She and Zarife begin to discuss the danger of washing babies. Eshe tells how her co-wife, Fatme Ali, had bathed this little boy a few days before. A woman neighbour came in and exclaimed: »How nice he looks!» this was quite enough to bring misfortune. The very same evening he fell ill and was still poorly. He was now wearing an extra amulet, a long blue bead necklace, which ran across one shoulder, under the other, and round his body. Eshe continued her account by saying: »I never washed my eldest son Mhammad, not before he began to walk and to wash himself!» — No, children should not attract looks and be admired!

Yes, this Zarife understood so well. Her mother too had washed and combed her first children and they all died. After that she let the next children live in dirt and »you see, they are all alive»![43]

In this way the fellaheen, too, base their theories on experience and quote examples which confirm their ideas.

Time after time I heard about their being afraid to wash and bathe the children. Perhaps, I thought, it has been necessary, at least at an earlier stage, to prepare and harden people for the severe life in the desert where there was no possibility to wash, and this is probably the case in many villages, among the fellaheen too, where water is lacking in so many places. Did the children in this way become immune to dirt?

I spoke of this to an Italian doctor. He told me that once in a remote Italian village he had operated upon a village woman and ought to have had absolutely clean instruments. But it was not possible to have them and yet he performed the operation. A more delicately reared woman would undoubtedly have died, he said; and the village woman pulled through without any infection of the wound, and in his opinion it was because she was not accustomed to any great cleanliness in her daily life. Of course weak children succumb, but those who grow up are hardened. — Is this not somewhat similar to vaccination as a protection against severe illness?

In all this it must be remembered that although the children are neither washed nor bathed, yet they have more sun and air than in any city. No hygienic care can outweigh the wealth of sun and air which the children enjoy in the open as soon as they can stand on their legs.

What people fear is ritual uncleanness, otherwise dirt can be a great protection. In this way it appears that what in the West would be termed

neglect, forms an important link in what is child welfare in the eyes of the fellaheen — of the Arabs.

The Arabs have a very strong feeling that admiration and envy are really very closely related. They do not believe that people may honestly delight in the good fortune of another, even if they appear to do so. While their tongue expresses words of gladness and admiration, they may quite well be feeling the sting of envy in their hearts.

Having children is always something that easily arouses envy. When Alya one day told me that her relative, Zarife Ahmad, had just given birth to her third son, she added at once: »God protect her from envy!»

Alya thought in the first hand of the village women, but children are a gift which may arouse the envy of others, too.

Measures against Karine

The most dangerous is a woman demon, Karine. She is also called by the fellaheen il-Tabia[44] and is as much feared among the Arabs as Lilith is among the Jews.[45] The enemy of women in general, she persecutes some women especially and this chiefly by getting at the children and destroying them.[46]

The teachers in Jerusalem said:

»If the children of a woman die one after the other it is said: She has a Karine!»

Karine, herself of female sex, cannot tolerate that women are happy, and as women's happiness consists to a great extent in having children, this is the tender spot where she hurts, by trying to kill their little ones.

Although dirt affords excellent protection in this case, omitting to wash the children is not considered sufficiently effective. Stronger means must be employed against Karine.

It has already been mentioned that the custom of preserving the after-birth is a way of preventing Karine from approaching the child.[47] Here follows some more information regarding the matter.

The 9th of April 1926 I made the following note in my Diary:

»This is something for you,» said Sitt Louisa during a walk in the village.

Fatme Jedallah has now borne a son and she has not buried the afterbirth but has put salt on it and keeps it in her house. We went in. Fatme Jedallah pointed to a bundle in a niche. This was the afterbirth which she was keeping. I asked Fatme why she did this. »It is a protector — an amulet», she answered. In the cradle there lay a larger bundle. It was the sleeping boy.

After coming home we also asked Alya why Fatme Jedallah had done it. — »And she has not even lost children,» Sitt Louisa said. — »But yes, she has lost two girls,» said Alya.

She then added: »It is done that the children may live.»

25th of October 1926. — In the morning we visited Khaliliye to congratulate her on the »bride» as a new-born girl is called. We observed that the child had a black spot on her forehead.

— What is that for?

»We put a piece of blue stuff from an old dress in the fire.» — Sitt Louisa remarked: »That is, they have s m o k e d the child.»[48] — The mother added: »Because she cried we did that. And she was still and quiet.»[49]

We asked about the afterbirth, whether they had preserved it or buried it. She said: »Only for boys do we preserve it.»

The 17th March 1927 I wrote in my Diary of Fatme Odtallah's son, born on the previous day:

To-day we saw how the midwife cut off the navel cord. She said to me: »There are children who may be washed, but some we dare not wash, and this boy belongs to the latter. He is not washed, so that he shall live.» And they had also hung ass's flesh above the door-post and they will salt the afterbirth and hang it with the ass's flesh.

Alya said: »That is not enough. They must also cut off a piece of the child's ear, put it into a loaf and give it to a dog to eat. All the children in our family have had their ears cut in this way.»

Sabha Ismain, the midwife, wanted some aloes to mix with the oil with which she rubbed the child and by this means keep away Karine. But they found no aloes. The midwife did not want to mix salt in the olive oil as the weather was cold. Instead she wanted an aloe in order to »frighten» Karine.

Mrs Lydia Einszler in J e r u s a l e m told me of her experience:

»The peasant women have either on their body or under their pillow a bundle in which they put all kinds of disgusting things e.g. a crushed new-born dog, dried and salted, and a pig's snout, also dried and salted,

or a dried frog, and similar things. All this in order to frighten Karine away.»

The general aim of an amulet is to attract the glance in order to break its power, especially the first glance, but in the cases just mentioned its aim is to repel, to terrify, and to frighten away.

Fortunately for mankind the supernatural beings and demons can be deceived and cheated in several ways.

One way is to alter the child's name and so disguise it. If Karine comes to seek Aref, for example, she does not hear any little one called by that name and the boy is saved. Or Karine does not recognize him because he is not wearing his own clothes, and this saves his life.

These methods are also used for children in connection with whom a vow has been made.

SACRIFICE, VOWS AND VOW-CHILDREN

A holy vow is a promise given by a person in great need, a promise to make a sacrifice of some kind to God, to a saint, often in a holy place, in return for help received by him personally or by someone else. This sacrifice is most frequently an animal: a goat, a calf, or a sheep, but may also be money, candles, incense, oil, etc.

Vows and sacrifice are thus closely related.

Alya: »Sacrifice (f a d u) for possessions and sacrifice for the families. Sacrifice for those, for whom vows have been made before the face of God and the prophets and holy ones!»

If the sacrifice is for a person named Hasan, it is said: »A sacrifice for, or instead of Hasan, before the face of God[50] and before the face of the Lord Moses, Elijah, Jesus or St. George, etc.»

A simple formula in making a vow is: »I vow before the face of God and the face of the Prophets and holy ones!»

The first time I was in Artas I made a note of the following vow:

»This goat before the face of God, if He cures the sick one,» or, »If my son lives, this goat shall be sacrificed for him!»[51]

The actual slaughtering can take place in front of the house, and a vow in the home is then spoken of. It may also take place in the men's club. Or it may take place in a sanctuary in Hebron, Jerusalem, in el-Khadr, or in another place.[52]

When I first heard that the animal is eaten by the person sacrificing it, by his family, and his friends, I was suprised. Was it then a sacrifice, I asked.

But the men in the village defended it, and said that it was so. Old Shahin called out: »Is God — or is St. George — a human being that he would eat a sacrificed animal!»[53] I was told that the sacrificed animal was always eaten by the people and that God accepts it when the hungry are fed for His sake (min shân allâh).[54] They go round the village and invite people and meat is taken to old and to poor people. When the goat is killed the women trill. The opening chapter of the Koran is read before they take away the big wooden trays and wash their hands after the feast.

It was only natural that I should try to find out more about this remarkable custom which, to be fully illustrated, should be treated in connection with sacrifice for buildings, feasts, and with religious ideas; this would however lead too far from my main subject, even if I do not restrict myself to children.

In Artas vows are made to:

1. St. George — called el-Khadr, the Green one, by the Arabs — with a monastery and church in the neighbouring village, el-Khadr.
2. Abu Sakari, with a sanctuary in Bet Skarye.
3. Abraham — called Khalil, the Friend of God, by the Arabs — with a mosque at Hebron.
4. Sultan Badr, in Deir il-Sheikh.
5. Abu Njem, at a little shrine called after him, south of Artas.
6. David — Nebi Daud — in Jerusalem.

After enumerating these Alya said:

»All these are men of God.»

Vows are made to two women saints also:

7. Badriye, a Muhammadan female saint in Sharafat, a village near Jerusalem.
8. Hmediye, in Faghur.

Examples

Here follow examples of sacrifices and vows made by people in Artas with relevant details.

Case 1. — Safiye, wife of Ibrahim Ayesh, told me how, as a little child,

she was married to an old man. When the wedding was celebrated she was much too little to understand the purport of it all; she was only very much afraid of him.

»I used to be afraid of him. I went far away to look after the sheep in order not to see him. I feared his voice. I made a vow to Badriye that if he should die I would give her three ells of stuff.»

Her husband did not die till long after and Safiye became reconciled to her fate. She bore him several sons and is now a powerful widow. After his death she became the mistress of his house and thinks with a smile of the time when she was afraid of her husband.

Case 2 — is given in Sitt Louisa's version. She was in the village when this happened. It made a great impression on her and she immediately wrote it down. She has been kind enough to give me her description. It is a little long and perhaps treats the people's fear of hyenas more than vows. But I am glad to be able to give it completely because it has the immediacy, spontaneity, and charm of fresh experience.

She called it »The Adventure of Zalame».

The great part played by the hyena in the Orient is quite unknown in Europe. Therefore I record this adventure, here, on the edge of the desert, in the village of Artas near Bethlehem, on the night between the 3rd and 4th August 1915 — in the month of Ramadan.

Ali Khalawe, the half blind old man went out from his house about 10 o'clock in the evening. His son Zalame, who is nine years old, ran after him but went the wrong way. His eyes were bad and he could not see very well. On account of the darkness he lost his way and met a hyena.

The father who had returned home thought that Zalame had come back and was sleeping with his mother and sisters in front of the house. Yet, after an hour he wanted to be certain, so he called his darling but he was not there.

They all began to search for him and called to him, but in vain. They sought him among his relatives — in Ramadan people often pay visits in the night to see and taste what food they have. He was not to be found.

The village people sought in despair and feared the worst. He was not found. The father tore hairs from his beard in desperation. The mother and the sisters rent their clothes with grief.[55]

The moon was begged to rise: »Oh, moon, shine for us to-night!»

Finally day broke but there was no Zalame. The mother vowed the

cow to St. George in el-Khadr. The father vowed to him the calf if he brought the boy back.

Directly they found he was missing they went to the religious teacher in the village who, by reading the 23rd Psalm and chapters from the Koran, could tame wild animals. A knife was opened and over it they read from God's word to the end of the chapter, when the knife was closed. That means the closing of the jaws of the wild animal.

They called upon St. George: »Oh St. George, thou Green one!» — They called upon Zalame but there was no answer. They ordered the shepherds who have herds in different directions to seek for him.

Finally, after sunrise all grief was ended. For a herdsman found the missing one on a hill under an almond tree, just beside a grotto. He was sleeping quietly. It is impossible to describe the joy of the house and the village.

But in what condition does he appear to his loving ones! The thorns and hedges and stones had scratched his legs and his thin clothes were in rags from walking with the hyena in the night.

We left our Zalame with the hyena. She hypnotized him. He ran after her and said: »Father! wait for me!» The beast bewitches people, the Orientals say, and compels them to follow her.

The hyena led him over a mountain, not on a path. She always leaves the path so as not to meet people. The mountain had gnarled oak trees and thorns, and they went over walls until they came to Solomon's Pools; from there they went to a hill, Khirbet el-Khôkh, a ruined place, where there are graves and caves from olden times; this hill is the Etam in the Old Testament.[56]

When Zalame wanted to follow the hyena into the cave calling to her »My father!» there came towards him a white figure who took him by the hand and said: »I am thy father and not the wild animal!» That was St. George or el-Khadr, the Green one.

He took the boy in his soft arms and put him to sleep under an almond tree. He lay in comfort and St. George kept watch. The wild animal tried once more to seize the boy, but the knife over which they had prayed was closed. And the heavenly guardian angel was stronger than the cowardly hyena.

At the end of Ramadan the calf which the father vowed will be sacrificed. The village teacher said that one need not listen to women's vows. It is a help for the poor family that the cow may live. Then the

opening chapter of the Koran will be read for Omar, Ibn il-Khatib,[57] and St. George. And he who is hungry and wishes to celebrate with them is invited.

Such, and many similar things happen here, far from the noise of the towns.

So far Sitt Louisa.

In his great need, and driven by anxiety for his son, the man had vowed a calf to St. George and his wife the family's only cow to the same saint.[58] The words of the sheikh that women's vows need not be regarded lead the thought back to the Old Testament statutes regarding the validity of women's vows.[59]

In Numbers XXX. 3 sqq. it is said:

If a woman also vow a vow unto the Lord, and bind herself by a bond, being in her father's house in her youth;

And her father hear her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father shall hold his peace at her: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand.

But if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth; not any of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand: and the Lord shall forgive her, because her father disallowed her.

And if she had at all an husband, when she vowed, or uttered ought out of her lips, wherewith she bound her soul;

And her husband heard it, and held his peace at her in the day that he heard it: then her vows shall stand, and her bonds wherewith she bound her soul shall stand.

But if her husband disallowed her on the day that he heard it; then he shall make her vow which she vowed, and that which she uttered with her lips, wherewith she bound her soul, of none effect: and the Lord shall forgive her.

But every vow of a widow, and of her that is divorced, wherewith they have bound their souls, shall stand against her.

The following verses of the same chapter mention in a similar way a vow, or a bond »with an oath», made by a woman in her husband's house or by a woman being yet in her youth in her father's house.

In the last case, related from Artas, the words of the sheikh were considered a great relief. For the family was poor. St. George shows mercy and does not wish to ruin the people.

The two following cases show that women can also be held responsible for their vows and really fulfil them.

Case 3. — The 4th of December 1926 Itayme Salem told me how she became a Derwish.

She was with sheep and goats in a cave and suddenly she became changed. She began to jump over walls and rocks. Her sisters-in-law who were there also were very frightened when they saw this. They wished to take her by the hand and lead her. They asked: »Why thus, thou woman?» Then it appeared that she could not speak. Her tongue was paralyzed.

Itayme vowed a vow that if her tongue was loosened she would sacrifice an animal. They wished to bring a sheikh to her but she signed with her hands that this condition would only last seven days.

At the end of this period she went to the village mosque and made her ablutions and prayed and began to speak with the sheikh Jaber. Her tongue had been loosened again.[60] She fulfilled her vow and became a Derwish.

Case 4. — This happened in 1926 and Alya relates of it:

»Sabha Salem, the wife of Abed Khalawe, went on to the roof of the sanctuary and she was menstruating. She went two steps and at the third she stood still like a stick. She could neither walk nor sit down. They said to her: 'Come down!' She said: 'I am chained'. They read the opening chapter from the Koran but it was of no use.

The people said: 'Make a vow! Sacrifice an animal!' When they made a cut in the sacrificed animal she was able to come down.

Then they asked her: 'Wert thou mad or drunk?'[61] She answered: 'What happened, happened.'»

Case 5. — At the Great Feast celebrated on the 15th of May 1930 I noticed that the doorposts of a house were smeared with blood. I learned that this was on account of a vow made by Sabha Sleman.

The house which was very small and poor had been built by her brother with the bride price he got for Sabha when she was married for the first time. And when she became a widow after her third marriage she moved here. The brother was then dead and Sabha Sleman undertook to bring up his children. As she was a poor widow with her brother's children to provide for she used to get a little food from here and there.

And she had vowed a vow that she would smear the doorposts with blood when the boys were big enough to kill the sacrificial animal with their own hands.

Sitt Louisa: »That needs very much strength. Now grown-up, they can kill.»

And as the longed-for day had really come she had in her great joy fulfilled her vow.

Alya said: »In olden times every man ornamented the doorposts with the sacrificial blood.[62] Old times have changed.

'Old things have gone away and have crossed over to Kerak!'»

This saying means something very far away, or something finished. Kerak lies in Transjordania.

I think that most vows, as in the following examples, are made in connection with illness and death.

Case 6. — In autumn 1925 Abdallah Sleman was very ill and near death. The village men who had gone to Bethlehem in order to sell, said to each other: »We must hurry, for Abdallah is dying!»

In his despair Abdallah made a vow to St. George in el-Khadr that if he recovered he would sacrifice a goat to him. But when he recovered he received from his Syrian wife, with whom he lived in Sahyon, a letter telling him to return home at once, and he hastened to do so. In this way he did not fulfil his vow, at least not in Artas.

His sister Mdallale Sleman said that on the same occasion she had vowed a vow for her sick brother saying before people: »Oh my Lord St. George! For thee and before the face of God an animal to be sacrificed!»

Case 7. — Alya related of a brother's son:

»Ali Khalil vowed a vow to St. George when he was a soldier. When he was ill, he said: 'Oh St. George, thou shalt have from me a sacrifice, an animal, if I return to my country alive!' A sheikh said to him: 'Oh Sir, kill and cook wherever thou wilt but read to St. George the opening chapter from the Koran!' Now Ali Khalil says to St. George: 'Have patience with me and I will do it!'»

As is seen from this, Ali Khalil was away from Artas when he made his vow. So he consulted a sheikh who impressed upon him the importance of reading the opening chapter of the Koran, but said that the place of the sacrifice was not so important and therefore Ali thought he could postpone the fulfilment of his vow. To this very day he has not done it but constantly tries to wheedle St. George and appeals to the saint to be patient. In any case this is risky. He is in debt and must go in constant fear of punishment for the long delay. If he is ill, he is especially terrified

lest it be a punishment from St. George and that he must pay with his life.

A vow lays the maker of it under compulsion.[63]

Case 8. — Sometimes people in illness or need vow to help prisoners. Formerly this was done more often.

Sitt Louisa: »Often vows were made for the prisoners. They carried a dish of lentils to the prison even if they had no relatives there.

One vows thus: 'If my son gets well, or, if my son comes from America, then will I feed those who sit in prison!'

It was really a charitable deed, because the Turks did not give their prisoners enough food. If their own people did not look after them they were sometimes set free because the Turks found it too expensive and troublesome to feed them in prison.«

Case 9. — A special case is that of Sabha Musa.

Her little son, Mhammad, was so ill that they thought he would die and all the relatives threatened not to slaughter their sheep and goats for the Feast unless he got better. It happened to be the day before the Great Feast and all the animals for slaughter stood tied up outside the door of each house. And Sabha Musa had taken her son to Bethlehem to have him cured.

The message came that he was better and they said: »We will raise a white banner to the face of God!« And as soon as they caught sight of Sabha Musa returning to the village with the child they began their trills of joy and raised the banner.

Then they rejoiced and celebrated. Sabha Musa's husband also slaughtered their goat. As they had just moved into a new house the animal was slaughtered on the threshold.

Case 10. — When Hamde Mhammad's son had a bad foot she made the following vow. »A banner for the face of the Lord, if my son gets well!« And when he got better the banner was hung out.

This custom of giving God a banner[64] is very common and not only in the case of illness. If someone comes through great trouble or returns safely from a long absence in a far country or if a prisoner returns home a banner is hung out. And it is expressly stated that such a banner must not be taken down, it must hang there until it falls to pieces. I have seen many such »banners« on, or outside houses both in Christian and Muhammadan villages.

Banners can also be given to people to honour and thank them.

Case 11. — Khalil Abu Tawfik had a dream in the night. He saw his

son Tawfik, who was ill at the time, dying. And he saw also in his dream a venerable old man who said to him: »Thy son will die!» Then Khalil said: »I will vow a vow!»

In the morning when he awoke he said: »Imagine! This night in a dream I vowed a vow.» Then they slaughtered an animal.

This was told me by Tawfik's mother and Alya added that at the actual slaughtering the mother held her little son over the animal as the blood ran out over the ground.

I was very sorry that I had happened to go to Jerusalem the same day in the morning. A few days after this event — it was on the 30th of November 1926 — I met the little boy's father's father, Musa Shahin, on the way to Artas.

He told me in great detail of how he had made a vow for little Tawfik. It was a vow in the home.[65] For it he had bought: seven rottles meat, seven rottles rice, seven rottles ground wheat and half a rottle cooking butter and this food was given to the people of the village.[66] This was when I heard the exclamation: »Is St. George a man that he needs to eat?»

The women said to me: »If an animal is slaughtered for a vow in Artas, but not in el-Khadr, where the saint has his church, the skin must be sold to buy candles for St. George.» — In my research on marriage I have related how in a wedding procession, which set out to bring a bride from the neighbouring village, el-Khadr, I noticed that many women carried big candles, and as I had not noticed this before in a Muhammadan wedding procession, I asked the reason for this and learned that these women had either already made, or wished to make a vow to St. George on account of a sick relative.[67]

Olive oil is given especially to Muhammadan saints, as was done in olden times. There is often a lamp containing olive oil burning in a Muhammadan shrine.

From the following case it is seen that people do not always trust in one saint only but for safety's sake seek help from several quarters.

C a s e 12. — The 29th of October 1926 Sada Ali told me about her son Ehsen, how his hand seemed to be drying up and becoming paralyzed and of the vows they vowed.

Five vows they made.[68]

Two before the face of God, one to St. George in el-Khadr, and one to Abraham in Hebron. These four vows were for the hand of Sada's son, Ehsen Mhammad.

The fifth vow made in the family was for Sada's brother, Ehsen Ali, and this fifth vow was vowed to Hidme in Shiyukh.

Case 13. — Part of the bride price is vowed.[69]

Sacrifice and Vow Feast in St. George's Sanctuary

As regards the vows to St. George, in many cases the slaughtering, the cooking, and the vow feast take place in the Greek Catholic sanctuary in el-Khadr. This was formerly more frequent than now and it is clear that under such circumstances the whole event is attended with greater ceremony than otherwise.

Those who are going to fulfil a vow invite the village people to accompany them and then they walk in procession. On the whole such a procession very much resembles a betrothal or wedding procession. First come the older men and then the young ones. Last of all come the women and children, the women singing.

Afraid to be too far behind in the procession, in their songs they direct the following appeal to the men and especially to him who has made the vow:

> Be friendly, oh brother Abed! Be friendly!
> Go with us, oh brother Abed!
> Among us there are pregnant women and women who give suck[70]
> and there are also women who have not yet opened the womb.

Sitt Louisa: »The young men hurry in front and the women would like them all to be together. The more they are, the better. The Arabs like it. They must always be a group. No one goes alone.«

Then they sing another song:

> Oh ye pilgrims of St. George, pilgrim with prayer!
> We now visit St. George, may we also afterwards visit Abraham!

When the procession arrives and stops at the gate of the sanctuary of St. George the pilgrims sing:

> To day we are thy pilgrims!
> We are strangers, show us the doors!

The following cases describe how the people fulfil a vow with a sacrificial feast in el-Khadr. The sanctuary of St. George in el-Khadr comprises both a church and a monastery.

Case 14. — It concerns the widow Sada Ahmad who made a vow for her son Abd il-Karim.

Alya: »Sada vowed a vow to St. George for her sick son.

'If my son arises from this sick-bed, thou shalt have a slaughtering animal and four rottles of rice!'

And when her son recovered from this illness, they bought the necessary things and we went. Going and coming we sang. They slaughtered and cooked. Wood and water is given by the monastery. Out in the forecourt people sing and dance while the rice and the meat are on the fire.

The leg is for the priest.[71] The wife of the servant at the sanctuary, a Muhammadan negro, gets the skin and the entrails, and they, and their children eat with us.

When the meal is eaten the servant opens the church and all enter and pay the pilgrimage visit.«

Case 15. — I did not myself have the opportunity to attend a vow feast of the Artas people for St. George in el-Khadr. But, as just mentioned, the women in a wedding procession going to fetch a bride from el-Khadr carried tall candles which they were to leave as votive gifts to St. George. On arrival at the village these women went into the church to fulfil their vows to the saint.

When the bride was placed on the bridal camel and the procession began its return journey I entered the sanctuary with Sitt Louisa.

Case 16. — On an open place before the church were four great cauldrons[72] with water and some people were busy making a fire under them. A little distance away four frightened goats were huddled together. The people there were Christians, Greek Catholic Arabs from Beit Jala, a large village opposite Bethlehem.

A rather talkative woman from Beit Jala told us that a man from her village had newly returned from America. When they were in mid-ocean there arose so terrible a storm that they all thought their last hour had come. In his distress the man vowed a vow to St. George that if he came home alive they would sacrifice four goats to him. And the wind dropped and all went well.

Now they were here to fulfil the vow.[73] After a while the goats would be slaughtered and cooked. The woman invited us to take part in the

feast. Unfortunately I could not accept her invitation as I was anxious not to miss the wedding in Artas.

Before we returned home we went into the church dedicated to St. George, and saw a big picture representing the knightly Christian saint fighting the dragon. Here I witnessed a most interesting ceremony.

Case 17. — The act in the church concerned a child in connection with whom a vow had been made. It was a sacrifice of hair, for the child's hair was cut off.

But first a general remark.

Alya: »If a woman loses many children she vows a vow saying:

'I vow that if this child escapes we will cut his hair in the Temple area in Jerusalem, or in the mosque in Hebron!'

They keep all the hair that is cut from him until they go there. And then they cut his hair and weigh it with the rest that they have collected and they weigh it against money — silver coins — in the other scale-pan.[74] This takes place in the sanctuary.»[75]

Although Alya of course thinks of Muhammadans in this connection, and thus also mentions the mosques of Hebron and Jerusalem, it was a corresponding act that I saw performed by Christian Arabs in the church of el-Khadr. It was another Beit Jala man, belonging to the Greek Catholic church, who here fulfilled a vow to sacrifice his son's hair to St. George.

The ceremony was a follows.

The boy who was about seven years old was led by his father to the priest at the altar. On the boy's head the priest laid an open Holy Bible and read from it to the congregation. After that he cut seven tufts of the boy's hair and gave him back to his father.

The latter brought a chair which he placed on the floor in the middle of the church. The boy was placed upon the chair and the father took out a modern hair-cutting apparatus with which he carefully cut his son's hair. While this was going on, women relatives and friends stood in a group at a little distance and sang and beat time with their hands and now and then a woman trilled.

The priest brought out a weighing machine and when the father had finished cutting, he carefully collected all the hair and took the hair which had previously been cut from the boy's head out of a bag. It was all placed in one weighing-pan and in the other one the money. The father was certainly not niggardly for he dropped the silver coins lightly

into the pan and placed an Egyptian pound-note on top of them. The priest took the money. Then he also took the collected hair and placed it behind the saint's picture. The boy's hair was dedicated to the saint.

VOW AND BEGGAR CHILDREN

It may also happen that if a woman loses many children, she prays to God to give her more babies. Or, when she bears another, she prays that he may live. As such a boy is considered »begged of God» he must also live as a beggar. The mother shall not buy any clothes for him, he has to wear clothes which have been begged from other people. At least during his first years of life he is called S h a h a d e, Beggar.[76]

In Artas there is now a child, Mhammad, the only child of Sabha Musa, whom everyone calls Shahade. Although the parents are comparatively well-off the mother begs clothes for him. But that is because she has already lost several children, and Mhammad, the Beggar, is now her only hope.

Another child, Mhammad, with Shahade as a second name, is the son of Alya Salem, wife of Abd il-Rahman Abd il-Salam. Four children died before him in that family.

When meeting Miryam, wife of Ahmad Salem, in the village, she begged for clothes for her girl, Bahiye, whose second name was also Shahade (Shihde), »so that the girl may live». Three sisters and one brother of that girl had died before her birth, in their infancy.

From the statistics is seen that Shahade is sometimes the only name given to a boy.

That is the case of Shahade, the orphaned son of Hasan Ehsen. — Ahmad il-Madani and his wife Hamde also called one of their sons Shahade. Only he and a married brother are left out of seven children among whom a boy and a girl died at birth. — The name of the Shahade family dates back to the first member of the family known to have lived in Artas.

Of course this name does not always »help». In vain Ahmad Khalil called a son Shahade. He died as a baby.

In Artas, like in other villages, there will always be one or more »beggar» children.

In Lifta, beside Jerusalem, a Muhammadan woman, Umm Daud, said of a child of that kind:

»Begged clothes protect him from death.»[77]

From her next remark it appears that the mother must also take certain precautions for the sake of her child. Umm Daud added:

»If a woman often loses children by death she goes to a sheikh who forbids her to wear bright clothes and ornaments. She must dress herself in ordinary clothes, because Karine will otherwise be jealous and envy her. And when the boy is born she goes begging for clothes so that the evil spirit shall not be envious of the child. The sheikh forbids her also to amuse herself in company and gives her an amulet which no one can interpret except the sheikh himself. — This is her fate.»

The Arab teachers in Jerusalem told me about a child of that kind:

»Many children die and one lives.

Christians and Muhammadans beg for the child's first clothes. The more they beg the more hope there is that he will live.

Or, they may also let the hair grow until the seventh year and then have it cut in a sanctuary. And they vow something to the saint, either a sheep, or candles, or oil.

They call such a child after a wild animal. For example in the school here two brothers are called Saba and Asad, two different words for Lion.

Other such children may be called Shahade, a Beggar or Begged, and Atallah, Gift of God.

Sometimes Muhammadans have such children baptized.»[78]

In the following cases some examples are given of the different roles played by clothes.

Regarding a walk in the village on the 16th of March 1297, when I was inquiring about dead and living children in this community, I wrote in my Diary:

We saw Jamile Mhammad washing in the canal. She told us about her little son, Mhammad, for whom she had vowed a vow to St. Anthony. Until he is one year old she dresses him in black, i.e. dark and old. And when he is one year old she will go to Bethlehem and dress him in white and place him in the lap of the Virgin Mary in the Milk Grotto.

On his cap were many amulets, among others hair from a Derwish of the Hidme order.

I have already had reason to mention the significance of the Milk

Grotto near Bethlehem[79] regarding the belief of the Palestinian people, especially that of the women, quite independent of religion and creed. In the case just mentioned, there may also have been a direct personal, Christian influence, because the house where Jamile and her husband live in Artas belongs to a Christian Bethlehemite. In any case a Muhammadan mother here vows a vow to a Roman Catholic saint in order that her child may live. The Milk Grotto is under the protection of Franciscans. St. Antonius of Padua (d. 1231), one of the best known of their saints, belonged to the Franciscan Order for the last ten years of his life.

A fairly common sight in Jerusalem, especially at Easter time, is a little boy dressed in a brown cowl with a white cord round his body and a little brown skull cap on his head. When one sees such a copy of a Franciscan monk one knows that it is a vow-child whose Arab mother is a Roman Catholic. Either she has previously lost several children or this is her only one for whom she has waited a long time; and so, hoping that he may live, she has made a vow that she will dress him like a Franciscan monk during his early childhood. In Bethlehem I photographed such a little boy whom I met in the street.

Among the Greek Catholics also the clothes of a vow-child may be of certain importance as well as the hair-sacrifice. I saw a rather peculiar case in the Mission School of the Swedish Jerusalem Society.

In the winter of 1925—26 a girl about nine years of age, named Hanna, was there. I remember that she sat in the first row, a pitiable little thing with long hair-plaits. She was simply, or even poorly dressed. For some reason she attracted my special attention.

One spring day when I came into the school Hanna was transformed into a boy. The plaits had gone and the hair was cut quite short. The dress and the pinafore had been replaced by boy's clothes, blouse and knickerbockers. I expressed my astonishment of this. The head mistress, Miss Signe Ekblad, answered with a smile that she was equally surprised because she had always thought that Hanna was a girl.

The explanation was as follows.

Greek Catholic parents make vows to the Prophet Elijah as they do to St. George. They undertake, if their son is allowed to live, to cut off his hair in the Greek Catholic monastery, Mar Elias, which lies about halfway between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

This ceremony takes place at a festival held annually in memory of the Prophet Elijah after whom the monastery is called. Now there had just

been such a feast and at it Hanna's hair had been cut off. Similarly he had given up wearing a girl's clothes.[80] Everyone could now see that he was a boy.

It amused me even afterwards to watch Hanna. And it was quite striking how the child with this change in his outward appearance showed a difference in his behaviour and manners. Now that he was something definite he was no longer to be seen standing alone and depressed in the play-ground during the intervals but he ran about cheerfully with the other boys and looked quite self-confident. I took a picture of him at that time. It shows him with some other boys.

In the cases where the parents have to beg for the children's clothes, or, when the children — sometimes also the mothers — must wear dark and poor clothes this is probably to stress the fact that they wish to be humble and poor and make no claim upon life, all in order to win life.

If a child is dressed as a monk I think that there must be an association of ideas that, as a monk has devoted his life to God or to religion, so they, during their dangerous period of early childhood, are vowed to God. But in the last mentioned case, when a boy is dressed as a girl I suppose that the chief motive is the disguise and that the disguise shall deceive and cheat the evil powers who seek the child's life. They shall not recognize it and the child thus escape danger.

Hanna is the name both of a boy and of a girl. Thus a change of name was not necessary, although, as we have seen, it sometimes occurs that, during the critical period, the child is called by another name.[81]

The reader will have noticed that in my accounts of holy vows and vow-children I have treated both Muhammadan and Christian cases.[82] This must not be considered accidental. It seems clear that their customs have been intermingled. Where sickness and the life of little children are concerned people are inclined to go beyond the limits of their religion, as when the Muhammadans have their children baptized — although secretly. It is done in very critical cases hoping to save the child's life. It is natural that in this case they consider baptism a magical means of gaining life on earth. Further, the Muhammadans make vows to Christian saints. But besides these there are clear parallels in Christian and Muhammadan ideas, customs and rites. It may be asked if we have not here a common folk-belief with roots stretching far back in time into a common stem.

Whatever the case may be, there are clear traces of such similarities both in the Old and in the New Testament.

When Hannah »in bitterness of soul» prayed to God she vowed a vow saying: »O Lord of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid, but wilt give unto thine handmaid a man child, then I will give him unto the Lord all the days of his life, and there shall no razor come upon his head.»[83] And when her son was born she »called his name Samuel, saying, Because I have asked him of the Lord.»[84] — »And the man Elkanah, and all his house, went up to offer unto the Lord the yearly sacrifice, and his vow.»[85] When Hannah had weaned the boy she took him with her to the house of the Lord in Shiloh and the child was young. And they slew a bullock, and brought the child to the priest Eli. As Hannah had vowed to give her son to the Lord for all his life he stayed there and the child ministered unto the Lord before Eli the priest.[86]

An essential difference between this example and the cases in Palestine of to-day, previously mentioned, is, that they are not for life, but only for some years or, as long as the critical period lasts. But if my memory does not fail me, a monk in Mar Saba, a Greek Catholic monastery in the Judean desert, said that he was there as a monk, because of a vow which his mother had made. There is nothing impossible in the thought that a Christian mother even in these days should make a vow that her son shall become a monk or a priest — if God gives her one — if she recovers from an illness, or is helped in great need.

There are also in the Bible examples of temporary vows.

In Samuel's case no razor was to come upon his head for all time,[87] because he was vowed for his whole life whereas when a man took the Nazarite's vow for a time »all the days of the vow of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head.» His head was hallowed and therefore he should »let the locks of the hair of his head grow».[88] According to the Old Testament rules, when the time of his vow was at an end, the man was to shave his head at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. In the Old Testament it is said that the hair shall be laid »in the fire which is under the sacrifice of the peace offerings.[89] For a vow was to be fulfilled in a holy place — as in Palestine of to-day. In both cases the hair is cut, and the priest has a right to share in the sacrifice.

I have quoted the Bible here to show that the vows made nowadays in Palestine to save one's own or another's life, especially that of a little child, without being identical with those found among the ancient Israelites,

have many common or similar traits. Among them the most obvious are the name, the shaving of the head in a holy place, and the sacrifice.

This last — the sacrifice — may possibly explain one of the bases of the vows as we have learnt to know them. The vows are conditional. The man vows to fulfil a certain promise, if God or a Saint does His part. The idea is that the man expresses his willingness to sacrifice something — money, wealth, or usually an animal — instead of his life or someone else's and that God is willing to accept this offer. Thus the vow is closely connected with the idea of redemption which has come to be so important in many religions although having many different forms or expressions. It has been a fundamental idea of Christianity.

Sacrifice — Redemption

Among the Muhammadans of to-day the idea prevails that sacrifice can redeem or save a life. Here are some examples which support this assertion.

One day I had lost something which was very dear to me. Alya then said it was clear that I must offer a sacrifice. If I had not lost something — thus, given something of my property — I should have lost one of my relatives. I could and ought to be glad that I had escaped so easily. The thing I had lost was in place of the life of my father or my brother.

At the Great Feast in the year 1926 Alya said:

»If an animal dies people say: 'Let it be from our wealth and not from our family, from the light and not from the heavy wood!'»

In both these cases it was a question of compulsory sacrifice.

It is more important still that there be voluntary sacrifices. Here I refer to what I said at the beginning of this discussion about sacrifice for property, sacrifice for the family, and sacrifice for or instead of a person. The Arabic word f a d u which is generally translated »sacrifice» signifies »redemption».

In most cases life is redeemed by life, an animal redeems a human life.

Already in my research regarding marriage I have touched upon this question. In connection with a report on slaughtering sheep or goats for a betrothal feast I remarked: As every slaughter has more or less the character of a sacrifice, great importance is attached to the fact that the blood from a slaughtered animal shall flow over the ground so that later it my be seen that an animal has been killed.[90]

There are other cases where the sacrificial character appears still more clearly.

Thus Alya said of a family moving into a newly-built house:

»They kill on the threshold the night before entering the new house. They are afraid that otherwise a member of the family will die. If the owner is very poor, he may kill a hen. But he must redden the house with blood.»

I have myself seen and photographed such a sacrifice on the threshold of a new house. It was during the Great Feast in 1926. The man who owned the house did not at first wish to do it on the threshold. He and the other men thought that it was unnecessary and that the Koran did not prescribe it. But his wife, Sabha Musa, and the other women demanded that the old custom should be observed. They feared that the omission of it would cost the family the life of their only son. And the end of the dispute was that the women had their own way.

I also witnessed at that time the ritual of slaughtering a sacrificial animal at the Great Feast but I will let Alya describe it. First she said:

»Before they kill the animal, they fill a basin with water and they offer it to the animal three times.[91] Every animal must be turned to the south. Wherever they kill they have to turn the animal with its face towards Mecca.»

As the animal, when being slaughtered, must stand with its face to the south i.e. towards Mecca, in the same direction as the Muhammadans when praying, the religious character of the sacrifice is emphasized. The man who slaughters must always be ritually clean.[92] He must always call upon God's name over the animal.[93] At the Great Feast there is besides a special formula.

Alya: »And they say to the animal before killing it: 'It is decreed by God — and God is great — that thou shalt be slaughtered. Mayest thou be a sacrifice for the property and the family!'»[94]

It is also said of the slaughtering at this Feast:

»If a lamb is killed it is really in the name of the women, and if a sheep, it is in the name of the absent ones.»

No better proof can be desired of the slaughtering being a sacrifice and a vicarious sacrifice.

The last cases quoted are concerned with sacrifice at the Great Feast. But even the vows in cases of sickness or vow-children are clearly connected with the redeeming of somebody by a vicarious sacrifice.

If one considers this chapter on the welfare of the child as a whole the result undoubtedly is that although there is very little of it, or nothing at all, in the Western meaning of hygienic or medical care, yet there are certain values to be observed. As a protection against supernatural evil beings the people take refuge with, and seek help from Higher Powers. When I first stated that the care of children among the Muhammadan fellaheen might be of interest, it may have been doubted, but having read so far I hope all will agree that however much one may wish, from a humane point of view, that the natives in Palestine would learn a more rational and effective care of children, yet, from historical-religious and religious-psychological points of view, it is desirable that before the old customs, rites, and views lose their special characteristics or wholly disappear, opportunity shall be given to study them in all their multiplicity and ramifications.

Chapter IV

VALUE OF CHILDREN

During my first stay in Artas the following incident was related to me.

A stranger came into a house. He saw no lights but he saw children. Then the same man came to a house where there were lamps but no children. He remarked:

»The house with many children was lighted, but the house with lamps was dark because there were no children.»[1] — Children are the real light of a house.

Shortly afterwards I paid a visit to Mhammad Khalil who said as follows:

»A Paradise without people would not be beautiful. With no children, not at all beautiful.»

He continued:

»But the Europeans seem to be indifferent to whether they have any children or not.»

When I heard Mhammad Khalil's ideas I smiled. What did he know of Europe in this respect, except that now and then he had seen some European woman who was said to be unmarried which, according to the Muhammadan fellaheen, is an injustice towards her.

This was in 1925.

Since then views in Europe in this respect have undergone a great change. In several countries the birth-rate has become one of the most burning problems. In some countries people have seriously begun to fear the results of its great decrease. Leading statesmen have taken energetic measures to find a remedy for the evil and bring about another attitude to the matter. Very much has been done to increase the numbers of marriages and of births. Both quantity and quality of children are now aimed at. Perhaps under such conditions people are more inclined than formerly to listen to the Orientals who say that every man and woman

ought to marry and have children. There is in any case a great difference in the arguments put forward in favour of marriage and children in the East and in the West.

In Palestine the birth-rate has hitherto not been the concern of the State, it has not been considered from the point of view of nationality.

In Palestine the State has always meant a foreign enemy power. During the long period that the Turks ruled the country the people learned to hate them and similarly the Government and their representatives. This sentiment is deeply rooted.

I heard a woman in Artas say with conviction:

»The Government is like a saw, it hurts both in the upward and the downward stroke.»

To them the Turkish Government signified heavy and arbitrary taxes, and military service for their sons, which they regarded as almost certain death.

Otherwise the people were left to look after themselves. In the villages they judged according to tradition and their conception of justice. If the Government interfered, their decision was considered an infringement on the people's idea of justice and he who was affected by it became a martyr, and if put in prison he became a hero whose release was celebrated. In this way the different communities remained separated, each with its own patriarchal conditions, small states within a state.

Interest was limited to the family, to the individual as a member of the family, and to their own district. The population was also divided into different political parties and religions and confessions. The townspeople felt they belonged to quite another category than the fellaheen whom they despised. The Bedouin are to be distinguished from both of these; often they forced their way into the villages and plundered them. The Government had no power to guarantee the safety of individual travellers who were obliged to seek the protection of some sheikh with friendly connections with the different places and Bedouin tribes and who escorted the travellers at a certain charge. This shows how uncertain and quite local the conditions in the country were. The Turks, far from being displeased with these divisions, often fanned the flames according to the principle d i v i d e e t i m p e r a.

This is not the place to examine and report the changes which have taken place since the First World War, nor the extent to which the Pan-Islamic and the Pan-Arabic movements — whose leaders dream of a Great

Arabia — have gained influence in Palestine. The world is however getting to know that among the Arabs there exists or is growing up a national self-consciousness because of the disturbances which occur at intervals and are chiefly directed against the Sionist immigration.

Here I will only mention one fact.

After the rising in 1929 an Arab Delegation under the Grand Mufti was sent to London to work for Arab interests and wishes. The Delegation left the same day I arrived in Jerusalem in the spring of 1930, and in Artas I heard curious reports as to their reception in London. In a work on folk-lore it can be of interest to give a picture of the reflections of a great political event like this in the minds of the people in a little Judean village.

They thought that the members of the Arab Delegation stayed at the Royal Palace and that the English Queen had arranged the meal for them on a tray placed in the middle of a carpet. One day Alya related:

»The wife of the King spread out the carpet and put all sorts of food into a dish, saying: 'Help yourself but do not tread on the carpet!'

They stretched out their hands to reach that dish from the north. They could not. They stretched out their hands to reach that dish from the south. They could not. They stretched out their hands to reach that dish from the east. They could not. They stretched out their hands to reach that dish from the west. They could not.

She said: 'I will help you!'

She folded the carpet from the east. She folded the carpet from the north. She folded the carpet from the south. She folded the carpet from the west. She put her hand in the middle and said:

'Palestine is in the middle of the world! Neither the Jews nor the English have a part in it!'«

Alya told this story very dramatically. She took her long white cloth from her head, spread it out on the floor and showed how the guests could not reach the good things placed in the middle of it. Then she folded it as she thought the Queen had done — one corner after the other into the middle — where she placed her hand and said the last words with great effect.

She explained that the Queen had arranged the meal: »The thoughts of a woman are b e t t e r than those of men.« The men have no thought for little things. The thoughts of men are of war, how to get means to feed and dress. Their thoughts are occupied with prayer and how they shall maintain the men's club and such things.

Sitt Louisa's remarks were as follows: »This is a picture from village life. The more kinds of food there are the better. They like masses of fruit: apricots, peaches, apples, pears, plums, spring figs, and, although not in Artas, melons. And the first grapes — fine, wonderful!»

I do not think that Alya made up this story, she had probably heard it in the village. The story-teller describes his scenes from his own experience. He sees the men sitting and eating on a big carpet. At the same time some things are different at the strange court. They have a candle and are supposed to eat with spoons, forks and knives.

Alya had still another similar account which also concerns a meal:

»The wife of the King put the unlighted candle in the middle of the table, spread the plates, the spoons, the forks and knives.

She said: 'Please, come to supper!' They said: 'We cannot find our mouths!' (It was so dark).

She struck a match and lit the candle and said: 'The Arabs are the light of the world!'

The King sits on his throne. The Queen arranges things.

She said: 'The Arabs are a wall round countries, not the Jews!'»

Sitt Louisa: »Like the city wall, for instance, round Jerusalem.»

The symbolism in these accounts is clear. The parallels used here — the Arabs are called the light of the world or are compared to a wall round countries, and Palestine is said to be the centre of the world[2] — reveal to a certain extent a re-awakening national consciousness among the Arabs and a certain feeling for Palestine as their own country.[3]

If this continues the question of birth-rate may come to have another character. It may even in Palestine become a national and state affair. But this of course depends on how it develops. At the present time the question of children is still regarded from the point of view of the individual, the family, and the clan. Children are desirable, an advantage, and a blessing to the individual, the family, and the clan.[4]

It is said: »The strength or health of the young one is behind the door.»

And: »The strength of the old man is in the bottom of the cistern.»

An old man is feeble and cannot do very much. The youth has his full physical strength[5] and is able to help in trouble, war, etc. The old men need the young ones. There is an expression:

Nothing supports the men as the small children;
nothing supports a building like the small stones.

This saying is used of an old man who takes to himself a young wife in order to have children, but also to indicate a man who in his old age is surrounded by children and grandchildren.[6]

The Bedouin again like to compare a man with a big family to the chief tent which is surrounded by other tents.

»A group of tents around him like the tents around their great ones.»[7]

VALUE OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN A PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

In a purely patriarchal society the family is considered to be continued only through the boys. It is only the sons who can support the home of their father. It is only the sons who are the tents around the chief tent. Or, as is also said:

The boy is the tent peg of the house.

A tent is set up with ropes held by wooden pegs fixed in the ground. If these pegs are pulled out, the tent falls down.[8] Now it is said that there are as many tent pegs to the house as there are sons[9] and that such a house with sons cannot be overthrown. If no sons are born, or if the sons all die, the family comes to an end and the house falls down.

On the other hand it is said:

A girl's house is ruined,
she builds up the house of someone else.[10]

Here a clear line is drawn between the value of boys and girls.

A girl must go away from her father's house and help build up a stranger house partly by her labour and partly by giving it sons. Girls do not count. A man must have a son. Otherwise he himself will be removed from off the earth. And as they themselves say: »The inheritance is lost.»[11]

For the daughters this is very tragic, for this means that they lose the connection with their father's house which is so very important for them even after marriage. The respect a woman enjoys in her husband's house is very much dependent on the support she can find in her father's house, and if this is removed she is despised and may have to suffer. She has no one to protect her.

It is no less tragic for her as a wife if she has no boy, for only a son gives her the right to remain in her husband's house if he dies. A widow

with one or more sons knows that for their sake she can never be driven away from her husband's house. Her position is secured.[12] As the children's mother she enjoys protection and respect. A widow may say:

My daughters are my mattress and my sons are my cover.

If she has two sons she is supposed to say:

Mhammad is my cover and Ali my mattress.

It is also said of a widow that she has as many tent pegs to the house as she has sons.

It is easy to understand the Artas woman who in the Night of Power expressed the wish to have »a house of men».[13] The women who long to be »fed», desire to be »fed» with sons. It may be noted here that the Arabic word w a l a d (Pl. u l â d), the most common word for child, also means boy. Very often the word is used for a child in general, independent of sex. It can for example be used in the question: »How many children has she?» meaning boys and girls. But the word u l â d is also used for boys in contrast to b a n â t, meaning girls. For example in the expression: »She has two boys and three girls.» In translating the Arabic text it has not always been easy to decide when the word w a l a d should be rendered »child» and when »boy».

It is from one point of view sons only who are considered, as it is only the sons who remain in the house and carry on the family.

»The house of girls is ruined and the house of boys is built up.»

From all this it is clear that one cannot speak of the value of children in general but must make a distinction between boys and girls in this respect. In the remarks made above the greater value of boys has at times been brought out; it has also been shown that the patriarchal system causes this attitude to the problem of man and woman.

There is still another factor to be considered and that is the terror an Arabs feels lest his daughter get into trouble. Not only she herself will be dishonoured. The shame falls equally upon her father's house. The joy of having a daughter is darkened very much by this fear.[14]

In former times, if a girl was accused or only suspected of having had

connection with a man before marriage, she had to die. Public opinion demanded it. And it was the father or the brother who had to kill her.

The terrible thing has sometimes happened that a woman has been unjustly accused and has died because of wicked gossip or unjust suspicion. But when this happened the curse which the father or the brother had drawn upon themselves was so great that he and his children had also to die and his whole house had to be removed from off the earth. And not because any person or society would have interfered or needed to do so. It is the justice of God's sword[15] in such a case.

Whether this is a pure psychological effect, due only to the fear of Heaven's judgement, is a question which I leave open. But it is a fact that people mention and believe in cases in which such an event has caused the extinction of a family.

They also relate terrifying examples of how attacks on women have caused whole villages to be destroyed. When people think of the misfortune which a daughter can bring upon her father and his house they might imagine that it would be better not to have any daughters. If a man's daughter dies it is customary to say:

It is for his goodness that the women die.

It is the reward of Heaven that he is relieved of the anxiety and trouble of having a daughter. And how much better it is that a man's daughter dies a natural death early than that in the future he finds himself in the terrible situation of having to kill her.

»Women bring scandal!» and »Women cause headaches!» i.e. difficulties, said the village women themselves to me.

A young Arab girl called Maria, of the Christian family Shahin in Bethlehem, was accused of having gone the wrong way and was to be punished by death. This took place outside the Church of Nativity.[16] Among those present was an Artas man, Ibrahim Shahin, who, quite desperate at the sight, called out: »No daughter shall outlive me except (the holy women) Sitt il-Badriye, Eshe and Safiye; by the Temple in Mecca! No daughters shall live in the family of Abu Shahin!»

To make quite certain he wrote to the Patriarch Abraham praying: »May no daughter survive to us!» This letter he took to the mosque in Hebron which is supposed to be built over the old Patriarch's grave. He let it fall into the tomb through a hole in the wall. People do this when they wish to ask Abraham for something.

And God heard his prayer. If girls were born in his family they died very early. The Shahin family in Artas had no girl, just as Ibrahim Shahin had wished.

It proved later that this prayer had been too hasty and had fatal effects. If a young man in the family wished to marry there was no girl with whose bride price he could procure himself a bride, or whom he could exhange for a bride.

Two of Ibrahim Shahin's sons were obliged to make a counteracting vow. Each of them got a daughter, one was called Meshayekh, the other Sara Khalil. For fear lest they should die, as all other new-born girls in the family, Ibrahim Shahin's sons wrote in their turn to the Patriarch Abraham: »Oh, Friend of God! If these girls survive thou shalt have a quarter of the bride price of these two daughters!»[17] This prayer was also heard.

Part of Meshayekh's bride price was given to Abraham and in her marriage she had sons, two of whom survived. But when Sara married Ibrahim Ayesh he said: »I will be responsible for the fourth part of the bride price. I will send it to Abraham!» But he did not. He neither sent the sum to Abraham or gave it to Sara's brother. It remained a debt round his neck, as people said. And Sara, his wife, suffered for it. None of her sons survived and she herself became blind.

The Shahin woman who told me these things explained the making of the last vow as follows: »We needed the girls and that was why we vowed the quarter of the bride price!»

After the counter vow had been made the girls in the Shahin family survived.

Here is apparently a positive side: it is both good and necessary to have daughters in a family, because, through her marriage, a girl can procure a bride for her brother. She thus represents »living» capital. If a young man has no sisters, the bride price for his wife must be taken from the family property. In many such cases a man has been obliged to sell part of his land to procure money for his bride's price. Or he has been compelled to serve her father seven to eight years, like the Patriarch Jacob served for Rachel. This shows clearly that a man with a sister is in a much more advantageous position than a man who has none. If in a family there are an equal number of girls and boys, each sister can be exchanged for a bride. If there are fewer girls than boys, the sister who becomes a

widow can be married again, and in this way be the means of procuring wives for two brothers.

The fewer girls in a family in proportion to boys the more highly appreciated is the girl. If there are only boys and then a girl is born, she is greeted with great joy. Such a girl is sometimes called the Lady of her Brothers. This indicates not only that she can be proud of having many brothers. It chiefly shows how her people value and honour her. Also in this case one is justified in speaking of the valuable child — here applied to a girl.

In exceptional cases a father's debts are paid with the bride price he obtains for a daughter.[18]

If this shows the usefulness of having a daughter it is, however — as already mentioned — a great tragedy as she has to leave her father's house on her marriage. The Arabs complain of a house of daughters being ruined, because a daughter has to build up another, a stranger's house.

Besides this there are a whole lot of negative factors connected with it.

First and foremost is the feeling of debt, because one has taken and appropriated the daughter's bride price instead of giving it to her entirely. In an earlier work I have expressed the idea that the bride price is not to be considered purchase-money, because people themselves make a clear distinction between a bride purchase, when daughters are taken to the bazaar to be »sold» as cattle or slaves, and the procuring of a bride in the ordinary way when all marriage ceremonies are observed. The ceremonies give the marriage another character and exclude the form bride purchase. The bride price is not the same thing as the sum given when a daughter is »sold».[19]

Some investigators are now rather inclined to consider the bride price a compensation for the work a woman does in the home and which her father's house loses by her going away to another house to work.

If this theory is correct, it may be asked whether the Arabs, and other peoples among whom bride price is given, have not, in their way and within the bounds of their social arrangements, noticed that the work of a woman and a wife in the home is worth a wage.[20] Here is a peculiar fact. It happens that even a man in some cases works outside his father's home but he cannot decide how his wages shall be used. They are not considered as belonging to him, as an individual, but must go to the collective property

of the family as such. So his wages go into the common family purse which is managed by the eldest of the family.

To quote Alya:

»When the father dies the eldest brother takes his place in the house. If his brothers work he arranges with their employer and receives their wages. It is he who pays for the family.«

Consistently with this, when a woman works outside her father's house — even if it is in her husbands' house — also her earnings — a kind of »wife's wage«, given in advance in the form of a bride price — should go to her father's house and be managed by the eldest of the family, particularly as the daughter is considered a member of her father's house even after her marriage.

A certain tendency to consider the bride price belonging to the woman individually, can, however, be traced. In certain parts the bride price is sometimes given wholly or partly to her in the form of an outfit and furniture, which then remains her special property. Sometimes the bride price is formally offered to her and when she, as is expected, refuses to take it, she usually receives some part of it. It is also said that the bride price is a sin, or forbidden. A proverb says:

> Blood-money and bride price have no blessing.

This is connected with the feeling of guilt when a man allows his daughter, a member of the family, to be taken away from her own people. It is shameful. For the daughter again it means sadness. Both to the woman herself and to her own people it is a tragedy that she has to go away from home to help strangers and to build up a stranger's house by giving it sons.

It is especially difficult for the mother of a married woman to adapt herself to looking after the children of her daughter-in-law — a stranger woman — and not of her own daughter. She is heavy at heart because the son of her d a r l i n g cannot remain with her, and she must hold in her lap the son of her e n e m y, as she calls her daughter-in-law. It is said:

> The old woman has no profit of her daughter's son,
> but of her son's son. — But the old one is foolish[21].

She — the old woman — complains:

The son of the loved one went and left me alone.
The son of the enemy came and hated me.

It is a serious thing to have a daughter. But the parents are not prevented from loving the daughters just as much as the sons[22] and they have the sorrow of being obliged to enforce such a hard fate on their daughter as to send her to live among strangers.

Here is a law which binds every one, a power which defies, and is stronger than the resources of the individual. Here is a tragedy in the woman's lot which is much greater than contempt. And how can one despise one's own flesh and blood?[23]

It is against such a background, determined, and coloured by the patriarchal order of life, that separate statements concerning the value of boys and girls must be considered.

Moreover, even these statements vary very much, as is seen from the following series of expressions.

BOYS AND GIRLS IN SONGS AND SAYINGS

I have been told:

»When the women sit together and gossip, the one having a girl and the other having a boy, the mother of the girl says:

When they said to me: A g i r l!
My heart broke in me.
They offered me eggs with the shell.
They said: Eat, thou mother of a girl!
They put water on them for me.

The mother of a boy says:

When they said to me: A b o y!
My heart was strong and stood up and rejoiced.
They offered me meat from the sheep.
They said to me: Eat, thou mother of a man!
They brought me coloured eggs.[24]
They put fat on them for me.«

And in consequence people say:

The mother of a boy is light,
The mother of a girl is heavy.
The mother of a maiden sighs always,
the mother of a man is like a gazelle.

A difference in the physical development of boys and girls is also turned to the former's advantage.

It is said:

The girls are from the dunghills.
The girls grow every day
as grains of barley,
and the boys as the wheat.[25]

As the wheat harvest follows the barley harvest so the age of puberty occurs later in boys than in girls. The wheat which ripens later is finer than the barley. And in the same way boys are finer than girls, they think.

This does not however exclude the use of the parallel between girls and wheat in another connection. Thus, it is said in a wedding-song addressed to the bridegroom that the bride is »sifted wheat from thy hand to the throat of the mill.» An Artas woman married in another place was said to have behaved badly there. In her home village they could not deny the correctness of this. But they comforted themselves by saying: »Even in the best wheat there grow tares.»

— »Oh! It is only a seed from the pomegranate», say people to a woman who has just borne a girl to comfort her for not having a boy. A pomegranate contains numerous seeds.[26] A mother of the girl has still time to bear many sons.

If the first-born is a girl they say to her father:

May God bless thee, oh Ali,
if the first-born is a girl[27] and the second a boy!

Or:

God bless thee, oh Ali,
who begins with a girl
and then comes with a boy!

When a boy is to be born he has no doubts about being welcome and this gives him boldness to hasten his coming. But a girl causes her mother much longer birth pains. It is difficult for her to decide about making her entrance into a world where she fears she may be unwelcome.

There is a touching account of how a girl who, on account of this fear, delays, or even refuses to let herself be born and is comforted by God through the angel Gabriel, His messenger.

Alya: »When her mother was in labour she walked about and then sat down again.

'Thy labour is very slight, thou wilt have a girl!' say those present.

Our Lord Gabriel says to God: 'Mayest Thou be exalted!' And God said to Gabriel: 'Be not prudish! Let her come! Her wealth is before her.' Then the Lord Gabriel says to her: 'Oh, daughter, thy wealth is before thee! God will forget no one. Thy wealth is prepared.'

Then she arrives.»[28]

Here appears a peculiarity in the Arab, perhaps one may say the Oriental, mentality. In how many Western marriages, especially in recent times, does the couple not refrain from having children because they consider they cannot afford it! This has been defined as a feeling of responsibility towards the unborn. They do not wish to bring them into the world if they cannot guarantee them a certain standard of life. But this anxiety is unnecessary, according to the Arabs. They say:

Each child (w a l a d) brings his wealth with him.

And: Each one brings with him all he needs![29]

From the last account it appears that a girl is no exception to the general rule. What she needs is already provided on earth.

The same thought is expressed — perhaps still more positively — when people comfort a woman who is a little sad because she has borne a girl, saying:

»The daughter of the noble woman is a piece of gold in the money-bag.»[30]

These words easily lead to the thought of the bride price which the parents will get at their daughter's marriage, although I do not believe that they consciously refer to that.

In indicating the high value of a woman people often use words for money and figures.

If, for some reason, they wish to point out that a woman has a blameless character, they say: »She is a good coin.» A father says of his daughter, or a brother of his sister: »Every hair of her head is worth a thousand.» It may happen that a mother or father whose daughter is much in demand as a bride proudly turns away a persistent, unwanted suitor, saying that he will not get her even if he brings her weight in gold.[31] A suitor first offers the double, or sometimes even ten times the bride price in order to show how much he values their daughter.

A song runs:

Alas! ye bachelors!
Death has fallen on the women.
A girl is four hundred worth
and a boy only four loaves!

It is not always so easy to procure the means for obtaining a bride.[32] There are specially unfavourable times. Here all bachelors are pitied because, on account of the numerous deaths among the girls, their value has risen, and is much higher than that of boys.

Sometimes also a woman who has a daughter is considered more fortunate than the mother of a boy.[33] I was told:

Two brothers dwelt in the same house. The wife of the one brother had only boys. The wife of the other had only girls. Then the mother of the boys laughed and derided the mother of the girls. But she answered well. She said:

The mother of sons goes and sighs:
»Where is the way to the prison, ye injured ones?»[34]

The mother of boys has trouble and sorrow on account of her sons. But it is quite different with a mother of girls.

The mother of girls goes with courage a safe way.[35]
»Where is the way to the goldsmith, ye happy ones?»
Their father's brother's sons are well off.[36]
They are like camels to carry for them
and owners of the longest spears.[37]

Sitt Louisa said: »This is Bedouin!» and added: »Then afterwards people come and pay her compliments in order to get the girls as brides,

while people who have sons must make offers for the brides and pay compliments.»

The following lines also show a more favourable side of girls as compared with boys.

> The girls are like something found.
> Oh! money on their cap!
> And the boy is very naughty
> every day there are fresh complaints about him to his family.
>
> The girls are like the full moon
> and go to the river.
> There the Emir Pasha found them.
> He left his throne and went.

The Pasha left his throne out of love for them.[38]

These examples reflect the variations in people's wisdom and experience.

When estimating the value of boys and girls in the Orient we must certainly modify and revise much that has hitherto been regarded as definite. Here in the West people have been inclined to look upon these things too carelessly, literally, and one-sidedly.

For instance, it has been very much emphasized that the Orientals rejoice more over the birth of boys than of girls and celebrate the one more than the other. But some years ago it was announced in the world's press that a child was expected in a royal family in Europe and that if it were a boy a salute of twenty-one guns would be fired, while if a girl only fourteen guns. Did any one consider this indicating that in the West a higher value is set upon a boy than upon a girl? — Do not parents in the West often greet the birth of a boy with greater satisfaction than that of a girl?

GREAT VALUE OF CHILDREN APPEARING IN CURSING AND BLESSING

Now, as in olden times, the idea of blessing and curse seems to play a dominant role in the Arabic and Semitic world. This has been confirmed by my field studies.

From one point of view everything is a blessing or a curse.

The ground can be cursed. Thus, in consequence of a curse by the Virgin Mary a field of peas, at Tantur, near Bethlehem, was changed into a stony piece of ground; the earth there could never again be fruitful. A whole place can be blessed. Another place can be cursed.[39] There are animals which are cursed.[40] The raven is cursed and that is why it is black. There are other animals which are blessed. The pigeon is blessed. There are plants which bring misfortune, danger, and curses.[41] There are also plants which are blessed. The olive tree is one. The plant, Salvia triloba L., called in Arabic Miryamiye, after the Virgin, is blessed.[42] People can be under a blessing or a curse.[43] As life is woven, blessings and curses are the white and black threads in it.

I cannot here think of treating the question in its entire extent, but I whish to draw attention to the fact that the blessing and cursing of the parents affect their descendants, and from this the value of children may be judged.

A man who has performed a noble and righteous deed is blessed with the words: »May God multiply thee and thy descendants and the descendants of thy descendants!» — Here the blessing is having descendants.[44]

When blessing a man or a woman, but especially a woman, the following formula is often used: »May God protect thee and thy descendants!» — In this case they are not satisfied with wishing good to the individual as such. Even the children are mentioned and expressly included in the blessing. It is a blessing for the parents if things go well with the children.

Perhaps it is still clearer in cursing than in blessing that the children are affected in the first place, and the reason for this.

As the children mean so much to their parents it is a severe punishment to them if their children are struck by misfortune or die. And this is just what happens when people are cursed. Their children die, especially their sons. The effects may extend still further, and other members of the family and close blood relatives may also die. Then the person is »cut off» and isolated. Characteristic of a severe curse is the expression that »he and his whole house has died out».[45]

The Arabs like to mingle blessings[46] and even curses with their daily speech.[47] Sometimes a blessing and a curse appear in close connection. A person is blessed for a good deed and another is cursed for an evil deed. For example in a legend, already quoted, of the Virgin Mary's blessing and curse. The people in Bethlehem had pity on her. She blessed the place,

and said that men would there be as numerous as locusts. The people in the neighbouring village, Beit Sahur, showed her no pity and therefore she said that in that place there would be a constant lack of men.[48]

Blessings and curses may also be conditional and then it is a question of a person's behaviour in a more or less distant future. A person is threatened with a curse if he does a certain thing, and on the other hand he is promised a blessing if he does another certain thing.[49]

One evening I returned to my home in Artas from a walk. I had just descended the mountain beside the village when suddenly the voice of a man was heard shouting. He was making an announcement. Someone had lost a rope. As there are no newspapers a loss is advertised in this way. And it is remarkable how well and sharply the voice carries. Every word is clearly heard all over the village. The formula for such an announcement contains a conditional curse for a dishonest finder and may also contain a conditional blessing for an honest finder.[50]

Here are two versions.

I

Oh people of the village!

He who has seen or observed
the thing lost
(a rope, or a lost ear-ring, etc.)
at such and such a time!
And he who denies it
and does not admit it
before the precious thing comes
out!
He shall play with the mice
for lack of little ones,
and shall play with the cats
for lack of people!
And he who admits it
will get a reward
and good fortune and
reward from God!
And if there is a sin
it will be upon God!

II

Ye who hear the voice!
Pray upon the name of the Prophet.
He who has noticed, who has seen
the thing mentioned
will get a reward!
(get e.g. two pieces of soap)
And he who denies it:

May his property and family be cut
off!
May he play with a flea
for lack of guests i.e. children!
May he play with the mice
for lack of neighbours (children)!
May be play with a cat
for lack of jumping (by children)!
May he play with a cat
for lack of noise (from children)!
May he play with kids
for lack of children!

Besides the reward promised to the finder, he is wished good fortune and a reward from God, i.e. blessing. If the lost article is very valuable and the owner gets it back, he may solemnly bless the finder, uncovering his own head as he utters the words.

The conditional curse found in both the formulae is however much more important. If, after the announcement has been made, the finder does not restore the lost article to the rightful owner, the curse will strike him.[51] The expression of the curse varies but the contents is always the same: lack of children. It implies that if the person in question already has children he shall lose them through death, and if he has no children as yet, he will not have any, or if children are born to him they will die very young. — The more grave the crime, the more serious are the consequences.

A person does not dare to expose himself to such a c o n d i t i o n a l curse. For as there is a reward from God, there is also a punishment from God in consequence of the expressed curse.[52] Even if it is not certain who the guilty one is, he himself is conscious of it and everyone else is convinced that he cannot escape punishment. A curse once expressed overshadows him like a threatening thunder cloud which will certainly discharge itself and have destructive effects, the more terrifying as it is at the same time supernatural. And from these discharges, these effects, people draw their conclusions. If many, or all members of a family suddenly die, they think the reason is a curse. How often have they not seen examples of a person being cursed and how this leads to his death and to that of his children.

A curse is not always enforced by another. Anyone can bring a curse upon himself.

He may do this by his actions.

An example often mentioned by the people is when a woman's father or brother punishes her with death because people slandered her and accused her of bad morals, although the woman was innocent. He who thus killed an innocent woman has drawn upon himself and his house punishment and a curse. His children must die and then he himself. Therefore it is said:

> Sin against a woman cuts off the descendants
> and the descendants of the descendants.[53]

And even he who by false accusation has driven an innocent woman to death will be punished. He will have no male descendants. The Arabs

are firmly convinced of this and support their theory with actual examples. They believe what they have seen and experienced.

A curse can be self-inflicted also by words issuing from a person's mouth.

There are several variations in oaths.

People swear by the olive tree saying: »By the life of this tree of light which shines for the Prophets and the Holy!»[54]

The olive tree is holy and blessed. The Prophet said: »Drink from the oil and rub yourself with it, for it is from a blessed tree!» Because of this, oil shall be used for the lights in holy places; oil or candles, but not petroleum, which is unclean.[55]

They also swear by coffee, called sheikh il-Shadle, saying: »By the life of the sheikh il-Shadle!»

A woman may say: »By the life of my brother!»[56]

It is said that if anyone makes a statement and then adds: »By the life of my children!» then he is believed.[57] It is always very dangerous for a man to swear by the life of his children, and especially if swearing falsely his descendants are in danger.[58]

Hasan Shahin swore falsely. He had borrowed the thoroughbred of Ahmad Ismain to go to Hebron. He galloped unmercifully. The horse died. He said: It is not my fault!»

Then he swore to it in Nebi Daud, the tomb of the King-Prophet David, in Jerusalem. But people thought he swore falsely.

Later, when his only son, Ismain Hasan, married, misfortune followed him. One child died after the other. Only one son survived and in consequence of the false oath of his father's father his life also was in constant danger.[59]

One night Hamdiye's clothes-chest and its contents were stolen. She suspected Jedallah Sleman. But he denied it. She herself told about it.

»We said: Thou must swear! He answered: Good, I will swear!

We said: To the ordeal by fire! He answered: I will go!»

Trial by ordeal is still used in some cases by the Arabs.

Then Hamdiye and her brother Saleh became anxious. It is also dangerous to force someone to swear.

Hamdiye continued: »Then I said to my brother Saleh: 'I will not let him swear. God will compensate me for it.' — We abstained from making him swear.»

But Hamdiye could not rid herself of the suspicion. She still believed

that Jedallah Sleman had taken the chest. And perhaps he had been helped by his brother, Abdallah Sleman. She hinted at this also to the village people.

Once, when the theft was again talked of, Ali Sleman, a third brother was present. He was very much annoyed about what was said of his brothers. It was an insult to the whole family. And he demanded to be allowed to swear to their innocence. Notice here that one brother can swear for another. A brother can also swear instead of his sister. A sheikh can swear for his whole clan.

Hamdiye: »Ali said: 'I shut Jedallah and Abdallah in my heart — lit. belly[60] — and swear instead of them.'«

One of the men present, Ahmad il-Madani, handed him a piece of wood — it can be any kind of wood — and said:

»Take this stick and swear!«

He stood with his stick turned towards the south, the Muhammadan direction for prayer, and said:

I

By the life of this stick
and God who is worshipped
and Solomon, the son of David,
and the Muhammadan direction for prayer,
and by the straw which bends,
and the Kaaba Temple, the built one,[61]
and by Badriye and the men of Badriye
may the descendants die and not live
except one woman!

II

By the life of this straw which bends
and Eshe and Safiye
and our Lady Badriye
and her men,
and by Mecca[62]
and the Holy Ones and the Prophet there[63]
and by Him who has created them
no descendants shall be left
with the exception of one woman!

»So it happened.»

When Jedallah Sleman died and left only one daughter,[64] it was a sign to Hamdiye that she had been right. »See the effect of the oath!» she said.

During the days of the First World War, Alya was robbed of some flour. When she discovered it, she cursed, saying: »May the one who has betrayed me with this wheat, not eat it!» She wanted all the women in the house to swear on the Koran that none of them had stolen it. She also asked a male relative, Isa Khalil, to lend them his Koran for that purpose. But he refused to give it to the women. »I will not let these unclean ones touch my Koran!» he said.

Then Alya replied: »I have no suspicion of the others but only that one!» And she pointed to Jamile who had been married to two of Alya's brother's sons and now was a widow.

Jamile assured her: »I am ready to swear. It does not matter to me.» So she took a stick and said:

> By the life of this stick
> and the Lord who is worshipped,
> from the day when Alya came to this place
> I have not deceived her even about a drink of water!

Jamile went away smiling and said: »I have sworn!»

Shortly afterwards she went to Bet Skarye to help with the harvest. There she fell ill quite suddenly. Alya described in strong terms her illness and death, how the lice crept into her mouth. And she was not even washed after she was dead. On account of the pressure of harvest work they did not spare the time to show her the honour which rightly belongs to the dead. But Alya looked differently upon her enemy's sudden and horrible death. In her eyes it was the result of her curse and of Jamile's own oath.

She also related that one of the village men had said to her: »I am afraid this is from thee. The sin against thee — lit. thy sin — has now been disclosed.»

By the premature death of Jamile her little son became an orphan.[65]

Alya was blind in her old age and it is believed that a curse from a blind person is still more dangerous and effective than from others.[66] Sitt Louisa: God hears a blind person.

Prayer, a Kind of Cursing and Blessing

It is not always possible to draw the limit between blessing and curse on the one side and prayer on the other. In prayer also there is a wish for good for oneself and friends; and — especially in what can be called the classical prayer — often a wish for evil to the enemy.[67] This can be expressed in such strong terms that the prayer has the character of an incantation that God may allow good or evil to fall upon people. As in prayer so also in blessing and cursing it is God who is appealed to. Prayer and blessing and cursing can take similar forms in other ways also. Sometimes they are combined.[68]

I already mentioned that a man, when pronouncing a solemn blessing, uncovers his head, which is something quite special, because both men and women always have their heads covered.[69]

The man says: »I uncover my head and Thou, God, lookest and seest!»

After such an introduction the blessing which follows has a deeper import and greater power.

Women do the same thing. They too, when blessing uncover their heads and say the same words.

The same formula is found in women's individual prayers.

Alya related an incident that happened when Ali Khalil was once sick: »His wife Eshe went up to the roof to pray — quite naked. She said: 'My head is uncovered and Thou, God, seest and lookest down!'[70]

Then she added: 'Cure for me the father of my children!' — God heard her.»

To this Sitt Louisa said: »Observe: the father of my children, and not my husband, which would have been unsuitable.»

A woman may also uncover her breast when praying and implore God by this. She then says:

> By my right breast which gives milk
> do not repulse me and leave me without an answer!

The breast of a woman is considered a symbol of mercy. She implores God to show her mercy as she herself has often showed mercy and fed small children.[71]

A woman prays in the same way if her relatives are far away in a foreign country and she fears that they are suffering. She first implores God: »My right breast — my heart is sad!» Then she says:

Oh my Lord! bring back the absent ones
and provide for the poor ones!

Also when women curse and bless they use this appeal »by the breast» as an introduction.

Thus e.g. did a wife, Zarife Ahmad, when she quarrelled one day with another woman named Fadiye. Zarife was very sad because of not having any rights in her father's house. Her father had died without leaving any sons, and his share in the home and the inheritance had gone to his brother, married to Fadiye, who was from another place. Thus Zarife had to see other people owning and sitting in her father's house in which she had no right and no share. She wished the same fate would fall on the family of Fadiye and her husband.

Alya: Zarife and Fadiye quarrelled one day and the former said:
»By my right breast — my heart is sad!» Then she cursed:
»May you have no male heirs: may your inheritance be lost!»

Oath, a Conditional Curse

The oath is a conditional cursing of oneself. Whether it is expressly stated or not, it implies that the person who swears declares: »If I have done such and such a thing; if I am guilty of the crime of which I am accused, may the curse fall upon me!»[72]

Among the Christians in the West an official oath to strengthen a statement of a promise usually has a religious form and had, at least in earlier days, a religious import. People were fully convinced that a false oath led to eternal damnation and this explains the fear of swearing falsely and the horror felt if a person was suspected of it. With his own words he had condemned himself to eternal punishment.[73]

According to Muhammadan and Arab views the destructive consequences of a false oath will show themselves already in this life in the form of misfortune and death which fall upon his relatives, especially the children and even directly upon him. This does not mean that the oath has a weaker r e l i g i o u s significance and idea. Ancient Semitic belief was that the righteous would be successful in this world and the unrighteous unsuccessful, and the great problem arose when it was not always so.[74]

In consequence of the religious character of the oath it is often sworn in a sanctuary. Perhaps they think that the effects will be stronger and

more certain if the oath is sworn upon holy ground, in direct contact with something that is holy.[75] When the oath is very solemn and connected with something serious people are especially anxious that the ceremony shall take place in a sanctuary. It is then not enough to stand turned towards Mecca and call upon God, the Prophet, and holy persons while they swear. The sanctuary is chosen by agreement in each special case.

Alya related a case of a man who swore an oath in the sanctuary of the woman Muhammadan Saint, Badriye, in the village of Sharafat near Jerusalem.

»Hasan Asad was accused of having stolen a cow from a man from another place whose animals were grazing on the mountains above the village of Artas. The men pursued Hasan, who escaped, but they came so close to him that they caught him by the mantle and tore away part of it. Half remained on him and half was torn away.»[76] — So they had a proof of his guilt.

Then the owners of the cow demanded that he should swear.

»He said: 'I will swear. Wherever you wish I will swear!' They said: 'In Badriye's sanctuary, pardon oh, Lady Badriye!' He said: 'Let us go!'

They went, and came to Sharafat.

It is said: When they arrived, he put his hand on the bed of the woman saint. And then Sleman Ode remarked: 'He is the thief!'»[77]

With these words he expressed the thought of all those present. It was easy to see from Hasan's disturbed expression that he was guilty.

As the man swore falsely, it was no wonder that things happened as they did.

»Hasan returned home and died. Something for God and for the men of God!»

Alya also gave the formula used for such an oath:

»He who swears says: 'By (the life of) this praying-place of God and the house which God has built!'

When animals are concerned, he says:

'I have not torn any skin nor have I made orphans of its children!'»[78]

Sitt Louisa: »In this case it meant: I have not stolen a cow so that the calf was robbed of its mother's milk and must die of hunger.»

I have not made anyone motherless — is a typical Semitic phrase.[79]

In the following case the oath is sworn in the village of el-Khadr in the church built to St. George. The Muhammadans make holy vows to this Christian saint and fulfil them in his church in el-Khadr, and there they also swear a solemn oath. They sometimes choose a Friday, the Muhammadans' special day of prayer. Often, before the oath is sworn, the Muhammadans pray, and if it is in el-Khadr, they pray in the church. They use an expression: »Let us go to el-Khadr to pray!» The Greek-Catholic priest in el-Khadr is very liberal-minded and when the Muhammadans come to his church, he opens it to them.

Hamdiye recounts:

»Abed Rabbo was the lover of Isbeh's wife and the relatives of her husband found it out. They rose up against him and wanted to kill him. And besides this they demanded that his brother should pay the fine according to law. His brother, however, did not want him to be killed.

The two parties stood opposite each other.

The accusers said to the accused and his party: 'Ye people, if ye will not vindicate your honour as we proposed ye know what ye have to do!' Then they said: 'Swear to it!'

Such a challenge could not be disregarded. The accused man and his relatives said: 'Name the day for swearing! We must swear the oath!'[80]

They said to them: 'Friday, before the noon-day prayer in el-Khadr. Then they added: 'He who is absent will show that he is guilty.'»

None of either party may be absent.

»At noon they all met at the gate of the sanctuary. All stood there waiting. They had made their ablutions in preparation for prayer and stood there waiting at the gate.»

For, as already mentioned, they pray before they give their oath in the church. Any one who wishes may pray.

»The priest came and opened the church door and they entered.

The accused stood in the front holding his son before him. Behind him stood his brother with his two sons behind him, again. And he swore:

> By thy life! Oh, St. George!
> and by the Living God, the Mighty One
> and seven camels laden with grains of wheat
> and every grain shall appear before God, the Lord,

and profess with me:
»By God! If I came near my sister
then I also came near this woman!«

As soon as Abed had said these words, great rejoicing arose among the relatives of the woman.

»Her relatives took a white banner and called out: 'Our woman's honour is white!'[81] And those present all said: 'Whiter than the snow!'«

Another expression used for unblemished honour is: »Whiter than the doves in Mecca!« They are specially holy. It is said: »The pigeons in Mecca fast!« They do not eat until the evening prayer is called. This was related by Sleman Sanad who was nine years in Mecca.

Nevertheless the man was guilty of the crime. And very soon the consequences of his false oath showed themselves. First his boys went blind and then he too. Then his brother Ali died suddenly. These blind people, Abed and his sons, were obliged to sell their property and goods until nothing was left.

»'May thy house be ruined like the house of Ali il-Hindi!'[82] has become a saying among the people.«

Hamdiye finished her account of the false oath and its consequences by saying: »The sword of God and not the sword of man — lit. of the slave!«[83]

Many details in this account are worth considering; especially the way of swearing when the man, while he takes the oath, holds his son on his knees and behind him stands his brother and then his brother's sons, each of them with his hands on the relative in front. It is obvious that this implies a direct transference of the effects of the oath to his near relatives: his own children and his brother and his children.[84] They take responsibility for the oath and its consequences. If in a patriarchal society one stands for all, so also all stand for one, even when there is a question of guilt and punishment.[85]

It is tempting here to go further into the question of individual and collective punishment and the principles of justice on which it is based. The more so as this question was at one time of international interest.

In autumn 1938 the German von Rath was murdered in Paris by a Jew, and all the Jews in Germany were made responsible for it. They had to pay dearly for this one man's deed, and great moral indignation was aroused in wide circles. In the West we have become accustomed to the individual

standing and answering for himself and being punished — he and no other — for his deed. It was explained in the German radio that this was the same principle as the British had applied in quelling the rebellions in Palestine: the principle of collective punishment. The Germans even maintained they had learned it from the British in their colonies.

How valuable would be an impartial investigation of the principles involved! To what degree a Western power is justified in applying collective punishment — perhaps even ought to apply — in dealing with people who include this system in their own internal affairs,[86] and perhaps do not understand or respect any other principle of justice — is both a moral and colonial question.

Or, is it possible to think that the natives of the colonies can, and must adapt themselves to European ideas of justice. If so: how and under what conditions shall this change take place. If they are to be educated for it, it will take a very long time before this change occurs. A too hasty break with former ideas of justice will surely lead to moral laxity. The application of Western law or justice, without satisfying the natives' sense of what is right, will blunt the feelings they have had for their earlier laws and therewith their sense of responsibility. Can foreign ideas of justice and morality be applied at once without bad results, and to what extent can the natives recognize the foreigners' ideas of right actually being the right? Further: what changes in society, customs and morality will result therefrom?

To return to my last example of the false oath and its effects we see that there, according to the people's ideas, the children had to suffer because the father swore falsely and similarly the brother and his children. Blindness, misfortune and death fell upon them. This is what the people call »God's sword». Even if people do not take action, God punishes. Here the expressions of divine justice harmonize with people's ideas of justice, as is natural.

Formerly I believed that the words of the Bible: — God punishes the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation[87] — were based on the same experience as the modern scientific theory of heredity. I think now that these words imply something more. God's sword slays innocent children and other relatives in order to punish the fathers.[88] The consciousness of right expressed here demands innocent sacrifices, that one should suffer for another's guilt. The punishment is not individual only, and the individual does not exist for himself alone. He

is a means by which others are punished, the child is the means by which the father is punished. If the parent sins evil must fall upon the child or children.[89] The curse passes to them.

An oath as such is dangerous, even if it is not false.[90] To express a curse is to come into contact with a dangerous power and its effects are always to be feared.[91] An expression of warning is:

> The oath costs much, the oath cuts off the descendants
> and the descendants of the descendants.

Here once again is pointed out the danger that the children will suffer if a man swears an oath.

Parents' Cursing and Blessing

Such blessing and cursing belong to a special category.

There are cases in the West when parents break with a son or a daughter, and similarly in the East conflicts sometimes arise when the parents' wrath is roused against the children. This is one of the tragedies of life.

The Arabic expression g h a d a b i l - w â l d ê n which is translated as the »parents' curse», literally means the »parents' anger». But as Mr Elias Haddad said to me: »The anger of the parents brings a curse.» And: »When the parents are angry with their son, they say: 'May my wrath come upon thee!' — in other words: 'Be cursed!' My anger as a mother, or a father, is so powerful that it results in a curse of God.»

There is such an intimate connection between the parents' anger and cursing that to the people they are almost identical. The parents' curse results quite mechanically in the curse of God.

If someone does not pray or call upon God, it is said to be the result of the parents' curse. In general, if a man does not succeed, it is assumed that his parents have cursed him.

Here is a concrete case.

»A woman came from Hebron to Artas to visit her daughter, Lika, and was struck by her. Then the mother said: Have I not carried thee nine months and brought thee up? May God curse thee and burn thy body! What she demanded happened.» — The daughter met with an accident and died from burns.

It is only natural that there are not many examples of parents' curses. My material is richer regarding parents' blessings.

The Arabic expression r a d a i l - w å l d ê n translated as »parents' blessing» literally means goodwill of the parents and these ideas are almost identical.

Elias Haddad: »The satisfaction of the parents brings blessing. A parent says to the child: 'May my satisfaction go with thee!' This brings God's blessing.»

Here again we find that the satisfaction, the goodwill or blessing of parents becomes God's blessing. And Alya's words show how intimate is the contact.

»The goodwill of parents — that is the blessing of God.»

When parents bless their children they say:

»May God provide you with enough and may God's blessing and His mercy come upon you!»

A mother gives a special blessing and says:

»God give thee mercy as many times as thou hast drunk from my breast!»[92]

»Oh, my parents' blessing!» people call out when in danger, need, or despair, wishing that the parents' blessing may fall upon them. Even old people, even people whose parents have long been dead, implore the blessing of their parents in critical moments.

Even in Biblical times a person was very anxious to receive the blessing of his parents, especially of his father. And here it may be well to remember the old Patriachs' blessing of their sons. Isaac's blessing of Jacob was a mistake. Believing he was the first-born he gave him the first-born's blessing which was due to Esau. The latter then complained and was unhappy and bitter at having been passed over and robbed of his blessing. But the thing could not be altered, not even by the father.[93] A blessing once pronounced is an independent power which is set in motion and acts quite mechanically.

It is quite necessary to keep in mind this purely mechanical effect of the blessing — this belief in the magic power of the blessing — in order to estimate correctly the following statements. It may remove the false sentimentality which can easily be associated with the expressions quoted, though their beauty need not be disregarded for this reason.

»It is the parents' blessing, if all goes well», it is said. The parents'

blessing is very real. It is a friendly power which accompanies a person and removes difficulties in his way.

Hamdiye: »The parents' blessing draws thee out of all distress and makes creatures have mercy upon thee.»

And she related how her brother, Isa, had experienced this when, during the First World War, he was in a distant country, far away from home and his own people.

»When Isa as a soldier felt troubled, he exclaimed: 'Oh, God! oh, parents' blessing!' When he implored thus, God drew him out of his trouble.»

She continued: »When the mother wept it was as if he wore a garment of thorns.[94] When he had sent a letter, she was happy. And when she at home felt happy, he in the foreign country felt the world as a light. May God let us die in the blessings of parents!»

Here we find a curious and interesting belief in a very intimate connection between mother and son, independent of distance between them. Is it a similar thing when the parents' blessing is asked for, although they are already dead? Is this to be understood as an expression of the fact that the connection between parents and children is independent of time also?

Alya assured me: »The highest that can be is the parents' blessing. There is nothing like it!»

If a man undertakes something important, e.g. a long journey, he is anxious to have the blessing of the parents with him.[95] Thus she spoke of the camel driver when he starts out on his tours which are often very long and where dangers may threaten him.

»The camel driver, before he goes to his work, kisses the hand of his mother, so that she may bless him.»

— When he kisses her hand, what does she say?

Alya gave the following answer:

»May God bless thee! The blessing of my Lord and of my heart come upon thee! May the evil of the evil ones be turned into the opposite!»

The blessing breaks the evil. The blessing has power to turn the evil into good.

She added — in explanation of the fact that the man turns just to his mother for blessing: »The blessing of the mother is greater than of the father.»

— And why?

»The mother carries the child nine months, often feeds him; she brings him up until he is a man.[96] But the father throws the burden on the woman.

The mother has two parts in the child and he only one part.»

The fact that the father purely physically has a lesser part in the child than the mother seems to influence the general perception of the strength of parental blessing.

Similar ideas recur in two legends, given below, in which these ideas are seen from the point of view that while the weal or woe of a child is in such a high degree dependent on the parents, on their anger or goodwill, on their cursing or blessing, this carries with it certain duties. The blessing is sought and longed for but it also entails responsibility.

CHILDREN'S TREATMENT OF PARENTS

The first legend has the form of a dialogue between God and the angel Gabriel who has so much to do with birth and in this connection carries out God's errands.[97] I give the legend in full, although the introduction has no connection here. It begins with a riddle which God asks Gabriel to solve, and the answer to it.

»Who is richer than the sea? — The sea has precious stones: jewels, diamonds, sapphires.

He said to Him: He who saves.

God then says: For hell-fire there are three kinds of people.

Our Lord Gabriel asked who these were.

He said to him: The false swearer is for hell-fire. So also the murderer.

Gabriel said to Him: And the third?

God said to him: He who does not treat his parents well.»

This answer seems to surprise Gabriel, for he asks for an explanation. He does not, however, ask directly. The expression used by him is one which an inferior creature would use when he takes upon himself to address his God and trouble Him with questions.

»He said to God: I need Thy protection!» And the angel Gabriel got an answer to his humble appeal.

»He, God, said to him: The recompense for the parents cannot be reckoned. — It is like grains of sand. — Thou must treat the parents like a little child.

How has she carried him these nine months! She lay down tired to

bed and she rose up tired. And how the child moves in her womb! And she works in spite of all. And how she sits on the stone asking for deliverance by Him who created her! Has she not suckled him a year and a half and sometimes two years? How often has she watched over the child until the stars were in the sky! Till the child is grown up.

And then he leaves her.

Gabriel, said: Who has first treated his parents well and then left them?»

To this last question Gabriel does not receive any direct answer. The conversation takes another turn.

God remarks:

»The mother has the greatest part of the child. She has three parts and the father has one.

— Why has the father a smaller part?

He, God, said: Be careful, Gabriel! — The father attacks her and goes away from this spring.[98] He is satisfied and goes away.»

This, again, points to the man's momentary physical function in the origin of the child.

VALUE OF MOTHER

A mother means so very much to her children, not only during the pre-natal period and the earliest years. They need her also as they grow up. And nobody can be more convinced of this than the mother herself who does not fail in her duty. If she is threatened with being removed from them, she can fight like a female animal so as to be allowed to stay with them.

Thus did Sara Misleh, when, because her husband had neglected her for years, her brothers came from their village to take her away.[99] »Thou canst cut off the head of the bitch lying beside her puppies!»[100] she cried out, in this way explaining that they might kill her but that she would not desert her children.

It is a quite usual occurrence that a widow will rather remain with her children and bring them up than remarry.[101]

When the children are grown up, they still have a support in their mother, especially when they meet unusual difficulties. Sometimes when there seemed no hope of rescue, a mother has succeeded in finding a way out. There are cases when a young man has been overhasty, and committed

an offence which has brought upon him the contempt of society and then the mother, by going to the men's club and bravely and cleverly defending him there, has been able to get him reinstated in their respect.[102] A mother has often performed a similar service for her daughter and sometimes even in the last moment rescued her when threatened with death on account of immorality.

However hopeless a child's position is, the mother fights for it with the courage of despair.[103] She will stand beside her child against the whole world. Even if all others would desert him the mother will not, but she will support him in all his humiliation. A mother can always be depended upon.

MOTHER'S REWARD

How then shall a child recompense his mother for all her love, her trouble and self-sacrifice? I now quote the second legend wich treats the value and reward of a mother.

»Nothing can recompense a mother for her trouble.

A man took his mother seven times to Mecca, carried her and her provisions on his back. Our Prophet Moses passed them.

He said: 'Peace be unto you!' He answered: 'And peace unto thee!'

They said: 'Whither goest thou, Lord Moses, thou Speaker with God?' Moses said: 'We wish to discuss rights for the people.'

The man said: 'Pleace tell me! He who has carried his mother to Mecca seven times, what is his reward from God?'

Moses performed his ablutions and said his prayers[104] on the Minaret of the Mount of Olives.

God said to him: 'Learn once for all, oh Moses! Seven times to Mecca is not enough for one movement of the child in its mother's womb!'

Moses said to God: 'He wishes to have his reward.'

God said: 'Even if he continuously weeps and collects his tears, and with these tears washes her from head to foot, he has earned no reward. A mother cannot be recompensed.'[105]

The Prophet Moses always discusses the law and the rights with God on the Mount of Olives.«

Sitt Louisa: »God is nearer there.«[106]

A child always remains indebted to his mother. It is doubtful

whether in the West there is a stronger expression for a man's duty towards his mother.

A man esteems his mother; he places her before his wife.[107] What is the wife compared with the mother? he may ask. He wishes his wife to honour and obey her. Similarly he demands that his wife take care of his old father. In a story of a Bedouin sheikh he divorces both his wives because they do not look after his old father.[108]

LOVE OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Nevertheless parents may often consider that the mind of the child, his longing and his imagination, is drawn towards small, insignificant things, so that he seems to forget the warm, great devotion of his parents.[109] It is complained:

> My heart considers my child
> and the heart of my child[110] considers the stone.[111]

It is possible that there is a certain egotism in the child's love for his parents, even when it is greatest. Arab experience is:

> If the heart of the child would be as the heart of the parents
> then the world would burn up!

The world could not bear such an immense love. There would then be too much love for people to bear.

Later on, when they themselves have children, if not before, the children begin to understand parental love.

And the more sincere becomes their blessing of their parents:

»May God be merciful to those who have brought us into the world!»

DEAD CHILDREN AS PROTECTION — DELIVERERS FROM EVIL

There is a charming idea about dead children.

»If a child dies at the same time as a grown-up person, the adult enters the other world under protection of the little one because with the child there are no accounts to settle.»

The dead child is placed on the knees of the adult. Two of Alya's brother's sons, Mahmud and Mhammad, each had a brother's daughter buried with them like this.

The death angels, Nakir and Munkar, come at night to question the dead and they may strike and trouble him terribly in the grave. When, however, they see the child on his knee they have mercy on him for its sake, they do not want to frighten the child. And a little child is not responsible for its acts. It is without sin and is admitted direct into Paradise.

The following wish may be expressed at a baby's burial:

»Would to God I was a hair of the eyebrow of this child who died to-day, so that I with him could enter paradise!»[112]

This expression is used also in other cases, if for example a person goes on a long journey, to say how willingly they would accompany him.

Parents who have lost their children are comforted with the saying:

»It is well for those who have some[113] flesh under the ground. For», they say, »every dead child shuts one of the doors to hell.»

— »Children are birds who adorn paradise.»[114] They are happy. There is a tree called Muntaha[115] which has »a woman's breasts» from which the children can suck when they are hungry. And there is someone who lifts them up when necessary.

And yet the children are not quite happy even in Paradise, without their parents. They do not like to be there if they have no hope of their parents joining them.

Alya told me about a conversation between the doorkeeper, Radwan, and the dead infants who from their graves come to the gate of Paradise.

»Radwan stands at the gate of Paradise. He says: 'Enter, oh children, and adorn Paradise.'[116]

They refuse, saying: 'We must wait for mother and father; not until they come!'

He answered: 'Your mothers and your fathers are in great distress and their accounts are not settled.'

They said: 'We will not come in!'

Then Radwan said to the angel Gabriel who is above him: 'Ascend to heaven and tell our Lord: The children are defiant at the gate of Paradise and weep. They want their fathers and mothers!»

Our Lord answers: 'Go to the children and say: I pardon the parents for the sake of the children.'»

Only after this did the children enter the gate of Paradise.

According to Muhammadan view the dead children belong to Paradise and intercede for their parents. It is said that for the children to die is gain for their parents. The death of children allows the parents to enter Paradise.[117]

Chapter V

MILIEU

HOME

It is only natural that a work dealing with the child should consider the relation between parents and children, seeing that they are so closely connected. The father's house[1] is the milieu of the child.

Although brothers, even after marrying and having children of their own, remain with their father in the common home, yet the youngest generations feel more intimately connected with their own parents[2] and their own sisters and brothers than with other members of the g r e a t f a m i l y.

If a man has several wives, there are certain barriers even in such a small group as the i n d i v i d u a l f a m i l y. A wife makes a difference between her own children and the »children of my husband».[3]

The children on their side make a difference between their own mother and her co-wife whom they generally call »my father's wife». It is stated that the father's wife neither loves nor is loved. A proverb says: »From the son of a co-wife there is no joy.»

There is then a certain cleavage in the circle of sisters and brothers.

It is said of children of the same father but different mothers: »They who are from one »back» and two different wombs do not love each other.» It is also said: »He who has not suckled my mother's breasts, is not my brother.»[4]

If two brothers have different mothers, the one speaks of the other as »my father's son».

It is stated: »Thy father's son is like the people who fought against thee.»

The case is different between brothers who have the same mother.

»Thy mother's son is gold in thy sleeve.»

At least in the present day it is presumed that such brothers have the same father. Children of different fathers do not live together as a rule because a woman who remarries must leave her children from the earlier marriage in their father's house. There are a few exceptions. An expression for children of the same mother but different fathers is: »Children of the same womb».

Other sayings emphasize quite expressively that only if they have parents in common, do brothers and sisters like each other.

For example:

»He who from my father's back[5] came to my mother's womb, he is my brother.»

And the following proverb says the same perhaps even more clearly: »My brother that is my mother's son[6] and not her co-wife's son, we both turned in the same womb.»

This must be noted in order to understand the home conditions under which an Arab child grows up.[7]

PARENTS

Here I wish to draw attention to the contribution to the study of Arab family life to be found in the death songs. The paintings and hieroglyphic texts in the old Egyptian graves — originally intended to guide the deceased in the realm of death — give later ages a very clear and detailed conception of daily life in ancient Egypt, and the modern death songs give intimate and valuable glimpses of Arab daily life and family ideas. People never feel so intensely how much a person meant to them as in the moment when they lose him or her, and custom allows them, especially the women, to give free rein to their feelings on a death. Then they also feel the need to reconstruct what has been. In their thoughts they bring the dead to life again, and emphasize what he has meant to individuals and to society. In the death songs scenes are described from the family life, as it was when the dead still lived.

Some such scenes are given here.

We learn that it is the father of the family who should bring up the little ones. The wife evokes the picture of how they spread out mattresses and cushions on the floor. Then the wife and the father of the family sit upon the bed happily laughing at the sweet little boys.

There is the picture of the father coming with the corner of his mantle filled with good things[8] which he shares out to the different families, looking anxiously to see that he does not forget anyone. He is the »camel of the family» and bears their burdens. He is the »guardian of the house» and the »collector of the small and great families».

The women also present the following scene in their songs: »How sweet are the daughters with the father sitting among them and cutting meat with his knife!» He is likened to newly picked saffron. — Newly picked saffron has a beautiful smell and so has a person who does good.[9]

The daughters say: »Father — how sweet the word 'father' sounds, as honey and a little sweeter still.»

We learn that the father visits his married daughter, especially at festivals. And she says to him: »Stand up and shorten the nights for me!» He does this by his friendly and encouraging talk. He sits on the cushion and talks to her. How much she wishes that he will come to see her again! Then she will, as before, spread out her clothes for him to sit upon. Then she will hold out her hands so that he can lean his head upon them. How long it seems to her since she last heard his dear steps. When she says this, then the other women answer in song: »Woman, light thy oil lamp! Go to the threshold and kiss it! Are not his foot-prints still there!»

In the same affectionate loving way the mother of the family is described in the songs; how she is in her home and in relation to her children.

She is the orderly one who goes and comes. She, the tidy one, puts her own house in order and the house of the others. She comes with energy and if the weaving is in disorder she helps to put it right like the unselfish neighbour she is. She turns up her sleeves ready to wait on the visitors. She is all duty and kindness, and, astounded, the visitors ask her husband: »Where is that woman from and where do her relatives come from?» And in the song the answer comes that she is from the thorough-bred horses, called Amer. Then they say: »Happy is the one who is privileged to hold her bridle.» To compare a woman to a thorough-bred horse is especially common among the Bedouin.

The daugter says that as long as the mother lives they need not fear that the neighbours take anything from them, nor will any secrets escape from the home.

The daughter likes to linger with her thoughts around her childhood,

when she was still with her mother. She remembers how lovely it was, when »my beloved» — her mother — was combing her hair, delousing her head, and she was so comfortable that she fell asleep. How sweet was the sleep outside in her mother's lap while a breeze was blowing.

Another of the mother's characteristic traits is the love and tenderness and mercy she shows her children. The daughter says that if her eyes get sore, the mother comes even twice the same evening to drop medicine into them. The mother never thinks of sparing her steps. Even when the daughter is married and has moved to another house, the mother continues to look after her and to think about her. She comes in the evening to her daughter quite quietly. Fearing that the daughter has no supper, she brings her raw and cooked food in her wide sleeves, or, she, the loved one, comes to her daughter with the »swinging» basket of good things on her head, lest the daughter should have no supper. And the mother retains her daughter's confidence. Their secrets remain unknown to other people. They are as well concealed as if they were in a closed copper vessel or olive jar, or at the bottom of a deep well. How the daughter longs for her visits! And when she goes away, the daughter feels as if her heart was being torn from her by the parting.

If a man has died leaving young children, and people try to comfort the wife, she answers: »I do not weep for my own sake, I weep for the sake of the little ones.»[10] Then the brother of the dead man says to her: »We are thy camels. We will carry thy burdens and the burdens of the little ones!» The father's brother speaks thus. But if people refer to these words later, the mother of the children cries out in despair:

> He who says that my father's brother is as my father,
> he has lied to me!

And she continues in the song:

> Ye orphans! stand at the blackened kettle.
> His heart is afraid that he will be scolded.

The children have reason to blacken themselves with the soot from the pot as a sign of sorrow. Things go badly with them when their father dies.

No one can replace the parents. The dead orphan boy complains:

My father's brother, the cold between thy houses has killed me.
In the lap of my father and mother, I should have been warm.

»Mother's brother! How sweet sounds the word 'mother's brother'!» a child may say. But a mother's brother can never take the place of a father.

And a daughter says:

My mother's sister is not as my mother
nor my father's brother as my father,
nor have I ever found a justice like the justice of parents.

Therefore a woman is praised and honoured who, after her husband's death, remains with her children, taking care of them.

People express the following wish for such a widow:

»May God dress thee in the dress of protection! — May God protect thee and empty the evil of the 'children of sin', the wicked people! May God preserve her woman's honour white!»

And she is praised as follows:

May God protect her in this world and the other!
She has protected the orphans.
She has neither left them to the father's or to the mother's brother.
They were not reckoned as orphans.

Other songs testify to love of the father's home. Everything there is dear and well-known. If a woman, married in another place, comes to visit her native village and sees the village cattle grazing, she at once recognizes the cows that belong to her own people. »I knew them, the cows, from their faces», she declares in the song. And how her heart warms at the sight of the house where she grew up. »Oh, our house, where we were brought up! — Oh, our house, of red stones!» she exclaims. For the daughter who lives far away in a distant place, there is a feeling of security in having her father's house to come to; where the mother, »my beloved one», welcomes her and when, if she is sorrowful or sad, »my father, the pillar of the house, cheers me.»

Thus the death songs are a glorifying of the parents and of the father's house.

I do not know if women originally composed the death songs. But in

any case the women sing them. And for this they are specially fitted. Because they are married and must leave their parents' house, it becomes especially dear to them.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

As regards the circle of brothers and sisters, brothers should keep together and even dwell together.[11] And the sister too shall always feel she has a share in her father's house.[12]

Of course it may happen that after the death of her mother she has to say: »I passed the house of my mother, the beloved one. I found a stranger is living there. I saluted but she did not answer.«

After the death of her mother, it is the wife of her brother who is the mistress of the house and who is not very pleased to see her sister-in-law. So she does not return the greeting. And it may even happen that she influences her husband, and that a married woman coming to visit her father's house after the death of her mother complains: »The wife of my brother did not speak to me, nor has her husband strengthened me with his words!«

In such a case she first appeals to her brother's wife:

> The house is the house of my mother and father,
> do not be stingy, my sister-in-law![13]

Then she continues in despair, exclaiming:

> The one who has no mother left
> should rather set up a tent in the plain!

It ought not to be so, however. Even after her parents' death a woman should be able to go there as before. If she has not left the village through her marriage it is much easier for her. Thus a near relative of a woman — who is married to a man in the same village — says: »It relieves my thoughts. The gardens are in front of her. If she is hungry, she can go to her brother's house, the brother's house is open«. And the woman comforts herself with the fact that she then need not fear to fall into want but can turn to her father's house when she needs something.

She declares: »I go to my sister-in-law and say: My sister-in-law! give me some broth! I did not cook this night. I have nothing to cook.«

If a man's wife refuses to help her, he takes his sister's part against his wife.[14]

He says to his sister: »Get whatever thou wilt from the gardens and do not bother if my wife scolds me for thy sake!» And the brother promises to reprove his wife. He says: »I will answer her. She does not bring it from her father's house.» Then the sister is afraid to abuse his generosity and will not accept his offer. Touched by her brother's love she answers: »May God forgive thee, as I do!»

A man is obliged to visit his sister at the Great Feast and give her a present from home, a dress or rather a piece of the sheep or goat which is slaughtered for the event in her father's house. Sometimes the sister gets a whole sheep.

Hamdiye said of this:

»That is in order to support the women. If the brother does not come, she is sad. She then says, i.e. curses: 'If they do not support and enliven me, may God not support them!'»

The women look forward to this day. The Great Feast or Slaughtering Feast is also called the Women's Feast, because then the married daughters have gifts from their father's house.

Should a sister be neglected, she can take revenge. Or, as it is said very strongly: »A woman has a right to her father's house. She can rob it seven times.» This, if they do not act justly to her.

A man with a sister himself admits: »I am indebted to her. She has a claim on us. This is our sister. She can accuse us in the next world. These are her rights. This is the religious law. It is commanded. Give to the sister!»

His duty towards his sister is even greater than towards his wife and children.

A man has a bad conscience if, either from indifference or poverty, he knows he has neglected his sister. Of such a man Alya says:

»When dying a man asks his sister's forgiveness. If she answers: 'I forgive thee!' all his sins are swept away.»

In practice it is difficult for a married woman to leave her husband's house, unless in exceptional cases. She has her work to do there and she must not neglect it. She cannot leave her children nor take them with her. If she moves about the roads and hills except when she has work out of doors, she is blamed. She ought not to walk alone. Without good

reason she cannot go to see her people. And she must have her husband's permission.

The men have greater freedom of movement. They need not excuse themselves and explain. Therefore a woman married in a stranger place waits impatiently for a visit from her people from her father's house. It is said:

The stranger woman wants a company of men to visit her continually.
The stranger woman likes to have her brother and her father's brother.

And her own people give a reason for visiting her:

If she is in bliss, we mean to make her life richer still
and if she is in sorrow or distress we mean to bring her back.

An unhappy wife comforts herself by saying that her own people would like to come to see her. The beloved ones would come a long way if they knew that she was ill. They would walk through palm-groves and over obstacles. »They would come from far, if they knew what is the matter with me.«

Usually it is the brother who is the link between a wife in another place and her father's house. Again, it is the brother with the same mother who comes to her.

There is a saying:

My brother, the son of my mother, from far he visited me,
my brother from my mother's co-wife, would say: I am too far away!

A woman says of her brother:

Thou brother, there is no one like thee!
Thou brother, thou bearer of my heavy burden!
— — — — —
Brother, son of my mother, he carried me,
in the years of famine, he did not complain about me
nor sigh that I was a burden.[15]

When a man comes to help his sister in difficulties they sit together and speak and she confides in him. Most of all she wishes to see him alone in a lonely place.

She exclaims:

> My brother, where shall I find thee near a lonely cistern,
> where no people nor animals come!

If a brother never goes at any other time, he will at least go to the Great Feast. A woman says: »My brother who usually visits me at the Great Feast!«[16]

He comes with the feast sheep[17] to see how she is and to honour her. And he is received by his sister with words of welcome which express all her longing and love for her brother.

One day in 1931 Alya told me of one of the village men going to see his married sister at the time of the Great Feast. She was living in Beit Iksa, a place north of Jerusalem.

»Ethman took a leg of mutton for his sister in Beit Iksa.

When he entered the room, he said: 'Peace be with you!' She said: 'Thou art alive! It is one year since thou hast visited me. What misery!' — He answered: 'All because of poverty and misery.' They hugged each other. She hugged him and he hugged her. She wept and he wept.

He speaks the truth who says: 'A stranger woman has sold her roots.'«

Alya continued: »He said to her: 'Please come with me to the village! Thou wilt see thy blind brother and thy sister!'

She said of her husband: 'He will not let me go.' The brother said: 'I will manage him.'

He then told her husband: 'Please, thou face of a brother-in-law! Let my sister come with me to our village!' He answered: 'And my house, O brother? And thou art poor. She will be a trouble to thee.'«

Anyhow the husband consented. »She came with her brother on the second Feast day.«

In the village it was again related how the brother and sister greeted each other when Ethman visited her husband's house in Beit Iksa.

»She said: 'My brother, oh, thou visitor for the Feast! Why didst thou forsake me?' He said: 'My sister, because of poverty and misery.'

She said: 'Thy coming near feeds me! Just as the flowers of spring are for animals, so is thy coming for me! If thou comest on the eve before the Feast, I will put on my best clothes and say: To-day there is a Feast!'«

A sister may welcome him as follows:

My brother, if thou hadst visited me when I was sick,
the door of heavens had opened and I had been cured!

Nobody can love a man like his sister. Nobody except his mother. His wife can never love him as these women do. This is seen in critical situations.

Alya related of a mother's anxiety for her son when he is late or stays away too long.

»O misery! is he ill or is he drowned or dead?» she asks herself.

Then his wife answers scornfully that she suspects he is lying in another woman's bosom, lingering with her.[18]

A sister would never speak like that.

The love of a sister for her brother can, in the course of years, be gradually transferred to, and replaced by love for her own children. But there are also examples that a brother means more to a woman than both husband and child. As a woman said:

A husband may always be had
a son can also be born;
but a beloved brother
— when he is once dead —
from where shall he come back?

I have spoken of the love between a sister and a brother after the former's marriage as not until that time does she realize the true significance of love between blood-relatives. When living in a new milieu, among strangers, she will fully understand the value of having a brother to stand by her.

Of course she has many times earlier heard and even repeated sayings about love between brother and sister, but there is a great difference in experiencing it.

As long as a girl still lives in the circle of her own people in the fathers house, she has no reason to pay attention to or reflect upon the brother's love. She lives rather carefree among them and under their protection. Her attitude is quite different. Like the young boys her thoughts are drawn to the new and unknown.

YOUNG AND OLD

Young people on the way towards the meridian of life, and still at the beginning of their development, cannot fail to feel their own growth and rejoice in their increasing strength. They constantly have new experiences which, for them, have the delight of novelty. They who daily increase in wisdom, stature, and vital power do not feel any limitation, and everything in them is almost unconsciously expectation. As long as it can be said of a girl that her fate has not yet called her, her imagination has free play. And the same is true of the boys. In every young person there is a more or less hidden longing for adventure. There is the tense expectation as to what will come and what their lot will be, what gifts life has in store for them.

While it lasts the young girl enjoys the blossoming time allotted to her, and she is still unconcerned about its briefness.

Here is a song where the light and the dark beauty dispute as to which of them is worth more and should have precedence and the result they arrive at.

The dark one says:

I am descended from the honey,
the food of the princess, high in price.
Thou, the white one, art descended from sour milk,
and at the Spring Feast[1] thou art very sour in the heat.

The fair one says:

I am descended from the fresh milk
drink of princes, and medicine for the sick.
Thou, the dark one, art descended from the Terebinth tree.
They put thee on the fire and thou becomest charcoal.

The dark one says:

I am descended from the fine bread[2]
in the sixth month we went on a pilgrimage.
Thou, fair one, thou art descended from the sheep
in the winter,[3] thou art a snuffler,[4] thou hast a cold.

The fair one:

I am descended from the white cheese[5]
whom the rider on the camel loves.

The fair and the dark one went together quarrelling.
The judge came to judge between the two.[6]
— »Get away, thou judge! we are both pretty.[7]
We are two palm trees in the middle of the distant country!«

The light and the dark beauties do not need any judge to decide between them. While comparing they come to see the special attraction of each other. They see that they are both beautiful in a different way. So they are like two palms.

Because of their beauty and their attraction the young girls naturally secretly wish to show themselves to the young men and bask in their admiring glances. This is prevented by the strict isolation of sexes demanded by society.

In the following song the young girls pity the young men who cannot see their beauty, and the young men pity the girls because they cannot see their courage and brave deeds.

The girls say:

We are the maidens. Our splendour is that we are dyed with henna.
We pity thee, oh young man, that thou canst not meet us.
Thou becomest pale and thou mayest not speak to us.

The young men answer:

We are the young men and our splendour is that we ride on horses.
We pity thee, oh, maiden, in the dark night!
Thou becomest pale and all thy strength goes away from thee.

In the eyes of an Arab youth the life of old people may not seem worth much. For this reason the latter should not demand too much in the way of convenience, comfort, and enjoyment; the young man naturally thinks this should be reserved for himself and he wishes all good to the young girls who may gladden his life.

Contempt for the old:

Ran in the valley sixteen old women.
In the first row among them was a shy old woman.
Follow them, old man, and bring them back!
Root out the thorns and spread them out under them!

For the young, how different!

Ran in the valley sixteen young maidens.
The first of them is a maiden who is shy.
Follow them, thou young man, and bring them back!
Gather roses and spread them out under them!

They who are young and beautiful should have what is beautiful. Often enough it is seen that the old men have the necessary means to take possession of, and marry the lovely young girls and rob the young men in this way.

From the following song it seems as if it were the old women against whom the ill-will is chiefly directed. In any case the young women are more highly valued than the old ones.

Take the old women
to a wild St. John's Bread tree!
Then there should be a night of rain and scirocco.

But:

Take the maidens
into a palace and in the upper room!
It should be a moon night and candle-light.

It is a general experience, and not only among Arabs, that an elderly man feels rejuvenated when he wins a young girl and may live his life with her. One reason for polygyny and divorce is the weakness of old men for young women. Tempted and impassioned by the fascinating charms of the young ones, the husband loses all interest in, or deserts an »old» wife. And it is quite natural that young men should prefer young women. Perhaps the ill-will towards the old women is partly explainable by the strict watch that is kept over the young girls; this is very inconvenient for the young people who wish to meet. As it is principally the duty of old women to watch over the young girls, one can easily understand that a young man may wish the watchkeeper far away so that he might see the girl he loves.

The following is a dialogue between a girl and a young man[8] who seems to have come secretly to talk to her, standing outside her father's house.

First the girl asks:
»Whence comest thou, and whence art thou, oh, boy?»

She answers herself:
»Thy mother is from Hejaz and thy father is an Algerian.»[9]

Then she warns him:
»In the house of my father there is a dog and he will wound thee.»

The boy answers:
»Oh, girl, I am a shepherd and my dog is with me.»

Again the girl threatens:
»In the house of my father there is a reader and magician.»

The boy replies:
»Oh, maiden! I too am a reader and my book is with me.»

Now the girl tries to frighten him once more:
»In the house of my father there is a snake which will bite thee.»

But even to this the young man gives an answer, saying:
»Oh, maiden! I am a magician and my snake sack is with me.»

The young man is convinced that all the young girl says is only empty excuses, a helpless attempt to defend herself. Finally she will not be able to withstand him. He knows how to find the way to her heart. So he assures her that there is no obstacle that he cannot break down, and this influences her and makes her cease opposition. His bold words have their effect. His courage impresses her.

I have also the following song:

> The Lover found his beloved
> and went out into the wilderness.
> There was no room for them in the village.
> They went together into the wilderness, he and she.
> Thou loved one! If it were not for fear
> that the relatives would know it
> I would dig and dig deeply
> and thy breast would be my dwelling!

The strong passion here comes very near to illicit love. The lovers express their wish to be alone out in the wilderness or desert, far away from all others.[10] What hinders them is the fear of the relatives.

A girl's future will depend essentially on the work of her husband.

In a mill- song, sung when grinding at the handmill early in the morning, the mother warns her daughter and tells her not to think of a camel-driver. From such a husband she will not have much joy because he is mostly away on a journey.

Oh my daughter, do not marry the camel-driver!
Two days with thee and four days in Damaskus![11]

Another mill-song begins with the words of a man who runs away with his sweetheart.

He says:

Thou sweet dewy rose!
Put thy hand into my hand!

She says:

Do not send me to the baker,
he bakes the bread and I count the loaves!
Do not send me to the camel-driver
who digs up the roots and I have to carry for him![12]
Do not send me to the shepherd,
he grazes the sheep and I must help him!

The following mill-song is more complete. It is the girl who speaks and explains what kind of men she would refuse as a husband and describes her ideal.

Oh my relatives have deceived me!
They marry me to the c a m e l - d r i v e r.
I do not like the camel-driver!
He goes away with the morning star
taking the basket in his hand.
Do not marry me to the b a k e r
who rises with the morning-star
and takes the match[13] in his hand!
Do not marry me to the s h e p h e r d!
I do not like the shepherd!
He goes away at sunrise
taking his stick in his hand.
Do not marry me to the h a r v e s t e r!
I do not like the harvester!
He goes away with the morning-star
taking his sickle in his hand.
Do not marry me to the b u t c h e r!

He goes away from my side early in the morning
taking his knife in his hand.
Marry me to the r e a d e r!
I love the learned one!
He prays in the morning his morning prayer
and carries the Koran in his hand.

Observe again here the high estimation of the r e a d e r who is the learned one and the magician.

As long as the husband of a girl is not definitely chosen there are, of course, different possibilities. No wonder if even an Arab girl plays with her future prospects.

The reader of this book has of course noticed that in this account of the emotional life of the young people, my statements are based upon songs. But is this not natural when dealing with a people like the Arabs who have such strict rules and regulations regarding what is considered proper or improper.

Young people are not allowed to speak and act freely but must constantly consider the opinion of society and what the old people may think. Very narrow limits are also set for all manifestations of youthful enjoyments. For instance, it is only on definite festival occasions, like weddings and circumcisions, that dancing is permitted, and it is never dancing in the Western meaning of the word — men and women dancing together. The men must dance alone and the women must dance alone. They are not even allowed to see each other. It must be remembered how strict is the isolation of the sexes also in other respects, how a girl is repeatedly warned not to have anything to do with men. If a woman meets a man on the road, she must not go with him and least of all may she chatter and laugh with him. It would be a very great shame and it would spoil her reputation. Indeed, not even when a woman and a man are betrothed may they talk together, or even see each other. Especially the young girls must behave as if the opposite sex did not exist.

What is officially forbidden may however occur in secrecy. Can secret thoughts be controlled? Can any one hinder the free play of another's imagination? Seeing that it lies in human nature to feel an uncertain longing and have an idea of love when the sexual instinct is aroused, the thoughts of the young men and the young girls cannot be prevented from being absorbed in the problem of man and woman. Consequently the

songs deal with something which is not allowed and may not be personally expressed. But the young people who pick up the words find in them an expression of their vague and formless feelings.

I have not discussed the the origin of these songs. The main thing is the fact that they are known among the fellaheen.

It is probable that the very barriers which are raised between the sexes help to make men and women more interesting to each other. The forbidden fruit always exercises the greatest attraction.

And it is indisputable that the fellaheen, and the Arabs in general, consider the awakening sexual feelings a reality. To them it is an awful reality which has the force of strong natural power. They fear that the young people will be led astray and tempted into thoughtless actions, into adventures disapproved of by society! Therefore people keep a watchful eye upon the young ones growing up, especially as they approach the critical time of sexual maturity.

This is seen also from the terms which are used to indicate age.

As long as it can be said of a girl that she is »ignorant», i.e. of sexual things, the parents need not be so very anxious. But she is »growing up», every day nearer to the critical period. The time comes when it is said: she has »reached puberty», is »mature». She is then also called a »washer», i.e. she washes herself as enjoined after menstruation. The following stage is »bride». Then follows the »marriageable age»; and soon it is said: »her son is already in her lap», meaning she is old enough to have a child.

For the boys too there is an expression for having reached puberty. He is »mature». A warning runs: »A young cock cannot be kept back», i.e. is not to be trusted. Then follows the stage termed the »marriageable age».

To the fellaheen all these terms are not only statements of the actual age;[14] they are also a challenge to action. Now, if they want to prevent accidents they must marry their children. It is best to do this already before the children have reached puberty and the »marriageable age». But if they have reached this age and are still unmarried there is no time to be lost. Should a misfortune happen, the guilt will be that of the parents who have not given their children in marriage in time.[15]

A family father with a grown-up daughter is seriously admonished:

»Marry her! A woman's honour cannot be protected with the sword! Has she a sword beside her or a gun? May her fortune be as the white stuff!» The last words are a wish that her honour may remain white and unspotted.

It is also said that there are three things which require rapid action: the first is the marriage of a mature maiden, the second is the supper for a guest — maybe he has had a long walk and is very hungry — the third thing is the burying of the dead; his honour demands that he is buried soon. — »So that he does not smell.»

People are particularly afraid of the girls causing scandal. The mothers are also very anxious lest their sons allow themselves to be drawn into bad ways — their marriage should be arranged in good time. Marriage is a protective measure. It is considered that when the sexual instinct awakens, it will find a natural outlet and the parents need have no fear for their children's morality.

In this case there is an essential difference between East and West. According to Arab ideas parents commit an injustice towards their children if they do not marry them. It is unnatural for a young man to be compelled to control his sexual desires and live in celibate. It is considered a sin against a girl to let her remain unmarried when she is physically fit to become a mother.[16] Thus the »marriageable age» is a turning point when the future of the young people is decided by marriage.

My research work on marriage continues the account of my investigations from this point. There, too, other reasons for child betrothal and early marriage are discussed.

I have already mentioned expressions of age referring to babyhood and early childhood.[17] In Marriage Conditions there is a complete list of ages for males and females, including expressions applied after the »marriageable» age.[18]

There is also a rhyme of a man's development, reckoned in decades:

> The boy of ten is like a peeled cucumber.
> The man of twenty makes friendship with fools.
> The man of thirty is like the flowers of a garden.
> The man of forty is in his prime.[19]

A story, complementary to this, has a short characteristic of each twenty years' period in a man's life. I have it from Sitt Louisa who said she had heard it from a Christian Arab woman in Bethlehem.

»A young man of twenty said to the camel as they went along the road: 'How much longer dost thou wish to live?'

The camel said: 'I have carried enough. I give thee my twenty years. I do not wish to live and carry any longer.'

Then the man takes the strength of the camel. From twenty to forty years he is a burden-bearer, like a camel. He fetches everything, carries everything without sighing. He just has the strength.

Now the man has come to forty years of age.

Then he says to the donkey: 'How long dost thou wish to live?'

And the donkey answers as the camel did before him: 'Please, take my twenty years and let me go away and die!'

From forty to sixty people are like donkeys. The man no more carries with the same joy. The burden seems heavy to him. They must even urge him on, or strike him.

From sixty to eighty a man is like a dog. He likes to stretch himself, seeks sleep, likes to lie in bed even in the daytime. He likes to sun himself. And he is often awake at night.

From eighty to a hundred he is like a monkey[20] and childish.» — The very old man is in his second childhood.

What a gloomy picture of old age!

A proverb also says: The old one is not worth one piaster.

For this reason it is said to be good fortune to die young. Then one has honour. And the same idea is carried to the extreme in the following expression:

> To die in one's best years is like a wedding.[21]
> but the z i k r is still better than a wedding.

The z i k r is a kind of ceremonial repetition of the name of God and the profession of His unity.[22]

He who dies while still in the days of his strength leaves a bright memory. He does not need to feel the troubles and hardships of getting old. He escapes much evil. He is spared much bitter experience of life's instability and man's falseness, and the unreliability of people in the hour of need.

Among the three things which are »thy friends» the first is »thy strength». The two others are »thine eye» and »thy money». To a woman it is said: »Thy husband, if thou art strong!»[23] As long as a woman is

able to go fresh and courageously to her work she is of value and importance to her husband.

As long as a man is strong and young, he is valued. To become weak and old is to be forsaken by those who pretended to be friends. The old man complains:

When my hand was shortened by age
I found my friends no more.
I look around dismayed,
I find only few friends.
Many a friend said:
»I will be with thee and support thee!»
— But how long ago that is!

The more powerful and proud a man has been, the more difficult is it for him to be infirm and weak. In his old age he cannot help thinking of the time when he was young and strong. He compares his weak condition with his youthful splendour which appears to him in a glorified light.

Alya told me of a famous sheikh, Diab, son of Ghanem, who was widely known for his great deeds:

He had grown old. He was thirsty and could not stand up to drink. He then composed a poem about himself. He said, alluding to his own name — Diab means »Wolf»[24]:

The thirst kills me and yet I am Diab Ibn Ghanem!
The thirst kills me and yet I am the wolf among wolves!

In all its simplicity this is a touching expression of the tragedy of old age, of an old man's helplessness and desertion.

No less pathetic is the following example related by Alya:

»Abu Arus[25] was a mighty sheikh and feared. One day he killed a man whose wife was pregnant and bore a son after her husband's death.

The boy grew up. One day he quarrelled with a comrade and struck him. Then the people reproached him for this. 'Dost thou strike this one? No, take revenge on Abu Arus!' they called to him in scorn.»

Where blood revenge prevails, it is a shame to neglect it. The young man understood that the people called him a coward. He struck a comrade, but did not dare to take vengeance, and kill the mighty Abu Arus.

Alya continued:

»Then the young man was both sorry and angry. Coming home he asked: 'Mother, where is my father?' She answered: 'My son! Abu Arus killed him when thou wast still in my womb.'

Now the young man wanted to avenge his father's murderer. He asked: 'Who can show me Abu Arus?' A man said: 'I will show thee Abu Arus.'

They went to visit the Bedouin among whom Abu Arus lived. While they sat among the men, the young man asked: 'Where is now Abu Arus?' His companion said: 'This is he!'«

But when the young man saw that the man, pointed out to him, was old, he, who was in his full strength and power, felt only contempt for the old one. He considered it beneath his dignity to take revenge upon such a weak and decrepit old man.

He said: »It would be a pity to waste a shot on such a fellow!'«

It was an awful insult to the old sheikh who »had to hear this hard judgement with his own ears«. He had once been so powerful and feared, but he could not now defend himself. Only in words could he express his great despair.

And he made a rhyme about himself, in which he adresses his old head-cloth[26]:

In olden times thou, my head-cloth, wast honoured,
a precious thing came into the hands of the precious one.
And at the end of thy life they despised thee.
And what happened to thee, happened to me.
I am Abu Arus and a shot would be wasted on me!

Here the gulf between the generations is also indicated. In spite of tradition being highly valued the young generations do not always esteem and respect the same ideals as do the older generations. The young have other views and when they encounter a very old hero they have a difficulty in realizing his greatness. They only see his weakness.[27]

Here is another legend showing Arab wisdom and experience.

Every morning King Solomon used to collect the birds for morning prayer. He prayed with them. But the young eagle always came late. When this had continued for a time the King decided to demand an explanation.

He called the young eagle to him and said: »How is it that thou always comest late?«

The young eagle answered: »May my Lord and King pardon me! It is like this. At home I have a very old father who has lost all his feathers. And now I am afraid that the birds, when they pass our nest on the way to morning prayer, will tease him and peck at his bare skin. And he is too old and helpless to defend himself. So I wait until I can be sure that all the birds have gone by. Only then do I dare to come to morning prayer.

This speech pleased King Solomon and he said: »I should like to know thy father, the old eagle.«

The young eagle answered: »But how could he appear before Your Majesty? He would be ashamed if he were obliged to appear naked before thee, Lord King. He has not one feather left on his body.«

Solomon: »No, I must see him. If he cannot come to me, I will go to him. How wise he must be! How much of the world and of life must such an old eagle have seen!«

Then they went to the nest of the old eagle. The King spoke kindly to the old one and was deeply interested in all that he could relate. When the conversation was finished, the King blessed him.

And turning to the young eagle he said: »As thou hast so faithfully and nobly sacrificed thyself for, and taken care of thy father, thy reward shall be that thou shalt remain young for all time. Thou shalt never need to lose thy feathers.«

Ever since then an eagle always remains young and does not lose its feathers. Only on the top of its head are there two bare spots. It is the place where King Solomon laid his hands in blessing the young eagle.

This legend contains several ideas and emphasizes how a son protects his old father from the contempt of others. The thoughtless crowd only sees the old one's weakness and scorns him[28] but the wise one realizes the value of the old one and esteems his experience of life.

Now and then one can hear it said of an old man: he is like an eagle. The meaning is: an old eagle who has lost his youthful power and strength and keen eyesight.

Human life has its culminating point. Those who are advanced in years and see the young ones grow up around them, remember how expectantly they used to look upon the future.

But life is short!

The Arabs have sayings in this connection.

For instance:

In the morning a boy
at noon a prophet
and at the end of the day an old man.

And in another saying man is compared to the moon.

In the beginning the moon is a sickle.
The full moon is the half.
The end is also a sickle.

When man begins his life, he is small. He is like a new moon. He increases as does the moon. The full moon is the man in his full power. In old age his strength declines. He becomes weak again. The moon disappears. A new moon rises.

It is not only that a man during his life time — especially in his old days — finds support in his children, the rising generation. Even if the life of the individual is short, he need not absolutely be extinguished, not if he has descendants, if he has sons. And the more sons he has the better.

If a man who has several sons and other male descendants dies, people say to his relatives:

»May your bearded men and your young ones remain alive! One faggot does not spoil a bundle.«

And: »From one faggot a bundle has come. He who leaves behind Emer and Amer, builders-up of a family, has not died. Only he dies who leaves a ruined house behind!«

For this reason it is a great tragedy when it must be said of a man: »He has left no one behind and has no children!«

But: »He who leaves children is not dead!«[29] There is no need to bewail or grieve over such a man. For: »His house is built up of boys!«

Or, as it was said of a man: »He has left forty male members. He is not dead!« And to his relatives who lamented and wept people said: »Shame on you! Are ye not a clan? May God protect you!«

Of import is, as is seen from this, that the family and the clan continue.

In every community there must be people of different age. As long as there are children and boys and young people, the race lives on, even if the individual disappears. The individual is of much less importance than the family. If a man is always replaced by others and generation follows upon generation, then the family will not die.[30]

It may be asked: how can this idea satisfy the individual as such? Compare a parallel case in the Old Testament when the Patriach Abraham and his wife Sara were comforted by the prospect of a son who would have innumerable descendants, and this in a period which they would never see.

Among Arabs of the present day the thought is frequently expressed that a man continues to live in his descendants. Children indicate continuity, children and children's children are a symbol of everlastingness on earth.

PARALLELS and REMARKS

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[1] Similarly Lees, The Witness of the Wilderness, p. 93: »A name is given without ceremony». For naming a child, see also Wilson, Peasant Life, p. 91; Ashkenazi, Tribus Semi-Nomades de la Palestine du Nord, p. 71; Musil, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 217. — Hurgronje, Mekka, II. p. 137, speaks of »Das Fest der Benennung» saying: »Der erste wichtige Tag im Leben des Einzelnen ist der, an dem die Tasmijah (Benennung. . .) stattfindet, der 7te nach der Geburt. Das Gesetz empfiehlt an diesem Tage die Abschneidung der Kopfhaare und das Schlachten eines oder zweier Opferhammel». This sacrifice is called Akika (Aqîqa). — See also Wensinck, Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 44: The child receives its name on the seventh day after its birth, when its hair is shaved and the Akika slaughtered. Ibid. p. 14 sq.: Akika — a ransom: one sheep for a girl, two for a boy, or a sheep for girls and boys. Also ibid. p. 176. — Matthews, Mishkât, II. p. 315: on rites to be observed on shaving a child's head for the first time. According to a tradition the Prophet's words should have been: »Akíkah must be observed at the birth of a child; then slay a goat on its part and shave its head.» And (p. 315 n.) in explanation of the rite: »That is leaving the hair on an infant's head, till the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first or twenty-eighth or firty-fifth day after birth, when the hair is shaved, and its weight in silver given in alms. At the same time animals are sacrificed. Most authors define Akikah to be the hair which is on a child's head at the time of its birth; from the verb Ak, to split, because that hair first splits the skin and bursts forth; and it is thence transferred to the animal which is sacrificed on account of that hair.» Others reject this derivation, and say »that Ak signifying to cut, the term Akíkah is immediately applicable to the sacrificed animal, whose throat is cut.» Granqvist, Birth, p. 264 n. 32 and infra, p. 242 n. 74—5. Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, I. p. 251 sq.: the seventh day after birth: naming, cutting hair, animal of sacrifice. — Lane, The Arabian Nights, I. p. 166: Naming the child, and on the seventh

day after birth entertainments and repasts. — Gollancz: Pedagogics of the Talmud, p. 31: Naming at circumcision, and after some departed relative. — Fitch in One God, p. 20 sq., on modern Jews of to-day: Boy circumcised and given a name when he is eight days old. »Jewish babies are seldom named for any one living: usually they are named after friends or relatives who have recently died.»

[2] Musil, Miszellen zur Bibelforschung, p. 8: »Bei dem einzigen Repräsentanten des echten Beduinentums, dem mächtigen Stamme der Rwala, bestimmt die Mutter — und nur sie — den Namen für das neugeborene Kind, ob Knabe oder Mädchen. Bei der Wahl des Namens richtet sie sich oft nach den Begleitumständen der Geburt.»

Löhr says (Die Stellung des Weibes, p. 24) of namegiving in the Old Testament: »Überliefert sind Namenverleihungen im Ganzen 46; davon sind 28 von der Mutter, 18 vom Vater vollzogen.»

[3] Granqvist, Birth, p. 75.

[4] Ruth IV. 17: Neighbouring women give the child his name.

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[5] Mustafa Jedallah's sister Tamam was married to a relative in el-Khadr, called Ahmad il-Ammuri.

[6] For principles of naming and the names used, see Ashkenazi, Tribus Semi-Nomades de la Palestine du Nord, p. 71; Musil, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 217; Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 78. — For names given according to special circumstances in Palestine of to-day, see Canaan, The Child, p. 169; and also in the Bible: Löhr, Die Stellung des Weibes, p. 27. — For names referring to special occurrences see also Granqvist, Birth, p. 238 n. 15 and Isaiah VII. 14; VIII. 3 sq.; IX. 6 sq.; Jeremiah XXIII. 5 sq. and Hosea I. 4, 6, 9. — Cf. Miller, The Child in Primitive Society, p. 77: Name as record and p. 80: name as description. Ibid. p. 77 sq.: »The place and time of birth, current circumstances and occurrences, things seen and heard at the time, are all memorialized in the child's name... as they are thought to be causative agents or influences in the birth of the child. The name may thus become a unique form of chronicle and, in a manner, the child's credentials to his society — as intimate a distinguishing part of him as the colour of his eyes or hair.»

[7] Canaan, The child, p. 168: »The first boy is generally given the name of his grandfather.» Man proud to change his simple name and be called »Father» of the eldest son. »In order to disguise the true condition of a childless man, he is called 'Father' of his own father's name».

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[8] Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, II. p. 404: »If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this

is a very general and stringent rule.» Son called by the name of his living father only if the name is Muhammed.

[9] Genesis XXIX. 32 sqq., XXX. 6—8, 11, 13, 18, 20, 23 sq.

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[10] The proportions between the personal names are more accurate if the N. N. group is not included. Under this heading there are various names.

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[11] Cf. Grimme, Der Name Mohammad, p. 24 sq.: »Der arabische Prophet trägt einen Namen, der ihn nach der üblichen Meinung als 'den Gepriesenen' bezeichnet.» By analysing the name the author comes to a similar conclusion as I do when he says »dass wir es hier mit einem abgekürzten teophoren Eigennamen zu tun haben.» And p. 26: »Dann führte Mohammad seinen Namen im Bewusstsein, damit zu bezeugen, dass Gott 'der Gepriesene' sei». And Ahmad means »Gott ist der Gepriesene». — Cf. also Praise-God (Barebone in Cromwell's Parliament) and the German name Gottlob.

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[12] I was told that Abed is a name favoured by the negroes, earlier slaves.

[13] See Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, I. 5, p. 1935, for the general view that mankind as such and the Muhammadans especially are the worshippers and servants of God. There also is the remark that the common people agree in making a difference between 'abîdun and 'ibâdun, by the former meaning slaves and by the latter meaning servants of God and also simply, with the definite article (al), mankind.

In the Bible too people are called or call themselves »servants of God», or »servants of the Lord».

Servant of God. — Sing. Psalm XIX. 11, 13; XXXI. 16; LXXXVI. 2, 4, 16; LXXXIX. 39; CXVI. 16; CXIX. 17, 38, 49, 65, 135; Isaiah XLII. 19; XLIX. 3, 5; LII. 13; LIII. 11; St. Luke II. 29. Plur. 1 Kings VIII. 23, 36; 2 Chronicles VI. 27; Nehemia II. 20; Psalm XXXIV. 22; LXIX 36; LXXIX. 2, 10; LXXXIX. 50; XC. 13, 16; CXXXIV. 1; CXXXV. 1; also CXXIII. 2; Isaiah LXV. 9, 13 sqq.; LXVI. 14.

The prophets = God's servants — 2 Kings IX. 7.

Servant of God is a biblical epithet for:

Abraham — Psalm CV. 6, 42.

Jacob-Israel — 1 Chronicles XVI. 13; Isaiah XLI. 8; XLIV. 1, 21; XLVIII. 20; XLIX. 3.

Moses — Deuteronomy XXXIV. 5; Joshua IX. 24; 1 Kings VIII. 53; Nehemiah X. 29; Psalm CV. 26.

David — 2 Samuel VII. 5, 8, 19 sqq., 25 sqq.; 1 Kings III. 6; VIII. 24 sqq.; XI. 13, 32, 36; 2 Chronicles VI. 15, 17; Psalm LXXVIII. 70; LXXXIX. 3, 20; CXXXII. 10; CXLIV. 10.

Solomon — 1 Kings III. 7; VIII. 28; 2 Chronicles VI. 20.

Job — Job I. 8; XLII. 7 sq.

Daniel — Daniel VI. 20. Cf. III. 26.

»Thy servant», and »the son of thine handmaid», is said in prayer to God — Psalm LXXXVI. 16; CXVI. 16. »The handmaid of the Lord» are the Virgin Mary's words to the angel Gabriel — St. Luke I. 38; also I. 48.

»Thy servant», or »thy servants» are expressions often used in the Old Testament to denote politeness or humbleness when addressing a person.

E.g. when speaking to a king: 1 Samuel XVII. 58; 2 Samuel IX. 2, 6, 8; XIV. 19, 22; XV. 15, 34; XIX. 26 sq.; 1 Kings XX. 39 sq. To a king's son: 2 Samuel XV. 2. People are called king's servants in 1 Chronicles XXI. 3. The king is a servant of his people and the people are the king's servants — 1 Kings XII. 7. »Thy servant» is said when speaking to a prophet — 2 Kings IV. 1; V. 15, 17 sq. 25. »Thy servants» is said by the inhabitants of Gibeon to Joshua — Joshua IX. 8 sq., 11, 24.

»Thine handmaid», or »his handmaid» is said by woman to king — 1 Samuel XXVIII. 21 sq.; 2 Samuel XIV. 6 sq., 12, 15 sqq., 19; 1 Kings I. 13, 17 (even by a king's wife to her husband). »Thine handmaid» in other cases — 1 Samuel XXV. 25; 2 Samuel XX. 17. Cf. 2 Samuel VI. 20.

Here may also be mentioned some other expressions when addressing a person or speaking of him:

»Thy master» i.e. thy king — 2 Kings IX. 7. — »Where is thy master's son?» by King David to Ziba — 2 Samuel XVI. 3. — »My master» by a prophet's servant — 2 Kings VI. 15.

»My father» by servants to their master — 2 Kings V. 13. — »My father» by king to prophet — 2 Kings VI. 21. — »My father» by disciple to prophet — 2 Kings II. 12. — Father = God — who calls man His son, the people His children. Infra, p. 232 sq.

»My son» is said by King Saul to David — 1 Samuel XXIV. 16.

»My brother» — between prophets in a death song, 1 Kings XIII. 30.

[14] This is a parallel to the following exchange of greetings: »How art thou?» — The reply: »In thy face!» — And then again the answer: »In God's face!»

Or if it is said: »Thou art good!» — the reply is: »Thou art better!» Then the first says: »God is the best.»

It is a custom among Arabs never to let oneself be praised, but always to let the praise pass over to another and finally to God. — Cf. St. Mark X. 17 sq., where the rich youth addresses Jesus with the words: »Good

Master», and receives the reply: »Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God.» Also St. Matthew XIX. 16 sq. and St. Luke XVIII. 18 sq. — It is very possible that this way of addressing a person and the answer were in reality phrases of common oriental courtesy generally used in those days, although Jesus, in his answer, apparently puts in an absolute meaning of the words.

[15] Canaan says, Modern Palestinian Beliefs and Practices relating to God, p. 60 n. 3, that even the camel is believed to utter the name Allah.

[16] For the attributes of God in Muhammadan theology, see Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, I. p. 317 sq.

[17] For Abraham called the »Friend of God» in the Bible, see Isaiah XLI. 8 and James II. 23. It may be remarked that the Arabic name of Abraham's town Hebron is Khalil (Friend).

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[18] I was told some of these legends: one about the death of Moses, and another one quoted supra, p. 166. For the death of Moses and his grave in Jerusalem, see also Matthews, Mishkât, II. p. 647.

[19] Ibid. II. p. 648: Muhammed describes the appearances of Moses, Jesus, Abraham and Gabriel. He has seen them. Jesus is a middle-sized man with hanging hair, pink and white as if just out of a bath.

[20] See e.g. Granqvist, Aus dem Erzählungsschatz palästinischer Bauernfrauen, p. 126.

[21] »Name», i.e. call to life. Cf. Granqvist, Birth, p. 35 sq., 106; supra, p. 146, 164 and infra, p. 269 n. 5.

[22] Also Jonah is according to Matthews, Mishkât, II. p. 647, described by the Prophet who said that none of the prophets are better than Jonas.

[23] The servant of God is also a biblical epithet for David. Supra, p. 200 n. 13.

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[24] The Slavs also speak of »Green George» according to Mayer, Erdmutter und Hexe, p. 42—46, quoted by Runeberg in Witches, Demons and Fertility Magic, p. 84 sq. n. 1. For Green George among the Slavs, see also Frazer, The Magic Art, II. p. 75 sqq.

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[25] The Chosen. — »My chosen», or »mine elect» is God's epithet for Jacob = the people (Isaiah XLI. 8); Israel (XLII. 1 — here used in parallelism with »my servant» — also XLIV. 1 and XLV. 4); David (Psalm LXXXIX. 3, also LXXVIII. 70). In 1 Chronicles XVI. 13 the Israelites are called: »children of Jacob, his chosen ones», and in Isaiah XLIII. 20 it is said: »my people, my chosen». Also Psalm CV. 26: »Moses his servant; and Aaron whom he had chosen».

[26] In the Bible it is said that God sometimes takes the children and later gives children back again, sometimes even in a greater number. Job. I. 2, 18 sq.; XLII. 13; Isaiah XLIX. 20 sq.

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[27] Supra, p. 58.

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[28] 1 Samuel I. 10 sqq. — Supra, p. 126.

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[29] 'â m i r, flourishing, inhabited, planted, cultivated. Supra, p. 37. Cf. the Biblical expression, Psalm XXVIII. 5: »He (the Lord) shall destroy them, and not build them up.» Also Jeremiah XLII. 10: »then will I build you, and not pull you down, and I will plant you, and not pluck you up». And especially Genesis XVI. 2: »Perhaps I will be built up, or repaired by her», i.e. »it may be that I may obtain children, descendants, by her.» — G u n k e l, Genesis, p. 185: »vgl. aber auch ass. banû bauen, schaffen, erzeugen.»

[30] Genesis IV. 1.

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[31] St. John XIV. 6.

[32] G r a n q v i s t, Marriage, I. p. 66.

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[33] Muhammad's wife Khadija bore him a son, al-Kasim (al-Qasim), after whom the Prophet was called Abu al-Kasim. This son died in babyhood, and similarly the two other sons who were later born to Muhammad. For the sons of the Prophet, see e.g. B u h l, Muhammeds liv, p. 132 sq.

[34] For lists of names, see e.g. M a c a l i s t e r - M a s t e r m a n, Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine, in PQS XXXVI. 1904, p. 150—160, and XXXVII. 1905, p. 48—61: Muhammadan, Christian and Jewish names from various places; M u s i l, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 218 sq.; L i t t m a n n, Arabische Beduinenerzählungen, p. 57 sq.; G r a t z l, Die altarabischen Frauennamen, 84 pages; L ö h r, Die Stellung des Weibes, p. 6—20: Women's names in the Old Testament; S y c z, Ursprung und Wiedergabe der biblischen Eigennamen im Koran, 64 pages.

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[35] Muhammad's daughters lived and married but only one of them, Fatme, had children, and from her originate the Prophet's descendants. — Succession on female line.

[36] Compare a similar expression about a man in 1 Samuel XXV. 25: »for as his name is, so is he; Nabal is his name, and folly is with him».

[37] For Maryam, Mary, see Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, III. p. 367 sqq. »Nach islâmisher Auffassung bedeutet der Name 'die Gottesfürchtige' (al-Âbida)».

[38] Granqvist, Birth, p. 111, a song about Halime who nursed Muhammad when his mother had not sufficient milk for him.

[39] Amina, the mother of the Prophet. Granqvist, Birth, p. 251, n. 10.

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[40] Alya had heard that »lady Zainab» was the daughter of the Prophet. For Zainab, his wife, see Granqvist, Birth, p. 259 n. 18.

[41] It may be mentioned that Muhammad's ninth wife, a Jewess from Medina, was called Safiye.

[42] Khadija bore four daughters to the Prophet: Zainab, Rukaiya, Fatima and Umm Kulthum. For Rokaiya (Ruqayya), the daughter of Muhammad, see e.g. Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, III. p. 1258.

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[43] Löhr enumerates (Die Stellung des Weibes, p. 29) »Die jahwehaltigen bezw. religiös motivierten Frauennamen» in the Old Testament, and remarks (p. 31) that there are fourteen to seventeen names, »die als volle oder verkürzte jahwehaltige Frauennamen zu bezeichnen wären».

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[44] For parallel between wife and field, see Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 94 and Koran II. 223.

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[45] The villagers were greatly impressed when hearing a rumour of Mhammad Ethman — who went to America in his younger days — having married a Christian woman and even having taken a Christian name. He was now said to be called Jirjis, i.e. George, and the Muhammadans found it very strange — and even laughed at the fact — that one of their own men should bear a Christian name. And furthermore, that his son should be called Hanna, i.e. John!

[46] Pierotti, Customs and Traditions of Palestine, p. 95: Fellaheen and Bedouin are not called by their family names. Cf. Grant, The People of Palestine, p. 72 sq.

[47] A woman's name is not changed on marriage.

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[48] This is quite different of course regarding people who do not belong

to the village and that was one reason why I decided it was practical to give people numbers. For these numbers, see Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 158 sqq., and List of Villagers at the end of the book.

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[49] Transl. from Spoer-Haddad, Volkskundliches aus el-Qubêbe bei Jerusalem, in ZS V. p. 95 sqq. — Page 125 n. 4: »So nach dem Râwi.» — The reason why the authors make the remark quoted supra, p. 42, is that in el-Qubêbe at the ceremony of the marriage contract the khatîb mentions the bridal pair as the children of their mothers, saying (page 125) to the bride's father: »Giebst du deine Tochter N. N., die Tochter der N. N. dem N. N., dem Sohne der N. N.?» And to the bridegroom: »Willst du die N. N., die Tochter der N. N. als Braut für dich?»

[50] Ibid. p. 125 n. 4: »In Sfax wird der Vater genannt.»

[51] Also in the Koran Jesus is called (Isa) Ibn Maryam, the Son of Mary. Sura II. 81, 254; III. 31 sqq., IV. 156. 169; V. 19, 50, 76, 82, 109, 112, 114, 116; IX. 31; XIX. 35; XXIII. 52; XXXIII. 7; XLIII. 57; LVII. 27; LXI. 6, 14. No father is mentioned, because, also according to Muhammadan tradition, Jesus had no earthly father. Cf. Granqvist, Jesu födelse i muhammedansk betlehemitisk legend, p. 140. See St. Mark VI. 3 where Jesus is called the son of Mary. — For name after mother or mother's family, see also Ezra II. 61 sq. and Nehemiah VII. 63.

Another example is the following which I give in translation from Nyström-Lundqvist, Biblisk Ordbok, p. 42: Machir, the son's son of Joseph and the father of Gilead, Numbers XXVI. 29, had a daughter whom Hezron married »when he was threescore years old; and she bare him Segub. And Segub begat Jair», 1 Chronicles II. 21, 22. Neither Jair nor his descendants were however considered to belong to Judah's family — although paternally descendants of Hezron — but are mentioned as »the sons of Machir the father of Gilead», 1 Chronicles II. 23. And in Numbers XXXII. 41 Jair is called »the son of Manasseh». — The authors consider this a kind of adoption, »when a father who has an only daughter receives her children as his own.» — Hempel, Das Ethos des Alten Testaments, p. 83 and 132. — Cf. 1 Chronicles II. 34 sq.

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[52] For the position of a child born by a woman slave to her master, see Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, I. p. 18. — Matthews, Mishkât, II. p. 128: A child born by a female slave is to be considered the child of the man to whom the slave belonged, and p. 129: the share of inheritance allotted to a child born by a slave, and who is acknowledged by his relatives after his father's death.

For slave as heir, see also Genesis XV. 3, and Gunkel, Genesis, p. 179: »Der kinderlose Herr wird von dem in seinem Hause geborenen, nicht gekauften (14[14]) Sklaven beerbt, was aber als grosses Unglück gilt.» — In another sense it is said in Proverbs XXIX. 21: »He that

delicately bringeth up his servant from a child shall have him become his son at the length.» — In XVII. 2 it is said: »A wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame, and shall have part of the inheritance among the brethren.»

In this connection the thought should be mentioned that »the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be the lord of all». Galatians IV. 1.

In 2 Kings IV. 1 a case is mentioned in which sons were to be bondmen for their father's debts, and in St. Matthew XVIII. 25 a servant and his wife and children were to be sold for debts.

In the Old Testament it is stated that an Israelite who on account of his poverty was sold to a man should not serve as a bondservant, but as a hired servant, and he should go out free in the year of jubilee, he and his wife and children. But if his master had given him a wife while he was in his house and she bore him children there, the wife and her children belonged to the master, and the servant alone should go out free to his own family.

Real bondmen and bondmaids could be bought only from among non-Israelites. Also children of strangers could be bought and they were to be their master's possession and should be inherited. »And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever.» — Leviticus XXV. 39 sqq.; Exodus XXI. 2 sqq.

In Joshua IX. 23 sqq. is mentioned how the inhabitants of Gibeon were cursed by Joshua into being bondmen, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of God, and none of them should be free from their bondage.

[53] Is is strange to see that August Strindberg has the same train of thought in his drama Fadern (The Father). All men are born by women, but no woman is born by a man. A man has no children. Women have children but a man can never tell whether they are his children. He should say »my wife's children». The only way for a man to have children of his own would be to adopt them. That is the only way in which he may be certain of having children of his own: his adopted children. Strindberg refers to the Odyssey, Song I verse 215 p. 6, in the Swedish translation (Uppsala). Telemachus says to Athene: »My mother certainly says that he, namely Odysseus, is my father, but I do not know it myself, as no one has yet known his origin.» It is probable that Telemachus here uses a general saying and there is no personal implication hidden in it.

[54] A biblical expression is: »five thousand men, beside women and children». St. Matthew XIV. 21; also XV. 38.

[55] For infanticide, see the Koran XVII. 33; cf. VI. 138, also 141, 152, and LXXXI. 8 sq. — Granqvist, Birth, p. 236 n. 5. — Wellhausen, Die Ehe bei den Arabern, p. 433: »Denn die Sitte die neugeborenen Mädchen lebendig zu verscharren wird nicht bloss von den Armen aus Not

geübt, sondern auch von den Vornehmen 'aus Furcht vor der Schande'». — Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, p. 291 sqq. Ibid. p. 293 sq.: »no blood was shed: the infant was buried alive». The grave could be ready beneath the bed where the daughter was born. If born outside the mother had dug a pit, the pit of birth became her grave. Hunger more than proudness a reason for infanticide. — Payne, The Child in Human Progress, p. 171: The pagan Arabs had long been in the habit of burying their infant daughters alive, the excuse offered being that their lives were too closely attended with the possibility of disgrace, »if they should happen to be made captives or to become scandalous by their behaviour.» (Quotation from George Sale, Introduction to the Koran, p. 93). Payne, op.cit. p. 171 sq.: Mother who gave life to a child lay down over a pit, and if she bore a daughter she was thrown into the pit. — Jacob, Altarabisches Beduinenleben, p. 212: »Was die Rechte des Familienvaters den Kindern gegenüber anlangt, so durfte er neugeborene Töchter bekanntlich ohne Weiteres tödten lassen». — »Söhne wurden bisweilen als Opfer gelobt . . . ihre Verstossung kommt vor.» Also ibid. p. 241.

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[56] Cf. Musil says (Miszellen zur Bibelforschung, p. 8) on account of the right of a mother to give the child his name among the Rwala Bedouin (supra, p. 198 n. 2), without considering it a matriarchy, that the statements in the biblical stories, which have been quoted to prove the occurrence of matriarchy in olden times, are not sufficient. Equally unreliable are the statements by some scholars who have concluded, on account of the existence of animal names in the Bible, that totemism occurred among the old Israelites. — Petrie, Social Life in Ancient Egypt, p. 119: »The mother's name is always given, the father's may be omitted.... The father was only a holder of office, the mother was the family link.» And p. 120: »A fixed property descended in the female line, it was natural that the duty of supporting parents devolved on the daughters, and not on the sons, and this surprised the Greeks.» — See also Henninger, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 10: »Die Frage des Mutterrechtes bei den Arabern und den übrigen Semiten.» For supposed totemism among Semites see Smith, Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament.

[57] Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 76, II. p. 312 sqq. and Idem, Arabiskt familjeliv, p. 226 sqq.

[58] Stephan, Palestinian Animal Stories and Fables, p. 189 n. 4: »People like to be called after their first-born son.»

[59] Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, II. p. 1200: Kunya »bedeutet eigentl. metonymische Bezeichnung». — See also Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 85; Löhr, Volksleben im Lande der Bibel, p. 63. The kunya of people often occurs in Arabic literature. It is rarely used in combination with the

name of a daughter. Cf. Jaussen, Moab, p. 17 n. 2; also Henninger, op. cit. p. 101. — For Akhu Nura, Brother of Nura (a woman's name), as a word of address and a title in Central Arabia, see Philby, The Heart of Arabia, I. p. 96.

[60] Lowie, Primitive Society, p. 102: »This practice of naming the parent (or other relative) from a child was first conceptualized and interpreted by Tylor, who coined a Greek derivative, teknonymy, to label this curious phenomenon. Applying the statistical method .... he inferred that teknonymy was casually connected with the institution of matrilocal residence and also with the son-in-law taboo.» — For the practice of teknonymy, see ibid. p. 102 sqq., 250, and Miller, The Child in Primitive Society, p. 83.

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[61] For a child addressing his mother and father yamma, yâba, and mâmâ, bâbâ, see Granqvist, Birth, p. 124 and 263 n. 30. — Cf. Almkvist-Zetterstéen, Kleine Beiträge zur Lexikographie des Vulgärarabischen, II. p. 111: dâda, brother, sister in the child language when the small children begin to speak, quite as they say mâmâ, bâbâ instead of ummî, abî. Again, people say dâde dâde to the children when they begin to walk. For this expression, see also Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 37. Nr. 14.

[62] Cf. Granqvist, Marriage, I. 81, 146, II. 131 n. 1, 151 sq. n. 2. — Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 85 sq.: Before the birth of their first son a wife may call her husband ibn an-nâs, son of man. Or she says my father's brother's son, and if speaking of him to a third person, she says: my husband. The husband says to or of his wife: bint an-nâs, daughter of man. — Lane translates, The Arabian Nights, I. p. 376, ibn al-nâs: »he is of a respectable family», and p. 261, Plur. »the sons of that class among which is no impertinent person».

[63] Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, p. 161 sq., mentioned by Gunkel in Genesis, p. 268. For magic in names, see also Canaan, The Child, p. 169, and Miller, The Child in Primitive Society, p. 71.

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[64] Genesis XVII. 5.

[65] Genesis XVII. 15 sq.

[66] Gunkel, Genesis, p. 268.

[67] There are several cases of change of name in the Bible. — Genesis XXXII. 28: Jacob for Israel. Alteration of name on account of changed circumstances: Pharaoh gave Joseph an Egyptian name, when after being a slave he became a high Egyptian officer, Genesis XLI. 45. — Israelite youths trained at the King's court in Babylon to serve the King and taught the wisdom and the tongue of the Chaldeans, received new

names; among them was Daniel, whom the king called Belteshazzar, according to the name of his god, Daniel I. 7, IV. 8, V. 12. — Egyptian king alters the name of a king of Judah and Jerusalem, 2 Chronicles XXXVI. 4. — See also Ruth I. 20; 2 Samuel XII. 24 sq.; also St. John I. 42. — Paul, the Apostle, formerly Saul.

[68] Alya also said: »To a person whose children died they say: 'Peace be upon you!' In the same way other greetings and thanks are varied. After having had coffee one says: »Always (d â y m e)!» i.e. may you always have coffee under the same joyful conditions as now. If coffee is offered in a house of mourning it is said :»May God show mercy to him!» i.e. the deceased. To say »always» in the latter case would be a direct offence, meaning: may you always be in mourning!

[69] G r a n q v i s t, Birth, p. 174 sq. and Idem, Marriage, II. p. 171 sq.

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[70] M a c a l i s t e r and M a s t e r m a n, Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine, in PQS XXXVI. 1904, p. 153: »Another even commoner custom is that of changing a person's name in the case of a dangerous illness.» This custom prevails even among Jews in Palestine. An example is given: a Spanish Jewess who after having gone through a severe operation changes her name. — For change of name see also M i l l e r, The Child in Primitive Society, p. 86.

[71] C a n a a n, The Child, p. 169: The name of a member of a family who died young generally not given to others, nor is that of an unfortunate person used.

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[72] G r a n q v i s t, Birth, p. 175. — L a n e, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 78: »It was a custom very common in Egypt, as in other Moos'lim countries, to consult an astrologer previously to giving a name to a child, and to be guided by his choice; but very few persons now conform with this old usage: the father makes choice of a name, and confers it without any ceremony.»

[73] Cf. L a n e, The Arabian Nights, I. p. 271: »Thy star agreeth not with hers», and p. 42: »one of ill aspect, and of evil star». For »the science of the stars», see ibid. I. p. 95, and L a n e, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 361 sq.

[74] G r a n q v i s t, Birth, p. 81; supra, p. 33.

[75] Supra, p. 127.

[76] Cf. C a n a a n, The Child, p. 181: names of animals. — MGJV I. p. 90: If several sisters and brothers have died earlier the children born afterwards are given »Namen reissender Tiere», e.g. Wolf, Bear, etc.

[77] M u s i l, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 217: Child called Khreiyan (Excrement) until he receives his name which takes place on the fortieth day.

— See also Miller, The Child in Primitive Society, p. 80: »names with offensive and disgusting meaning which are bestowed upon children in order to ward off the unwelcome attentions of the spirits who bring ill-luck.» — See also 2 Samuel IX. 8.

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[78] Supra, p. 13.
[79] Supra, p. 114.
[80] Supra, p. 126.

CHILDREN AND CHILD MORTALITY

(Pages 51—94)

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[1] In Herzog-Hauck, Realencyklopaedie, V. p. 740.

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[2] Ibid. V. p. 747.
[3] Genesis XXIV. 60 and XXV. 24 sqq.
[4] Gunkel, Genesis, p. 332.
[5] Ibid. p. 330.
[6] Genesis XXIX. 32—35 and XXX. 17—21.

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[7] Genesis XXX. 23 sq. and XXXV. 17 sq.; XXX. 10—13; XXX. 5—8.
[8] Judges VIII. 30.
[9] 2 Chronicles XI. 18—21, especially v. 21.
[10] 2 Chronicles XIII. 21.
[11] 2 Samuel III. 2—5. In 1 Chronicles III. 1—4: Daniel not Chileab.

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[12] 2 Samuel V. 12, 13. — And David reigned thirty and three years in Jerusalem, according to 1 Chronicles III. 4.
[13] 1 Kings I. 11 sqq.
[14] 1 Chronicles III. 5 mentions Solomon as the fourth and last son of Bathsheba. Is the idea of a last-born son applied to him here?
[15] Cf. n. 17 below.

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[16] Cf. Esther II. 13 sqq.; also 2 Samuel XVI. 21 sq. and XX. 3.
[17] Cf. kunya, supra p. 45 and n. 26 below.
[18] See generations of the Patriarchs for their ages, Genesis V. 4, 7 sqq., IX. 29, XXV. 7, XXXV. 28, etc.

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[19] 2 Chronicles XIII. 2.
[20] 2 Chronicles XXII. 2.
[21] 2 Chronicles XXIV. 1.
[22] 2 Chronicles XXV. 1.
[23] 2 Chronicles XXVI. 3.
[24] 2 Chronicles XXVII. 1.
[25] 2 Chronicles XXIX. 1.
[26] This is in accordance with the custom among the Arabs. A woman does not change her name at marriage but is called as before after her father, and when her first son is born she is called after him too.

The »Mother of the King» is a special kind of k u n y a.

[27] For great esteem of the King's Mother (Queen Mother) in the Orient and her part in deciding the order of succession to the throne, see also S c h m i d t k e, Assarhaddons Statthalterschaft und Thronbesteigung, p. 9, 124, 129, 215.
[28] Genesis XXI. 10 sqq.

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[29] St. Luke I. 5 sqq.
[30] 1 Samuel I. 10, 15.
[31] 1 Samuel II. 1 and 6 sq; also 8. Cf. Psalm CXIII. 7, 9: »He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill!» — »He maketh the barren woman to keep house, and to be a joyful mother of children. Praise ye the Lord.» — Also Psalm CVII. 41.

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[32] G r a n q v i s t, Birth, p. 35 and supra, p. 22. See also the words of Mary, the mother of Jesus, in St. Luke I. 46 sqq., esp. 52 sq.: »He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away.»

G a e c h t e r (The Chronology from Mary's Betrothal to the Birth of Christ, p. 169) on the jubilant song, the canticle of the Virgin Mary: »The M a g n i f i c a t seems to indicate that Mary, young in years though she was, had already experienced hostilities from other womenfolk.» The author says, ibid. p. 156 sqq., referring to the Jewish law regarding marriage that there is every reason to consider that according to the customs of her time and country, Mary, at her betrothal to Joseph, was between twelve and twelve and one-half years old.

[33] Similarly Christianity makes but little mention of the brothers and sisters of Jesus, and Mary is only thought of as the mother of Jesus. In St. Luke II. 7 Jesus is called the »firstborn son» of Mary. — For the family of Jesus, see St. Matthew XII. 47; XIII. 55 sq.; St. Mark III. 31 sqq.; VI. 3; St. Luke IV. 22; VIII. 19 sqq.; St. John II. 12, also VII. 1, 3—5; The Acts I. 14.

Cf. Bousset-Heitmüller, Die drei älteren Evangelien, p. 125, on St. Mark VI. 3: »Zum ersten Mal begegnet uns hier der Name der Mutter. Es fehlt (ebenso wie 3,31) der Vater, der vielleicht schon tot war. Dagegen werden ganz unbefangen die Namen der vier Brüder genannt; die alte Überlieferung nahm keinen Anstoss daran, dass Maria noch andere Kinder hatte. Erst die katholische und orthodoxe Auslegung konnte nicht darüber hinweg und verwandelte sie in Stiefgeschwister oder Vettern. Jakobus ist das berühmte Haupt der Urgemeinde (Apg. 12,17; Gal. 1,19); Simon war der zweite Bischof von Jerusalem; die andern beiden sind unbekannt geblieben, aber noch am Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts lebten Nachkommen von ihnen. Wenn bloss von den Schwestern gesagt wird, dass sie in Nazaret leben, so scheinen die Brüder und die Mutter fortgezogen zu sein, während jene wohl in Nazareth verheiratet waren.»

[34] An extreme case is when God's intervention is so much stressed that the role of the father in the origin of the child is eliminated as is the case of Joseph in the biblical account of the birth of Jesus. — The Koran also speaks of the Virgin Birth. Also according to Muhammadan tradition Mary conceived Jesus in a mysterious way, although they absolutely deny that Jesus is the Son of God. »Is God a man that He begets a son?» they say. Jesus is from the spirit of God and God's Apostle. — Granqvist, Jesu födelse i muhammedansk legend, p. 139. sq.

[35] Genesis XXIV. 36. — Again, in Genesis XXV. 9 and in the genealogies in 1 Chronicles I. 28, both Isaac and Ishmael are said to be Abraham's sons; there are also, Genesis XXV. 1 sq. and 1 Chronicles I. 32, six sons of Abraham by his concubine Keturah. Ishmael, however, and his mother Hagar, were driven away by Sarah, Genesis XXI. 10; and XXV. 5 sq. it is stated: »And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived».

[36] Cf. St. John I. 14: »the glory as of the only begotten of the Father». Again, Jesus the first-born son, not the only son of his mother, supra n. 33.

[37] In Genesis XXII. 2, 12, 16, Isaac is spoken of three times as the only son of his father in order to express how very dear he was to him (cf. supra, n. 35; infra, p. 223 n. 96), and yet Abraham did not withhold him from God but was prepared to sacrifice him. Also Jephthah sacrificed his daughter and it is specially stressed: »She was his only child; beside her he had neither son nor daughter», in order to show the greatness of his sacrifice. Judges XI. 34. — And God sacrificed His only begotten son. — See also Proverbs IV. 3. — In Genesis XLIV. 20 it is said of Benjamin: »(His brother is dead, and) he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him.» — See also St. Luke IX. 38: a man who appeals to Jesus for his sick son says in order to awaken his pity: »Master, I beseech

thee, look upon my son: for he is mine only child». And in St. Luke VII. 12 sqq. Jesus out of compassion for the mother raised a man from the dead who was »the only son of his mother», a widow. — For only one child, a daughter, see St. Luke VIII. 42 and Tobit III. 10, 15; VI. 11.

[38] Especially among people where polygyny is a custom the first-born of a wife and the first-born of her husband need not be the same child. According to the Old Testament the first-born of a man is the most valuable child, »the beginning» and the chief of his strength, Genesis XLIX. 3, Deuteronomy XXI. 17 and Psalm LXXVIII. 51. And this is the reason why the first-born, even if he is the son of a hated wife shall come before the son of the beloved wife, the right of the first-born is his, and he shall have a double portion, two-thirds, of all that the father possesses. Deuteronomy XXI. 15—17. — There are exceptions from this rule. Jacob, the younger brother, and not Esau, the first-born, received the birthright, and the greater blessing from their father. Genesis XXV. 31—33; XXVII. 36. — The birthright was taken from Reuben and given to Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasseh, and of these two brothers the younger one received the greater blessing. Genesis XLVIII. 17—19. Cf. 1 Chronicles V. 1.

Neither did the eldest son of a king always succeed to the throne. Yet according to the law the first-born was the heir and the chief child. Infra, p. 257.

In the Psalms it is said: »He smote also all the first-born in their land, the chief of all their strength» — which expresses a very hard punishment. Psalm CV. 36 and LXXVIII. 51. There are other expressions too from which it is seen that the first-born means the strongest, a kind of superlative as e.g. »the first-born of death», Job XVIII. 13, meaning the pest, the most awful illness. — Cf. Isaiah XIV. 30: the first-born of the poor.

The first-born means the highly esteemed, the chief and the chosen. In Psalm LXXXIX. 27 it is said: »Also I will make him my firstborn, higher than the kings of the earth.» — Among all peoples God chose the Israelites, and to express that they were the chief of all peoples in the world, God says: »Israel is my son, even my firstborn». Exodus IV. 22. In v. 23 God says of Israel to Pharaoh: »Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy firstborn», — and it came true when Pharaoh refused to let the Israelites go. Exodus XII. 29. — Again, the Israelites had to give their first-born to God, because God slew the first-born of the Egyptians, a curious way of effect and reverberation.

Contrary to this — the estimation of the first-born — the v a l u a b l e child is sometimes the son of an old man or even the son of old parents: Isaac; the son of the good Shunnamite (2 Kings IV. 14, 17); John, the Baptist (St. Luke I. 7, 18). Solomon is mentioned as the last-born son of his mother in the genealogies, 1 Chronicles III. 5. Cf. supra, p. 209 n. 14. Of Joseph it is said (Genesis XXXVII. 3) that his father Jacob loved him

more than he loved his other children, »because he was the son of his old age». Of the still younger Benjamin it is stated (Genesis XLIV. 20) that he is »a child of his (father's) old age, a little one», and that »his father loveth him». Cf. Genesis XLIII. 14. — The same — a son of his father's old age — may have been the case with David, who really was the youngest of his brethren (1 Samuel XVI. 11), and among them all God chose him to be king.

[39] This law concerning the first-born was later restricted to be valid in the case of a male child only; and every firstling among cattle, whether ox or sheep, that is male. Exodus XIII. 2, 12, 15 and XXII. 29 sq.; XXXIV. 19; Leviticus II. 14; Numbers III. 12 sq.; VIII. 17; Deuteronomy XV. 19 and St. Luke II. 23. — For a reason for giving the first-born to God, see also Numbers VIII. 17 sq.

[40] Redemption of the First-born. — According to the law the firstling of unclean beasts should be redeemed or killed. Numbers XVIII. 15 and Exodus XXXIV. 20. In the same connection it is said: »The firstborn of man» and »all the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem». — For numbering the first-born, see Numbers III. 40 sqq.

Another kind of redemption is found in Numbers III. 12, 41 and VIII. 16. One tribe, the Levites, belonged to God. »I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn that openeth the matrix among the children of Israel: therefore the Levites shall be mine.» This is a kind of redemption of a whole people. The Christian doctrine that mankind is redeemed because Christ, the only Son of God, was sacrificed is influenced by old Israelitic theories of sacrifice.

Isaac's sacrifice is a story of how child sacrifice is substituted by sacrifice of an animal. Genesis XXII. 2, 12 sq. For literature, see G u n k e l, Genesis, p. 239. — Also E i c h r o d t, Theologie des Alten Testaments, p. 63 and 69 sq. — Child sacrifice because of a holy vow to God by the father of the child is found in Judges XI. 31, 34, 39. In this case it was the only child, a daughter — and she could not be redeemed.

See also G o l l a n c z, Pedagogics of the Talmud, p. 31: Redeeming of first-born son after thirty days according to the command in Exodus XIII. 2. — E w a l d gives a description of the redeeming of the first-born among the Jews, in Journal of Missionary Labours in the City of Jerusalem, p. 122: A priest is invited by the father to accept the redemption of his son. The father gives a sum of money into the hand of the priest, and says: »Blessed art thou, O Lord God, King of the universe, that thou hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and enjoined upon us the redemption of our sons. . . .» The priest, having the redemption-money in his hand, passes it over the head of the child, and says, »This is instead of this; this is in exchange for this; this excuses this.» etc.

Among the Canaanites there seemed to be a child sacrifice for building. — 1 Kings XVI. 34 relates of such a sacrifice of a first-born and a last-

born. See also 2 Kings III. 27: sacrifice of the eldest son, the heir. Besides, there was child sacrifice to Molech. This was strongly forbidden (Leviticus XVIII. 21; XX. 2, 3 and Deuteronomy XII. 31 and XVIII. 10) but the Israelites did not always obey. Ahaz, King of Judah, made his son pass through fire, 2 Kings XVI. 3. — The Israelites caused sons and daughters to pass through fire and the Lord was angry with them, 2 Kings XVII. 17. — For child sacrifice, see also Isaiah LVII. 5 — B e n t z e n, Jesaja, II. p. 124 — Jeremiah XIX. 4, XXXII. 35; 2 Chronicles XXVIII. 3; Ezekiel XVI. 20 sq.; and Psalm CVI. 38: they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto the idols of Canaan. In Ezekiel XX. 26 God says: »I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb. . .». And Micah (VI. 7) asks himself: »Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?» and comes to the conclusion (VI. 8): »What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?» Micah belongs to the prophets who began to free themselves from the thought of a sacrifice in the old Israelitic meaning. Cf. Isaiah I. 11, 16 sq.; LXVI. 3, and B e n t z e n, Jesaja, II. p. 162: Polemic against a sacrifice cult, the act of sacrifice being characterized as suicide and blasphemy. Also Amos V. 21 sq.; Hosea VI. 6; Psalm L. 8 sq.; Proverbs XV. 8; St. Matthew IX. 13; XII. 7.

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[41] Genesis I. 28.

[42] Genesis XXII. 17.

[43] Genesis XXII. 17 and XXIV. 60.

[44] Ecclesiastes VI. 3. Cf. Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus) XVI. 3: a thousand children.

[45] 1 Samuel II. 20 sq.

[46] 1 Samuel II. 5.

[47] Ruth IV. 15. Still more fictitious are the words of Hannah's husband when he said to her (1 Samuel I. 8): »Am not I better to thee than ten sons?» — Cf. L a n e, The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, I. p. 116: »my daughter, who was worth a hundred men».

[48] See also the expression: »She that hath borne seven languisheth: she hath given up the ghost; her sun is gone down while it was yet day: she hath been ashamed and confounded». Jeremiah XV. 9.

To take examples of women from real life mentioned in the Bible. — Of the women in the genealogies in the first chapters of 1 Chronicles are mentioned: a wife with seven sons (VIII. 9 sq.); Keturah, the concubine of Abraham, with six sons (I. 32), but for the rest the number of children of women in these chapters varies between one and four sons (IV. 6 sq., 17 sqq.; VII. 14 sqq.; see also 2 Chronicles XI. 19). In 2 Maccabees VII. 1, 20 is mentioned a mother of seven sons, of seven good sons.

Examining the number of children of women in the Bible there is reason to make a difference between those women who have borne several sons and those who have had only a few children, perhaps only one child, but the valuable child.

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[49] I add some more examples of men with many children. — A judge in Israel had thirty sons and thirty daughters. Judges XII. 9. — Another judge, after him, had forty sons and thirty nephews. Judges XII. 14. — Ziba, King Saul's servant, had fifteen sons. 2 Samuel IX. 10 and XIX. 17. — King Ahab had seventy sons in Samaria. 2 Kings X. 1 and 6 sq. — In 1 Chronicles XXV. 5 it is said: »And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters» — »to lift up the horn»; and in XXVI. 2 sqq. there is an enumeration of a man's seven sons, and eight sons of another man, with the explanation, »for God blessed him». — Jesse, the father of David, had eight sons. 1 Samuel XVI. 10 sq. — Job had seven sons and three daughters, who died; and when his time of affliction was finished he again had seven sons and three daughters. Job I. 2 and XLII. 13 sq. — Esther V. 11: And Haman spoke of the multitude of his children.

In the Old Testament times people made the same experience as today that it is not always good for a man to have many children — Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus) XVI. 1—4 — and especially many children by different wives; e.g. Judges XI. 1 sqq. and 2 Samuel XIII. Infra, p. 270 n. 7. — Gemser, Sprüche Salomos, p. 56: »Sir und Sap Sal legen den ethischen Massstab an und halten Kinderlosigkeit für besser als schlechte Kinder; Sir 16_{1-5} Sap Sal 3_{13}—4_{6}».

[50] Signe Ekblad writes in Från krigsårens Jerusalem (From War Time in Jerusalem), p. 10, of the difficulties in rationing food in Palestine during the second World War on account of the people not trusting the authorities: »Were there any poor, ignorant Arabs who believed that the authorities wanted to know the number of their wives and children for any other purpose than — as the Turks formerly — for calling up all boys and men for service? However, when they observed that there was a question of rationing cards they allowed themselves to be entered on the list of, not only their home but also of their working place and of the house they owned and let!» (Author's transl.) — This is mentioned to show the difficulties of obtaining correct information from the natives.

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[51] Fadiye used the words: il-'aqabe il-mansiye. Cf. Granqvist, Birth, p. 65.

[52] This is experienced by women of all peoples, all lands and all

times. Among my biblical parallels I wish to quote words used by Jesus who so often takes his observations from everyday life:

»A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world.» St. John XVI. 21 and also St. Matthew XXIV. 8.

[53] Lit. she had borne twelve wombs.

[54] Cf. Baldensperger, Birth, p. 130: Ask an Arab peasant how many children he has, he will either laugh at your question, or »Beg pardon» — »Is taghfar Allah, for meddling with God's blessing. Counting anything is sinful.»

[55] David's counting of Israel was considered a great sin for which God sent a pestilence upon the people. David confessed that he had done very foolishly and evil indeed and asked God not to punish the people for the numbering which, as he said, was his fault. Then the Lord commanded the angel, and he put his sword again into the sheath thereof. But even after that David himself was in danger, »he was afraid because of the sword of the angel of the Lord.» The numbering was never finished, »because there fell wrath for it against Israel.» This event is very exhaustively and dramatically described in 1 Chronicles XXI; XXVII. 23 sq. and 2 Samuel XXIV. — For God's sword, see infra, p. 247 n. 15.

For rules to be observed at taking a census, see Exodus XXX. 12—16; Numbers I and XXVI. Counting the children of Israel every man should give a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, that there be no plague among them when numbering them (cf. Leviticus XXVII. 2 sqq.), and only men from twenty years old and upwards should be counted. It is stated, 1 Chronicles XXVII. 23, that »David took not the number of them from twenty years old and under: because the Lord had said he would increase Israel like to the stars of the heavens.» It was especially dangerous to count children, and they were in general not numbered; for an exception see Numbers III. 15 sqq.; 40 sqq.; XXVI. 62 — Cf. Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament, II. p. 556: The sin of census. — Aversion of people to count or be counted.

[56] Cf. Dalman, Arbeit und Sitte, I. p. 582, and Bauer, Volksleben im Lande der Bibel, p. 195. — Goldziher, Über umschreibende Zahlenbezeichnungen im Arabischen, in ZDMG XLIX. p. 210 sq.

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[57] There is also a special term for this: hajanat hajûn by which they mean that a woman bears a child before there is any sign of sexual maturity. Elias Haddad: hajanat comes from the verb »to carry» as applied to a camel. — E. Littmann (in his review on Granqvist, Marriage Conditions, I.): »zunächst wäre es zu übersetzen: 'Ein Mädchen ist verheiratet, ehe es mannbar war.'»

[58] In the Bible a sacrifice of the first-born and the last-born of a

man is mentioned at the building up of the city of Jericho. 1 Kings XVI. 34; Joshua VI. 26. — In Genesis XLIV. 30 it is said that Jacob's life is bound up in his youngest son Benjamin's life, and it may be asked if this is only a phrase to express great sorrow. An accident befallen to Benjamin — the last-born — would have killed his father (as his birth had cost his mother her life, the beloved wife of his father). Genesis XLIV. 29, 31, 34; (XXXV. 19). Cf. infra. p. 268 n. 115: the bundle of life. — As to order of precedence of first-born and last-born, see Genesis XLIII. 33: »And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth». — For the rights of the first-born among the old Israelites, see supra, p. 212 n. 38. For the rights of the first-born among Arabs, see Henninger, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 123 sq.

[59] Cf. Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, I. p. 402—4: »Twins are very welcome if they are boys.» — »A mother of twins, as has been said above, is generally considered to have b a r a k a.» Such a mother cures persons who are ill by putting her right heel on the affected part of the patient's body; and this power of curing illness is possessed by her not only shortly after the birth of the twins, but for the rest of her life. A mother of triplets has also curative power.

Twins mentioned in the Bible. — One of the disciples of Jesus is »Thomas, which is called Didymus», both names meaning »Twin». St. John XI. 16; XX. 24; XXI. 2. — Rebekah bore twins, Esau and Jacob, who »struggled together within her», and at the birth Jacob's »hand took hold on Esau's heel» — symbolic and characteristic of their hatred. Cf. Rebekah's words: »If it be so, why am I thus?» and the explanation of it. Genesis XXV. 22—26. — Hosea XII. 3: »He took his brother by the heel in the womb.» The fight between them reached its climax at a later age. — For twins who fight each other already in the mother's womb, see Gunkel, Genesis, p. 294: »Ähnliches erzählt Apollodor Biblioth. II 2_1 von Akrisios und Proitos: Söhne des Abas, Königs von Argos, Zwillingsbrüder, stritten sie sich schon im Mutterleibe.» — When Tamar bore twins it was also a kind of struggle and jealousy between the brothers: at birth the one put out his hand first and his brother broke forth and came out before him, so that the brother whom the midwife thought should be the first-born was displaced by the other. Genesis XXXVIII. 27—30. This is a variation of the rivalry between the first-born and the last-born already at birth. — Sheep bearing twins used figuratively in Song of Solomon IV. 2 and VI. 6. In Finland I have heard that there are some breeds that usually, or very often, bear twins while other breeds seldom or never have twins. — For killing of twins, see Payne, The Child in Human Progress, p. 31—34. For twins, see Ploss-Bartel, Das Weib, II. p. 365—370.

[60] For the fate of children, see also Granqvist, Marriage, II. — if mother is divorced, p. 287; if mother dies, p. 292 sq.; widow granted permission from her father's house to remain with her children, p. 299

sq., 302; her father's house has no duties towards her children, p. 316; widow may remain with her children: if she does not remarry, p. 299 sqq., if she marries her brother-in-law (levirate marriage), p. 305, if she takes a visiting husband, p. 312 sqq.; widow manages children's property, p. 319, and has support and help in her children, p. 321, 324. — Supra, p. 173 sq. — Wellhausen, Die Ehe bei den Arabern, p. 495 sq.: »Nicht einfach ist die Frage zu beantworten, wo die Kinder bleiben, wenn der Vater stirbt oder sich von der Mutter scheidet.» The author sees the question from different points of view (quoted in Granqvist, op. cit. II. p. 301 n. 2) but concludes with the remark that children share the mother's fate. — Payne, The Child in Human Progress, p. 183: »If the mother of an infant died, the right of Hidana, or infant education, rested with the maternal grandmother.» See also Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 301.

In present times children belong more to the husband and his relatives than to the mother. Cf. Schmidt-Kahle, Volkserzählungen aus Palästina, p. 108 n. 27: »Die Kinder gehören dem Manne und nächst ihm seinen männlichen Angehörigen.» The author mentions a case, when the children were taken away from the widow by the dead husband's brother. — For the position of children at divorce and death of a parent, see also Henninger, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 115, 118, 120.

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[61] Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 13 and 90.

[62] Ibid. II. p. 321 sq. — Payne, The Child in Human Progress, p. 182 sq.: »It is recorded that a woman once applied to the prophet, saying, 'O, prophet of God! this is my son, the fruit of my womb, cherished in my bosom and suckled at my breast, and his father is desirous of taking him away from me into his own care'; to which the prophet replied, 'Thou hast a right in the child prior to that of thy husband, so long as thou dost not marry with a stranger.'» — Cf. Matthews, Mishkât, II. p. 145: A divorced woman has a claim to her children in priority to the father as long as she does not marry. And p. 146: The Prophet allowed to a son an option to stay with his father or mother when they separated.

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[63] Again, Jennings-Bramley (The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula, in PEQ XXXVII. 1905, p. 213): »it is remarkable with what apparent light-heartedness a woman will leave her children behind and marry another man, and perhaps care for his family by another woman.» The author thinks that if a woman is divorced without right cause, the sheikh may interfere and force the husband to give the wife her children.

Philby (The Heart of Arabia, I. p. 93) relates of Ibn Sa'ud that he has had many wives, 75—100 wives, or more, although only three at the same time. If one of his wives has a child, she does not as a rule go to another husband but remains with the royal child in her own house. — It was very likely similar in the old Israel where a king's wife belonged to the king and remained in the women's house, even if he did not have intercourse with her any more. And a king probably inherited his predecessor's harem. — Esther II. 14. — In 2 Samuel XII. 7 sq. God said to David: »I anointed thee king over Israel. . . And I gave thee thy master's house, and thy master's wives into thy bosom». — 1 Kings II. 17 sqq.: David's son Adonijah bids Bathsheba to request King Solomon to give him their father's widow Abishag for a wife, and Solomon answers Bathsheba: »Why dost thou ask Abishag the Shunammite for Adonijah? ask for him the kingdom also; for he is mine elder brother». (For kingdom given to the first-born, cf. 2 Chronicles XXI. 3.) Adonijah was killed for his audacity. To ask for a wife of the dead king in marriage might be understood as a wish to obtain the crown. — A parallel may be seen in Absalom going in unto his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel. 2 Samuel XVI. 21 sq.; XX. 3. Cf. XII. 11, XV. 16 and also III. 7. — Was the prohibition of sexual intercourse with the father's wife (Leviticus XVIII. 8; XX. 11 and Deuteronomy XXVII. 20) not valid in such a case? Cf. a prince may marry his sister, infra, p. 270.

[64] It was very likely similar in the Old Testament days. A brother had to raise up seed to a brother who died childless, and why should he not be responsible for a dead brother's children.

[65] I am thy camel i.e. I will bear all thy burdens, I will be a support for thee. Cf. Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 319 sq. — Jennings-Bramley, (The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula, in PQS XXXVIII. 1906, p. 256): an example of the high value of a camel: »A favourite saying among Arabs is 'Since my camel is pleased I am pleased,' and this is a true description of their state of mind, for the Arab thinks of his camel long before he thinks of himself, and all his thoughts centre round it.» For high value of camel, see also Granqvist, op. cit. I. p. 120.

[66] Supra, p. 173.

[67] See also Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 100.

[68] Cf. Idem, Birth, p. 150.

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[69] St. Matthew IX. 6; St. Mark II. 11 sq.; St. Luke V. 24 and St. John V. 9—11.

[70] Granqvist, Arabiskt familjeliv, p. 43, 45 sq.

[71] Idem, Marriage, I. p. 79; Idem, Birth, p. 207.

[72] Ibid. p. 206.

[73] They were her sister Shakra's two children: Fatme and Ibrahim Odtallah.

Other orphans in Artas were: Fatme Jedallah, whose father's brother gave her in marriage in order to pay her father's debts. Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 27. — Atiye Abed of the Shahin family, Idem, Birth, p. 150. — Mhammadiye (Maria) of the Meshani clan, father dead, mother accused of immorality, killed by her brother. Supra, p. 71 sq. Regarding her fate, see Granqvist, Birth, p. 151 sq. — Three orphan brothers, sons of Abed of the Sliman Ode family, brought up by their father's sister, Sabha Sliman. The eldest son, Abd il-Hamid, was married to Hamde Ahmad — also an orphan. Idem, Marriage, I. p. 90. For father's sister's vow and joy when the two other boys, Mhammad and Ahmad, were grown up, see supra, p. 119. (Case 5).

[74] See also Roberts, The Social Laws of the Qorân, p. 40—46, on the duties of guardians towards children. P. 40 sq.: »One of the most commendable things which one finds in reading the Qorân is the solicitude which Muhammad shows for the young, and especially for such as have been deprived of their natural guardians. Again and again he insists upon a kind and just treatment being accorded to children. And working upon his words, the Muhammedan doctors have framed a system of rules concerning the appointment and duties of guardians which is most complete, and extending to the most minute details.» The author refers to the Koran IV. 4 sqq. and adds (p. 42 sq.): »Consequently, among the Muhammedans the misappropriation of the estate of an orphan is regarded as one of the great sins, the number of which is generally reckoned to be seven». After quoting the Koran VI. 153; IV. 2, 11 and referring to XVII. 36 he says: »Thus every care must be taken of the children and of their possessions. Guardians must nourish and clothe them, and treat them in a friendly manner. That is, everything is to be done in order to make their lives as pleasant as possible.» — Wensinck, Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 180: »Dishonest dealing with possessions of orphans one of the capital sins. — Bounty or kindness to orphans rewarded by Allâh.»

Similarly in the Old Testament. The many passages where the fatherless is mentioned are partly a summons not to wrong or oppress but to judge the widow, the fatherless child, or the stranger in Israel (Exodus XXII. 22; Deuteronomy XIV. 29; XXIV. 17, 19 sq.; XXVI. 12; XXVII. 19; Psalm LXXXII. 3 sq.; Proverbs XXIII. 10 sq.; Isaiah I. 17; Jeremiah VII. 6; XXII. 3 and Zechariah VII. 10), and partly they indicate that this duty has been fulfilled (Job XXIX. 12; similarly XXXI. 16 sq. and 21), and partly they point out as well that this duty has not been observed (Job XXII. 9; XXIV. 3, 9 and Isaiah I. 23). The often repeated warnings show that all was not as it should be. Similarly the often repeated combination: the fatherless, the widow, the poor and the stranger — all those who have not a natural right and a natural supporter, but who are more or less left to the mercy of others. In Lamentations V. 1, 3 — a reference to difficulties is found in the following words: »Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us: consider,

and behold our reproach... We are orphans and fatherless, our mothers are as widows.»

[75] Cf. Psalm LXVIII. 5: »A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation.» X. 14: »thou art the helper of the fatherless»; also Deuteronomy X. 18; Psalm CXLVI. 9. And Proverbs XXIII. 11 on the fatherless: »For their redeemer is mighty; he shall plead their cause with thee». Also Malachi III. 5 and Jeremiah XLIX. 11. — Again punishment for sin: »Therefore the Lord shall have no joy in their young men, neither shall have mercy on their fatherless and widows». Isaiah IX. 17.

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[76] Musil says (Arabia Petraea, III. p. 215) that the navel-cord is not bound upon an illegitimate child »und man verscharrt es im Sande.» — Jennings-Bramley, The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula, in PQS XXXVII. 1905, p. 217: »Illegitimate children are, I might say, unknown.» Thomas, Anthropological Observations in South Arabia, p. 91: »Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the great freedom enjoyed.» Both these authors think that early and universal marriage ist the reason. — Westermarck, writing on illegitimate childbirth and children in The Future of Marriage, quotes (p. 178) Le Bon, La Civilisation des Arabes, p. 424. See also Henninger, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 31 sq., 47 and 130 sq.: illegitimacy. Ibid. p. 102: Child not always desired; preventive measures and means of abortion.

As to the Old Testament: God has no mercy upon children of whoredoms. And: »A bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord; even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation of the Lord.» Hosea II. 4; Deuteronomy XXIII. 2; also Genesis XXXVIII. 24. — This is however not valid for sons of concubines; they are registered in the genealogies in the Old Testament. Also: Jephthah, the Gileadite, was a mighty man of valour, and he was the son of an harlot. Judges XI. 1.

[77] For numerical proportion between boys and girls among Arabs, see also Henninger, op. cit. p. 98 sq.

[78] For sex depending upon place where born, see also Canaan, The Child, p. 168: »A mother who has lost all of her children or who is blessed only with daughters believes that if she bears the next child in the house of a family which has many living sons, the coming child will be a boy who has great chances of surviving.» — Meissner, Assyriologische Forschungen, p. 2: »Wenn ein Mann inmitten eines Feldes und Gartens die Begattung vornimmt, wird seine Frau den erwünschten Knaben gebären. Wenn er dagegen die Begattung an einem wüsten

Ort vornimmt, wird seine Frau Mädchen zur Welt bringen, bei deren Ankunft der Vater ebenso traurig war wie heute der moderne Orientale.» — Goldschmidt, Der Babylonische Talmud, I. p. 14: »Jeder, der sein Bett in der Richtung von Norden nach Süden setzt, bekommt männliche Kinder, denn es heisst: Durch deinen Norden füllst du ihren Leib, sie werden Söhne in Fülle haben.» (Psalm XVII. 14). And: »auch gebährt dessen Frau keine Fehlgeburt».

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[79] In 2 Kings II. 19 sqq. it is said that the water in Jericho caused miscarriages in the country. — For place bringing death and misfortune to parents and their children born there, see Jeremiah XVI. 2 sqq. For land bereaving its inhabitants of children and men, see Ezekiel XXXVI. 12 sqq.

[80] For great lack of men as punishment in the Bible, see Isaiah IV. 1: »And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man,» asking him to let them be called after his name, to take away their reproach, and promising him that he will have no expenses for them, they will themselves provide their bread and wear their own apparel.

[81] Granqvist, Jesu födelse i muhammedansk betlehemitisk legend, p. 140. — Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, III. p. 368.

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[82] Cf. Musil, Rwala Bedouins, p. 430 sq.: »I stand under the protection of this pole. . . I put myself under the protection of thy wife, of thy children, of thy mare, of thy herd going to the pasture, and of the son employed with them.» — For expressions used by a fugitive seeking protection, see also Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 322.

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[83] The days of the week may influence the sex of the child to be born. Musil, op. cit. p. 231: If a man wishes to have a boy he shall have sexual connection with his wife on the night between Thursday and Friday. — Jaussen, Moab, p. 30: A boy born on Saturday will die, if measures are not taken to prevent it. Wednesday is considered as unlucky a day as Saturday, but not among all Arabs.

[84] Compare the Tree of Life. — Also infra, p. 226 n. 101 and 268 n. 115.

[85] Citrullus Colocynthis, L., Bitter Cucumber. — Crowfoot and Baldensperger, From Cedar to Hyssop, p. 57.

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[86] Or, the Night of Honour. — Ramadan, the Month of Abstinence.

[87] People who see visions are often frightened at first.

[88] Cf. the call of Samuel which this story resembles in form. 1

Samuel III. 4 sqq. See also Genesis XXII. 11: »And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here am I.»

[89] Cf. Granqvist, Birth, p. 62 sq., 234 n. 16, for heaven open.

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[90] It is incumbent on every Muhammadan to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his life unless poverty or ill health prevent him.

[91] In all, five sons and two daughters died. Three daughters survived. One of them, Helwe, lost three small children — one girl and two boys — and died childless.

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[92] The name of the killed woman was Safiye il-Atrash. For the fate of her orphaned daughter, Mhammadiye (Maria), see supra, p. 220 n. 73.

[93] Lit. the sin of a woman.

[94] Cf. Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 83, 138, supra, p. 123 (Case 13) and 140 sq.; infra, p. 247 n. 17.

See also on the same family, Crowfoot, Custom and Folk Tale in Palestine — The Dowry or Bride Price, esp. p. 33: »The family with too many sons» where the author refers to my work. Instead of »The family with too many sons» I think it would be more correct to say »the family with too few girls».

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[95] Supra, p. 221, n. 77.

[96] For impotent husband, see also Granqvist, Marriage II. p. 156, 264, 266, 286 n. 1, and Henninger, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 98, 101, 109, 112, 115.

When Abraham says to God: »I go childless», and »to me thou hast given no seed» (Genesis XV. 2 sq.), it refers mainly to Sarah being barren. Yet he later had sons by Hagar as well as by Sarah. There is a possibility that he had had children already earlier by other women — as still later by Keturah — children which were not acknowledged as heirs. Cf. in spite of the fact that Isaac had brothers he was called the only son of his father. Supra, p. 211 n. 35, 37. And in any case it must be remembered that Orientals often exaggerate. E.g. Jacob, the father of 12 sons, when fearing the loss of some of them, said to his sons: »Me have ye bereaved of my children», and: »If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.» Genesis XLII. 36; XLIII. 14.

[97] Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, p. 132: »Among the Arab customs of the times of heathenism recorded by Bokhâri (6127)» we find the following usage: »When a man desired a goodly seed he

might call upon his wife to cohabit with another man till she became pregnant by him. The child, as in the similar case in Hindu law, was the husband's son.» And p. 135: »It was a new thing to attach weight to physical paternity and that in old time the mother's husband was the father.»

[98] For barren woman, see also Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 166, 244, 246. Ashkenazi, Tribus Semi-Nomades de la Palestine du Nord, p. 69 sq.; Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 80: The estimation of a wife depends to a great extent upon her fruitfulness and upon the preservation of her children, and barrenness is still considered in the East a curse and a reproach. — For barrenness as leading to polygyny, see Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 167, 211 sq.; Milliot, La Femme Musulmane au Maghreb, p. 247 sq. where also statistics for polygynous unions from the year 1900 in Algeria are found; Henninger, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 98. — For barrenness as reason for divorce, see Wilson, Peasant Life in the Holy Land, p. 94: For a wife to be childless is, among the Muhammadans, ample reason for divorce; Pierotti, Customs and Traditions of Palestine, p. 191: Arab rude but kind to wife when she bears him plenty of male children, but childless wife always divorced among Muhammadans; Henninger, op. cit. p. 112: »Der häufigste Scheidungsgrund ist Unfruchtbarkeit der Frau»; references to literature are given, p. 112 n. 52. — Barrois, Précis d'archéologie biblique, p. 143: »la stérilité est considérée comme un opprobre et entraîne bien souvent la répudiation.»

As to barrenness mentioned in the Bible the following may be said:

In Isaiah LIV. 1, Jerusalem is addressed as the childless and barren wife who soon will be surrounded by many children. In XLIX. 21 she says: »Who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? and who have brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where had they been?»

Bentzen (Jesaja, II. p. 85) says with reference to Buhl on XLIX. 20: »The 'children of childlessness' are not the children she has lost, but the children born to her while she was childless». He adds: »V. 21 describes Jerusalem's surprise at these children which she did not bear herself. At the back of this description lies the idea known from the examples of Sarah and of Jacob's wives that some one else could bear you a child. In accordance herewith Jerusalem mentions herself as being 'childless and desolate'.» (Author's transl.)

Surely there were among the old Israelites songs expressing a barren wife's joy when she received a child as her own through another woman. When the joy of Jerusalem is expressed in words which begin with the exclamation: »Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child», these words may refer to, or have been taken from a song sung on the occasion of a child being born to a woman during her childlessness. — Isaiah LIV. 1; Galatians IV. 27.

The joy is still greater to a woman generally considered barren if she at last bears a child. For words of joy and triumph of such a woman, as expressed in Hannah's song or »prayer», see 1 Samuel II. 1 sqq., esp. v. 5; and at the namegiving of children, see Genesis XXX. 6, 8, 11, 13, 23. Cf. supra, p. 57 sq.

As already said, many a wife in the Bible who was said to be barren is cured and receives a child because God opens her womb. G r a n q v i s t, Birth, p. 222 n. 18. Also the prophet Elisha cures a barren wife. 2 Kings IV. 16 sq. — In Genesis XI. 30 it is stated: »But Sarai was barren; she had no child.» — Of Manoah it is said (Judges XIII. 2): »and his wife was barren, and bare not.» — In St. Luke I. 7 it is said: »Elisabeth was barren», but v. 36: she has »conceived a son in her old age»; and »this is the sixth month with her, who was called barren.»

What a reparation for a barren woman to have such words said about her!

It was a blessing from God not to be barren. Exodus XXIII. 26; Deuteronomy VII. 14. Infra p. 250 n. 44. — For barrenness as punishment from God, see G r a n q v i s t, Birth, p. 222 n. 18. But when in 2 Samuel VI. 23 it is said that Michal had no child unto her death because she critized David, her husband, it should be remarked that she had had sons before by another husband. The barren woman was an unhappy creature, to do evil to »the barren that beareth not» was compared with to do evil to the widow. Job XXIV. 21. — For the combination: the grave, the barren womb and the earth that is not filled with water, see Proverbs XXX. 16.

Sheep not barren, is used figuratively in Song of Solomon IV. 2 and VI. 6. — Cattle not barren, Deuteronomy VII. 14. In Genesis XXXI. 38: »thy ewes and thy she goats have not cast their young». And abortion figuratively about the vine: »neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field». Malachi III. 11. Barren land, in 2 Kings II. 21.

An untimely birth, in Exodus XXIII. 26; Numbers XII. 12; Job III. 16; Psalm LVIII. 8; Ecclesiastes VI. 3.

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[99] For Abraham's two sons: the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman, see Galatians IV. 22. And v. 30: »Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the freewoman.» Cf. Proverbs XXX. 21, 23: For the things for which the earth is disquieted and which she cannot bear are among others, »an handmaid that is heir to her mistress». For children of slaves and slaves as heirs, see supra, p. 204 n. 52.

[100] An enemy may make knots on a piece of cord during the ceremony when the marriage contract is made in order to bind bride and bridegroom away from each other; only if the knots are loosened the husband can consummate the marriage. Cf. G r a n q v i s t, Marriage, II. p. 27

sq., 53 n. 2, 152, 153 n.l, and 281. Magical knots are mentioned in the Koran CXIII, and in Daniel V. 12, 16 where the words: »dissolve doubts» really mean »untie knots». To-day people appeal to a sheikh for help, as he can tie or dissolve magical knots. — See also Scheftelowitz, Alt-Palästinischer Bauernglaube, p. 96, on magic: »binding», »knots», knots as reminders, dust, etc.

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[101] For this expression, see also Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 166. Cf. St. Matthew III. 10; also XXI. 19, and St. Mark XI. 13 sq.; St. Luke III. 9; XIII. 6 sqq. — For man compared to tree, see Psalm I. 3: »And he shall be like a tree... that bringeth forth his fruit in his season». Also Psalm LXXX. 8 sqq. In CXXVIII. 3 it is said: »Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine», and »thy children like olive plants», and in CXLIV. 12, sons are compared to plants. In Isaiah LVI. 3: the eunuch shall not be a dry tree. Further examples are: mother like a vine planted by the waters, fruitful and full of branches by reason of many waters (Ezekiel XIX. 10); Israel, a vine and the fruit thereof, a green olivetree and the fruit thereof (Jeremiah II. 21 and XI. 16 sq., 19); Israel, like grapes in the wilderness and their fathers as the firstripe in the fig tree at her first time (Hosea IX. 10). Cf. Isaiah LXI. 3: »trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord». — Again: »His roots shall be dried up beneath, and above shall his branch be cut off.» Job XVIII. 16. Cf. XV. 33. — Also Genesis XLIX. 22; Psalm CXLIV. 12, and St. John XV. 5 sq.; Romans XI. 24. — Supra, p. 69.

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[102] Granqvist, Birth. p. 98.

[103] In Assyriologische Forschungen, p. 8, Meissner referring to Delitzsch, says of the magical power of stones: There were »Steine zum Lieben, zum Nichtlieben, zum schwanger werden» and »zum Gebären und zum Nichtgebähren.»

Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 352 sq.: Practice of preventing barrenness by blood from decapitated man or by stepping over his body; also to expedite delivery in the case of a protracted pregnancy. — Scheftelowitz gives (Alt-Palästinischer Bauernglaube, § 35—41, p. 85—96) the following »Fruchtbarkeitsgebräuche»: a hen, corn, nuts, fish, nudity of woman, stone, »Weide im Regenzauber», water, sacrifice. — Jaussen, Moab, p. 35 sqq.: woman dressing in garments of fruitful woman and other means of procuring children.

[104] Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 28. Idem, Arabiskt familjeliv, p. 36 sqq.

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[105] Idem, Birth, p. 69.

[106] Idem, Marriage, II. p. 176, 196, 200 sq.

[107] Cf. Exodus XXI. 7 sqq.: Even a woman sold to a man as a maidservant has a right of intercourse with her master, or his son. — And the husband must have intercourse with his wife's maidservant in order that she may have children by him. Genesis XVI. 2; XXX. 3 sqq., 9 sqq.

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[108] Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 172, 307, 309 sq.

[109] Ibid. II. p. 172 n. 3. — In Artas I was told of a man who, when he entered and saw his newborn son said: This boy will be my death. And soon after the father died. — A dead person can also draw children to himself. Supra, p. 48. — In Jerusalem Canon Hanauer told me that there is a custom among the Jews of putting a coin in the mouth of a dead boy, if several boys of the family have died before him, for the purpose of preventing further deaths of sons. — Se also Sartori, Die Totenmünze, p. 205 etc.: A coin in the mouth of the dead.

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[110] See also Baldensperger, Birth, p. 130 sq.: 3—6 children grow up but generally half the number born die in infancy or soon after birth. Canaan, The Child, p. 185: »The rate of mortality is enormous, especially among the peasants and the poorer class of city dwellers. In statistics kept by me in the year 1925, I found that of 2185 pregnancies 20 per cent ended in abortions and still-births. Of the remaining 1740 children born alive, 44.7 per cent succumbed within a brief time.» — Philby, The Heart of Arabia, p. 96 sq.: »Infant mortality is a terrible scourge in Arabia, thanks mainly to smallpox, and, though circumstances obviously did not favour my taking a census of such losses, I made a rough calculation, on the basis of enquiries from those with whom I came into contact, to the effect that between seventy-five and eighty per cent of the children born in Wahhabiland fail to survive the first few years of life.» — See also Henninger, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 59.

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[111] The Arabic expression meaning »the inheritance is lost», is used for a man who dies without male descendants. In the Old Testament the expression »his name is put out of Israel», stood in near connection with the fact that his inheritance was lost. Compare the words of Zelophehad's daughters: »Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family, because he hath no son? Give unto us therefore a possession among the brethren of our father.» And so it was. A law was brought out stating that if a man died without sons his daughter inherited him, but on the conditions that every daughter that possesses an inheritance shall become the wife of a man belonging to

the family of the tribe of her father. — Zelophehad's daughters were married to their father's brothers' sons. (Cousin marriage). Numbers XXVII. 4, 8; XXXVI. 8, 10 sq.; also XXVI. 33; Joshua XVII. 3 sq. — Similarly 1 Chronicles XXIII. 22: »Eleazar died, and had no sons, but daughters: and their 'brethren' the sons of Kish took them» — Kish being their father's brother. — For the duty of a girl, who was her father's only child, to marry a near relative of her father's, a cousin, because of her inherited property, see also Tobit VI. 11 sqq. and VII. 2, 10.

Again, in 1 Chronicles II. 34 sq. it is said that a man, who had daughters only, gave one of his daughters to an Egyptian servant (who probably was adopted by the family of the tribe. — Abraham, too, thought of leaving his possessions to his servant, if he received no son by Sarah, Genesis XV. 3 sq.). — Daughters could inherit even if the father had a son. It is said (Job XLII. 15) that Job gave his daughters inheritance among their brethren. — For levirate marriage as a way of keeping a dead man's name in remembrance and his inheritance intact, see Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 304 sqq.

Still another way of preserving the name in Israel was to have memorial stones erected. Absalom had no son to keep his name in remembrance but a pillar called after him in the King's dale. 2 Samuel XVIII. 18; cf. XIV. 27. And pious eunuchs were given memorial tablets inside the temple walls and in this way a name better than of sons and of daughters: an everlasting name. Isaiah LVI. 5.

In 2 Samuel XIV. 2 sqq. there is a special case showing that the king could command blood revenge to be withdrawn in certain cases. The revengers of blood were not allowed to kill a murderer who was a widow's only son; they were not allowed to quench her coal which was left. And he must be left to maintain his father's name and memory.

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[112] Cf. Matthews, Miskât, I. p. 321 marg. n.: »An animal for sacrifice must be without blemish.» Similarly in the Old Testament. Exodus XII. 5; Leviticus IV. 32; Malachi I. 8 — and v. 14: »But cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his flock a male, and voweth, and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing.»

When it is said that a man takes a good lamb from the flock for sacrifice and God chooses the good child there is the thought that every death is a sacrifice, but also a sacrifice that can be replaced by an animal, a sheep. The comparison of people to sheep is close at hand among shepherds and has been introduced into Christianity by the New Testament but occurs already in the Old Testament. For people as the sheep of God's pasture, for people killed and counted as sheep for slaughter, see 2 Samuel XXIV. 17; Psalm XLIV. 22; LXXIV. 1; LXXIX. 13; XCV. 7; C. 3; CVII. 41; Jeremiah XI. 19; XII. 3; Romans VIII. 36, cf. St. John X. 11 sqq.; also I. 29.

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[113] Cf. the proverb in which the Oriental mother says of her children: »If they were a hundred (or, a thousand), they would be dearer than my eyes.» This proverb which is universal, is quoted by Canaan, The Child, p. 170 and Singer-Littmann, Arabic Proverbs, nr. 125, p. 58.

[114] Also in the language of the Old Testament similar expressions — mourning an only son and the first-born — are met with. Jeremiah VI. 26; Amos VIII. 10; and Zechariah XII. 10: »they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn.» — For a mother bitterly weeping for her children, see Jeremiah XXXI. 15 and St. Matthew II. 17 sq. In Jeremiah XVI. 7 is mentioned the cup of consolation given to drink for the loss of the father or the mother.

[115] Supra, p. 145, and Granqvist, Marriage, II. 103 sq. n.

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[116] Cf. Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 292.

[117] Cf. Idem, Birth, p. 265 n. 5: Sacrifice of suckling lambs and one year old lambs in the old Israel.

WELFARE OF CHILD

(Pages 95—133)

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[1] Granqvist, Birth, p. 116.

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[2] Supra, p. 92.

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[3] According to the Annual Report of the American Colony Aid Association in Jerusalem, 1931—32, p. 13 sq., cupping is a remedy much used in the East. »The barber does cupping». — »He also cauterizes for all sorts of diseases — on the top of the head for sore eyes and headache, on the arm and leg for rheumatism, under the baby's tongue for the least suspicion of its being tongue tied». A baby brought to the Centre »looked as though it had smallpox. Fifty blisters had been made on the little stomach with a red hot nail by a barber, to cure it from vomiting; and seven more scars were made on each side to help it breathe.» Ibid. p. 13: »In the East barbers are semi-doctors, and the profession is hereditary. They are also dentists.» — Lees, The Witness of the Wilderness, p. 131: »Branding with a hot iron ..... is a feeble resource of the desert people, but it often produces most excellent results.» — See also Canaan, The Child. p. 184: for cupping, cauterizing — and for bleeding as a cure: If a child has fever »the back surface of the ears is cut superficially and repeatedly with a razor. In respiratory troubles the back is bled.»

[4] Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 289.

[5] Canaan mentions, The Child, p. 183, as causes of disease: cold or a non-fulfilled desire. If a child does not get the thing he craves for he may get fever or diarrhoea or waste away. »We often hear mothers excuse themselves for giving the child every prohibited thing by saying, 'He asked for it.'» For craving of a child, see also Granqvist, Birth, p. 38 sqq., 44 and 227 n. 39.

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[6] See also Canaan, The Child, p. 183, for »fright» as a cause of disease and the »Fear Cup» as a remedy. »Another cure is to make the frightened child drink the urine of another child or of an old woman who has stopped menstruating». This drives out the demons.

Even in modern medicine shocks are used.

[7] Dalman, Arbeit und Sitte, I. p. 361, of a plant which as protection against snakes and scorpions is placed under the bed. — Jennings-Bramley, The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula, in PEQ XXXVIII. 1906, p. 197: »An Arab who gives his child burnt scorpion to swallow believes he is giving him a medicine whose natural properties are to render him invulnerable to the poison of scorpions». Ibid. (PEQ XXXVII. 1905, p. 133) it is said that medicine men suck the wound of scorpion or snake bite. Their saliva has curative power. — In Artas I was told that the saliva of certain derwishes has healing worth. The belief in the curative power of the saliva is found among many peoples and is also mentioned of the prophet Muhammad (Matthews, Mishkât, I. p. 341), and in the Bible of Jesus (St. Mark VIII. 23). — Jaussen. describes, Naplouse, p. 34, a serpent ceremony — against Karine — at the birth of a child, and says that certain sheikhs »avancés dans l'ascèse», pretend to be immune against the poison of serpents and even to be able to traduce this remarkable gift to their disciples. »L'acte de tradition de ce pouvoir», the ceremony by which »le disciple est immunisé contre les morsures venimeuses du serpent», is mentioned. — Also Idem, Moab, p. 29.

Cf. St. Luke X. 19 where Jesus says to the disciples: »Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions .... and nothing shall by any means hurt you», and St. Mark XVI. 18 signs which shall follow them that believe: »They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them». It is related of St. Paul, the Apostle, in The Acts XXVIII. 3 sqq. that when he, after being shipwrecked came to the island Melita a viper fastened on his hand. And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hanging on his hand, they thought he was a murderer whom, »though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live». But when they saw that he was not harmed »they changed their minds and said that he was a god.»

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[8] For blackening the eyes, see Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 53, and Lane, Modern Egyptians I. p. 51 sqq. This custom is very ancient and prevailed also among the Israelite women in Bible times. See 2 Kings IX. 30: »painted her face» for »painted her eyes»; and Ezekiel XXIII. 40: »they came: for whom thou didst wash thyself, paintedst thy eyes».

[9] Granqvist, Birth, p. 96.

[10] Cf. Canaan, The Child, p. 166: »Some organs — like the eye — are being continually protected by a special angel-guard. This is why accidents injuring the face seldom affect the eyes.»

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[11] Cf. Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 99: »People think that when the man goes in with his bride, they are in greater danger than in other circumstances, as a new house is more exposed to danger than an old one, just as an animal — new in the house — is exposed to greater danger than an animal which has been there for a long time already, and as a child is more exposed to danger than a grown-up person.»

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[12] Granqvist, Birth, p. 30 sqq.

[13] Cf. Hanauer, Folk-Lore of the Holy Land, p. 189 sq.: Eve bore forty children at a time but could not nourish more than twenty of them, so she kept twenty and the other twenty she threw away. Adam did not believe her when she said that she had given birth to twenty. He asked God to let all those that she had thrown away live beneath the earth and let them come out onto the earth in the night. — Canaan refers to Hanauer and adds, Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel, p. 7 sq.: »Auf diesen Aberglauben uns stützend, können wir manche Frage rationell erklären, nämlich die Gefährlichkeit der Nacht und das Erscheinen der Dämonen am Freitag. Eva hatte nämlich grosse Sehnsucht, ihre einst weggeworfene Kinder von Zeit zu Zeit wiederzusehen. Da sie aber nicht wagte, sie an den gewöhnlichen Tagen zu sich zu rufen, aus Angst, Adam könnte ihre Lüge entdecken, bestellte sie dieselben Freitags, an dem Tage, an welchem ihr Mann seinen Gott anbetete und erst spät nachmittags nach Hause kam. Deshalb heisst es im Volksmunde 'Freitag ist der Versammlungstag (der Geister)'.»

According to The Books of Adam and Eve XXIV. 2: Eve bore three sons, and thirty sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children.

[14] Granqvist, Birth, p. 87.

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[15] For various superstitions relating to the threshold, see also Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 98 sq. — Conder, Heth and Moab, p. 294: Thresholds. — Bauer, Volksleben im Lande der Bibel, p. 228 Nr. 21: To punish a child on the threshold brings bad luck. — For fear

of treading on the threshold, see 1 Samuel V. 5. And Zephaniah I. 9: »In the same day also will I punish all those that leap on the threshold».

[16] Son of man is used to express the contrast to a demon, a son of a Jinnee, or underground spirit. A Jinnee can also be the father of a child born by a woman of mankind, if God's name is not named at cohabitation. »Daughter of man», or, »she is a daughter of people» (b i n t i l - n â s), it is said when a woman is praised. Earlier already it has been pointed out that the children of God and the children of the devil are used as opposites.

The origin, meaning and use of these Semitic and Oriental terms should be thoroughly studied as variations occur in the Bible, and has excercised influence on Christian views. Why was Jesus called »Son of man»? Of the many passages where it occurs I quote St. John XIII. 31: »Now is the Son of man glorified». Compare Jesus, David's son, Joseph's son, Mary's son, Son of man, Son of God, with the Oriental use of »son».

Son and daughter of man is a common expression in the Bible, and among Semites in general.

»Son of man» e.g. in Job XXV. 6; Psalm VIII. 4; Isaiah LVI. 2; Daniel VII. 13; Revelation XIV. 14; — Ezekiel II. 1 sqq.; III. 1 sqq., and in general as words of address by God to this prophet. — »My son» is a word of address by an older man to a younger one, by a superior to a person in lower conditions, and the younger one addresses the older one as »father». Supra, p. 200 n. 13. — »Sons of men» in Psalm XXXIII. 13; Ecclesiastes II. 3; III. 18; and Isaiah LII. 14; Daniel II. 38; V. 21. »Children of men» in Psalm XI. 4; XXXVI. 7; XLV. 2; LIII. 2 and LXVI. 5.

»Daughters of men» used to express the contrast to »Sons of God» in Genesis VI. 2, 4.

Not only Jesus is called Son of God. In the Old Testament there is an example of the king being called Son of God. God said of King Solomon: »He shall be my son», or, »I have chosen him to be my son, and I will be his father». — 2 Samuel VII. 14; 1 Chronicles XXII. 10 and XXVIII. 6. — In Psalm II. 7 it is said: »the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.»

These kinds of expressions are transferred upon Christ in the New Testament, partly with reference to passages in the Old Testament. — St. Matthew III. 17; XVII. 5; St. Luke I. 32; IX. 35; The Acts XIII. 33; Hebrews I. 5; also I. 2 and V. 5; 2 Peter I. 17 sq., and a variation in Colossians I. 13, 15.

It is said that the Jews took up stones to stone Jesus for blasphemy and because he being a man, made himself God and called himself the Son of God, an accusation repeated at a later date. St. John XIX. 7. Jesus answered them: »Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods?» St. John X. 25, 29 sqq., esp. 34.

Cf. Psalm LXXXII. 6: »I have said, Ye are gods (E l o h i m); and all of you are children of the most High.» Also v. 1.

And Psalm XXIX. 1: »Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty, give unto the Lord glory and strength.» — Here the expression b e n i e l o h i m, translated as »migthy» lit. means »sons of god», or, »sons of gods». This expression occurs also in other places: Job I. 6; II. 1, and as already stated, in Genesis VI. 2, 4.

G u n k e l remarks (Genesis, p. 55 sqq.) that these beings are never called »sons of Yahwe» but always »sons of god», or, »sons of gods» (»niemals J a h v e söhne, sondern immer nur G o t t e s- oder G ö t t e r söhne»), and that »der Glaube an solche Wesen ursprünglich nichts mit der Jahvereligion zu tun, sondern seinen eigentlichen Sitz in der Fremde hat». He adds: »vielleicht aber steht ein älterer, polytheistischerer Sprachgebrauch im Hintergrunde, wonach es sich hier im eigentlichen Sinne um Söhne von Göttern, d. h. von Göttern g e z e u g t e Wesen, um Götter zweiten Grades, handelt». (Gunkel refers to M e y e r, Die Israeliten, p. 212 n. 1. — God's sons = angels, or, divine beings, is a general explanation.)

The words God's sons might however easily have been transferred to the relationship between men as individuals and Yahwe, especially as the Israelites as a whole nation were called God's people and His children.

The Israelites were God's sons and His daughters, although they sometimes acted as children in whom there is no faith. In reality they often showed themselves as a froward, perverse and crooked generation who provoked God to jealousy with strange gods, they corrupted themselves so that their spot was not the spot of His children. Then they were punished. But when God punished He also showed Himself as a father, who certainly reprimanded His children but who never forsook them. It could be said: »Have we not all one father, are we not all brothers? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother»? — The Israelites occupied a priviliged position among the other nations, they were allowed to call God their Father.

Cf. Exodus IV. 22 where the Lord calls Israel »my son, even my firstborn», and v. 23 »my son». Jeremiah XXXI. 9 and 20: »I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn.» And: »Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child?» In Deuteronomy XXXII. 6 the Lord is called the father of the people (»thy father that hath bought thee») and in v. 19 it is said of His sons and His daughters. Cf. Isaiah XLIII. 6.

It has been said that these and other similar expressions refer to an adopted son. — G u n k e l, Genesis, p. 56: »Israel wird von Jahve — diesem bestimmten Gotte — des Ehrennamens eines (a d o p t i e r t e n) 'Sohnes' Ex 4_{22} Hos 11_1 u. a., die einzelnen Israeliten oder Frommen (in demselben Sinne) des Namens 'Söhne' Dtn 14_1 32_5 u. a. gewürdigt; aber solche Worte finden sich nur in besonders hoher Diktion, nicht in

einfacher Erzählung ....» — Hempel, Das Ethos des alten Testaments, p. 11 and 207 n. 58: The king as son of God and »Adoptianismus im Babylonischen».

Corresponding expressions referring to Jesus might thus also be explained as Jesus being God's adopted son.

See also Deuteronomy VII. 14; XXVIII. 1; XXXII. 16—21; Jeremiah III. 4, 14 and 19; Isaiah XLV. 11; LXIII. 8; LXIV. 8; Malachi I. 6; II. 10; III. 17; also Ben Sira IV. 10 and Psalm CIII. 13.

Finally the influence of neighbouring peoples should be considered and their polytheistic religions and their families of gods.

Also Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I. p. 115: In later ecclesiastical language the Greek technical term for adoption became a synonym for baptism. Ibid. II. p. 385: »Justin regards baptism chiefly as a new birth».

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[17] Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, p. 181: New-born child placed under a cauldron.

[18] Musil says, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 323, that the Jinnee »nimmt auch oft der säugenden Frau ihr Kind weg, und wenn sie schlummert, legt er ihr sein eigenes auf die Brust. Die Frau erzieht es als ihr Kind, es wird aber gewöhnlich sehr schlimm und heisst al-Mubaddal, Wechselbalg... Der Mubaddal kann auch heiraten und Kinder haben.» Musil has heard of a family in an Arab tribe derived from a changeling. »Heiratet jemand ein Mädchen aus diesem Geschlechte, so kann er sicher sein, dass die meisten Kinder besessen sein werden». The author gives also another example of a changeling.

[19] For similar formulae of protection, see also Einszler, Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 33: »der Name Gottes sei über dir, dein Schutz sei in Gott», etc.; Littmann, Arabische Beduinenerzählungen, II. p. 41: »Name Gottes über dir!», and in a note: »Ausruf zur Abwendung von Unheil.» Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 308 n.: things over which bismillah is termed; and bismillah, p. 198, 341 sq. and 346. Ibid. p. 341: another exclamation at admiration of a child or a grown up person is mashallah, or God's will! »which implies both admiration and submission to, or approval of, the will of God». Or: »Bless the prophet is used!» Ibid. p. 341 and 358: evils counteracted by blessing Muhammad; and p. 381: Astughfir Allah, or »I beg forgiveness of God » Cf. supra, p. 216 n. 54 and infra, p. 238 n. 41.

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[20] Granqvist, Birth, p. 100.

[21] See also Scheftelowitz, Alt-Palästinischer Bauernglaube, p. 38 sqq.: »Beeinflussung überirdischer Wesen: § 18 Umkreisung der Gottheit.»

[22] For fumigating the child and for formulae used at such an occasion

among Christian and Muhammadan Arabs, see also Einszler, Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 35—43. Cf. Musil, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 315 sqq.

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[23] Or: The eye of the jealous shall be driven in with the point of the stick!

[24] Cf. Lane, The Arabian Nights, I. p. 36: An Afrite, »one of the heretical Genii» relates how Solomon, son of David, called for a bottle, »and confined me in it, and closed it upon me with the leaden stopper, which he stamped with the Most Great Name: he then gave orders to the Genii, who carried me away, and threw me into the midst of the sea.»

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[25] Cf. Euringer, Das Netz Salomons, »Ein äthiopischer Zaubertext», in ZS VI. 1928, p. 76 sqq., 178 sqq., 300 sqq. and ZS VII. 1929, p. 68 sqq. Ibid. VI. p. 86: »Oder auch der Erkrankte ist vom bösen Blick getroffen, und da muss man Zauberkraft mit Zauberkraft vergelten.» — See also Lane, The Arabian Nights, I. p. 36 and Idem, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 344: Solomon deprives the evil eye of its influence.

[26] Canaan, The Child, p. 182: Children wear a number of amulets some of them being against the evil eye, others against Karine and »still others are intended to neutralize the action of the evil soul.» See also Einszler, Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 26 sqq. for different formulae and means of protection, Christian and Muhammadan amulets. — For amulets see also Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 35, 45, 101 sqq. (amulets for barren woman), 110, 178; Musil, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 314 sq. — and 417: a certain bird used as a charm against »alle Krankheiten der Kinder». — »Den Schnabel und die Krallen tragen die Knaben auf dem Kopfe als bestes Amulett gegen den bösen Blick.» — Also Conder, Tent Work in Palestine, p. 312; Idem, Heth and Moab, p. 276; Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 341: charms against the evil eye, p. 343: women and charms against evil eye; I. 347 and II. 176: charms used as remedies for diseases, and II. 371: charms. — Idem, The Arabian Nigths, I. p. 179 n.: »It is not unusual, on occasions of great festivity, to present some disagreeable object as a foil, in order to divert the envious eye, and obviate its evil effect.» Goldziher, Einige Arabische Ausrufe und Formeln, p. 142: amulets.

[27] They were named: kabse, nahse and 'akse.

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[28] Both in Jerusalem and Nablus I heard of the custom that when a woman has a difficulty in giving birth to her child, they turn to a sheikh who writes something on a piece of paper. Sometimes a written

amulet is soaked in water and then the woman drinks the water. Cf. Granqvist, Birth, p. 67. — Bauer (Volksleben im Lande der Bibel, p. 241) has heard of the following cure of illness: »Unter den Christen Nordpalästinas gilt als Rezept: Man giesse Wasser über die Decke eines Neuen Testaments und gebe das Wasser dem Kranken zu trinken.» — See also Numbers V. 23 sq.: Woman has to drink water with which curses written by the priest in a book have been blotted out. — For eating a roll, see Ezekiel III. 1 sqq.; and Revelation X. 9 sqq.: for eating a book. — In Psalm CIX. 18 it is said of cursing: »let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.»

[29] Cf. Jewish Encyclopaedia, IV. p. 29: »The use of a Torah scroll as a charm for easing birth» and »for protection of the child» among Jews. — Gollancz, The Book of Protection. Being a Collection of Charms, p. LI. § 43 »For woman in travail».

[30] For this plant, see also Crowfoot and Baldensperger, From Cedar to Hyssop, p. 119 sqq., and Dalman, Arbeit und Sitte, I. p. 54 sqq. — For plants facilitating birth compare Meissner, Assyriologische Forschungen, p. 6: »So gab es eine Pflanze, die Liebe oder Hass erzeugte, die die Geburt beförderte oder hinderte». (Delitzsch H. W. 670 b). — See also Genesis XXX. 14 sq., and Gunkel, Genesis, p. 334: the mandrakes, the »Liebesäpfel» — »deren Früchten und Wurzel man Wirkung auf die Zeugungskraft zutraute». — Jaussen, Moab, p. 35, 37: woman eating a fruit of the desert in order to become pregnant.

[31] Einszler (Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 26) says of »Amulettenschreiber»: »Es giebt in einigen Dörfern Schechs, denen übernatürliche Gaben, namentlich eine Art von Allwissenheit, zugeschrieben werden.» Written amulets »sind meistens Koransprüche und gewisse Formeln mit beigefügten kabbalistischen Zeichen.» — Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 36: ». . . écrit contenant un texte du Qoran et enfermé dans un sachet bleu»; and ibid. p. 103. — Jaussen, Moab, p. 381: »Ce son généralement des maughrebins qui font métier d'écrire des formules cabalistiques sur des morceaux de papier qu'on porte avec soin.» This is used as an amulet for prolificness, etc. — Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 338: Belief in written charms of which the most esteemed is a copy of the Koran, and p. 339: Quotations from the Koran and the ninety-nine names or epithets of God. — Goldziher (Islam fordom och nu, p. 76) writes of the chapters CXIII and CXIV in the Koran, called the Surahs of protection, which are especially used as amulets, charms or magic formulae or incantations and means of protection. — Idem, Einige arabische Ausrufe und Formeln, p. 140: »Sprüche gegen den 'bösen Blick'», and p. 143 sqq.: »Zauberspruch».

[32] Canaan, The Child, p. 181: »There are other supernatural powers which play an important rôle in the 'etiology' of disease. The two most important are the evil eye and the evil soul.» In the case of an evil soul »the evil comes by way of the breath.» — Ibid. p. 182.

[33] Cf. Einszler, Das böse Auge, in ZDPV XII. p. 200—222, and in Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 24—45; Conder, Tent Work in Palestine, p. 312; Idem, Heth and Moab, p. 294 sq.: evil eye; and p. 294: The fear of sunstroke and moonstroke is said to be connected with the belief in the evil eye. — Jaussen, Moab, p. 376—380. — Kremer, Culturgeschichte des Orients, II. 253 sqq.; Idem, Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte, III—IV. p. 62 sqq., and Seligmann, Der Böse Blick und Verwandtes.

[34] Supra, p. 106.

[35] Cf. Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 191—202, on »le coup d'oeil», earlier published in Revue biblique, 1924, p. 396 sqq. — Canaan, Light and Darkness in Palestine Folklore, p. 28: »A person afflicted with an 'evil eye' is supposed to be possessed with an evil spirit whose poisonous rays emanate through that person's eyes. Such people cause great horror and misfortune; they are dreaded.» — Euringer, Das Netz Salomons, in ZS VI. p. 86: Evil spirits also make use of animals and people »namentlich dadurch, dass sie ihnen 'das böse Auge' verleihen.»

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[36] Einszler gives a similar story in Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 25. Cf. Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 345: Camel hurt by the words of a woman. See also Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 55 sq.

[37] For women whose mere presence brings death and destruction, see Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 307, 310. Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 342 sq.: Man tries to counteract the effect of the evil eye of his wife by burning alum; and p. 344: charming a person from the evil eye of others.

[38] Similarly Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 196. Also Einszler, Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 24 sq. Ibid. p. 24: »Auch fürchtet man den Blick eines Menschen, dessen Augenbrauen geschlossen sind oder der bartlos ist.» — Cf. Musil, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 312, Conder, Heth and Moab, p. 294: The »empty eye» is especially dangerous to children. Lees, Village Life, p. 213: evil eye = blue eye. — See also Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande, p. 57 sq.; Possessor of evil teeth. — Burne, Charm Against the Evil Eye, in FL XIII. p. 202: »people with blue eyes, or with teeth wide apart, have the Evil Eye.»

[39] Similarly Einszler, op. cit. p. 27 and Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 341.

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[40] Similarly Lees, op. cit. p. 213. See also Goldziher, Einige arabische Ausrufe und Formeln, p. 143: Susceptibility to evil eye and magicians.

[41] Similarly Einszler, Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 24: »So kann z. B. der bewundernde Blick der Mutter ihrem Kinde Schaden

bringen; deshalb soll man ein schlafendes Kind nicht bewundern oder küssen». Ibid. p. 33: »Wenn man ein Kind nur ansieht oder über dasselbe etwas Günstiges äussert, so darf man ja nicht unterlassen, eine Bitte um Schutz hinzuzufügen. Gewöhnlich thun jedoch die Leute in diesem Falle so, als ob sie es anspeien wollten, und sagen ausser den gebräuchlichsten Wunschformeln: .... Pfui über dich! oder machen noch Bemerkungen, wie schwarz, wie hässlich und klein das Kind sei u. dgl.» The author adds the most known »Wunschformeln» used by Christian and by Muhammadan Arabs: »Der Name Gottes sei über dir!» — »Dein Schutz sei in Gott!» — »Gottes Gedenken!» — »Was Gott will (m a s h a l l a h)!» — »Betet nach dem Propheten!» or, »Das Gebet nach dem Propheten ist deinetwegen!» — Cf. S t e p h a n, Palestinian Nursery Rhymes and Songs, p. 70: »May Allah guard him for his mother!» — »May God keep thy children!» — C a n a a n, The Child, p. 175: »Nothing is more dreaded or disliked by the oriental parents than to have a child's healthy or beautiful appearance commented upon without thanks being expressed to God in the same breath. The mention of the Divine name is understood to avert the curse of the evil eye.» Many, while caressing a child, therefore use repulsive expressions, like: »O pig», »O young ass», »O excreter of dirt» (k h r e i y â n), »You should be spat upon», and the like. — Similar expressions are found in modern literature about oriental life e.g. in Pearl Buck's novels. — S e s s i o n s, Some Syrian Folklore Notes, p. 7: »On coming into a room where lies a newly-born babe, it is unlucky not to salute it with 'In the name of God, what a fine child!' If the name of God is omitted, the child is open to the influence of the Evil Eye, a thing fearfully dreaded everywhere.» — See also L a n e, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 341: Proper and improper modes of expressing admiration. Supra, p. 234 n. 19.

[42] Supra, p. 97.

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[43] For uncleanliness as protection for children, see E i n s z l e r, Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, p. 34; C a n a a n, The Child, p. 174 and 182; C o n d e r, Heth and Moab, p. 294; L a n e, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 81. They all relate the same: children are left dirty and ragged and unwashed and unkempt even among rich people, and to quote L a n e (p. 81): children dirty particularly when taken out in public »f r o m t h e f e a r o f t h e e v i l e y e, which is excessively dreaded, and especially in the case of children, since they are generally esteemed the greatest of blessings, and therefore most likely to be coveted.»

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[44] Haunteress.

[45] C o n d e r, Heth and Moab, p. 275, and 276 sq.: Lilith is »specially dangerous to new-born infants. She is often mentioned in the Talmud

and is even thought to be intended in Isaiah (XXXIV. 14)». Also ibid. p. 284 sq.

[46] For Karine, see also Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 309. — Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 34 and 35: ».... toujours aux aguets pour étrangler le petit être humain à son apparition à la lumière.» — Canaan, Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel, p. 47: »Die Hauptarbeit der qarîneh besteht darin, das menschliche Geschlecht auszurotten und jedes Glück zu trüben. Sie tötet einer Schwangeren die Frucht im Leibe ab; sie berührt eine Menstruierende, und Kinderlosigkeit ist die Folge. Sie verfolgt die Kinder einer Familie, eins nach dem andern kränkelt und stirbt. Oder sie berührt den Familienvater, so dass er keine Nachkommen erzeugen kann.» Idem, The Child, p. 181: »A female demon, el-Qarîneh whose main duty it is to injure infants. She is continually on the look-out and whenever she finds one she falls upon it, it sickens and may even die. This terrible djinniyeh very often attacks pregnant women and causes abortions.» — Hurgronje (Mekka, II. p. 123 sq.) says of the »Mother of Boys», alias Karine, whom he characterizes as »Die Feindin der Mutterfreude»: »die weiblichen Ungeheuer, welche diesen Namen tragen, gönnen der Mutter ihre Freude niemals und fahren bald auf die Kinder selbst los, bald entziehen sie der Mutter die Nahrung. In solchen Fällen greift man um so eher nach Beschwörung oder Zauberei, weil wirklich die Kunst der Aerzte nichts dagegen vermag». — Winkler, Salomo und die Karina, p. 135: a talisman helpful against Karine who comes to babies and to the women whose children do not live.

[47] Granqvist, Birth, p. 97. — See also Jaussen, Moab, p. 30: »L'immolation d'un coq est encore d'usage dans le cas où l'on redoute Karineh, l'ange qui reçoit pouvoir d'Iblis pour faire mourir les enfants. On l'écarte de la demeure, en immolant un coq et en l'ensevellissant sous le seuil de la demeure.» And in case of great mortality among children the mother procures a camel's head which is hung above the door for protection.

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[48] Supra, p. 105.

[49] Gollancz, The Book of Protection. Being a Collection of Charms, p. LIV. § 50 »For boys not to cry». — Conder, Tent Work, p. 312.

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[50] Jaussen, Moab, p. 289, 361 sq.: to make a sacrifice before the face of Allah. — Deuteronomy XV. 20: to eat sacrifice »before the Lord thy God».

[51] For vow and sacrifice, see: Canaan, Mohammedan Saints, p. 130—193; Curtiss, Primitive Semitic Religion To-day, p. 157 sq.; Musil, Rwala Bedouins, p. 420—5. — Also Jaussen, Moab, 367. Ibid. p. 356:

vow to make a sacrifice for a successful journey, to escape an enemy, an epidemic, in order to receive children, etc. — Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 175: the sacrifice; p. 176: vows made by a man or by a barren woman for the purpose of getting a son, and other reasons for making vows. — Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 327: votive sacrifices at the tombs of sheikhs; and reasons for making vows: to recover from sickness, to obtain a son, etc.

[52] Cf. Curtiss, op. cit. p. 171, and Jaussen, Moab, p. 357.

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[53] In Psalm L. 13 God says: »Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?» This does not mean that He objected to sacrifices. On the contrary, in the following verse it is said: »Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the most High».

[54] Cf. Curtiss, op. cit. p. 171. — Lane says, op. cit. I. p. 327: »Having given the animal to the saint, he thus gives to the latter the merit of feeding the poor.» And: People, chiefly women, visit the tomb of some favourite or patron saint and some of them »bring thither bread, which they leave there for poor travellers, or any other persons.»

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[55] Cf. Lane, The Arabian Nights, I. p. 116.

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[56] 2 Chronicles XI. 6. — Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 12 n. 2.

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[57] Omar Ibn al-Khattab. — The memory of this khalifa still lives among the people. I was told that in every place where he had camped with his army a mosque was built, and the mosque of Artas is said to be one of them.

[58] Cf. Matthews, Mishkât, I. p. 321 marg. n.: »A cow is a sufficient offering from seven people, and a camel from ten.»

[59] For validity of women's vows, see also Musil, Rwala Bedouins, p. 421: Woman cannot vow an animal without her husband's permission. — For vows in the Old Testament, see also Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus) XVIII. 21 sqq.

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[60] Cf. St. Luke I. 20—22, 64: The priest Zacharias became dumb after a vision in the temple, and later his mouth was opened and his tongue loosened. — According to the Koran III. 36 God gave him a sign that he would not be able to speak for three days, except by gestures.

[61] Cf. Eli's words to Hannah, 1 Samuel I. 13 sqq.

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[62] Exodus XII. 22 sq.: The old Israelites should strike the lintel and the two side posts of the door with blood. — Ezekiel XLV. 19: Blood put upon the posts of the house.

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[63] Cf. Canaan, Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine, p. 139: »Who ever makes a vow must keep it», and »every vow is an obligation». — Musil, Miszellen zur Bibelforschung, p. 9: »Eine grosse Rolle im Leben des Arabers spielt das Gelübde. Es soll in Worten gemacht werden, aber es genügt auch, wenn jemand im Herzen das Gelübde formiert. Es muss so vollzogen werden, wie es gemeint war.» — Even in the Old Testament it is impressed that a vow must be kept. Ecclesiastes V. 4: »When thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no pleasure in fools: pay that which thou hast vowed.» Similarly Numbers XXX. 2; Deuteronomy XXIII. 31, 23; Judges XI. 35, 39; Psalm XXII. 25; LXXVI. 11; Jonah II. 9. In Proverbs XX. 25 there is a warning against imprudent vows. — In Psalm LXI. 5 it is said: »For thou, O God, hast heard my vows», and v. 8: »that I may daily perform my vows.»

[64] The phrase to set up banners in the name of Yahwe (Psalm XX. 5) may be explained by a similar custom among the old Israelites. — For a banner, see also Isaiah XIII. 2.

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[65] Sacrifice to be eaten before God year by year in the place which the Lord shall choose, and within the gates of a man by him and his household, by unclean and clean alike, Deuteronomy XV. 20, 22. — Sacrifice, holy, to be eaten by every male among the Levites in the most holy place, Numbers XVIII. 10.

[66] Also among the Israelites people ate sacrificed flesh. See previous note. Cf. Hosea VIII. 13.

[67] Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 61.

[68] Sometimes they vow repeatedly for one and the same boy, if he is often sick. Canaan, The Child, p. 182: One may often hear a mother describing her child, who has caused her much trouble through his prolonged illness, by the words: »I have brought him up every span with a vow.» — In Proverbs XXXI. 2 a mother says to her son: »my son», »the son of my womb», »the son of my vows».

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[69] See supra, p. 72 and 140 sq.

[70] It is especially difficult, for women who are pregnant or who give suck, to hurry. It is especially difficult for them in hard times. —

Cf. »But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days!» St. Matthew XXIV. 19; St. Mark XIII. 17; St. Luke XXI. 23. — See also Jeremiah XXXI. 8.

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[71] Among the Israelites the Levites, the priests, were allowed to take and eat of offerings. It is e.g. said in Numbers XVIII. 18. of firstlings of animals which should be offered to God: »And the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave breast and as the right shoulder are thine.» — Cf. Exodus XXIX. 27 sq. — 1 Samuel II. 13 sqq.: »And the priest's custom with the people was, that, when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, while the flesh was in seething, with a fleshhook of three teeth in his hand; and he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or caldron, or pot; all that the fleshhook brought up the priest took for himself. So they did in Shiloh unto all the Israelites that came thither.» Even raw flesh was taken from the offering by the priest's servant, but this action was condemned.

[72] In Zechariah XIV. 20 sq. »the pots in the Lord's house» are mentioned. There were cauldrons for offerings in the temple.

[73] For vows made during sea journey, see Jonah I. 16: the men »offered a sacrifice unto the Lord, and made vows.» — Also in other cases in connection with travels vows occur in the Old Testament. Genesis XXVIII. 20 sq.: In Bethel »Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go . . . so that I come again to my father's house in peace . . .»; and in XXXI. 13 the God of Bethel refers to this vow made by Jacob. — Absalom said to his father King David that when he was banished to Syria, he vowed a vow to the Lord in Hebron praying the Lord to bring him home again, and he asked his father to be allowed to go to Hebron and pay his vow there. 2 Samuel XV. 7 sq. — In the last two examples there is a question of vows to a local God to be performed in a special place, the place of his abode.

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[74] Cf. Granqvist, Birth, p. 264 n. 32 and supra, p. 197 n. 1.

[75] Canaan, Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine, p. 183: »Very often it is vowed that the hairs of the sick child will be cut in a sanctuary. The hair is allowed to grow from the moment of the vow until the promise is fulfilled.» See also previous note.

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[76] Supra, p. 22. Cf. Lees, Village Life, p. 36—9: Children, the desire of women; vows to Nebi Daud.

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[77] Cf. Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament, Children dressed as beggars to deceive demons, III. p. 186 sq.; and, begging in order to deceive spirits, III. p. 170, 186, 251.

[78] Cf. Musil, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 92.

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[79] Granqvist, Birth, p. 247 n. 3.

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[80] Cf. Canaan, The Child, p. 182: for boys dressed as girls.

[81] Supra, p. 50. — Scheftelowitz, Alt-Palästinischer Bauernglaube, p. 54--7: Change of dress and name.

[82] Also Jewish examples can be mentioned.

Ewald says, Journal of Missionary Labours in the City of Jerusalem, p. 148, that pious Jews very frequently come to the tomb of Simeon the Just, on Fridays, on the new moons, and in particular on the thirty-third day after Easter, which is set apart as a feast in honour of this departed Jewish saint. »They bring their young boys with them to the spot, where they cut off their hair for the first time, and according to the weight of it, they vow to give a sum of money to the poor.»

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[83] 1 Samuel I. 11.

[84] 1 Samuel I. 20.

[85] It should be noticed that it is said of Samuel's mother Hannah that: she vowed a vow, in 1 Samuel I. 11, but in v. 21 it is said that her husband Elkanah went to fulfil his vow. — See also supra, p. 122 (Case 11): A boy's father vows a vow, and the boy's father's father speaks of it as his own vow. One member of a family is responsible for the other, the eldest of the family for his son, and evidently the husband for his wife in case he had not made use of his right of veto, and in this way had nullified the validity of her vow.

[86] 1 Samuel I. 24 sq., 28 and III. 1.

[87] Similarly Samson. In Judges XIII. 5 it is said: »and no razor shall come on his head: for the child shall be a Nazarite unto God from the womb». And Samson's extraordinary strength was in his hair. In Judges XVI. 17 he says: »There hath not come a razor upon mine head; for I have been a Nazarite unto God from my mother's womb: if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and be like any other man.» — Vows and head shaving are mentioned in The Acts XVIII. 18 and XXI. 23 sq.

[88] Numbers VI. 5.

[89] Numbers VI. 18.

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[90] Gunkel refers, Genesis, p. 149, to Wellhausen (Reste arabischen Heidentums, p. 118), saying: »Den Arabern hat Muhammed das Blutessen verboten.» — Koran V. 4. — For in the blood is the soul. Similarly in the Old Testament. The blood is the life and should not be eaten. Genesis IX. 4; Leviticus VII. 26; XVII. 10—14; Deuteronomy XII. 23; also 1 Samuel XIV. 32 sqq. — The blood should be poured upon the ground as water. Deuteronomy XII. 24; XV. 23; also Leviticus XVII. 13 sq. — Perhaps the earth was satisfied when it was allowed to drink the blood; and perhaps, in those days, it was as well to show that there had been a sacrifice, and that the blood had not been eaten by the people. Cf. Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 22.

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[91] Lane, 'The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, I. p. 347: Water handed to a person about to be killed in order to relieve his anguish. — Cf. St. Matthew XXVII. 34. Also v. 48 and Psalm LXIX. 21.

[92] Only men who were ritually clean were allowed to kill the passovers. 2 Chronicles XXX. 17 and Ezra VI. 20. — Cf. 1 Samuel XXI. 4 sq.: David and his men would not have been allowed to eat hallowed bread had they not kept away from women and been ritually clean. — Also 1 Samuel XX. 26: An unclean man was not allowed to take part in the new moon feast. — Cf. Exodus XIX. 15: When God spoke to the people they had to be clean and should not have had intercourse with their wives. — At the Muhammadan pilgrimage to Nebi Musa at Eastertime sexual intercourse is forbidden to those who take part in the pilgrimage.

[93] Koran V. 4. — Cf. Matthews, Mishkât, I. p. 322 marg. n.: »Victims slain before prayer are unavailing; and the sacrifice must be repeated.» Cf. Lane, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 134 sq.: How slaughtering of animals for food is performed. The person who is about to perform the operation must say: »In the name of God! God is most great!» Some persons in Egypt, but mostly women, add: »God give thee patience to endure the affliction which he hath allotted thee!»

[94] Matthews, Mishkât, I. p. 319: on sacrifices: »and the Prophet took hold of the ram, and threw him upon his side: and when he was about to kill him he said, 'O Lord! accept this sacrifice from Muhammed, his children, and the whole of his tribe.' Then he gave the people their breakfasts from it.»

VALUE OF CHILDREN

(Pages 134—169)

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[1] See also 1 Kings XV. 4: God gave David a lamp in Jerusalem »to set up his son after him, and to establish Jerusalem». Similarly Psalm

CXXXII. 17: »There will I make the horn of David to bud: I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed.» Also 1 Kings XI. 36. — Cf. 2 Samuel XIV. 7: a woman calls the only son, the heir: »my coal which is left». — See also Lindblom, Boken om Job och hans lidande, p. 300: »Lampan med sin olja och sitt sken spelar överhuvud en mycket stor roll i österlandets litteratur, även som bild.» — »Att någons lampa slocknar betyder att det är ute med honom.» — Cf. Gemser, Sprüche Salomos, p. 48, on Proverb XIII. 9: »Licht ist Bild für Leben (Hi 3$_{20.16}$ Ps 49$_{20}$ 56$_{14}$ Hi 33$_{30}$ Ps 36$_{10}$) und Glück (Hi 22$_{28}$ Jes 9$_{1}$ 30$_{26}$ Ps 97$_{11}$), die brennende Lampe Zeichen der bewohnten Wohnung, Bild für ungestörtes, glückliches Familienleben (2 S 21$_{17}$ Ps 18$_{29}$ 1 R 11$_{36}$ 15$_{4}$ 2 R 8$_{19}$ Ps 132$_{17}$ Hi 29$_{3}$); in der Wohnung, wo keine Lampe mehr brennt, ist die Familie ausgestorben; die ausgehende oder erloschene Lampe ist daher Zeichen von Unglück und Hoffnungslosigkeit (20$_{20}$ 24$_{20}$ Hi 18$_{5}$ f. 21$_{17}$; cf. auch zu 4$_{18}$ f.).»

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[2] The parallels in themselves certainly have ancient roots. The Arabs call themselves »the light of the world». — Jesus used a similar expression calling himself »the light of the world». St. John VIII. 12. Cf. I. 4 sq.; IX 5 and XII. 35, 46. — Similarly, among the Bedouin there is a saying: »The Bedouin are the salt of the world». In the Bible: the disciples are »the salt of the earth». St. Matthew V. 13.

Also: »Palestine is the centre of the world». According to Jewish and Muhammadan tradition the centre of the world is the Temple site in Jerusalem. Old Christian tradition in Palestine places the centre of the world in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Cf. the people »that dwell in the midst of the land», lit. »on the navel of the earth», in Ezekiel XXXVIII. 12.

Keil says of this verse, Ezechiel, p. 363: »die auf dem Nabel der Erde wohnen. Dieser bildliche Ausdruck ist nach 5,$_{5}$: 'Jerusalem in der Mitte der Völker' zu erklären.» — Kraetzschmar, Ezechiel, p. 257, regarding the same expression: »Nabel (noch Jud 9$_{37}$) d. Erde, vgl. Hz., Lib. Jub. 8 Hen 26$_{1}$ und oben, zu 5$_{5}$.» — Ibid. p. 57 on V. 5: »Die Aussage, dass Jahve Jerusalem in die Mitte der Heiden gesetzt habe, ist gewiss zunächst wörtlich zu nehmen, denn Palästina bildete nach Ez.'s Ansicht den 'Nabel der Erde' 38$_{12}$.» — After referring to other biblical verses the author continues: »Ähnliche Anschauungen wie die hier ausgesprochenen finden sich nicht nur bei den Bewohnern des himmlischen Reiches der Mitte, sondern auch bei den Griechen, für die Delphi im Mittelpunkte der Erde lag Pindar, Pyth. 4,131; auch auf mittelalterlichen Karten sind mitunter, entsprechend der Bedeutung der Stadt für das

Christentum, alle Erdenländer um Jerusalem herum gruppiert, s. Haupt, SBOT z. St. ....»

[3] When this was written, in the year 1938, an Arab national movement was at its beginning. Interesting reports of what appeared in the Arabic press were spread on typed news sheets received from the Newman School of Missions in Jerusalem. During the last war the religious leader of the Muhammadan Arabs, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, was in exile. Now conditions in Palestine are discussed in the world press.

[4] Roberts, The Social Laws of the Qorân, p. 45: Children in the Koran regarded as wealth. — Psalm CXXVII. 3—5.

[5] Proverbs XX. 29: »The glory of young men is their strength: and the beauty of old men is the grey head.»

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[6] Speaking of happiness a man mentions the time »when my children were about me». Job XXIX. 5. — A childless man is identical with an unhappy man who does not prosper in his days. Jeremiah XXII. 30.

For grandchildren mentioned in the Bible, see Job XLII. 16; Psalm CXXVIII. 6; CXXXII. 12; CIII 17; Genesis XXXI. 28; XLV. 10; Exodus XXXIV. 7; Deuteronomy IV. 25; 2 Kings XVII. 41; Proverbs XIII. 22; XVII. 6; Isaiah LIX. 21; Jeremiah II. 9; Ezekiel XXXVII. 25; 1 Timothy V. 4. — Gemser, Sprüche Salomos, p. 56: »Kindeskinder gelten ... als Belohnung für Tugend und Gottesfurcht».

[7] Compare this Bedouin saying, in which childen are compared to tents, with the biblical expressions when the richness of children in Zion is compared to the picture of a tent. The prophet tells Jerusalem to enlarge her tent and continues (Isaiah LIV. 2): lengthen the cords, and strengthen the stakes! Bentzen, Jesaja, II. p. 110: »For at skildre folkerigdommen i den nye stad, griber digteren (v. 2) til et billede, der egentlig ikke passer til skildringen av en by: Teltet. Jerusalem skal udvide sit telt. Til et stort telt maa man have lange barduner, og pløkkene maa staa godt fast.» — Cf. Jeremiah X. 20, also IV. 20 and Isaiah XXXIII. 20.

[8] Burckhardt says (Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, I. p. 21) of the tentpoles, called »columns»: »It is usual to have nine poles or posts, three in the middle and an equal number on each side of the tent». For the wooden pegs holding the tent ropes, see Jaussen, Moab, p. 73. Cf. Musil, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 126.

[9] It is also said: »The man is the pillar of the house.» Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 292. — For daughters as corner stones, see Psalm CXLIV. 12.

[10] Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 144.

[11] Supra, p. 227 n. 111.

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[12] Granqvist, Marriage, I. 3; II. 212, 319 sqq.

[13] Supra, p. 71.

[14] Similarly Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus) XLII. 9—14.

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[15] For God's sword in the Bible, see Genesis III. 24. Also, David is afraid of God's sword: »the sword of the angel of the Lord». Supra p. 216 n. 55. Gunkel says, Genesis, p. 25: »Auch die Propheten reden von Jahves Schwert als einem selbständigen dämonischen Wesen», and: »Ein solches Schwert ist um so furchtbarer, als man sich nicht dagegen verteidigen kann.» See Isaiah XXVII. 1; XXXIV. 5; Jeremiah XLVII. 6; Ezekiel XXI. 3 sqq., 9 sqq.

[16] Canon J. E. Hanauer in Jerusalem has pointed out to me that this event is described in A Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine, p. 200 sq., probably by a witness.

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[17] Cf. Canaan, Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine, p. 183: Sometimes the whole or a part of the sick person is vowed to a holy man i.e. half the »price» of the person is offered. The price of a person is only discussed when he is murdered. The diyeh, the blood price, amounts to 33000 Piasters. In case such a vow is made for a girl her price is not reckoned on the basis of the blood money but of the mahr, the bride price. »The wedding ceremony of the girl cannot take place, until the vow is fulfilled.» Canaan adds in a note: »I have heard of this custom only in Central Palestine. It is unknown to the villages around Jerusalem.» We have found that as far as concerns the bride price this kind of vow is known in Artas, South of Bethlehem.

For estimation of people in the Old Testament in connection with vows, see Leviticus XXVII. 2 sqq.: the value of persons differs according to age and sex. See also Exodus XXX. 12 sqq.: a ransom is given — the same for rich and poor — by every man unto the Lord for his soul when people are counted; »that there be no plague among them when thou numberest them.» Cf. Supra, p. 216 n. 55.

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[18] This fact is sometimes presented in the literature rather scornfully by saying that when a daughter is born to a poor man he may get credit in his shop. Bauer, Volksleben im Lande der Bibel, p. 71, and Lees, Village Life, p. 108.

[19] Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 146 sqq.

[20] In some Western countries the question of the so-called wages of

a wife have been much discussed but so far no satisfactory solution has been found. I see a certain parallelism between the bride price and the proposed wife's wage, although it is difficult to prove, chiefly because the former has a more or less collectivistic character and the latter, of course, is completely individual.

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[21] Cf. Tylor on the 'Arabian Matriarchate', quoted by Granqvist in Marriage, II. p. 146 n. 1.

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[22] Cf. Canaan, The Child, p. 162: »In the home circle daughters might be as affectionate and as much beloved as sons.» — Matthews, Mishkât, II. p. 61 marg. n.: »The Prophet disapproves of partiality in the behaviour of parents towards their children.» — Wensinck, Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 43: Daughters must be treated well. — Thomas refers, Araberna, p. 58, to a tradition ascribed to the prophet Muhammad which says that every one who has a girl child and does not bury her alive, or despise her or prefer his boy to her will enter Paradise.

[23] The problem of man and woman has here been considered from the point of view of the father's home. It is the daughters seen with their parents' eyes. For the value of a woman from the point of view of her husband and his family, I refer the reader to my work on Marriage, II. p. 167 sqq., 284. — For the idea that the woman taken from another family can be substituted by money, the bride price, while the man, the husband, is the pillar of the house, and the house stands as long as the pillar stands, see ibid. p. 292. For the tendency to consider a mother as a vessel only to which is given the preservation of the children but of no importance for their social value, see ibid. II. p. 162 n. 3. For the woman as one of the three sources of happiness or unhappiness, see Granqvist, Arabiskt familjeliv, p. 181 sq.

[24] The mother in the song mentions eggs and meat, because they belong to the dishes presented to a lying-in woman by her relatives and neighbours. Cf. Musil, Arabia Petraea, III. p. 214: meat, if her relatives are rich, also a boiled hen or eggs.

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[25] In an article called »Pojke eller Flicka»? (Boy or Girl) in the Swedish »Vecko Journalen», 1943, Nr. 49, p. 18, I read that, in an old roll of papyrus the advice is given that the pregnant woman should plant a seed of wheat in one pot and a seed of corn in another one and water them daily with her urine. If the seed of corn grew higher a boy would be born but if the wheat grew higher, it was a sign that a girl should be born to her. If this information is correct there would have

been in Old Egypt a parallel between boy and barley and girl and wheat.

[26] Supra, p. 93.

[27] C a n a a n, The Child, p. 162 sq.: »In order to combat this evil habit» — female infanticide —» the prophet Mohammed said: 'May God bless the woman whose firstborn child is a daughter.'» — B a u m a n n again quotes (Volksweisheit aus Palästina, p. 164 Nr. 44) a proverb: »Das Mädchen ist hinter der Türe .... und der Knabe ist in Bagdad (d.h. weit entfernt)», as an expression for the experience that girls are more likely to be born than the much longed for boys.

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[28] The story finishes with the words: »And the angel Gabriel flutters his wings on the shame of her mother so that it goes back again, as it ought to be.»

[29] It is the same with a guest. The Arabs speak of the wealth of the guests and that of the little ones. One need not hesitate to receive a guest even if there is nothing in the house. »A guest brings what he needs with him but if he goes away he takes it with him.» If some one omits to receive a guest, then the house loses the blessing he would have brought. Similarly in the Bible. When Jesus sent forth his twelve disciples he commanded them saying: »And when ye come into an house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.» St. Matthew X. 12 sq. — The peace is a physical power which can be taken away by the one who gave it. — Cf. G r a n q v i s t, Aus dem Erzählungsschatz palästinischer Bauernfrauen, p. 129 sq.: Das Geheimnis der Gastfreundschaft.

[30] This expression continues: »The daughter of the evil woman, throw her out!»

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[31] G r a n q v i s t, Marriage, I. p. 59, II. p. 299, also p. 49. Similarly L a n e, The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, I. p. 160: »by Allah I will not marry my daughter to thy son, though thou offer me her weight in gold.»

[32] Sometimes a man may receive a bride as a reward for a heroic deed. I was told a story about a young man who obtained a bride, because he killed a hyena, that was the terror of the whole neighbourhood. In such a case the man need not give any bride price. A bride — often a princess — as a reward for a great deed is a common motive in tales. In the Old Testament there are some examples. Caleb promised his daughter Achsah as a wife to him who smote Kirjath-sepher, and took it. And he kept his promise. — David was told that King Saul had promised his daughter to the man who killed Goliath. And David killed Goliath to have the King's daughter for his wife, but she was

given to another man. Later David killed 200 Philistines in order to win the Princess Michal who loved him. »And Saul gave him Michal his daughter to wife.»

Joshua XV. 16 sq.; Judges I. 12 sq. — 1 Samuel XVII. 25—27; XVIII. 17—27.

[33] Cf. supra, p. 214 n. 47, and 248 n. 22.

[34] Ye injured ones i.e. those on whom this unjustice has fallen. Or, blackened ones: people blacken their faces to show suffering and sorrow, as was done still more in earlier times, for example, with soot off the outside of a pan.

[35] C a n a a n, The Child, p. 163: »A well known saying of the peasants, which aims also at protecting the girls, teaches: 'The mother of daughters goes a sure way.'»

[36] These words are mentioned on account of cousin marriage being common.

[37] Cf. L i n d e r, Arabische Lieder aus Ramalla, p. 115 n. 6: »Das Schwert der Verwandten ist lang genug, um das Mädchen zu schützen». — G r a n q v i s t, Marriage, II. p. 77.

P a g e 1 4 8

[38] The same thing has occurred in recent times in Europe.

P a g e 1 4 9

[39] Cf. Genesis III. 17: »Cursed is the ground for thy sake». And VIII. 21: »I will not again curse the ground (any more for man's sake)». Because the people in Sodom and Gomorrah had sinned, God destroyed, not only the inhabitants of these cities, but also the cities and all the plain and that which grew upon the ground. Genesis XIX. 25. Cf. Deuteronomy XXIX. 23. — Yet, before the destruction this land had been »even as the garden of the Lord.» Genesis XIII. 10. — Arabs say of trees that have not been planted that they are »trees of God».

[40] Cf. Genesis III. 14: God said to the serpent: »Thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field!»

[41] For fig tree cursed by Jesus, see St. Mark XI. 14, 20 sq.

[42] 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. 79. — F r a z e r, Folk-Lore in the O. T. (1923), p. 322: Sacred trees. — C h e y n e, Encyclopaedia Biblica, III. p. 3353, Nature-Worship in Israel: Holy trees, Genesis XXI. 33; XIII. 18; (XIV. 13), XVIII. 1 sqq. etc.

[43] It is not always easy to draw a line between a blessed place and a holy place (Mecca, Jerusalem, the Holy Land), and between a blessed person and a holy person.

[44] In the Old Testament God's blessing is: fruitfulness to people and animals.

As to people, see Genesis I. 28; IX. 1; XVI. 10; XVII. 2, 6, 16; XXII. 17;

XXVIII. 3; XXXV. 11; XLI. 52; Exodus I. 7; XXIII. 26; Deuteronomy VII. 13 sq.; VIII. 1; XXVIII. 4; Psalm LXXXIX. 36; CV. 24; CXXVIII. 3; Jeremiah XXXI. 27; Ezekiel XXXVI. 10 sqq. and 37 sq.

As to animals, see Genesis I. 22; VIII. 17; XXX. 30; Deuteronomy VII. 13 sq.; XXVIII. 4; Psalm CXLIV. 13; Jeremiah XXXI. 27 and Ezekiel XXXVI. 11.

God's blessing is further richness and wealth: Genesis XXVI. 12; XXX. 27, 30; Deuteronomy VII. 13; Job XLII. 12 — and a long life in the own country and on earth: Deuteronomy V. 16; XI. 21; Psalm XXI. 4; XCI. 16; Proverbs III. 16; Isaiah LXV. 20; Ben Sira III. 6 and Ephesians VI. 3.

Meaning of blessings: Exodus XXIII. 25; Deuteronomy VII. 13 sqq.; XXVIII. 2 sqq.; Psalm XXXVII. 22; CXXVIII. 4 and Isaiah LXV. 18 sqq.

Meaning of curses: Deuteronomy XXVIII. 15 sqq.; XXIX. 20 sqq.; Job XVIII. 5 sqq.; Psalm XXXVII. 22; CIX. 6 sqq. and Zechariah V. 3.

[45] Cf. Canaan, The Curse in Palestinian Folklore, 258: »May God ruin your house»!

[46] For blessings, see congratulations on different occasions quoted in this work and in my study on marriage.

[47] For curses in daily life, see Granqvist, Marriage: — I. p. 50: »Cursed be thy mother and thy father!» a kind of self curse, and exclamation of desperation at a sudden great loss; II. 322: Widow's partner in her land cursed her son and is driven away; wife, or her family, cursed in her husband's house, I. 94 sq., II. 74 sq., 87 and 262; wife curses husband, I. 68, II. 200, 237; enemy curses, II. 63; a man takes oath instead of his sister and even in this case, if his oath is false, he and his family must die, II. 254 sq.

Canaan says (op. cit. p. 236): »Inhabitants of cities make more use of imprecations than do peasants, and these more than the Bedouin.» And: »Women make more use of curses than men. .... Children of the lower class weave such expressions into their daily speech. A very deplorable custom is the way some relatives enjoy teaching their young children such expressions.» Idem, The Child, p. 174: A child learns to curse very early, and parents are proud when child utters curses. — Similarly Lees, Village Life, p. 115: Children learn swearing next after the words father and mother, and then to lie and give an evasive answer. For small children cursing their father, see Granqvist, Birth, p. 27.

In the Proverbs XX. 20 it is said: »Whoso curseth his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out in obscure darkness.»

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[48] Cf. the blessings: »Let Reuben live, and not die; and let not his men be few.» — »Let Asher be blessed with children». Deuteronomy XXXIII. 6, 24. — »Be thou the mother of thousands of millions».

Genesis XXIV. 60. — God's blessing means multiplying of the seed »as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore». Genesis XXII. 17. Also XV. 5; XXVI. 4; Exodus XXXII. 13; Nehemiah IX. 23. — In Isaiah XLVIII. 19 the Lord speaking of Israel says: »Thy seed also had been as the sand, and the offspring of thy bowels like the gravel thereof». — For lack of men as punishment by God, see also supra, p. 222 n. 80. For lack of men called for in cursing, see infra, p. 254 n. 68.

[49] For the combination blessing-curse compare Joshua VIII. 34 sq.: »And afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law.» According to a tradition in Palestine all the blessings were read with the people facing Mount Gerizim which is therefore called the Mount of Blessings; similarly the curses facing Mount Ebal which lies opposite and which is called the Mount of Curses. Cf. Deuteronomy XI. 29; XXVII. 11 sqq. Joshua read the law: the blessings and cursings also to the women, the little ones and the strangers »that were conversant among them» who thereby were brought into physical contact with the potential blessings and cursings of the law. In Nehemiah X. 29 it is stated that the people »entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law», and »to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord our Lord, and his judgments and his statutes». The covenant of God may be considered from the point of view of a blessing and a curse.

[50] See H a d d a d, Methods of Education and Correction, p. 41 sq., for stolen goods that is returned.

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[51] Out of curiosity the following lines found in an old catechism which had belonged to a peasant's son in the South of Finland may be quoted. Inside the front covers stands his full name and the date of purchase (the 13th of February 1840). And then:

He who steals or hides this book, may God's anger follow him
take him in the neck and strike him to the ground,
so that he shall say: »Oh my neck which Death struck to the ground!»

On the inside of the back cover is written:

N. N. is my name to my honour and no shame.
It was given me in baptism and is written in the Book of Life.

And then:

He who steals or hides this book shall eat straw and hay for six days,
and the seventh day shall go to the gallows!

Thus we here have a trace of ideas from the North similar to those given above from the East.

In general the conviction has hitherto prevailed in the rural districts of Finland that things obtained in a wrong way cannot bring any blessing. It will be lost again, if not in this, then in a later generation.

[52] This is a leading idea in the Old Testament, e.g. Deuteronomy XXVII. 16 sqq. See also H e m p e l, Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen.

[53] Supra, p. 72.

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[54] Similarly C a n a a n, Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine, p. 143. Ibid. p. 125 sqq.: oaths.

[55] Cf. the command in Exodus XXVII. 20: »pure oil olive beaten for the light, to cause the lamp to burn always» in the tabernacle.

[56] Cf. S t e p h a n, Palestinian Nursery Rhymes and Songs, p. 69: »May Allah guard my little brother // That I may swear by his life.» And p. 69 n. 7: »Oaths are taken in the names of those most loved or honoured, to make them more binding.» They may be taken by the father: »by thy life», »by my life instead of thine»; or by the life of a son. »Women take the same oaths, preferably swearing by one of their male relatives.» — See also M u s i l, Rwala Bedouins, p. 430, for the oath when the chief lays his right hand on his belly under his belt so as to touch his sexual organ. »The belt signifies the wife, for it is laid aside when the man desires to have intercourse with her; the sexual organ means children.» When people in Artas want to force a man to accede to their wish they say: »I place my hand under thy girdle!» G r a n q v i s t, Marriage, I. p. 105, 107. — For the oath with the hand on the sexual organ compare Genesis XXIV. 2 sq.; XLVII. 29, and G u n k e l, Genesis, p. 250 sq. See also H e n n i n g e r, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 39.

[57] Sometimes used e.g. when selling. Again M a t t h e w s, Mishkât, II. p. 8 marg. n.: »A seller is not to enhance the value of his goods by oaths.» See also H e n n i n g e r, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 101: oath by children.

[58] Cf. M u s i l, Rwala Bedouins, p. 430: A false oath is the ruin of the descendants.

[59] Mhammad, the Beggar child, supra, p. 121 (Case 9) and 126.

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[60] G r a n q v i s t, Birth, p. 234 n. 22.

[61] Sanctuary in Mecca.

[62] L i t. the Muhammadan direction for prayer (k i b l e).

[63] Alya: At Hebron.

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[64] Fatme Jedallah. Supra, p. 220 n. 73.

[65] For the fate of this orphan, Ibrahim Mahmud. see supra, p. 64 sq.

[66] In the Old Testament, too, the belief is met with that the blessing or cursing of some people is more effective than that of others. Moab asks Balaam to come and curse the children of Israel: »for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.» Numbers XXII. 6.

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[67] It would be profitable to study the Psalms from the point of view of how God is there implored to show mercy on the one praying and asked to let evil fall on the enemy. The personal enemies of man are often identified with God's enemies: the ungodly. — The Muhammadans speak of the 'unbelievers'. — Compare also the blessing pronounced by the priest at the end of divine service, originally an old Semitic blessing; it is used as a prayer by the individual and at home and in schools.

[68] The prophet's prayer to God to punish the people who had shown him enmity is in reality a kind of cursing. »Therefore deliver up their children to the famine, and pour out their blood by the force of the sword; and let their wives be bereaved of their children, and be widows; and let their men be put to death; let their young men be slain by the sword in battle.» Jeremiah XVIII. 21. — Prayer for vengeance: »Let his days be few .... Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg: let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places. .... Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out. ... that he (the Lord) may cut off the memory of them from the earth.» Psalm CIX. 8 sqq., 13, 15. — See also David's curse on Joab and on all his father's house, 2 Samuel III. 29. — A prayer that is a curse is also found in Hosea IX. 14. — In Psalm LVIII. 8 it is said: »As a snail which melteth, let every one of them pass away: like the untimely birth of a woman, that they may not see the sun.»

[69] Thomas, Araberna, p. 63: Those who pray do not uncover their heads, they remove their shoes or sandals. — Cf. Exodus III. 5 and Joshua V. 15.

[70] In this connection a remark by Tallqvist, Paradisets nyckel, p. 30, may be mentioned: Some are inclined to see, in the bare feet, the remains of a complete nudity belonging to a cult ceremony of the Sumerians, and perhaps also of the Arabs of pre-historic time.

The example from Artas shows that complete nudity at prayer still occurs.

For nudity, see also 1 Samuel XIX. 24; Isaiah XX. 2 sq. — and 2 Samuel VI. 16, 20 sqq.

Cf. Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I. p. 447, on

nakedness and mourning customs: Micah I. 8, »('I will go stripped and naked'), especially if taken in conjunction with the phrase, 'in nakedness and shame' of v. 11, points to a still earlier custom, when the mourner went quite naked». But »the general practice of putting on sackcloth» — also ashes or earth — »as a substitute for all other garments must have set in pretty early». Isaiah XXXII. 11. — »The mourner put off his sandals», a custom meant to accompany the girding on of a sackloth. — Ezekiel XXIV. 17; 2 Samuel XV. 30. — The custom to wear no sandals in sacred places led to »the supposition that it was essentially a ritual practice. But here again the original meaning was probably self-humiliation, which would suit both the grief of the mourners and the attendance at sacred places.» — »The mourner cut off his hair, or beard, or both», possible a kind of adjunct to the removal of one's clothes.

[71] Granqvist, Birth, p. 107 sq.

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[72] Cf. Job XXXI. 5—10, 16—22, 38—40: If I have done a certain thing »then let me sow, and let another eat; yea, let my offspring be rooted out. If mine heart have been deceived by a woman .... then let my wife grind unto another, and let others bow down upon her.» — If I have done .... »then let mine arm fall from my shoulder blade, and mine arm be broken from the bone.» — If I have done .... »let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley.» — For conditional oath, see also 1 Samuel XX. 12 sq.

[73] Selma Lagerlöf uses this theme in a novel, Tösen från Stormyrtorpet, a false oath means eternal condemnation.

[74] This is the problem with which the Book of Job is concerned.

Job asks: »Is not destruction to the wicked? and a strange punishment to the workers of iniquity?» And again he asks: »Wherefore do the wicked live, become old, yea, are mighty in power? Their seed is established in their sight with them, and their offspring before their eyes.» They and their domestic animals are fruitful. »They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance. They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ.» — Job XXXI. 3 and XXI. 7 sqq. — Also the prophet struggles with the same problem: »Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper?» Jeremiah XII. 1. — Again Psalm XVII. 14: »men of the world, which have their portion in this life, and whose belly thou fillest with thy hid treasure: they are full of children, and leave the rest of their substance to their babes.»

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[75] For oath, taken in a church in a Christian community, and if in a Muhammadan community, in a mosque, see Haddad, Blood Revenge among the Arabs, p. 111.

Compare Solomon's agreement with God: »If any man trespass

against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him to cause him to swear, and the oath come before thine altar in this house: Then hear thou in heaven, and do, and judge thy servants, condemning the wicked, to bring his way upon his head; and justifying the righteous, to give him according to his righteousness.» And he asks that every prayer or supplication made by any man with his hands spread forth toward the Temple in Jerusalem should be heard by God. 1 Kings VIII. 31 sq., 38 sq. — For swearing by the temple, by the gold of the temple — sanctified by the temple — by the altar, by the gift that is upon it, by heaven, i.e. by the throne of God, and by Him that sitteth thereon, see St. Matthew XXIII. 16—22.

[76] A wide mantle or garment is easy to catch hold of if a person tries to escape. Genesis XXXIX. 12.

[77] See also Exodus XXII. 7 sqq.: If a man was suspected of having stolen goods that had been given to him by a neighbour to be kept in his house he should »be brought unto the judges, to see whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods». If an animal given in charge of another person is hurt, or stolen, or dies unseen by some one else, then shall an oath of the Lord be between them both that he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods. The word which in the English Bible is translated as »judges» literally means »gods» (E l o h i m). As the people to-day go to the shrine of some saint, people in olden times were taken to the gods.

It may be mentioned that in old Israel people kept gods or images (T e r a p h i m) in their houses. Laban's god was stolen by Rachel. Genesis XXXI. 19, 32 sqq. — Micah had a house of gods where he had images. His gods also were stolen and his priest was taken away. Judges XVII. 3 sqq.; XVIII. 14 sqq. — Michal, wife of David, had an image in the house. 1 Samuel XIX. 13, 16. Also 2 Kings XXIII. 24; Ezekiel XXI. 21; Hosea III. 4; Zechariah X. 2. — Encyclopaedia Biblica, IV. p. 4974, on Teraphim: »The name appears to designate a particular kind of idol». — »Laban's teraphim (his god)». — E i c h r o d t, Theologie des Alten Testaments, I. p. 51 n. 5.

To swear an oath when in touch with holiness, showed, in those days as well as to-day, if a person was guilty, for he feared the curse he drew upon himself, if he swore falsely. If there was an oath of the Lord between a man — suspected of having stolen an animal — and the owner of the animal, God's curse would surely strike the suspected man, if he was guilty.

There was a practice in old Israel — as to-day among the Orientals — of binding themselves to a certain action by swearing.

The harlot Rahab in Jericho bid Israelite spies to swear unto her by the Lord to spare her father's house, to save her father and mother, her brothers and sisters, and all that they had. They swore and thus Rahab and her father's house, were rescued when the Israelites conquered Jericho. Joshua II. 12 sq.

Although the inhabitants of Gibeon, only by doing work wilily, had got the Israelites to swear an oath not to smite them, the Israelites had to keep their oath lest wrath be upon them. Joshua IX. 15 sqq.

Jephthah's vow, when at war, to sacrifice to the Lord whatever came forth of the doors of his house to meet him, if he returned home in peace, can be regarded as a special kind of swearing and led to the death of his only daughter. Judges XI. 31.

During a war with the Philistines, Saul, eager to conquer them adjured the people, saying: »Cursed be the man that eateth any food until evening, that I may be avenged on mine enemies.» So none of the people tasted any food. Only Jonathan, who did not hear his father charging the people with an oath, ate some honey and by so doing the contact between Saul and God was broken. Saul asked councel of the Lord but received no answer that day. He understood that someone had disobeyed and sinned. By means of casting lots — which is customary of the Palestine of to-day too — it was discovered that Jonathan was guilty. »Jonathan was taken». Saul who was bound by his oath said to his son that he should die. But the people rescued Jonathan that he did not die. 1 Samuel XIV. 24 sqq.

For a similar oath by David, when mourning, not to »taste bread, or ought else, till the sun be down», see 2 Samuel III. 35. Cf. The Acts XXIII. 14.

The clever Bathsheba — probably taking advantage of a suitable moment — had made David swear to her that her son Solomon should reign after his father and sit upon his throne. And when Adonijah, an elder brother of Solomon, wanted to be made king, she reminded David of the oath and the king swore that he would do as he had sworn to her, and Solomon became king. This incident gives a picture of the means a wife of a king used for the purpose of becoming a King's mother. 1 Kings I. 13, 29 sq.

King Herod promised with an oath to give Herodias' daughter whatever she would ask for, when on the King's birthday she danced before him and his guests and pleased him. And she, being before instructed by her mother, asked to have the head of John the Baptist. Herod was sorry but because of the oath and because of the witnesses he sent and beheaded John in the prison. St. Matthew XIV. 6 sqq.

The custom of swearing might in certain circumstances be the cause of tragic consequences, because an Oriental was and is always bound by his oath. In Psalm XV. 1, 4 it is said: »He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not» will be among those who shall abide in the Lord's tabernacle and dwell in His holy hill.

In the Old Testament it is often said even of God that He has sworn to do a certain thing. Genesis XXII. 16 sq.: »By myself have I sworn», said God, promising Abraham to bless him and multiply his seed, his seed shall possess the gate of his enemies. And in Hebrews VI. 13

there is the interesting remark about God's promise and oath to Abraham: »because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself». See also v. 16 sq., for an oath of confirmation and God's oath. — Genesis XXIV. 7: God's oath to Abraham; Psalm CV. 9: God's oath to Isaac, and Psalm CXXXII. 11: God's oath to David.

[78] For the formula by which a charge of homicide is denied, see also Burckhardt, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, I. p. 182: »By God! I have not pierced any skin, || Nor rendered orphan any boy», and Haddad, Blood Revenge among the Arabs, p. 111: »By God the Mighty, the Avenger, the Powerful, Creator of day and night, I have not made his children orphans, and I have not cut his skin or made his wife a widow.»

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[79] Cf. 1 Samuel XV. 33: »As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women.» Also Psalm CIX. 9.

[80] Haddad, Methods of Education, p. 42: If a woman is insulted by a man, an oath in the presence of five honourable men of his family must be given.

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[81] For oaths see also Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, III. p. 56: »the Arab has learned to swear that great oath 'by the honour of my women'.»

[82] Cf. the biblical expression: make thy house like the house of Jeroboam, and like the house of Baasha. 1 Kings XVI. 3 and XXI. 22.

[83] Supra, p. 247 n. 15.

[84] See also Granqvist, Marriage, I p. 94.

[85] An Artas man had hurt a man from another place — it was an accident — and the whole clan paid the fine. Similarly when a vow is to be paid, supra, p. 243 n. 85.

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[86] Another question is to what extent westerners are still influenced by the same idea; e.g. when the nation as a whole must stand for what is decided by an individual or a few leading men. In the European crisis in September 1938 it was constantly repeated that the peoples would stand behind the decision of their respective governments and their leaders, whether it were for war or peace.

[87] Exodus XX. 5 sq.: »for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me», etc. Cf. XXXIV. 7 and Deuteronomy VII. 9 sq.

[88] The most effective punishment of children in order to punish

parents is death of children. Childlessness and loss of children is often met with in the Old Testament.

Concerning some cases of incest it is said (Leviticus XX. 20 sq.): »they shall bear their sin; they shall die childless.» These words may intend barrenness of the guilty ones but it is more likely that they will be bereaved of their children.

In other passages it is evident that childlessness means loss of children. E.g. Isaiah XLVII. 8 sq., 11 and Leviticus XXVI. 22. Similarly Jeremiah XV. 7—9: »I will bereave them of children, I will destroy my people», etc.

In other passages, again, both barrenness and loss of children are meant.

»As for Ephraim, their glory shall fly away like a bird, from the birth, and from the womb, and from the conception. Though they bring up their children, yet will I bereave them (i.e. of children), that there shall not be a man left... but Ephraim shall bring forth his children to the murderer.» Hosea IX. 11—13, also v. 14.

Sometimes it is stressed that both parents and children shall be punished together. »I will dash them one against another, even the fathers and the sons together, saith the Lord :I will not pity, nor spare, nor have mercy, but destroy them.» On account of the manifold sins and gross corruptions of the Jews the fury of the Lord will be poured out »upon the children abroad, and upon the assembly of young men together: for even the husband with the wife shall be taken, the aged with him that is full of days.» Jeremiah XIII. 14; VI. 11. — Also XVI. 3 sq., 6: Both great and small, parents and children shall die in this land. — Cf. Hosea X. 14: »the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children.»

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[89] Again, Matthews, Mishkât, II. p. 163: Fathers not to be punished for the crimes of their children, nor children for those of their fathers. — Similarly Wensinck, Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 201.

Also in the Old Testament there are examples of an individual punishment.

In 2 Kings XIV. 5 sq. it is said that King Amaziah slew the murderers of his father, but not their children »according unto that which is written in the book of the law of Moses.» Cf. Deuteronomy XXIV. 16. Also 2 Chronicles XXV. 3 sq.

A proverb used in Israel, on the other hand, says: »The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.» Some of the great prophets prophesied of a time when people should have no occasion of using this proverb any more in Israel, because then »every one shall die for his own iniquity». Jeremiah XXXI. 29 sq., Ezekiel XVIII. 2 sqq.

This was contrary to the common idea of the people, an illusion of a time to come.

In general a different principle ruled and children were subjected to punishment. Or, as it is expressed in Lamentations V. 7: »Our fathers have sinned, and are not; and we have borne their iniquities.» — Similarly: »Prepare slaughter for his children for the iniquity of their fathers». Isaiah XIV. 21. — In Job XX. 10 it is said that the children must redress the wrong doings of their father. And XVII. 5: »even the eyes of his children shall fail». — The words of the disciples of Jesus concerning a blind man illustrate the general opinion: »Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?» St. John IX. 2.

Children — although innocent — suffering for the crimes of their parents is a common form of collective punishment in the Old Testament.

Exercising His punishment God used different means: the sword, famine, wild beasts and painful death. The expression »to make childless» actually occurs in the Old Testament in the meaning to make childless by wild animals that destroy and eat up the children, or, by sword that bereaves mothers and wives of their children and husbands, but also by famine and untimely death. — Leviticus XXVI. 22; Deuteronomy XXXII. 24 sq.; Jeremiah XI. 22 sq.; XVIII. 21, also V. 17 and XVI. 2—6; Lamentations I. 20 and Ezekiel V. 17; XIV. 13—21. — In Job XXVII. 14 it is said of the wicked: »If his children be multiplied, it is for the sword: and his offspring shall not be satisfied with bread.»

Widowhood as punishment — mentioned in Isaiah XLVII. 8 sq.; Jeremiah XV. 8 — strikes the children too, as the child looses his father.

There are more examples on collective punishment. As God did, so did the men.

Saul was angry with Ahimelech for having helped David during his flight, and said: »Thou shalt surely die, Ahimelech, thou, and all thy father's house.» And the whole family was killed. 1 Samuel XXII. 16. — When later Saul saw that he could not stand against David, he implored him to make an exception from the rule and swear an oath not to cut off his seed after him, and not to destroy his name out of his father's house. Yet Saul's sons were killed and his house was destroyed. 1 Samuel XXIV. 21 sq.; XXXI. 6; 2 Samuel IV. 7 sqq.; IX. 1 sqq.; 1 Chronicles X. 6. — Solomon commanded one of his men to fall upon and bury Joab, an officer, for having killed two innocent men, saying: »Their blood shall therefore return upon the head of Joab, and upon the head of his seed for ever». 1 Kings II. 33. — Also St. Matthew XXVII. 25: »His blood be on us, and on our children.» — The kings Jeroboam, Baasha and Ahab did evil and God said to them through the prophet that their male members should be cut off, and that their whole house should perish. And so it happened. 1 Kings XIV. 10, 14; XVI. 3 sq.; XXI.

21 sqq.; 2 Kings IX. 7 sqq.; X. 6 sq. Also 2 Chronicles XXI. 14, 17: The king has done evil and Elijah, the prophet says: »With a great plague will the Lord smite thy people, and thy children, and thy wives, and all thy goods». — See also 2 Kings XX. 18.

Referring to Joshua VII. 1 sqq. it is said in XXII. 20: »Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit a trespass in the accursed thing, and wrath fell on all the congregation of Israel? and that man perished not alone in his iniquity.»

Eli's sons were evil and God said to him: »Behold, the days come, that I will cut off thine arm, and the arm of thy father's house, that there shall not be an old man in thine house.» 1 Samuel II. 31. In the last example people were punished by God's curse in that they were bereaved of years of their life.

Jeremiah (IX. 21) laments the calamity of the Jews: Death is come »to cut off the children from without, and the young men from the streets.» — In Lamentations II. 21 it is said: »The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets: my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword; thou hast slain them in the day of thine anger; thou hast killed, and not pitied.» And in I. 20: »abroad the sword bereaveth (i.e. of children and men), at home there is as death.» — When the people provoked God to jealousy with strange gods the Lord in his anger said that he would heap mischief upon them. »The sword without, and terror within, shall destroy both the young man and the virgin, the suckling also with the man of gray hairs.» Deuteronomy XXXII. 19 sqq., 25.

Hiskia was told by the prophet (Isaiah XXXIX. 7): »Of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.» And the prophet laments of Jerusalem that this city is as a menstrous woman among enemies: »my virgins and my young men are gone into captivity.» Lamentations I. 17 sq.

Fugitive daughters were a very great disgrace among the Semites and has been thought to be the reason for female infanticide among the Arabs; kill your daughter yourself rather than have the fear of her being taken prisoner. Supra p. 205 sq. n. 55. — In 2 Kings V. 2 is mentioned a little maid brought away captive out of the land of Israel.

In this connection attention should also be paid to the laws on how to treat the enemy in war.

These laws varied but were always very severe. In many cases all that breathed should be destroyed, not only the people but also the domestic animals, not only the men but also the women, not only the adults but also the infants and sucklings should be slain; even the unborn children were not excepted; children were dashed to pieces and women with child ripped up.

Joshua VI. 17, 21; VIII. 25 sqq.; X. 35, 37, 39 sq.; XI. 11; Judges XXI. 10 sqq.; 1 Samuel XV. 3 and Deuteronomy VII. 2; XX. 16 sq.; also 2

Kings VIII. 12; XV. 16; 2 Chronicles XXXVI. 17; Isaiah XIII. 16, 18; Nahum III. 10.

In other cases the Israelites were allowed to take captives. Every male child or every male and every woman not a maiden were to be killed, but maidens and all the female children were allowed to be taken captives.

Numbers XXXI. 17 sq., also v. 9, 11, 35, 40, and Deuteronomy XX. 13 sq.; and in XXI. 11—14 rules concerning a captive woman as wife. — Examples of women prisoners taken for wives, in Judges XXI. 10 sqq. Cf. V. 30.

Compare the punishment of Samaria for having rebelled against God with the treatment of enemies mentioned above: »Samaria shall become desolate... they shall fall by the sword: their infants shall be dashed in pieces, and their women with child shall be ripped up.» Hosea XIII. 16.

In peace as in war, within the religious sphere as in profane life, the same rule prevailed: a whole family and even a whole people were punished for the crime of one of their members.

The collective punishment was driven to extremes when the entire family or people of the guilty were exterminated.

There are many strong expressions in the Bible.

It is said of the wicked: »His remembrance shall perish from the earth, and he shall have no name in the street.» — »He shall neither have son nor nephew among his people, nor any remaining in his dwellings.» Job XVIII. 17, 19. — Of the enemies of the king: »Their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth, and their seed from among the children of men.» Psalm XXI. 10. — And again: »the seed of evildoers shall never be renowned.» — »For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew, saith the Lord.» Isaiah XIV. 20, 22. — The Jews in Egypt are threatened for idolatry with the words: »Wherefore commit ye this great evil against your souls, to cut off from you man and woman, child and suckling, out of Judah, to leave you none to remain.» Jeremiah XLIV. 7.

Even concerning the people of Israel, His sons and daughters, the Lord was sometimes tempted to scatter them into corners and make the remembrance of them to cease from among men. But He feared the wrath of the enemy, He feared that they might say: »Our hand and not the Lord has done all this.» Deuteronomy XXXII. 19, 26 sq. — So He did not say »that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven» but helped them in their need. 2 Kings XIV. 27. — And the prophet who had expressed so many hard judgments upon Israel, but when they were captives in foreign countries he encouraged them and bid them to marry and arrange marriages for their children in captivity, »that they may bear sons and daughters; that ye may

be increased there, and not diminished.» They shall be brought back »and they shall be fruitful and increase.» Jeremiah XXIX. 6. Cf. XXIII. 3 and XXXI. 27.

[90] Cf. James V. 12: »But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath ... lest ye fall into condemnation.»

[91] For reluctance of Arabs to swear an oath, see also Burckhardt, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, I. p. 182: »The Arabs entertain such notions respecting the solemnity and sacredness of an oath, that when a man is even falsely suspected of having killed another, and the relations of the person slain tender to the accused an oath, by taking which he might free himself from the imputation, he sometimes agrees to pay the fine rather than swear.» — Musil, Rwala Bedouins, p. 430: The man who has been forced to take an oath, rushes on the one who has forced him to it. — Supra, p. 152: Dangerous to force someone to swear.

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[92] Granqvist, Birth, p. 107 sq.

[93] Genesis XXVII. 3—41; XXVIII. 1—4. — Gunkel, Genesis, p. 313: »das einmal gesprochene Segenswort ist unwiderruflich». — Cf. Genesis XLVIII. 1—20. How eager Joseph is that his aged father shall bless his sons Ephraim and Manasseh. Again, he did not like that Jacob gave the greater blessing to the younger one and tried to prevent it. But Jacob did not listen to him. By laying his right hand on the younger one's head, he set Ephraim before Manasseh. Thus it was later explained that Manasseh had to step aside for Ephraim, the younger one, whose descendants became the leading tribe of the Northern Kingdom. It was considered the effect of the blessing. — See also St. Matthew XIX. 13—15, and St. Luke XVIII. 15—17 where the mothers are anxious to have the blessing of the Holy Man transferred to their children through the laying-on of his hands. Also otherwise we find in the Bible much importance attached to blessings.

Hempel remarks, Segen und Fluch, p. 26, on Genesis XLVIII. 15 sq.: »so zeigt doch gerade in dieser Perikope das Wertlegen auf das Auflegen der rechten Hand auf das Deutlichste die ursprüngliche Verwurzelung der Handlung im Magischen.» — Gunkel points out (Genesis, p. 472) that at blessing through the laying-on of hands a secret power passes through the hands and that the right hand gives the better and the left the less good blessing.

Perhaps there is a certain relation between this and a saying one hears to-day in Palestine: »The hand of the man is blessed.»

Sitt Louisa told me that once she asked the woman who brought milk: »Why is the milk not good to-day?» The woman answered: »Yes, because to-day it is from a woman's hand. Yesterday my son did the

milking, but to-day my daughter, because he had no time.» Sitt Louisa thought the explanation was: »Because a man is not ritually unclean as a woman can be. If a man takes a woman's hand in greeting he must wash again for prayer. Not even in this way may he become unclean.» — This could also be the reason why men always prepare a festival meal which often has the character of a sacrificial meal.

When out in Palestine I was not told that the right hand gives the better blessing but there may be such a belief. It is a rule that Muhammadans executing necessary needs shall use the left hand. — Tallqvist, Paradisets nyckel, p. 23. — The right hand may give the better blessing as it is ritually less unclean.

As to customs regarding children of to-day Bauer speaking of Derwishes says (Volksleben im Lande der Bibel, p. 12): »Auf dem Glauben der Leute, dass von diesen Heiligen Segenskräfte ausströmen, beruht die Gepflogenheit muhammedanischer Mütter, durchreisenden Derwischen ihre Kinder zu bringen, damit sie die Hände auf sie legen und sie segnen.» — Cf. St. Mark X. 13—16.

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[94] The underlying idea is similar to the thought expressed in Psalm CIX. 18 sq.: »as he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment» — garment and girdle.

[95] Cf. Ben-Sira III. 1—16: Children's duties to their parents. III. 9: A father's blessing builds the house of the children, but a mother's curse ruins it. — Cursing a father or mother is punished with death. Granqvist, Birth, p. 273 n. 9, also ibid. p. 143.

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[96] Cf. Tobit IV. 3 sq. and 2 Maccabees VII. 27.

[97] Supra, p. 18.

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[98] Cf. Song of Solomon IV. 12, 15 where a maiden is compared to »a spring shut up, a fountain sealed». — Proverbs V. 15 sqq., XXIII. 27.

[99] Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 234.

[100] These words express the animals' love for their offspring. The female prefers being killed to leaving her issue.

The Israelites were well aware of the animals' great love for their young. It was terrible to meat a she-bear that had been bereaved or robbed of her whelps. 2 Samuel XVII. 8; Proverbs XVII. 12; Hosea XIII. 8.

Here the prohibition to boil a kid in its mother's milk may be mentioned. — Granqvist, Birth, p. 265 n. 5. — Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn, p. 160: »My Bethlehem cook told me that they preferred

kid cooked in its mother's milk. Thus we found that this custom, prohibited by Moses, still survived among the peasantry.»

This command, difficult to explain, has been interpreted in many different ways. The supposition which has found favour both in ancient and modern times that this precept is one of refined humanity, is scarcely right, the reason for giving it was very likely not out of consideration or respect for the maternal feelings of a goat. In any case — besides suggested explanations by Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament, III. p. 116 sq. and Granqvist, Birth, p. 265 n. 5 — it may be suitable to compare it with some other passages in the Bible. In Leviticus XXII. 28 it is said: »And whether it be cow or ewe, ye shall not kill it and her young both in one day.» See also the prohibition to take a dam with the young from a bird's nest. »But thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, and take the young to thee; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days.» Deuteronomy XXII. 6 sq. — Observe the similarity in the compensation for honouring parents. — For a bird's love of her children, see Granqvist, Birth, p. 261 n. 23.

In Lamentations IV. 3 the prophet says: »Even the sea monsters draw out the breast, they give suck to their young ones: the daughter of my people is become cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness.» For the ostrich and her young ones, see Job XXXIX. 14—17. Cf. Jeremiah XVII. 11.

The parable in 2 Samuel XII. 3 of the little ewe lamb that a man had bought and nourished up and that grew with him and with his children »and was unto him as a daughter», gives an insight into the old Israelites' feelings for their lambs. To this may be remarked that when the Bethlehemites of to-day are out in their vineyards, they often have with them a favourite lamb which follows the owner as a dog follows his owner in the West. — Cf. Isaiah XL. 11, etc.

A certain feeling for animals is also shown by the many passages in which a man is compared to a lamb or other animals. Similarly the parable of the lioness that nourishes and brings up her whelps to young lions, in a lamentation for the princes of Israel. Ezekiel XIX. 2 sqq.

[101] Granqvist, Marriage, II p. 297 sqq.

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[102] Refers to material not yet published. Marriage II. p. (180), 227, 230.

[103] King Solomon based his well known judicial decision on the great love of a mother for her child. 1 Kings III. 25 sqq.

It was a terrible punishment by God when conditions were so miserable in Jerusalem that young children fainted for hunger »in the top of every street». The prophet was troubled about »the destruction of the daughter of my people; because the children and the sucklings swoon in the streets of the city. They say to their mothers, Where is corn and wine? when they swooned as the wounded in the streets of

the city, when their soul was poured out into their mothers' bosom.» The situation was quite hopeless and the prophet exclaims in despair: »Shall the women eat their fruit, and children of a span long?» And later he says: »The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children: they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people.»

Lamentations II. 19; 11 sq.; 20; IV. 10. — Cf. Leviticus XXVI. 29; Deuteronomy XXVIII. 53 sqq.; Jeremiah XIX. 9; Ezekiel V. 10.

For mother's great love of her children, see also 2 Samuel XXI. 10.

[104] Lit. the prayers of two r a k a ' â t.

[105] Cf. G o l l a n c z, Pedagogics of the Talmud, p. 113 sq.: »The mother of Rabbi Tarphon was about to cross the courtyard on a sabbath in search of something she had lost. R. Tarphon went and placed his two hands under the soles of her feet, so that she should walk on his hands, and not soil her feet, in the endeavour to reach her bed-chamber.» The sages said to his mother: »Even if he did so ten thousand times, he could not pay you one half of the respect due to a mother».

[106] In the Bible Moses meets God on the Mount of Sinai. Exodus XIX. 17, 20, 24. In Psalm XXIV. 3 it is said: »Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?» Cf. also Psalm III. 4, XV. 1, CXXI. 1. Also among Muhammadans there is the idea of God as a Mountain God. To-day it is said of a person who ascends a high mountain that he goes to see the face of God.

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[107] Samson to his wife: »Behold, I have not told it my father nor my mother, and shall I tell it thee?» Judges XIV. 16.

[108] C a n a a n states, The Child, p. 177, that love of children for their parents and especially for the mother is very great. — L a n e says, Modern Egyptians, I. p. 90, that however much children are caressed and fondled they are reverential to their parents and that disobedience to parents is considered among Muhammadans as one of the greatest sins. For filial piety and respect to parents, see ibid. I. p. 400. And p. 91: »The mothers generally enjoy, in a greater degree than the fathers the affection of their children». — B u r c k h a r d t, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, I. p. 201: »The respect which Bedouins bear to their mothers is much more exemplary, than that which they evince towards their fathers.» Ibid. p. 201: Relation between father and son not always good. Son separates from father's tent as soon as possible. Sons are not obliged to support old parents; they often do it, but not always. — S e l i g m a n, The Kabâbish, a Sudan Arab Tribe, p. 131 and 144: Elderly wives leave their husbands, who have probably married younger wives, and settle with their sons, by whom they are treated with all kindness and respect, and where they take a lively interest in their grandchildren. — For relations between parents and children,

respect and obedience of children to parents among Arabs, as stated in the literature, see also Henninger, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens, p. 104. — Roberts, The Social Laws of the Qorân, p. 40 sqq.: The duties of parents or guardians towards children, and p. 46 sqq.: the duties of children towards their parents. Idem, Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân, p. 38: »Wir sehen also dass der Qorân auf kindliche Pietät das grösste Gewicht legt. Infolgedessen gilt Ungehorsam gegen die Eltern gleichfalls für eine der sieben 'grossen Sünden'». — Matthews, Mishkât, I. p. 18 marg. n.: The greatest crimes: polytheism, infanticide, adultery, disrespect towards parents, murder, suicide, false swearing.

For honouring father and mother and showing obedience to them, see also Exodus XX. 12; Deuteronomy V. 16; XXVII. 16; Malachi I. 6; St. Matthew XV. 4 sqq.; St. Mark VII. 10 sqq.; 1 Timothy V. 4. Also Ephesians VI. 1—3 where St. Paul says that this commandment is the first commandment with promise. — In Proverbs XXXI. 28 it is said of the good wife: »Her children arise up, and call her blessed». Again XXX. 11: Curse father and do not bless mother. — Cf. Granqvist, Birth, p. 273 n. 7 and 9.

In Biblical times, too, children were sometimes tempted to treat their parents badly and egotistically especially when the parents had reached an old age. But general opinion condemned it. See e.g. Proverbs XXVIII. 24 and XIX 26. — Ben Sira III. 16: »And he that provoketh his mother is cursed of the Lord.» — In Proverbs XXIII. 22 it is stressed: »Hearken unto thy father that begat thee, and despise not thy mother when she is old.» — Ben Sira (III. 12) says that a father should be looked after in his old days. — And on his death bed Tobit's father advises his son not to neglect to take care of his mother. Tobit IV. 3. — But it is uncertain whether it was really the duty of sons to support their parents in their old age. In 2 Corinthians XII. 14 there is the remark: »for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children.»

[109] Cf. Wensinck, Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 43: A father's love of his children rewarded in Paradise; parents' love of children appreciated; kindness to children and old people is a characteristic of Muhammadans.

Alya quoted the following saying about the sweetness of the child and his relations to the parents:

> They took the child and his parents.
> They took honey and two kinds of sugar.
> The child was sweeter still.

[110] Cf. Turning the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers. Malachi IV. 6, also St. Luke I. 17.

Family happiness was true happiness and it was a misfortune or a

punishment by God when times were such that the son dishonoured his father, the daughter rose up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's enemies were the men of his own house, and brother was against brother. — Micah VII. 6. Cf. Isaiah XIX. 2; also Deuteronomy XXXIII. 9; Exodus XXXII. 27, and St. Matthew X. 35; St. Luke XII. 52; XIV. 26; XXI. 16. — See also Jeremiah XLVII. 3: »the fathers shall not look back to their children for feebleness of hands».

Similarly it is a punishment by God if the people will be ruled by children and babes and women, and the child behave himself proudly against the ancient, the base against the honourable. Isaiah III. 4, 12.

[111] May be literally true of small and growing up children. Granqvist, Birth, p. 129: A child plays with stones.

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[112] Granqvist, Birth p. 181.

[113] »Some», lit. 1 Okiye = 0.53 Av. lb.

[114] Supra, p. 60.

[115] The tree Muntaha, or the Tree of Extremity which is said to be at the extremity or on the most elevated spot in Paradise, is a kind of tree of life. Every living human being in the world has a leaf on this tree and when his leaf falls, he has to die.

A similar idea is the bundle of life mentioned in the Bible. — 1 Samuel XXV. 29: »but the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord thy God; and the souls of thine enemies, them shall he sling out, as out of the middle of a sling.» — For the same expression »bundle of life» as applied to a faithful friend in the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus VI. 16 — »bundle» not »balm» — see Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament, II. p. 506 n. 1. — For the tree of life mentioned in the Old Testament, see Genesis II. 9; Proverbs XI. 30; XIII. 12.

[116] Cf. Matthews, Mishkât, I. p. 33 marg. n.: »The children of Muslemans who die in infancy go to paradise, and those of infidels to hell.» — Wensinck, Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 43: Dead children of Muhammadans are in paradise; daughters buried alive enter paradise; children of polytheists are in hell, but Muhammad's eldest children are in paradise. — Cf. Jesus said of little children in another sense: »of such is the kingdom of heaven». St. Matthew XIX. 14.

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[117] Matthews, Mishkât, I. p. 391 sq.: »The death of three children ensures a Musleman's entrance into paradise.» — »Even two will suffice.» — »The death of one child will admit the parents into paradise.» And p. 398: »A child who dies in infancy, has the power of introducting its parents, if believers, into paradise.» — »Even an abortion has this

privilege, if the mother has borne her loss with patience.» — Wensinck, op. cit. p. 52: Death of one, two or three children [borne patiently] is a screen from Hell.

MILIEU

(Pages 170—179)

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[1] For father's house seen from the point of view of a woman, see Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 218, 224 sqq., 256.

The term father's house is often met with in the Bible. — For man and father's house, see e.g. Genesis XX. 13 and XXIV 7; 1 Samuel XXII. 1, 15 sq.; 1 Kings II. 31; St. Luke XVI. 27. — Woman and father's house: Joshua II. 12 sq.; Esther IV. 14. In a few cases: woman and mother's house. In Ruth I. 8: widow returns to mother's house. In Song of Solomon III. 4 and VIII. 2: woman wishes she could bring her beloved into her mother's house, »and into the chamber of her that conceived me.»

[2] For authority of parents, especially authority of father, see Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 54, 56 sq., 147; Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 55, 60, 123 sq., and Idem, Moab, p. 17.

[3] Thurnwald speaks of (Die menschliche Gesellschaft, IV. p. XII sq.) »Verbindung von Mutter und Kindern als engere Einheit, als 'Familienkern'», and of 'Kleinfamilie' and 'Grossfamilie'.

[4] In a death-song it is said that he who has not sucked my mother's breast he is neither my brother nor my cousin, he is a stranger not to be wept for. Cf. Song of Solomon VIII. 1 quoted in Granqvist, Birth, p. 252 n. 15.

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[5] For similar expressions in the Bible: loins or thigh for sexual organ, see Granqvist, Birth, p. 254 n. 16 and supra p. 253 n. 56; also Genesis XXIV. 2; XLVII. 29; 1 Kings XII. 10.

[6] Cf. Singer-Littmann, Arabic Proverbs, p. 73 Nr. 166: »He that has no mother's son — his inside is unhappy. — Sudanese.» Ibid. p. 73: In Amharic the expression 'mother's son' has become the common word for 'brother'. — Lane translates (The Arabian Nights, I. p. 152 sq.) the Arabic expression »sons of mother» as »kinsmen».

[7] In Isaiah III. 6 there is an expression: »a man shall take hold of his brother of the house of his father, saying, (Thou hast clothing,) be thou our ruler, (and let this ruin be under thy hand)».

From other Bible passages it is seen that the old Israelites made a similar difference between brothers, as the Arabs do, distinguishing between those who had the same father but different mothers and between those who had the same mother.

Examples. — In Genesis XXXVII. 2 it is said of Joseph's brethren, the sons of his father's wives, and XLIX. 8 it is said »thy brethren», »thy father's children». David speaks of »the house of my father» and of »the sons of my father». 1 Chronicles XXVIII. 4.

Again in Genesis XLIII. 29 it is said: Joseph »saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son». Cf. XLIV. 20. — In Deuteronomy XIII. 6 »thy brother, the son of thy mother» is a law term. In Judges VIII. 19 it is said: »They were my brethren, even the sons of my mother». In Song of Solomon I. 6 a woman says: »My mother's children were angry with me». In Psalm LXIX. 8 a man speaks of »my brethren», »my mother's children», and in L. 20 there is the expression »thy brother», »thine own mother's son». Also Genesis XXVII. 29: »thy mother's sons».

Complications and enmity arose between a man's children by different wives.

Jephthah fled from his brothers who expelled him from his father's house saying: »Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house; for thou art the son of a strange woman.» Judges XI. 2 sqq.

Among David's children there was much tragedy. Solomon, son of Bathsheba, had his brother Adonijah, son of Haggith, killed fearing that he being his elder brother wanted to dispossess him of his kingdom. 1 Kings II. 13—25. — And Absalom hated Amnon, his father's son by another wife. He made his servants kill him, because Amnon had seduced Tamar by force, a daughter of the same mother as Absalom, and Absalom fled from his father's house and was away for three years. 2 Samuel XIII.

In this connection may be mentioned that there are examples showing that marriage between brother and sister by different mothers may have occurred in some cases. When Amnon took hold of Tamar and said to her: »Come lie with me, my sister», she replied: »Nay, my brother, do not force me ... I pray thee, speak unto the king; for he will not withhold me from thee.» 2 Samuel XIII. 12 sq. — And Abraham said of Sarah: »And yet indeed she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife.» Genesis XX. 12.

Such unions were still known at the time of Ezekiel, although the prophet condemned them as abominations. Ezekiel XXII. 11: »and another in thee hath humbled his sister, his father's daughter.» — For marriage with a sister in the family of a king but also among private people, see E r m a n, Aegypten, p. 180 sq. — » ... und wenn auch die Götter Osiris und Seth ihre Schwestern Isis und Nephthys zu Frauen hatten, so spiegelt sich darin die uralte Sitte des Volkes.»

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[8] Haggai II. 12: A man bears flesh in the skirt of his garment.

[9] When a good man dies and his soul comes to heaven, the angels say: »From where comes this good smell?». Cf. Granqvist, Birth, p. 282 n. 67.

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[10] Cf. Littman, Neuarabische Volkspoesie, p. 131: The mother complains of children of a deceased man having difficulties.

Waisen! Die Erziehung der Waisen ist schwierig.
Das Brot der Waisen ist (bitter wie) Koloquinthen und Galle.

He also gives other similar songs on the orphan's position: people do not wish to have orphans in their homes or to eat of their bread.

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[11] Cf. Psalm CXXXIII.

[12] In an earlier work I have stated that the ground for this is that a woman does not take away her share in what her father leaves of the inheritance. If she did, she would thereby lose her rights in her father's house. See Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 256. In a review of this work in The Jewish Quarterly Review, XXVIII. 1938, p. 385, Louis Epstein makes the following interesting remark: »The whole ancient basis of family property is here reflected. Inheritance means stepping out of the household and building up a separate house. The levirate law in Deuteronomy applying to brothers who 'dwell together' includes only the brothers who are still in the parental home, that is, those who have not taken their inheritance and gone off by themselves.» — Deuteronomy XXV. 5. — This also was the prodigal son's great offence that he took out his inheritance and left his father's house. St. Luke XV. 11—32. — For brothers dwelling together and living in unity, see also previous note and Ben Sira XXV. 1.

[13] Cf. a death-song quoted by Littmann, Neuarabische Volkspoesie, p. 117:

»Das Haus gehört meiner Mutter und meinem Vater;
sei nicht böse, Frau meines Bruders.»

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[14] Again, Singer-Littman quote (Arabic Proverbs, p. 23 Nr. 41) a Syrian proverb, also known in Cairo: »The brother is his wife's brother, and the mad woman swears by his life», and explain the meaning of it thus: a brother only thinks of his wife while his sister loves him to adoration.

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[15] Cf. Littman, Neuarabische Volkspoesie, p. 128:
A sister laments the loss of her brother with the words:

Mein Bruder, meiner Mutter Sohn, hat mich getragen;
und im Jahre der Teurung ward er meiner nicht überdrüssig.

Also:
Und er ward nicht überdrüssig mich zu tragen und klagte nicht.
Mein Bruder ist meiner Mutter Sohn, ist nicht der Son einer Nebenfrau.

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[16] In a death-song the sister laments that her brother does not come to her any more and his reply:

My brother who usually visits me at the Feast
why hast thou deserted me?
Didst thou, my beloved, have to save thy steps?

I have not saved my steps and I do not desert thee.
They have carried me away on the bier,
they have brought me to the graveyard.

It is hard for a woman to think that she has no more a brother to visit her as before when there was a feast.

[17] Samson also when visiting his wife brings a kid with him for her. Judges XV. 1. — Cf. David was supposed to return from Jerusalem to his home in Bethlehem to join his family in the yearly sacrifice. 1 Samuel XX. 6.

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[18] Cf. Judges V. 28—30: the dialogue between Sisera's mother who was anxious about the fate of her son, and her wise ladies.

YOUNG AND OLD

(Page 180—193)

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[1] Lit. the »Month of Thursdays» (shahr il-khamis), April, when people visit Nebi Musa, the grave of the prophet Moses. Cf. Dalman, Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina, I. p. 388.

[2] Alya said: kimaj. Jaussen, Naplouse, p. 287: Two kinds of Arab loaves are on sale, »la galette appelée kinadj, plus grande et plus épaisse et la galette dite maraq plus petite et plus mince.»

[3] Lit. »winter months»: December and January.

[4] Sitt Louisa: »With the nose running all the time, and speaking through her nose.»

[5] Sitt Louisa: »The Arab cheese made from sheep's and goats' milk is always snow-white.»

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[6] This is a parallel to a story in the Greek mythology about three goddesses who quarrel about which of them is the most beautiful and refer the question to Paris, a Trojan prince, for judgement.

[7] Schmidt-Kahle, Volkserzählungen aus Palästina, p. 99, 141, and 144: »Weisse Hautfarbe gilt als besonders schön.» — Stephan, Palestinian Animal Stories and Fables, p. 183 n. 4: »It is a matter of taste whether one prefers 'darkskinned' or 'white' girls.» — Cf. Song of Solomon I. 5, 6: »I am black, but comely»; »Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me»; and v. 8: »O thou fairest among women».

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[8] There is a somewhat similar dialogue between a girl and a young man in a humorous song, noted by Linder, Arabische Lieder aus Ramalla, p. 103 sq.

[9] The Algerians are considered clever magicians.

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[10] Cf. Bride running away into the desert followed by the bridegroom, a custom among the Bedouin. Granqvist, Marriage, II. p. 123 n. 2.

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[11] Cf. Jennings-Bramley, The Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula, in PEQ XXXIX. 1907, p. 25: Occupation of married man: constant journeys to Gaza and Suez.

[12] Roots of trees were digged up and sold as fuel in the towns.

[13] Sitt Louisa: »Probably the only one»; — is said ironically. — Matches are rare but people have other means of lighting a fire.

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[14] Jacob, Altarabisches Beduinenleben, p. 212: »Als Altersgrenze für die Mündigkeit wurde erst zur Zeit 'Omars II auf Grund einer gefälschten Tradition das 15. Lebensjahr festgesetzt; die Beduinen

führten natürlich nicht Buch über das Alter ihrer Kinder und richteten sich lediglich nach der Reife.»

[15] See also Granqvist, Arabiskt familjeliv, p. 49. — Cf. Ben Sira XLII. 9 sq.

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[16] According to the Talmud »every Jew who does not occupy himself with generation is on a par with one who is guilty of bloodshed»; quoted by Vorwahl, Die Sexualität im Alten Testament, p. 127.

[17] Granqvist, Birth, p. 117, 130, 137. — See also, Fortes, Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland, p. 62 sqq.: Synoptic Chart of Educational Development.

[18] Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 36 sq. — Cf. Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament, II. p. 318 sqq.: Age-grades; and II. 561 sq.: People reluctant to tell their age. — People do not know their age in years. A European teacher in Jerusalem told me that when mothers apply for admission for their children into her school they gave such phantastic information about the children's ages that she could not rely upon them. »I give the children birthdays», she said. Adults do not know their own age, and this leads people to consider themselves older than they really are. A hundred years or more would be a usual age-limit, if one believed in what people say. — Cf. Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 35 n. 1; Schmidt-Kahle, Volkserzählungen aus Palästina, p. 19 n. 1.

[19] A similar verse on the ages of women is given by Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, II. p. 286: »And the following lines are generally quoted, as affording a kind of bird's-eye view of female existence: —

From 10 (years of age) unto 20,
A repose to the eyes of the beholders.
From 20 unto 30,
Still fair and full of flesh.
From 30 unto 40,
A mother of many boys and girls.
From 40 unto 50,
An old woman of the deceitful.
From 50 unto 60,
Slay her with a knife.
From 60 unto 70.
The curse of Allah upon them, one and all!»

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[20] In Världshistoria, III by Hildebrand, p. 179, there is a picture of »The three ages» — mural painting in the castle Kosair Amra accord-

ing to the description published by the Academy of Vienna. In the centre of the picture there is a young man, a middle aged man and an old man surrounded by animals: such as asses and camels and monkeys. No explanation is given.

[21] In spite of this saying the general opion is, however, that it is fortunate to be allowed to live a long life on earth.

Similarly in the Old Testament. (Supra, p. 251). In the good old days people were said to live very long which is seen from the high age of the old Patriarchs. »And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.» Deuteronomy XXXIV. 7. — David »died in a good old age, full of days». 1 Chronicles XXIX. 28. — The Chronicles give information regarding the age of the kings. According to the Psalm XC. 10 »The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years».

The Israelites considered it a curse and a punishment to die in youth. On that account a prayer regarding the enemy is: »Let his days be few». Psalm CIX. 8. — In 1 Samuel II. 31—33 it is said: »There shall not be an old man in thine house for ever», and »all the increase of thine house shall die in the flower of their age.» — Psalm LVIII. 8: »like the untimely birth of a woman, that they may not see the sun.» — Job XXXVI. 6, 14: »He (God) preserveth not the life of the wicked». — »They die in youth». — In Psalm LV. 15: of the wicked: »Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into hell». — And LV. 23: »bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days». — In Jeremiah XV. 9: of woman who dies an early death: »her sun is gone down while it was yet day».

It seems as if there was a definite measure for the life of every man. In Exodus XXIII. 26 God promises: »the number of thy days I will fulfil». — And a prayer is: »O my God, take me not away in the midst of my days». Psalm CII. 24. — Isaiah XXXVIII. 10: »I said in the cutting off of my days . . .: I am deprived of the residue of my years.» — In Isaiah LXV. 20 a happy time is promised, when people again shall be as old as the Patriarchs: »There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.» — »An infant of days» i.e. he who dies young (B e n t z e n, Jesaja, II. p. 161).

For a wish for a long life as a kind of greeting, see 1 Kings I. 31; Daniel VI. 6. Longevity is a blessing. Psalm XXI. 4; LXI. 6.

— Also L a n e, The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, I.p.380:Greeting a person with a prayer for long life.

Yet to reach a high age is not enough. »If a man beget an hundred children, and live many years, so that the days of his years be many, and his soul be not filled with good», »an untimely birth is better than he.» — »Yea, though he live a thousand years twice told, yet hath he

seen no good». Even if he lives a long life he ends in death. — Ecclesiastes VI. 3, 6.

In the Old Testament days, too, a man was sometimes so excited about »all the oppressions that are done under the sun» that he found: Better than the living is the dead, and »better is he than both they, which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun.» Ecclesiastes IV. 1—3. Cf. St. Matthew XXVI. 24.

There are examples of a man being so unhappy that he wished never to have been born.

Job cursed his birthday and said: »Why died I not from the womb? why did I not give up the ghost when I came out of the belly? Why did the knees prevent me? or why the breasts that I should suck?» — »Or as an hidden untimely birth I had not been; as infants which never saw light.» Job III. 1—12, 16. — Similarly the prophet Jeremiah cursed his birthday: »Cursed be the day wherein I was born: let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessed», and cursed the man who had brought the tidings of his birth to his father: »Because he slew me not from the womb». He adds: »Wherefore came I forth out of the womb»? And: »Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me» — to be cursed. Jeremiah XX. 14—18; XV. 10. — But it is also said: »Woe unto him that saith unto his father, What begettest thou? or to the woman, What hast thou brought forth?» Isaiah XLV. 10. — Granqvist, Birth, p. 75, and p. 224 n. 25.

[22] At the ceremony called Zikr all men stand in a circle. Bending their heads to and fro, first slowly and then gradually with more violent swaying, the body being bent alternately backwards and forwards, the performers ejaculate the invocation to God, louder and louder. — Some of these performances are open to tourists in Cairo; those of the Howling and Twirling Derwishes are described e.g. in Black's Guidebook Cairo of To-day, p. 113. — For Zikr see also Lane, Modern Egyptians, II. p. 193, and Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, I. p. 998 sq.

[23] Again, Singer-Littmann, Arabic Proverbs, p. 32 Nr. 63: »My husband loves me when I am strong, my brother (loves me) when I am rich.»

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[24] Diâb — Plur. of dîb which means Wolf. — Enzyklopaedie des Islâm, I. p. 998: Al-Diâb (»Wolves») — »ein sehr wilder, kriegerischer und räuberischer Stamm und deswegen in ganz Südarabien gefürchtet.» — Henninger, Pariastämme in Arabien, p. 503 n. 3: Awlâd Ghanem — Children of Ghanem — »nach ihrem angeblichen Stammvater.»

[25] According to Emile Baldensperger people say that in some places in Palestine, for instance in Gaza and Abu Ghosh, the sheikh earlier demanded the so-called jus primae noctis to be granted to him. The name Abu Arus — Father of the Bride — may be connected with this old custom, but is more likely: father of a girl.

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[26] An Arab sometimes pretends to speak to his ass or his plough — in this case to his headcloth — to express his feelings.

[27] Jennings-Bramley, (op. cit. p. 26) of an old man: He sits by the well and tells of ancient deeds. And: »Though filial duty is recognized, and the sons will take care of their old fathers, there is rather a feeling of contemptuous tolerance than of respect for old age. To them it only represents weakness, which means uselessness.»

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[28] In spite of high estimation of old age among the ancient Israelites (e.g. Leviticus XIX. 32 and Job XXXII. 4) the young ones sometimes failed in veneration of the old people. In 2 Kings II. 23 sq. it is told of how little children mocked the prophet Elisha saying to him: »Go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head.» Their punishment was hard. The prophet cursed them in the name of the Lord, and forty-two of the children were torn by two she bears that came out of the wood. — Even Job complains that since his afflictions the young in the city do no more show him the veneration he was accustomed to when he prepared his seat in the street. »Yea, young children despised me; I arose and they spake against me.» — Job XXIX. 7 sq.; XIX. 18; XXX. 1, 12.

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[29] Cf. Lane, The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, I. p. 315: »O my master, he who hath left a son like thee hath not died.» — Brauer, Die Frau bei den südarabischen Juden, p. 158: Every Jew desires to have a son who after his father's death may say the prayer on his behalf. — Gollancz, Pedagogics of the Talmud, p. 30: »To be without children was regarded as the greatest calamity: He who has no child is as though he were dead (Mid. R. I. 45).»

[30] Cf. Granqvist, Marriage, I. p. 54, for the predominating idea of the family, a man is considered more as the representative of his family than as an individual.

LIST OF VILLAGERS

Artas — about five generations, 1927 inclusive

Information to complete the genealogical statistics in Marriage Conditions, I. p. 157—195, is given below.

The oldest male members are:

Nrs. 1, 2, 31, 51, 63 — Saad clan (1—63);
Nrs. 64, 65, 66 — Rabaya clan (64—79);
Nrs. 80, 108, 117 — Meshani clan (80—128);
Nr. 129 — Shahin clan (129—168);
Nrs. 169, 180, 182, 188, 193, 195 — Small families (169—199).

The oldest female members are:

Nrs. 302, 420, 443, 451, 456, 487 = Sisters of Nrs. 2, 31, 38, 169;
Wives of the oldest male members.

The statistical number of a living person is printed in fat-faced types.

HUSBANDS 1—199

87 dead — 112 living

The number and name of each husband, whether dead or living, the generation to which he belongs, number and name of his father, name of his wife — or wives — are in Marriage Conditions.

The number of the **mother** of each husband is given below.

For instance, Husband Nr. 62 = Isa (living), son of Husband Nr. 55 = Ismain, son of Husband Nr. 52 = Ahmad, son of Husband Nr. 51 = Ismain.
Husband Nr. 62 = Isa Ismain (Ahmad Ismain) belongs to the fourth generation.
His **mother** = Wife Nr. 271.
(See Marriage Conditions, I p. 158, 170, and infra, p. 279, 281.)

Husband	Son of Wife
Saad Clan	
1	— —
2	— —
3	— 202
4	— 203
5	— 203
6	— 207
7	— 207
8	— 207
9	— 207
10	— 208
11	— 208
12	— 208
13	— 209
14	— 209
15	— 209
16	— 210
17	— 204
18	— 205
19	— 205
20	— 206
21	— 206
22	— 206
23	— 223
24	— 224
25	— 226
26	— 227
27	— 227
28	— 227
29	— 230
30	— 231
31	— —
32	— 237
33	— 237
34	— 237
35	— 239
36	— 239
37	— 240
38	— —
39	— 246
40	— 247
41	— 247
42	— 248
43	— 249
44	— 250
45	— 251
46	— 255
47	— 256
48	— 255
49	— 255
50	— 257
51	— —
52	— 265
53	— 265
54	— 265
55	— 266
56	— 249
57	— 249
58	— 269
59	— 269
60	— 269
61	— 270
62	— 271
63	— —
Rabaya Clan	
64	— —
65	— —
66	— —
67	— 282
68	— 283
69	— 284
70	— 284
71	— 284
72	— 286
73	— 287
74	— 287
75	— 289
76	— 282
77	— 295
78	— 298
79	— 299
Meshani Clan	
80	— —
81	— 303
82	— 303
83	— 302
84	— 302
85	— 305
86	— 305
87	— 305
88	— 306
89	— 306
90	— 307
91	— 307
92	— 307
93	— 307
94	— 307
95	— 308
96	— 308
97	— 310
98	— 310
99	— 310
100	— 317
101	— 319
102	— 319
103	— 319
104	— 321
105	— 321
106	— 322
107	— 324
108	— —
109	— 342
110	— 342
111	— 342
112	— 344
113	— 343
114	— 344
115	— 344
116	— 349
117	— —
118	— 356
119	— 356
120	— 357
121	— 357
122	— 357
123	— 359
124	— 359
125	— 359
126	— 359
127	— 360
128	— 360
Shahin Clan	
129	— —
130	— 368
131	— 368
132	— 368
133	— 368
134	— 368
135	— 369
136	— 369
137	— 369
138	— 369
139	— 373
140	— 373
141	— 373
142	— 373
143	— 373
144	— 370
145	— 370
146	— 374
147	— 375
148	— 375
149	— 375
150	— 376
151	— 285
152	— 285
153	— 379
154	— 379
155	— 380
156	— 371
157	— 371
158	— 371
159	— 391
160	— 391
161	— 392
162	— 393
163	— 393
164	— 372
165	— 372
166	— 372
167	— 401
168	— 402
Shahade Family	
169	— —
170	— 405
171	— 406
172	— 406
173	— 406
174	— 406
175	— 256
176	— 407
177	— 407
178	— 409
179	— 410
Kanaan Family	
180	— —
181	— 418
Sanad Family	
182	— —
183	— 420
184	— 422
185	— 422
186	— 422
187	— 423
Sleman Ode Family	
188	— —
189	— 428
190	— 428
191	— 429
192	— 430
Taamre Family	
193	— —
194	— 435
Negro Family	
195	— —
196	— 437
197	— 437
198	— 438
199	— 439

WIVES OF HUSBANDS 1 — 199

88 dead — 155 living

In addition to the statistical number of the wife, the number of her marriage is given. In connection with this number her name etc., will be found in Marriage Conditions, I. p. 164 sqq.

For instance, Wife Nr. 271 — Marriage Nr. 79 = Fatme Khalil, living, wife of Husband Nr. 55 = Ismain Ahmad, and daughter of Husband Nr. 170 = Khalil Shahade.

Or, Wife Nr. 406 — Marriage Nr. 226 = Hasna Ismain, dead, wife of Husband Nr. 170 = Khalil Shahade, and daughter of husband Nr. 51 = Ismain.

Or, Wife Nr. 279 — Marriage Nr. 88 = Hamde Mhammad, living, wife of Husband Nr. 62 = Isa Ismain, and daughter of Husband Nr. 43 = Mhammad Asad. (See Marriage Conditions, I. p. 170 sq.; 186 sq; and 168).

The mother of a wife is not given in Marriage Conditions, and for that reason the number of the **mother** of each wife — born in the village — is given below.

For instance, Wife Nr. 271 = Fatme Khalil, daughter of Wife Nr. 406 = Hasna Ismain.

Wife	Marriage	Daughter of Wife
Saad Clan		
200	1	—
201	2	—
202	3	—
203	4	420
204	5	—
205	6	—
206	7, 224	—
207	8	—
208	9	342
209	10, 11	206
210	12	418
211	13	344
212	14, 15	—
213	16	216
214	17	209
215	18	—
216	19, 36	298
217	20	230
218	21, 22	226
219	23	224
220	24	230
221	25	—
222	26	265
223	27	—
224	28	248
225	29	—
226	30, 31	248
227	32	203
228	33	230
229	34, 229	226
230	35	—
231	37	—
232	38	—
233	39	—
234	40, 68	257
235	41, 89	420
236	42	—
237	43	—
238	44	206
239	45	265
240	46	247
241	47	—
242	48	407
243	49	—
244	50, 81	270
245	51	223
246	52	—
247	53	—
248	54	—
249	55, 74	295
250	56	265
251	57	—
252	58	—
253	59	—
254	60	237
255	61	205
256	62, 227	—
257	63	—
258	64	249
259	65	248
260	66	250
261	67	410

Wife	Marriage	Daughter of Wife
262	69	250
263	70	255
264	71	—
265	72	—
266	73	236
267	75	—
268	76	—
269	77	—
270	78	—
271	79	406
272	80	208
273	82	240
274	83	249
275	84	239
276	85	—
277	86	—
278	87	271
279	88	257

Rabaya Clan

280	90	—
281	91	368
282	92	—
283	93	280
284	94	—
285	95, 192	297
286	96	406
287	97, 220	295
288	98	265
289	99	250
290	100	297
291	101	271
292	102	288
293	103	423
294	104	271
295	105	—
296	106	248
297	107, 118	372
298	108	406
299	109	227
300	110	269
301	111	—

Meshani Clan

302	112	—
303	113	—
304	114	—
305	115	342
306	116	—
307	117	—
308	119	—
309	120	—
310	121	—
311	122	—
312	123, 146	—
313	124	319
314	125	—
315	126	—
316	127	—
317	128	304
318	129	305
319	130	357
320	131	—
321	132	342
322	133	—
323	176, 134	376
324	135	—
325	136	—
326	137	—
327	138	287
328	139	—
329	140	311
330	141	370
331	142	—
332	143	—
333	144	346
334	145	—
335	147	—
336	148	321
337	149	321
338	150	322
339	151	319
340	152	319
341	153	—
342	154	282
343	155	356
344	156	—
345	157	428
346	158	207
347	159	319
348	160	—
349	161	207
350	162	—
351	163	346
352	164	305
353	165	360
354	166	348
355	167	347
356	168	—
357	169	—
358	170	428
359	171	342
360	172	428
361	173	308
362	174	—
363	175	—
364	177	332
365	178	332
366	179	363
367	180	375

Shahin Clan

368	181	—
369	182	—
370	183, 188	282
371	184, 185	—
372	186	281
373	187	—
374	189	370
375	190	—
376	191	—
377	193	391
378	194, 195	359
379	196	310
380	197	373
381	198	373
382	199	285
383	200	376
384	201	—
385	202	—
386	203	375
387	204, 205	—
388	206	270
389	207	—
390	208	360
391	209	—
392	210	370
393	211	401
394	212	—
395	213	373
396	214	401
397	215	392
398	216	396
399	217	297
400	218	394

Wife	Marriage	Daughter of Wife
401	219	—
402	221	370
403	222	373
404	223	225
Shahade Family		
405	225	—
406	226	264
407	228	284
408	230	—
409	231	287
410	232	—
411	233	256
412	234	—
413	235	418
414	236	408
415	237	—
416	238	413
417	239	412
Kanaan Family		
418	240	235
419	241	256
Sanad Family		
420	242	—
421	243	—
422	244	—
423	245	—
424	246	—
425	247	—
426	248	—
427	249	—
Sleman Ode Family		
428	250	—
429	251	—
430	252	—
431	253	227
432	254	—
433	255	408
Taamre Family		
434	256	—
435	257	—
436	258	—
Negro Family		
437	259	—
438	260	—
439	261	—
440	262	—
441	263	—
442	264	—

DAUGHTERS OF HUSBANDS 1 — 199

55 women married outside Artas

In Marriage Conditions, I. p. 97, are given the names of the villages to which these Artas women have moved.

Personal number and name, number of father and mother are given below.

D. = daughter. Sr. = sister.

Saad Clan						
443 Nijme	Sr.	of	2			
444 Alya*	D.	of	1	&	203	
445 Tamam ...	D.	of	2	&	205	
446 Khadra	D.	of	2	&	205	
447 Hamde	D.	of	2	&	206	
448 Nafise	D.	of	20	&	226	
449 Nijme	D.	of	21	&	226	
450 Khaliliye ...	D.	of	21	&	226	
451 Sabha	Sr.	of	31			
452 Fadda	D.	of	31	&	237	
453 Sabha	D.	of	33	&	240	
454 Hamde	D.	of	33	&	240	
455 Hamde	D.	of	34	&	241	
456 Hesen	Sr.	of	38			
457 Hamame ...	D.	of	38	&	247	
458 Hasna	D.	of	41	&	254	
459 Nijme	D.	of	41	&	254	
Rabaya Clan						
460 Zarife	D.	of	69	&	287	
461 Miryam	D.	of	77	&	298	
462 Fadda	D.	of	77	&	299	
Meshani Clan						
463 Yamne	D.	of	81	&	305	
464 Rashide ...	D.	of	81	&	305	
465 Khadija ...	D.	of	82	&	306	
466 Sitt il-Ekhwe	D.	of	82	&	297	
467 Fadda	D.	of	82	&	297	

* Widow, returned to Artas.

468 Sabha ..... D. of 82 & 308
469 Sabiha ..... D. of 82 & 308
470 Sabha ..... D. of 83 & 309
471 Nafise ..... D. of 90 & 319
472 Kadriye ..... D. of 91 & 321
473 Miryam ..... D. of 97 & 330
474 Sabha ..... D. of 108 & 342
475 Bannura ... D. of 113 & 352
476 Fatme ..... D. of 117 & 356
477 Hamde ..... D. of 118 & 357
478 Rahme* ... D. of 119 & 359
479 Fatme ..... D. of 119 & 359
480 Miryam ..... D. of 119 & 359
481 Rahme ..... D. of 120 & 360
482 Miryam ..... D. of 120 & 360

Shahin Clan

483 Meshayekh . D. of 133 & 371
484 Rashide ..... D. of 135 & 373
485 Helwe ..... D. of 138 & 375
486 Helwe ..... D. of 156 & 391

Shahade Family

487 Halime ..... Sr. of 169
488 Miryam ..... D. of 171 & 407

Sanad Family

489 Sabha ..... D. of 183 & 422
490 Helwe ..... D. of 183 & 422
491 Hamdiye* ... D. of 183 & 422

Sleman Ode Family

492 Jamile ..... D. of 189 & 429
493 Jalile ..... D. of 189 & 429

Negro Family

494 Salma ..... D. of 195 & 437
495 Halime ..... D. of 196 & 438
496 Sada ..... D. of 196 & 438
497 Hadla ..... D. of 196 & 438

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* Widow, returned to Artas.

UNMARRIED CHILDREN OF HUSBANDS 1 — 199

178 dead — 137 still living boys 167 dead — 88 still living girls

S. = son D. = daughter.

For instance, Nr. 659 = Khalil, son of Husband Nr. 62 = Isa, son of Husband Nr. 55 = Ismain, son of Husband Nr. 52 = Ahmad, son of Husband Nr. 51 = Ismain.

Nr. 659 = Khalil Isa (Ismain Ahmad Ismain) belongs to the fifth generation. — Cf. supra, p. 278.

Saad Clan

498 N. N. ..... D. of 1 & 200
499 Safiye ..... D. of 1 & 202
500 Ode ..... S. of 1 & 202
501 N. N. ..... D. of 1 & 203
502 Nijme ..... D. of 2 & 205
503 Safiye ..... D. of 3 & 207
504 Abed ..... S. of 3 & 207
505 Safiye ..... D. of 4 & 209
506 Ismain ..... S. of 5 & 209
507 Abdallah ... S. of 5 & 209
508 Ibrahim ... S. of 5 & 209
509 Sada ..... D. of 5 & 209
510 Fatme ..... D. of 5 & 209
511 Zarife ..... D. of 5 & 209
512 Zarife ..... D. of 5 & 209
513 Zarife ..... D. of 5 & 209
514 Abdallah ... S. of 5 & 210
515 Jazin ..... S. of 5 & 210
516 Abed ..... S. of 5 & 210
517 Nijme ..... D. of 5 & 210
518 Khalil ..... S. of 6 & 211
519 Mahmud ... S. of 6 & 211
520 N. N. ..... D. of 6 & 211
521 N. N. ..... D. of 6 & 211
522 N. N. ..... D. of 6 & 211
523 Fatme ..... D. of 6 & 211
524 Miryam ... D. of 6 & 211
525 Ibrahim ..... S. of 8 & 212
526 N. N. ..... D. of 8 & 212
527 Miryam ... D. of 9 & 213
528 Safiye ..... D. of 9 & 213
529 N. N. ..... D. of 9 & 213
530 Mhammad . S. of 9 & 213
531 Fatme ..... D. of 10 & 214
532 Shaker ..... S. of 11 & 215

533 Azize ..... D. of 11 & 215
534 Sabha ..... D. of 12 & 217
535 Abed ..... S. of 12 & 217
536 Miryam ... D. of 12 & 217
537 Farha ..... D. of 12 & 217
538 N. N. ..... S. of 13 & 218
539 Mhammad . S. of 14 & 218
540 Ahmad ..... S. of 14 & 218
541 N. N. ..... S. of 14 & 218
542 Mahmud ... S. of 15 & 219
543 Said ..... S. of 15 & 219
544 Miryam ... D. of 15 & 219
545 Nafize ..... D. of 15 & 219
546 Miryam ..... D. of 15 & 219
547 Musa ..... S. of 15 & 219
548 Halime ..... D. of 16 & 220
549 Abdallah ... S. of 18 & 223
550 Ahmad ..... S. of 18 & 223
551 Khalil ..... S. of 19 & 224
552 Khalil ..... S. of 19 & 225
553 Mhammad . S. of 19 & 225
554 Khalil ..... S. of 19 & 225
555 Helwe ..... D. of 19 & 225
556 Aysha ..... D. of 19 & 225
557 Ibrahim ..... S. of 19 & 225
558 Latife ..... D. of 21 & 226
559 N. N. ..... S. of 22 & 227
560 N. N. ..... S. of 22 & 227
561 Rahme ..... D. of 22 & 227
562 Sara ..... D. of 24 & 229
563 Abdallah ... S. of 25 & 230
564 Khalil ..... S. of 25 & 230
565 Mhammad . S. of 26 & 216
566 Ahmad ..... S. of 26 & 216
567 Sleman ..... S. of 26 & 216
568 Sara ..... D. of 27 & 231
569 Mhammad .. S. of 27 & 231
570 Mhammad .. S. of 27 & 231
571 Miryam ... D. of 27 & 231
572 Fatme ..... D. of 27 & 231
573 Jamile ..... D. of 27 & 231
574 Mhammad .. S. of 27 & 231
575 N. N. ..... S. of 30 & 234
576 Ahmad ..... S. of 31 & 235
577 Id ..... S. of 32 & 239
578 Ethman ..... S. of 32 & 239
579 Hamde ..... D. of 32 & 239
580 Abdallah ... S. of 33 & 240
581 Mahbube ... D. of 34 & 241
582 Jaziye ..... D. of 34 & 241
583 Abed ..... S. of 34 & 241
584 Mahmud ... S. of 34 & 241
585 Mahmud ... S. of 34 & 241
586 Mhammad .. S. of 34 & 241
587 Ahmad ..... S. of 35 & 242
588 Mahmud ... S. of 35 & 242
589 Ibrahim ..... S. of 35 & 242
590 Miryam ..... D. of 35 & 242
591 Bahiye ..... D. of 35 & 242
592 Hamde ..... D. of 35 & 242
593 Azize ..... D. of 35 & 242
594 Khalil ..... S. of 35 & 243
595 Najibe ..... D. of 35 & 243
596 Najibe ..... D. of 35 & 243
597 Jamile ..... D. of 35 & 243
598 Helwe ..... D. of 35 & 243
599 Ahmad ..... S. of 36 & 244
600 Mhammad .. S. of 36 & 244
601 Alya ..... D. of 36 & 244
602 Fadda ..... D. of 36 & 244
603 Hasan ..... S. of 39 & 248
604 Shakra ..... D. of 39 & 248
605 Ehsen ..... S. of 39 & 249
606 Ibrahim ... S. of 40 & 250
607 Mhammad .. S. of 40 & 251
608 N. N. ..... D. of 40 & 251
609 Jaber ..... S. of 40 & 252
610 Khadra ..... D. of 40 & 252
611 Safiye ..... D. of 40 & 252
612 N. N. ..... S. of 40 & 252
613 Mahmud ... S. of 40 & 253
614 Mhammad ... S. of 40 & 253
615 Nazha ..... D. of 40 & 253
616 Shahade ... S. of 41 & 254
617 Hasan ..... S. of 42 & 255
618 Helwe ..... D. of 42 & 255
619 Ehsen ..... S. of 42 & 256
620 N. N. ..... S. of 42 & 256
621 N. N. ..... S. of 42 & 256
622 N. N. ..... S. of 42 & 256
623 Khalil ..... S. of 44 & 258
624 Khalil ..... S. of 44 & 258
625 Khalil ..... S. of 44 & 258
626 Khalil ..... S. of 46 & 260
627 N. N. ..... D. of 46 & 260
628 N. N. ..... S. of 48 & 234
629 N. N. ..... S. of 49 & 262
630 N. N. ..... D. of 49 & 262
631 Mhammad .. S. of 50 & 263
632 N. N. ..... D. of 52 & 266
633 Mahmud ... S. of 52 & 249
634 Zahiye ..... D. of 52 & 267
635 Fadda ..... D. of 53 & 268
636 Ehsen ..... S. of 53 & 269
637 Sada ..... D. of 53 & 269
638 Hesen ..... D. of 53 & 269
639 Fatme ..... D. of 53 & 269
640 Ehsen ..... S. of 54 & 270
641 Hamde ..... D. of 54 & 270
642 Helwe ..... D. of 54 & 270
643 Abd il-Majid S. of 56 & 272
644 Mhammad .. S. of 56 & 272
645 Ahmad ..... S. of 56 & 272
646 Fatme ..... D. of 56 & 272

647 Mahbube ... D. of 56 & 272
648 Ahmad ..... S. of 57 & 273
649 Miryam ..... D. of 57 & 273
650 Ismain ..... S. of 58 & 274
651 Sara ..... D. of 58 & 274
652 N. N. ..... S. of 58 & 275
653 N. N. ..... D. of 58 & 275
654 Ahmad ..... S. of 58 & 275
655 Ibrahim ... S. of 59 & 276
656 Mhammad ... S. of 59 & 276
657 Mhammad ... S. of 59 & 276
658 N. N. ..... D. of 61 & 278
659 Khalil ..... S. of 62 & 279

Rabaya Clan

660 Ghusun ..... D. of 64 & 280
661 Mhammad .. S. of 68 & 286
662 Ibrahim ... S. of 68 & 286
663 Fadda ..... D. of 68 & 286
664 Mhammad .. S. of 69 & 287
665 Salim ..... S. of 69 & 287
666 Sara ..... D. of 70 & 288
667 Sleman ..... S. of 71 & 290
668 Mustafa ... S. of 71 & 290
669 Mahmud ... S. of 71 & 290
670 Rahme ..... D. of 71 & 290
671 Rahme ..... D. of 71 & 290
672 Hamde ..... D. of 71 & 290
673 Fatme ..... D. of 71 & 290
674 Jamile ..... D. of 71 & 290
675 Mahmud ... S. of 71 & 290
676 N. N. ..... D. of 71 & 290
677 N. N. ..... D. of 71 & 290
678 N. N. ..... D. of 71 & 290
679 Abed ..... S. of 72 & 291
680 Abd il-Kadr S. of 72 & 291
681 Mahmud ... S. of 73 & 292
682 Ahmad ..... S. of 73 & 292
683 N. N. ..... S. of 73 & 292
684 Zeinab ..... D. of 74 & 293
685 Mhammad .. S. of 77 & 297
686 Ali ..... S. of 77 & 298
687 Nafise ..... D. of 77 & 298
688 Mhammad .. S. of 77 & 298
689 Miryam ... D. of 77 & 298
690 Yusef ..... S. of 77 & 298
691 Yusef ..... S. of 77 & 298
692 Khalil ..... S. of 77 & 298
693 Hamde ..... D. of 77 & 299
694 Ethman ..... S. of 77 & 299

Meshani Clan

695 Sleman ..... S. of 82 & 306
696 Ward il-Sham D. of 82 & 307
697 Sabha ..... D. of 82 & 307
698 Abd il Hamid S. of 82 & 307
699 Abd il-Hamid S. of 82 & 307
700 Hejar ..... D. of 82 & 307
701 N. N. ..... S. of 82 & 307
702 Khalil ..... S. of 82 & 297
703 Mahmud ... S. of 82 & 297
704 Isa ..... S. of 82 & 308
705 Khalil ..... S. of 82 & 308
706 Mahmud ... S. of 82 & 308
707 Zarife ..... D. of 82 & 308
708 Hesen ..... D. of 82 & 308
709 Fatme ..... D. of 82 & 308
710 Ayesh ..... S. of 84 & 311
711 Ahmad ..... S. of 85 & 312
712 Mhammad .. S. of 85 & 312
713 Mahmud ... S. of 85 & 312
714 Hamde ..... D. of 85 & 312
715 Helwe ..... D. of 85 & 312
716 Mustafa ... S. of 85 & 313
717 Mhammad .. S. of 85 & 313
718 Abdallah ... S. of 85 & 313
719 Fatme ..... D. of 85 & 313
720 Hlal ..... S. of 85 & 313
721 Musa ..... S. of 85 & 313
722 Jamile ..... D. of 85 & 313
723 Jamile ..... D. of 85 & 313
724 Helwe ..... D. of 85 & 313
725 Fatme ..... D. of 86 & 314
726 Khadija ... D. of 86 & 314
727 N. N. ..... D. of 87 & 315
728 Zeinab ..... D. of 87 & 316
729 Abd il-Minem S. of 88 & 317
730 Ali ..... S. of 88 & 317
731 Alya ..... D. of 88 & 317
732 Abd il-Minem S. of 88 & 317
733 Ayesh ..... S. of 89 & 318
734 N. N. ..... D. of 89 & 318
735 Ayesh ..... S. of 89 & 318
736 N. N. ..... D. of 89 & 318
737 Ayesh ..... S. of 89 & 318
738 N. N. ..... D. of 89 & 318
739 Ayesh ..... S. of 89 & 318
740 N. N. ..... D. of 89 & 318
741 Ayesh ..... S. of 89 & 318
742 N. N. ..... D. of 89 & 318
743 Ayesh ..... S. of 89 & 318
744 Ayesh ..... S. of 89 & 318
745 Yusef ..... S. of 89 & 318
746 Abd il-Jamil S. of 90 & 319
747 Ibrahim ... S. of 90 & 320
748 Musa ..... S. of 90 & 320
749 Mhammad .. S. of 90 & 320
750 Neome ..... D. of 90 & 320
751 Aysha ..... D. of 90 & 320
752 Isa ..... S. of 91 & 321
753 Said ..... S. of 91 & 321
754 Abd il-Aziz . S. of 91 & 321
755 Salman ..... S. of 91 & 321
756 Mahmud ... S. of 91 & 321

757 Yusef ..... S. of 92 & 322
758 Mahmud ... S. of 92 & 322
759 Ibrahim ... S. of 92 & 322
760 Mhammad (Fareh) ... S. of 92 & 322
761 Nafise ..... D. of 92 & 322
762 Neome ..... D. of 92 & 322
763 Mustafa ..... S. of 92 & 323
764 Mhammad .. S. of 92 & 323
765 Ahmad ..... S. of 92 & 323
766 Neome ..... D. of 92 & 323
767 Mhammad (Talje) ... S. of 93 & 324
768 Khadr ..... S. of 93 & 324
769 Rabia ..... S. of 93 & 324
770 Haniye ..... D. of 94 & 325
771 Ibrahim ... S. of 95 & 326
772 Ibrahim ... S. of 95 & 327
773 Sabha ..... D. of 95 & 327
774 Shaker ..... S. of 95 & 327
775 Mhammadiye D. of 96 & 328
776 N. N. ..... S. of 96 & 328
777 N. N. ..... D. of 96 & 328
778 Mhammad ... S. of 96 & 328
779 Zahiye ..... D. of 96 & 328
780 Rashid ..... S. of 97 & 330
781 Khalil ..... S. of 97 & 330
782 N. N. ..... S. of 97 & 330
783 Fatme ..... D. of 97 & 330
784 Rashide ... D. of 97 & 330
785 Jaziye ..... D. of 97 & 330
786 Yunes ..... S. of 97 & 331
787 Hened ..... D. of 97 & 331
788 Jamile ..... D. of 97 & 331
789 Ali ..... S. of 98 & 332
790 Ali ..... S. of 98 & 332
791 Isa ..... S. of 98 & 332
792 Shahade ... S. of 98 & 333
793 Mhammad .. S. of 98 & 333
794 Hesen ..... D. of 98 & 333
795 Zarife ..... D. of 98 & 333
796 Neome ..... D. of 98 & 333
797 Ibrahim ... S. of 99 & 334
798 Mahmud ... S. of 99 & 334
799 Jamile ..... D. of 99 & 334
800 Khadra ..... D .of 99 & 334
801 Khadija ... D. of 99 & 334
802 Hamde ..... D. of 99 & 334
803 Zarife ..... D. of 99 & 334
804 Khadija ... D. of 99 & 334
805 Ibrahim ... S. of 101 & 335
806 Mhammad .. S. of 101 & 335
807 Ihya ..... S. of 101 & 335
808 Bahiye Shihde D. of 101 & 335
809 Fatme ..... D. of 101 & 335
810 Fatme ..... D. of 101 & 335
811 Zarife ..... D. of 101 & 335
812 Ehsen ..... S. of 102 & 336
813 Khalil ..... S. of 102 & 336
814 Zarife ..... D. of 102 & 336
815 Fatme ..... D. of 102 & 336
816 Khadra ..... D. of 102 & 336
817 Alya ..... D. of 102 & 336
818 Mhammad .. S. of 103 & 337
819 Abed ..... S. of 103 & 337
820 Fatme ..... D. of 103 & 337
821 Asad ..... S. of 104 & 338
822 Miryam ..... D. of 104 & 338
823 Khadija ..... D. of 104 & 338
824 Saleh ..... S. of 105 & 339
825 Ibrahim ... S. of 105 & 339
826 Hejar ..... D. of 105 & 339
827 Mhammad .. S. of 106 & 340
828 Kasem ..... S. of 106 & 340
829 Mhammad Shahade ... S. of 106 & 340
830 Fatme ..... D. of 106 & 340
831 Hamde ..... D. of 109 & 343
832 Hilmi ..... S. of 109 & 344
833 Halime ..... D. of 109 & 344
834 N. N. ..... S. of 110 & 345
835 Mhammad .. S. of 110 & 347
836 Zalame ..... S. of 111 & 348
837 Mustafa ..... S. of 112 & 349
838 Mhammad .. S. of 112 & 349
839 Fatme ..... D. of 112 & 350
840 Abd il-Hamid S. of 112 & 351
841 Abd il-Aziz . S. of 112 & 351
842 Rukiye ..... D. of 112 & 351
843 Zeinab ..... D. of 112 & 351
844 Mustafa ..... S. of 113 & 352
845 Mahmud ... S. of 113 & 352
846 Yusef ..... S. of 113 & 352
847 Mhammad .. S. of 113 & 352
848 Mahmud ... S. of 113 & 352
849 Bannura ... D. of 113 & 352
850 Zahiye ..... D. of 113 & 352
851 Bahiye ..... D. of 113 & 352
852 Naje ..... S. of 114 & 353
853 Musa ..... S. of 114 & 353
854 Abed ..... S. of 114 & 353
855 Mhammad .. S. of 114 & 353
856 Musa ..... S. of 114 & 353
857 Naje ..... S. of 114 & 353
858 Abed (Abd il-Majid) ... S. of 114 & 353
859 Fatme ..... D. of 114 & 353
860 Kamel ..... S. of 114 & 353
861 N. N. ..... D. of 116 & 355
862 Mhemmed ... S. of 118 & 357
863 Khadra ..... D. of 118 & 357
864 Khadra ..... D. of 118 & 358
865 Said ..... S. of 120 & 360
866 Salim ..... S. of 120 & 360

867 Safiye ..... D. of 120 & 360
868 Mhammad .. S. of 121 & 361
869 Alya ..... D. of 121 & 361
870 Mhammad .. S. of 121 & 361
871 Ahmad ..... S. of 121 & 361
872 Zarife ..... D. of 121 & 361
873 Khalil ..... S. of 122 & 362
874 Mahmud ... S. of 122 & 362
875 Jamile ..... D. of 122 & 362
876 Fatme ..... D. of 122 & 362
877 Hamde ..... D. of 122 & 362
878 Khalil ..... S. of 123 & 363
879 Mahmud ... S. of 123 & 363
880 Zarife ..... D. of 124 & 323
881 Zarife ..... D. of 124 & 323
882 Derwish ... S. of 125 & 364
883 Mhammad .. S. of 125 & 364
884 Sara ..... D. of 125 & 364

Shahin Clan

885 Isa ..... S. of 134 & 372
886 N. N. ..... S. of 135 & 373
887 N. N. ..... S. of 135 & 373
888 N. N. ..... D. of 135 & 373
889 N. N. ..... D. of 135 & 373
890 Ibrahim ... S. of 137 & 374
891 Khadr ..... S. of 138 & 375
892 Abed ..... S. of 138 & 375
893 Fatme ..... D. of 138 & 375
894 Isa ..... S. of 138 & 375
895 Mhammad .. S. of 139 & 376
896 Musa ..... S. of 139 & 376
897 Ali ..... S. of 140 & 285
898 Isa ..... S. of 140 & 285
899 Yakub ..... S. of 140 & 285
900 Aysha ..... D. of 140 & 285
901 Nafise ..... D. of 140 & 285
902 Nafise ..... D. of 140 & 285
903 Safiye ..... D. of 140 & 285
904 N. N. ..... S. of 140 & 285
905 N. N. ..... S. of 140 & 285
906 N. N. ..... S. of 140 & 285
907 N. N. ..... D. of 140 & 285
908 N. N. ..... D. of 140 & 285
909 Mhammad .. S. of 141 & 377
910 Abed ..... S. of 142 & 378
911 Khadra ... D. of 142 & 378
912 Farha (Rahme?) . D. of 142 & 378
913 Zarife ..... D. of 143 & 378
914 Ehsen ..... S. of 144 & 379
915 Mahmud ... S. of 144 & 379
916 Ibrahim ... S. of 144 & 379
917 Helwe ..... D. of 144 & 379
918 Miryam ..... D. of 144 & 379
919 Fatme ..... D. of 144 & 379
920 Hasan ..... S. of 146 & 381
921 Mhammad ... S. of 146 & 381
922 Izhak (Yusef) S. of 146 & 381
923 Mhammad Shahade ... S. of 146 & 381
924 Hamde ..... D. of 147 & 382
925 Fatme ..... D. of 148 & 383
926 Hamde ..... D. of 148 & 383
927 Yusef ..... S. of 148 & 383
928 Jamile ..... D. of 150 & 385
929 Tawfik ..... S. of 150 & 385
930 Mhammad (Fuad) ... S. of 150 & 385
931 Khadija ..... D. of 151 & 386
932 Helwe ..... D. of 151 & 386
933 Yamne ..... D. of 152 & 387
934 Nafise ..... D. of 153 & 388
935 Mhammad .. S. of 154 & 389
936 Mahbube ... D. of 154 & 389
937 Fatme ..... D. of 154 & 389
938 Zeinab ..... D. of 154 & 389
939 Mahmud ... S. of 156 & 391
940 Ali ..... S. of 156 & 391
941 Ibrahim ..... S. of 156 & 391
942 Helwe ..... D. of 156 & 391
943 Miryam ..... D. of 156 & 391
944 Khadra ..... D. of 156 & 391
945 Dahud ..... S. of 158 & 393
946 Abd il-Rahman ..... S. of 158 & 393
947 Abdallah (Abed) ... S. of 158 & 393
948 Latife ..... D. of 158 & 393
949 Rashide ..... D. of 158 & 393
950 Ali ..... S. of 159 & 394
951 Ibrahim ..... S. of 159 & 394
952 Mahmud ... S. of 159 & 394
953 Isa ..... S. of 160 & 396
954 Khadija ... D. of 160 & 396
955 Musa ..... S. of 162 & 399
956 Abed ..... S. of 162 & 399
957 Abed ..... S. of 163 & 400
958 Mhammad .. S. of 164 & 401
959 Safiye ..... D. of 164 & 401
960 Fatme ..... D. of 164 & 401
961 Khadija ..... D. of 164 & 401
962 Rab'a ..... D. of 164 & 401
963 Salma (Habse) ... D. of 165 & 287
964 Salma ..... D. of 165 & 287
965 Ali ..... S. of 166 & 402
966 Saleh ..... S. of 166 & 402
967 Mustafa ..... S. of 166 & 402
968 Ehsen ..... S. of 166 & 402
969 Helwe ..... D. of 166 & 402
970 Khadija ... D. of 166 & 402
971 Zarife ..... D. of 166 & 402
972 N. N. ..... S. of 167 & 403

973 N. N. ..... S. of 167 & 403
974 Ibrahim ... S. of 167 & 403
975 Khadija ... D. of 167 & 403
976 Rab'a ..... D. of 167 & 403
977 Helwe ..... D. of 168 & 404

Shahade Family

978 Isa ..... S. of 170 & 256
979 Abed ..... S. of 171 & 407
980 Khaliliye ... D. of 171 & 407
981 Khaliliye ... D. of 171 & 407
982 Ali ..... S. of 171 & 229
983 Helwe ..... D. of 171 & 229
984 Fatme ..... D. of 171 & 229
985 Jamile ..... D. of 171 & 229
986 Ali ..... S. of 172 & 409
987 Helwe ..... D. of 172 & 409
988 Sabha ..... D. of 172 & 409
989 Fatme ..... D. of 172 & 409
990 Sabha ..... D. of 172 & 409
991 Ibrahim ... S. of 173 & 410
992 Ibrahim ... S. of 173 & 410
993 Mahmud ... S. of 173 & 410
994 N. N. ..... S. of 173 & 410
995 Ahmad ... S. of 173 & 410
996 Sara ..... D. of 173 & 410
997 Sara ..... D. of 173 & 410
998 Sara ..... D. of 173 & 410
999 Sara ..... D. of 173 & 410
1000 Sara ..... D. of 173 & 410
1001 Sara ..... D. of 173 & 410
1002 Fatme ..... D. of 173 & 410
1003 Mhammad . S. of 174 & 412
1004 Ahmad ..... S. of 174 & 412
1005 Mahmud ... S. of 174 & 412
1006 Sabha ..... D. of 174 & 412
1007 Helwe ..... D. of 174 & 412
1008 Salim ..... S. of 174 & 412
1009 Ahmad ... S. of 176 & 414
1010 Ibrahim ... S. of 176 & 414
1011 Abd il-Aziz S. of 176 & 414
1012 Mhammad . S. of 176 & 414
1013 Fatme ..... D. of 176 & 414
1014 Hamde ..... D. of 176 & 414
1015 Mhammad . S. of 177 & 415
1016 Fatme ..... D. of 177 & 415
1017 Ahmad ... S. of 178 & 416
1018 Zeinab ..... D. of 179 & 417

Kanaan Family

1019 Mhammad . S. of 181 & 419
1020 N. N. ..... D. of 181 & 419
1021 N. N. ..... D. of 181 & 419

Sanad Family

1022 Ibrahim ... S. of 183 & 421
1023 Mhammad . S. of 183 & 422
1024 Mhammad . S. of 183 & 422
1025 Ahmad ..... S. of 183 & 422
1026 Ali ..... S. of 183 & 422
1027 Khalil ..... S. of 183 & 422
1028 Sabiha ..... D. of 183 & 422
1029 N. N. ..... S. of 184 & 423
1030 Ahmad ... S. of 184 & 423
1031 Mahmud ... S. of 184 & 423
1032 N. N. ..... D. of 184 & 423
1033 Alya ..... D. of 184 & 423
1034 Sabha ..... D. of 184 & 423
1035 Abed ..... S. of 185 & 424
1036 Miryam ... D. of 185 & 424
1037 N. N. ..... D. of 185 & 424
1038 N. N. ..... D. of 185 & 424
1039 Mhammad . S. of 186 & 426
1040 Habse ..... D. of 186 & 426
1041 Ali ..... S. of 186 & 426
1042 Fatme ..... D. of 186 & 426

Sleman Ode Family

1043 Ode ..... S. of 189 & 429
1044 Salim ..... S. of 189 & 429
1045 Mhammad . S. of 190 & 430
1046 Ahmad ... S. of 190 & 430

Taamre Family

1047 Shahade ... S. of 193 & 435
1048 Ali ..... S. of 193 & 435
1049 Ali ..... S. of 193 & 435
1050 N. N. ..... S. of 193 & 435
1051 N. N. ..... D. of 193 & 435
1052 Khadra ... D. of 193 & 435
1053 Helwe ..... D. of 194 & 436

Negro Family

1054 Abdallah ... S. of 196 & 438
1055 Subhiye ... D. of 196 & 438
1056 Abdallah ... S. of 197 & 439
1057 Abdallah ... S. of 197 & 439
1058 Abed ..... S. of 197 & 439
1059 Jazin ..... S. of 197 & 439
1060 Miryam ... D. of 197 & 439
1061 Miryam ... D. of 197 & 439
1062 Nijme ..... D. of 197 & 439
1063 Nijme ..... D. of 197 & 439
1064 Abdallah ... S. of 198 & 440
1065 Msallam ... S. of 199 & 441
1066 Nijme ..... D. of 199 & 441
1067 Mhammad . S. of 199 & 441

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ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS

A	=	Anthropos.
AA	=	American Anthropologist.
ERE	=	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
FL	=	Folk-Lore.
HL	=	Das Heilige Land.
JPOS	=	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
JQR	=	The Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAI	=	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
MGJV	=	Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MO	=	Le Monde Oriental.
NNM	=	Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande.
PQS	=	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
PEQ	=	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
ZDMG	=	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV	=	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZE	=	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZS	=	Zeitschrift für Semitistik.

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