

PREFACE

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS
IN
A PALESTINIAN VILLAGE

BY
HILMA GRANQVIST

Communicated by E. Westermarck and R. Karsten,
October 19, 1931.

HELSINGFORS, 1931.

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MARRIAGE CONDITIONS
IN
A PALESTINIAN VILLAGE
BY
JAMES BRADY

Illustrated by J. Westwood and R. Weston
London, 1911

HELSINGFORS
CENTRALTRYCKERI OCH BOKBINDERI AB.

SYSTEM OF transliteration

PREFACE

The present thesis embodies some results of the ethnological research which I carried on for three years between 1925—1931 among Palestinian Arabs. For the year 1929—1930 I had the benefit of *The International Fellowship of the American Association of University Women*.

I express my gratitude to the *Societas Scientiarum Fennica*, who are including the first part of it in their series, and especially to Prof. Edward Westermarck and Prof. Rafael Karsten, who recommended it for publication.

I take the opportunity to express to Prof. Edward Westermarck my sincere thanks for the great interest he has shown in my work, for his friendly encouragement and good advice.

Miss Agnes Dawson, B.Sc.(Econ.) has kindly helped me to render it into English and by reading the proofs.

My great wish is to be able to print the whole of my work on marriage as soon as possible, and that an opportunity will arise to publish the rich and varied material on other customs and habits which I collected during my stay in Palestine.

Helsingfors, Dec. 1931.

Hilma Granqvist.

PREFACE

The present book includes some results of the ethnological research which I conducted for three years between 1955-1958 among Palestinian Arabs. For the year 1959-1960 I had the benefit of the International Fellowship of the American Association of University Women.

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Prof. Hans Gerson, BSc (Geneva) has kindly helped me in reading it into English and by reading the proofs.

My great wish is to be able to print the whole of my work on language and varied material on other customs and habits which I collected during my stay in Palestine.

Jerusalem, Dec. 1961

Walter Dillat

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

<p>ب = b ت = t ث = ṭ ج = j ح = h خ = ḥ د = d ذ = ḍ ر = r ز = z س = s ش = š ص = ṣ ض = ḍ ظ = ḍ</p>	<p>ع = ʿ غ = ṛ ف = f ق = q ك = { k č when pronounced as <i>ch</i> in «chief». ل = l م = m ن = n ه = h و = w when used as a conso- nant = <i>w</i> pronounced as <i>w</i> in «will». ي = y when used as a conso- nant = <i>y</i>, pronounced as <i>y</i> in «yet».</p>
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The vowels in the transliterated text represent the following sounds:

- a = *a* in «hand» and the German *a*
- e = *e* in «met»
- i = *i* in «this»
- o = *o* in «not»
- u = *u* in «put»

The sign [˘] over a vowel indicates that it is long.

ABBREVIATIONS

In the Genealogical trees to be found at the end of the book, every married man in the village is supplied with a number which is quoted whenever he is mentioned in the text. When other people in the village are mentioned, the connection of each to a married man is indicated by use of the latter's number.

- e.g. Ḥaḍr Eḥsēn [40] — a married man whose number in the Genealogical trees is 40.
- [*S. of 40*] — his son
- [*Sr. of 40*] — his sister
- [*D. of 40*] — his daughter
- [*W. of 40*] — his wife
- [*D. of 33; W. of 40*] — his wife who is also the daughter of the married man numbered 33.

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INTRODUCTION.

On the 12th of August 1925 I arrived in Jerusalem to continue my studies in a subject which had already occupied me for some years. It concerned *The Women of the Old Testament*. Everyone who has paid any attention to this question knows how occasional and disconnected is the information which is available for such a study; how one learns in the Old Testament to know a great many interesting, exceptional women but very little about the general conditions of the women of Israel. During my work it had become quite clear to me that no satisfactory results could be obtained by relying only upon the literary sources of the European Libraries, and I hoped that the chance of observing life and conditions in the Holy Land itself would throw a clearer light on the problems connected with them, give quite another conception of them and the possibility of absorbing oneself in and going deeply into the subject.¹

I had the advantage of taking part in the course directed by Professor A. Alt in the same autumn (August to October) at the »Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes» in Jerusalem. Although mainly of an archeological character this course offered an excellent introduction to the general current problems of Palestinian research.

If I had been content with attending such a course I should have kept to my original subject, for while making the frequent expeditions with the course, when we on horseback and in motor cars travelled through the country, I realized that I was in a position to see and observe so much of the women that it gave me a supplementary picture also of the life

¹ Cf. Dalman, *Palästinischer Dwan* (Leipzig, 1901), p.V, »dass es keinen die biblische Forschung wirksamer unterstützenden Anschauungsunterricht gibt als eben die palästinische Volkssitte».

of the Old Testament women. I could however only obtain new facts of a really objective value beyond what was already known, by independent, methodical research into their life. It was most valuable to have obtained an insight into the nature and life of the different parts of the country before I concentrated on my special task, but I required more than could possibly be seen and observed while travelling about. I needed to live among the people, hear them talk about themselves, make records while they spoke of their life, customs and ways of looking at things. For that reason I decided to remain in Palestine after the close of the course, and as specially favourable conditions offered themselves in *Ar'ās*, a Muhammadan Arabic village south of Bethlehem at the edge of the Judaeen desert, I decided to begin there the folklore studies necessary for my work.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION.

I had not been long in Arṭās before I decided to change my plan of work entirely.

While moving about in the village I met women who were wives to polygynous men. It appeared that one of them had a co-wife because the home required female labour and it is not the custom to keep women-servants; another because in case of the husband's death his relatives would take possession of his home, and she would have to leave it because she had no son to justify her remaining. She had therefore, in order to insure her position, insisted on his marriage with another woman in spite of his first objections to the proposal. Here we had quite clear examples of the advantages of polygyny under certain social conditions, and coming upon this tangible and concrete evidence gave me the impulse to a new method of procedure. I asked myself whether, in order to understand fully the life and position of women in Palestine, one must not first understand a Palestinian society, seeing that it is guided by laws and regulations and is held together by ties which, if we only knew them, would give quite another view and elucidation of the women's life. It depends on many other things than one learns merely by inquiring into the directly relative facts. My decision was made. I would for the time being leave the study of the Women of the Old Testament and instead investigate my little village society and I would do this as comprehensively as possible.¹ The consequence was that for a long time ahead I was tied to Arṭās. Although I was in the country till the end of March 1927, that is

¹ The facts had convinced me that it would be wrong to take one custom and study it in isolation instead of first trying to see the connection and study all the phenomena as widely and equally as possible. Thus in a purely practical way I arrived at a similar opinion to that of Bronislaw Malinowski when he says (*Argonauts of the Western Pacific* [London, 1922], p. 11): »The field Ethnographer, has seriously and soberly to cover the full extent of the phenomena in each aspect of tribal culture studied An Ethnographer who sets out to study only religion, or only technology, or only social organisation cuts out an artificial field for inquiry, and he will be seriously handicapped in his work.»

nearly 20 months, I stayed in no other place than Arṭās except for a month in Nablus for direct, methodical folklore research.¹ The daily excursions made now and again to neighbouring places served chiefly to make me acquainted with conditions which were important for the understanding of village life in Arṭās and to convince me on the spot of the correctness of the information which I had obtained there. I had planned to go on, as soon as I had »finished» with that village, to other places to collect material and study the life there, but this could not be realized during my first stay in Palestine because the ethnological research in Arṭās required all my energy, and I was successful in resisting the temptation which often assailed me to carry on »comparative studies» in other parts of the country.

With the time and means at my disposal, whatever studies of different villages and peoples I made would have been somewhat capricious. There would never have been more than a skimming of the surface, jottings of what a person happened to remember and tell me, while a longer stay in one single village compelled my informers to go deeper, to give me as far as possible all the facts that were known. It could be a real *excavation* of all the customs, habits and ways of thinking in the village. In Palestine, where at present such an intensive excavation of old biblical places is being carried out, a parallel lay close at hand. The archeologists also have not been content to travel over the country, digging up a bit here and a bit there, and perhaps finding some valuable piece, small samples, but there has been a systematic excavation of a place in order to realize its whole building, its extent and plan. In the same way a field ethnologist who desires to carry out thorough and reliable work will be wise to concentrate upon a limited area which he or she has the prospect of fully mastering. It is also most interesting to see how everything is reflected in such a microcosm where one can observe every little detail. The same questions arise but more clearly illuminated in their own connection and without causing one to lose his footing and touch with reality through abstractions.

The comparative method is already considered as the instrument

¹ Added to this, as already indicated, I took part in the autumn course of 1925 at the German Palestine Institute in Jerusalem. A similar course in 1926 gave me further opportunities of making long expeditions, seeing different villages and corners of the country and making certain comparisons. But, just as in the previous year, there could be no question of a folklore study in the real meaning of the word on these expeditions.

of ethnology¹ and has been of great service to this science and led to remarkable results, but it is not sufficient in itself and requires to be supplemented by purely monographic studies.² This is necessary on account of the deficiency of the sources.³ But it is not surprising that they are deficient, seeing how casually they are often collected. To a great extent they are composed of opinions and statements of travellers and missionaries who have not had time or interest for an accurate study of the fact and have often confused their personal, sometimes extremely subjective, impressions and opinions or inserted them in place of realities. This deficiency must now, while it is still possible,⁴ be made good by

¹ Cf. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, I. (London, 1919), p. VIII.

² Thus Edward Westermarck says (*The History of Human Marriage*, I. [London, 1925], p. 14): »A common complaint against the comparative method is that it detaches the cultural phenomenon from the organic whole of which it forms a part and thereby easily represents it in a wrong light. . . .» He further (p. 15) remarks that in such reproaches there is a great deal of truth, as well as exaggeration but adds: »I have myself expressed the opinion that, so far as the lower stages of civilisation are concerned, there are, next to sociological field-work, no other investigations so urgently needed as monographs on some definite class of social phenomena or institutions among a certain group of related tribes — just because social phenomena are not isolated phenomena but largely influenced by local conditions, by the physical environment, by the circumstances in which the people in question live, by their habits and mental characteristics. All these factors can much more easily be taken into account when the investigation is confined to a single people or one ethnic unit than when it embraces a social institution as it exists throughout the whole uncivilised world.»

³ Cf. Westermarck, *op. cit.* I. p. 12 sq.: »An objection frequently offered to the comparative method is that the use of this method is hardly compatible with a sufficiently careful scrutiny of authorities and sources. There is undoubtedly some truth in this. Every sociologist who has made use of it on a large scale has good reason to cry *peccavi*, and even he who merely deals with some special group of kindred phenomena has rarely the same opportunity as the writer of a monograph on a certain people to subject his facts to a searching criticism.»

⁴ Malinowski says (*Argonauts of the Western Pacific* [London, 1922], p. XVI): »For though at present, there is still a large number of native communities available for scientific study, within a generation or two, they or their cultures will have practically disappeared.» As regards Palestine, Wilson as early as 1906 wrote (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 4): »It is of great importance, too, that the manners and customs now obtaining should be carefully studied and noted, as there is much danger that many of these will in a short time be lost.» And in the year 1921 in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Number 4 (Philadelphia, 1921), p. 4, there is an item with the alarming heading 'Importance of Studying Palestinian Folklore at once'. It is taken from the report made by the then acting Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem,

methodical studies by trained ethnologists,¹ men as well as women.²

It is interesting to notice what a change there has been in the method of work. A new tendency has appeared in the manner in which material is collected. No longer is one content with general statements only of what custom requires or such indefinite expressions as that »polygynous men are numerous» or that »divorce is frequent»; one insists on having concrete facts, details³ and figures. One draws up statistical tables,⁴ and genealogies,⁵ and all this brings into the science of ethnology a

Dr. Albright, to the home country and contains the following: »Owing to the unprecedented rapidity of the economic and social evolution of Palestine today, where all races vie with one another in modernizing culture and beliefs, the thorough study of the folklore of Palestine is a matter of imperative necessity. Every year interesting and significant details pass into oblivion, and it is rare indeed to find a young peasant who knows much; in one village we were told, 'The old men think so and so, but we boys don't think so.' The importance of these studies for understanding the mind of the Palestinian peasant, in many respects no doubt like his Israelite and Canaanite predecessors, can hardly be overestimated.»

¹ Prof. Fritz Krause during his seminars in Leipzig, Summer term 1927, used to emphasize the fact that ethnology in many respects had so to say to begin from the beginning, that its duty is in the first place to direct attention to the collecting of accurate observations and facts, and only at a later stage — when the ground itself has been relaid — to renew discussion of the theoretical problems.

² In a testimonial which Prof. Westermarck wrote for me on January 25, 1925, he says: »Moreover, my own researches in Morocco have convinced me that oriental women can be properly studied by women only.» Cf. also a lecture by him on Women of Morocco reported in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, October 1929. — A quite general opinion among ethnological specialists is that men cannot obtain all available information especially in what concerns the life and position of women.

³ Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922), p. 17: »To summarise the first, cardinal point of method, I may say each phenomenon ought to be studied through the broadest range possible of its concrete manifestations; each studied by an exhaustive survey of detailed examples.»

⁴ Mrs. Sidney Webb, 'Methods of Investigation', in *Sociological Papers*, III. (London, 1907), p. 349 sq.: »Then there is the statistical method. It is quite clear that this is necessary in nearly all observation, at any rate of present facts, to prevent falling into the fallacy of the individual instance Professor Edgeworth said a very weighty thing when he said that 'the statistical method never discovers a truth, but it often prevents an error'.»

⁵ The genealogical method has been developed to its full extent in the works of W. H. R. Rivers. Cf. Malinowski, *op. cit.* p. 14. Dr. Rivers himself says (*The Todas* [London, 1906], p. 11): »By far my most valuable instrument of inquiry was that provided by the genealogical method», and (*Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* [Cambridge, 1922], p. 97): »I have found this interest in genealogy wherever I have

precision and solidity comparable with the fact that as to climate it is no longer enough to have only general meteorological reports but as far as possible one endeavours to obtain measurements and readings of exact instruments.¹ One need no longer make daring deductions but can draw conclusions and build theories on a concrete basis,² in which case it is naturally of the utmost importance to have been able to collect as far as possible all the actual facts,³ so that the one can be weighed against the other. There must be a different way of valuing, in which details play a great part and not only similarities but also differences appear and illuminate each other; proportions also should be given as far as possible in figures.⁴ Tradition and statistics supplement one another and reflect the whole.

Such a procedure can naturally only be applied to a fairly limited area such as can be really surveyed. It forms the whole in which everything can be seen in its proper perspective. Even if a small society is chosen, both time and patience are necessary if the genealogical and statistical

worked, and the collection of pedigrees has always formed the basis of my ethnographic inquiries», and he describes in detail the genealogical method and its many advantages. See also Rivers, 'A Genealogical Method of Collecting Social and Vital Statistics', in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XXX. (London, 1900), p. 74 sqq.; *Idem*, 'The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry', in *The Sociological Review*, III. (London, 1910), p. 1 sqq. For the method of arranging a large mass of genealogical material see *Idem*, *The Todas*; *Idem*, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, V. and VI. (Cambridge, 1904 and 1905). A good example of its application is also given by Seligman, 'The Kabâbîsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, II. (Cambridge, 1918).

¹ Rivers, 'The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry', in *The Sociological Review*, III. (London, 1910), p. 12: «The genealogical and other similar methods will go far towards putting ethnology on a level with other sciences.»

² *Ibid.* p. 9: «The genealogical method makes it possible to investigate abstract problems on a purely concrete basis», and *Idem*, 'A Genealogical Method of Collecting Social and Vital Statistics', in *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXX. (London, 1900), p. 82: «The great value of the genealogical method is that it enables one to study abstract problems on which the savage's ideas are vague by means of concrete facts, of which he is a master. It is a means of utilising the store of information which the extraordinary memory for detail of the savage has enabled him to accumulate.»

³ Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922), p. 13 sq.: «The collecting of concrete data over a wide range of facts is thus one of the main points of field method. The obligation is not to enumerate a few examples only, but to exhaust as far as possible all the cases within reach.»

⁴ Malinowski speaks (*op. cit.* p. 17) of «the method of statistic documentation by concrete evidence».

methods are to be made the basis for and consistently applied in ethnological research; but certainly many statistics can and ought to be made a firmer ground for theoretical discussions, and it is the business of the field ethnologists to collect them. The ideal would be to have a complete net of observation posts and to map the results from the different places and districts; but for a long time we shall have to content ourselves with statistics and observations from isolated places as typical of what can occur.

The development of ethnological research has proceeded in concentric rings from wider to smaller circles. General theories have been built up upon information from different countries with mankind as the great aim and object. Then some workers have preferred to concentrate upon one single country, with information from different villages and districts.¹ Finally the innermost and smallest circle has been reached where a village or a single place is the whole and where details and information as to individuals comprise the evidence.² This also must again be a transition stage from which we pass on to more general things. But these methods can also be used side by side; the main thing is to have many aspects, mobility, not to hold rigidly to certain ways; for this the science of ethnology is as yet too young.³

How are conditions in Palestine in this respect at the present time? The existing literature on the subject leaves much to be desired. Reading such a work as Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* where parallels from the Holy Land would be most natural, it is noticeable that the

¹ In this connection it is interesting to read what Prof. Westermarck writes about his plans when as a young scientist he decided to acquire first-hand knowledge of some forms of culture which differ from our own. He says (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I. [London, 1926], p. V.): »I contemplated going to the East to study both civilised and savage races. I sailed for Morocco in 1898 — and never went farther. I soon realised what a laborious undertaking it is to acquaint oneself sufficiently well even with the natives of a single country: it requires a prolonged stay among them and knowledge of their language.»

² Cf. Dr. J. Lionel Tayler ('The Study of Individuals [Individuology] and their natural Groupings [Sociology]', in *Sociological Papers*, III. [London, 1907], p. 113): »And it will be from individuological investigations that scientific sociology will arise.»

³ On folklore studies in general Frazer says (*Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, I. [London, 1919], p. IX.): »That study is still in its infancy, and our theories on the subjects with which it deals must probably for a long time to come be tentative and provisional, mere pigeon-holes in which temporarily to sort the multitude of facts, not iron moulds in which to cast them for ever.»

author, who with such care and thoroughness collected enormous material from the literature of the world, has extremely little to quote from Palestine. From this it is quite clear how little this land has been ethnologically examined. I am convinced and in some cases can prove that this is not due to a lack of examples or material.¹ But to a great extent this material is not yet collected and recorded, and even the material which exists, especially the older literature, lacks precision and exactness, because two dangers have not been avoided; the one belonging peculiarly to the Holy Land, and which I will call the »biblical danger», has been the temptation to identify without criticism customs and habits and views of life of the present day with those of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament.² Only too often one has been tempted to build a bridge from the past to the present by combining modern parallels with Bible verses. No one can get away from the fact that much is in agreement — the land and nature determine that. But in any case one must remember the whole time that it is Muhammadan Arabs, not Jews, whose traditions are being studied, and that there is a period of 2000 years and more between them — a gap which cannot be explained away merely by citing »the immovable East». There are survivals, but they do not lie

¹ Thus for example Frazer describes (*op. cit.* II. p. 342 *sqq.*) the custom that a man, like Jacob in the Old Testament (Gen. XXIX. 18 *sqq.*), does service in order to procure for himself a wife but does not put forward one single example from Palestine. Nevertheless there are in my little village several examples of such a custom. *Infra.* p. 108 *sq.*, 120. — The same thing — no example from Palestine — is true of the treatment of ceremonies by adoption and re-birth (*op. cit.* II. p. 4 *sqq.*), of which I was fortunate enough to obtain some interesting material which I hope to publish later. Cf. Adoption formula on entering sisterhood and brotherhood in an account ('Bruderschaft und Frauenehre', in *Palästina Jahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem*, XXIII. [Berlin, 1927], p. 126, 128), recorded by me in Arṭās.

² That the life of the fellahīn is at present in many respects analogous with and likely to throw light upon the life which went on under the old Israelitish or even Canaanitish times in Palestine is an idea which has often been expressed. Cf. Dalman, *Palästiner Divan* (Leipzig, 1901), p. V.; Albright, 'Importance of Studying Palestinian Folklore at once', in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Number 4 (Philadelphia, 1921), p. 4; Grant, *The People of Palestine* (Philadelphia & London, 1921), p. 45 *sq.*; Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 303 *sq.*; 306, 314 and p. 335 where the author says: »and the parallel is so remarkable that it seems justifiable to dub the Fellahīn by the simple title of 'modern Canaanites'; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 3 *sq.*; Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (Paris, 1907), p. 25.

exactly on the surface nor can they be identified at once,¹ so that when describing a custom a text can be immediately attached to it in decoration. If in my work there are fewer quotations from the Bible than in most others, it has been from a perhaps exaggerated fear of uncritically mixing the old and the new. Just because there have been so many offences in this way it should be the object of a special inquiry to what extent the one or the other is connected with ancient times.

The other danger to which Palestine research has been subject in what concerns folklore has been that, quite inconsistently with the great differences in country and people which are always being put forward,² generalisations have been made as to local habits and customs, and earlier writers, having collected or picked up information here and there, have quite unconcernedly given it out as Palestinian in general. When Pierotti describes the wedding customs, he says: »Those which I am describing are in vogue among the Greeks but they are the same with all the other natives of the country».³ Others do not mention at all, or very scantily, in which places they have made their observations; it did not seem to be important. Only of betrothal or wedding ceremonies have we a series

¹ Cf. Dalman, *op. cit.* p. V and *Idem, Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, I. 1 (Gütersloh, 1928), p. VII; also Grant, *op. cit.* p. 46.

² That Jerusalem is a conglomerat of the most different nations and faiths is well known. According to Grant (*The People of Palestine* [Philadelphia & London, 1921], p. 172) one can hear in the town and its suburbs more than fifty different languages and dialects used in conversation. The official languages are three — Arabic, English and Hebrew. The prevailing religions in Palestine are also three — Islam, Christianity and Judaism, but there are many different confessions and sects of all these, and all this presupposes great variation in opinions and customs. Finally we have the native population with three different groups — townspeople, fellahin and bedouin. — Klein says ('Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, III. [Leipzig, 1880], p. 100 sq.): »Diese drei Klassen unterscheiden sich sowohl durch Sprache, Kleidung, Bau und Einrichtung ihrer Wohnungen, als auch durch Sitten und Lebensweise im Allgemeinen zueinander, so dass man bei einiger Kenntnis der Leute in der Regel gleich auf den ersten Blick oder beim Hören des ersten Satzes den Städter vom Fellachen und beide vom Beduinen unterscheiden wird.» According to Klein (*op. cit.* p. 101) this difference even extends to individuals, individual towns, villages and bedouin tribes as a whole. For the great differences in Palestine cf. also Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 1 sq. and 8 sq.; Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 336 sq., 340; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 200; Jaussen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes*, I. *Naplouse et son District* (Paris, 1927), p. VII.

³ Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 184.

of exact reports from different places, such as Lifta, el-Qubêbe, Nablus¹ — and shorter descriptions from some other places² — and thus in this respect the foundation is laid for making a comparative study of the »Palestinian» betrothal and wedding customs. Of course there must be a great similarity and even an extensive identity of customs and habits and points of view; but so far as there is anything in the oft-repeated statement of the great differences in customs and habits and opinions among the people in different places in Palestine, information which should go a little more deeply, be more detailed, cannot be presented as »Palestinian» without further information.

Jaussen draws a similar conclusion. It is noticeable that when this prominent expert on Arabian folk-life wishes to describe customs and habits in Palestine he thinks it necessary to do it in the form of monographs on separate places. In the first of these monographs »*Coutumes Palestiniennes, I. Naplouse et son District*» (1927) the author says in the foreword: »Elle forme comme le pendant de celle que j'ai menée chez les Nomades et publiée sous le titre de 'Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab'.» But he continues also: »Ne pouvant entreprendre un travail d'ensemble sur la Palestine aux contours si multiples et aux aspects si divers, j'ai restreint ici mes observations à la région et surtout à la ville de Naplouse: territoire, en grande partie à l'abri des influences étrangères. Je me réserve de poursuivre mes investigations sur d'autres points de la Terre Sainte. Le présent livre constitue donc le premier volume d'une série à compléter ultérieurement.» But also in this book on Nablus even such an important folk-element as the Samaritans — although they have their own quarter in the town — are excluded because they require separate research work.³

Although a work on such a centre of culture as Nablus is very important one can with good reason ask oneself if the inquiry should not be

¹ Haddad-Rothstein, 'Moslemische Hochzeitsgebräuche in Lifta bei Jerusalem' (arab. Text mit Übers.), in *Palästinajahrbuch*, VI. (Berlin, 1910) p. 102 *sqq.*; Spoer-Haddad, 'Volkskundliches aus el-Qubêbe bei Jerusalem', in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete*, IV. 2 (Leipzig, 1926), p. 199 *sqq.* where sources are mentioned; and *ibid.* V. 1 (Leipzig, 1927), p. 95 *sqq.*; Jaussen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes, I. Naplouse et son District* (Paris, 1927), p. 54 *sqq.*

² Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem* (London, 1904), p. 302 *sqq.*; Baumann, 'Zur Hochzeit geladen' (el-Bire), in *Palästinajahrbuch*, IV. (Berlin, 1908), p. 67 *sqq.*

³ See Jaussen, *op cit.* p. 255: »Délibérément, les usages samaritains ne sont pas mentionnés dans ce livre. Leur étude demanderait un travail spécial qui du reste a été fait en partie par *Montgomery, The Samaritains*».

limited to an even smaller area. When Köhler draws an outline as to what can still be expected from research in Palestine and indicates the inquiries and questions which should be considered, he writes ('Fragen und Wünsche zur Palästinakunde', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXXVI. [Leipzig, 1913], p. 36): »Sehr nötig sind Einzelarbeiten über bestimmte Dörfer und ihre Bewohner Wieviel Einwohner? Welches Verhältnis von Männern und Frauen, Erwachsenen und Kindern, Gesunden und Krüppeln, Reichen und Armen, Verheirateten und Ledigen? Einrichtungen, Sitten, Sagen, Bräuche, Feste, die der Dorfschaft eigen sind (ob sie ihr auch eigentümlich sind, wird erst die Aufnahme vieler einzelner Dörfer zeigen). Wichtig ist die Aufweisung der Sippen, die die Bewohnerschaft ausmachen. Wichtig die Frage, wie viele schon in der zweiten und dritten Generation, wie viele schon 'immer' ansässig sind. Wichtig die Frage wie viele Fremde an einem Orte wohnen, Fremde nicht von ausserhalb Palästinas her, sondern Leute aus Galiläa in Judäa usw.»

When Palestine is under discussion the same tendency appears as in other ethnological research. Also here is repeated the demand for concrete facts, genealogies, statistics and monographs. For such research a little village like Arṭās was most suitable, as it was easy to survey also for historical reasons. And yet even in such a small place the available material is much too rich and varied to be treated in one single book.

What I present here is a comparative examination of all the marriages in the village of Arṭās during a hundred years; so far back could the memory of the people reach, that is to say 4—5 generations, and it is significant that the beginning of that period coincides with an important turning-point in the history of the village, when its life so to say began afresh. Although cultivation of the Arṭās valley, so rich in springs, must be very ancient,¹ its occupation has in the course of centuries undergone many crises and suffered much interruption,² when by civil war or external

¹ According to a tradition built upon the »*Inclosed Garden*» (Hortus conclusus) mentioned in *The Song of Solomon* IV. 12 *sqq.* and Josephus *Antiq.* VIII. 7,3 Arṭās was the place of King Solomon's delightful gardens Etam. See for example Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, III. (Hamburg, 1837), p. 67 and Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XVI. (Berlin, 1852), p. 282.

² The oldest inhabited part is considered by archeologists to be a hill Hirbet el-Hōh on the other side of the valley, south-west of the slope where the houses in Arṭās now extend upwards. Here we must seek the Etam of the Old Testament which King Rehoboam at the end of the 10th century B. C. built as a fort in Judaea.

enemies the greater part of the population was killed and the rest forced to flee to other places. Such events have even during recent times frequently happened in Palestine in other places and have kept the centres of population constantly moving.¹ After a time when the danger is passed the refugees or their descendants come back to their old homes.²

In Arṭās there is still the memory of two such catastrophes by which the village was destroyed, and deserted by its inhabitants. According to tradition in the village both were caused by quarrels which had their origin in the fact that men of Arṭās had violated women from other places whose relatives and kinsmen afterwards took revenge.³ In the first case it was said, »90 pairs of brothers» were killed;⁴ as regards the second catastrophe it is still known to which places the different clans fled. The family (*dār*) ʿŌde belonging to the clan *Saʿd* went to the neighbouring village Wād Fūkīn in the southwest; some of the *Rabāy*'a clan fled over Jordan to the village Ḥanzire near Kerak, others to Hebron; some of the *Mešāni* went to Bēt Ūmmar, which lies on the road to Hebron; and others (Abu Ḥalāwe) again westwards to ʿAdjūr where they still count kinship with the family (*dār*) il-Ḥawāja; the clan *Šahīn* and *Abu Šhāde*, the ancestor of a smaller group in Arṭās, went to Seʿīr near Hebron. — This movement took place at least more than a hundred years ago.

² Chron. XI. 6; cf. *Jos.* XV. 59 LXX; 1 Chron. IV. 3, Josephus, *Antiq.* VIII. 7,3. This identification has been made by Gustaf Dalman (*Palästinajahrbuch*. X. [Berlin, 1914], p. 19). It was probably not until the Middle Ages that the village took up its present position. «Artasium» belonged during the time of the Crusades to the Bishop of Bethlehem; cf. Rörich, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (1893), p. 259. During the later Middle Ages Arṭās belonged to Ḥaram in Hebron as *waqf*, as is proved by inscriptions in Hebron (Abel, 'Trois Inscriptions Arabes, inédites, du ḥaram d'Hébron', in *Revue Biblique*, XXXII. [Paris, 1923], p. 84 sqq. Number 2) and in Arṭās itself (Jaussen, 'Inscription Arabe d'Ortas', in *Revue Biblique*, XXXIII [Paris, 1924], p. 246 sqq.). The deciding motive in the choice of a new place was certainly the desire to be near the spring and the fruit and vegetable gardens watered by it. (The information in this note I have from Professor A. Alt.)

¹ Also this information I have from Prof. A. Alt.

² Cf. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration récente* (Paris, 1907), p. 21: »... et quand, le danger disparu, de nouveaux habitants reviennent s'établir en ce lieu...»

³ Cf. Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* (London, 1907), p. 117 sqq.

⁴ It is not impossible that it was just after this destruction that C. Niebuhr visited the place in August 1766. He states (*Reisebeschreibung*, III. [Hamburg, 1837], p. 67): »Zwischen dem sogenannten versiegelten Brunnen und Bethlehem liegt ein schmales und tiefes Thal, mit einer schönen Quelle, um welche jetzt nur einige wenige armselige Gärten liegen; in der Nähe derselben sieht man noch Ueberbleibsel von einem ganz zerstörten Dorfe.»

About 1830 it seems that the people began to return. Edward Robinson who visited Arṭās in 1838 repeatedly mentions in his travel records, »the ruined village of Urtās» but on the other hand with more details he writes: »The place is still inhabited, though the houses are in ruins; the people dwelling in caverns among the rocks of the steep declivity».¹ Again it is still related in the village that the villagers who returned to Arṭās did not at first dare to settle in the village itself for fear of their neighbours in the east, a half bedouin tribe, the Ta'āmre, but lived in the now ruined mediaeval castle, which lies opposite the highest of Solomon's Pools, on the way from Jerusalem to Hebron, twenty minutes walk to the west from Arṭās. In the day-time they certainly came to the village to cultivate their gardens but at night they withdrew to the castle² where each of the four clans still inhabiting Arṭās³ occupied one of the four towers on the castle wall. Nine families from the great clans lived there and in addition in smaller rooms in the walls themselves lived three families belonging each of them to one of the smaller groups in the village. So that in all twelve families lived there.⁴

¹ Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea. A Journal of Travels in the year 1838*, II. (London, 1841), p. 164, 168.

² The same thing is of the year 1848 stated by Philip Baldensperger (*The immovable East* [London, 1913], p. 111, 115 sq.). Cf. also Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* (London, 1907), p. 118.

³ Cf. Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, p. 115. See also the genealogical trees at the end of the book.

⁴ It is easily understood that even on account of their small numbers these people found it difficult to live an ordinary life at that time, when their neighbours in the east, the Ta'āmre, bedouin were powerful enemies. As the villagers of Arṭās belonged to the *Kē's* faction and the Ta'āmre bedouin to the *Yaman* faction this enmity is explained as a link in the great political feuds which up to 1860 prevailed between these two parties in the rural district of Judaea. An extraordinarily good current account of these disturbances in the middle of the last century is to be found in Finn, *Stirring Times or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles of 1853 to 1856* (London, 1878). See also Macalister-Masterman, 'Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statements* (London, 1906), p. 33 sqq.; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 271 sqq.; Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 84 sq. etc. That the people of Arṭās tried to return to the village and to rebuild their destroyed dwellings before order in the country was fully established was due to the fact that their efforts were greatly favoured by an attempt at colonisation by Europeans which began towards 1850. This attempt at colonisation was started by John Meshullam, a Jew who after an adventurous life had been converted to Christianity and baptized in Malta July 1840 (see Ewald, *Journal of Missionary*

These families form the framework of the present four clans and three smaller groups which are not independent but more or less attached to some of the four clans. To these have been added, as the years passed, three other small groups of which one has died out.¹ I have been able to trace genealogically the whole of the population of Arṭās² from the

Labours in the City of Jerusalem [London, 1846], p. 12, 90) and later went to Jerusalem where he established the first European hotel, but at the same time carried on agriculture in Arṭās. In 1849 he was joined there by Henry Baldensperger, an Alsatian, who in the year 1848 had gone to Jerusalem as a missionary, sent by the Chrichona mission (near Basel), founded by Chr. Spittler. The same year Mrs. Clorinda S. Minor, «the high prophetess of that religious delusion called Millerism which swept over the United States some forty years ago (1842—1845)», paid a visit there. In 1851 she returned to the village accompanied by a small group of American co-religionists and they attached themselves to Meshullam. It was thus possible for consul Finn who in 1854 visited the village with the Pasha of Jerusalem to write (*op. cit.* II, p. 294): «It was possible that the spectacle of a paradise of gardens and orchards, where only a few years ago all had been desolation, a flourishing village of natives where lately had been only ruins, and regular payment of a large sum of taxes to the Sultan's treasury from a place heretofore paying nothing (and legally exempt), might infuse useful ideas on the subject of redeeming waste lands, filling the Sultan's exchequer, and changing marauding natives into cultivators of the soil, and all this in connexion with Jewish industry.»

Further details of this American-European colonisation, so promising but which so soon ran out in sand, is to be found in the following works: Baldensperger, *The immovable East* (London, 1913), p. 111 *sqq.* and an unpublished Diary of his father, the missionary Henry Baldensperger; Bremer, *Lifvet i Gamla verlden* (Stockholm, 1861), II, 1, p. 152 *sqq.*; II, 2, p. 83—103; Finn (Mrs.), *Reminiscences* (London & Edinburgh, 1929), p. 90, 104; Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palästina* (1865), p. 177; Hanauer, 'Notes on the History of Modern Colonisation in Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statements* (London, 1900), p. 127 *sqq.*; Parker, 'A Fanatic and her Mission. A Story Historical', in *The Churchman* (New York, October, 1896), p. 448 *sq.*, 484 *sqq.*, 524 *sqq.*, 568; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XVI. (Berlin, 1852), p. 282 *sqq.*; Robinson, *Neuere biblische Forschungen in Palästina* (1852), (Berlin, 1857), p. 358 *sq.*; Van de Velde, *Reise durch Syrien und Palästina in den Jahren 1851 und 1852*, II. (Gotha, 1861), p. 61, 64 *sqq.*

¹ For a more detailed account of the four clans and the six smaller groups in Arṭās, see *infra*, p. 80 note 1 and p. 88 *sqq.*

² This concerns the fellahin. The Convent, forming a world in itself, lies on the other side of the valley; the nuns belong to the Order of the Sisters of Mary of the Garden; it was founded in the year 1829 and has its head convent in Rome. It was natural that this Order should wish to have a Convent in the place where tradition places King Solomon's Gardens. The money was collected in Argentine and Uruguay in South America; the Convent was built in 1894; in 1901 the Sisters came and in the same year a road was made from the village to Solomon's Pools beside the road from Jerusalem to Hebron.

beginning of the last occupation up to the year 1927. At the end of the book will be found their genealogical trees. By means of a very simple system, taking only the married men, one gets a clear picture of the development of the different clans and families and how the different generations are connected. The important people are the married men. As relationship is reckoned in the male line, it was necessary to consider first the men in tracing the generations and examining the marriages. In order to procure the necessary basis for my inquiry into the marriages of Arḩās, I obtained certain definite information concerning each fellahin marriage in the village.

I began with the oldest remembered man in each clan and proceeded further to his children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and so on, right up to the present time, and in each case I put the following questions: What is the husband's name? Is he still alive? Is he monogamous or polygynous? Are the man and his wife related and if so, how (orthocousins, cross-cousins, second cousins etc.)? If the wife is not related to her husband, is she from the same village and if so, from which clan in the village? Is the wife from another place, and if so from which place and from which family and how was she found?¹ What kind of bride consideration was there? If a bride price, what was it? If an exchange, of what kind? Whom did the man exchange for his bride (a sister, daughter, cousin etc.)? Was there a multiple exchange? Were there any children of the marriage? How many boys, how many girls? and what were their names? Was the marriage dissolved by divorce, and if so what was the cause? Was the marriage dissolved by the death of the man or the woman? Did the survivor marry again? If so, what was the reason and of what kind was the new marriage (levirate, sororate etc.)? Is there anything special to notice or report about the people in question in respect of these different points, or in any other way?

The answers to all these questions were entered in columns, and thus form family lists which contain all the information regarding the marriages contracted in the village during a period of 100 years. In all 199 men during this time contracted a total of 264 marriages. As regards Arḩās women who were given in marriage to other places, their subsequent lives do not belong to the history of the village although now and then they appear in the accounts given to me. But nevertheless I have regularly procured information as to the circumstances attending their marriage.

¹ See also *infra*, p. 98 *sqq.*

In all 65 Artās women contracted a total of 67 marriages with men in other places. On the basis of my family lists I worked out statistics and compiled tables which form a necessary complement to the genealogical trees, and round this foundation the rest of my material is grouped.

It must be admitted that such material is sufficiently extensive for the basis of a comparative enquiry. There is, as a matter of fact, a combination of the genealogical and the comparative method within a certain limited sphere; at the same time the discussion forms a supplement to the statistical information of ethnological questions in general. The method of forming lists of families proved especially effective also for investigating different habits and customs; it was quite remarkable how many things were remembered in connection with individuals. In registering and discussing all the people in the village during four to five generations, we came upon a great many facts which would probably not otherwise have come to light,¹ and the material appeared quite naturally, without having to be suggested in any way.

By this means I obtained a whole series of facts relating to individuals and their fates. To me such pictures from reality appear of specially great value for the view they give of the life of a people as individuals, of whom we are so very incompletely informed and find it difficult to imagine what they are like.² Such information gives the miniature monographs upon which the general monograph is built,³ for the important thing is that they are not reports about isolated individuals but about individuals belonging to a certain society. The sum total of these notes on real people collected according to a certain scheme must give a complete picture. This inquiry concerns all the concrete cases of a certain society during a certain period of culture.

By reports of actual cases one obtains an interesting insight into how the different ways of looking at things clash, how by changes and complica-

¹ Cf. Rivers, 'A Genealogical Method of Collecting Social and Vital Statistics', in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XXX. (London, 1900), p. 81.

² Our knowledge of the fellahin as individuals is actually based upon sagas and stories and therefore only on what we know of imaginary people.

³ Tayler says ('The Study of Individuals [Individuology] and their natural Groupings [Sociology]', in *Sociological Papers*, III. [London, 1907], p. 113): »As the study of the cell, and the varieties of cells, is the foundation of biology, so the preliminary study of individuals (Individuology) is necessary to the study (Sociology) of the natural groupings of individuals to form social competing and enforcing units in the whole social aggregate.»

2 — *Soc. Scient. Fenn., Comm. Hum. Litt.* III. 8.

tions one rule is substituted for another or how compromises are made when necessity arises. It is quite otherwise than building on schematic accounts of people who are not used to abstract thought. I found moreover that often when the fellahin gave their information in a more general form they had a special case in view, generally of recent date, which they generalised.¹ On the other hand such reports of actual cases are more difficult to build upon because life does not proceed along a certain straight line. Not even when one considers all the cases known in the village is it so easy to discover the general principles and laws which regulate and determine life in such a society. I have, it is true, amplified my material of real cases by general statements and rules. The fellahin themselves showed much inclination to explain their opinions of people and circumstances by proverbs which they gave as proofs of their assertions. But these general statements, proverbs, rules of life and social laws often represent in themselves conflicting views, or there appears a very great gulf between theory and practice; for my statistical enquiries show that even where public opinion was united in highly esteeming a custom or a habit, one could not conclude that this custom would actually appear to a corresponding extent. It also seems to me of especially great interest to see how theory worked out in reality, to see the connection between theory and practice, to be able to prove in what cases they run parallel and again where the differences are too great to find out the explanation thereof.²

The most important thing is, of course, to be able to obtain absolutely reliable material. The oriental way of looking at things and conditions is so different from those to which we are accustomed, that in spite of all previous theoretical studies it requires a long period of personal touch before one understands such an unfamiliar attitude to life and such a different method of thought. On the other hand the inhabitants of the village must first become accustomed to a stranger; it is only when one has ceased to be a disturbing element that one can really begin to think of accomplishing something. It is not only that the people must, in the

¹ Cf. Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 82: »All who have experience of the savage mind must have experienced the difficulty of eliciting information on abstract questions, while, on the other hand, there seems to be hardly any limit to the number of concrete facts which can be remembered.»

² Cf. e.g. (*infra*, p. 82, 92 sqq.) the difference between ideal and reality when it is a question of cousin marriage and marriage with strangers. The same is the case with the reputed ease of divorce and its actual occurrence.

first place, satisfy their curiosity in regard to a newcomer; one cannot expect that they will relate anything more than quite superficial things to a stranger of whose plans and intentions they know nothing.

In both these respects it was of inestimable help and value to me that my colleague in Arṭās, Louise Baldensperger, had actually lived in the village more than 30 years and knew the people thoroughly. With the great interest in folklore which seems to be a family trait¹ she has collected a rich experience of fellahīn customs and habits and life, especially in her own village. Through her my eyes were opened to much that was characteristic in the village life and through her I won almost immediately the trust and sympathy of the people, so that they were willing to allow me to take part in everything and to give me all the information I desired. There is scarcely anything in the village which can be seen which I did not witness with my own eyes and satisfy myself about; and that formed a rich background for the understanding of the people and their life. Over and over again at feasts and in everyday life I could myself confirm the correctness of what I was told of customs and habits and make new observations myself. Everyone who has done field ethnological studies knows that there are many ways and means of checking those things which cannot be observed with one's own eyes.² For, however important the observations are which we can ourselves make, it is impossible in such research to see everything. We can observe customs and habits and satisfy ourselves that they really are customary, i.e. they are regularly repeated,³ but the underlying idea, the reason why this or that is done we cannot arrive at in this way. When it is a question of the explanation and cause of the custom or habit we are obliged to obtain the information from the people themselves or mistakes will easily occur. For this reason, even when I had witnessed a custom or ceremony I had it related by my informers. I wished to learn their methods of thinking

¹ Her brother is Philip Baldensperger, the author of *The immovable East*.

² In this matter the family lists were a great help. As most of the information was connected with individuals, great accuracy was demanded from my informers. The material checked itself. A statement about a woman when her own family was being discussed must agree with the statements which were given when her husband's family was being discussed etc.

³ In a period of dissolution such as the present (*cf. supra*, p. 5 note 4) when many customs and habits are disappearing, one cannot always observe regularity. On one occasion one old custom is practised, on another occasion another old custom is to be noted.

in order not to give the events European explanations, or views and motives foreign to the people in the village.

Thanks to Louise Baldensperger, the best informer of the village — ‘*Alya Ibrahim* [D. of I] of the ‘*Ōde* family — was placed at my disposal.¹ That she had a competitor in *Ḥamdiye Sanad* [D. of 183], who in service as she was to Louise Baldensperger, came to us regularly every day and could take turns with ‘*Alya* [D. of I], had its advantages. It will be found that most of my reports and information have been obtained from these two women. During my wanderings about the village I could further check very fully the information that I thus received about different people from the persons themselves, but in most respects it appeared necessary and most practical to have fixed informers who came to the house where we lived, otherwise one would have been too dependent on the pleasure of the people; only thus also could one really have them for a sufficiently long time. With the exception of days when feasts or something quite special had to be attended,² or excursions made, the daily programme of work was very regular and fixed. We began at eight o’clock in the morning and continued till noon; that was the first and most important period of work. Then we took a walk in the village to keep ourselves informed of the daily events, at the same time visiting the fellahīn in their homes; on our return we continued work till nine o’clock in the evening. The best material was obtained in the mornings when the fellahīn women were still thoroughly rested and in full vigour.³ In the afternoon we usually went through what had been told us in the morning and translated it, asking the women for further information on points or sentences which were not clear and as to difficult words. Such work needs practice. The women learned to relate so slowly that their information could be taken down word for word and showed a remarkable patience even in repeating facts for us to check them. Further, I was able to obtain comments and explanations of words and phrases from Louise Baldensperger on account of her intimate knowledge and familiarity with fellahīn expressions.

¹ A splendid description of the life of this my informer is given by A. Godrich-Freer who tells »The story of ‘*Alya*» in her book *Arabs in Tent and Town* (London, 1924), p. 72 sq.

² E. g. harvesting in the fields, a child-birth, a betrothal, a wedding, a burial etc.

³ Very disturbing for my work were the five daily prayers which my women had to say regularly and also periods of fasts when the people were especially weak and weary. On the other hand the time of weddings in the autumn immediately after the grape-season was an excellent time for my work.

Here and there an explanation or an expression is used which I so annotated, often using for the purpose the name »Sitt Louisa»¹ under which she is known in the village. They are worth notice and attention as observations and experience collected during a lifetime. But the material collected in the first part of my time when Louise Baldensperger still acted as interpreter I have almost completely rejected. If I, in some places, quote some of it, I have specially drawn attention to the fact. This was most useful for me while becoming absorbed in the village life, but I was quite clear from the beginning that this stage of interpretation could only be a temporary one. I desired to procure really genuine material in the field in order afterwards to be able to build up my presentation on original information from the inhabitants of the village themselves.

Similarly, it appeared to me only right to present my material in the form in which I received it, so that in every case it would be known upon what I founded my conclusions. It is possible that others would read into it something different, and it must be valuable for those who have no opportunity of living among these people to see and form judgments on what the fellahin relate and how they relate. If the reports, in spite of their apparent simplicity, often demand analysis to be fully understood, those who are familiar with the Arabic way of talking, relating facts and telling stories, will appreciate the concentrated form in which the fellahin give their accounts. It was naturally rather tempting to give a great part of the material in Arabic, but this is not necessary in a work in which everything depends upon the content. My material is thus a direct translation of the literal reports given by the women. Important expressions and phrasings, formulas, proverbs, general rules etc. were checked on the spot as regards the language by Elias Haddad. All the Arabic quotations in this treatise were checked in the same way.

The character of my treatise is largely due to the fact that it was women who gave me my material.² One must not, however, expect to find statements as to the women being happy or unhappy. Certainly at times they feel their lot heavy — and the fellahin men would agree — but in general they are too practical to devote themselves to reflection and analysis of their moods. Least of all did they complain about the men, and

¹ The Arabs address a lady by the word »Sitt» and her Christian name.

² Cf. Seligman ('The Kababish, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, II. [Cambridge (Mass.) 1918], p. 139): »To obtain more exact genealogical information it was always necessary to make inquiries from the women, and this was done as often as possible.»

many aspects of their life which we think are most unfortunate, e.g. polygyny, they related with a humour which is a relief and most refreshing after all the complaints of the oppression of women in the East, to which we have become accustomed. Hitherto, as soon as the position of the Palestinian, or as one has preferred to call her, the Oriental woman, is under discussion, one has been too easily content to make judgments of a purely subjective kind instead of inquiring into the facts, the special conditions and laws which regulate the life of women in a Palestinian society. Those who have women as informants are in a specially favourable position; the women are very much interested in their conditions and linger with pleasure over things which the men glide over lightly. With such illumination many questions appear quite otherwise, and this is true above all in an enquiry into marriage which is so important and works so much change in the conditions of their life.

In the notes below the text will be found parallels or contrasts, remarks and references to information in printed sources. I have chiefly directed attention to the literature concerning Palestinian conditions, although I have also quoted from works dealing with the rest of the Arabian and Muhammadan world. By studying the notes one can thus discover whether a ceremony, custom, or law which is mentioned also holds good for a larger circle in so far as it is found in the existing literature. Of ethnological works of a more general character I have quoted Edward Westermarck's *The History of Human Marriage* and J. G. Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*. These works contain such an exhaustive list of the relevant literature that there was no reason to repeat it.

But these quotations are not to be considered as the basis of the statements made in the text. My thesis is founded solely upon the material collected by me in the village of Arṭās, because I was convinced that any other course of action would be liable to blur the picture and make the boundary lines so indistinct that it would be difficult to say when a conclusion is drawn from my own work in the field or when it is mingled with knowledge from other sources. In this way only will it be quite clear to what extent a monograph can really illuminate the questions and problems with which general ethnological literature is concerned.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE OF MARRIAGE.

Betrothal at birth.

('aṭiyet il-jōra)

»Blessed be the Bridegroom (*mbāarak il-'arīs!*)» In this way the birth of a little boy in Arṭās is greeted. »Blessed be the Bride (*mbāarak il-'arūs!*)» is said if the new-born child is a girl.¹ »What did God give you?» asks one man of another who has just become father to a girl. »A little bride has just been brought to us.» — »May she be blessed (*mbāarake!*)» runs the reply. If it happens that the father rejoins: »She is for thee ('a *habl ṭidak!*)» and the other replies: »I accept her (*u ana qabbālha!*)» then the girl is betrothed already on the day of her birth. Sometimes a father by the expression of this formula settles his daughter's fate. Such a bride is called 'aṭiyet il-jōra. Literally it signifies »a gift from the pit» i.e. the pit of birth.² This special form of child betrothal, its ideas, its ceremonies, its binding power and permanency are illustrated in the following.

First an imaginary case in which 'Alya [*D. of I*] tells of an 'aṭiyet il-jōra and indicates its importance.

»For example, Mḥammad Sma'in [53] gets a daughter. His brother Aḥmad [52] goes to him and says: 'Blessed be thy daughter!' He replies: 'She comes for thee, is a gift and with her thou wilt have no expenditure (*mā warāha jaza*). She belongs to thy son as a gift from the pit and thou

¹ For formulas of congratulation on birth see Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, (Leipzig, 1903), p. 58; Spoer-Haddad, *Manual of Palestinian Arabic* (Jerusalem, 1909), p. 163; Westermarek, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, II. (London, 1926), p. 375 sq.

² In explanation of this expression Dr. Med. T. Canaan of Jerusalem told me: »Orientals while giving birth to a child used to sit on an elevated object — in cities a chair with a large hole in the centre was used. In villages the woman sits during the procedure on one or two stones. The space between the ground and the body is called *jōra* i.e. pit.»

I myself have seen in Arṭās a mother sitting in the house upon a stone in front of which mould is spread. It is obvious that this represents nature. It is related in the village that when a bedouin woman brings a child into the world she goes alone into the wilderness and digs a pit in the ground in which she buries the after-birth. This is probably the origin of the expression »a gift from the pit».

wilt get her for nothing.' He says: 'Many thanks! I accept her and I give to thee what is due (*jaza*) for her according to the custom among people.' Those present say: 'May she be blessed! We witness for you.'

Then he goes to the bazaar and buys as much as his Lord gives him power to do [i.e. according to his means] such as a kerchief (*mandāle*) or a yard of cloth. And he adds to that a quarter *majīdi* [about one shilling].

If someone comes [to the girl's father] and says: 'Wilt thou not give me thy daughter?' he replies: 'She is a gift from the pit. I cannot commit a wrong. There are witnesses.'»

‘Alya [D. of I] told me of four ‘*aṭiyet il-jōra* betrothals and Ḥamdiye [D. of 183] of a fifth one in Arṭās. Besides these I knew of two such brides in the village.

In the first case the bride died before the marriage could take place.

‘Alya [D. of I]: »Mḥammadiye [W. of 109] gave birth to a girl Ḥaliliye [D. of 109]. Her husband Mḥammad Ḥalāwe [109] requested coffee for the mother at the men's club (*sāḥa*). Aḥmad Sma'in [52] congratulated him saying: 'What did God send?' — 'A bride came to us'. — 'May she be blessed!' He [the father] said: 'She is for thy hand.' — 'I accept her,' [replied] Aḥmad Sma'in [52] [and] gave a garment to Mḥammad Ḥalāwe [109] saying: 'This is our relative-in-law (*ḥāda insībna*). I will clothe him [in a mantle].' And he did so clothe him.

The daughter became a voodgatherer.¹ Then she died. Fate shaped it thus.»

In the second case the bride was given to another.

‘Alya [D. of I]: »Fāṭme Ḥalīl [D. of 170; W. of 55] gave birth to this girl who was named Ḥamde [D. of 55; W. of 75] and Ḥamde iz-Zīr [W. of 53] was midwife to her mother — it happened in Ehbēle.² Ḥamde [W. of 53] congratulated the girl's father (*bārakat la abu il-bint*). She said to him: 'Blessed be the bride!' He said to her: 'She is for thy hand (*a ḥabl idik*).' — 'And I accept her (*u ana qabbālha*).' [When Ḥamde [W. of 53] later came home] she said to her husband Mḥammad Sma'in [53]: »Thy brother's son [55] has given us his daughter who is born as '*aṭiyet il-jōra*.' He said: 'And we accept her (*u naḥna qabbālīnha*). We give what is due for her according to the custom among people.'

[But many years afterwards when the girl was grown up] her father said: 'I do not wish to give her to you. I wish to marry her [now] and have a bride price. I am poor.' — 'If thou wilt not wait, never mind. Go and marry her to someone else!」»

¹ An expression used to indicate the age of a girl.

² Now a ruin, where the Arṭās people own land.

So it came about that Sma'in Aḥmad [55] in the summer of 1926 betrothed his daughter Ḥamde [D. of 55; W. of 75] to 'Ali Sālem's [70] son Mḥammad [75] from the Rabāy'a clan, in spite of the fact that she had been *aḥiyet il-jōra* to his brother's son.

«The 'cooking' [i.e. the betrothal feast]¹ took place in the Rabāy'a quarter. No one of the Sma'in [51] family, not even the old man [i.e. Aḥmad Sma'in [52], though he was also the bride's grandfather] was present. [The slighted bridegroom] 'Ali [58], son of Mḥammad Sma'in [53] expressed his indignation by going there and upsetting the cauldrons. They had to begin their preparations again.

She is not yet married. The girl has epilepsy. They wish to marry her on one of the Thursdays before the Nebi Mūsa feast (*fil-ḥamīs*)² or in the time of apricots.»

The bride's father, Sma'in Aḥmad [55], has also not yet agreed upon the bride price with the mother of the new bridegroom, Fāṭme Ḥaḍr [D. of 40; W. of 70]; her husband is in America and she has built a new house.

Sitt Louisa: »Sma'in Aḥmad [55] continues to live in Eḥbēle. He has left the house of his father, the *muḥtār* Aḥmad Sma'in [52], and therefore demands a room as the bride price for his daughter Ḥamde [D. of 55; W. of 75]. That would suit him quite well, for the bridegroom's mother Fāṭme Ḥaḍr [D. of 40; W. of 70] has just built a new house.»

'Alya [D. of 1]: »Sma'in [55], Abu Ḥamde [D. of 55; W. of 75], has no house. He wishes to live in Fāṭme's [D. of 40; W. of 70] house as compensation for his daughter. Fāṭme [D. of 40; W. of 70] will not give him a room. She wishes to give a hundred pounds and be finished with it.

'Eve and Adam have many daughters (*banāt ḥawa u ādam iktār*).'

'This rosary is in danger of being torn asunder (*hal misbaḥa bidha tinifred*).»

The third case shows that when the bridegroom stands upon his right to an *aḥiyet il-jōra* bride her father must give her to him.

'Alya [D. of 1]: »They were in a waste district (*'izeb*) near Bēt Skārye. And Sabḥa Sālem [D. of 90; W. of 110] gave birth to this girl. Sma'in [116] went and said to her father: 'Blessed be thou!' People had said to Sma'in [116]:, Congratulate the child so that thou mayest get her

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 47.

² For *šahr el-ḥamīs*, the great feast month of the year, when the Muhammadans visit the tomb of Moses (*nebi mūsa*) see Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* I. (Gütersloh, 1928), p. 424 *sqq.*

to wife (*bārek yā walad minšān yā'īha.*) And his father [113] said: 'Go and give her this kerchief (*mandīl*) and one quarter *majīdī.*'»

Sma'īn [116] was then still a little boy and the men probably also enjoyed seeing him toddle about to procure himself a bride.

»And it was so. God had written it.»

With these words 'Alya [*D. of 1*] finished her account for that time, but another day she related as follows:

»Miryam 'Abed [*D. of 110; W. of 116*] was 'aṭīyet il-jōra to Sma'īn Ḥalīl [116]. Later enmity arose between [the fathers] 'Abed Ḥalāwe [110] and Ḥalīl (Mḥammad) Ḥalāwe [113]. He [the father of the girl] said to him [the father of the bridegroom]: 'I shall not give thee my daughter.' — 'Thou wilt not give her? So, thou wilt not give her? Never mind. »Thou canst run, but I am thy moon (*isri u ana qamarak*)» [i.e. I shall follow thy steps. Thou hast to reckon with me].'

He [the girl's father] betrothed her to [another man] Eḥsēn 'Abdallah [87]. He [the despised bridegroom's father] said to them: 'I shall upset the cauldrons, but cook ye [i.e. celebrate the betrothal feast], never mind! We shall see who wins!' — His word shall conquer. — 'If she is for my son, then I am Ḥalīl [113], but if ye wish to give her away to someone else, say so, your tongue is your own (*intu šā'ubīn il-qōl*).' He added however: 'Do not make a mistake. I will release thy word as thy urine (*baḥalli qōlak zeī bōlak*).'

[When later the sheikh was called to complete the marriage contract] he said: 'I will not perform the marriage, because she is 'aṭīyet il-jōra.¹ Otherwise I shall only have trouble.'»

She returned to Sma'īn [113] and her bride price was a receipt for land (*kušān*).² The wedding was celebrated in the autumn of 1925.

In the fourth case the betrothal was annulled on account of the death of the bride's father.

'Alya [*D. of 1*]: »One night Ḥelwe, [*D. of 77; W. of 26*] in Bēt Skārye³ gave birth to [a girl] Fāṭme [*D. of 26; W. of 9*]. The next night Sabḥa Jēdallah [*D. of 2; W. of 5*] gave birth to [a boy] Sma'īn [14]. Fāṭme's [*D. of 26; W. of 9*] father Jēdallah [26], came home on leave from the army. His mother's brother, Sa'd [5], said to him: 'Blessed be thy daughter!' He said to him: 'She is for thee!' [i.e. for Sa'd's [5] new-born son Sma'īn [14]]. He answered: 'I accept her and will give what is due (*jaza*) for her according to the custom of the people.'

¹ See *infra*, p. 52.

² See *infra*, p. 51 sq.

³ The people of Artās own land there.

Later, however, Jēdallah [26] died; and [his wife] Hēlwe [*D. of 77; W. of 26*] also died and his two sons [and only Fāṭme [*D. of 26*] remained, so that she had no father, mother or brother]. Her father's brother, 'Alī Slīman [27], said: 'I will marry the girl to somebody and in that way pay her father's debts.' They [i.e. the bridegroom of the 'aṭīyet il-jōra, Sma'in Sa'd [14], and his nearest relatives] said to him: 'Will my mother's brother wait until we can procure the money.' He [27] replied: 'The creditor will come and take possession of the property for the debt. I am in great straits. I am up to the neck in debt.' They said to him: 'May God level thy path. — The daughters of Adam and Eve are many (*banāt ḥawa u ādam ʿtār*).'

He [27] gave her [Fāṭme [*D. of 26; W. of 9*]] to Aḥmad Ḥalīl [9]. Her bride price was fifty pounds. He gave her ten pounds. And with the remaining forty pounds he paid the debts.»

Sitt Louisa: »That the whole family died except Fāṭme [*D. of 26; W. of 9*], was explained as the consequence of a curse which fell upon them. Fāṭme [*D. of 26; W. of 9*] was a *qaṭī'a* (cut off) i.e. without father or mother or brother. For this reason also the 'aṭīyet il-jōra betrothal came to nothing. If Fāṭme's [*D. of 26; W. of 9*] father [26] had lived it would not have been overthrown. The father's brother has duties. He takes over Fāṭme [*D. of 26; W. of 9*] with the debts but has also power over her. Her present husband Aḥmad [9] is also related to her.»

Sma'in [14], the rejected bridegroom, later married his sister-in-law Zarīfe Aḥmad [*D. of 21*] when she became a widow after his brother's [13] death, although she was much older than he.

A fifth 'aṭīyet il-jōra bride is Ḥamdiye Sanad [*D. of 183*], who herself relates how she was betrothed at birth.

When Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] was urged to tell the story of her life, she regularly began with the following saying:

»How can I speak to thee about my trouble and about my sadness, since my mother brought me to the world. She laid me [at birth] on a tray and all the people cursed me (*kif aḥarrfak 'an hammi u rammi min yōm jābatni immi ḥattatni 'aṣ-ṣiniye u kull in-nās dā'at 'alayī*).»¹

She continued: »When my mother brought me into the world she wrapped me in these rags and laid me on a tray² and everybody was angry

¹ Sitt Louisa: »A person can say this who has no luck in the world.»

² I myself saw a new-born boy, after he had been swaddled immediately after birth, laid on a plaited straw tray (*ṭabaq*), such as the fellahīn use for a table, on which had been spread some rags. Nowadays one generally uses a market basket for the first part of the time. According to Ḥamdiye's [*D. of 183*] own statement people's anger was caused by her dark skin, which caused the midwife, Salma Sanad [*D. of 182; W. of 1*], her father's sister, to suspect illegitimate birth. In her passion

with me. Then came Dabanj [from Bethlehem.] He said: 'Thou, Abu Brahīm [183], blessed be thy daughter!' He said to him: 'She shall belong to thee (*'a ḥabl idak*).' — 'I accept her (*u ana qabbālha*). Be witness of this, ye who are present (*išhadu'atē yalli ḥāqirīn*)!' They said: 'We are witnesses of that which we have heard.' He brought her a chain and beads.»

The sixth bride was a girl with three suitors on the day of her birth.

While I was still in Arḩās, a little girl was born, daughter to 'Abd ir-Raḩmān [152], and she also became an *'aṭiyet il-ḩōra* bride. The day she was born was a Sunday and the day of circumcision of Šēḩa Šahīn's [D. of 139; W. of 92] three small sons. Sma'īn ḩasan [146] came and desired her for his son, the child begged of God (Šḩāde).¹ The same day came a near relative of her father for the same purpose, but she was already betrothed. And some time later on the same day came also the old man Šahīn [139], the head of the family — who later in the afternoon danced in front of the circumcision procession for his daughter's sons — and requested her hand for his eldest son's son, Tawfīq [S. of 150], a boy of three years. Thus the little girl had three suitors on the day she was born. In European language she had accepted one, and two she rejected while she still lay in her little basket. We visited them the same evening to see the little phenomenon. The bridegroom [S. of 146], they said, was to send her a kerchief (*mandīl*) and mcney. This was to insure his claim upon her. They also said that on his day of circumcision — on that day all were talking of and planning their sons' circumcision — he must present her with a dress. And every feast day he must send her gifts. »Must he then not give a bride price?» — »Certainly. Fifty pounds; but seeing that he is a relative perhaps only thirty pounds.»

Thus ran the gossip about the little girl among the women who had come to congratulate on the birth. She herself slept in her basket quite unconscious of all the discussion concerning her fate. But she was sweet, and her mother is especially charming, so that one quite understood the desire of parents to secure such a bride for a loved son.

Before I left Arḩās I, to my great sorrow, attended the funeral of the little bride. She died quite suddenly one night to the despair of her

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

¹ Cf. 1 Sam. I. 20; see also Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day* (Chicago, New York & Toronto, 1902), p. 157 sq.

mother, who had longed for a child for many years. The little bridegroom, the child begged of God, Mḥammad Šhāde [*S. of 146*], who was still in his mother's arms, was quite unconscious of the loss that he had suffered.

Of Ne'mi 'Abd is-Salām [*D. of 92*] it is also said that she is an *'aḥiyet il-jōra* bride.

The women relate of Ne'mi [*D. of 92*] that Sa'da Aḥmad [*W. of 93*] wished to get her as *'aḥiyet il-jōra* for her son Mḥammad, usually called Talje [*S. of 93*], and that he actually, as a bridegroom ought to do every great feast day, waited upon his betrothed with gifts.¹ When we, during a walk in the village, met Ne'mi's [*D. of 92*] mother, the Šēḥa Šahīn [*D. of 139; W. of 92*], mentioned in the previous example, we asked her about it. She replied: »That is finished with.» She had said to Sa'da [*W. of 93*]: »I want a bride price for my daughter in order to make a marriage for my son with it. It is finished.» Sa'da [*W. of 93*], thought that it should be as a gift. Šēḥa [*D. of 139; W. of 92*] said: »But in that case how shall I marry my son?» Sa'da [*W. of 93*] then announced: »When my son is of marriageable age I will seek a bride for him.» Šēḥa [*D. of 139; W. of 92*] said: »May God level thy path!» i.e. everything is all right.

Sitt Louisa: »So early do the mothers begin to think about the marriage of their sons. When Ne'mi [*D. of 92*] was promised to Sa'da [*W. of 93*], Šēḥa [*D. of 139; W. of 92*] had as yet no sons. Now it is quite different, for now she has three sons and so she has changed her ideas.»

These are the seven examples of *'aḥiyet il-jōra* brides which are generally known in the village. It is possible, that there are or have been others. Thus Mḥammad 'Alī's [*179*] mother 'Eḥše [*W. of 173*] related when she brought us rice and meat from the feast for her son's betrothal, that his bride also was an *'aḥiyet il-jōra* although we had only heard of cousinship as the reason for this marriage.² We learned later that the bridegroom's father [*173*] on the birth of the girl, to make sure of her, requested her hand for his son, although after that he discontinued the regular gifts. They are considered as a properly betrothed couple if the bridegroom must every great feast day wait upon his bride with gifts.³ This repeated for many years can be a burden. — For that reason Mḥammad's [*179*] father [*173*] discontinued the gifts after a time. And it is not surprising if in such circumstances the fact becomes forgotten unless a special incident revives the memory. Such a mutilated form of *'aḥiyet il-jōra* does

¹ Cf. Pierrotti. *Customs and Traditions of Palestine illustrating the Manners of the Ancient Hebrews* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 183 and Dalman, *op. cit.* p. 438.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 126. ³ Cf. *infra*, p. 34.

not alter the usual course of a betrothal but only forms an extra stage in the other customary ceremonies.

The question arises whether an *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra* betrothal was not originally sufficient in itself. We have a set formula which is repeated all through¹, witnesses are appealed to² — it often happens just at the men's club (*sāḥa*)³ — the bride's father is clothed with a mantle because »this is our relative-in-law»⁴ and the bride receives her first gift.⁵ Especially if the bridegroom afterwards regularly waits upon his bride with gifts at the great feast⁶ such a betrothal appears to be absolutely binding for the girl's father. »This is an *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra*. I cannot commit a wrong. There are witnesses», says such a father⁷, when somebody else asks for the girl's hand and the sheikh refuses to marry such a bride to another man because it would bring him difficulties and discomfort⁸. Where the bride's father was allowed by the bridegroom to give away his daughter because he could no longer wait to marry her, the first bridegroom gave public expression to his indignation over the breaking of this promise by upsetting the cauldrons on the day of the betrothal, and his family, as a demonstration, refrained from attending the feast, even his father's brother [52], although he was also the father's father of the bride. Aḥmad Sma'in [52], the respected head of the family, and formerly the civil head (*mah-tār*) in the village, wished by his absence to emphasize his disapproval of such a proceeding.⁹ It is very uncertain whether Šēḥa [*D. of 139; W. of 92*], will be able, as she now thinks, to break the promise to give her daughter as *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra* to Sa'da's [*W. of 93*] son. Her explanation is interesting, that she wants a bride price for her daughter in order therewith to procure a bride for her son and therefore she is not inclined to give her daughter without a price.¹⁰ Thus the bride's relatives assume that they make a present of their daughter. The people of the bridegroom say: »A gift is costly (*ʿaṭiyet il-jōra rālye*). The bride price (*ḥīd*) can be handed over and is done with, but a gift is and always remains a favour.» It is a question whether it was a real gift originally. ʿAlyā [*D. of 1*] states that in Šūrīf, where she lived for a time as wife to a Šūrīf man, this was the case. Perhaps an inquiry into *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra* and other forms of the gift of a bride in different places would throw light on this question. One can understand that the request for a girl as *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra* can at times be

¹ *Supra*, p. 23, 24, 25, 26, 28; also *infra*, p. 31, 32. ² *Supra*, p. 24, 28; also *infra* p. 31. ³ *Supra*, p. 24; also *infra* p. 31. ⁴ *Supra*, p. 24; see also *infra*, p. 31 and. 126 sq. ⁵ *Supra*, p. 24, 26, 28. ⁶ *Supra* p. 29; see also *infra*, p. 126 ⁷ *Supra*, p. 24. ⁸ *Supra* p. 26. ⁹ *Supra*, p. 25. ¹⁰ *Supra*, p. 29.

necessary to obtain an advantage over equally good or better suitors. Mḥammad 'Ali's [179] bride 'Azīze [D. of 174] for example, like the 'aṭīyet il-jōra bride [D. of 152] who was born whilst I was in the village, had several near relatives who could ask for her and, as was found, really did ask for the girl's hand.¹ Perhaps it is necessary at times, in a village where there are not enough women, to take special measures to obtain a worthy bride. In any case the 'aṭīyet il-jōra is a bond for the girl's father who perhaps is too rash and later sees better possibilities for her, or the good relations between the families are disturbed,² as well as for the bridegroom, who for many years has extra expenditure for the bridal gifts, runs the risk of losing everything by the death of the bride³ or the bride's father,⁴ and besides that, in this and in other cases of the gift of a bride, becomes dependent upon the girl's family.⁵

Supplementary Note.

In the case of a vanishing custom, which possibly has deeper roots than can be seen, it is valuable to obtain as precise information as possible, from as many different places as possible, because there are always some details remaining in the different places which, considered together, can illuminate one another and amplify the picture. Nearest to the 'aṭīyet il-jōra betrothal in Arṭās is that form of betrothal at birth which Spoer-Haddad recorded from el-Qubēbe near Jerusalem ('Volkskundliches aus el-Qubēbe bei Jerusalem', in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, V. [Leipzig, 1927], p. 131). Here we have a corresponding formula. Even the title »a gift« is here, though such a bride is here called »a father's gift« ('aṭīyet il-ab). It is curious that the explanation is »a father's gift to his son»: »der Vater des Mädchens sagt: 'Sie sei dir für deinen Sohn übergeben, die Gabe des Vaters für seinen Sohn.' According to Spoer-Haddad such a betrothal would be of children whose births were announced at the same time in the men's club (*maqāfe*), but in Arṭās the age of the bridegroom is a matter of indifference. On the other hand in el-Qubēbe there is the calling upon witnesses, the clothing with a garment or other gifts, »oder kauft ihm [i.e. for the father of the girl] sogleich auf dem Markte so viel als er seinem Stande nach tun kann.« Also the first chapter from the Koran is read. So binding is this betrothal that »wenn der Vater des Mädchens sich später weigert seine Tochter dem inzwischen herangewachsenen Knaben zur Frau zu geben, so kommt es häufig zum Blutvergiessen oder man macht sein Recht vor dem Richter geltend.« This is in complete agreement with what, according to Elihu Grant (*The People of Palestine* [Philadelphia & London, 1921], p. 206 sq.), village tradition has to tell of the founding of Rāmallāh by a Christian sheikh from šōbek in the district of Wādy Mūsa. At his daughter's birth he said to a Muham-

¹ *Supra*, p. 28. ² *Supra*, p. 24 sqq.; *infra*, p. 52. ³ *Supra*, p. 24. ⁴ *Supra*, p. 26 sq. ⁵ *Cf. infra*, p. 110.

madan sheikh, who congratulated him. »She is for you», and when later the latter demanded her to take her to his home, the father of the girl refused and was obliged to flee, he and his four brothers with their families, because otherwise they would have been exposed to the revenge of the Muhammadan sheikh for breaking the promise. It is interesting to see how Grant, who does not consider this a form of betrothal, tries to explain the formula as merely a courtesy phrase. — Lees, on the other hand, says (*Village Life in Palestine* [London, 1905], p. 107 sq.) that a girl's father, when he is congratulated with: »Blessed be the bride», usually accompanies his reply 'God bless thee' with an offer of the girl, which is not always an empty compliment. If it meets with approval he answers: 'I accept'. A sacrifice is then brought to ratify the betrothal and the waiting for the wedding begins. But if the messenger declines, he ignores the offer by politely saying, »God bless thee, abou — — —!» Unfortunately Lees does not say where he found this custom which is exactly parallel to *'atīyet il-jōra* in Arṭās. — Bauer writes quite generally (*Völkleben im Lande der Bibel* [Leipzig, 1903], p. 83): »Was nun das Mädchen betrifft, so kommt es vor, dass ein solches manchmal gleich bei seiner Geburt als Braut für einen ein paar Jahre alten Knaben von der Mutter des letzteren in Beschlag genommen wird.» Saarisalo relates (*Mooses lääkärinä* [Borgå, 1928], p. 51) that in Palestine the mothers betroth their children when the navel chord is cut, and that such a betrothal is binding, but he also omits to give the name of the place. During my second stay in Palestine Mr. Wehbi of Jerusalem told me that in Nazareth, his home, this custom prevails. It is said: »For whom will the navel cord of this girl be cut?» — »The navel chord is cut for so and so», mentioning the name of the boy. Such a bride is called *'atīyet is-šurra*, literally »the gift of the navel chord» — another name for a bride betrothed at birth. In Arṭās such a custom was not mentioned during my stay there. It is true that at the cutting of the navel chord, which usually takes place about 12 hours after the birth, many wishes are expressed, but at such a serious ceremony, when »the heavens stand open», the women with their innermost hopes turn to a Higher Power and not to the child's mother. — Note also that when a boy's mother in Arṭās requested the new-born girl as a bride for her son, she on returning home, at once told her husband and he confirmed it by repeating the formula.¹ The important questions, how the women can have the disposal of their children's fate, when at least officially it is the men who arrange the marriage, whether the father's consent is not demanded and how the matter develops later, both Bauer and Saarisalo leave unanswered.

As there are many writers who have heard child betrothal at birth spoken of in Palestine, we may assume that this custom is fairly generally known in the country although we have only four places named: el-Qu-bēbe, Rāmallāh, Nazareth and Arṭās, and we are very incompletely informed to what degree it is practised, and about the ceremonies and variations of this custom in different places.

¹ *Supra*, p. 24.

Child betrothal in general.

Even before the child comes into the world possible marriage combinations may be discussed between its parents and their friends.¹ As soon as the child is there one thinks, as was already stated, of the future marriage, congratulating the »bridegroom» or the »bride»,² and then it may be openly discussed whom the child will have, even if one does not take such a radical step as to betroth a girl immediately on birth. In spite of *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra* the marriage discussions are chiefly concerned with the boys.³ It would not be quite nice to remind the mother of the day and the hour when she must be separated from her daughter and send her to a stranger house. On the other hand it is a customary polite phrase to express to parents the wish that coffee may soon be drunk at their son's wedding, however little he may be.⁴ It is of course half in joke and half seriously that the mothers discuss and plan for their son's brides; just like European mothers, who weave fancies about their sons' future and in thought lay plans as to what he shall become. The question of a calling is not so important; a boy stays at home and becomes what his father was. The question of the future is identified with marriage and this is the main interest.

On one of our long excursions we met on the Hebron road a woman from Arṭās with a little boy in her lap riding on an ass while the man walked beside them. »Look! Josef and Mary,» cried Sitt Louisa, and I took a photograph of them as a proof that the oriental man can also be gallant towards his wife. The woman Fāṭme ʿŪdtallah [*D. of 19; W. of 15*] jokingly explained that as a matter of fact she had her son-in-law in her lap. It was probably quite seriously meant for the little boy and her own daughter were cousins and the fates of cousins are often united quite early. Of this I have many examples; directly I came to Arṭās I was

¹ Cf. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (London, 1921), p. 18; 'Verlöbniß' in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, III. Erste Lieferung (Berlin, 1924), p. 13; Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, I. (London, 1925), p. 356 sq.

² *Supra*, 23. p. — A hen is killed for a new-born boy and a cock for a girl in order that the boy or girl shall marry, the hen representing a wife and the cock a husband. — This custom is also mentioned by Westermarck in *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, II. (London, 1926), p. 379.

³ Cf. Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 83: »Lautet doch der Gratulationswunsch bei der Geburt eines Knaben: 'So Gott will, wirst du (Mutter) ihn bei deinen Lebzeiten verheiraten.'»

⁴ Cf. Bauer, *op. cit.* 83: »... auch glaubt man einem Jüngling keinschmeichelhafteres Kompliment machen zu können als ihm zu sagen: 'So Gott will, freuen wir uns bei deiner Hochzeit' oder nur 'bei deiner Hochzeit'.»

told that Mḥammad 'Ali [179] would have his cousin 'Azīze [D. of 174], and before I left the village they were betrothed and are now married. In the same way as Mḥammad [179] married his cousin, so will his younger brother, Maḥmūd [S. of 173] and sister, Fāṭme [D. of 173], when they are grown up, marry their cousins, a younger sister [Helwe D. of 174], and brother [Mḥammad S. of 174], of Mḥammad 'Ali's [179] wife. All these are settled facts in the marriage finances of these families. Cousin marriage in many cases facilitates the choice and makes it natural that a certain boy is from the very beginning destined to marry a certain girl. But even in other cases a little girl knows as soon as she can understand the matter, who will be her husband; and in the same way his future fate hovers over many a boy's head in the form of marriage with a certain girl who has been already chosen by his parents.

Such plans are naturally not the same as a real betrothal, at which quite fixed formalities must be observed. In most cases this does not take place until much later;¹ and one thing or another can happen which upsets the original plans and often makes the settlements dramatic and exciting. Not even *'aṭiyet il-jōra* — as has already been seen — always leads to a definite betrothal in all its binding forms, and least of all need a child betrothal be identical with or result in child marriage.

During my last stay in Arṭās, when, inquiring after dead and living children, I went from house to house in the village, it appeared to me that child marriage was frequent, or at least had been so at an earlier period. Although I do not dare nor wish to state that child marriage was the rule, yet it seems to have been very general. »A child gave birth to a child (*hajanat hajān; walad min walad*)» is said of the following women in Arṭās: Ḥamde [D. of 109; W. of 6], Helwe [D. of 77; W. of 25], Mešāyeh [D. of 140; W. of 147], Itayme [D. of 67; W. of 171], Ḥadije [W. of 177], and Ḥamdiye [D. of 183] to indicate that a child was born before there had been signs of menstruation, that is literally the first fruit. »I could not yet comb my hair», and »I was without a head kerchief», said Šabḥa Šaḥtūr [W. of 156] of herself as a bride. This refers to the importance for a woman always to have her head covered; only very little girls are exempt from this rule. »She could not yet gird herself», said 'Alya [D. of 1] of Ḥalīliye [D. of 21] when she came to Bēt Šafāfa. The child's father had expressed his fear that she would not know how to

¹ Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 109: »The betrothal may, on the other hand, be an informal one in infancy, and I have known children to be plighted to each other in their cradles by their parents, and the promise thus made to be carried out when they grew up.»

protect their honour in a strange country but was reassured on being reminded that the mother-in-law would look after that. »I came here as a child. My mother-in-law brought me up», said 'Ēše from Silwād [*W. of 99*] and the same was said of and by many women. »I was very little. I could not yet bake», said Šafiye from el-Walaje [*W. of 82*] of herself. She meant that she was too small to lean over the oven [*tābūn*]. Of one woman, Ḥamde [*W. of 6*], it was related, that when she married she was still such a child, that her father-in-law Ḥalīl 'Ōde [*3*] had to ride with her on the bridal horse to hold her so that she should not fall. Mḥammad Ḥalīl [*171*] told us laughing that this was also the case with his son Maḥmūd's [*177*] bride Ḥadīje from Ḥalḥūl. She also was too small to sit alone upon a horse, so that he rode with the bride in the wedding procession. »Only during three fig periods have I washed myself» (i.e. washed after menstruation), said Sa'da Aḥmad's [*W. of 93*] daughter-in-law Ḥelwe Maṣūr [*W. of 107*] from el-Walaje to me. She was married in Arīās several years before. »She was born when the locusts were in the country», said the mother of Sa'da Derwiš [*W. of 149*], when her daughter from the neighbouring village el-Ḥaḍr was brought to Arīās as a bride in the autumn of 1926, and I could reckon, that she was 11 years old. »I marry her even if she can only chase the hens from the *masṭabe* (sitting-place) (*bōḥudha lannha zrīre bitnišš il-jāj 'an il-masṭabe*)», is another expression.

Even if one must reckon with a certain amount of phantasy in this connection yet these expressions speak clearly and indicate reality. In any case they are much more reliable as an expression of the age of people, than when one gets figures, which the fellahīn do not understand, for they do not reckon in years as we do.¹ They use instead terms which partly indicate the work a boy or a girl can do, and partly indicate their physical development.

The following is a list of such expressions which are used to indicate the ages of people.

¹ Bauer says (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* [Leipzig, 1902], p. 57): »Das Datum des Geburtstages ist den wenigsten Palästinern bekannt, denn die Fellachen haben kein Interesse an der Bestimmung ihres Alters» Wilson writes (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 95): »The people have but little idea of their children's ages, or, of their own, for that matter. Ask an old man in one of the villages what his age is: 'Well, I was married the year Ibrāhīm Pasha took Palestine', or 'My second son was born the year the cholera came', will be his answer. . . . If parents know, even approximately, their children's ages, it arises from the fact of their having been born in a year when some event of special interest took place, such as an outbreak of cholera, an invasion of locusts or the like».

For males:

In his mother's womb
(*fī buṭn immo*)

baby (*tafl*)
suckling (*riḳi*)

weaned (*maṣṭūm*)

he chases the animals
(*birudd il-hāmle*)
e.g. he is able to prevent the animals from running away, from spoiling the garden etc.

goatherd (*rāi shūl*)

shepherd (*rāi*)

he is growing up (*našle*)
breaking of the voice

plough-man (*ḥarrāt*)

mature (*bālir; miblir*)

his moustache is getting green
(*šārbu miḥḍarr*)
i.e. is growing
and his beard is as the collar
of the partridge (*u. leḥeto zei ṭōq*
iš-šunnār)
a young cock cannot be kept back
(*farḥ id-dačar mā hinḥačar*)
i.e. is not to be trusted

For females:

1. In her mother's womb
(*fī buṭn immha*)

2. baby (*tafle*)
suckling (*riḳa*)

3. weaned (*maṣṭūme*)

4. she hands things and chases the animals; drives the chickens away from the sitting-place
(*bitnāwil il-raraḍ u bitrudd il-hāmle*
bitniš il-jāj an il-maštābe)

5. goatherd and guardian of figtrees
(*rāyit shūl u nāṭūrit it-tīn*)

6. ignorant [of sexual things]
(*majhūle; jāhle*)

7. she is growing but has not yet reached puberty (*našle*)

8. woodgatherer and drawer of water
(*ḥaṭṭābe; mallāye*)

9. mature, has reached puberty
(*mibbra; midrika*)
she is a washer (*rassāle*)
i.e. she washes herself as enjoined after menstruation.

10. bride (*arūs*)

- | | | |
|--|-----|--|
| the marriageable age
(<i>mijwiz</i> ; <i>‘ezz jizte</i>) | 11. | the marriageable age
(<i>mijwizi</i> ; <i>‘ezz jizitha</i>)
her son is in her lap
(<i>ibnha fi hu(n)ha</i>) |
| can bear arms (<i>bawārde</i>) | 12. | virgin; maiden (<i>ṣabīye</i>) |
| young man (<i>šabb</i>) | 13. | old maid (<i>mitbannte</i> ; <i>‘ānes</i>) |
| man (<i>zalame</i>) | 14. | young mother — the mother of
children who calls to them
(<i>imm ulād biṣīr itdādi u itnādi</i>) |
| middle-aged man in his prime
(<i>zalame fi nuṣṣ il-‘umr</i>
<i>zalame kāmēl</i>) | 15. | she becomes mother-in-law
(<i>būčannin</i>)
she gets daughters-in-law
(<i>biṣīr ilha čanāyin</i>) |
| his head is getting gray
(<i>rāso imazza‘</i>)
his hair and beard are getting gray
(<i>imnaqqed iṣ-šēb fi rāso u fi leḥeto</i>) | 16. | her hair begins to get gray
(<i>naqqad iṣ-šēb fi rāsha</i>) |
| old man (<i>šāyeb</i>) | 17. | she has cut off the menstruation
and the egg
(<i>ibtīqta‘ il-ḥēd u il-bēd</i>) |
| ripe for harvest (<i>‘izz ḥaṣīdte</i>) | 18. | an old woman (<i>‘ajūz</i>)
bent double; her chin reaches her
knees (<i>biṣīr itduqq fi ričbitha</i>) |
| full of years ¹ (<i>šab‘ān min ‘umre</i>) | 19. | a ripe old woman (<i>‘ajūz mistwiye</i>) |
| quite a helpless old man
(<i>šāyeb kirkiffe</i>) | 20. | quite a helpless old woman
(<i>‘ajūz kirkiffe</i>) |

Or one reckons in tens, speaking of a man's development:

»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.

(*ibn il-‘ašara*
zei il-ḥyāra il-mqaššara
u ibn il-‘iṣrīn
bi‘āšer il-majānīn)

(*ibn it-talātīn*
zhūr min il-basātīn
ibn il-arba‘īn
min ič-čāmlīn).»

¹ Cf. Gen. XXV. 8.

These lists of expressions of age indicate a certain stage as »the marriageable age» of men and women shortly after puberty because they are then mature and one generally tries to keep to that stage because the question of marriage at that time becomes urgent, but they can be married before or after, preferably before.¹ My family lists from the village Artās show very few unmarried males of marriageable age. The

¹ It may be of interest to learn what details concerning the age of marriage are given by other authors. — Auerbach states 'Die syrische Frau', in *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, XII. [München, Leipzig & Berlin, 1916—18], p. 153) that for a man it is between the 18th and 20th year, for a girl between the 14th and 17th year. Of the latter he remarks (p. 152) that menstruation begins shortly after the 12th year, sometimes a little earlier, sometimes when she is 13 years, seldom later, and that shortly after this her marriage takes place; custom demands that it should not be postponed longer. — Bauer says (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* [Leipzig, 1903], p. 96): »Vom neunten Lebensjahr ab gilt das muslimische Mädchen als Jungfrau und darf sich Fremden gegenüber nur noch verschleiert zeigen» and (p. 83 sq): »Gewöhnlich wird aber mit der Verheiratung eines Mädchens gewartet, bis es 13—15 Jahre alt ist, was als ein gutes Alter betrachtet wird; im 20. Lebensjahre gilt ein Mädchen schon als ein altes Weib, das keine grossen Ansprüche mehr machen darf.» — Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 117: »There is no fixed time marriage depends on means, not age». But on the other hand he there says: »All marry young» and (p. 113) that girls when they are 12 years old are ready to be married. The same author says in (*The Witness of the Wilderness* [London, 1909], p. 120): »All marry when they are very young, before they are out of their teens. . . . and when he is sixteen years of age, it is time to look for the first partner; the youth's thoughts turn to marriage . . .» Pierotti (*Customs and Traditions of Palestine illustrating the Manners of the Ancient Hebrews* [Cambridge, 1864], p. 188) saw a young girl of 12 or 14 years old as a bride; as for the husband sometimes he is a mere boy. — Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 42 sq.: »Dans les villages, on trouve des enfants de onze à douze ans qui pensent déjà à cette grave détermination. Le cheikh d'Abou Ġoš vient de marier son fils à cet âge par trop enfantin, et Moġammed Diāb, il y a deux ans, a donné une femme à son fils Dāher, âgé de neuf ans. En général, cependant, les enfants ne se marient pas si jeunes; mais ils songent déjà à cette grande affaire et commencent à mettre de côté quelque argent pour acheter une femme plus tard.» If a boy is very young, he sometimes does not know his future wife. »Mais dès qu'il atteint l'âge de dix-sept ou dix-huit ans, il commence à faire valoir ses droits . . .» — Musil (*Arabia Petraea*, III. [Wien, 1908], p. 180): »Bei den Arabern darf der Jüngling nicht eher heiraten, als bis er einen Schnurrbart hat, das Mädchen erst dann, wenn die Frauen kräftigen Haarwuchs an ihrem Körper bezeugen.» — Lane says (*An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, I. [London, 1849], p. 214 sq.): »The Egyptian females arrive at puberty much earlier than the natives of colder climates. Many marry at the age of twelve or thirteen years; and some remarkably precocious girls are married at the age of ten.» In a note he remarks: »They are often betrothed two or three or more years earlier.» He then adds:

reason may, in an exceptional case, be as it was in the case of Jibrīn [79]. His sister's bride money with which he should have obtained for himself a bride was stolen and in that way he fell into great embarrassment and trouble, and his wedding had to be postponed for several years. In the case of Aḥmad Muṣṭafa [74] a betrothal of many years' standing was

»but such occurrences are not common. Few remain unmarried after sixteen years of age. An Egyptian girl at the age of thirteen, or even earlier, may be a mother.» — C. G. and Brenda Z. Seligman, 'The Kabābīsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, II. (Cambridge, 1918), p. 132: »As a rule children are betrothed when about 9 to 11 years of age, and married three or four years later.» And: »If girls do not marry their ibn 'amm (father's brother's son) they usually remain unmarried somewhat longer.» The authors add (*ibid.* p. 133): »It is, however, considered a disgrace for a girl to remain unmarried after she has reached puberty.» As a general rule one can say that it appears also from literature that the question of marriage is raised as soon as the period of puberty is reached.

Most authors also know of marriage where the parties are still younger, quite small children. — Grant, *The People of Palestine* (Philadelphia & London, 1921), p. 49 sq.: »Marriage usually comes at an early age for girls. One of the owners of a house that we had to hire for the work of the new boys' training school had as wife such a mere slip of a girl that we were curious to know her age. She couldn't tell us how old she was, but said that she had been married five years. A companion with her ventured the guess that her age was thirteen years.» *Ibid.* p. 53: »Girls are sometimes married as early as seven years. They are betrothed at much tenderer age.» — Spoer-Haddad, 'Volkskundliches aus el-Qubēbe bei Jerusalem', in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, V. 1 (Leipzig, 1927), p. 132: »Es giebt Leute, die ihre Kinder verheiraten, wenn sie noch klein sind, d.h. der Knabe ist vielleicht fünf Jahre alt.» In a note *ibid.* p. 132 is related about two brothers, 8 and 12 years of age who were married. The older of the two went with his wife to school. On the way there and back the couple were constantly quarrelling. — Auerbach, (*op. cit.* p. 153) knew of marriages which took place in the 12th, even in the 11th year. »Freilich pflegen in diesen Fällen die Männer den Geschlechtsverkehr erst mit dem Beginn der weiblichen Geschlechtsreife aufzunehmen. Aber die erste oder zweite Menstruation führt dann häufig bereits zur Schwangerschaft, und so finden wir dann Mütter von 13—14 Jahren.» — See also Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897), p. 53, that people marry early — while still children.

The explanation of such real child marriages is that in Muhammadan law there is no legal age for marriage. — Juynboll says (*Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 222): »Kein Ehehindernis bildet dagegen zu jugendliches Alter. Kinderheiraten waren in Muhammeds Umgebung nicht verboten, und der Islām hat in dieser Hinsicht nichts geändert. Der Prophet selbst heiratete Abū Bekr's Tochter 'Ā'ischah, als sie erst sechs Jahre zählte. Das Gesetz kennt denn auch kein Mindest-Alter für eine gültige Eheschliessung. Wohl aber beginnt das Zusammenwohnen der Gatten erst geraume Zeit nach dem Abschluss des Heiratkontraktes, wenn dies wegen zu jugendlichen Alters wünschenswert ist.» He adds in a note: »Auch 'Ā'ischah zog erst im Alter von 9 Jahren in Muhammeds Haus.»

suddenly broken by the bride's family although he had already »cooked» i.e. celebrated the betrothal feast and given bride money and then he fell into great straits and could not procure the means necessary for a new bride.¹

Widowers re-marry as soon as possible. Widows are not so anxious to marry.² For many reasons however people are much more anxious to give girls in marriage while in their earliest youth than boys.³ During

¹ This is in agreement with the reports in the literature on the subject. — Bauer says (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* [Leipzig, 1903], p. 82): »Obgleich nun im Morgenland die Braut keine Mitgift in die Ehe bringt . . . , so wird doch kein Fellache aus eigener Wahl Junggeselle bleiben.» Musil says (*Arabia Petraea*, III. [Wien, 1908], p. 173): »Kein gesunder Mann und keine gesunde Frau bleibt ledig, und dürfen es auch nicht bleiben, sonst würde sie der Stamm ausschliessen. Alle Stammgenossen sind verpflichtet für die Erhaltung des Stammes und Geschlechtes zu sorgen, und das geschieht eben durch die Heirat.» — Jaussen says (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* [Paris, 1908], p. 42): »Le mariage est la loi commune et indispensable de l'Arabe.» — Goldziher says (*Muhammedanische Studien*, II. [Halle a. S., 1890], p. 395): »Es gibt keinen Ehelosen im Islam», and »Zwei Raka'a's, die ein verheirateter Mensch vollführt, sind Gott wohlgefälliger als siebzig, die ein Eheloser leistet oder als wenn ein Eheloser die Nächte durchwacht und Tage hindurch fastet.» The Muhammadan law prescribes marriage as incumbent on all who possess the ability. Cf. Matthews in his translation of the *Mishkât*, vol. II. (Calcutta, 1810), p. 76. For marriage as a religious duty in Islam see also Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, I. (London, 1925), p. 378 and *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), I. p. 46 sq; II. p. 538.

Unmarried persons are even looked upon as unnatural beings or objects of contempt or ridicule. See Bauer, *op. cit.* p. 82; Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 343. And Lane says (*An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, I. [London, 1849], p. 213): »To abstain from marrying when a man has attained a sufficient age, and when there is no just impediment, is esteemed, by the Egyptians, improper, and even disreputable.»

² See also Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II. (Halle a. Saale, 1890), p. 333.

³ Cf. Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 117: »All marry young, and among the Moslem peasants I have never heard of an old maid. Every girl knows she will one day be a bride.» — Grant, *The People of Palestine* (Philadelphia & London, 1921), p. 49: »Unmarried women are very scarce among the peasantry. Marriage usually comes at an early age for girls». And *ibid.* p. 65: »Girls are sure to marry». — Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, I. (London, 1925), p. 378: »as Niebuhr remarked, 'nothing is more rarely to be met with in the East, than a woman unmarried after a certain time of life'. She will rather marry a poor man, or become second wife to a man already married, than remain in a state of celibacy.» Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 84: »Ganz 'sitzen' bleibt kein Fellachenmädchen, es müsste denn mit irgend einem Gebrechen behaftet sein, was selten der Fall ist; aber selbst ein einäugiges Mädchen findet einen Mann.» — See also Westermarck, *op. cit.* I. p. 337 sqq., 350.

my stay in Arṭās I could only find two »old maids» in the village, and one of them, Fāṭme Muṣṭafa [*D. of 69; W. of 187*], was married shortly after I left Palestine. The second »old maid» Faḍḍa ʿAbed [*D. of 68*] will never marry, having an affection in the throat and being therefore constantly in bad health. Zarīfe Mḥammad [*D. of 166*], already a mature woman for many years, is unmarried, because she is waiting until her cousin Ibrahīm [*S. of 167*] — a boy of twelve years — grows up.

It was a certain sign of emancipation when a negro girl, Miryam Msalam [*D. of 197*], refused to allow herself to be exchanged for her brother's [*199*] bride Ṣabḥa from Dūra. She had, it was said, while acting as waitress in the English Asylum between Arṭās and Bethlehem, found there a negro youth who pleased her better than the cousin from Dūra, whom her brother had proposed. Only as to Rašīde ʿAbed [*D. of 158*] has no one told me the reason why she is not married, although according to the fellahīn idea she is old. A twenty-five year old bride is considered as something doubtful.¹ It is possible that she is being saved for the benefit of some relative, so that he can get a bride in return for her, as her cousin Faḍḍa Saʿīd [*D. of 157; W. of 160*] was saved until she was too old to have children, and then was given to her cousin Aḥmad Jabr [*160*], an old and half-blind widower, in order that her brother Jūde [*161*] should get the widower's daughter by an earlier marriage [*Miryam D. of 160; W. of 161*] in exchange for her. The English Government is now trying to prevent extremely early marriages; thus for fear of punishment by the government the sheikh refused to unite two children — the boy Maḥmūd Mḥammad [*29*], about ten years old, ran about and played with the other small boys in the village, and his betrothed Sāra ʿAlī [*D. of 27*] was still younger, it was said six years old. That happened in 1925 but the following autumn one family succeeded, unknown to the Government, in carrying through a marriage where the bride [*W. of 149*] was only eleven. It was she who was born when the locusts were in the land.²

Reasons for child and early marriage.

When everyone must be married, it is wise to take advantage of the most favourable conditions. Even if a boy or a girl is very young those who arrange the marriage may see possibilities which may not occur

¹ Cf. Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

² *Supra* p. 35; *infra* p. 106.

again.¹ Perhaps the necessary sum of money has just been collected and there is the fear of it being squandered. When Mḥammad Yūsef [149] in the last minute changed his mind and wished to have an older bride than the little eleven-year-old girl just mentioned, his people said to him: »That won't do. We have already partly given the bride price and we now have, through thy sister's marriage, the money for the wedding expenses. If thou wilt not have her and will defy us then we will give her to thy younger brother»² ('Isa [S. of 138]), who it may be stated was extremely young. Faced with this alternative Mḥammad [149], a man of twenty years, preferred to marry the child. Later it will be seen how the exchange of brides and multiple marriages can lead to child marriage without child marriage or child weddings being directly intended.³ Similarly cousin marriages can have these consequences. All these causes can also lead to the opposite results — late marriages — as already seen. But if for the above reasons a child marriage takes place without direct intention, they do not object to it on principle, on the contrary, there are many important reasons in favour of it.

In the first place only through a marriage can one avoid disagreeable surprises, be really sure that the other will keep his word, and not later on break it for one reason or another. »The parents desire to have the pleasure of seeing their children married», Louise Baldensperger used to say from her long experience of the fellahīn.⁴ It is also natural that where there are not enough women⁵ and marriage is to a great extent a business

¹ Grant, *The People of Palestine* (London & Philadelphia, 1921), p. 54: »To get the business of marriage settled at the earliest date and in the most advantageous way possible is the aim of guardians and parents.»

² Cf. *infra*, p. 106.

³ *Infra*, p. 115 sq. — Grant says, *op. cit.* p. 54: »Sometimes of course, this matter of exchange causes people of very different ages to be joined, but then the years heal that, and the theory is that if the bride is considerably younger than the groom, the husband as he comes to old age will have a comparatively strong and able housekeeper and caretaker in his wife.»

⁴ See also Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 83: »Auch die Mutter kann es kaum erwarten, bis sie ihr Söhnchen verheiratet sieht; sie will sich 'in ihren Tagen' noch an Enkeln erfreuen . . .» — Spoer-Haddad, 'Volkskundliches aus el-Qubēbe bei Jerusalem', in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, V. 1 (Leipzig, 1927), p. 132: »Es giebt Leute, die ihre Kinder verheiraten, wenn sie noch klein sind, d.h. der Knabe ist vielleicht fünf Jahre alt. Er wird verheiratet aus Furcht, dass seine Eltern sterben möchten, bevor sie seine Hochzeit erlebten . . .»

⁵ Cf. *supra*; p. 31; *infra* p. 82 sqq. also Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, I. (London, 1925), p. 365, 370.

transaction, the parents, better than anyone else, can look after the interests of their children and their family, in any case better than the young and inexperienced man. The parents also wish to choose a bride to their own taste. Often one can see that a closer knitting of the bond of friendship between the parents is intended by the marriage of their children.¹ Girls in the East age early. »Today a blooming rose and to-morrow already withered», Louise Baldensperger used to say. It is thus more difficult to arrange a good marriage for them. On the other hand it is said: »How clever he is who takes young brides. He has got the better of the merchants (*yā mēhed iz-zrār yā rāleb it-tujjār*).»² A young bride is cheaper if one disregards the *ʿatiyet il-jōra* which carries with it special obligations — one has her help for a longer time. »The little one will be mature when the older one is crippled with age (*iz-zrār bistwi u il-kbīr biltwi*).» Long betrothals again will only be expensive, because the bride must be presented with gifts at every great feast,³ and then she may perhaps die, so that one has no profit from her. For this reason it is best to marry as soon as possible. »I marry her, even if she can only chase the hens from the *masṭabe* (sitting place) (*bohūdha lannha zrāre bitnišš il-jāj ʿan il-masṭabe*)», it has already been stated that a man would say. But it is much more frequently the mother who demands her son's marriage. She requires help in the work; either she herself has no daughters or has already given them away in marriage. Women's labour is needed in the home; the custom of having women servants does not exist among the fellahīn; therefore the only thing that remains is for a male member of the family to marry. If a woman will not have a co-wife (*durra*) she urges the marriage of her son in order to get help in the home.⁴ In such a case not even

¹ Cf. Pierrotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 180: »I have spoken of a lapse of years before the actual wedding, because children of a tender age are not infrequently affianced, in order to cement or strengthen an alliance between two families.» — Lowie, *Primitive Society* (London, 1921), p. 16: »... in that the contract often binds not individuals but families.» — Westermarck, *op. cit.* I. p. 371: »Finally, a very frequent motive for infant- or child-betrothals among uncivilised peoples is the wish of two families to be drawn together or to cement and perpetuate their friendship, or a desire to become connected with a family of importance.»

² Cf. Westermarck, *op. cit.* II. 370: »To acquire a girl in her childhood may also be a matter of economy.»

³ Cf. Pierrotti, *op. cit.* p. 180 sq.

⁴ Cf. Spoer-Haddad, *op. cit.* p. 132: People have their son married while yet a child »aus Furcht dass seine Mutter arbeitsunfähig werde und sie niemanden haben möchte der sie versorgt.» — Bauer, *op. cit.* p. 83: »Oder es geschieht, dass

the government can completely stop it. It can forbid the marriage ceremony of a child but in the above mentioned case¹ the mother-in-law's desire was satisfied by getting the young girl into the house to help her with the work. The bridegroom was still a child, but could this have happened, if he had been a man? In such a case there is the seed of a new variation. Hitherto custom has demanded that a betrothed pair should neither see nor speak to one another. A pedagogic reason is also given for the advantage of child marriage. The young girl gradually grows into the customs and views of her husband's family; one need not fear that she will come in with her own ideas and wishes if she has in her early years lived under the disciplining hand of her mother-in-law, who has moulded her according to her own desire;² by this means the housekeeping proceeds in the old way. This is especially important when the bride comes from another place where the life is different and other manners and customs prevail. On the other hand it is very good for the young girl to have someone who can teach and educate her and initiate her into the customs of the place. »My mother in-law brought me up», said many such women in Arṭās. As for the man [21]³ who hesitates to send his daughter among strangers saying »she is still so young that she does not understand how to protect our honour among strangers», his misgivings are quietened. »Dost thou think that they will put a bridle on her [as on a bear] and let her dance [to amuse the people]?⁴ Has she not a

eine Frau, die wegen Kränklichkeit ihre Hausarbeiten nicht gut besorgen kann und keine Tochter hat, die ihr helfen könnte, schon frühe an die Verheiratung ihres Sohnes denkt, um an der Schwiegertochter weibliche Hilfe zu bekommen.» — Grant, *The People of Palestine* (Philadelphia & London, 1921), p. 63: »She assists her mother-in-law in the household duties.»

¹ *Supra*, p. 41.

² Cf. Spoer-Haddad, *op. cit.* p. 132 that people sometimes give their son in marriage at a very early age »auch damit sie das Mädchen nach ihrem Wunsche aufziehen». — Grant, *op. cit.* p. 63: »One of the reasons given for some of the very early marriages is that the young woman may be trained into a suitable wife for the son by his mother.» — Jaussen cites in his book *Naplouse et son District* (Paris, 1927), p. 85 an Arabic proverb, that the woman is twice educated: firstly in her family, secondly by her husband. — Westermarck again says (*The History of Human Marriage*, I. [London, 1925], p. 355): »may, it sometimes happens that whilst the girl is taken to the boy's family the boy is taken to the girl's people to be educated by them.» (Papuans of Dorey).

³ See *supra*, p. 34 *sq.* and *infra* p. 100.

⁴ Niebuhr for example speaks (*Reisebeschreibung, III.* [Hamburg, 1837], p. 189) about dancing monkeys by whom people live.

mother-in-law who will educate her?» With the greater firmness that the latter has than a weak mother, she can also be a more skilful trainer. For the mother-in-law it is of course an advantage to obtain power over her daughter-in-law while she is still pliable. It is in any case a difficult problem how they will get on together when they must live in the same house, unless the mother-in-law soon gets and maintains the upper hand.¹ If there are many young women in the house then it is also difficult, unless the mother-in-law remains in control and the young women only carry out her instructions and will. This is important over and above the individuals immediately concerned. The victory of the mother-in-law also means the retention of the tradition and spirit of the family on which great weight is laid, especially in the East, with its aversion to new customs and habits. Finally moral reasons are in favour of early marriage. According to Louise Baldensperger the mothers especially are in favour of early marriage for their sons in order to keep them from evil ways;² and early marriage is considered extremely desirable for girls seeing that an unmarried woman is very much exposed to moral danger.³

Where child marriage exists to a less or greater degree, the question of consent must play a correspondingly subordinate role.⁴ All the causes

¹ Cf. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 116.

² Cf. *Mishkât*. English translation by Matthews. vol. II. (Calcutta, 1810), p. 76: »O youths! He amongst you, who is able to cohabit, must marry; for verily marriage prevents the eye falling on strange women, and withholds you from fornication: but he who cannot marry, must keep fast; and that is verily equal to castration for him.»

³ Cf. *Mishkât* vol. II. p. 86: »A father who does not give his daughter in marriage when she arrives at puberty, is answerable for her sins. . . . and when it shall arrive at puberty, marry it: but if it arrive at puberty without being married, and commit a sin, it is on the father». *Ibid.* p. 86. »It is written in the bible, that whosoever daughter hath reached twelve years, and he doth not marry her, and she commits a fault, it is upon her father». — See also Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, I. [London, 1925], p. 371: »The child-betrothal may further be a means of preserving the virginity of the girl, which among so many peoples is a highly valued quality in a bride.»

⁴ Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, I. (London, 1849), p. 217: »The parents may betroth their daughter to whom they please, and marry her to him without her consent, if she be not arrived at the age of puberty»; and p. 138: »But the consent of a girl under age is not required; her father, or maternal grandfather, or her mother, uncle, or any other person appointed by will, or by the Cka'dee, acting for her as he pleases.» In a note is added:

of child marriage mentioned have their origin in practical reasons and sagacity which have very little to do with the wishes of the two parties actually concerned. But even when a man and woman have already attained the age of maturity, custom demands that they shall have very little to do with their own marriage which shall be arranged by other people.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHOICE OF A BRIDE.

By whom the bride is chosen.

It is the father who procures a bride for his son; it is the father who sees to it that his daughter is married; if he omits to do this, or if he dies before the children are of marriageable age the mother does it alone or in consultation with their nearest relatives: e.g. an elder brother and a father's brother. Brothers have to help an unmarried brother to get a wife.¹ But if it can be said of a man that during his lifetime he gave away

»A boy may be thus married, but he may divorce his wife.» — Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 222: »Von einer selbstständigen Willenserklärung der Kinder, die so jung ehelich verbunden werden, kann natürlich keine Rede sein. Ihr *Walī* verheiratet sie auf eigene Autorität hin. Hierzu ist allerdings nach schäfi'itischer Lehre, wie schon oben (S. 213) bemerkt, nur der *Walī mudjbir* (der Vater oder in dessen Ermangelung der Grossvater väterlicherseits) befugt. Nach ḥanafitischer Lehre dagegen jeder Verwandte, der als *Walī* auftritt; nur kann eine Frau, die von einem Nicht-Azendenten ohne ihre Einwilligung verheiratet worden ist, Auflösung ihrer Ehe . . . verlangen, sobald sie volljährig geworden ist. Über die Anwendung dieser ḥanafitischen Lehre bei Kinderheiraten in Atjèh (mittels *Taklīd*) siehe: *Snouck Hurgronje, De Atjèhers* I, 375—381 (*The Achehnese*, I, 343—348).»

¹ Grant says (*The People of Palestine* [Philadelphia & London, 1921], p. 53) about the engagement: »This is arranged between the fathers of the young people. The initiative is taken by the father of the young man working through friends, who approach the father of the girl and make a proposition of the betrothal.» And *ibid.* p. 53: »Marriage is the one important subject among parents of boys and girls.» — Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 107: »When the son or daughter of a family approaches a marriageable age, the parents begin to set about the all-important business of finding a suitable bride or bridegroom.» — Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 180: »The transaction is arranged between the parents of the young couple, assisted by their friends and

all his children in marriage it sounds well in the ears of the fellahin (*il ab bijawwaz il-walad; hu jawwaz kull ulāde u hu tayib*). He has fulfilled the duty of his life.¹ The expression: »his father married him» signifies that his father paid all the expenses of the marriage; public opinion exercises a strong pressure without which many a father would certainly not carry through his son's marriage. If a young man's own people put off his marriage he is angry. When we, during the marriage season (October—November)² 1925 met Fāṭme Ḥaḍr ([*D. of 40; W. of 70*] — her husband was in South America — at the spring in the village she said to us: »My son is offended and angry. He wishes to marry (*ibni ḥardān biddo bitjawwaz*)».³ Such a man is not a comfortable person to have to do with. A young man eager to marry is described by 'Alya [*D. of 1*] as follows:

»If someone comes and wishes to marry and he is told: 'Go and work!' then he will not. If one says to him: 'Do this and that', he does not obey. He strikes his sister and his mother. He does everything the wrong way.»

nearest relations.» — Auerbach, 'Die syrische Frau', in *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, XII. (München, Leipzig & Berlin, 1916/18), p. 152: »Die Eheschliessung ist hier nicht die Angelegenheit der jungen Leute, sondern der Eltern, insbesondere der Mütter.» — Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 43: »C'est en effet le père du jeune homme qui traite directement avec le père de la jeune fille. . . . La mère du jeune homme ou de la jeune fille a souvent une parole à placer, bien que son autorité soit presque nulle sous ce rapport. Les frères de l'intéressé et ses oncles interviennent directement dans le débat.» — Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 83: »Die Wahl eines passenden Mädchens als Braut für den Fellachenjungen ist Sache der Eltern, und wenn diese gestorben sind, der älteren Brüder und der Onkel.» — Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 107: »Where the father is dead, the eldest brother, or, failing a brother the nearest male relation, has the disposal of a girl's hand.» — Of the ancient Arabs Wellhausen says ('Die Ehe bei den Arabern', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen* [Göttingen, 1893], p. 431) that a woman was betrothed by her wali or guardian, that is, her father, brother, or cousin.

¹ Lees says (*The Witness of the Wilderness* [London, 1909], p. 120): »Every parent is anxious to see his son settled in life». Compare also (Gen. XXIV. 4) Abraham cannot be satisfied until he knows that Isaac will get a suitable wife, a woman from his own family.

² According to Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, I. ([Gütersloh, 1928], p. 266, 338) April is recommended as a good wedding time, while Wetzstein says ('Die syrische Dreschtafel', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, V. [Berlin, 1873], p. 288) that the Syrian weddings are celebrated in March.

³ The mother began at once the arrangements for her son's marriage and his betrothal was celebrated the following Apricot time. *Supra*, p. 25.

Such a defiant son can even go away from home in order to force his marriage, to which he considers he has a right.

On the other hand this right entails obligations. If a father has arranged a marriage for his son the latter has obligations towards the home — to the father who paid the expenses for the wedding and to his still unmarried brothers who also wish to have brides. If a son disappoints his own people in this respect he is blamed. So it is in the following case which ʿAlya [*D. of I*] relates from Arṭās of ʿAbd il-Hādi [104] son of Mḥammad Ibrahīm [91]:

»His father married him in order that he should stay at home. He went away, deserting his five marriageable brothers and his father. He [a widower] said to the son: 'Take off thy garments! With what shall we marry those who are single?«

After his wife's death Mḥammad [91] needed a woman in the house and procured a bride for his eldest son. He, as a widower, could also have wished to marry again, but as he had not the means (*mafiš qudra*) for two marriages in the family, he had unselfishly first thought of his son. When the latter deserted him, he did not at first know what to do. Nevertheless, said ʿAlya [*D. of I*], he has now (1926) succeeded in procuring a wife for the next son [105] and even in building a new house. Things going so well with him, the eldest son [104] wishes to come back, but the father [91] denies him the house because he betrayed his people. Public opinion supports the father in his indignation against his son.

Of course fathers can act egotistically. It may happen that a father seeks a bride for his son but becomes so enchanted with the young woman he selects, that he is tempted to take her for his own wife, and thus the father and the son become competitors for the same woman. The father then explains:

»I saw her at the market selling milk. I desired her for my own old age, not for my son (*šufetha fis-sūq bitbī libni itmannētha la šēbi mā hiš la ibni*).«

This proverb was quoted by ʿAlya [*D. of I*] in connection with the following example from real life:

»Dabla Ḥalāwe [*D. of 108*] was married in Bethlehem. She was given to Mḥammad Ehsēn, Abu ʿId. His son wished to have her but he would not give her to him.«

In the same way old Ibrahīm ʿĀyeš [82] chose a little girl Šafiye [*W. of 82*] from el-Walaje¹ as a bride for his son [92], but at the critical moment

¹ See *supra*, p. 35; *infra*, p. 58.

took her for himself.¹ She was his fourth wife. Šafīye [*W. of 82*], who is now a powerful widow in the village, told me about it herself. When the wedding was celebrated she was much too little to understand the purport of it all; she was only very much afraid of the old man. »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 (*andart*) to Badriye [a Muhammadan female saint in Šarafāt, a village near Jerusalem] that if he should die I would give her three ells of stuff.» Her father was not at all pleased that the old man took her, and went to the judge (*qāḍī*) in Jerusalem about the matter. He however said: »If he wishes to give her to his slave or to his son, he is free to do so. Or, if he wishes to take her for himself he is free to do that also (*īza kān biḍḍo ya' fi la 'abed au la ibno ḥurr au la nafso ḥurr*).»

This reply of the judge is interesting for the underlying principle which indicates the man's legal right of disposal over the woman whose hand he has requested from her father and for whom he has given the bride price. It is the only example in Arṭās in which a girl was requested for a different man from the one to whom she was later given as a wife. A co-operating cause was the fact that Ibrahīm 'Ayeš [82] at that time was both rich and powerful; after the murder of Sālem 'Eṭmān [67], who had been the real head in Arṭās,² he was the leader in the village.

There is also only one example of a man requesting a girl's hand, giving the bride price for her, and yet later on, in order not to lose the money he had already spent, being obliged to content himself with a much older female relative of the young bride whom he wished to have. 'Alya [*D. of I*] relates as follows:

»'Ali Sālem [70] thought to take Fāṭme bint Ḥalīl Šḥāde [*D. of 170; W. of 55*]. Jealousy broke out in her mother's brother's house. They said: 'It shall never happen! We take him away from Fāṭme [*D. of 170; W. of 55*]. We take her for our son Sma'in [55]. 'Ali Sālem [70] gave £15 as part of the bride price. Then Sma'in's [55] family said: 'We have the first right over our sister's daughter (*naḥna abda fi bint uḥetna*).' When he [70] entered Ḥalīl Šḥāde's [170] house, they said: 'We will kill him!'

¹ Baldensperger relates ('Birth, Marriage and Death among the Fellaheen of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statements* [London, 1894], p. 127) the same thing: »When about 65 years old he chose a girl of seven for one of his sons and arranged the betrothal for his son, and when the k h a t e b was going to tie the nuptial knot, the father came and was himself married to the girl.»

² For this event in Arṭās see Baldensperger, *The immovable East* (London, 1913), p. 118 sqq.

Then they sent him a message: 'Keep away from Ḥalīl Šhāde's [170] daughter!' And the family of Sma'in [55] 'cooked' [i.e. celebrated the betrothal feast for him and] for Fāṭme [D. of 170; W. of 55].

ʿAli Sālem [70] was absent in Jerusalem where he sold peaches for the Sisters of the Convent. They arranged the 'cooking' [i.e. the betrothal feast] behind his back.»

The relatives of the bride on her mother's side had watched for a day when the first bridegroom was absent from the village, in order by a ruse to rob him of his bride,¹ as he would not give her up voluntarily. ʿAli Sālem [70] came back from Jerusalem and the sound of song and dance at the betrothal feast met him as he came down the hill to the village. The bride's mother's sister Ḥamde [D. of 51; W. of 70] — it was she who afterwards became his wife — sang a song mocking the despised bridegroom, who knew nothing of the matter. Filled with an evil presentiment he asked:

»Why this singing?» — »It is for Fāṭme Ḥalīl [D. of 170; W. of 55] and Sma'in Aḥmad [55].»

He said: »Cursed be thy mother and thy father, thou ʿAli [70]! My money!»

[Again] they sent him a message by the people to say: 'Take Hamde [D. of 51; W. of 70] [the mother's sister of the bride]!' He said: 'No!' They said: 'Then thou wilt lose thy money!' Defeated by the trick (*ʿāwad min il-rulub*) he said: 'I take her.'»

ʿAli Sālem [70] could do nothing against the father of his rival, he being the civil head (*muḥtār*) in the village and a powerful man, especially as he was offered instead the head's sister — already an old woman — whose brother would be glad to get her married. But ʿAli Sālem [70] was an orphan; his father was the above mentioned chief who was murdered, and after that the family fell on evil days. His mother was driven from the house and the property by her co-wife, and with her children was obliged to live in a cave.

¹ Cf. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 115: »Sometimes at the last moment the parent or relations will change their minds, and give the girl to some other man than the one she had been betrothed to. Thus one of their proverbs runs, 'The bride is in her chamber, but no one knows whose she will be'; and another is, 'One was betrothed to her, but the other married her'. The author knew of a case where the bride on the marriage-day was given to another man than the bridegroom during the short time he, according to a common custom, went to have a bath before the ceremony. »Such actions, however, are considered rather a disgrace, and in some cases will lead to serious quarrels, and even to bloodshed.»

'Alya's [*D. of I*] account of how 'Ali Sālem [70] could not forget Fāṭme [*D. of 170; W. of 55*], how he, even on her wedding day, tried to obtain a glimpse of her by stealth, and how he could not bear the wife who had been thrust upon him, does not belong here.¹

If the account of 'Ali Sālem [70] shows how helpless a man is when he stands alone against the family of his bride, another story from Arṭās gives a positive proof of how valuable it can be for a young man in such a situation to have the support of his father. Here we have an incident of the period of Zionism, which affected even our village. It is related that the Bethlehemites as a speculation bought land on behalf of the Jews also from the people of Arṭās, and that the money which thus came into the village was the explanation of the many weddings and the building of seven houses which occurred during the two years that I was there. But when the Jews bought the land through their agents, the seller had to prove his ownership; thus it suddenly became of great importance to have deeds relating to the land. Under the patriarchal system which prevails in the village, where, after the father's death, it is the eldest brother who manages things and is the head, a younger brother even in this respect becomes dependent upon his elder brother. Thus it came about that 'Abd Ḥalāwe [110] never had a certificate of his share in his father's property; but the paper had passed from his father to the eldest son Mḥammad [109] and from him to his son Ḥalīl [112]. By virtue of this document Ḥalīl [112], under threat of refusing his father's brother his share, forced the latter to give his daughter Miryam [*D. of 110; W. of 116*] to his — Ḥalīl's [112] — son Sma'in [116].

'Alya [*D. of I*]: »Sma'in [116], the son of Ḥalīl [Mḥammad] Ḥalāwe [112] wishes to have Miryam, the daughter of 'Abd Ḥalāwe [*D. of 110; W. of 116*] and her father will not give her to him. In a rage he [116] went to Amman [in Transjordania]. Afterwards his father [112] sent him a letter in which he said: 'Tell me whom thou wishest to marry and I will not let her slip away from thee, only come back!' Then he [116] returned home.

It then happened that the Jews were buying land. Each person had to have a certificate of his ownership in his hand. He [112] [the bridegroom's father] would not give a certificate to 'Abd [110] [his father's brother and the father of the bride]. 'If thou givest Miryam [*D. of 110; W. of 116*] to me [i.e. for my son], I will give thee the certificate and thou canst be at ease. And if thou wilt not give Miryam [*D. of 110; W. of 116*] to me

¹ Grant, *op. cit.* p. 64: »Disappointed lovers are not unknown among the peasantry.»

then thou hast no property with me.' He [the bride's father] was conquered and gave her. [He said to the bridegroom's father:] 'Miryam [*D. of 110; W. of 116*] is thine without money!'

Another reason why Ḥalil Ḥalāwe [112] could enforce his claim upon the bride Miryam [*D. of 110; W. of 116*], was that already at her birth she had been promised as an *'atīyet il-jōra* bride by her father to Ḥalil Ḥalāwe's [112] son Sma'in [116], who was then a little boy. That is why he and his father were so very angry when the girl's father — as 'Alya [*D. of I*] another time related to me — betrothed her to another man, Ehsēn 'Abdallah [87], although that betrothal had to be broken in favour of her first bridegroom Sma'in [116].

'Alya [*D. of I*] related as follows:

»Ehsēn [87] son of 'Abdallah 'Ayeš [81] was betrothed to Miryam, the daughter of 'Abed Ḥalāwe [110] and 'cooked for her' [i.e. celebrated the betrothal feast] and sent part of the bride price. Then they [i.e. the first bridegroom's family] said to 'Abed Ḥalāwe [110]: 'If thou doest not give Miryam [*D. of 110*], thou shalt receive nothing of the property.' Then the bride money had to be returned to Ehsēn [87] and also the money for the 'cooking' — £5. — was given back to him [for the bridegroom has to arrange and pay for the betrothal feast].

And 'Abed Ḥalāwe [110] took the certificate (*kušān*) and that was the bride price.

'Why do ye walk in the way of unrighteousness? Ye gave the certificate and took the daughters (*lēš tatimšu fi tariq il-ḡalāmāt a' tētū il-kušān u aḡaṭṭu il-banāt*).»

Thus the bride's father had to pay dearly for his broken promise, by losing the bride price for his daughter and having to be content with a certificate of the fact that he owned his own land. 'Alya [*D. of I*] concluded this account by protesting against such an action on the part of the bridegroom's father. But one can understand the delight of a strong-willed person in being able to carry through his wishes and his demands.

Many similar quarrels occur; a marriage is seldom contracted without all kinds of complications. More than any one else must a father be careful of and watch over his children's interests, both his sons' and his daughters', as he stands for them and bargains for them. With his greater knowledge of human nature, he can often do it better than the young people themselves who cannot have had his experience in the difficult art of bargaining. At the same time although it is the grown-ups who arrange the matter, it is no less exciting and certainly less inno-

cent than if two young people are left to come to an agreement themselves. Old disputes and old hates are roused again; quite other facts interfere and dominate; questions of principle bound up with the interests of the family play a more decisive role than the feelings of the young people for each other. The whole thing is on another plane, it is not so much an affair of the individual as an affair of the family.

When a young girl leaves her father's home as a bride, her brothers and her father say to her: »We have not given thee to any sort of people. We have given thee to people upon whom we can depend (*iḥna mā a' tēnāš la-nās ḥayallah iḥna a' tēnāki la-nās mašūrīn 'alēhum*)». They do not say: »We have given thee to a good and noble man»; the bridegroom is often still a child of whose character one can know very little; but the girl's family know that her marriage means a change of milieu, that she will not be dependent upon her husband only, but at least as much upon the other members of the family, chiefly the parents-in-law. By giving their daughter in marriage the girl's own people provide another family with a new member and it is thus only natural that they should negotiate with the eldest member of the other family. When a young man marries the most important thing is that his people take a new member into their family and from their point of view it is quite natural that the eldest member of the family should make the final decision in this as in other important family affairs. It is an agreement not between two individuals but between two families through their representatives.

To what extent a man actually considers his son's marriage as his own affair appears from some interesting words which 'Alya [*D. of 1*] let fall when giving the last account. The father of the bridegroom says to the refractory father's brother, who refuses to give his daughter to the speaker's son: »If thou givest Miryam [*D. of 110; W. of 116*] to me, then I will give thee the certificate and thou canst be at ease. But if thou dost not give Miryam [*D. of 110; W. of 116*] to me, then thou hast no property with me.»¹

From this it is a short step to the conception that a man has a right of disposal over the woman whom he, as a representative of the family, acquires as bride for a member of the family. We understand the words quoted earlier of the judge of Jerusalem that a man has the right to give an acquired bride to his slave, or to his son, or to take her for himself —

¹ See also *infra*, p. 74 sq. 'Ali As'ad [42] requests from his father's brother Haḍr Eḥsēn [40] relationship-in-law, asks for the hand of his cousin as if it were for himself but in this case also he refers to a bride for his son.

just as he chooses. It is an extreme expression of the predominating idea of the family — a man is considered more as the representative of his family than as an individual, and it explains how a father can give the bride whom he has acquired to whichever member of the family he selects.

This is balanced and supplemented by the right of determination which a man has over his own children in a patriarchal form of society. It is quite clear how little freedom the children have in their own marriages,¹ because even if they are not in favour of the father's choice of bridegroom or bride then the children must bow to the father's authority and power over them. Such conflicts arise now and then. We have for example the story of Šabḥa Mūsa's [D. of 135; W. of 146] vain struggle against her strong-willed father — Mūsa Šahīn [135] — who during his lifetime had managed the finances and arranged marriages, not only in his family but in the whole clan, and had decided that his daughter Šabḥa [D. of 135; W. of 146] should marry her cousin Sma'in Ḥasan [146] although she disliked him very much. When Mūsa [135] was dangerously ill, before the marriage could be celebrated, Šabḥa [D. of 135; W. of 146] was hoping to get another husband; however 'Alya [D. of 1] relates how the father, even on his death-bed, knew how to bind his daughter and arrange that his will in regard to her should be respected after his death.

'Alya [D. of 1]: »Mūsa Šahīn [135] said: 'My daughter Šabḥa [D. of 135; W. of 146] shall be for Sma'in [146], the son of Ḥasan il-Ḥājj [137], my brother's son'. There were many who desired Šabḥa Mūsa [D. of 135; W. of 146] — Salīm of the 'Absiyeh-Family² and the son of Ibrahīm 'Ayeš [82] and Fawāre people [in Bethlehem].

And Mūsa Šahīn [135] was dying (*yināze'*) and the whole clan was gathered around him and Aḥmad Sma'in [52] was also there. He said when he was dying: 'I leave it to thee Oh, Aḥmad Sma'in [52]! let no one take Šabḥa [D. of 135; W. of 146] except my brother's son.'

She did not love him very much. 'Is a partridge with blackened eyes like the common sparrow (*iš-šunnār il-imka'ḥal zei il-'aḥfūr il-bsēsi*)?' When Mūsa Šahīn [135] was dead they wished to bring the affair to nothing.»

¹ Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 43: — »Bien souvent, les mariages sont résolus et conclus avant même que les intéressés soient avertis. Les parents, en effet, s'attribuent le principal rôle, pour ne pas dire l'omnipotence, dans ces sortes de contrats.» — Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 181: »A feast then gladdens the hearts of all, and none of them think whether the parties interested will be equally pleased. The fathers only look at their own interests; and the children submit to marriage, not with any religious feeling or emotion of the heart, but as a matter of business.»

² 'Absiyeh was a great sheikh in el-Walaje.

Then the bridegroom's mother Miryam [*D. of 131; W. of 137*] interfered. She went to the eastern part of the village — the Šahīn clan live in the western — and went to the civil head (*muḥtār*) of the village, Aḥmad Sma'īn [52], whom the father of the bride Mūsa Šahīn [135], on his death-bed, besought to arrange that his will in regard to his daughter's marriage with his brother's son was carried out. With the help of Aḥmad Sma'īn she forced the unwilling bride to take her son.

»Miryam [*D. of 131; W. of 137*] went to Aḥmad Sma'īn [52]. She said: 'God help thee! this [i.e. the marriage of Šabḥa [*D. of 135*]] is what thou hast to stand for (*allah yi'īnak ua halli fī wijāk*), thou and thy relatives!' He said to her: 'Go and buy and prepare what is necessary and put thy head down and sleep!'

Then they began to sing for Mḥammad Jabr's [159] and Sa'īd Mūsa's [141] wedding. She [Miryam [*D. of 131; W. of 137*]] went [again] down to the east of the village and said [to Aḥmad Sma'īn [52]]: 'They are singing for Sa'īd [141] and for Mḥammad Jabr [159] and I wish to celebrate my son's wedding together with them. I wish to have my daughter-in-law with them!' He [52] said to her: 'Buy coffee and sugar, prepare everything! We shall come up this evening.' She bought coffee and sugar and put it ready.

Then in the evening they [Aḥmad Sma'īn [52] and his people] came from the eastern part of the village up [to the Šahīn clan], the men dancing and the women singing. They sent for Miryam [*D. of 131; W. of 137*] and said to her: 'Where is the sugar and the coffee which thou hast brought?' She said: 'It is ready.' Šahīn [139] and his brother said [to Aḥmad Sma'īn [52]]: 'Why should Miryam [*D. of 131; W. of 137*] have coffee and sugar, Oh, Abu Sma'īn [52]?' He said to them: 'Miryam [*D. of 131; W. of 137*] will take her daughter-in-law. Here we have two bridegrooms and her son [146] is the third.' Šahīn said: 'She [Šabḥa [*D. of 135; W. of 146*]] will not be married this time. Put it off, let it be for another time!'

This he said hoping to be able to protect his sister Šabḥa [*D. of 135; W. of 146*], so that she should not marry Sma'īn [146] against her will. But Aḥmad Sma'īn [52] kept to his decision and promise to Miryam [*D. of 131; W. of 137*].

Aḥmad Sma'īn [52] said: 'I will divorce my wife and give up my horse (*'alayī it-ḥalāq min il-sarj u il-farj*) if I do not succeed and God is present. The three must be together dyed with henna¹ and in the same night celebrate the marriage (*u yuduḥlu fil-ṭele wahade*)!'

¹ A bride is made red with henna the evening before her marriage.

Thus the civil head (*muhtār*) of the village — Aḥmad Smaʿīn [52] — sees to it that the father's will is respected. The power and authority of the father over his children is much too important in a patriarchal society not to be upheld in its claims in the interests of the society. There is not much consideration for the right of personality and individual freedom. The individual must give way to his or her family's interests. It is certainly necessary, in order that a marriage shall be valid, for a bride in the presence of witnesses to give her father or her brother her permission to act on her behalf, when her marriage is contracted;¹ but at least in Arḥās it appears that the consent which is demanded from the bride has little to do with the person of the bridegroom. That which she can protest against is that the bridegroom has not fulfilled all the requirements in regard to the giving of the bride price, the buying of her wedding outfit etc. which is his duty. When she is asked if she gives her brother the right to be her representative in her marriage she replies — or usually her mother replies on her behalf — that this or the other is still lacking; and after that she is willing to give the required assent.² The central government now demands that the consent shall be concerned with the bridegroom, so there appears a new possibility and an attractive outlook for a woman who does not approve of her bridegroom. Nevertheless the girl's family understand in this respect how to draw narrow limits to her desire for freedom. So long as the forms of society remain unchanged, so long will the demand for the woman's consent to her own marriage be purely formal — without any real import. When a woman in the last minute is asked as to her will she is already prepared by her people who have talked to her on the subject until she feels there is nothing else for her to do but to bow to the inevitable — to Fate. A woman has no external power. What could she do against her family? She is completely in

¹ *Infra*, p. 155. — Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, I. (London, 1849), p. 138: »The marriage of a man and woman, or of a man and a girl who has arrived at puberty, is lawfully effected by their declaring (which the latter generally does by a *weeke'l*, or deputy) their consent to marry each other, in the presence of two witnesses (if witnesses can be procured), and by the payment, or part-payment, of a dowry.» For the woman's consent according to Muhammadan law, see also Westermarek, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. (London, 1924), p. 331; *Idem*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 15 sq.

² A bride's silence or laugh is sometimes construed to imply consent. See Westermarek, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. (London, 1924), p. 331; Fehlinger, 'Über das Ehe- und Familien-Recht der Mohammedaner' (by Kaurimsky), in *Archiv für Rassen- u. Gesellschafts-Biologie*, XII. (München, Leipzig & Berlin, 1916—18) p. 113.

their hands. If she does not wish to be expelled from society she cannot, nor will she, break with them who are and will remain all her life her natural protectors, her father and her brother.¹

In most cases the woman submits to public opinion in such a case and soon acquiesces in her family's wishes with regard to her marriage. There is no use asking her own opinion in the matter. Just as custom demands and she ought to do, she replies to a possible question as to her opinion and wish: »I stand behind that which my father thinks right.» Or: »As my father wishes.» Or: »As my brother wishes, so do I wish.»² And such an answer is perhaps more than an expression of the fact that she is well brought up; it is perhaps more than a purely formal answer; it can also be confidence and trust in the fact that her father and brothers will really do their best for her. She knows that they do not thoughtlessly give away their daughter to strangers. As they must always be responsible for her, whether she is married or not, they will give her to people whom they expect will treat her well, so that there will not be scandal and trouble; and often it is a joy for her to know that her marriage procures a bride for a beloved brother.³

The lack of freedom of oriental women in the choice of a husband has often been stressed and underlined. One is usually inclined to see in it only an expression of the woman's lack of freedom in regard to and in contrast with the man; we have here, quite certainly, a wider problem; in so far at least as the question must be solved on an oriental basis, one must regard it from a wider angle in connection with the general lack of freedom as against the family and the society.

¹ Cf. Goodrich-Freer, *Arabs in Tent and Town* (London, 1924), p. 24: »In any case, among the Muslims, the wife has always a second protector in the person of her father, or, still more, her brother, for a woman never passes so entirely out of her own family as among us.» See also Jaussen, *Naplouse et son District. Coutumes Palestiniennes*, I. (Paris, 1927), p. 123; Seabrook, *Adventures in Arabia* (London, Bombay & Sidney, 1928), p. 77; C. G. and Brenda Z. Seligman, 'The Kabâbîsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, II. (Cambridge, 1918), p. 121 sq.; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys*, I. (London, 1831), p. 110; Wetzstein, 'Die syrische Dreschtafel', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, V. (Berlin, 1873), p. 291; Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* (London, 1907), p. 314; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 228 sq.

² See also Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 86 sq. — Wilson says (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 107): »indeed, it would not be considered proper for a young woman to have any say in the matter, or to express a preference for one suitor or another.»

³ *Infra*, p. 111, 135 sqq.

In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man.¹ For example, when Ibrahīm 'Āyeš [82], who took his son's first bride for himself,² later brought him a bride under such humiliating conditions that he was obliged to feel it an indignity to marry her, his father declared, »Either thou takest her or thou leavest her. But if thou dost not take her, thou shalt never marry so long as I live.»³ And the son was obliged to bow to his authority, for the father had the money. Marriage is to a great extent an economic question. Again, when 'Alī Ḥalīl [173] was very unhappy because his parents had chosen for him a Ta'āmre bride whom he did not wish to have, the parents forced him to it because by being married to a »foreign» woman he would be released from military service, which is considered the greatest misery that can befall the fellahīn.⁴ Often a

¹ Grant, *The People of Palestine* (Philadelphia & London, 1921), p. 49: »The marriage was probably not of her choosing, and very likely not of his.» — Bauer says (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* [Leipzig, 1903], p. 83): »Die Wünsche des Jünglings hinsichtlich seiner künftigen Lebensgefährtin werden, wenn es angeht, zwar berücksichtigt, unter keinen Umständen aber darf er selbst seiner Erkorenen einen Antrag machen, weil es Sache seiner Stellvertreter ist, dieses Geschäft zu besorgen.» But he also says (*ibid.* p. 96): »Von einer freien Wahl ist keine Rede.» — Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 43: »S'il s'agit du mariage d'un jeune garçon, très souvent les conditions sont arrêtées entre les parents à son insu, sans qu'il ait été consulté et parfois il ne connaît même pas sa future épouse. Mais dès qu'il atteint l'âge de dix-sept ou dix-huit ans, il commence à faire valoir ses droits, et on est obligé de tenir compte de sa volonté. S'il déclare fermement qu'il ne veut pas de tel parti proposé, malgré toutes les combinaisons antérieures et les espérances des parents, le mariage n'aura point lieu.» — *Idem*, *Naplouse et son District. Coutumes Palestiniennes*, I. (Paris, 1927), p. 55: »S'il manifeste ses désirs à sa famille, sa démarche paraîtra naturelle; s'il prononce le nom de la fille qui attire son cœur, son initiative ne choquera personne. Mais l'exécution du projet passera par la voie de l'autorité paternelle. Cette autorité prévient souvent les désirs du jeune homme, et c'est elle qui engage les négociations avec les parents de la jeune fille en vue.» — Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. (London, 1925), p. 332: »According to all the Muhammadan schools, a son is at liberty to contract a marriage without his father's consent when he has attained his puberty, which is mostly presumed on the completion of the fifteenth year. . . . As a matter of fact, however, in Morocco and elsewhere parents not infrequently arrange the marriage of their son even though he be grown-up, according to their own taste; and custom may require that he should comply with their wishes.»

² *Supra*, p. 48 sq.

³ *Infra*, p. 147.

⁴ Conder says (*Tent Work in Palestine* [London, 1905], p. 334): »There is a third evil, almost as fatal to the prosperity of the land — the conscription, which often

man has to take a bride while there is still money in the family or when there is a chance of exchanging a female relative for a bride. In spite of the proverb with which they try to comfort themselves that »Adam's and Eve's daughters are many (*banāt ḥawa u ādam iġtār*)», there is, at least in our village, a lack of women which does not make the choice easy. If it is argued that later on, when he is no longer under his father's control,¹ he can take another wife according to his own wish — this for example was done by 'Ali Ḥalīl [173] — it is not much comfort, for in any case the first wife remains; nor can he so easily divorce her, for that would mean an economic loss.² Thus at the most the lack of freedom of a man or a woman in the question of marriage is a question of degree.

As regards a man, the economic question is most important as he cannot get his bride for nothing. The father of a young girl, on the other hand, is bound by other considerations. When the time comes for a girl to marry, there are usually many opportunities and the parents choose the best. If they have only one daughter it can happen that they proudly spurn an importunate suitor whom they do not desire by saying that he could not have her even if he brought his »lap» full of gold. But they also know that a girl's youth is short and they must hasten to decide while there is time and opportunity to choose.

The lack of freedom for a young man and a young woman in choosing a spouse cannot be attributed merely to the arbitrariness of a despotic father.³ In the Orient also one can count upon the love of parents for

carries off the flower of the bread-winning population. The number taken from a village varies, and as a punishment, the whole adult male population is sometimes marched off in irons to the head-quarters. Few of the poor fellows, who are thus torn away from the weeping women, ever see again the dark olives and the shining dome Hurried away to Europe, or to Armenia, they lead a miserable life, receiving but little pay, and bullied by ignorant officers. There is no sadder sight than that of the recruits leaving a village in Palestine.»

¹ Wilson says (*op.cit.* p. 107) that the marriage is arranged by the parents and adds: »The only exception to this rule would be in the case of a man who, from poverty, had been unable to marry till he reached middle life, or who had no male relations to arrange the matter for him.»

² Westermarck again says (*The History of Human Marriage*, II. [London, 1925], p. 332): »Where the separation between the sexes is so strict as it often is in the Muhammadan world, the interference of parents in the matrimonial affairs of their son can hardly be felt as a burden by the young man, especially as he can readily divorce a wife whom he does not like.»

³ This appears clearly in cases where a young man is left to look after himself, when he often has to put up with one whom he does not wish to have. See also *supra*, p. 50 sq.

their children. But a father has to reckon with many facts which he cannot always control. It is not only an economic question. With the necessity for each marriageable person to marry, and that as early as possible, it is not always practicable to take notice of the inclinations of the young people; this is generally recognised. The important thing is that the father arranges a marriage for his child. This is demanded by public opinion. Questions of principle in the interests of the family and the clan are more highly esteemed as a basis for marriage than the mutual affection of the couple to be united.

The young people are subject to the same laws and demands. A young man, especially during the wedding season, is subject to the general marriage hypnosis and thinks more of the joy which he will have from being married than of the love for a certain girl which may awake in him. The great power of adaptability which man possesses, even as regards feelings, must also be remembered: e. g. where cousin marriage is unusual or directly forbidden, a young man does not think of falling in love with his cousin, or it only happens in exceptional cases, while in countries where cousin marriage is highly esteemed it is likely that a man will have tender feelings towards his cousin.¹ But the fellahin generally marry so young that although the sex instinct is awake, there can scarcely be a question of love in its real meaning.

My material on the question of love between a man and a woman is very scanty. The betrothal and wedding songs, which are recorded in the village, praise the good character and the descent of the bride and bridegroom; they often contain a lament that the young girl must leave her father's home; but the subject of love they do not touch upon. I found one poem which expresses a man's desire for his adored one. The enamoured man says:

»I wish I were a shepherd in her father's house.
 At supper time then she would call: 'Oh, servant!'²
 I wish I were a dog in her father's house.
 At supper time then she would call: 'Oh, my Tuqān!'³
 I wish I were the sitting place (*masṭabe*) in her father's house.
 She would tread upon me with her feet, with the tinkling anklets.

¹ Lane *The Arabian Nights Entertainment*, I. (London, 1839), p. 62, note 11: »A cousin (the daughter of a paternal uncle) is often chosen as a wife . . . on account of an affection conceived in early years».

² The very lowest servant in the house — coward.

³ The name of a dog.

(*tmannētni la dār abūha rā'i*
'end il-ʿaša tindah yā jubāni
tmannētni la dār abūha ʿalb
'end il-ʿaša tindah yā tuqāni
tmannētni la dār abūha mastabe
tuhbut ʿalayi bhijilha ir-rannāni).»

But these verses indicate a bedouin origin.¹

It is related of Ḥalil ʿOde [3] that he for years neglected his wife Sāra Miṣleḥ [*W. of 3*] to admire and dream about Aḥmad Smaʿin's [52] sister. But the latter swore an oath not to give him a woman from his house and, with the help of Sāra's [*W. of 3*] brothers, forced Ḥalil [3] to go back to the wife whom he had deserted and fulfil his duty towards her and the children. In connection with this account ʿAlya [*D. of 1*] used the proverb »There is no medicine to cure love (*il-hawā mā ilo dawā*)«. Another time she said: »My beloved is my beloved, even if he is a negro«. This proverb corresponds to our saying: »Love is blind«. It does not show any great faith in the power of love to judge. Perhaps it is for fear of breaking the rules set up by society that love is not allowed to play any great part before marriage. In so far as it exists, it is in secret. A betrothal period in the meaning of western countries is quite unknown. If a man and a woman are betrothed they must not even see and still less speak to one another. Even if they are living in the same village or are neighbours, or even cousins, and know each other very well, they must, as soon as they are betrothed, strictly avoid one another;² if the man comes on a visit to the house of his betrothed, she must be hidden or go out of the house;³ in isolated cases, especially where the bride and bridegroom are

¹ Among the bedouin love is recognised as a stage previous to marriage. Lees tays (*The Witness of the Wilderness* [London, 1909], p. 120) that the bedouin of the desert »differ entirely from all Mohammedan natives of Palestine in allowing their girls to accept or reject a proposal«. — Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III. (Wien, 1908), p. 174: »Die Liebe spielt bei der Heirat unter den Arabern eine recht grosse Rolle.« See also Littmann, *Beduinenerzählungen*, II. p. VI.

² Cf. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 55: »It was said that not even cousins should see much of each other before they married.« (Andjra). See also Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 215 and Seligman, 'The Kabābīsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, II. (Cambridge, 1918), p. 138.

³ *Infra*, p. 102. See also Rothstein, 'Moslemische Hochzeitsgebräuche in Lifta bei Jerusalem', in *Palästina-jahrbuch*, VI. (Berlin, 1910), p. 107, 126.

from different places they do not see each other,¹ or only hear each other described, before the wedding;² for at the betrothal the bride is not present and even on the wedding day she is veiled; she is so wrapped up that one cannot even see her form, and to catch a glimpse of her face is impossible; the bridegroom must have patience till late in the evening of the wedding-day when he can go to her and see with his own eyes the bride he has brought home.³ »It is better so», I was assured by a Christian-Arab woman from Jerusalem who was on a visit in Arjās and told me that this had been the case with her parents. She added that in olden times, when people were more strict about this rule than in the present day with its looser customs, marriage was happier than now;⁴ love will come during marriage.⁵ She was not the only one who thought thus. The idea prevails that marriage requires a more objective and secure basis than the subjective feelings and passions which are often misleading.

¹ According to *Mishkāt*. English translation by Matthews, vol. II. (Calcutta, 1810), p. 81 the Prophet recommended that a man should see a woman before he marries her. Bauer however says (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* [Leipzig, 1903], p. 96): »bisweilen hat der Mann sein Weib vor der Hochzeit gar nicht oder nur einmal gesehen». See also Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 43: »et parfois il ne connaît même pas sa future épouse»; Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, II, p. 332: »And for a girl it would be no easy matter to choose between suitors whom she does not know».

² For examination of the bride by female relatives of the bridegroom see Spoer-Haddad, 'Volkskundliches aus el-Qubébe bei Jerusalem', in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, V. 1 (Leipzig, 1927), p. 95 note 5. — Jaussen, *Naplouse et son District. Coutumes Palestiniennes*, I. (Paris, 1927), p. 55: »Celui-ci désire cependant connaître 'sa beauté' et savoir si elle lui 'convientra'. La première démarche consistera donc à voir la fille par les 'yeux de sa mère, de sa soeur, d'une parente ou d'une vieille cheikhah qui inspire confiance'.» See also Lane, *op. cit.* p. 215. — Again Goodrich-Freer says (*Arabs in Tent and Town* [London, 1924], p. 18): »the tradition that a Muslim bridegroom has no acquaintance with his wife before marriage, was always greatly exaggerated, and of late years has had very little foundation, though it is possible that in cases in which they are not nearly related, they may not have met since the girl was old enough to be veiled, that is for three or four years.»

³ Auerbach, 'Die syrische Frau', in *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, XII. (München, Leipzig & Berlin, 1916—18), p. 152: »Bei den Mohammedanern sieht der junge Ehemann die Braut zum ersten Male nach vollzogener Zeremonie.»

⁴ See also Goodrich-Freer, *op. cit.* p. 18.

⁵ Cf. Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 120: »Love is not supposed to exist until after marriage.»

From which circles the bride is chosen.

This is an account of the rules and regulations laid down by society for the choosing of a spouse. It must first be stated that the material I collected in the village has little to say about marriage prohibitions, although it plays such an important part in general ethnological works. After shortly describing the boundaries which must not be overstepped, it will be seen from what circles the bride is chosen.

In regard to the outer limit which must not be exceeded the differences of religion and race appear to have been very important obstacles.

In Arṭās, which is a purely Muhammadan village, no man has married a Christian woman, and no man has given a woman of his family in marriage to a Christian; and yet there is a Christian population living quite close. The majority of the people of Bethlehem are Christian Arabs; but although in money affairs the people of Arṭās are greatly dependent on their Christian neighbours who are economically in a much better position, they do not intermarry. The same is true of the people of Arṭās and the inhabitants of the village Bēt Jāla, which lies opposite Bethlehem on the other side of the Jerusalem-Hebron road. These people, unlike the Bethlehemites, belong to the same political party — the *Kēs* party¹ — as the men of Arṭās and this entails duties; for example when a bridal procession from or to Arṭās passes their village they must invite all the wedding guests to a feast, and the people of Arṭās must pay them a similar attention; but they would not think of exchanging women in marriage.²

It has further never happened that any member of the negro families in the village has married an Arab girl, or that a negro girl has been taken to wife by a non-negro. Miryam, the wife of Salīm il-'Abid [199] is certainly a half-breed; her mother, an Arab woman, was married to her father's slave in Hebron; also her mother-in-law Tamāme [*W. of 196*] from the neighbouring village el-Ḥaḍr does not seem to be of pure negro blood.

¹ *Supra*, p. 14 note 4.

² Bauer says (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, [Leipzig, 1903], p. 85): »Dass die mit Bezug auf die Religion gezogenen Grenzen auch bei der Verheiratung scharf eingehalten werden, braucht wohl kaum bemerkt zu werden.» Yet there are Muhammadan Arabs in Palestine who have married Christian Western women. And Lane says (*Modern Egyptians*, I, p. 137) that it is lawful for a Muhammadan to marry a Christian woman or a Jewess — the children are then Muhammadans. But a Muhammadan woman cannot marry a man who is not a Muhammadan unless he takes her by force. — Cf. also Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. (London, 1925), p. 58 sq.

But in our village no mixed marriages between Arabs and negroes have taken place.¹

As to the internal limit of marriage the basis of it is the exogamous rules of the Koran as to forbidden relationship of blood (consanguinity), affinity and fosterage.² Boundary cases like the following are interesting:

Ḥalīl Ḥalāwe's [112] third wife and the wife of his son Sma'in [116] were sisters. 'Alya [D. of 1] remarked about this: »They had different mothers; if they had had the same mother it would not have been proper.»

Again it is said of 'Ali Ḥalīl [173] that he married his sister's sister. 'Ali's [173] father [170] had had two wives: Ḥasna [D. of 51; W. of 170], 'Ali's [173] mother and Salma [W. of 170 & 42]. The latter, by whom 'Ali's father [170] had a son and a daughter, married again after his death. 'Ali [173] then wished to marry her daughter Fāṭme [D. of 42; W. of 173] by this new marriage. The people blamed him for wishing to marry his sister's sister, and he went to a sheikh for advice as to how he should act. Of this 'Alya [D. of 1] relates:

»The sheikh said: 'Go and ask the mother!' They said to her: 'Hast thou never put thy breast in the mouth of Ḥasna's [W. of 170] children?' Salma [W. of 170 & 42] swore: 'No, never have I given suck to Ḥasna's [W. of 170] children.' He took the sister of his sister to wife. The sheikh said: 'The sin is removed from my neck and from the necks of the witnesses and hangs upon Salma's [W. of 170 & 42] neck.'»

Sitt Louisa said: »The sheikh meant by these words that if Salma [W. of 170 & 42] lied, the sin was hers; she must take the responsibility. If she had said: 'I have suckled Ḥasna's [W. of 170] children', then the sheikh would have strictly forbidden the marriage between Salma's [W. of 170 & 42] daughter Fāṭme [D. of 42; W. of 173] and 'Ali [173].³

The same strict form of marriage prohibition as between foster sisters and brothers⁴ is also valid in other forms of artificial relationship whether

¹ Cf. Jaussen, *Naplouse et son District*, p. 130. See also Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 137.

² *Koran*, IV. 26 sq.

³ Ahmed Shukri, *Muhammedan Law of Marriage and Divorce* (New York, 1917), p. 25: »But a man may marry his father's wife's mother or daughter, unless fosterage creates an impediment» (Khalīl Mukhtaṣar).

⁴ See also *Mishkāt*. English Translation by Matthews, II. (Calcutta, 1810), p. 91 sq. The brother of a nurse is considered as an uncle, a foster-brother is considered as a brother. »My brother, on account of our having been suckled by the same

the adoption¹ has taken place by the expression of a formula or by a ceremony of new birth.² To such a degree is this prohibition of marriage between such »relatives» respected that a violation of it is looked upon as incest; one reason for adoption is often the fact that a woman has to be alone with a strange man for some time as on a journey, and to protect her reputation she adopts him. Thus it is important as a means of protection for woman.³ Yet it cannot in practice be allowed too often; it would in that case bring confusion, for so many hindrances to marriage would arise therefrom.

There are also many variations of the permitted marriages. It is therefore not surprising that the experience thus obtained is expressed in many proverbs, partly in the positive and partly in the negative sense. I give here those which I have noted in so far as they contain general rules and advice.

»The plate with Apricots — do not grasp them; seek for the kernel (*ṣaḥn il-mišmiš lā tikmiš dawwir ʿala l-lōziye!*)»

»All milk is white; it depends on the source (*kull il-ḥalīb abyad id-dōr ʿal-aṣl.*)»

»They seek for origin and cleverness (*bidawru ʿala l-aṣil u iṣ-ṣatāra.*)»

»Do not take the beauty of the girls;⁴ enquire into the descent (*zēn il-banāt lā tōḥid dawwir ʿala l-aṣliye.*)»

nurse and verily God has made unlawful for a child, the woman who suckled him; also her daughter, her sister and her mother, in like manner as he hath forbidden it in near relationship». But if a man and a girl have suckled the same woman at different periods then they are not forbidden to marry one another.

¹ Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 441: »In allen Fällen gilt Adoptiv- und Milch-Verwandschaft der Blutsverwandschaft gleich.» And in a note: »Muhammads Heirath mit der Frau seines Adoptivsohns wurde ihm als Übertretung seines eigenen Gesetzes, nicht als Verletzung altarabischer Sitte zum Vorwurf gemacht.»

See also Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. (London, 1925), p. 154 sq.

² See *supra*, p. 9 note 1.

³ I hope to deal with this question in greater detail in another connection.

⁴ For qualities in women for which they are sought in marriage see Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 85 sq. and 95. — On account of her money, the nobility of her pedigree, her beauty and her faith, according to *Mishkāt*; English translation by Matthews (Calcutta, 1810), p. 76, where it is also said (p. 77) that the Prophet recommends virgins, in preference to widows, and (p. 78) that the

»If thou hast forgotten whence some one comes, be guided by his deeds (*in rāb 'annak ašleh dalāileh fi'aleh*)!»

»Oh! the high fortress! Falcon, catch a Gazelle; that she is dark matters not. A sensible man seeks for perfection (*yā hāda burj 'āli yā šuqr šāyid ražāli is-samar ma'alēš mītabar bidawwir 'ala ič-čamāle*).»

»The root is one and the ancestors are the same (*iš-šurs wāḥad wil-ḥiddiye wāḥad*)!»

We see how it is emphasised that the roots and origin should be considered.¹ Very often it is the origin from the same ancestors which is considered.² With the exception of the relatives who fall within the sphere of forbidden kinship, marriage between blood-relatives is much esteemed and the nearer the relationship the more highly it is esteemed.³ A bride

fertility and temper of a virgin may be judged of from the other females of her family. — For the qualities regarded as essential for personal beauty see Jaussen, *Naplouse et son District*, p. 50 sqq.; also Grant, *The People of Palestine* (London & Philadelphia), 1921, p. 47.

But it is also said (Auerbach, 'Die syrische Frau', p. 152): »Wenn die Familien eine Verbindung passend finden, so kommt es auf die körperlichen Eigenschaften der Eheschliessenden erst in zweiter Linie an». Cf. also the proverb quoted by Bauer ('Arabische Sprichwörter', in *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXI. (Leipzig, 1918), p. 132) and Burckhardt (*Arabische Sprichwörter oder die Sitten und Gebräuche der neueren Aegyptier* [Weimar, 1834], p. 273 sq.): »Jede wurmstichige Bohne bekommt einen einäugigen Messenden.»

¹ Bauer remarks (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* [Leipzig, 1903], p. 85) that a man »ist stolz auf den Adel und die Macht seiner Vorfahren oder auf die 'gute Familie', der er angehört. Daher die Mahnung des Sprichwortes: Heirate einen Mann von edler Abstammung, auch wenn er nur eine Matte besässe.» — Hanauer quotes (*Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* [London, 1907] p. 311) the same proverb in order to point out the value placed upon connection with a good family. »Orientals generally have great regard for pure blood and ancient lineage. Amongst the poor of Palestine there are many who, though obliged to do menial work to obtain a living yet claim that they are 'Awlad asl', i.e. 'Children of stock' or of gentle descent»

² Cf. Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 84: »Bei der Wahl einer Braut sind in erster Linie Verwandtschaftsrücksichten massgebend, denn nach arabischer Ansicht verdient eine 'Tochter der Familie oder der Familiensippe' bei weitem den Vorzug vor einer Fremden.

³ Cf. Wilson, (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 107 sq): »In the Greek Church the prohibited degrees (within which relations may not marry) are much wider than in the Churches of Western Christianity, extending to cousins several times removed, and even to one or two cases where there is no blood relationship at all. But outside these prohibited degrees relations or persons of the same

is chosen from three different groups; she is taken from the bridegroom's own clan (*ḥamūle*) — *clan* or *ḥamūle marriage* — and is preferably a cousin; *cousin marriage* forms a special group of the clan marriages; or one chooses her from another clan but inside the village — *village marriage*; or one chooses her outside the village from another place — *marriage with a »stranger»* or a *»foreigner»*.

The most important of these groups for the fellahin themselves is the first, especially cousin marriage, although, as we shall find, it is not always easy to draw the boundary line between cousin marriage and clan marriage.

It is said of a cousin as a husband:

»The cousin (*ibn il-'amm*) — my darling!
 How sweet it is on his breast to rest!
 The stranger — the clumsy one!
 May he be wrapt in his grave clothes!
 The cousin — my hair on my back!
 If death comes, may I bring him back to life.
 The cousin — my dress¹ that I wear!
 If death comes, may I ward him off with my hands.
 The cousin — my silk dress!
 I would I could take him between my wings and fly.
 And bring him to the castle of Hebron.

(*ibn il-'amm yā hlēli*
mā aḥla n-nōmi fi ḥdēneh
il-rarīb yā duḥruj
rēteh fil-kafan yudruj
yā ibn il-'amm yā ša'ri 'ala ḡahri
in ajāk il-mōt laruddeh 'ala 'umri
yā ibn il-'amm ya tōbi 'alayi
in ajāk il-mōt laruddeh bideyi
yā ibn il-'amm yā tōb il-ḥariri
lahuṭṭak bēn jinhāni uafiri
u haddībak 'ala burj il-ḥalīli.)»

Thus in the song the cousin is praised as the best husband for a girl. On the other hand he is blamed if he does not marry his father's brother's daughter but allow a stranger to take her away.

house or clan are held to have a first claim on a girl's hand, and it would sometimes lead to serious quarrels, and even to possible bloodshed, were this claim ignored.» See also Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, p. 174.

¹ Cf. *Koran* IV. 183.

»Oh cousin (*yā ibn il-'amm*)! thou heap of sweepings!
 Thy cousins (*banāt il-'amm*) have been taken away as brides!
 Oh cousin! wert thou for the hyenas!
 Thy cousins — the lions have taken them.
 Oh cousin! thou heap of dirt!
 Thy cousins — the strangers have taken them.¹

(*yā ibn il-'amm ya čōmit čanāyis*
banāt il-'amm aḥadūhin 'arāyis
yā ibn il-'amm yā čōmit tarāyib
banāt il-'amm aḥadūhin il-rarāyib
yā ibn il-'amm yā rētak laḡ-qbū'a
banāt il-'amm aḥadūhin is-sbū'a.)»

Thus although a man is not forced to marry his cousin,² yet usually his cousin is the best spouse he can wish for. This appears already from the poem first quoted wherein the cousin bride is prepared to ward off death with both hands, when it threatens him; she will even, after death, call him to life again. This also appears from many other expressions in favour of cousin marriage. Thus they say: »His cousin will bear it if things go badly with him, but the stranger wife will be spoiled (*bint il-'amm ḥammālit il-jaḡa amma il-rarībe bidha tādīl*) and a man is not inclined to take a strange woman to wife because he »is afraid that she will curse him in the middle of the road (*il-rarībe min ḥōf fi wast it-tarīq tid' i*).»³

And Sitt Louisa added: »But a cousin cannot curse her husband's relatives because they are also her relatives;⁴ she covers up the matter if it is

¹ Cf. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 54: »It confers religious merit on a man to marry his cousin — by doing so he will not be punished on the day of the Resurrection; and at the same time it is a kind of duty. . . . 'He who carries away the dunghills of the people carries away his own' — it is not right of a man to leave his own cousin unmarried by taking another woman for wife.»

² See also Burekhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, p. 154, 64 sq.

³ Cf. Bauer, who also mentions (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, [Leipzig, 1903], p. 84) the fear of taking a stranger wife i.e. a woman who is not a relative or a member of the clan. »Eine solche, so meint man, würde nicht das Interesse der Familie wahrnehmen, zu wenig Rücksicht für die Fehler des Mannes haben, den Hausfrieden unter den Verwandten stören und sogar Verräterin an der *ḥamūle* ihres Mannes werden.» And in a note he remarks: »Die Sippen eines Dorfes leben bisweilen in Feindschaft.»

⁴ See *infra*, p. 94; also Westermarck who says the same in *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 54 and *The History of Human Marriage*, II. (London, 1925), p. 70.

bad; she overlooks defects; she does not call out that such and such a thing is lacking.» And another time she said: »Cousins are like a pair of eyes. She does not blame him, nor does she talk about it, whether he brings something home or not; but a stranger woman makes a fuss.»

In order to explain to me quite clearly the advantages of having a cousin as wife ⁶Alya [*D. of I*] related the story of a Bedouin chief with two wives — a cousin and a stranger.¹ As soon as things go badly with the man, the stranger wife is ready to insult him: »He who owns nothing ought to die!» while the cousin wife seeks to comfort him and points out new possibilities in the future. When things are really better again, the stranger wife in the story is at once ready to begin a pleasant life at her husband's side, but is divorced by him because he »heard what she said and what the cousin said.» — The man had learnt by experience; in time of need the wife is put to the test. The cousin has already, on account of her congenital relationship to the man a wide community of interests with him, while every other wife will always remain a stranger.² In critical circumstances the weakness is revealed and the bond between the couple breaks.

But the cousin is not the best wife merely for these moral reasons. As a rule she is economically the most profitable bride, for the cousin of a girl must obtain her for a smaller bride price than any other man.³ This

¹ The story is published in *Palästina-jahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1927), p. 128 sq.

² Cf. Lane, *The Arabian Nights Entertainment*, I. (London, 1839), p. 62 note 11: »A cousin (the daughter of a paternal uncle) is often chosen as a wife, on account of the tie of blood, which is likely to attach her more strongly to her husband.»

Westermarck speaks about marriages between cousins (brothers' children) and says (*Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 53 sq.): »They are also said to be conducive to domestic happiness 'He who marries the daughter of his father's brother celebrates his feast with a sheep from his own flock' — he knows the sheep he slaughters. Or: whilst marrying a strange woman is like drinking water from an earthenware bottle, marriage with a cousin is like a drink from a dish — you are aware of what you drink. Such a marriage also gives the husband greater power over his wife, since, if she runs away, her father or brother will bring her back»

³ Burckhardt speaks (*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 154, 64 sq.) about marriages between first cousins among the Arabian bedouin and says: »and that price is always something less than would be demanded from a stranger.» — See also Seligman, 'The Kabâbîsh a Sudan Arab Tribe', p. 137. — Westermarck says (*The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 70): »In Morocco, too, the bride price (*ṣdūq*) paid for a paternal uncle's daughter is often smaller than usual». — Frazer

naturally causes a clash of interests between the bridegroom and the bride's father where the feeling of relationship is not so strong and living in the individual. It is said of a father or a brother here and there that he wishes to have more for his daughter or his sister than a cousin ought to, or can give, and that therefore he is not so anxious to have a cousin as son-in-law or brother-in-law,¹ and it happens that even against the cousin's wish he marries her to someone else. In that case people say: »His cousin did not bear his trouble: she married another — to spite him (*bint 'amme mā hamlat hamme aḥdat rēre jakāra fī 'ēne*);» and sometimes people add: »And to spite his mother (*u jakāra fī 'ēn imme*).»

Below is given an example of a negress from Dūra whose long betrothal with her cousin was broken in favour of the negro policeman Salīm Msallam [199] from Artās.

'Alya [*D. of I*]: »Sabḥa [*W. of 199*] is mature. Her son is already in her womb.² For ten years her cousin il-Izraq has wooed her and according to his circumstances he has given a goat, a pound [money], durra or wheat as part of the bride price. They said to him: 'Either thou givest all or thou canst go! He [the brother of the bride] said: 'I wish to give my sister in marriage in order that I may marry [with her bride price], for I am poor!' Then Salīm [199] and his father's brother Salāme [196] came to Dūra and settled the bride price and the other expenses; at that time no one said anything against it. Then he gave £100 as the bride price. Upon this Salīm [199] with his mother Ḥalīme [*W. of 197*] went and completed the agreement. Why did they not even then say something? Further, besides the bride price of £100 he spent £10 on her outfit. What was the reason that only then did they wake up? The affair is now only to be settled between her brother and her cousin. The £30 [of the bride price] which had been given [by the bride's cousin] were returned to him by Qayid [her brother]. Ḥalīme [*W. of 197*] [the mother of the bridegroom] said to the sheikhs of Dūra: 'My son's wife is under your protection.' The people of Izraq were very angry. Then as Salīm's [199] people went to Dūra to fetch the bride, they cooked for the singers and put food before

maintains (*Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. p. 263 sq.) that marriages with the daughter either of a mother's brother or of a father's sister owe their popularity in large measure to their cheapness, a man having a claim on the hands of such cousins and getting them to wife, either for nothing, or at a lower rate than he would have had to pay for wives who were not so related to him».

¹ Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 70: »it also happens that a man tries to prevent his nephew from marrying his daughter by making his claims excessive.»

² Expression of age, see *supra*, p. 37.

them. And in the evening they prepared food for the family of the bride (*ahel il-'arūs*) and for the men's club.¹ One of Izraq's people said: 'I want £10!' Another said: 'We shall kill you!' Then they fled with the bride, and the motor car had to go once more to Dūra in order to bring back those [of the bridegroom's party] who were left behind, and they arrived [at Arḩās] hungry because they had to flee.»²

If for one reason or another a man does not get his cousin (*bint il-'amm*) to wife the bridegroom through whom he loses his bride must give him a certain compensation, and so the bride's family in the last example say: »We will have £10!» This custom will be described more in detail in the next chapter; I will here only point out that this obligation to give compensation in money³ clearly indicates that a man has a legal claim to his cousin. 'Alya [*D. of I*] very often quoted the proverb: »The cousin comes first (*ibn il-'amm abda*).» Sometimes she added: »The cousin comes before all others in the eyes of the government and the fellahīn (*ibn il-'amm abda quddām id-dōle u il-fellaḩīn*); and Sitt Louisa remarked that also in any case of purchase a relative comes first. In such a case the relatives say: »We go first!» — »Certainly the cousin goes before all others», asserted the women who came to visit us in Sitt Louisa's home in Arḩās. The cousin may take her; even if she is already sitting on the bridal camel

¹ The bridegroom must supply a feast for the bride's family and relatives and the people in her village.

² It was then for the first time that a bride was brought from another place to Arḩās in a motor car, but once in the village she was taken in the old way on a camel to the husband's house. How for the first time some months earlier a bride was taken from Arḩās to another place (Lifta) in a motor car but on horseback from her father's house through the village to the motor car, see *infra*, p. 151. Thus the old and the new are combined until the new displaces the old.

It may be added that when in 1929 a young girl — a daughter-in-law of Sa'īd Mūsa [141] — was brought as a bride from Šarafāt to Arḩās she was neither placed on a camel nor on a horse but was led straight into the bridegroom's house from the motor car.

³ Cf. Baldensperger, *The immovable East* (London, 1913), p. 121: »Sarah's camel was led by her cousin Jouseph, who, had he exercised his right, could have claimed her as his wife; Sa'ada's camel was in charge of her cousin Moosa Salem, who could likewise have asked for her hand and obtained it When the two processions met, the young men had a mock fight, and Jouseph and Moosa received a Majidi each, a supposed payment for releasing the brides and allowing the 'foreigners' to take them». In these cases brides and bridegrooms were from different clans in the village.

he can take her down and marry her (*bīṭayih il-ʿarūs ʿan il-jamal*).¹ And this is not merely theory; when a man really claims his cousin every other man must give way.

During my first autumn in Arṭās in the middle of the general rejoicings of the wedding-season, a similar event occurred by which a man from Arṭās lost his bride from Bethlehem. I describe it just as I reported it in my diary.

ʿAlya [*D. of I*] came in with some news. Muṣṭafa Sālem [69], she says, a year and a half ago had arranged for a bride for his son. He had also already »cooked for her» [i.e. celebrated the betrothal feast]. But the sheikh had not yet made the marriage contract (*iṣ-ṣjāḥ*). He had already given about £100 including presents. Now the bride's cousin says: »I come first» and she herself says: »I want to have my cousin; he comes first». When the bridegroom's father heard that, he threatened: »There are judges!» i.e. fellahīn judges. And Louise Baldensperger thinks that if the betrothal is broken the bride's family must compensate the bridegroom's father for what he has spent for her.² He must compensate for everything, down to the salt and the wood. — And even the pears and apricots which he took away from his garden to Bethlehem, everything will be reckoned precisely, added ʿAlya [*D. of I*]. And somewhat later in the day Louise Baldensperger suddenly called out: »Poor Muṣṭafa Sālem! [69] apricots, apples, pears, everything he has taken to Bethlehem for the sake of the bride, and now they suddenly say: »She wishes to marry her cousin!«

This broken betrothal had sad consequences. Muṣṭafa Sālem's [69] son Aḥmad [74] was betrothed to an Arṭās girl Zarīfe [*D. of 184*] and the mar-

¹ For the same idea see Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VI. 84; Jaussen, *Naplouse et son District*, p. 62, where it is also said that a man's right to his cousin (*bint il-ʿamm*) »est religieusement respecté par les Naplousiens aux yeux desquels il possède une valeur immuable»; *Idem*, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 45 *sqq.* (ce droit regardé comme sacré par les Bédouins); it is of great interest that (*ibid.* p. 47), »Ce droit à la main de la cousine existe aussi chez les catholiques bédouins (avec dispense de l'Église)». Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III. (Wien, 1908), p. 174 and Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 53 (Andjra).

² Cf. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 53: »and among the Ulād Bu-ʿĀzīz a man who has contracted marriage with another man's paternal cousin can be compelled by the latter to give her up if he is compensated for his expenses, but only on condition that she has not yet settled down with him.»

riage was contracted. But he was not in a position to give the full bride price for his new bride, and the consequence was that he who had invited me to his wedding already in the spring of 1926, was, in March 1927, when I left the village, not yet able to celebrate it and his future brother-in-law ʿAbed Šāleḥ [187] was himself unable to take his Taʿāmre bride, because Aḥmad [74] could not give his sister's bride price. Aḥmad [74] was so affected that one day in autumn 1926 it was said that he was dying and all the men of the village gathered in his house as they are wont to do when some one is about to die. Aḥmad [74] certainly recovered but whether he really succeeded in collecting the sum for his bride, I do not know.¹

The following case which occurred at the same time is most illuminating. One day, when we came to Arṭās we heard dancing and singing from the eastern part of the village. Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] knew that it was a vow feast (*nidr*), and I was delighted to have the opportunity of witnessing such a ceremony. Later the thing revealed itself as a ruse to force a man from Arṭās, Smaʿīn Aḥmad [55], who now lives in Eḥbēle to give his daughter to a cousin ʿAbdallah [61]. When a stranger offered £150 as bride price for his daughter, he absolutely refused to give her to the cousin who did not need to put down anything like that amount. Then Mḥammad Smaʿīn [53], a father's brother of the bridegroom and of the bride's father thought about arranging this vow feast to which he was invited so that the relatives should be able to influence him; for as an Arabic proverb says: »nothing shames like the eye«. Far away where he sat in the ruin Eḥbēle, it was easy for him to refuse, but not so if he must do it before the whole group of relatives and villagers. All the day some uncertainty prevailed in the village as to what the feast actually signified. Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] maintained the vow (*nidr*) theory. »It is really a vow, this calves' flesh«, said she, when she came back from a walk in the village whither she had gone to find out about the matter. But the next day we learned the result of the affair. When the evening meal was ready and about to be eaten the oldest and most influential man among the relatives, Aḥmad Smaʿīn [52] — the father of the bride's father — rose and said: »I will not eat unless I know whether this is a betrothal feast or a vow feast«. The father of the bride tried to make difficulties: »When a stranger offers me £150 for my daughter« Aḥmad Smaʿīn

¹ I have since (1930) heard that he obtained his bride by giving his sister in exchange to ʿAbed Šāleḥ [187], who had to give up his Taʿāmre bride.

[52] replied: »Nothing will come of that. We are relatives». And a sister of the bridegroom's father had also joined in the discussion and turning to the young man [61] said: »I will not eat unless I know whether thou wilt give me a wedding garment». Rice and meat then stood there. The bride's father could no longer refuse to give his consent; so the first chapter of the Koran was read and the meal began. But the next morning it was also said: »This night Aḥmad Sma'in has instituted a new rule, that for a clan daughter only £25 shall be given. So dear as it is now will not do.» Aḥmad Sma'in [52] was formerly civil head (*muḥtār*) and not only the chief man in the family but also the most influential person in the eastern part of the village.

The following account also treats of the refractory father of a bride who can do nothing when the man who requests his daughter's hand urges cousinship;¹ yet there is here a new factor, in that it is not a cousin and a stranger who are rivals for the girl but two cousins, so that cousin is opposed to cousin. Thus it is interesting to see here that not all cousins have the same right and this compels us to make a distinction and define the idea of cousinship. It is especially valuable to notice the argument with which the successful cousin asserts by proxy his greater right in comparison with the cousin whom the girl's parents would have preferred.² I give here the account which I have from 'Alya [*D. of 1*]:

»Ali As'ad [42] sent people to his father's brother Ḥaḍr Ehsēn [40]. They said to him: 'We desire relationship-in-law with thee (*iḥna tālbīn in-nasab minnak*).' He replied: 'You are welcome! I will give her to everybody except 'Ali As'ad [42].' Then the wooers answered: 'For what reason?' He replied: 'To troublesome and bad people I do not give her.' They replied: 'Thou canst not release thyself!' And he said: 'Has he perhaps a share in my daughter?' They said: 'He is her cousin (*ibn il-'amm*). He can even take her down from the bridal horse.' Sāra [*D. of 51; W. of 40*], the mother of the girl Ṣubḥiye [*D. of 42; W. of 49*], declared:

¹ Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. p. 255: »In modern Arabian custom a father cannot give his daughter to another if his brother's son asks for her». — Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, I. (London, 1830), p. 154, 64 sq.: »All Arabian Bedouins acknowledge the first cousin's prior right to a girl; whose father cannot refuse to bestow her on him in marriage, should he pay a reasonable price». He also describes how a man forces his cousin's father to give her to him. See also Jausen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 45 sqq. — Westernmark, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 53: »In the Rif instances are known in which an uncle who has married his daughter to another man has been killed by his nephew».

² Cf. what is said as to the parents' obligation in the bridal choice, *supra*, p. 59.

'She is for the son of my brother.' To that one of the wooers replied: 'The mother's brother (*ḥāl*) is excluded, but the father's brother (*ʿamm*) is included (*il-ḥāl mḥalla u il-ʿamm mwalla*).¹ If Ḥaḍr [40] dies, then Ahmad Smaʿin [52] [the brother of his wife] will not inherit, but ʿAli Asʿad [42], the son of his brother will inherit.' Ḥaḍr [40] said: 'If he brings me her weight in gold, even then I will not give her to him.'

The wooers returned to ʿAli Asʿad [42] and reported to him: 'He will not give her to thee.' ʿAli [42] replied: »He may build an arch but I will throw it down. Travel by night, and I am thy moon (*isri u ana qamarak*)' [i.e. I will watch thee]. Dare to give her to somebody else!' Further ʿAli [42] said: 'I will send to thee a first and a second and a third time. No shame will fall upon me. Until her hair turns white (*la tiffhin jadāyil biḍ*), so long as I live, I will allow no one to take her.'»

ʿAli Asʿad [42] won. The father was obliged in the end to give him the girl.

This story which has several interesting points, shows very clearly that all cousins are not equally highly esteemed. Up to now in the question of cousin marriage we have only considered brother's children (*ulād il-ʿamm*). When it is a question of Arabic conditions, where the father's brother's son (*ibn il-ʿamm*) and the father's brother's daughter (*bint il-ʿamm*) stand in a special category, the boundary line for cousin marriage cannot be drawn between *cross-cousins* (the children of a brother and a sister respectively), who are marriageable, and *ortho-cousins* (the children of two brothers or of two sisters), who are not marriageable.² Instead we get the following classification: marriage between the children of two brothers (*ulād il-ʿamm*) which is much to be desired,³ and on the other hand marriage between the children of sisters (*ulād il-ḥawāt*) and cross-

¹ See also Jaussen, *Naplouse et son District* (Paris, 1927), p. 127.

² This distinction is drawn by Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. (London, 1918), p. 98.

³ Frazer, who *ibid.* very fully discusses the subject of cousin marriage says there, p. 255: »Among the Arabs a similar preference for marriage with the daughter of the father's brother seems to be strong, general, and ancient. It is said to be one of the most widespread rules of Arabian law that a man has the first claim to the hand of his father's brother's daughter.» The author gives a lot of examples from ancient and modern Arabia, Moab, Egypt, Morocco and the Muhammadan Hausas and says then (*ibid.* p. 260): »Taken together, the foregoing testimonies appear to evince among the Arabs and peoples who have derived their law from them a decided preference for the marriage of a man with his ortho-cousin, the daughter of his father's brother; the general rule seems to be that a man has a prior right to the hand of his father's brother's daughter and can obtain her in marriage for a smaller sum than he would pay for any other wife.»

cousins (*ibn il-ḥāl* and *bint ʿamme* or *ibn ʿamme* and *bint il-ḥāl*) which are not regarded with the same degree of favour. That is to say, as soon as the relationship is reckoned with a woman as connecting link, whether a man's bride is the daughter of his mother's sister, his mother's brother, or his father's sister, then such marriages are not looked upon with so much favour.

Whence then the father's brother's son's (*ibn il-ʿamm's*) strong position as against the other cousins?¹ In the above account from real life the conditions of heredity are given as the explanation, because the father's brother (*il-ʿamm*) inherits and through him his son, while the mother's brother (*il-ḥāl*) and his son (*ibn il-ḥāl*) must stand aside if the father of the bride dies. This appears most clearly where a man dies without leaving any male descendants. If he has a daughter, her cousin takes her to wife without a bride price — for to whom should it be given?² And it appears that through the marriage his right to the dead man's property is recognised. It is therefore said of such a man: »the heredity is lost (*rāḥ wirte*)».

Of 87 dead married men in Arṭās, 25 men are reported as dying without sons³ — 8 of the latter leaving one or more daughters. In three of these cases a male cousin married the dead man's daughter and appropriated the property (the Marriages numbered 93, 140 and 238). In the fourth case a cousin took the bride price for the dead man's daughter [*D. of 65; W. of 134*]; he had already married another orphan cousin [*D. of 64; W. of 67*] (i.e. Marriage number 93) as already mentioned. But when later on he died, his widow refused to marry another cousin. She chose a sheikh from Šiyūḥ, who never lived in Arṭās but only now and then came to visit his wife (*jōz mitsarreb*). In this way she retained her independence and control over the property. In the fifth case a father's brother [27] did not take his dead brother's daughter [*D. of 26; W. of 9*] as a wife for his son but married her to another in order to pay her father's debts with the bride price.⁴ The sixth case was rather complicated because one man

¹ For different theories on the origin of the preference for marriage with the father's brother's daughter, see Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 260 *sqq.*

² Cf. Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 433: »Der Valī — wenn er nicht allzu nah verwandt ist — darf sein Mündel sich selbst verloben und braucht dann kein Mahr zu geben».

³ See the Genealogical trees and Marriage lists, at the end of the book.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 27.

[137] married the daughter and his brother the widow of the dead man [131], while the latter's second daughter was taken to wife by a third relative [157]. All these three men were brothers' sons to the dead man.¹

The idea appears to be in the present day just as it was in the time of Moses. On account of Zelofhad's daughters' complaint asserting their own and their dead father's right to a share in the land, it was laid down as a *law* in Israel (Numbers XXVII. 8—11) »If a man die and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter. And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren. And if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren. And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall possess it.» And of the marriage of the daughters who inherit it is said that they ought to marry within the family. Because (Numbers XXXVI. 3) »If they be married to any of the sons of the other tribes of the children of Israel, then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers and shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe where unto they are received: so shall it be taken from the lot of our inheritance.» Therefore (Numbers XXXVI. 8 *sq.*): »Every daughter that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, shall be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers. Neither shall the inheritance remove from one tribe to another tribe.» And of Zelofhad's daughters who were the cause of this law being laid down, it is said that they made cousin marriages to follow the command of the Lord (Numbers XXXVI. 10): »Even as the Lord commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelofhad». They (Numbers XXXVI. 11 *sq.*) »were married unto their father's brothers' sons and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father.»²

We need only substitute the word »clan» (*hamûle*) for the word »tribe» and it seems that we have a corresponding law.³ Today, as in former

¹ In the seventh case the man [21] had married his four daughters before he died. For one of them see *infra*, p. 128. In the eighth case the girl [*D. of 124*]—she is very young—lives unmarried in her father's house.

² It is strange that Frazer who discusses (*Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. p. 97—263) the question of cousin marriage starting from the practice described in the Old Testament, does not mention this account, which is so striking a proof of marriage between brothers' children among the Israelites.

³ For the Muhammadan law of inheritance see *Koran* IV. 12 *sqq.*; also Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I. p. 143.

times, it seems that marriage with the father's brother's son (*ibn il-'amm*) is preferred to any other marriage in order to prevent a stranger taking possession of the property and inheritance of the family.¹ And even if it be seldom that a man die without leaving any sons, yet the possibility affects it so far as to allow marriage between the children of brothers to appear specially desirable. A stranger shall not enter the clan, if, at the same time, he belongs to another clan, as does every mother's brother's son (*ibn il-ḥāl*) except when the girl's father has married inside his own clan. Experience shows that more often he is from another clan or another place. The same thing holds good of the father's sister's son (*ibn 'amme*) to a girl. And in the two cases in Arḥās where children of sisters are married, in the one case they were from different clans and in the other case the bride was from another village. In this way it is quite clear that the father's brother's son's (*ibn il-'amm's*) stronger position as against the other cousins is just this that he alone is always a son of the clan and in consequence his private interest is merely a part of the interest of the family and clan, while the other cousins generally belong to a foreign group with outside interests.² How the great family, of which the different families

¹ Cf. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 53: »Marriages between paternal cousins are popular because they keep the property in the family». — *Idem*, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 69: »The ancient Arabs held that a man had a right to wed his *bint 'amm*, that is, the daughter of his father's brother; such a marriage strengthened the kinship tie, and kept the property in the family». (*Kitāb al-ajūnī*, ed. Būlak, VIII. 113, quoted by Goldziher, 'Endogamy and Polygamy among the Arabs,' in *Academy*, XVIII. 26). — Frazer, *op. cit.* II. p. 262 (marginal note): »Marriage with the father's brother's daughter is apparently much later in origin than marriage with a cross-cousin: it probably implies a system of father-kin, and is based on a wish to allow daughters to share the family inheritance.» See also Lowie, *Primitive Society* (London, 1921), p. 29; and also Galton, 'Restrictions in Marriage', in *Sociological Papers*, II. (London, 1906), p. 6: »Evidence from the various customs relating to endogamy show how choice in marriage may be dictated by religious custom. That is, by a custom founded on a religious view of family property and family descent.»

² Cf. Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern', p. 436: »Der *Ibn 'Amm* ist nicht der Gegensatz zum *Ibn Chāl*, nicht der patrueis im Gegensatz zum matrueis, sondern es ist der Einheimische im Gegensatz zum Auswärtigen . . . Ebenso natürlich ist die *Bint 'Amm* eine Frau aus demselben Stamme oder derselben Sippe. 'All the souls of a tribe are accounted *eyyal 'amm*' (Doughty I 316). Es wird also nicht eine eigenthümliche Verwandtenheirath, zwischen Geschwisterkindern von Vaters — aber nicht von Mutterseite, empfohlen, sondern vielmehr die Endogamie.» — Grant says (*The People of Palestine* [Philadelphia & London, 1921], p. 52): »Ordinarily friendship is confined to this tribal relationship, and marriage is usually

form a part, is always ready to function appears from the fact that when the father dies his brother steps into his place. He is responsible for his debts but also administers the property and is the natural protector, guardian and person to arrange the marriage of his brother's children. When there is a daughter to inherit it is quite clear, that, if the father's brother (*il-'amm*) has the right, he will be glad to arrange a marriage between his ward and his son and thus bring the property, which he has already learnt to regard as his own, into his family. If, on the other hand, he is guardian to the orphan son of a brother and administers his property, he will, for the same reason, take this ward as his son-in-law. In Arṣās, at present, we have two such cases. The one is the cousin Ibrahīm Ḥalīl [*S. of 167*] for whom Zarīfe Mḥammad [*D. of 166*] is waiting;¹ and it is said of Ḥaḍr Eḥsēn [40], who is guardian to Šḥāde [*S. of 41*], the son of his dead brother, that he even sells part of the latter's property since as he says to him »I shall in any case later on give thee my daughter Nazha [*D. of 40*] to wife».

The importance of the father's brother's son (*ibn il-'amm*) always being also a son of the clan is supported by the fact that no very strict distinction is made between these two ideas. Very near relatives are also often called »children of the clan» (*ulād il-ḥamūle*). On the other hand one says *ibn il-'amm* and *bint il-'amm* and perhaps means second cousins,² or bride and bridegroom belong to different generations of the family, either so that a father claims his cousin for his son, in which case the bride belongs to an older generation, or so that a man demands his cousin's daughter, in which case the bride belongs to a younger generation of the family than he himself, and in both cases one speaks of cousin marriage. Even in the case of more distant relationship they speak of *ibn il-'amm* and *bint il-'amm*,³ although they are quite ready to use instead

restricted to its limits. As an Arabic proverb expresses it, 'I am against my cousin, but my cousin and I are against the world.' People outside this tribal family are strangers and possible foes.»

¹ *Supra*, p. 41. — When I in 1930 returned to the village they were married.

² Cf. Seligman, 'The Kabābīsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, II. (Cambridge, 1918), p. 138: »Where the paternal grandfathers were brothers the offspring were regarded as though their fathers had been brothers.»

³ *Ibid.* p. 138: »When the relationship had to be sought several generations back, the descendants still spoke of each other as *ibn 'amm* or *bint 'amm* respectively, even though, as in cases recorded, the families had split into different *khašm biyūt*. In these cases no attention was paid to the fact that one of the contracting parties might belong to a generation earlier than that of the other. In the case of Belal

the expressions *ibn il-ḥamūle* and *bint il-ḥamūle*. In consequence of this loose terminology I used to work out the precise relationship on the basis of my genealogies. If in a certain case where husband and wife were brothers' children I asked if the man really was her cousin, the answer was *il-lazam* i.e. the cousin whom she must marry. If I said that in a certain case there was no question of cousins in the exact meaning of the term, I was told: »The forefathers are the same; the roots are the same.» The important thing is the knowledge of a common origin.¹ It binds together the members of the clan (*ḥamūle*) as against the other clans in the village and to a still higher degree against the outside world; and marriage to a cousin or within the clan strengthens the feeling of belonging to one another and brings them even more closely together.²

and Khadija, the father of Belal and the grandfather of Khadija being brothers, Belal spoke, of the father of Khadija as his brother, (really his paternal uncle's son), and of Khadija as his bint akhūya (brother's daughter), while Khadija had addressed him as ya 'ammi before the betrothal.

¹ It is interesting to see that the fact of a common origin is not enough but people must be clearly conscious of it. As soon as the memory of the common ancestors becomes dim, the band by which blood relationship is conditioned begins to loosen. In this way the ṣahīn clan (*ḥamūle*) is tending to divide into *dār* (family) Ṣahīn [130] and *dār* Aḥmad [138]. When they quarrel they already say: »We are for ourselves and you for yourselves!» In the same way people usually speak of the 'Ode clan (*ḥamūle*) although originally it was only a branch of the larger group — the Sa'd clan — to which Aḥmad Reya's and As'ad Reya's descendants also belong. This is explained partly by the fact that *dār* 'Ode (the 'Ode family) was formerly the most powerful of the three. Jēdallah 'Ode [2] was the sheikh of the village about 1850.

Besides that they could not state the exact relationship between these three fathers: 'Ode, Aḥmad and As'ad Reya; and they solved the difficulty by saying that they were brothers although of different mothers, a fact of a certain general genealogical interest but in any case much too vague to be accepted, especially when one knows how wide is the meaning of the word brother, which is sometimes applied to all men in the same village. Thus it is said that »ninety pairs of brothers» were killed at the great catastrophe which led to the decline of the village. (See *supra*, p. 13). Similarly a fellāh 'Aṭiye [155] told me of the descent of the people of Arṭās from four »brothers» who lived in the fortress beside Solomon's Pools. — The Meṣāni clan is also divided into three parts. In each of them the relationship can be traced with absolutely certainty, but when one asks how the ancestors were related one is told of the oldest men of the clan that two of them were brothers and the third a cousin. To be sure of accuracy — in tracing the genealogy — one must not go back more than a hundred years.

² Cf. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 56; Lane, *The Arabian Nights Entertainment*, I. (London, 1839), p. 62 note 11. See also Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern', p. 437.

It is also characteristic of the conception as to how this ought to be that it is customary to use the word »cousin» when a married couple address each other. Sitt Louisa remarked: »A good woman says always »my cousin» (*yā ibn ʿammī*) and not »my husband» (*jōzi*); so also the husband; he says »my cousin» (*yā bint ʿammī*) and not »my wife» (*marati*). Even if they are not related to each other this is the customary address.¹ When an Arṭās man [28] who was married to a woman in Sahion, stayed too long in the opinion of his Syrian wife on his visit to the village, she sent him a letter in which she called him *ibn ʿammī*. At least on solemn occasions this is usual in Arṭās. Thus Salīm Msallam [199], when celebrating his marriage to his second wife, addressed his first wife as »cousin» (*bint ʿammī*) although they are not blood relations at all.

In any case in my marriage lists it appears that of 264 marriages only 35 or 13.3 per cent are with cousins in the actual signification of this word, i.e. the man has married his father's brother's daughter (*bint il-ʿamm*) and 69 or 26.1 per cent if one includes marriages with second cousins and those cases where the wife is her husband's father's cousin or his cousin's daughter, and 89 or 33.7 per cent of the total number of

¹ For *bint ʿammī* as a term of address of a husband to his wife and *ibn ʿammī* as a term of address of a wife to her husband see Jaussen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes I. Naplouse et son District* (Paris, 1927), p. 86; *Idem, Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 45 note 3. — Burckhardt, *Arabische Sprichwörter oder die Sitten und Gebräuche der neueren Aegyptier* (Weimar, 1834), p. 274 sq.: »Wenn sich solche Verwandte heirathen nennen sie sich selbst nach der Hochzeit immer noch 'Vetter' und 'Base' nicht 'Mann' und 'Frau', und zwar aus dem Grunde, weil das Band einer so nahen Verwandtschaft insgemein für heiliger gehalten wird, als das der Ehe, welches der augenblickliche Eigensinn des einen Theils auflösen kann, wie dies oft der Fall ist. Der Mann nennt also seine Frau . . . 'Tochter meines Onkels!' und die Frau sagt zu ihrem Gatten . . . 'Sohn meines Onkels!'» — Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, I.* (London, 1849), p. 215: »the husband and wife continue to call each other 'cousin'; because the tie of blood is indissoluble, but that of matrimony very precarious.» See also Lane, *The Arabian Nights Entertainment, I.* p. 65 note 14; Lüttmann, *Beduinen Erzählungen, II.* p. 41 note 2; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, III.* (London, 1855—1856), p. 41: »cousin (*bint Amm*) in polite phrase signifies a wife.» — Wilken says ('Het matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren,' in *De verspreide Geschriften, II.* [The Hague, 1912], p. 45) that among the Arabs a man will apply the name of »father's brother» (*ʿamm*) to his father-in-law, even when his father-in-law is no kinsman of his, and he will apply the term »father's brother's daughter» (*bint ʿamm*) to his beloved, even when she is not his cousin at all. See also Seligman, 'The Kabābīsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies, II.* (Cambridge, 1918), p. 126 sq.

marriages, if one counts all clan or *hamūle* marriages¹ in Arṭās; and this seems to be in opposition to all the praise that is showered on cousin marriage. It may be interesting to compare the different families in the village in this respect.

It appears that of the small families only one, and that the largest group, can show cousin marriage and that not before the fourth generation. The reason for this must be that in the first stage of a family's development there can be no question of cousin marriage, either because it is considered more advantageous to make alliances outside the family or because there are not enough cousins suited to each other. Thus cousin marriage indicates that a family has attained a certain power and size, so that a man can marry one of his own relatives in the village, and that fact raises the prestige of cousin marriage. Besides this, it appears from my lists that not only the smaller groups but also the great clans have taken more wives from outside their own circle than the number of women they have given in marriage to »strangers». But if there are not enough women even inside the great clans, then it is an advantage to get a cousin, and this compulsory limitation of cousin marriage makes it more an ideal and gives it a certain attraction and lustre, just as I never heard such praise of water as in Palestine, where it is lacking in so many places.

But Professor Westermarck says he has found that cousin marriage and inbreeding are often connected with a lack of women, and he mentions the well-known example of the Samaritans in Nablus, that little group who have married within their own circle and who are said to have a surplus of men. He says it interested him to find such a theory confirmed in Arṭās where there is such a high percentage of cousin marriages — it must be remembered that the above mentioned figures consider only marriages with relatives in the male line, not sisters' children, cross-cousins and their descendants — and deficiency of women.

The people of Arṭās are fully conscious of the difference in proportion between the numbers of men and women. They say proudly that Arṭās is a place with many and handsome, strong men; and this fact is attributed by them to the water in the village spring, which is said to make many and fine and strong men. The Mešāni family are especially noted for having many men. »That tree is bitter», says 'Alya [*D. of I*] and adds in explanation that the sweet tree has not many male descendants. Of the sweet tree they sing: »My eye, it is not proper to have three or four boys

¹ See Table at the end of the book, p. 194.

in the house: one or two or no comrade.» — »But the Mešāni tree», she says, »is two gourds¹ and the bitterness and the yield is strong». This favourable state of the Mešāni family is also ascribed to the wife of one of them, Nafise [*W. of 117*] who in *lēlt il-qadr*,² »the night of power», when one has the chance of getting a wish fulfilled, made use of the favourable moment and prayed for »a rich house and a man's house and a house with blessing; and one which time cannot wipe out.»

In the Šahīn clan the surplus of men was in danger of becoming fatal. The reason is said to be old Šahīn's [130] prayer that God would not allow any daughters of his family to survive, for which very rash wish a countervow had to be made later to Abraham in Hebron by which a better balance was attained.³ Thus the people say, and my lists prove, that the disproportion between women and men is in no case so great as in their family. Nine daughters have been given in marriage outside the clan, but there are twenty-three imported wives. — Or, if one reckons the number of marriages the proportion is 11:27. — One can understand what that means when one remembers that the Šahīn clan is monogamous. If they had only had their own women to choose from, 14 men would have been obliged to remain single. On the other hand the Šahīn family is the only great clan which is monogamous throughout and in this way forms a bright exception to the rest of the village, but this is probably attributable to the lack of women and therefore more a necessity than a virtue. From other circumstances also one can see that women are valuable there; several cases of levirate exist and also marriages with widows and divorced women.

From this agreement between tradition and the exact figures in Arṭās one can expect that corresponding information, traditions and legends as to the proportion between men and women in other villages will also agree. In some cases this was attributed, as in our village, to the effect of the water. Concerning the Kawāfne, the earlier inhabitants of Kūfīn, Alya [*D. of I*] said:

»The Upper Kawāfne, who now live in Bēt Ummar, they all drink the same water and have the same number of boys and girls. Of the Lower Kawāfne on the other hand, in Šūrīf, those who drink from the spring of Ijjūr have more girls, the people of the well il-Imzēr'a more boys».

¹ For *Citrullus Colocynthis*, ar. *ḥanḍal*, *ḥamḍal*, see Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, I. (Gütersloh, 1928), p. 343 sq.

² For this night in *Ramaḍān* see e.g. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, II. p. 96 sq.

³ See also *infra*, p. 138.

For just as there are places with masculine water (*moyet dačar*) which has a favourable effect on men, so are there other places with feminine water (*moyet inta*), which has a good and favourable effect upon women and in such villages the men are in the minority.

There are also other explanations. The Virgin Mary is said to have uttered a blessing over Bethlehem with a wish for men as numerous as locusts for that place, while over a neighbouring village Bēt-Sāhūr she expressed a corresponding curse and wished for them a constant lack of men. Again, Šarafāt is said to be a village with a majority of women, because a woman saint—el-Badriye—who has her shrine there and is venerated by the Muhammadans, being a woman herself favours women and prays for girls for the village. Similarly ʿĒn-Kārim is said to have a majority of girls while, according to what they say in Arṭās, the neighbouring villages el-Ḥaḍr, Bēt Jāla, Bettīr, Ḥōṣān and el-Walaje have more men than women. The daughter of a sheikh from Ḥalḥūl, who was on a visit to Arṭās, told me that her family tree is sweet, and in consequence there are few men but many women among them.

But neither from these nor other places in Palestine have we statistics and genealogical investigations which could throw light upon the question to what extent the existence or absence of a greater or less number of cousin marriages is a possible cause of the difference in proportion of men to women; yet it would be most useful to procure information on this matter from different places. If Arṭās, where the latest period of occupation is comparatively recent, is a place where cousin marriage is increasing, there may be other places in Palestine with a more undisturbed culture where cousin marriage has already reached its highest point or is actually on the decrease. It would be interesting to draw a complete curve; as a supplement might be added a study of the places where cousin marriage does not exist because of the religion.¹ It would also be important, as Professor Westermarck emphasises, to confirm whether this difference in number between men and women is true of all the boys and girls born or only of those who have survived. I tried to obtain this information, but will deal with this question later when discussing birth in Palestine. It is for many reasons very difficult to obtain exact and reliable information from the mothers in this matter.

Quite unaffected by such theoretical inquiries and the results to which they may lead, the purely practical problem for the men in Arṭās remains,

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 66 note 3.

i.e. that there are too few women within the smaller circles formed by the different clans, and that the same is the case within the large circle formed by the village as a whole. In so far as the men do not wish either to remain unmarried or to limit themselves to one wife, they must take wives from outside, and this they do. They take their wives partly from other clans in the village, partly from other places. Yet it is not only a negative fact — the lack of women — which drives them to this, pure necessity is the deciding factor in the case but marriage within the village though outside their own clan has, like marriage with a stranger, its positive side. One point is that there is thus a greater choice. But above all there arises here the important question of relationship-in-law (*nasab*), and the feeling of solidarity which is created through the marriage tie between more or less stranger elements of the people.¹ Especially where conditions are disturbed and uncertain and culture is still in its infancy such unions may be necessary. But one can still observe their power in bringing people more closely together. »They are now relations-in-law (*ṣār insībham*)», it was remarked in the village of the Rabāy'a clan and the Sanad family when Aḥmad Muṣṭafa [74] of the Rabāy'a clan became betrothed to Zarife Sanad [*D. of 184; W. of 74*] and this made it clear that both in the daily work and in the evening for social purposes he joined with and sought out her relatives. How the feeling of solidarity can bind together for a long period ahead is also seen from the fact that in harvest time, even today, an ʿOde family and the Ḥalāwe family work together on the fields of both in Bēt Skārye because, as it is said, they are relations-in-law; yet the marriage which united them occurred long ago.² There are also certain rules for visits between relations-in-law; thus those who live in other places come for weddings and other festive occasions, as well as burials, with sheep or goats to our village and slaughter them for their relatives in Arṭās.

From one point of view marriage between the children of sisters or cross-cousins can be regarded as due to a desire to continue relationship-in-law (*nasab*) in order to maintain and extend relationship in the female line. In the same way as a man seeks a bride from his father's family, he can also wish to seek a bride from his mother's family; for it is said *«il wāḥad bōḥod min šurš immor*. When I asked the cause of a cousin mar-

¹ All over the world and at all times marriage has set a seal upon friendly relations and alliances (*cf.* also p. 87 note 2).

² *Infra*, p. 115.

riage where the bride and the bridegroom were not brothers' children (*ulād il-'amm*), the regular answer was a laconic *nasab*, i.e. there has been an earlier marriage connection between these families.¹ Parallel with what has been said of cousin marriage in the actual meaning of the term — when discussing Arabic conditions — that *ulād il-'amm* are not always really brothers' children, it can also here be used in a wider sense and need not always indicate actual sisters' children or cross-cousins.² We shall when discussing marriage with a stranger find that in this connection it is especially the married women from other places who are anxious to bring about new marriages and exchange of daughters between their own families and the families of their husbands.³ Through all such marriages, which are explained by an earlier relationship-in-law (*nasab*), those friendly relations which have been thus created are maintained and continued. This has significant expression in the custom that a widower on the day of his wife's burial appeals to her relatives to give him a new wife from among them, with the statement that death does not sever the relationship-in-law (*il-mōt mā biḡṭā' nasab*); such an appeal is not and scarcely can be rejected. If one gives, as is most natural, the dead woman's sister to be the new wife, this is the form of marriage which in literature has been called *sororate*, but there is also a variation of sororate in which the sister is not given but another member of her family; it occurs in this form in Arḡās. Although other motives play a part and are more important, the counterpart to sororate, which is called *levirate* can also be explained by the desire to continue relationship-in-law (*nasab*). Because a man dies his family do not wish to sever their connection with the family of his wife which through marriage with her has been formed or continued. In this case also »death does not sever the relationship-in-law», so the dead man is replaced by one of his brothers and the connection between the families remains.⁴ It can also be seen how anxious people are

¹ Cf. Westermarek. *The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 76: »Cross-cousin marriages may serve the object of keeping together related families, and this object may be the more important since the families in the present case would belong to different clans.»

² Cf. Lowie asks (*Primitive Society* [London, 1921], p. 26) how people who consider that marriage with a cross-cousin is the most proper marriage, act, in default of a cross-cousin, and answers: »From our best accounts it is clear that in such cases a substitution of some more remote relative occurred who was reckoned of the same status.»

³ *Infra*, p. 95 sq.

⁴ Cf. Westermarek, *op. cit.* III. p. 264.

to bind families firmly together by marriage from the fact that they readily marry at the same time several members of one family to members from another family. Thus Ḥalīl 'Ōde [3] himself, his son and his two daughters, were married to members of the Ḥalāwe family of the Mešāni clan so that all four weddings were celebrated at the same time.¹ The exchange need not be merely an economic matter, but can also have its reason in the fact that a double marriage strengthens the bond between families to a higher degree than a single marriage. It is that side of the matter that is emphasised in the Old Testament when there is a question of exchanging daughters.²

While noting down and working out my genealogies I obtained a very strong impression of the importance of *nasab* (relationship-in-law) in its wider sense as a bond between families by marriage between its members. Where marriages between blood relatives in the male line are fairly usual as in Arṭās, the bride and bridegroom from the same clan can also reckon relationship-in-law because their parents were related. But the fact that they are from the same clan is in this case so significant that one speaks of *ibn il-'amm* and *bint il-'amm* even where the relationship with a woman as the connecting link is more intimate. Relationship-in-law (*nasab*) forms merely a strengthening element if it is not a question of a widower or widow, in which case the earlier marriage in the family is the deciding thing and is the first consideration when the dead person's family makes their claim to a new marriage. Otherwise it is not until one goes beyond the clan that the relationship-in-law (*nasab*) gets its real importance as a principle beside or in contrast to cousin marriage in the Arabic meaning i.e. marriage between brothers' children (*ulād il-'amm*). That the former always remains an idea of lower value than the latter is shown by the saying: »not blood-relationship, only relationship-in-law (*muš qarāyeb bass nasab*)». But as the father's brother's son (*ibn il-'amm*) takes precedence of a mother's sister's son (*ibn ḥāle*) or a cross-cousin (*ibn il-ḥāl; ibn 'amme*), so have these latter precedence of a man not of the clan, who cannot claim any relationship with the bride. »We have the first right to our sister's daughter (*naḥna abda fī bint uḥetna*)», as

¹ *Infra*, p. 114.

² Compare Gen. XXXIV. 9 *sq.* where the idea of the importance of relationship-in-law is found; when the inhabitants of Shechem propose to Jacob's sons as follows: »And make ye marriages with us, and give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters unto you. And ye shall dwell with us: and the land shall be before you; dwell and trade ye therein, and get you possessions therein.»

Aḥmad Smaʿin [52] said, when he took as a bride for his son [55] a girl [D. of 170; W. of 55] already betrothed to a man [70] from the Rabāyʿa clan who had to content himself with her much older mother's sister [D. of 51; W. of 70] given to him by Aḥmad Smaʿin [52].¹ In the same way other earlier marriage connections give a man advantages. But it is also otherwise if a man is from another clan but from the same village than if he is from another place. It is said: »I have the first right; because I am from the village (*ana abda ana ibn il-balad*)».²

It is quite clear that they who together form the village will intermarry in order to knit themselves more closely together.³ Such village marriages⁴ are important because they tend to even out the differences between the families, which are only strengthened by clan marriages while the former create a feeling of solidarity between the dwellers of the village as such. But not all the families and clans have the same share in this levelling process. As regards intermarriage between the Šahīn and the Rabāyʿa clans one can trace how during all the generations covered by the village's recent history a woman, having passed from one clan to the other, sends her daughter again as wife to her own clan and this latter again marries her daughter to a relative in her clan.⁵ This did not even cease when about fifty years ago the two clans became estranged on account of a murder, which caused the two then existing marriages between the members of the Šahīn and the Rabāyʿa clans to be dissolved. There are still Rabāyʿa women in the Šahīn family. Similarly the Šahīn and Mešāni clans intermarry easily. »Prosperity together — death together — joy together», is said in reference to them. Other clans again do not intermarry at all or do it with reluctance. Some years ago when a woman from the ʿŪde

¹ *Supra*, p. 49.

² *Infra*, p. 150.

³ Cf. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 56. See also Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 437 sq. — That village marriages really take place to a great extent in Palestine is assumed by Conder, who says (*Tent Work in Palestine* [London, 1885], p. 323): »The distinctive physiognomy of each village is extremely striking. In one the people will be good-looking, in another ugly; in each case there is a strong family likeness between the various inhabitants of any one place, which is apparently due to constant intermarriage between the peasants of the same village.»

⁴ See Table at the end of the book, p. 195.

⁵ It is in practice a consistent application of the proverb: »Take the girls from the fathers' sisters' breasts», quoted by Bauer, 'Arabische Sprichwörter', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXI. (Leipzig, 1898), p. 139.

family of the Sa'd clan was married to a man [168] of the Šahīn clan, it was pointed out that it was the first time that an 'Ōde daughter had come to the Šahīn family, and that the opposite had never happened, that a Šahīn daughter was given in marriage to the clan of which the 'Ōde family was a branch. This fact is certainly connected with what was related quite independently — that during the politically disturbed times in the middle of the previous century¹ there was sharp opposition between the Šahīn and 'Ōde families, who belonged to different parties.

In regard to the smaller groups in the village it appears that just as the largest of them — the Šhāde family — is the only one which can show cousin marriage, it is also the only one which can show real intermarriage with the larger clans in the village. They have given 8 daughters in marriage to other clans and families in the village; they have taken 6 wives from them. As they can only show 11 men — who have 16 wives — then half of their number are married to daughters of other families in the village. 37.5 % of all their marriages have been with women from other clans and families from Arṭās. Their ancestor is said to have come from Silwān near Jerusalem; yet he was with our villagers during the latest flight from Arṭās when the village was destroyed,² and joined the Šahīn clan who went to Se'ir. After his death his only son Šhāde [169] went with his mother to her new husband in Ḥarās; but as he was badly treated by his step-father he was taken back to Arṭās, being soon followed by his mother and both were placed under the protection of Sma'in [51], a powerful man in Arṭās. When Šhāde [169] grew up Sma'in [51] gave him his daughter to wife and 'Alya [D. of 1] remarked in this connection: »In this way people become part of the village society (*min hāda itballadu in-nās*)». A very important factor besides marriage with women of the village has been the fact that the Šhāde family had and have property in Arṭās.

In the same way another little family could have developed under more favourable conditions. Cana'an [180] who had come from Ḥalḥūl with his sister Maḥbūbe [W. of 31], whom he had exchanged for an Arṭās girl as his wife, remained in the village because of his marriage. When his son Aḥmad [181] received a vineyard in exchange for giving away in marriage a sister Ḥalīme [D. of 180; W. of 5] and thus laid the foundation for his property in the village, it looked as if a new clan would arise there. But then Aḥmad [181] died childless; his sister Ḥalīme [D. of 180; W. of 5]

¹ *Supra*, p. 14 note 4. ² *Supra*, p. 13.

died, and his second sister Ḥaḍra [*D. of 180; W. of 175*] whom he had exchanged for her husband's sister as his wife, having become a widow went back to the family's original village Ḥalḥūl where she married. The family has thus come to an end in Arṭās. Aḥmad's [*181*] widow Ḥelwe [*D. of 170*] married again and this time a man from Ḥalḥūl, who now lives in Arṭās in his wife Ḥelwe's [*D. of 170*] house. She looks after the vineyard, but the 'Ōde family who gave the vineyard as a bride price think that they have a right to it and in any case they claim to inherit it after her death.

The ancestor of the third group Slimān 'Ōde [*188*] came to the village with his mother when she as a widow had married Abu Ḥalāwe [*Father of 108*] of the Mešāni clan — it was during their flight in 'Adjūr.¹ This family has had the most varied and changeful career of all those in the village, probably because their only property is a house which they bought with the bride price of Slimān 'Ōde's [*188*] daughter Šabḥa [*D. of 188*] and it is only this house which keeps some of the members in the village. In 1927 one of their young men — he [*192*] was an orphan — married a daughter of the Šḥāde family; her father [*172*] was also dead. She cannot speak properly neither can she hear well; but in any case it is possible that this marriage will be a means of binding the Slimān 'Ōde family more closely to the village. It is interesting to notice a stipulation made by the young wife's father's brother, 'Alī Ḥalīl [*173*], that she should have the right to take from her father's garden what she required during her lifetime as her husband, 'Abd il-Ḥamīd [*192*], did not possess any land. — His father [*190*] also had taken one of his two wives from Arṭās.

In contrast to this the fourth of the small groups — the family Sanad — had only one wife from the village, and that was a very long time ago, and from the family Šḥāde, of whom it is uncertain whether at that time they had the rights of villagers. Besides that, they can only show one-sided relationship-in-law (*nasab*), because although they gave away women — not more than three — they themselves did not take any.² There was always a certain tension between my two women 'Alya [*D. of 1*] and Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*], for the latter wished to claim blood relationship (*qarābe qadīme*) with 'Ōde, who was 'Alya's [*D. of 1*] ancestor and she affirmed that he had been the cause of their coming to Arṭās, while 'Alya

¹ *Supra*, p. 13.

² It was only after I had left Palestine that they took another wife [*W. of 187*] from the village, see *supra*, p. 73 note 1.

[*D. of I*] was very sceptical of this statement and said with assurance: »No, no blood relationship, only relationship-in-law (*muš qarāyeb bass nasab*)». The Sanad family was perhaps the last to leave the fortress opposite the highest of Solomon's Pools¹ and now inhabit a cave in the village which they have made into a dwelling-place. They have always preserved something of a bedouin character, partly by marriage with Ta'amre people and partly because they have lived among the bedouin for long periods.

The fifth group shows no village marriages at all. It consists of a Ta'amre family who came to Meshullam's daughter, Sitt Milya — as she was called in the village — as shepherds and after her death remained in the house. They belong to the *Yaman* party — the political party of their people — while the rest of Arḩās are *Kēs*.² When they can no longer live in the house they will probably go back to the Ta'amre people where their relatives and property are. Their wives, for whom Sitt Milya gave the bride prices, have been taken from their own people and to a certain extent that has contributed to the retention of their characteristics as strangers in the village.

Finally, as to the sixth group, they are negroes of whom there are four generations, the oldest having already died out. Their ancestors were a slave [195] bought by Šahīn [130], and his wife who came to Jaffa with some American settlers.³ Although they have assumed the habits and customs of the villagers and at feasts the negroes and the men of Arḩās kiss each other as brethren, they have not intermarried with them, but have married negroes from other places where they have relations-in-law.⁴ Thus in January 1927 one of them, Salīm Msallam [199] married the daughter of his mother's sister from Dūra.⁵ They count themselves now as belonging to the Šahīn clan; they, like the other members of the clan, receive garments at the great feasts in the Šahīn family. It is indicative that the eldest of the negroes [*W. of 196*], when she speaks of the members of the Šahīn family, still says »my master» (*sīdi*) and »my master's wife» (*mart sīdi*). They are still conscious of being inferiors. — Sitt Louisa says: »It is said of negroes [in Palestine] that they do not multiply much.»

When we pass to discussing the question of marriages with strangers it may be useful for the sake of comparison to give the figures for the other

¹ See *supra*, p. 14. ² *Supra*, p. 14 note 4.

³ Jaussen, *Naplouse et son District*, p. 129: »La famille ancienne était complétée par l'esclave.» See also Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 224 sq.

⁴ See also *supra*, p. 63. ⁵ *Supra*, p. 70 sq.

forms of marriage. There are 89 marriages where the wife is from the same clan or 33.7% of the whole 264 marriages included in my statistical tables; there are 62 marriages in which the wife is from another clan but from the same village, i.e. 23.5% are village marriages; finally there are 113 marriages between men of Arḩās and stranger wives; that is to say 42.8%, or nearly half of the marriages, are with wives from other places. In numbers the preponderance is wholly in favour of the latter type of marriage. We have already emphasized the dissonance between the ideal and reality which is to be found here. It has been simply impossible to describe cousin marriage without to some extent touching upon marriages with strangers. The fellahīn themselves are so sensitive of the difference between cousin husbands and wives on the one side and stranger husbands and wives on the other side, that they appear to find it difficult to characterize the one without the other, just as light and shade complete each other. Thus things are painted in black and white and cousin marriage is emphasized to the disadvantage of marriages with strangers, as diametrical opposites. Yet it is not possible that people live in such absolute contrast to all theory; there cannot be only a gulf; there must also be reconciling factors which tend to reduce or remove these contrasts.

In our village stranger wives are necessary and this is a reconciling factor. While 65 Arḩās women have been given away in marriage outside the village, 107 stranger women have been taken as wives; that means an import surplus of 42 stranger women, apparently necessary. This deficiency of women appears to have been absolute in the beginning of the last period of culture; the assertion of my informers that at that time there were no women (*mafiš banāt*) appears to be supported by the fact that all the »ancestors» took wives from other places,¹ and it is also asserted that they had no women to give in exchange. The same thing is now being repeated in the smaller groups who thus form a parallel to the early stages of development in the village.

Those men who took wives from other places had also a direct advantage as in this way they could avoid military service.² The men of Arḩās who in former times as guards of the canals which brought the water from Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem were free from taxation and military

¹ Again Bauer says (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* [Leipzig, 1903], p. 84): »Auch hat man früher selten eine Braut in anderen Dörfern gesucht; seit 10 bis 20 Jahren ist hierin aber eine Wandlung eingetreten.»

² See *supra* p. 58; also *infra* p. 147.

service, later lost this privilege. They were therefore very pleased at the regulation which was made, that marriage with a stranger woman (*il-rarībe*) or a »cut-off» woman (*qaṭī'a*) — i.e. a woman who has no near blood male relatives — neither a father, nor a brother nor a father's brother living — set a man free from military service. He was not required to take part when lots were drawn as to which men in the village should go as soldiers. Yet this regulation only held good in the case of women in a special category. It was mentioned in connection with marriage with Ta'āmre women whose people are half bedouin; and also in connection with two women [*W. of 92* and *W. of 99*] from the north country (*blād iš-samāl*).

On the whole it appears that in spite of all theories people are pleased with the stranger women in Arṭās. Thus it is also said: »Buy not the ass whose mother is in the same street (*lā tištri iḥmāra u immha fil-ḥāra*)».

The mother of the bride — or if she is dead one of her nearest relatives — always goes with the bridal procession to see how things will be with her daughter in the husband's home. 'Alya [*D. of 1*] says: »The mother of the bride stays ten—fifteen—twenty days or even a month until she has settled her daughter (*imm il-'arūs bitḍall fil-bēt tatjassir hal bint*)»; but if she is a stranger woman she goes away again and the husband has no mother-in-law to trouble him. On the other hand if she lives in the village and quite close she is always at hand, and the daughter whenever she likes and in all small matters can complain about her husband in the house of her mother and her family, who think they are justified in interfering in his affairs especially if they are related to him.¹ The people of Arṭās have had the same experience common all over the world that however good relatives may be they can become a heavy burden and most troublesome.² For this reason it is said: »God

¹ Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 437: »Die Eltern der Frau wollen natürlich ihre Tochter, und deren Kinder, lieber bei sich behalten als sie dahingeben 'unter die Feinde'; weil sie dann leichter einen Druck auf den Eidam ausüben können. Für den Mann sollte aber dieser Gesichtspunkt umgekehrt ein Motiv sein, sich die Frau lieber nicht aus dem eigenen Lager zu holen. Es kommt in der That vor, dass davor gewarnt wird, sowohl aus anderen Gründen (Agh. XIV, 143, 21), als auch deshalb weil es zu hässlichen Zwisten führe, vermutlich zu Zwisten zwischen den Familien des Mannes und der Frau, die durch Einmischung der Schwiegereltern hervorgerufen werden (IX, 185, 6).»

² Cf. Westermarek, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 54 sq.: »Yet cousin-marriages are also considered to have their drawbacks. At Fez I was told that they easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and wife's families, both

bless the stranger wife and the nearby fields (*bāraĉ allah fil-mara l-ṣarībe wil-falḥa l-ḡarībe*)!»¹ In other respects also a man need not have so much consideration for his wife if she is a stranger; he can give free rein to his anger and his curses. For in uttering a curse against someone a man, to increase its effect, curses the parents and ancestors and in this way the children, so that a man cannot curse his cousin-wife without at the same time cursing himself; if he curses her the curse goes back to the previous generation and thence to the younger generations and finally to himself. This reason for self-control naturally does not exist when it is a stranger wife whom he curses whose root and origin are quite different. In one story² related by Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] of a stranger [*ṣarībe*] and «cut-off» woman's (*ḡarī'a*) doubly unfortunate lot, she was cursed in her husband's house. »Get up thou cursed of both parents (*ma' ūnt il-wāldēn*)! God curse thy kind (*jinsik*) from which thou comest and thy country from which thou comest! Cursed be the father of thy kind or the father of the clay (*tīne*) from which thou comest!» etc.

But for a woman and her own people the unprotected position of a stranger wife is an equally great misfortune. A Ta'āmre woman [*W. of 153 & 152*] in Arīās refused to stay in the house where her people were cursed. Parents bewail their hard fortune in being obliged to bring up a daughter only later on to be cursed by a stranger man. Never have I heard it said that it was good for a woman to go to another place as a wife. On the contrary it is said »God punish him! How will he throw thee out among strangers?» as the sheikh said when Ḥamde Mḥammad [*D. of 33*] was married into the village of Lifta by her brother.³ In the wedding songs this tragedy is expressed. The women reproach the relatives of the bride in this way: »The stranger woman! they let her go among strangers, her men-folk! What sends her among strangers is only the money.»

of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple; hence, when girls who want to marry visit the tomb of Sidi Mbārāk ben 'Abābū outside the gate Bāb l-Gisa, they address the saint with the words, . . . 'O Sidi Mbārāk ben 'Abābū give me a husband without friends.'» Westermarck also quotes (p. 54 note 1) the poet of the Mu'allakāt who in his testament gives the following advice to his children: »Do not marry in your own family, for domestic enmity arises therefrom.»

¹ For the comparison »wife-tillage», see also the *Koran*, II. 223.

² See Granqvist, 'Bruderschaft und Frauenehre', in *Palästinajahr buch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1927), p. 125 sqq.

³ *Infra*, p. 149.

Or: »Move thyself, thou camel of the stranger. O misery! after this she will be a stranger! She goes from one place. She goes from here into the land of strangers.» It is also considered necessary to give the bride who is going to a strange place quite special advice as to how she shall behave when among foreigners. Thus according to Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] they say: »Go in peace and God be with thee! Be careful in thy life as a stranger! Allow no-one to talk about thee nor the wives to make fun of thee! Women flatter thee to thy face and afterwards are stinging scorpions. As far as the men are concerned, thou must be clever and pure. The stranger must be perfect. Let the people say: 'May she live and the house from which she has come!' And let them not say: 'May she be cursed!'

'Alya [*D. of 1*] said:

»The stranger wife has been compared to a weighing machine. If a little wind blows up her clothes she will be blamed. Tell the stranger wife: 'She must not crack almonds with the neighbours!' 'I should recognise the stranger wife among a hundred. She is an oppressed one!'

She is so, because she has not her own relatives to protect her and a husband does not give her the same support and protection as in the West.

It is peculiar that just this fact tends to increase the number of marriages with strangers, because a woman who comes from another place is anxious to take a near relative as a daughter-in-law in order to have her assistance. It is said of many such women: »She took her brother's daughter as a daughter-in-law.» Let us hear some of these women express themselves on the matter. Faṭme Šaḥtūr [*W. of 132 & 133*] a Bethlehem woman declared: »I take no other as a daughter-in-law to help me in my old age than the daughter of my brother.» And the reason for Ibrahim 'Ayeš [*82*] having his first wife from Nūba is due to the influence of his mother Faḍḍa [*W. of 80*] who said: »I will not have any woman of Arṭās as a daughter-in-law, but a maiden from my family who will help me in my old age; I will have a maiden from Nūba.» And Sa'da Aḥmad [*W. of 93*] from el-Walaje praised her good fortune: »O Lord, be thou praised that the daughter of my brother came into the house as my daughter-in-law [*W. of 107*]; for that reason I will at all times kiss the earth. May my other son obtain a bride like her!» When a bride had to be chosen for her daughter's son [*109*], Šālḥa [*W. of 66*] from el-Walaje said: »I wish to procure my brother's daughter as a daughter-in-law for my daughter [*W. of 108*], one of the same flesh and blood.» 'Alya [*D. of 1*] however

remarked: »This daughter-in-law [*W. of 109*] has nevertheless given her mother-in-law [*W. of 108*] a bitter drink, as if she were not of the same flesh and blood.»

All these marriages with strangers just quoted are also at the same time marriages between relatives. To a great extent they are marriages between cross-cousins — or sisters' children — but differ from the proper cousin marriages — between *ibn il-'amm* and *bint il-'amm* — in that they are in a lower category because they are characterized as marriage between relations-in-law (*nasab*) and not blood relations (*qarāyeb*) — relations as reckoned in the male line. The interesting thing here is the marriage policy of the women. If they do not get a relative they will at least have someone from their own village. In the same way a mother would rather give her daughter to a brother's son to wife or at least send her to her own village.

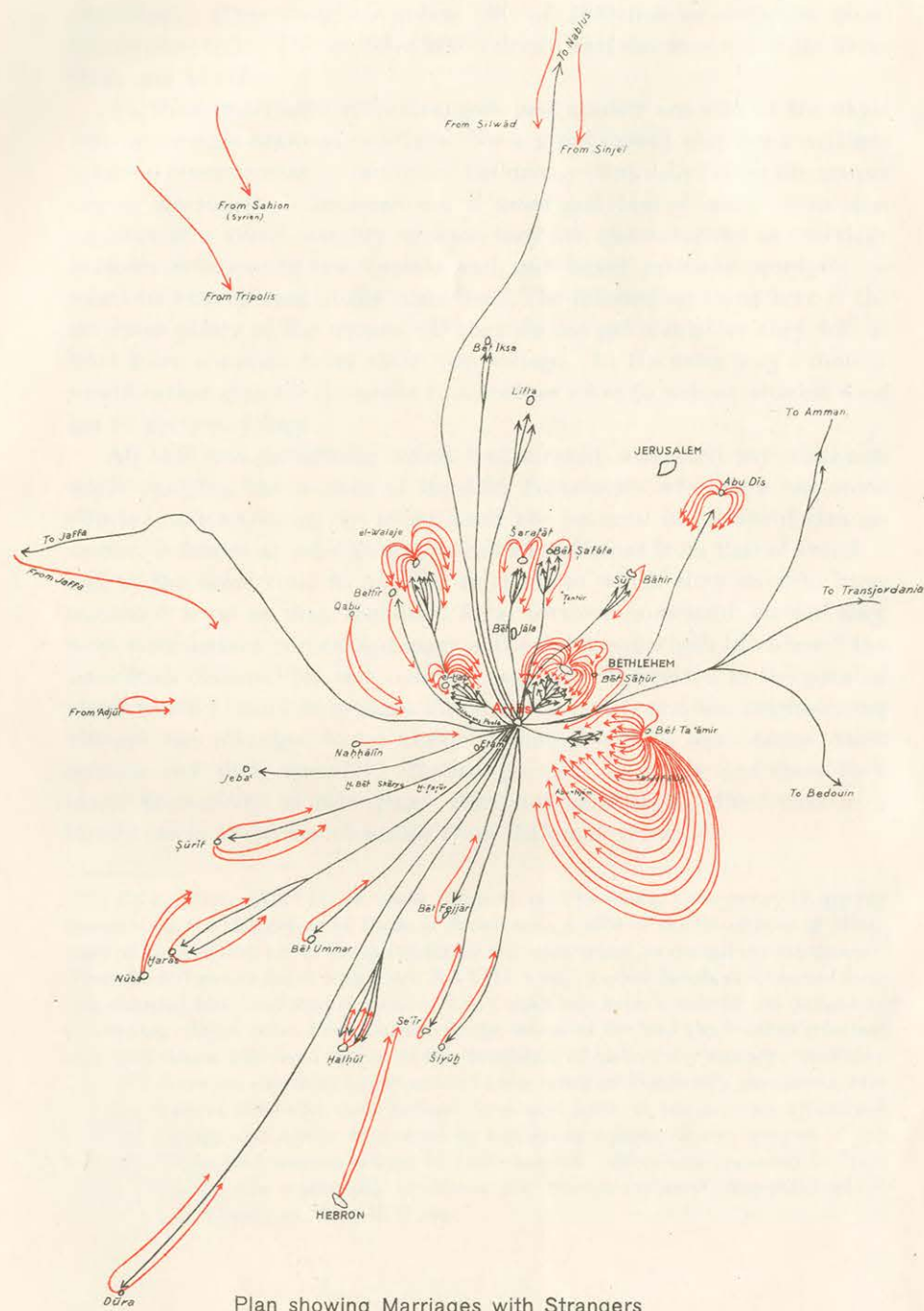
All this was something which had already attracted my attention while studying the women of the Old Testament, who show the same efforts¹ and where on the other hand the cultural influence of strange women is feared as belonging to a culture different from that of Israel — and at the same time to another religion, to which they seem to have remained loyal as they remained loyal to their homeland, so that they were considered a constant danger and an element which threatened the Israelitish culture;² for this reason I was most interested in the parallel views which I found in modern Palestine. In Arṭās and the neighbouring villages the stranger wives always remain loyal to their home, their politics and their customs. Thither go their thoughts and there they count themselves as belonging. It cannot be without effect that in a family circle there are elements from different places.

¹ Cf. e.g. Gen. XXVII. 46 »And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?» Thus she influenced Isaac who (Gen. XXVIII. 1 sq.) »called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan. Arise, go to Padan-aram, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother.»

² We have an excellent counterpart to the story of ZELOPHAD'S daughters who married their cousins i.e., their fathers' brothers' sons, in the account (Numbers XII.) of Miriam and Aaron who stood up and spoke against Moses because of the strange (Ethiopian) woman whom he had married. Miriam is punished for this abuse although she represents to Moses the correct national conception which appears quite clearly in Ezra X. 2 sqq.

[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

Marriages between Artās men and stranger women	PLACES from or to which the wives have moved	Marriages between Artās women and stranger men
7	Abu Dis	1
2	Ādjūr	
	Amman	2
	Bedouin	1
1	Bēt Fejjār	1
	Bēt Iksa	2
21	Bethlehem	13
1	Bēt Šafāfa	5
1	Bēt Sāhūr	
30	Bēt Ta'āmir	6
1	Bettīr	1
1	Bēt Ummar	1
2	Dūra	1
3	Ĥalĥūl	4
9	el-Ĥaḍr	7
2	Ĥarās	2
2	Hebron	
1	Jaffa	1
	Jeba'	1
	Lifta	3
	Nablus	1
1	Nahĥālīn	
2	Nūba	
2	Qabu	
1	Sahion	
1	Se'īr	1
1	Silwād	
1	Sinjel	
1	Sūr Bāhir	3
4	Šarafāt	4
1	Šiyūĥ	1
3	Šūrīf	1
	Transjordania	2
1	Tripolis	
10	el-Walaje	6
113		71



Plan showing Marriages with Strangers

The marriage plan of Arṭās as regards marriages with strangers presents great variety. In all there are 35 places from which wives have been taken or to which wives have been given. Nevertheless it appears that about half of the marriages are connected with people of neighbouring places. With Ta'āmre women 30 marriages have been contracted, with Bethlehem women 21, with el-Ḥaḍr women 9, and with el-Walaje women 10. That is 61.95% of all the marriages with strangers in Arṭās are with women from these places. The following numbers are of marriages contracted between Arṭās women and men from the same places: 6 marriages with Ta'āmre bedouin, 13 with Bethlehem men, 7 with el-Ḥaḍr men and 6 with el-Walaje men. That is 47.8% of all the marriages between Arṭās women and strangers were with men from the neighbouring places.

Although the number of women leaving Arṭās is generally in the minority, one can speak of a real intermarriage with Bethlehem, a place very closely connected with Arṭās in other respects also.¹ Next in the number of marriages comes el-Ḥaḍr, the nearest neighbour in the west, and then el-Walaje, a fact which is probably explained in that el-Ḥaḍr is a young colony of el-Walaje people. The greatest number of stranger wives in Arṭās are however from the Ta'āmre bedouin, the neighbours in the east.² The suddenly increased number of marriages with Ta'āmre women is quite striking. This is, as stated earlier, partly connected with the fact that the men are thus freed from military service, partly because the Ta'āmre women are comparatively cheaper. It would be interesting to see whether in other parts of Palestine so many marriages take place with women of former enemies who have lost their earlier prestige. It must also be noted that there is a great difference in number between the Arṭās women who have married Ta'āmre men and the Ta'āmre women who have come to Arṭās. While some of the Ta'āmre women have retained their prestige because they are from very old distinguished families, for

¹ People take their products to the market there and there do most of their buying. See also *supra*, p. 63 and *infra*, p. 99, 104 *sq.*

² When I showed Professor Alt my plan of marriages with strangers, he made the following valuable remark: »The striking fact that the great majority of marriages with strangers — whether of exchange or not — in Arṭās have been made with the villages to its west, north or east but not to its south, is perhaps connected with the fact that Arṭās still lies in Jebel el-Quds (the Jerusalem District) but near to its southern boundary towards Jebel el-Ḥalil (the Hebron District). On the other hand the inclination of the people of Arṭās to *Kēs* may be connected with the earlier character of Arṭās as *waqf* of the sanctuary in Hebron.» See *supra*, p. 12 *sq.* note 2.

example those of iz-Zīr¹ of which there are some in Arṭās, the women of Arṭās think it an indignity to be married to Ta'āmre men because conditions there are not so good. It must be remembered that the neighbours to the east of Arṭās are half bedouin.² With the real bedouin the fellahīn in Artās have had no marriage connections, except for one girl Ḥaḍra Mḥammad [*D. of 33*], who was married to a bedouin sheikh but almost immediately divorced by him; nor are there marriage connections with the real townspeople; the Fawāre — Muhammadans in Bethlehem — with whom the Arṭas people intermarry are half peasants.

I had hoped that guided by marriages with strangers in Arṭās I should have been able to follow up many other historical, political and cultural connections and I still think that they would yield clues to other problems and a basis on which to build. I also picked up many interesting traces which I however could follow only a certain distance. To be able to attain real results in this respect one ought to study a whole complex of villages; here a point is reached for going to more than one village.

How a stranger bride is found.

Although I realised that in the village I could not go further in finding out the more remote historical and cultural causes and effects of marriages with strangers, I did not give up the idea of obtaining a certain amount of information on the question. I decided to approach the matter from another side and asked 'Alya [*D. of 1*]: »How does one find a stranger bride?» She answered quite laconically with a proverb: »One mountain does not meet another, but people meet each other.» (*jabal 'a jabal mā byiltqi amma nās 'a nās byiltqu.*) That was just what I desired to investigate. What conditions in daily life lead to marriage connections between persons in different places. Earlier marriages between the families are a simple explanation but how did it happen that stranger people from other places sought brides in Arṭās, and how did the Arṭās men get their brides from other places? Such concrete pictures and scenes from daily life are in their way just as valuable as questions of principle and descriptions of

¹ See Finn, *Stirring Times or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles of 1853—1856*, II. (London, 1878), p. 36 for an account of the powerful sheikh Sāf iz-Zīr. Even in the year 1926 a shepherd boy whom we met with his sheep in the desert remarked with conviction: »The whole world obeys iz-Zīr (*kull id-dinya taht iz-Zīr*).»

² See also *infra*, p. 14 note 4.

a more general nature, and it is a question whether, with our defective information concerning the daily life of the Orient, we can really understand it without this valuable supplement.

For those who have travelled in the East, the picture of the coffee-drinking, smoking and playing men is stamped in their memories as one of the most characteristic of the street scenes. The people of Arṭās also think a great deal of these pleasures when they go to Bethlehem; there they get news from the outer world; in Bethlehem there are people who read the newspapers; there in the cafés politics and the events of the neighbouring villages are discussed. But there are also discussed family policies and the fates of many women have been determined at such conversations between the men. Here follow examples of three such »Café» brides.

From early times the people of Arṭās have had good marriage relations with the Fawārre, Muhammadans in Bethlehem. But in the year 1926 for the first time a man from the ʿŌde family in Arṭās married a Bethlehem girl from the Šaḥtūr family. It is said that Fāṭme Šaḥtūr [*W. of II*], who according to the fellahīn idea was already very old — about 25 — chose her husband herself, for she had often noticed him when he visited Bethlehem, whither the men of Arṭās go nearly every day. When one knew her energetic character, it was easy to believe that she was behind the whole affair; yet of course she could not appear publicly. ʿAlya [*D. of I*] thus describes the preliminaries to this marriage.

»Isa [*II*] and Mḥammad [*6*] sat in the café. Fāṭme's [*W. of II*] cousin Mūsa Šaḥtūr came and sat beside them. Words came and words went and they began to discuss the question of a bride. Fāṭme's [*W. of II*] brother was sent for. He came to the café and took them to his house. They called the sheikh iṣ-Šḥāde and fixed upon a bride price of £100, not counting the other costs.» — To these costs belong also the betrothal and wedding feasts and the bride's outfit.

In connection with another woman who came from Bettīr to be married to an Arṭās man in a similar way Sitt Louisa said:

»The men of Bettīr also come to Bethlehem to market, because there they can buy more cheaply and it is pleasanter for the fellahīn than in Jerusalem, because Bethlehem is more countrified.»

And ʿAlya [*D. of I*] related:

»It was in Bethlehem. They [the men] sat in a café. They talked of all and sundry. [A man from Bettir] said to Sâlem [90]: 'The father of a daughter has empowered me to arrange for her.' He answered: 'My brother! If thou canst, speak for us!' — 'Good! Find out whether it is yes or no!' — And God allowed it to succeed. People treated her badly and God has brought her away from it. Now through her Haniye [D. of 94] is in trouble.»¹

Of a third such bride 'Alya [D. of I] relates:

»Jêdallah 'Ode [26] had a soldier comrade from Bêt Şafâfa. While drinking coffee the discussion turned on marriage. [The man from Bêt Şafâfa] said: 'Hast thou no good girl for whom thou canst arrange?' He said to him: 'Yes.' Then said he: 'My brother, look for a girl for me!' Jêdallah [26] said: 'Ahmad Jêdallah [21] has two daughters.' He said: 'Speak for me with their father.' He [2] came and spoke with Ahmad Jêdallah [21]. The latter answered: 'She is still so young that she does not understand how to protect our honour among strangers.' He [26] said to him [21]: 'Dost thou think that they will put a bridle on her [as on a bear] and let her dance [to amuse the people]? Has she not a mother-in-law who will educate her?' And her [Haliliye's [D. of 21]] fate was thus decided. He took her [to Bêt Şafâfa] and later Faḍḍa 'Etmân [D. of 77], Miryam Derwîş [D. of 119] and Bannûra [D. of 112] married into the same village.

The visits of artisans to the village sometimes leads to marriages. Building is an opportunity of this kind. The women, especially young girls, help the men; e.g. they bring them water for the plaster, etc. Then the visiting master-builder may notice them and make his secret choice, if he requires a wife for himself or his son or some other male relative. If he finds one whom he thinks suits him, he makes enquiries and finds out about her character and her family. This is what happened when Faḍḍa 'Etmân [D. of 77] was married in the village Bêt Şafâfa. 'Alya [D. of I] relates of this:

»Isa Hamdân came to Artâs to build a house for Mḥammad Halil [6]. People were helping him and he saw this maiden [Faḍḍa [D. of 77]] and said: 'To whom does this maid belong?' They said to him: 'She

¹ Fâḩme [W. of 90], called in Artâs Fâḩme il-Bettiriye, lived as an orphan widow in her father's brother's house and was badly treated by his wife. Now she treats Haniye [D. of 94] in the same way. Haniye [D. of 94] is the daughter of Faḩme's [W. of 90] brother-in-law Hasan Ibrahim [94] who is in America. His wife Miryam [W. of 94] has left Artâs.

belongs to 'Etmān Jibrīn [77].¹ He said: 'Who is her mother?' They told him: 'Mdallali [D. of 22; W. of 77], the daughter of Slimān Jēdallah [22].² He saw [also] her sister Miryam [D. of 77] [who had a different mother Sabḥa [D. of 170]] and he said: 'To whom does this girl belong?' And they said to him: 'To 'Etmān Jibrīn [77].² He went and questioned the sister of Halīliye [D. of 21] [who was already married in his village Bēt Safāfa].² He said: 'The elder is too old for my son.' They said to him: 'If thou canst obtain the young one, take her.'

On that day we had prepared the barley on the stable roof. The man [‘Isa] came and said: 'Peace be with you. What is the price of the honey, thou seller of honey?' I [‘Alya [D. of 1]] said to Mdallali [D. of 22; W. of 77]: 'Whence is the man?' She said: 'It is he who is building the house for Mḥammad Halīl [6]. There is nothing else to be done, I must go down.' Mdallali [D. of 22; W. of 77] brought him into her house. He went and laid his hand under his head as if he slept but was watching all the time. I [‘Alya [D. of 1]] said to the girl: 'Be careful of thy behaviour. That is a man who watches carefully; he is not sleeping.' She [Mdallali [D. of 22; W. of 77]] prepared a meal for him. He ate and went home. He [‘Isa] went to the friend of Jēdallah [26] in Bēt Safāfa [who had previously enquired about an Arḥās connection of Jēdallah named Halīliye [D. of 21]]. He said: 'I should like to take the sister's daughter of Jēdallah [26].² He said: 'Take her, even if her hand blackens the wall'.

But after he had gone away, they betrothed [Faḍḍa 'Etmān [D. of 77]] to Muṣṭafa Mūsa [127]. And now this trouble happened with Miryam [D. of 77], [who was suspected of having had an illegitimate child]; so Muṣṭafa [127] broke off the betrothal with her sister.

[Later on] Muṣṭafa [127] brought [one day] a load of green beans [to Jerusalem]. 'Isa [the suitor from Bēt Safāfa] and Muṣṭafa [127] met on the way near Ṭantūr. He [‘Isa] said to him: 'Have you married, Muṣṭafa [127]?' He said: 'No, we have not married. If you wish to be betrothed to her, go and be betrothed to her!' — 'What happened'. — He said: 'Her sister so-and-so.' [‘Isa:] 'That does not matter. »Two sisters come from one navel string. The one is a harlot and the other is a good woman. (*ḥawāt tinten min ṣurra wāḥade qaḥbe u wāḥade ḥurra*).» He [‘Isa] then said: 'I don't mind. I let the harlot go and take the good woman (*bihim-niṣ badaṣṣir il-qaḥbe u bōḥod il-ḥurra*).'

[The relatives of both parties] met in a café beside the Jaffa Gate and spoke and discussed the matter and it came to pass. Fate has triumphed and that is the end. They took the girl and the marriage contract was made in Jerusalem. The girl herself went back to Arḥās and [her mother's

¹ *Supra* p. 39.

² Of such a man it is said that he goes about on betrothal errands — or that he seeks. The man here who is seeking has a support in relations to Halīliye [D. of 21], the Arḥās girl of whom in the previous story it is described how she came to Bēt Safāfa and brought other women with her.

brother] 'Ali Slimān [27] and [her mother] Mdallali [*D. of 22; W. of 77*] went to Bēt Şafāfa and took the bride price.

As the bridegroom entered the house of the bride before the marriage, she went and hid herself although he was there two days. His [the bridegroom's] mother said: 'She is good coin (*dirhem manqūd*)' and on the wedding day, as the bride entered the house, she trilled and sang:

'a—i I have not betrothed thee, O industrious one
a—i neither to a yellow one nor to a swollen one
a—i but to sifted wheat
a—i from thy hand to the throat of the mill.'

(*mā ḥaṭabtlak yā sāter*
la ṣaḫra walā mathūle
illa gamh mṣarbal
min idak la ḥalq iṭ-ṭahūne).»

This was said of course by the bridegroom's mother just because things were not quite all right in the bride's family. If there is a scandal in the family, they may go to another place in order to avoid gossip and slander as far as possible, or at least in order not to be reminded of it all the time. »Do we in Arṭās know what happens on the other side of the Jordan?» said 'Alya [*D. of 1*] one day. It is just as difficult for people in distant places to know what happens in our village. Miryam [*D. of 77*] herself, who was impossible in Arṭās, was taken secretly by night as a bride to the neighbouring village el-Ḥaḍr. In the old days she would have been killed;¹ but now they do not dare to inflict such punishment on a woman who has misbehaved herself, for fear of the Government.

A girl from Dūra came to Arṭās in a similar way as Faḍḍa [*D. of 77*] from Arṭās went to Bēt Şafāfa, when Salīm il-'Abid [199] had a new house built for him (1926) and his relatives on the mother's side came from Dūra, a village south of Hebron, partly to help him in the building and partly to join in the festivities at the conclusion of the building. Then Salīm [199] was so attracted by his negro cousin on the mother's side that he took her from the man to whom she had been betrothed for many years, as has already been related.²

»Mḥammad ibn Ra'ḍe came [again] from el-Walaje to offer his services as a gardener and that is how people learnt to know his daughter Şafiye [*W. of 82*].»

¹ See also *infra*, p. 138.

² *Supra*, p. 70.

Further opportunities occur when guests come to the village. They are in the men's club (*sāḥa*) and in the jolly mood that prevails when the guests are treated to sheep and goats, they talk quite readily about arranging marriages. In this way it happened that Ḥaḍra [*D. of 33*] became the wife of a bedouin sheikh. And 'Alya [*D. of 1*] herself was in this way married for the second time to the son of a sheikh from Ṣūrīf.

She related as follows:

»I came back from Beyrut [where she had been as a wet nurse] and stayed in Arṭās for forty days. The Kawāfne¹ had been in prison and passed Arṭās on their way out. Beasts had been killed for them, in the morning a sheep and in the evening a sheep. In the morning I carried a basket of tomatoes to Bethlehem. Behind my back they settled their business. They gave Sa'd [*5*] [her brother] 25 *majīdi* as the first part of the bride price. When I came back from Bethlehem, they had already cooked rice and meat. Ṣabḥa [*D. of 2*] [a cousin and sister-in-law] brought [me] meat under the fig tree and said: 'Thou dost not know, O Father »I don't know« [i.e. a person who always says 'I don't know'] they put thy head in the cooking pot (*lā tidri yā abu midri ḥaṭṭu rāsak fil-qidre*).

After the betrothal (*il-ḥuṭbe*) I was 40 days in Arṭās. Then the Kawāfne came to Arṭās to take the bride.»

Sitt Louisa: »Partly because the Kawāfne were guests, partly because they had come from prison, they were shown great honour by sheep being slaughtered. It is no disgrace to be in prison, people say: 'They are really men who go to prison'.² — They will also say: 'I have someone in prison whom I love and who is very near to me. I must visit him, give him some pleasure.' It is an important duty. Thus also the words of the Bible are to be understood: 'I was in prison and ye visited me not'.»

I myself while in Arṭās knew a man Jūde Ibrahīm [*95*] who was sent to prison because he had climbed over the Convent wall to prevent the Convent from taking more water from the canal — from which each in his proper turn and for a certain time takes water for his garden — because, as he asserted, the Convent took water beyond the period allowed to them. Very often in my walks I met Sa'īd Ibrahīm [*96*], who went to Jerusalem every day to visit his brother in prison. And when Jūde [*95*] was set free, they celebrated it every evening for a whole week. Each in turn the families of the village gave a feast for him. Sitt Louisa herself

¹ i.e. the people of Ṣūrīf and Bēt Umṣar; cf. *supra*, p. 83.

² Cf. »A man is not a man until he has been in prison« — proverb quoted by Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 193.

received a share from one of the feasts. It is also the custom that people do this for those who come from military service, or from a long journey, e.g. a pilgrimage to Mecca or a journey to America. Tamāme [*W. of 196*] in Arṭās is waiting for her son's return from America when she will give a feast for him.

Sitt Louisa: »Formerly this was done even more than now. Often vows were made for the prisoners (*nidr lal-imḥabīs*). They carried to the prison a dish of lentils (*smāt abūna brahīm*) even when 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 also a really charitable deed, because the Turks did not feed the prisoners enough. If their own people did not look after the prisoners they were sometimes set free because the Turks found it too expensive and troublesome to feed them in prison.»

That it was regarded as an honour rather than a disgrace to be in prison — »they are really men who go to prison» — is explained by the fact that it was a foreign power, not the fellahīn's own judges, who condemned them to prison. The fellahīn did not share the Turkish Government's ideas of justice. — In Finland we had something parallel under the Russian oppression.

In the same way as ʿAlya [*D. of 1*] went to Šurīf a girl from ʿAdjūr came to Arṭās. Also about this it is ʿAlya [*D. of 1*] who relates:

»Nafise [*W. of 82*] is like a man, no woman except for the head kerchief (*naḥise zalame mā hī mara rēr bil-ḥirqa*).»

Her father's brother Saʿāde, who knows what he did in his village ʿAdjūr? whether he killed or attacked a woman? but they brought him to be hanged on an olive tree at *jōrt il-ʿennāb*.¹ — And this olive tree was then called 'the olive tree of Saʿāde'. — Saʿāde belonged to the notable people (*min il-maḥāsīb*). His relatives went with him [to the place where he was hanged] and in passing through Arṭās, they came to the mosque where the men's club (*sāḥa*) was. Nafise [*W. of 82*] was with the women in the house of Ibrahīm ʿAyes [*82*] whose eye played upon her and fate willed it (*qisem in-naṣīb*) and he took her.

'She was a guest and became a hot pebble [in the *ṭābūn* i.e. the baking oven] (*baqat dēfe šarat irḍēfe*).»

The visits of the women to market can result in marriage. When they go to market in Bethlehem with milk and vegetables and other garden

¹ A place in the valley to the west of Mount Zion near Jerusalem.

produce, the men see them. If a man finds a girl there who pleases him he tries to get her. He begins his enquiries, asks whose daughter she is, whether she is married or unmarried and whether he has a chance of getting her, whereupon they reply: »Yes, if the stars are favourable (*iza kân il-nijem il-muâfiq*)» or something similar. Sometimes it is a man who, attracted by the charm of an older woman, tries to get her daughter for his son because he thinks that the daughter will be like the mother. In this way a daughter of Ibrahim 'Ayeš came to Lifta. Her mother Şafiye [W. of 82] herself told us about it. She cannot forget how frightened she was when she, in company with a man from Lifta whom she had met in Bethlehem, came down the hill to Arṭās and saw that she was observed by her husband. But later it was clear, she said, that the daughter was his object. In the same way as Ḥaliliye [D. of 21] »drew» other women after her to Bēt Şafāfa, so also Şafiye's daughter Şabiha [D. of 82] »drew» other Arṭās women after her to Lifta. Later on Fāṭme Derwiš [D. of 119] was married in that village. As to how Ḥamde Mḥammad [D. of 33] still later (Autumn 1926) went there will be related farther on.

At the market in Bethlehem the discussions were started which resulted in Raḥme Derwiš [D. of 119] going to Sūr Bāhir and a girl from Sūr Bāhir coming to Arṭās.¹ 'Alya [D. of 1] relates:

»Raḥme [D. of 119] was selling in Bethlehem and her mother [Ḥelwe Ḥalāwe [D. of 108; W. of 119]] was selling vegetables there. People asked [the latter]: 'Have you no girl for marriage?' — 'Yes.' [They further enquired]: 'With money or by exchange?' She said: 'We wish one girl for the other.' — 'I place my hand under thy girdle, and bring her brother to me quickly!' The meeting was to take place in the café. She went home and informed her son Mḥammad Derwiš [123]. 'The matter stands thus and thus. Meet him to-morrow in the café!' [The man from Sūr Bāhir said to me]: 'Do not offer me a horse and then afterwards give me an ass.' Thus the matter stands. The meeting takes place in the café if thou thinkest well of it.' It was Ḥelwe Ḥalāwe [D. of 108; W. of 119] who spoke thus to her son [123].

They met in the café and fate decided (*qisem in-našīb*). 'Either you bring the girls to the market or we will go into the village,' they said. They replied: 'We will bring them to the market.' We shall come to-morrow to the market.' The Sūr Bāhir people came to Bethlehem and the Arṭās people went to the market [there]. Then the Arṭās women inspected the Sūr Bāhir girl and the Sūr Bāhir women inspected the Arṭās girl. Fate had decided it so and was victorious. They said: 'On Sunday bring

¹ And Raḥme Mūsa [D. of 120], the brother's daughter of Ḥamde Derwiš [D. of 119], was afterwards married to a man from Sūr Bāhir.

the animals and slaughter them!' On the first Sunday they prepared the betrothal feast (*ṭabaḥu 'alēha*) in Arṭās and on the second Sunday in Sūr Bāhir and on the third Sunday they bought the outfit. In those days [i.e. before the war] the market in Bethlehem was [still] held on Sunday.

Itayme [*D. of 67; W. of 171*] was jealous. She said: 'My daughter is like a basket of tomatoes, more valuable. They gave them *ma'mūl* cakes and *qaṭāyef* cakes and *knāfe* cakes.'

Itayme [*D. of 67; W. of 171*] wanted to exchange her daughter with Raḥme Derwīš [*D. of 119*]. And then the Sūr Bāhir people came bringing sugar cakes and got the girl, she declares.

»Raḥme [*D. of 119*] was taken on the camel as far as *bāb iz-zqāq* [where the Jerusalem-Hebron road crosses the Bethlehem-Bēt-Jāla road] and [the Sūr Bāhir girl] Fāṭme [*W. of 123*] who was being exchanged for her was brought thither. We took down the brides and came back.»

Similarly women are noticed by men when they fetch water from the wells or springs. Thus in former days it came about that many women from el-Ḥaḍr married men from Arṭās who had seen them as they fetched water from 'Ēn Šāleḥ by Solomon's Pools for the village. But it still happens when water is scarce before the winter rains begin, that the women from el-Ḥaḍr come as far as Arṭās to fetch water from the spring in our village. In this way, for example, Mḥammad Yūsef [*149*] found his bride in 1925. Šēḥa [*D. of 139*], the wife of 'Abd is-Salām [*92*], told us about it. The bridegroom had seen the bride when she came to draw water from the well. »She pleases me», said he. Then his mother and our informer went to el-Ḥaḍr to look at the bride. They also had to admit: »She pleases us». Fate decided it. £10 was given as the first part of the bride price. The next year the rest of the money was given.

Not only lack of water but also hunger and hard times can lead to marriage with people in other places. »They were wandering about the country because of hunger and hard times», said 'Alya [*D. of 1*] of Faḍḍa bint il-Ṭurmān [*W. of 80*] who came from Nūba to Arṭās.¹

And she related of Sāra Mišleḥ [*W. of 3*]:

»It was a year of famine. The dearth was great enough to cut nails. Some people — a family from Šūrīf — came to the oven (*ṭābūn*) of my father's house. My mother — on whom God have pity! — went to bake

¹ For how she again »drew» a relative from her remote village to Arṭās, see *supra*, p. 95.

bread. The oven (*tābūn*) was full of people. 'Good morning!' — 'And good morning!' — 'Whence come ye?' — 'We are from Šūrīf.' — 'Welcome!' Then she — no, God — gave them each a loaf. There were nine of them. Then said my mother: 'My father's brother, wilt thou not give one of thy [two] daughters as a wife here?' He said: 'I place my hand under thy girdle. Thou art the wolf for both [i.e. thou canst take them].' — 'We want the elder girl, so that she can help us.' Then said my father: 'Is it the time of dearth or of marriage?' [His wife replied]: 'We want someone to help us. The work is killing me because of the great size of the property.' They said to him [the man from Šūrīf]: 'Hast thou no great one [a man with whom one can negotiate]?' He left his family there and ran and brought Nōfal 'Adwān. Fate decided it. They went to get wedding clothes [i.e. to buy the outfit] for her and her brothers. It all happened in a week.»

In times of dearth and hunger similar events happen as are recorded in the Old Testament. A modern parallel to the story of Ruth is the account of how a girl from Bēt-Fejjār became the wife of a man from Artās.

'Alya [*D. of I*]:

»Raḍa [*W. of 59*] and her father's brother came to Eḥbēle [a ruin where the people of Artās also own land] to glean because they were poor. Then the women began to speak about Raḍa [*W. of 59*] marrying. The acquaintance originated with the gleaning (*il-mīrfe min wara is-šāfe*). They were paid for their help at the harvesting. At that time there was famine in the land. The marriage of Halil Mḥammad [*59*] in Eḥbēle took place during the war. It was in the year there were locusts in the country [1915]. 'Ali Mḥammad [*58*], the brother of the bridegroom, came to invite us [as we were in Bēt Škārye during the time of harvest] to Eḥbēle for the wedding and to collect dishes and cooking pots and cooking spoons, and we went singing and there [in Eḥbēle] were the wedding dance and the wedding songs, and we ate and took her [Raḍa] from her hut to the hut of the bridegroom. It was harvest time. There are not many who marry in harvest time. Her bride price consisted of wheat, barley, clothes, soap, etc.

Mḥammad Sa'd [*15*] [who belongs to the clan of the bridegroom] came on leave from the army. He said: 'The bridal supper will be at my expense (*aša il-'arūs 'alayi*)!' They said to him: 'O man, thou art a soldier [we ought really to entertain thee].' Mḥammad Sa'd [*15*] said: 'By the head of my father! No one but I shall manage the bridal supper!'

Then we took all the kitchen things back again to Bēt Škārye.

Then we came to Artās and found the locusts there. They had eaten up the apples, the apricots and the pears.»

But not only the women are forced to leave their homes on account of famine and other difficulties. It also happens that under such conditions

young men are driven to seek their fortunes among strangers. They often do this as shepherds and thus it happens that in Arṭās we have two direct parallels to Jacob who served for his bride. In one case it was a man from the Ta'āmre bedouin.

‘Alya [*D. of I*]:

»The Ta'āmre people used to come on account of want, naked and hungry. The people of Arṭās took them into their service e.g. as shepherds. They received £4 or £5 in the year and clothes and food. Thus also Ḥasan Abu Ṣawriye came [to Arṭās]. He said to my uncle [Jēdallah 'Ōde [2]]: 'Wilt thou not allow me to serve for one of thy daughters?' He said: 'I take thee into my service.' Thus fate had willed it and he served. He said: 'I will have Ḥaḍra [*D. of 2*].' He served eight years for her. After that he took her. Ḥaḍra [*D. of 2*] bore him a son, the boy was blind. Both were in hospital — far be it from the listeners! — they came out of hospital and died.»

On the death of his wife, the man desired a new bride — ‘Alya [*D. of I*], who thus became an *‘aḷiyet il-qabr* bride.

Then:

»He served five years [again] — with [‘Alya’s [*D. of I*] brother] Ḥalīl ‘Ōde [3]. Then he served another three years with Ḥalīl Ṣhāde [170] by whom he was deceived. Ḥalīl Ṣhāde [170] had said to him: 'Serve me for three years and I will marry thee. I will prepare the feasts and buy the outfit. [But instead of money] they gave us a receipt for the outfit. And the receipt as well as the child and the father of the child disappeared.»

Thus ended ‘Alya’s [*D. of I*] report of her youthful fate. For her husband deserted her to go back to his people, and also ‘Alya’s [*D. of I*] child by him, a girl called Itayme, died some weeks after birth.

And the other case was a young man who came from Ḥalḥūl and served for an Arṭās girl.

‘Alya [*D. of I*]:

»Abd il-Nebi was herdsman for the sheep and goats of Aḥmad Jēdallah [21]. Then he said to him: 'O my father's brother (*yā ‘ammī*) Aḥmad [21], wilt thou not give me one of thy daughters? I will serve for her bride price.' He [21] replied: 'There are three girls. Thou art the wolf of them, whichever thou wishest, only name her [to me]!' He said: 'I will have Nijme [*D. of 21*]. I will be herdsman and serve for her bride price.' [Aḥmad [21] replied:] 'Go and bring thy father's brother so that we may sign the agreement before men of authority, good men (*ajawīd allah*)!' Then he went, brought his father's brother from Ḥalḥūl and they drew

up the agreement (*sanad*). Whoever breaks it shall give compensation to his partner in the agreement. And he served [his years] and when the time was finished he took her.

He was an orphan and sought service, because his mother had married again and he therefore left her and his home village.

In that way he came to Aḥmad Jēdallah [21], a man of Arṭās who lived on his land in Bēt Skārye and was at that time the father of three girls but had no son. He remained a long time with his father-in-law and is said to be now in Bēt Jāla.»

With these pictures, taken straight from the life of the present day, we have come upon a thing which is very closely connected with the question of bride price. Some of the accounts just given could almost as well be used as illustrations and proofs of marriage by consideration. This subject will be treated in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

MARRIAGE BY CONSIDERATION.

Exchange of bride for bride.

In Palestine where marriage is both ceremonious and expensive, it is sometimes an attractive prospect for a man to get a wife without trouble and for nothing.

The accounts which I have recorded from the mouths of the fellahīn women in Arṭās shew that a man can demand from people who have done him an injury that they in compensation shall procure him a bride and be responsible for all the expenses connected therewith, so that he, as the saying goes, »has only to lift the veil (*bass yirfa' jālha*).¹ A bride for nothing may loom large in one's fancy; and during the bargaining for a bride at least sometimes for a moment such a possibility appears. The following example given to me by Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] is typical. A man from Arṭās Ḥalīl Mḥammad [112], begged his father's brother 'Ali Ḥalāwe [111] for his daughter Zarīfe [*D. of 111*] as a bride for his younger brother Sālīm [115].

¹ This refers to an incident towards the end of the series of ceremonies of betrothal and wedding, when the bridegroom, late in the evening, comes to his bride sword in hand with which to lift up the veil which has tightly enveloped her all day so that no-one, not even the bridegroom, could see her.

»Halil [112] said: 'Wilt thou give me Zarife [D. of 111] for Sâlim [115]?' He replied: 'It seems to me he has her already (*tarannha ajato*).' He said: 'Then you make her expensive for us?' He replied: 'I present her to you and no expenses with her! »No kaftan shall be dragged on the ground, no piaster shall be tied up (*lâ hidem yinjarr wala qirš yinşarr*).»³

These words of the father are a polite phrase which no one would think of taking seriously.¹ We have earlier met with similar expressions in discussing the custom of betrothing a girl directly she is born. Such a bride is called quite plainly — a gift. But we found that in spite of the name »a gift from the pit» (*ʿaṭiyet il-jōra*), one must not understand by this a really free gift of a girl as wife to a man. The same thing is true of the counterpart to »a gift from the pit», which goes under the name of »a gift from the grave» (*ʿaṭiyet il-qabr*).² This is the name given to a woman who is promised as bride to a widower on the day of his first wife's burial, when he, in despair over his loss, goes down into his dead wife's grave »as if he wished to be buried with her». Here also it is the special conditions under which a man promises to give a female relative, generally a daughter or a sister, which in the eyes of the fellahin bestows upon his action the character of a gift. The comfort which he thus gives to the sorrowing widower binds him for ever to the new father-in-law or brother-in-law as to a benefactor who has done him a valuable service and from whom therefore he can never be quite free. Although he must give a consideration for the bride, she is still regarded as a gift. For this reason the fellahin women always gave the same opinion of *ʿaṭiyet il-qabr* as of *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra*: »A gift is expensive A gift remains always a favour.» In practice such a betrothal is very rare. Only two men in Arṭās have an *ʿaṭiyet il-qabr* wife, namely ʿAbdallah ʿĀyeš [81] and Mḥammad Smaʿin [53], just as only two women from Arṭās, namely ʿAlya [D. of 1] and Şabḥa Ḥalāwe [D. of 108], have been given as *ʿaṭiyet il-qabr* brides to men in other places.

¹ Cf. Gen. XXIII. 11 *sqq.* — The opposite to this is, when he who requests the bride, in order to show how highly he values the girl, offers a very high sum which later is gradually reduced.

² A third parallel to these »gifts» is found in the following account by Ḥamdiye [D. of 183] of what occurs at circumcision among Taʿāmré bedouin, whose life my informer knows quite well. »When he [the boy] is offered to the circumciser he says: *ʿhobar ya snobar*, my father's brother Ahmad.' He says to him: 'Speak, my son! — Thou shalt have my daughter (or: animals, or money . . .)! Be witnesses ye who are present, that my daughter is to be for him!' The father of the boy says: 'I accept her!' No bride price is given.»

The fellahin distinguish two kinds of considerations for a bride. Either a bride is exchanged for a bride, and then they speak of exchange (*badal*) or a bride price (*fēd*)¹ is given. As *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra* and *ʿaṭiyet il-qabr* do not remove the liability for a consideration for the bride, these cases can form a special group in the latter category. In Arṭās 70 cases of marriages or 26.5% of all marriages have been exchanges. For 188 wives a bride price has been given and of these only two are also *ʿaṭiyet il-jōra* and two are *ʿaṭiyet il-qabr* brides. In four cases no bride price was given, because the bride's father died without a male successor (*rāḥ uirte*). We have one marriage by elopement and in one case the wife was bought as a slave and given in marriage to a slave (195).

The simplest form is when two men exchange sisters. »Take thou my sister and give me thy sister (*ḥud uḥti u a'ṭini uḥtak*)!» say the two men to each other² according to Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*]. It does not matter if it is the bridegroom himself who carries out the exchange, or whether it is his father or brother, or the eldest of the family who does it for him.³ It depends entirely upon who arranges the marriage, which is after all an affair of the family just as much as of the individual. Whether he has been active or passive in the matter of his marriage, one says of the bride-

¹ Miss Dawson has kindly drawn my attention to the discussion running at present (1931) in *Man. A monthly Record of Anthropological Science*, regarding the term »bride price» which is generally recognised to be »unfortunate and very misleading to the general reader» (*Man*, XXXI, October, 1931, No. 234). But seeing that no definite agreement as to the most suitable phrase has yet been reached, I have used the old expression while indicating my conviction that it is unsuitable. Prof. and Mrs. Seligman propose (*Man*, XXXI, April, 1931, No. 85) that in writing of Islamic cultures the Arabic word *mahr* shall be used as it is »so well known and carries so precise a juridical meaning that it is a mistake to try to translate it, and certainly no other word should be substituted for it», but my informers never used this word, only the word *fēd*.

² A similar formula is quoted by Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 50.

³ For exchange of bride for bride in Palestine see Baldensperger, *The immovable East*, p. 120; Grant, *The People of Palestine*, p. 54; Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VI. (Leipzig, 1883), p. 92; Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 117; Spoer-Haddad, 'Volkskundliches aus el-Qubēbe bei Jerusa-lem', in *Zeitschr. für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete*, IV. 2 p. 225 and V. 1 p. 132; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 110. — For exchange of bride for bride in ancient Arabia see Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Auguste-Universität zu*

groom in general: »Every one marries with [i.e. by means of] his sister. The one goes out and the other comes in (*kullmanhu bitjawwaz bulhte wāḥade bitīḥā u wāḥade bithuṣṣ*).» Or still more generally expressed: »Each one has one. One goes out and another comes in (*kullmanhu ilo wāḥade wāḥade bitīḥā u wāḥade bithuṣṣ*).» For it is not always only a man's sister who is given in exchange for his bride.

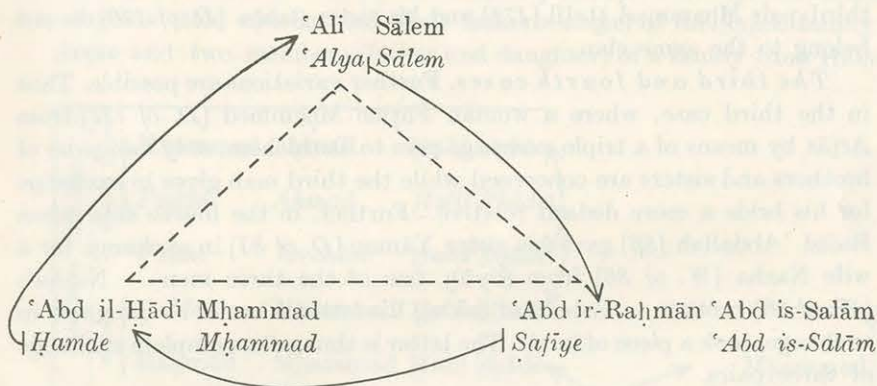
»The old man gave his daughter and took a bride for himself», is said for example of an old man who gives his daughter in marriage with the intention of thus procuring a new wife for himself. In Arṭās there were eight cases of fathers who gave their daughters in exchange, but in such a way that there were never two fathers who exchanged daughters, but a father gave his daughter to a man whose sister he received as a bride for himself. If his first wife still lives, one says: »She gets a co-wife from her own navel string (*ḡurritha min ṣurritha*).» This is considered as one of the tragic sides of a woman's lot, that she for the price of her own daughter can be forced to buy herself a rival for her husband. »That is more bitter than gall», said 'Alya [*D. of I*] one day when talking about this. According to her such a mother declared: »If we had known, when this daughter was born that she would bring us a co-wife, we should certainly not have bound her navel string at birth (*yarēt yōm ajat hal bint la drīna bidha itjīb ilna ḡurra kān aflatna ṣurritha 'al-jōra*).» She would rather have seen her daughter die at once. In Arṭās eight women have received a co-wife in this way, and two women of Arṭās have become *ḡurritha min ṣurritha'* to women in other places. In three cases the man has exchanged his brother's daughter for the bride. In one case a father's brother's daughter was given in exchange for a wife and in one case a father's sister.

In the formula just quoted »Each one has one. One goes out and another comes in», there may be another meaning than that the woman exchanged is not always the bridegroom's sister. There are not always only two men, there can also be several men who exchange bride for bride. In Arṭās we have examples of such complicated exchanges of women in marriage. In two cases there is a triple exchange.¹

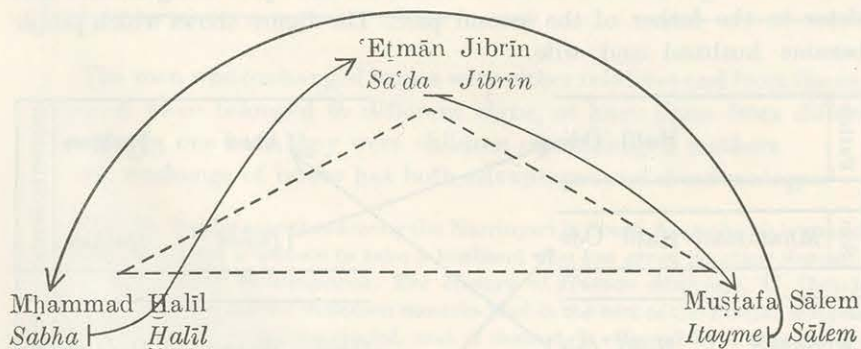
Göttingen (1893), p. 433: »Zwei Vormünder können ihre Mündel zur Ehelichung austauschen, statt sich gegenseitig das Mahr zu bezahlen.» — For exchange of women in marriage among people in other countries see Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 354 sqq.; Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. p. 104, 195, 205 sqq., 245, 254, 317; Lowie, *Primitive Society* (London, 1921), p. 16 sq.

¹ Cf. p. 115 note 1 for a triangular exchange.

The first case. Three pairs of sisters and brothers who were also cousins (*ulād il-'amm*) received bride or bridegroom by exchange. »We do not want to send our property to strangers (*bidnās niṭla' hērna la rērna*).» Thus was explained the marriages when three brothers: Sālem [90], Mḥammad [91] and 'Abd is-Salām [92] agreed to exchange their children: 'Ali Sālem [102] and his sister 'Alya Sālem [*D. of 90*]; 'Abd il-Hādi Mḥammad [104] and his sister Ḥamde Mḥammad [*D. of 91*]; 'Abd ir-Raḥmān 'Abd is-Salām [106] and his sister Ṣafiye 'Abd is-Salām [*D. of 92*]. How this was done is seen from the figure below. The arrows show that the one bride so to say pushes on the other one. That is of course only in theory. Each bride goes direct to her new home.



The second case.

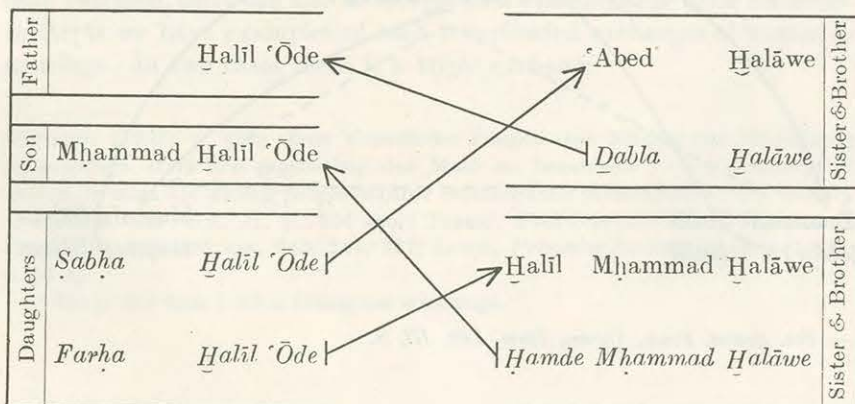


It is clear that this exchange could be understood as similar to the previous one. The different explanations given by the women of these cases are interesting. 'Etmān Jibrīn [77], they say, claimed his cousin Itayme Sālem [D. of 67] and exchanged his sister Sa'da Jibrīn [D. of 76] for her, and Sa'da [D. of 76] became wife to Itayme's [D. of 67] brother Muṣṭafa Sālem [69]. Itayme [D. of 67] however did not suit him, so he did not keep her as his wife but let her go to Mḥammad Ḥalīl [171] in exchange for his sister Ṣabḥa Ḥalīl [D. of 170] whom he married, while Mḥammad Ḥalīl [171] took Itayme [D. of 67] as his wife. And 'Alya's [D. of 1] conclusion was: »In this way Itayme [D. of 67] has procured brides for two men [77 and 171].» This case further differs from the earlier one in that only two of the pairs are cousins (*ulād il 'amm*) while the third pair Mḥammad Ḥalīl [171] and his sister Ṣabḥa [D. of 170] do not belong to the same clan.

The third and fourth cases. Further variations are possible. Thus in the third case, where a woman Fāṭme Mḥammed [D. of 117] from Arṭās by means of a triple exchange goes to Bethlehem, only two pairs of brothers and sisters are concerned while the third man gives in exchange for his bride a more distant relative. Further, in the fourth case when Rašīd 'Abdallah [86] gave his sister Yāmne [D. of 81] in exchange for a wife Nazha [W. of 86] from Šiyūḥ, one of the three men — Nazha's [W. of 86] brother — instead of taking his father's brother's daughter in exchange, took a piece of land. The latter is thus not a complete exchange of three pairs.

A quadruple exchange

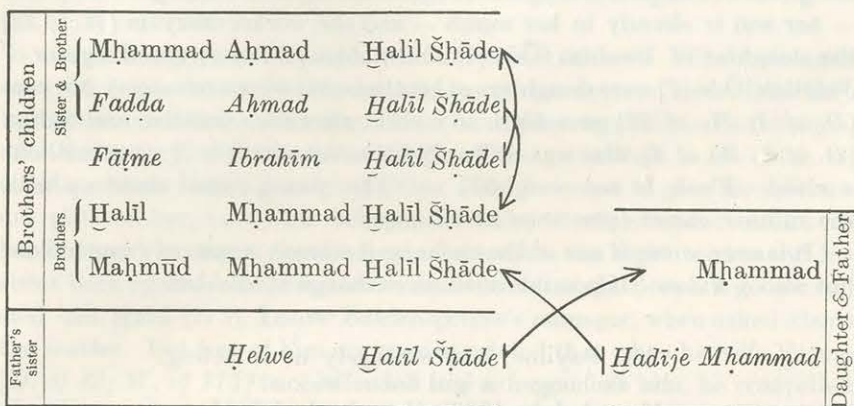
took place in the following case, where a man and his three children married two pairs of brother and sister; the first pair being brother and sister to the father of the second pair. The figure shows which people became husband and wife.



‘Alya [*D. of I*] says of this:

»Mḥammad Ḥalāwe [108] married his son Ḥalīl [112] by means of his daughter [Ḥamde [*D. of 108; W. of 6*]]. Ḥalīl ‘Ōde [3] married his son Mḥammad [6] by means of his daughter [Ṣabḥa [*D. of 3; W. of 110*]] and took a bride [Ḍabla [*D. of 108; W. of 3*]] for himself. So there was a quadruple marriage. Three camels and one horse for [the fourth bride still quite little] Ḥamde [*D. of 108; W. of 6*] and her father-in-law. He rode and she sat in front of him. That night we left Ḥalīl [3] and Ḍabla [*D. of 108; W. of 3*] alone. [Ḥalīl’s [3] first wife] Sāra [*W. of 3*] and her children slept outside. It was, after all, summer and the time of grapes and figs. ‘The carpet of the summer is wide (*bsāt iṣ-ṣēf wāse’*).»

Here follows an example of another *quadruple exchange* between six members (five cousins and their father’s sister) of the Šḥāde family of Arṭas and two members (father and daughter) of a family from Ḥalḥūl.



The men who exchanged brides were either relatives and from the same clan, or have belonged to different clans, or have come from different places. In one case they were children of exchanged mothers.

An exchange of brides has both advantages and disadvantages.¹

¹ Cf. Mr. Taplin says that among the Narrinyeri in South Australia «it is considered disgraceful for a woman to take a husband who has given no other woman for her.» (Quoted by Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. [London, 1925], p. 355). Again: Mr. Ibbetson remarks that in the east of the Punjab «exchange of betrothal is thought disgraceful, and, if desired, is effected by a triangular exchange, — A betrothing with B, B with C, and C with A.» (Also quoted by Westermarck, *op. cit.* II. p. 357).

»Head for head causes no pain (*rās ib rās mā bōjī wala rās*)», says the proverb. This is specially true if the exchanged brides are equally valuable, »of the same age and the same value». But it is quite different when the saying is used: »He has exchanged the little goat for a palm (*badal is-saḥle ib nahle*)». This expression already infers a certain criticism, an indication that the one is more valuable than the other, because a child cannot be compared to a full-grown girl. They comfort themselves by saying that »the young one ripens and the grown-up one becomes bent (*iz-zrīr bistwi u il-kbīr biltwi*)». They have merely different times of blossoming and of development. The matter is more serious if the one bride according to fellahīn idea is very old, and yet is exchanged for a quite young girl.

‘Alya [*D. of 1*]: »As far as concerns the exchange between an old and a young woman, more money is not given for a young woman if the people are good. ‘Flesh is not weighed (*il-laḥem bitraṭṭališ*).’ The grown-up one — her son is already in her womb — and she works. Miryam [*W. of 22*] the daughter of Ibrahīm ‘Ōde [1] and Ṣabḥa [*W. of 4*], the daughter of Jédallah ‘Ōde [2] were daughters of brothers and were exchanged. Miryam [*D. of 1; W. of 22*] gave birth to a child after nine months, and Ṣabḥa [*D. of 2; W. of 4*] who was still very little, remained 6—7 years without a child. ‘Flesh is not weighed’. — ‘The young camel stood up with the mother camel (*qām il-qa’ūd bil-nāqa*)’.»

It is even worse if one of the exchanged women is not only much older but also a widow. If possible such an exchange is avoided.

»Abu Ṣayime, how strangely he is acting,
he exchanged a girl for a widow!¹
Aḥmad Jabr [160], thou hooked beak
who exchanged a girl for an old woman!²

(*abu ṣayime mašyeh ‘ajabe*
badal il-bint bil-‘azabe
aḥmad jabr ya ba’būz
badal il-bint bil-‘ajūz)»

¹ Mḥammad il Ḥajj from Ḥalhūl gave a young daughter Ḥadije [*W. of 177*] in exchange for Ḥelwe Ḥalil [*D. of 170*] widow of Aḥmad Can‘ān [181]. *Supra*, p. 115.

² Miryam [*D. of 160; W. of 161*] exchanged for Fadda Sa‘īd [*D. of 157; W. of 160*]. *Cf. supra*, p. 41.

scoffed 'Alya [D. of I]. According to Sitt Louisa the exchanged women do not regard one another with favour. Each thinks that she is more valuable. In the same way they compare and watch each other carefully as to how many children will be born. Although Fāṭme 'Ali [D. of 42; W. of 173] is so charming that her husband 'Ali Ḥalīl [173] at least usually declares that he does not mind that she has no children, yet in the village people remark that 'Ali's [173] daughter, for whom she was exchanged (*ibdilitha*), has already several children, and certainly it must be painful for her who in this way is inferior to her co-wife, the mother of the woman for whom she was exchanged. In another case 'Alya [D. of I] says: Ḥadije [W. of 177] has already given birth to both girls and boys. Ḥelwe il-Ḥajje [D. of 170 (Widow of 181)], who was exchanged for her, has neither girl nor boy. She has cut off menstruation and eggs.¹ But Ḥelwe [D. of 170 (Widow of 181)] had a house. For love of the house and the property, Mḥammad il-Ḥajj took her in exchange for his young daughter, was 'Alya's [D. of I] explanation.

An exchange can also have its difficulties for the man. »The exchanged ones are as co-wives (*il-badāyēl ḡarāyer*)», people say and mean that they must be treated in the same way. If for example a man with an exchanged wife ceases to give the customary gifts at the great feast to his sister, he can be certain that his wife's brother will also cease to give the customary gifts to her, i.e. to his sister. And if his sister is offended and leaves her husband in anger (*ḡardāne*), the latter has the right to demand his sister back again. »If she agrees with her husband she does not go away», said 'Ali Ḥalīl [173], Louise Baldensperger's manager, when asked about the matter. But just of him my women related that when his wife Fāṭme [D. of 42; W. of 173] once offended and in anger left him, he compelled his daughter, who had been exchanged for her, to leave her husband's house on the threat of being absolutely cut off from her home (*qaṭ'ā*). This also is a contributory cause to the attempt to avoid direct exchange of brides, because it limits a man's freedom.

The motive usually given in literature for exchange, is the economic advantage² which such a transaction is supposed to give. It is said that

¹ Expression of age, see *supra*, p. 37.

² Exchange is in Palestine practised by poor people according to Lees (*Village Life in Palestine* [London, 1905], p. 117) and Wilson (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 110). — For the practice of exchanging bride for bride as an economic measure intended to save the bride price see Westermarek, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 358. — Frazer also points out the economic advantage of the

in this way the man avoids giving the bride price; and that is certainly the case, but he must still buy the bride's outfit.¹

'Alya [*D. of I*]: »He has no other expenditure than the bride's outfit. The economical thing is that I clothe my bride. It comes again into my house. Why should I give my wealth to another?»

Sitt Louisa gives the following explanation of this.

»Even in exchanging one would rather clothe his own bride, for fear that he should give his sister something more valuable than his own bride receives. And if he gives his bride something finer, it comes back into his house; but if he gives his sister something better than his bride receives, it goes to a stranger's house.»

In such cases people are extremely particular. Like for like — is the absolute rule. One cannot be too careful not to lose anything.

As regards expenses for the bridal outfit there is no advantage in having an exchanged bride. It can certainly be cheaper if the brides are from the same village, because the weddings can be celebrated with common feasts. But although by exchange a man can avoid giving the bride price and may be able to reduce the expenses for the betrothal and wedding feasts, it is still doubtful whether exchange is necessarily more advantageous in an economic sense.

Exactly the same effect is attained if a man gives as the price of his bride the money which he has received as a bride price for his sister, daughter, or some other near female relative. Many of the bride price marriages are as a matter of fact such veiled exchanges.² The formula runs »bride price for bride price (*fēd hādi fī fēd hādi*)» — »everyone has

exchange of women in marriage; he gives (*Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. p. 210 *sqq.*) a lot of examples from different peoples and countries and tries to explain the origin of the custom as follows (*ibid.* p. 220): »On the whole, then, it seems probable that the practice of exchanging daughters or sisters in marriage was everywhere at first a simple case of barter, and that it originated in a low state of savagery where women had a high economic value as labourers, but where private property was as yet at so rudimentary a stage that a man had practically no equivalent to give for a wife except another woman.»

¹ See also Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VI. (Leipzig, 1883), p. 92 and Spoer-Haddad, 'Volkskundliches aus el-Qubēbe bei Jerusalem', in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete*, IV. 2 p. 225; V. 1 p. 132.

² Cf. Klein, (*ibid.* p. 92): »Nicht selten geschieht es nun, dass ein Bruder um den 'Preis seiner Schwester' (*biḥakk ucto*) sich eine Frau erwirbt. Die Schwester findet darin nichts Entwürdigendes, da sie ihrem Bruder auf diese Weise einen wesentlichen Dienst leistet . . . ».

one with whom [i.e. by means of whom] he marries (*kullmanhu ilo wāḥade bitjawwaz fiha*); this can but need not indicate that certain men wish to exchange brides. »He married his son with [i.e. by means of] his daughter», can indicate either through exchange or that he gave his daughter's bride price for his son's bride. — »I will marry myself with her», says a brother of his sister and means to say with her bride price. »Brother married himself with sister», they said about Jēdallah 'Ōde [2] who exchanged his sister Nijme for a bride from el-Ḥaḍr. »Brother married himself with sister», was also said of the same Jēdallah 'Ōde's [2] second marriage when he gave his sister Tamāme's *fēd* as the bride price for his second wife. — »Sister married brother», they say and mean the same thing, that with her bride price he procured himself a wife. Often a whole series of bride price for bride price can be found. For example Muṣṭafa Jēdallah [18] gave a bride price to Yāmne [*W. of 25*] to get her daughter (Fāṭme [*D. of 25; W. of 23*]) as a bride for his son (Mḥammad [23]). Yāmne [*W. of 25*] at once gave the same money (*fēd*) to 'Ali Slimān [27] to get his daughter (Sāra [*D. of 27; W. of 29*]) as a bride for her son (Maḥmūd [29]). And 'Ali Slimān [27] immediately handed on the same money (*fēd*) for his son's (Maḥmūd's [30]) bride. »Sister married brother», remarked the women in all these cases. This is very similar to multiple exchange.

One is tempted to see merely a concealed exchange in many cases of bride price; but the women were strongly opposed to calling this exchange. »Head for head — hair for hair — is necessary for exchange (*rās ib rās šūše ib šūše¹ hāda badāyel*)», they say.

Bride price.

The bride price may be given in kind, service, or money.

A proverb says: »Nothing protects the honour of a woman like land (*mā bisidd fīl-'arḍ illa l-'arḍ*).» 'Alya [*D. of 1*]: »A piece of garden was the bride price for Laṭīfe 'Āyeš [*D. of 82*]. She died, but the earth still yields a crop.» The bride price for Sāra Sma'in [*D. of 51; W. of 40*] was land; for many years they have enjoyed its crops and it is now worth £150. The widow Zarīfe Aḥmad [*D. of 21; W. of (13 & 14)*] insisted that the piece of garden which was her bride price should be inscribed in her name. Aḥmad Can'an [181] received a vineyard for his sister Ḥalīme [*D. of 180; W. of 5*] as her bride price; it is now owned by his widow

¹ i.e. the one long tuft of hair left at the back of the shaven head.

Helwe [*D. of 170; W. of 181*]. For Ḥamde Derwīš [*D. of 119; W. of (142 & 143)*] a camel was given as bride price; that is much, for a camel is enough for a family to live by. In the time of apricots and figs the money received for the fruit when it is sold is given as a bride price.

The service of a shepherd as a substitute when money is lacking¹ is also known in Arṭās, e.g. the cases already mentioned² and a third case when Mūsa Sālem [71] served for Ṣabḥa ʿEṭmān [*D. of 77; W. of 71*]. After his father's death he had no means and therefore served for Ṣabḥa [*D. of 77; W. of 71*], and his brothers gave the feasts and the other expenses connected with the wedding.

In this connection may be mentioned a bedouin proverb quoted by ʿAlya [*D. of 1*]. The shepherd says: »I have served for seven years and I have not yet weaned a single little goat.» Sitt Louisa and ʿAlya [*D. of 1*] remarked: »Out of pure love he forgot to fulfil his duty as a herdsman.» Elias Haddad rejected this theory and explained it by saying that the herdsman did not get any wage for his trouble because he was serving for his wife.

Usually however the bride price is given in money, which is certainly the simplest measure of value, and the bride price given in money is interesting because by that means one can most easily read off the grading of the bride prices. It must be noted that the variations are regulated and our next task will be to give an account of the principles and rules upon which these variations are based.

There is a distinction between the bride price for a maiden and a widow.

»How cheap is a widow's *fēd*, how dear is a maiden's *fēd!*»³ once exclaimed ʿAlya [*D. of 1*]. The theory is that »a widow is only half as valuable

¹ Prof. Westermarck points out (*The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 373) that in many cases such service is to be understood also as a means for the bridegroom to show his capability, his fitness. — For the custom of earning a wife by service see also Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. p. 342 sqq.

² *Supra*, p. 108 sq.

³ Cf. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 110: »In cases where a man has little or no money, or his credit is not good enough to enable him to borrow sufficient to pay the dowry of an unmarried girl, he will marry a widow, as a much smaller sum is required in such cases, especially if she has children.» — Lane states (*An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, I. [London, 1849], p. 218 and 239) that the dowry of a widow or a divorced woman is much less, generally one quarter or third or half the amount of that of a virgin. — See also Westermarck, *op. cit.* II. p. 384: »A virgin or a girl generally, though not always, commands a better price than a widow or a repudiated wife.»

(*il-armale nuṣṣiye*).» — »At the wedding of a widow, the betrothal and the wedding are celebrated at *one* feast. A widow is one mark below [the line]: half a bride price, half an outfit, half a feast.»

This last expression was used by ʿAlya [*D. of I*] in connection with an account of levirate marriage, because the expenditure is made twice by the same family for the same woman, not as when a widow marries into a new family. In reporting the different cases, I have not been able to find a strict application of the above rule of the widow's inferiority to the maiden. That is something which is now very difficult to judge as the conditions of life and property have changed so much that the same person as widow or divorcée has a higher price given for her than when she was a maiden bride. In my family lists there is no difference worth mentioning between the bride prices for widows and maidens. Yet a more or less reduced price for a widow is natural if less elaborate ceremonies are necessary at the wedding of a widow¹ and when one remembers the high value that is placed upon a maiden.

There can also be other individual variations. It is not impossible that a girl's beauty, her good character, or her distinguished origin causes competition and results in a higher bride price.² One must not, however, look upon the *fēd* as the price of her beauty.

If a man gives a small bride price he has little respect for his wife. Zarife's [*D. of 5; W. of 10*] husband says to her: »Thy price is the price of an ass, it will not matter if thou diest (*ḥaqqiĉ ḥaqq iḥmāra in multi mā fiš miḥsar*)!» A wife for whom a big bride price has been given, has naturally a higher value. If one has had great expenditure to get her, one is afterwards more careful of her. Sitt Louisa remarked: »In such a case they say on the wedding day: 'May thy camel be blessed!' afraid that the camel on which the bride is riding will fall or lose his footing so that she is hurt.»

¹ Cf. Lane who states (*op. cit.* p. 215 and 230) that marriages in Cairo are conducted in the case of a widow or a divorced woman with little ceremony.

² That the bride price varies with the rank and wealth of the families and with the personal qualities of the girl such as her beauty, strength, ability and age is stated by Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VI. (Leipzig, 1883), p. 90; Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 118; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine*, p. 179; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 109 sq. See also Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III. p. 185; Westermarek, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 71; also *Idem*, *The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 383 sqq.

Nevertheless it is not in the husband's interest to have a wife of low value, because a shadow would fall upon him in this case; from pride alone, he wishes to have a wife as much respected as possible; and to a still higher degree this is true of a woman's near relatives. Because of pride in her high value they will be careful of her interests and therewith of those of her family. For this reason also it is a misfortune for a woman to be a »cut-off» (*qafī'a*), i.e. without a near male relative who can be responsible for her value. If she has a father or brother, he will certainly see to it that her bride price is of the proper category; for although the bride price varies very much, it varies according to a fixed standard.

The bride price varies according to the conditions of life and therefore naturally it varies at different times. As the value of money in olden times was very different, the bride price was much lower than now. Similarly the bride price must be lower in time of war and dearth. »That was a time of dearth and dearness, brides were cheap», is a phrase which often occurred in 'Alya's [*D. of I*] accounts. It was very difficult for the men to marry in times of dearth; there was a surplus of brides and they were cheap.

But even in the same period the bride price differs in different places, according to living conditions. The taxes are different in different villages, but where the economic conditions are fairly similar, it may be assumed that the bride prices are also similar — even if other conditions, such as the numerical proportion between women and men may have their effects. In a rich village the bride price is higher than in a poor village.

'Alya [*D. of I*] relates: »Formerly the bride price (*fēd*) of a widow from the same clan was £25 and for a girl £30. Now for a widow from another clan it is £70, but for a girl from the same clan £50 is now given, from another clan £100 and for one going to another village £150.»

The most important difference is that between the bride prices in the same place. Besides the maiden *fēd* and the widow *fēd* already described, people distinguish — depending upon the society from which the bride is chosen — between the bride price for a woman from the same clan (*fēd il-ḥamūle*), the bride price for a woman from the same village (*village fēd*), and the bride price for a woman who goes out of the village (*fēd il-rarībe*).

Hamūle fēd.

»What was her bride price?» was a regularly recurring question in making my family lists. And just as regularly came 'Alya's [*D. of I*]

reply when it was a cousin marriage or a marriage within the same clan in earlier times: »The old clan bride price (*fēd il-ḥamūle il-ʿatīqa*).» But if it was a marriage in modern times she merely said: »The clan bride price (*fēd il-ḥamūle*).» Sometimes she added: »The *ḥamūle fēd* is small, £40 to £50.»

But in the case of marriage within the clan (*ḥamūle*) there is a noticeable difference, in that a man of the clan who is more distantly related to the bride must, if he passes over her cousins, give to one or more of them an extra sum of £5 to £10.

ʿAlya [*D. of 1*]: »If she marries someone else, her cousin (*ibn il-ʿamm*) must be compensated. For example, Sāra Mḥammad [*D. of 43; W. of 48 & 30*]: her relatives desired her but ʿAli Slimān [27] wished to have her [for his son]. But nothing could come of that until he [her father's brother's son] had received the £10. At Sāra Mḥammad's [*D. of 43; W. of 30*] wedding [her father's brother] ʿAli Asʿad [42] took £10 against the will of his son, who wished to marry his cousin.»

»Miryam Aḥmad's [*D. of 21; W. of 171*] bride price (*fēd*) was £70 besides the wedding expenses and £6 for ʿAli Slimān [27], her cousin (*ibn il-ʿamm*). He can take her down from the camel when she is a bride.»

Village fēd.

If a bride remains in the same village but goes outside her clan (*ḥamūle*), to another clan (*ḥamūle*) the bridegroom or his family must give a larger bride price and an extra sum to her cousin for letting her go. Thus ʿAlya [*D. of 1*] related of a relative of hers, the only woman of the ʿŌde family who married into the Šahīn family:

»Because Yāmne ʿŌdtallah [*D. of 19; W. of 168*] was from another clan he [i.e. the bridegroom] had to give more: £110 plus expenses. Her cousins ʿAli Slimān [27] [*ibn il-ʿamm*] and Mḥammad Ḥalīl [6] [a second cousin] each received £5. Those are bribes (*bartīl*). They refused to stamp the contract for Yāmne [*D. of 19; W. of 168*] until they had received their £10.»

Fēd il-ṛarībe.

If a woman goes outside her own village there is naturally a higher bride price (*fēd il-ṛarībe*) and a payment to the cousin. But added to that there are two extra payments. The one is »the sheep of the young men» (*šāt iš-šabāb*).

Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*]: »The sheep for the young ones', must the young men of the village receive. They must either have money or sheep. This is only for a bride who goes away to another place and not for a bride who stays in her own village.»

This is in compensation because the young men are deprived of a bride by a stranger.

The other extra expenses were originally for the slave of the house, nowadays for a negro of the village. It is called *iḥdāde*. Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] says:

»When the bride has been placed on the camel to be led out from her home and her village, the negro (*il-'abd*) takes hold of the camel's reins. He does not let the camel go but says: 'My right must not be jumped over!' He is given a *majīdi* or one and a half *majīdi* [i.e. 4—6 shillings or even 10 shillings] if the people are rich.»

It happened thus with 'Eṭmān's [*31*] sons' daughters Ṣabḥa Mḥammad [*D. of 33*] and Ḥamde Aḥmad [*D. of 34*] when they were taken as brides to Bēt Iksa.

But all this holds good only for the bride who goes to a place other than the village where she was born.

In spite of the fact that for a woman who goes outside her own village a higher bride price is given, she can for the village to which she is imported be both dearer or cheaper than a native bride; this depends upon whether the village from which she comes is poorer or richer than the one to which she goes. Thus an Arṭās bride is much less valuable than a bride in, for example, Lifta, where there are greater possibilities of earning money as it lies so near Jerusalem. It was said that no one in Arṭās had given such a high bride price (£100) as was given for Ḥamde Mḥammad [*D. of 33*] who went to Lifta; but this was nothing like the sum which is required for a bride in Lifta itself (£700—£1000). One would therefore think that it was profitable both for her relatives and for the people of Lifta, from an economic point of view. But perhaps also this is the explanation of the fact that there are three Arṭās women in Lifta but not one Lifta woman in Arṭās. The difference in the bride price is too great for a man of Arṭās to be able to marry a Lifta woman. In the same way an Arṭās bride is dearer in proportion to a Ta'āmre bride, because living conditions among the Ta'āmre bedouin are now much poorer than in our village. Only one woman Nafīse 'Abdallah [*D. of 20*] of Arṭās has been exchanged for a Ta'āmre woman; and it is related that she wept bitterly and protested against the disgrace which had befallen her. The bitterness of having to go to a strange place is increased when one goes to worse conditions than one's own. The value of a woman is some-

thing very real. They say proudly when they talk of such villages: »Artās brides are expensive!»¹

We have thus found that the bride price is determined by rules and regulations. When it is said of Ṣabhā Smaʿīn [*D. of 51; W. of 18*] that no bride before her had been so dear — her bride price was £50 — it is very

¹ Baldensperger speaks (*The immovable East* [London, 1913], p. 120) of a bride price of 40 Ottoman pounds, one such being equivalent to 23 francs. — Mülinen says ('Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels', in *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXX. [Leipzig, 1907], p. 170): »bei einfachen Bauern kommt ihr Preis auf etwa 300—400 Franken, manchmal auch weniger, zu stehen, und bei ganz Armen sinkt er bis auf 2 oder 3 Napoléons herunter.» — According to Klein ('Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VI. [1883], p. 90) the bride price varies between 5000 and 10,000 Piastres i.e. £50—£100. — Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 179 sq.: »In the towns, from 2,000 to 4,000 piastres are given for a daughter, or even more if the bridegroom's father be very rich; but in the country, the price is almost always from 2,000 to 3,000 piastres.» — Grant again says (*The People of Palestine* [Philadelphia & London, 1921], p. 54) that the usual wedding payment to the father of the bride is about two hundred and twenty-five dollars. — Among the country people and poor nomads of Judaea the price of a wife often ranges from 150 to 250 dollars. (Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands*, p. 540, quoted by Westermarck, in *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* [London, 1914], p. 75).

For Egypt Burekhardt says (*Arabische Sprichwörter oder die Sitten und Gebräuche der neueren Aegyptier* [Weimar, 1834], p. 173) that in Cairo the bride price varies as follows: among first class merchants it is from 200 to 300 dollars; among those of the second class from sixty to eighty; and the lower classes often pay no more than from three to five dollars. And he adds that it is usual to pay half of the money immediately, in advance. — Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, I. (London, 1849), p. 138: »The giving a dowry is indispensable, and the least sum that is allowed by law is ten *dir'hems* (or drams of silver), which is equal to about five shillings of our money.» And *ibid.* p. 218 he says of the dowry: »It is generally calculated in *riya'ls*, of ninety *fud'dahs* (now equivalent to five pence and two fifths) each. The *riya'l* is an imaginary money; not a coin. The usual amount of the dowry, if the parties be in possession of a moderately good income, is about a thousand *riya'ls* (or twenty-two pounds ten shillings); or, sometimes, not more than half that sum. The wealthy calculate the dowry in purses, of five hundred piasters (or, now, five pounds sterling) each; and fix its amount at ten purses, or more. It must be borne in mind that we are considering the case of a virgin-bride; the dowry of a widow or a divorced woman is much less. It is generally stipulated that two-thirds of the dowry shall be paid immediately before the marriage-contract is made; and the remaining third held in reserve, to be paid to the wife in case of divorcing her against her own consent, or in case of the husband's death.»

For the amount of the bride price see also Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, [London, 1914], note 2 p. 74 sq.

probable not only that the competition for her increased the bride price, but that her marriage coincided with a new epoch of a general rise in prices. One cannot act arbitrarily in this respect either in one way or in another. »The rule of Aḥmad Sma'in [52] — that not more than £25 shall be given for a daughter of the clan — can never be carried out »because it would not do in these dear times.» Not even the authority of Aḥmad Sma'in [52] can prevent the consequences of development, however comfortably he and others may look back to »the good old times» and their simpler and »nobler» customs.

Even when the bride price seems higher than usual this is often only apparent. Once when I expressed my astonishment at a bride price in the old days as high as £100 I was told that it was £100 and nothing more.

'Alya [D. of I]: »£100 'dry' (*nāšjāt*) that means that he does not need to 'dress' the bride — her outfit is to be bought with her bride price — but he has only the expenditure for her father's brother and her mother's brother and the feasts.»

Another time when I was informed of a specially high bride price being demanded, it was explained that the bridegroom could not give it at once. »With interest the bride price can rise very much.» When quite recently a bride price of 100 pounds was given for each of two sisters Helwe [D. of 98; W. of 125] and Šellebiye [D. of 98; W. of 126] although they were marrying within the village, their father gave them on the wedding day such a large gift of money that what they took with them to their husbands' houses more than outweighed the difference between their bride price and the one usual in the village.

The complicated system of gifts and counter-gifts allows of great variations, so that it is extremely difficult for an outsider to know how great are the expenses which a bridegroom in any one case really has for his bride when everything is taken into account. The gifts and counter-gifts are composed partly of money, partly of clothes, and partly of feasts. To a great extent these expenses are borne by the bridegroom; in the first place he must give presents to his bride at every great feast so long as they are betrothed, and also the outfit;¹ in the second place he must give presents to his bride's relatives²: a mantle to the bride's father

¹ The same is stated by Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 183.

² Cf. *ibid.* p. 180: The bride price is first settled. »After this is arranged what entertainments the bridegroom shall offer to the bride and her relations; this is easily done, as there are certain customs and traditional rules on the point.» See also Grant, *op. cit.* p. 56.

when the marriage contract is made,¹ though he usually receives it back again, for when the bride on the wedding-day is placed on the camel to be taken to the bridegroom's house, she is wrapped in it; only if a father is very avaricious does he not return this mantle. Of the bride's father's brother Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] says:

»If her father has two brothers then the one takes the daughter in marriage [for a son] but the other not and he gets a gift (*balṣa*).»

Usually the bridegroom gives a present (*balṣa*) both to the brother of her father and of her mother; e.g. when Ḥamdiye's [*D. of 183*] brother's daughter Zarīfe [*D. of 184; W. of 74*] was betrothed to Aḥmad Muṣṭafa [*74*], Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] related as follows:

»Her father's brother Ḥalīl [*185*] and her mother's brother Barak must get £ 5 each or £ 4 and a mantle according to agreement. When the bridegroom asked for her, he said: 'I will give £ 5.' The mother's brother was not present therefore he can ask for something else.»

Then on the wedding-day »her father's brother holds her [the bride] by the one arm and her mother's brother holds her by the other and thus she comes out of her father's house.»

Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] called these gifts to the brothers of the bride's parents »bribes» because the recipients agree to allow the bride to be taken away from her home. But she adds:

»The gifts to the parents' brothers (*balṣat il-'amm u il-ḥāl*) entail duties; they must give her a money present at the wedding; they must give her presents at the feasts.»

Sometimes the bride's brother and grandfather also receive a mantle (*hidem*, *'abāye*, *šāle*) from the bridegroom but he must give a dress to the bride's mother (*tōb il-imm*), »because she has brought up the bride». He must also give a dress (*tōb il-uḥt*) or a corresponding sum of money to the bride's sister.² »This is in addition to the bride price».

On the other hand the relatives of the bride must give her »service clothes» (*tīyāb il-ḥidme*). Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] says:

¹ Cf. Spoer-Haddad, 'Volkskundliches aus el-Qubēbe bei Jerusalem', in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete*, V. 1. p. 98 sq.; IV. 2. p. 205.

² Spoer and Haddad write (*op. cit.* V. 1. p. 108) of dresses to the sisters and the aunts of the bride by the bridegroom. See also Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 184.

»A 'service dress' and a 'service head kerchief', that is for the bride from her family; that is because she has served them. For instance Zarife [*D. of 184; W. of 74*] has four dresses and two kerchiefs; these are her 'maiden clothes' but when she marries (*yōm ibtudḥul*) she must also receive 'service clothes' from her brother and her mother.» The father is dead.

On the wedding-day itself the bridegroom must again give presents to his bride. When in the evening he comes, sword in hand, to lift her veil he must make his contribution to the money collection for his bride (*nqūt il-'arūs*) and before sleeping with her he must give her money to the »unloosing of the shoe» (*fakk il-waṭa*).¹

Again, the bride's father and relatives must give her presents at the wedding (*nqūt il-'arūs*). Part of the bride price can be given to her,² sometimes she even receives the whole of the bride price, as was the case when Zarife Aḥmad [*D. of 21; W. of 13 & 14*] married her dead husband's [*13*] brother Sma'īn Sa'd [*14*]. The latter gave her as bride price a garden called *Jisr* i.e. Bridge. 'Alya [*D. of 1*] relates how Zarife [*D. of 21; W. of 13 & 14*] managed to arrange that this piece of land became her private property, as follows:

»Zarife Aḥmad [*D. of 21*] was a widow when Sma'īn [*14*] married her. After [her first husband] Mūsa [*13*] died, she was angry with [her mother-in-law] Ṣabḥa [*D. of 5; W. of 2*] and went back to her father's house. Then [her brother-in-law] Sma'īn [*14*] was betrothed to her but said: 'I have no money.' [Then they said:] 'Acknowledge that the garden belongs to us!' And they wrote the document in the name of Aḥmad [*21*] [the bride's father]. When on the wedding-day, she should leave her father's house, she refused and said: 'I will not go until you bring the document and transfer the land to me. My father ate up my first bride price³ and now this is for me. Bring the document and inscribe it in my name!' The document was brought to her and she went. — She has the document in her possession and she plants and uses the ground (*hi btizra' u tiqla'*).»

'Alya [*D. of 1*] explained Zarife's [*D. of 21; W. of 13 & 14*] action in this way:

»If the piece of land were not inscribed in her name, her sisters would share it with her after the death of her father [for he has no sons].»

¹ Cf. Spoer-Haddad, *op. cit.* V. 1 p. 130.

² *Supra*, p. 27; also *infra*, p. 141.

³ Cf. Gen. XXXI. 15.

When, a week after the wedding, the bride goes to visit her father's home with a dish of rice and meat, her people must have clothes or money ready as counter-gifts.¹

Besides this exchange of gifts between the bridegroom and the relatives of his bride, there is also an exchange of gifts between him and his own relatives.² At Mḥammad Yūsef's [149] wedding in 1926 all the women in the clan received »wedding clothes» (*tiyāb il-'urs*) except Ṣabḥa Ṣaḥtūr [W. of 156], because she had given nothing, the bridegroom's mother told me.

Ḥamdiye [D. of 183]: »The wedding clothes are debts (*qurḍa*). If the women and maidens [of the clan] receive clothes, the bridegroom receives a present of money in return and who gives not receives not.³ If a woman friend is there who is not a member of the clan she also receives a gift. — If I get a dress worth 1 *majīdi*, 1½ *majīdi* is given in return on the wedding-day. That is only so that I can say: 'That is what so-and-so gave me and everything comes back to him [the bridegroom] and even more'»

In return for the wedding clothes which the bridegroom distributes to the women of the clan, the relatives and friends of the bridegroom must give presents in kind — coffee, sugar-loaves etc. or money at the collection which is made on the wedding-day for the bridegroom (*nqūṭ il-'arīs*) and the bride (*nqūṭ il-'arūs*).

When Eṭmān Mḥammad [37] celebrated his wedding 'Alya [D. of 1] related as follows of the money collection for the bridegroom (*nqūṭ il-'arīs*):

»He spreads out a kerchief. Somebody sits and writes down [what is given and by whom]. This is necessary on account of the repayment. Eṭmān [37] received from Bēt Ikṣa people £ 4 and from his brother-in-law £ 6 and all this he must repay. It is written on a paper. He can begin to repay at any festival.»

From this it is clear that all these are not gifts in the proper meaning of the word but rather loans. It is a form of mutual help and explains to a certain extent how a man can get together at one time so much money

¹ Cf. Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 189 sq.

² Cf. Pierotti (*op. cit.* p. 183) that the bridegroom has to make gifts to those who take part in the ceremony.

³ It may be that he who does not give does not get is the explanation of the parable of the wedding garment (Matth. XXII. 11 sq.). Cf. also St. Luke, XIV. 12 sqq. where the practice of such recompense in everyday life is deprecated. — Not only at a wedding but also when receiving guests it is the custom among bedouin and fellahin to bestow garments upon the guests of honour.

as is needed for marriage and a wedding. But at the same time he thus incurs a debt from which he may never be free.¹ He must begin to repay it on the first suitable occasion; as soon as one of the wedding guests who gave him a present celebrates an event of any kind, he must in his turn give a present.

Such events are a wedding, a circumcision, the building of a house, coming out of prison, returning from military service or from America.

In January 1926 one of our neighbours Zahiye [*W. of 150*], on the birth of one of her sons was visited by relatives and friends who came from Bethlehem with gifts. At the same time her sister-in-law Šēḥa [*D. of 139; W. of 92*] married into another clan in Arṭās, gave birth to a son and had no visitors at all to congratulate her. When we visited our neighbour we expressed to Zahiye's [*W. of 150*] father-in-law [*139*] our pleasure at her being so honoured and our surprise that no one took any notice of Šēḥa [*D. of 139; W. of 92*]. The old man Šahīn [*139*] answered with a sigh: »All this is debts (*qurḍa*).»²

Every celebration signifies an increased debt account and new duties; in this way the fellahīn are burdened with permanent debts. An expression of the strict rule of recompense which prevails in their lives is³ the proverb: »All is debt even the tear in the eye (*kullšī fid-dēn ḥitta dam'et il-ēn*).» This means that even the customary exhibitions of sympathy with another in his sorrow create a debt; if a woman weeps at the death of anyone, the latter's relatives must go and weep with her when one

¹ Cf. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 110: »As a rule the bridegroom has to borrow money for the dowry and wedding expenses, and many thus saddle themselves with debts which are a burden to them for the rest of their lives.»

² With regard to the money collection (*nqūt*) for the bridal pair on the wedding day Bauer says (*Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, [Leipzig, 1903], p. 94: »Diese Gaben betrachtet man als eine Art Darlehen, das man unter ähnlichen Umständen zurückerstattet, und wobei man genau darauf achtet, wieviel jede Familie beigesteuert hat.» Cf. also Spoer-Haddad, *op. cit.* in *Zeitschr. für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete* (Leipzig, 1927), V. 1, p. 122 sq. note 1: »Das so gesammelte Geld wird nach der Regel *do ut des* verabreicht; es ist daher wichtig, dass der Ausrufer die Geber alle kennt, damit bei Gelegenheit einer Heirat in der Familie eines Gebers das *quasi* geliehene Geld wieder zurückerstattet werden kann.»

³ Such a feeling of indebtedness is easily transformed into a religious feeling, and it would be of religio-psychological interest to know whether the Old Testament conception of God as the strictly recompensing God and the religious feeling of indebtedness have their roots in such habits and customs.

of her relatives dies. Nothing is to be had for nothing; sorrow as well as joy, both are debts.

The wedding guests give presents; a friend to the bridegroom offers to give the »bridal supper», which the bride and the bridegroom eat together late in the evening on the wedding-day after they are left alone; in the course of the week people from other villages come to congratulate the bridegroom, bringing sheep and goats to slaughter in his honour; but all of them repay an old debt or create a new one for the bridegroom, from which he must try to free himself; everything is written down. But for an outsider it is impossible to understand any individual debt account, which perhaps began very long ago.

All this gives opportunities for complications which the fellahin, with their sense for the dramatic, gladly turn to account. Even at the last minute, when the bridegroom has come with his relatives and friends to fetch his bride, her relatives refuse to give her up. One or another of them — sometimes the bride herself — expresses dissatisfaction with what the bridegroom has given, and demands more. In vain the bridegroom's relatives protest on his behalf that all the promised conditions are fulfilled. A discontented relative of the bride may declare that that fact does not concern him seeing that he was not present when the agreement was made, and so the quarrel continues with great violence on both sides. A bridal procession must sometimes wait for hours until a settlement is finally reached.¹

Such protestations need not only be a sign of avarice on the part of the bride's relatives. It is part of the ceremony to show reluctance to allow the bride to leave her father's house, and to behave otherwise would even awaken criticism and suspicion. People would remark that there must be something behind it and wonder what is the matter with the bride when no difficulties are made. Usually a father's brother declares himself dissatisfied with his compensation and asserts his brother's daughter's honour with a great quarrel about the mantle or the money. The underlying idea of this is to show the world how unwilling they are to allow a member of the family to go away. Ḥamdiye [*D. of 182*] talking about this says:

»This custom will not be altered. The woman is not an ass to be sold once for all. She is like a thorough-bred horse (*aşile*). As the thoroughbred has two fillies (*fêd*), so the woman has two payments (*balşa*).»

¹) Cf. *ibid.* V. 1, p. 109, 123 *sqq.* and Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VI. [Leipzig, 1883], p. 90.

The pride expressed in these words must not be overlooked.

As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the fellahin women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price were given,¹ and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated, Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that she is bought. Now people among whom bride price is customary do not understand the Western ideal; their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgment depends on custom, which is no certain or absolute measure of value.

Discussion of bride purchase.

The question then arises, what is the meaning of and the reason for giving a bride price?

A German ethnologist once said to me: »As soon as a bridegroom gives money for his bride to her relatives, then of course it is purchase.» To this it could be justly answered that the custom of the bride's relatives giving counter gifts tend to remove the character of purchase.² We have found that exchange of wedding gifts is usual in Palestine and that their value is determined by custom. Besides this the woman herself in many cases receives part of the bride price, at times the whole of it. One can hear it said in Palestine that only an avaricious father would not give the bride price to his daughter or an outfit or other gifts bought with it.³ But even when the bride's father lays claim to the whole of it,

¹ Cf. also what Westermarck says (*The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 392 sq.) about the disgrace for a girl and her family, if she is given in marriage without a price where a bride price is a regular custom.

² Cf. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, II. p. 396 sqq. See also Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, I. (London, 1849), p. 221.

³ Cf. Grant says (*The People of Palestine* [Philadelphia & London, 1921], p. 54) of »the usual wedding payment to the father of the bride»: »From this sum the father may make his daughter such presents as he pleases of jewels and head-coins.»

one is not justified in speaking of bride purchase. Both a man and a woman belong to the father's family; i.e. not only do they enjoy the protection of the home but the home must have some benefit from them. If a man works away from home, he cannot himself take and spend his earnings but they go to the eldest of the family who manages the finances, for his work must be for the benefit of the family. When a bride leaves her father's home, her family loses valuable labour power which is their right. The bride price can therefore be thought of as compensation for such power.¹ This theory I have heard put forward in regard to Palestine but before that I had come to a similar conclusion. But although I was much inclined to see in the bride price compensation for lost labour power, I had to acknowledge that this conception was too one-sided. It is true that the work of the women is much emphasized; a bride leaving her father's house receives from her people as already stated »service clothes» because she has served them; one reason for child marriage is that the child-wife can work in her husband's house; her work may be valuable long before there can be any question of real marriage; and also later, the work in the husband's house is the chief occupation of the woman. But I cannot think that the bride price does not, at least, in the first place, imply acknowledgment of or compensation for being allowed to take a daughter away from her home, who thus — as is said — »ruins her father's house and builds up a stranger's house»; this Old Testament phraseology² means that she »builds up» by means of bearing sons to a stranger instead of for her own family. This theory seems to be supported by the fact

Of a widow he says, that »she is apt to receive a larger share of it in presents from her father, since she cannot, in this case, be made to marry except by her own consent.» — Lees says (*Village Life in Palestine* [London, 1905], p. 117) of the dowry: »Richer people spend it on clothing and ornaments for the bride, and she reaps the benefit.» — Wilson also says (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 109) that among the townspeople the dowry does not go to the parents.

¹ Of great interest is a discussion (quoted by Spoer-Haddad from el-Qubēbe in *Zeitschr. für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, IV. 2, p. 211 and V. 1, p. 108 sq.) between the father of a girl and her betrothed who demands his bride. The bridegroom says to the father of the girl: »My relative-in-law (*ya insābi*), we want to buy the outfit for the bride.» Her father says to him: »No, after the harvesting! Let her first help us with the harvesting!» He says to him: »I cannot; I have given my money and shall I now allow her to serve *thee*?» He says to him: »Anyhow I hope thou wilt leave her with us until the end of the harvest!» He says to him: »I also have harvest and she shall serve *me* instead of serving *thee*.» He says to him: »Good! make the necessary preparations and take her!»

² Cf. Ruth, IV. 11.

that »bribes» are given to her relatives to let her go, and also that the stranger the family to whom she goes the greater is the bride price and the more numerous are the people who must be »bribed» and compensated for letting her go from the family, from the relatives, and from the village. Nevertheless some people have gone even farther and as already stated, have spoken of bride purchase in Palestine.¹

In Jerusalem I once discussed this matter with an educated Arab and he said: The Arabs again say that European women buy themselves husbands, and only if the Westerns agree to call the dowry a form of bridegroom purchase² can the Arabs agree to see bride purchase in the giving of a bride price. But although the dowry in some Western countries has been obligatory and in other countries is quite general their people would not like to regard it as the purchase of a bridegroom. Nevertheless one must admit that his statement has a certain justification and should make us thoughtful and careful in our judgments. It is possible that Western authors who have written of »bride purchase» in Palestine have had too rough and superficial an idea of the significance of the bride price comparable with the conception of the dowry as purchase money for a bridegroom. In the literature available there is no proof against »bride purchase» among the fellahin in Palestine. With the material which I collected in Arţās, I will here attempt to test and examine this question; I do not attempt any complete and final answer; but my material will serve to illuminate some aspects of the problem.

¹ See Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 82, 87, 100; Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VI. (Leipzig, 1883), p. 90; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 179: »Marriage, among the Arabs, is regarded solely as an affair of commerce . . .» A father regards his daughters »just as he would sheep or cows, and sells them in the same way . . .» The transaction . . . is just the same as if a mare or a camel were to be sold . . .» — Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 109: »In most cases the girls are virtually sold by their parents.»

² Compare with this what Westermarck says (*op. cit.* II. p. 430 *sq.*): »In our days there is particularly one factor that tends to preserve the marriage portion as a social institution of some importance. In a society where monogamy is prescribed by law, where the adult women outnumber the adult men, where many men never marry, and where married women too often lead an indolent life—in such a society the marriage portion not infrequently becomes a purchase-sum by means of which a father buys a husband for his daughter, as formerly a man bought a wife from her father.»

In India the difficulty of finding a husband for a daughter has led to undisguised purchase of bridegrooms.»

It must be acknowledged that there is much to be said for the theory of bride purchase. However one regards the matter the very fact that a higher bride price can be obtained for a woman by giving her to a stranger — i.e. letting her go out of the clan or away from the village — is difficult to reconcile with a more ideal conception, and there is a suggestion of purchase.¹ Regarded from a purely theoretical point of view the possibility of receiving a bride or a sum of money in return for a sister or daughter may be considered as something to be highly valued; evidence of this can be found. Louise Baldensperger told me that many years ago — it was not in Arḩās — she heard a man boast: »Shall I continue to work when my daughter's bride price was £40.» The following story from old times in Arḩās was told me by ḩamdiye [*D. of 183*]:

»When Jēdallah 'Ōde [2] married the daughter of Šūḩ her father did not cut off [i.e. end his demands for] the bride price until her life was cut off. As she was placed on the bridal camel they [the bridegroom's people] said to him [her father]: 'Ask now!' He said: 'I want the gray horse.' They said: 'Art thou satisfied?' He said: 'I want that sword'. They said: 'Here is the sword' and added: 'Art thou satisfied?' He said: 'I want the gun that Ibraḩīm 'Ōde [1] [the brother of the bridegroom] carries.' They said: 'Here it is.'

[Then] he went to her [the bride]. He said: 'Oh! my daughter, come out [from thy father's house]! To-day I was on foot, now I am a rider; I had no sword, to-day I have one; I had no gun and to-day I have one. Lift, my daughter, thy head towards heaven!'

How useful a bride price can be appears also from the fact that the vineyard which Aḩmad Can'ān [181] received for his sister is still in the possession of his widow ḩelwe il-ḩajje [*D. of 170*] and she has the fruit from it. The clearest example of this usefulness is the house which the family Slimān 'Ōde possesses, which was bought with a bride price for Šabḩa, daughter of Slimān 'Ōde [188], when she was married to Aḩmad Mḩammad [118]; this bride price was £20 and with it the house was bought from Eṭmān Jibrīn [77]. This house holds the family together and keeps them in the village. — Sometimes the family debts are paid with a daughter's bride price. If there are several sons and then a daughter is born she is very welcome. Such a girl is sometimes called Sitt il-Eḩwe which can

¹ Cf. *ibid.* II, p. 395: »Mercenary motives may be prominent: daughters may be bartered away to the highest bidders and be trained for the purpose of fetching a high bride price.» — We have seen (*supra*, p. 73 sq.) that the relatives exercise some control over the father of the girl and thus prevent too great speculation.

mean »six brothers» — a source of pride for her — but also »The Lady of brothers»; the brothers are happy to have a sister to give in exchange.

It is instructive to see how different families act, as shown in the following examples.

Example 1. Ḥalil Šhāde [170] had two wives. He had four sons by his first wife Ḥasna [D. of 51] and by Salma the second wife he had only one daughter and one son. He died before he had given his children in marriage. His younger wife Salma took another husband [42], but Ḥasna [D. of 51] the elder one remained as a widow in her husband's house.

‘Alya [D. of 1] said of her:

»Ḥasna [D. of 51; W. of 170] gave her four sons in marriage and for the son of her husband¹ she took a bride in exchange for his sister.»²

The woman who is given in exchange for a man's bride is preferably his sister, with the same father and mother. Ḥasna [D. of 51; W. of 170] gave away in marriage her sons and daughters by Ḥalil Šhāde in the following way:

The eldest son Mḥammad [171] received a bride in exchange for his eldest sister Sabḥa [D. of 170; W. of 77]. For the next son Aḥmad [172] she gave his second sister Fāṭme's [D. of 170; W. of 55] bride price as the price for his Ta‘āmre bride. Becoming a widower, he obtained an Arṭās bride — Miryam [D. of 69] — with the bride price of his third sister Ḥamde [D. of 170]. And when Ḥamde [D. of 170] became a widow the bride price for her [W. of 68] new marriage procured a Ta‘āmre bride for the third brother ‘Ali [173]. The fourth and last brother Mūsa [174] received his wife in return for a bride price taken from the family property, i.e. grapes, apricots, garden-land etc. were sold in order to get money for the bride price.

»Each brother helps his brother to marry.» Thus ‘Alya [D. of 1] concluded her account.

Example 2. It is said of Ehsēn ‘Abdallah [87] that he married twice by means of his sister Rašīde [D. of 81] (*jawazate Rašīde hatertēn*). He first exchanged his sister for a bride, who however died very shortly. Rašīde's [D. of 81] husband also died. As his sister was now a widow Ehsēn [87] gave her in marriage for the second time and procured himself a new wife with her bride price. — He has of course then a duty towards his sister; to protect her and give her presents, remarked ‘Alya [D. of 1].

Example 3. »Mḥammad Jabr [159] married by means of two sisters.»

¹ Salma's [W. of 170] son Ibrahīm Ḥalil [175].

² Ḥelwe Ḥalil [D. of 170] who became the wife of Aḥmad Can‘ān [181].

First he gave his elder sister Helwe [D. of 156] in exchange for a bride and becoming a widower, he then exchanged his younger sister Fāṭme [D. of 156; W. of 141] for another bride Zarīfe [D. of 135]. There were no more girls in the family. As Mḥammad [159] had taken both his sisters for his benefit, he was obliged to give up to his brother Aḥmad [160] a piece of land in place of the younger sister. When his daughter Raḥme [D. of 159; W. of 163] grew up and was married, her bride price went to Aḥmad [160] who in return for this gave back the plot of land he had received in compensation for being unable to give his younger sister in exchange. There was still a third brother Ibrahīm [S. of 156] who went to America unmarried; and it is said, that if he comes back the brothers must give him money with which to obtain a bride, if he demands it. »His two brothers must help Ibrahīm [S. of 156] to marry, for brother must help brother.»

Example 4. The slave ʿAbdallah [195], the ancestor of the present negro families, had two sons and one daughter. The elder son [196] obtained a bride in return for his sister. Then the younger brother [197] said: »That is not just. I have also a share in my sister.» The elder brother [196] admitted this but said: »Wait until my daughter is of marriageable age! I will then give her in exchange for a bride for thee.» And this was done; with his daughter Ḥalīme [D. of 196] a bride was procured for her father's brother [197].

Example 5. When Mḥammad Aḥmad [122] received his brother's daughter Ṣabhā [D. of 120] to give in exchange for a bride, he in return gave up to her father [120] his share in the property left by a dead brother Mḥammed [S. of 118].

It thus appears that a girl actually represents capital which if she did not exist would have to be taken from the family property. Over and over again it is seen how dependent a man is upon his sister in the financial arrangements for his marriage. Many a man has had to postpone his wedding because his sister's bride price, upon which he was reckoning, did not materialize. When Aḥmad Muṣṭafa [74] after a broken betrothal as was related,¹ could not in time procure the money needed for his new bride Zarīfe [D. of 184; W. of 74] he not only caused great trouble for himself but also for his future brother-in-law ʿAbed Ṣāleḥ [187], who in consequence could not get his Taʿāmre bride whose bride price was to have been the bride price he received for his sister. People try to give a son in marriage at the same time as they receive a bride price for a daughter, while it is still not yet spent. It would be extremely interesting to compare villages where women are in the majority with those where women are in the minority, from the point of view of the possibilities for giving or

¹ *Supra*, p. 39 sq and 72 sq.

obtaining a bride price. Probably the greater number of women available for a direct or indirect exchange has its effects. Is it not possible that the lack of women which in Arḩās is especially striking in the Šahīn family is the cause of their clan alone being strictly monogamous, and that this fact is not to be ascribed to the monogamous inclination or the higher ethical disposition of their men? This is supported by an incident related of them in the village; it is said that when long ago Ibrahim Šahīn [129] at the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem witnessed the punishment by death of a girl accused of having lost her virginity he in horror at the shame which can fall upon a family through its daughter sent a handful of salt to Abraham's tomb in the Mosque (*ḥaram*) of Hebron and prayed: »Oh! my Lord Abraham, thou Friend of God, do not allow any daughter to outlive me!» But when his prayer was really heard so that even if a girl was born in the family she soon died they were very unhappy because the men in that way were cut off from any possibility of getting brides by means of their daughters or sisters. Even the sons of Ibrahim Šahīn [129] prayed for daughters.

¹ Alya [*D. of I*]: »Halīl Ibrahim [134] wished to have a daughter among these six sons and a daughter was born to them and she was called Sāra [*D. of 134*] after our Lady Sāra. Aḩmad Ibrahim [133] also desired a daughter and God gave Mešāyeh [*D. of 133*]. — When the daughters were born they [their fathers] said: 'To Abraham (*ḥalīl*) a quarter of the bride price if these girls live!'»

A woman from the Šahīn family explained the matter to me: »We needed the girls and this was the reason that we vowed the quarter [of the bride price].»

But when I once asked the present eldest representative of the Šahīn family if it were not a great advantage for a family to have daughters because one gets bride prices for them, he said reproachfully: »It is forbidden! it is sinful (*ḥāda ḥarām*)!» — »Is it not useful and advantageous», I then asked, »to have daughters to exchange?» The answer was the same: »It is forbidden, it is sinful!»

The words of the old Šahīn [139] bear witness to the feeling of guilt which always exists to a greater or less degree among her own people

¹ This tragic story is related in Murray's Handbooks: *A Handbook for travellers in Syria and Palestine, New and Revised Edition*, I. (London, 1868), p. 200 sq. and Canon Hanauer of Jerusalem told me that it concerns Helwe bint Šahīn of Bethlehem.

when a woman is given away in marriage. They feel it to be an injustice and a shame to let a member of the family go away¹ and the bride herself is sad at having to leave her father's house.² The consciousness of guilt may be partly due to the feeling that the woman herself ought to have the bride price³ when really one of her male relatives — usually a brother — benefits at her expense. Closely connected with this is probably the feeling of guilt towards a sister which a brother always has, especially the brother who gets his bride by means of her marriage, and which is expressed in the obligation to protect her and give her presents as long as she lives.

‘Alya [*D. of I*] quoted the proverb: »Blood-money and bride price have no blessing (*id-diye u fēd il wiliye māfiš barake*).»

This association is remarkable. Without wishing to draw direct parallels, I beg to point out that there are several points of contact between the two. Both blood-money and bride price are connected with a feeling of guilt.⁴ Blood-money is only a substitute and the only right thing is to take a life for a life⁵ wherein the most important point is that it is an equally valuable life. When the family of Sālem ‘Eṭmān [67] avenged his murder by killing a youth of the murderer's family it was said that though certainly »a grave for a grave» (*qabr ib qabr*) it was not »a head for

¹ Cf. Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 433: »Bei den Vornehmen dagegen kommt es vor dass sie keinen Freier heranlassen. Sie sehen in der Verheirathung ihrer Töchter eine Selbsterniedrigung, sie ziehen es wohl gar vor sie zu töten. Denn die Sitte die neugeborenen Mädchen lebendig zu verscharren wird nicht bloss von den Armen aus Noth geübt, sondern auch von den Vornehmen 'aus Furcht vor der Schande' . . . Das Gefühl sitzt tief, dass es eigentlich eine Schmach sei, sein eigenes Fleisch und Blut in der Gewalt eines fremden Mannes zu sehen.»

² Cf. Grant says, (*The People of Palestine* [Philadelphia & London, 1921], p. 59) of a bride: »She seemed very sad, as is expected when a young girl leaves her mother.»

³ Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 434 sq.: »So kommt es schon vor dem Islam auf, dass das Mahr nicht dem Vali sondern der Frau zufällt. Im Koran wird dies nicht erst eingeführt, sondern als bestehende Sitte vorausgesetzt.» — See also *Koran*, IV. 3.

⁴ Cf. Jacob says (*Altarabisches Beduinenleben* [Berlin, 1897], p. 57: »Die Äneze halten es . . . für schimpflich einen solchen Kaufpreis anzunehmen»); and according to Meyer, [*Das Weib im altindischen Epos* [Leipzig, 1915], p. 76 sq.] bride purchase is considered as something very low and even an awful sin and nevertheless it is very common.

⁵ Maltzan says (*Reise nach Südarabien* [Braunschweig, 1873], p. 295: »Das Blutgeld (die Diye), wird nie genommen, ausser von denen, die man 'Schwache' nennt, d.h. die nicht zu einem kräftigen Stamm gehören. Sie zu nehmen gilt für Schande.»

a head» (*rās ib rās*). Similarly it was found how important it was that the brides who are exchanged are equally valuable and the bride prices must be equal for equally valuable women under similar conditions.

Sometimes the family of a murderer is condemned to present a bride to the murdered man's family; this was the sentence given by Aḥmad Sma'in [52] when he after a murder in Abu Ṛōṣ, North-west from Jerusalem, was called upon to reconcile the two families.¹ Louise Baldensperger said: »The idea is that she can give birth to sons who will replace the dead man. If she bear no sons, she must later be replaced by another woman.»²

The bargaining as to the blood-money which is to be paid and the discussions as to the bride price also deserve comparison. The Prophet laid down a rule as to blood-money; I was told in Arṭās, that he demanded 33,000 piasters. But at the actual solemn negotiations many reductions are made; for the sake of God, of the Prophet, of the men present, sometimes also of the women, the price is cut down.³

When blood-money was to be paid for Ḥalīl 'Ōdtallah [S. of 19] who, while watching his father's flock, was accidentally shot by his fellow-herdsman, a Ta'āmre boy, and died, the amount was reduced during the preparatory negotiations to £100. — These negotiations were conducted on behalf of the Ta'āmre bedouin by one of their most important men, Mḥammad iz-Zir. — At the final official agreement further reductions were made.

'Alya [D. of 1] told me of this and I will compare her account with a description which Ḥamdiye [D. of 183] gave of a typical agreement as to bride price made in the presence of several relatives between the father of the bride [D. of 174] and the bridegroom's [179] father [173] and his father's brother Mḥammad [171]. In order to make the comparison easier I place the two accounts side by side.

¹ Cf. Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 6: »Manchmal wird noch die unentgeltliche Verheiratung einiger Mädchen an Jünglinge der geschädigten Sippe zur Bedingung gemacht.» — Westermarck mentions (*The History of Human Marriage*, II. p. 359 sq.) »the custom of giving a woman in marriage, not in exchange for a bride, but, in the case of an act of homicide, as compensation for the inflicted injury or as a means of reconciling the family of the manslayer with that of his victim.»

² Cf. what Musil says (*Arabia Petraea*, III. [Wien, 1908], p. 364) of such a woman: »Das Mädchen el-Rurra muss einen Verwandten des Toten heiraten und so lange bei ihm bleiben, bis sie ihm einen Knaben geboren und erzogen hat.»

³ Cf. Jaussen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes*. I. *Naplouse et son District* (Paris, 1927), p. 143 sq.; see also Haddad, 'Die Blutrache in Palästina', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, LX. (Leipzig, 1917), p. 225 sqq.

Bargaining as to blood-money

»£100 they had to pay. £50 were taken away and £50 remained. What they took away were: £10 for God and the prophet and £10 for Mḥammad iz-Zīr and £10 for those present. And the Ta'āmre women refused to eat. Then a further £5 was deducted. And £15 for all the saints and the Prophet and those present.

And they ate and refreshed themselves and were in good spirits. And they gave the £50 and tied the banners; 5 banners were set up each worth 1000 piasters — £50 in all.»

Bargaining as to bride price

»We give for her £100.»
Mḥammad [171] said:
»And what for God and the Prophet?» They said: »£20.» —
»And for the Friend of God (*ḥalīl allah*) our father Abraham?» He [174] answered: »£15.» He [171] said: »Good! and for the Mosque of Omar [in Jerusalem] and the house of God?» — »£10.» — »And for those present?» He [174] said to them: »£5.»

Thus £50 remains for her father [174] and £10 her father gives to her [i.e. the bride].»

These official negotiations as to bride price have been regarded as a proof of bride purchase. They are evidently to be compared with the negotiations in regard to blood-money when exactly the same reduction proceedings occur. I do not think that in the latter case one would speak of purchase.

Nevertheless it may be of interest to know that the fellahīn even in such a connection use the word *buy*. If a murderer has been in prison he has not according to fellahīn idea atoned for his crime. Prison is punishment by the Government and cannot be sanctioned by the fellahīn who demand punishment according to their own moral ideas and laws. A murderer who has come out of prison is therefore still in danger of his life from the relatives of his victim.

'Alya [*D. of I*] says:

»If someone has killed another and must be put to death — when he comes out of prison — he is bathed and shaved and they go about the bazaars of Jerusalem with him crying: 'Who will *buy* this soul created by God!' People who wish to earn reward in heaven say: 'We *buy* it!' Then the *buyer* strokes him [the murderer] three times on the back and says: 'I set thee free before the face of God!' The murderer kisses

his hand and says: 'I am thy slave, I thank thee!' He can then go wherever he likes.¹

'Ūdtallah Jēdallah [19] did this with the Ta'āmre boy. This is of more value than a pilgrimage.»

A parallel case may be quoted where a woman accused of having sexual intercourse with a man — not her husband — is to be punished with death but is acquitted by a »son of righteousness» (*ibn ḥalāl*); for example, in Bethlehem a powerful sheikh, Sālem Šaḥtūr, rescued such a girl by his interference. Her mother went to see the sheikh in order to appeal to him for help with the words: »Who *buys* the soul which God has created?» And the sheikh answered: »I *buy* this soul.» The next day he declared her to be innocent in front of the people who were collected to see and take part in the punishment and she was allowed to live.

The word *buy* is used in yet a third way, when a man is bought off from military service.² 'Alya [*D. of I*] said of one of her relatives: »We paid for him 50 Osmanli (T£) as well as bribes and other expenses»; and of Mūsa Šahīn [135] she related that he in this way *bought* his brother's son and four of his own sons for £50 each. At least one of them, to cancel the debt which he thus owed to the family, was obliged to give his daughter in exchange for a bride for his brother.

Such ways of *buying* a man or a woman must be remembered when one speaks of *buying* a bride. I cannot however give many examples of this. One saying which I heard varied somewhat according to who said it; thus a wife says to her husband or to her mother-in-law: »Thou hast longed for me and with thy property hast thou bought me (*inti ištahētini u bmālik šarētīni*).»

Certainly he has *bought* her with his heart's blood, should she not then give him children? said a young wife to us. Ḥamdiye's [*D. of 183*] words: »A woman is not an ass to be sold once for all» belongs also here; similarly perhaps the saying: »We will not allow our wealth to go to others» where

¹ Compare with this — when a man *buys* a murderer and sets him free — what Musil relates (*Arabia Petraea*, III. [Wien, 1908], p. 367): »Wenn der Schuldige und seine Sippe nicht imstande sind, den Blutpreis zu erlegen, so verkauft er sich, ḥašše, mit seinen Kindern dem Bluträcher. Dies geschieht vor der Versammlung des Stammes, und der Bluträcher spricht: 'Ich habe dich vollgültig gekauft . . .'»

² Cf. Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 198: »Only when his son is about to be taken as a conscript to serve in the army will he despairingly and reluctantly withdraw from his treasure heap the sum required to buy him off.»

the word for wealth (*ḥēr*) may refer to the daughter, the wife, the bride price, or a woman's private property which remains hers after marriage.

If one directly questions the fellahīn women about this and says: »Is it not the custom among you for a man to buy his wife?» or if one suggests that a father sells his daughter as a bride to a man — which is the same thing — they deny it with as much indignation as the educated Arabs in the town. The bride money does not appear to them to be payment for a purchase; it is only Westerns who unhesitatingly called the giving of a bride price in Palestine a purchase and that because they were not sensitive to the shades of difference. The author of a recent book describes the lazy and indolent man in Palestine who lets the women work for him and carry heavy burdens while he himself walks at ease or rides an ass, to which he adds the explanation »out here an ass costs more than a wife»;¹ with this European expression in my mind I once, when talking about bride price, asked two young fellahīn what was the price of a donkey? They at once grasped what I had in view and were highly amused; they slapped their knees and laughed and that time I got no answer. It was not surprising that they were amused at such a naive and stupid question; one of them happened to be Aḥmad Muṣṭafa [74] who was just having great trouble to get together the bride price which he needed; he must have thought how much easier it would have been to obtain an ass. In reality an ass costs about £6 or ten times less than the cheapest bride in Arṭās and a hundred times less than a bride in a richer village like Lifta. When a man who has not given a full bride price for his wife says contemptuously: »Thy price is the price of an ass, it does not matter if thou diest», it is a negative proof that a woman is on an entirely different level; the very fact that a bride price is so great normally prevents any fellāh from comparing it with the price of an ass.

One must be careful not to make too much of the association of an ass and a woman.² The women in Arṭās certainly knew the proverb »In the daytime an ass and in the night a wife (*fil-lēl marati u fil-nhār iḥmārti*)»,

¹ Bööck, *Resa till Jerusalem* (Stockholm, 1925), p. 230.

² See also Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 92: »Im Scherze sagt wohl manchmal ein Fellach, wenn das mühevollen Leben und die schweren Arbeiten seines Weibes erwähnt werden: 'Nun lass sie arbeiten, hab' ich mir doch zu dem Zweck eine *ḥmāra* (Eselin) gekauft', und sein Weib lacht herzlich mit, denn im Grunde ist die Sache nicht so schlimm wie sie klingt, und ist immerhin noch ein grosser Unterschied zwischen einer so gekauften Frau und einer wirklich gekauften Sklavin.»

but they assured me that this does not hold good in our village but among the villagers in Ḥōṣān, who do not treat their wives so very well, and I do not doubt that they in their turn, if asked, would deny the imputation. On the other hand I often heard the expression used »she is a thoroughbred». If people wish to say something really good about a woman they compare her to a thoroughbred horse, the finest thing an Arab knows. I repeat here Ḥamdiye's [*D. of 183*] words: »The woman is not an ass to be sold once for all. She is like a thoroughbred horse. As the thoroughbred horse has two fillies (*fēd*) so the woman has two payments (*baṣa*).» When procuring a thoroughbred horse there are special regulations to be observed; a man will only part with his thoroughbred mare on condition of receiving the first two fillies which it foals after it has left him; and the procuring of a bride is associated with formalities which place it beyond comparison with a purchase.

In another connection Emil Baldensperger, a brother of my co-worker and, as a nomadic bee-keeper, thoroughly acquainted with fellahin customs, drew my attention to the fact that in Arḫās the people do not use the word *ḥaqq*¹ for bride price as they do for example when speaking of the price of an ass or goods, but the word *fēd*², or the same word which indicates the fillies which must be given to the former owner of a thoroughbred horse; and there may be a connection. *Mahr*,³ the usual arabic word for bride price has the same root as *muhra*, the female foal of a mare, and further support may be found in the fact that a man coming to ask for a bride often uses this introductory form: »I wish for a filly (*muhra*).» He is asked: »A filly which eats with its hand or its mouth?» He answers:

¹ Again Klein speaks ('Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VI. (Leipzig, 1883), p. 90 of *ḥaqq il-bint*. See also Burckhardt, *Arabische Sprichwörter oder die Sitten und Gebräuche der neueren Aegyptier* (Weimar, 1834), p. 173.

² Mülinen also states ('Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels', in *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXX. [Leipzig, 1907], p. 170) that among peasants the word *fēd* is used.

³ Wellhausen says ('Die Ehe bei den Arabern', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen* [Göttingen, 1893], p. 433): »Für Brautgeld gibt es eine Anzahl Synonyma. Es sind jedoch ursprüngliche Unterschiede der Bedeutung zu erkennen, die sich mit der Zeit ausgeglichen haben.» In a note he remarks about the Hebrew word (*mohar*): »Aber auch im Hebräischen wird das Wort in der älteren Litteratur nie vom Verkauf von Sachen gebraucht, sondern nur von der Dahingabe von Personen, auch ohne dass dafür ein Preis bezahlt wird. So in der bekannten häufigen Redensart: der Herr verkaufte sein Volk in die Hand der Feinde.»

»A filly which eats with its hand.« It may be that here there is a play upon the word, because of the similarity between *mahr* — bride price and *muhra* — filly. But Ḥamdiye [D. of 183] told me also about the negotiations for a Ta'āmre bride [W. of 53] as follows: »Nobody knew what was the final agreement but he gave for her a filly (*muhra*) and money tied up in a kerchief (*ṣurret 'arab*).« *Muhra*, the word for a filly, is also used as the name of a woman; thus there is a Ta'āmre woman married in our village called *Muhra* [W. of 52].

The strongest evidence against the theory of wife-purchase is that a married man, in spite of the bride price, has by no means absolute power over his wife. It is his duty to maintain her,¹ but she can and does hold property over which he has no right of disposal. This is true both of property which she brings to the marriage and of what she earns while she is his wife.²

For example, a woman on her wedding-day, may receive money from relatives and friends. — In earlier times a woman used to carry her money sewn on her cap;³ in 1926 Šellebiye [D. of 98; W. of 126] bought a share in an apricot tree with the money she received as bride and now she can keep the money she gets for her share of its fruit. — The widow Zarīfe Aḥmad [D. of 21; W. of 14] had the garden plot which her husband gave

¹ According to Bauer, *Volkleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 97 the husband has »für ihren (his wife's) Lebensunterhalt zu sorgen, im Unterlassungsfall kann die Frau auf Rechnung des Gatten Schulden machen, ja ihn sogar auf Erfüllung seiner Pflicht anklagen«.

² Pierotti mentions (*Customs and Traditions of Palestine* [Cambridge, 1864], p. 190) a feast seven days after the wedding, to which the husband invites the bride's relatives, »who, after dinner are expected to make a present to her«, and says: »this money, and this alone of all that is given her, is left in her own power by her husband, to be spent on her dresses, or in increasing the ornaments of coins worn round her face and head.« — Again Bauer says (*op. cit.* p. 97): »Die Frau darf über ihre Habseligkeiten frei verfügen und kann den Ertrag aus der Hühnerzucht nach ihrem Ermessen für die Familie verwenden.« — See also Seligman; 'The Kabābīsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, II. (Cambridge, 1864) p. 131: »Women appear to be perfectly free to dispose of their own money.«

³ Cf. Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 197: »She has her reward. At least she is permitted to keep whatever she earns by her labour. She may own a cow and sell the milk, breed poultry and dispose of the eggs. The proceeds are her own. Every coin is carefully stored. Her savings bank is her necklace or headdress, where she deposits all her wealth, adding coin after coin until there is quite an array of silver.« See also Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, (London, 1906), p. 130: »In addition to these bracelets and other ornaments they wear rows of coins on their head-dresses. The original object of this latter custom, and also, 10 — *Soc. Scient. Fenn., Comm. Hum. Litt.* III. 8.

as her bride price, inscribed in her name and now cultivates it and has an income from it. — In 1925 Fāṭme Šaḥtūr [*W. of 11*], when she married ʿIsa Ḥalīl [*11*], preferred to take money from him instead of bracelets, rings and other ornaments which are part of the bridal outfit, and with this and the other money she received at the wedding she bought a shop in Bethlehem, her native place, which ʿIsa [*11*] then managed. She plans to go later on to America with her husband, and with her great energy it will not be surprising if she carries out her idea. — Our neighbour Šahīn Mūsa's [*139*] house is said to have been built with the money which he received from his wife Šafīye [*W. of 139*], born in Sarafāt.

A woman can, of her own free will, give her money to her husband, but he has no right to it.

A woman never wholly belongs to her husband's house; in contrast to conditions in the West she remains more or less a member of her father's house even after marriage. She does not assume her husband's name,¹ but continues to be called by her first name to which is added her father's first name or her family name, if there is one.² If a wife does something wrong it is her father or her brother and not her husband who is responsible for her and punishes her, just as it is her blood relatives who protect her rather than her husband;³ when her husband dies her father's family has again the right to dispose of her. If the husband's family wishes to keep her they must apply to her father or her brother and offer them gifts. Even in a case of levirate a new bride price must be given and she must be fetched as a bride from her father's house. One here asks oneself whether it is a purchase when the wife at the death of her husband returns to her father's house, and this in spite of the fact that it is often not the husband himself but his family who gave the bride price.

Finally there are two cases in Arṭās wherein the fellahīn themselves see the purchase of a wife. In time of extreme want people may be forced

no doubt, partly of that of wearing jewellery, was the safe custody of their money . . . Consequently women have for ages invested their money in jewellery, or put it on their head-dress, which neither a creditor nor the Government could touch, though the woman herself could use it. One of the commonest methods of raising money is for a woman to pledge her ornaments, and no disgrace whatever attaches to such a transaction.»

¹ Cf. Fehlinger, 'Über das Ehe- und Familienrecht der Mohammedaner' (by Kaurimsky), in *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, XII. (München, Leipzig & Berlin, 1916—17), p. 114.

² e.g. iz-Zir has almost the same importance as a family name in the West. — Cf. for names Grant, *The People of Palestine* (Philadelphia & London, 1921), p. 72 sq.

³ See also *supra*, p. 57.

to sell their daughters »as cattle or slaves are sold». ʿAlya [*D. of I*] relates of two women, who in this way were married to men from our village about 40 years ago. The places where they lived had suffered from great dearth and their people had besides been oppressed by the Government, so that there was no way out except to »sell» their daughters. This is considered to be the greatest misfortune.

»Fāṭme [*W. of 92*] and ʿĒše [*W. of 99*] came [to the market] to be sold as cattle or slaves (*aju jalab*). The bargain for ʿĒše [*W. of 99*] was closed in Jerusalem. They were many [for sale] like sheep and goats. Some were taken by the Kawāfne, some by the Bēt-Ṣafāfa people; it was said that il-Walaje took a hundred.

The order came that a stranger wife released from military service.»

In this way ʿAlya wished to explain why the Arṭās men came to think of taking wives from such far away places as Sinjel and Silwād half way between Jerusalem and Nablus.¹

»And the second reason was the injustice (*ḡulum*) [of the Government] and poverty and famine. In the North it was worse than here. Fāṭme [*W. of 92*] and ʿĒše [*W. of 99*] came in the same year. ʿAbd il-Jāber was the agent. He went to the North and brought them from Sinjel to offer them [in Jerusalem]. — Women in the North wear white clothes.

Ibrahīm ʿĀyeš [82] and ʿAbd il-Jāber met in Jerusalem and the girls were with ʿAbd il-Jāber — and their mothers also. ʿAbd il-Jāber was the agent. They settled their price and brought them. Ibrahīm ʿĀyeš [82] took one [Fāṭme iṣ-Ṣamaliye from Sinjel] for his son ʿAbd is-Salām [92].

ʿAbd is-Salām [92] was offended and angry. The old man [82] said to him: 'This one I brought for thee. Either thou takest her or thou leavest her. But if thou dost not take her thou shalt never marry so long as I live.' They put on her the clothes of her sisters-in-law and of Sāra [*W. of 82*] [one of her father-in-law's wives] and she was put on the bridal camel. Rice and meat were given to the village. But her father complained:

'We had to put [our women] up for sale — O good people!

Because of the injustice we hate our land — O good people!

(*alēna dallal id-dallāl yā jwād*
u ʿufna blādna min id-ḡulum yā jwād)!

He said these words and began to weep. In those days a stranger wife released from military service. And this Jāber was the agent and had his income from it.

¹ See also *supra*, p. 58, 92 sq.

When they quarrelled with her [*W. of 92*] they used to say to her: 'O thou sold like a slave! thou gift of the midnight (*yā jalab yā hadiyet nuṣṣ il-lāl!*)'

Sheikh Mḥammad Ḥalīl [ʿĀyeṣ] [*99*], the derwish, brought in the same year [a bride ʿEṣe in the same way].

There was not the usual elaborate ceremony. No bridal procession went to their land and no one knew where the doors of their people's houses were. Everything was done at once, the 'cooking' and the marriage contract and the wedding.»

So ʿAlya [*D. of 1*] concluded her account.

This way of procuring a bride is thus placed by the fellahīn women themselves in an exceptional category and it alone has been characterized as »selling daughters»; but not even a woman in this exceptional position is so wholly dependent on her husband's pleasure that she cannot claim just treatment from him; her brothers — as happened in Arṭās — have the right to come to the man and make him answer for how he has acted towards their sister. From this it is clear that the right of a man over his wife is never absolute and that a wife can never really be bought.

When I was in Arṭās during the wedding season 1926, there was a case which I should have assumed was a bride purchase, if I had not compared my conception of it with the statements and opinions of the fellahīn women — another reminder of how careful one must be not to use western standards.

It concerned an Arṭās girl; in this case also the bride's family were in straitened circumstances; they needed money. The father's brother went to the bazaar in Jerusalem and offered the girl there. He spoke with a shopkeeper who arranged the affair and the girl was compelled to take a man who horrified her. She had never seen him — he was from Lifta north of Jerusalem — but report said that he was a cripple, and on no conditions did she wish to marry such a man.

Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] told us about this.

»Aḥmad ʿEtīmān [*34*], the father's brother, wanted to get his brother's daughter Ḥamde [*D. of 33*] married. In Jerusalem he spoke to Abu Kāmel, a merchant: 'Canst thou arrange a place for this girl?' — 'How is she related to thee?' — 'She is my brother's daughter. Her brother [*37*] is in difficulties and wishes to marry.' — 'Come, let us ask these people!'

They went to the Ḥamūde [from Lifta] and spoke with them. 'Where shall we meet?' — 'At the house of Ḥalīl ʿIsa [a Christian in Bethlehem]!

The mother of the bridegroom came on the appointed day and four men [with her from Lifta] to the house of Ḥalīl ʿIsa. They had said to

Ḥamde [*D. of 33*] [whom they wished to give away in marriage]: 'Imm 'Isa needs thee to work.' The intention was that the bridegroom's relatives should look at her. The girl went there. The Christian woman put good clothes on her. She worked there and handed coffee and tea and brought water. She waited on the Lifta people and they were pleased with her.»

This happened in the last days of October 1926. The bridegroom had not been in Bethlehem but we learned that he was a cripple; some said he had lost a finger, others said the whole hand, others again the whole arm. On November 3rd 'Alya [*D. of 1*] related to us as follows:

»Ḥamde [*D. of 33*] said yesterday at the olive gathering: 'I will not accept him. Even if you cut me in pieces and lay a piece on every hill I will not take him. Instead of him helping me, I must begin to gird him.'»

Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*]: »Aḥmad Sma'in [*52*] however said: 'The family is much esteemed.'»

Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] could also tell us that on the previous day the contract had been made.

'Alya [*D. of 1*]: »They made the contract but they wish to divorce again.»

Somehow the sheikh must have learned that Ḥamde [*D. of 33*] was not pleased with her bridegroom, and as the Government now insists that a woman shall not be married against her will he did not dare to make the contract at once but acted in such a way as would protect him in case of unpleasant consequences. He left the people of the bride and bridegroom in Bethlehem and went to Arṭās to talk to the girl himself. I let Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] relate this:

»Before the sheikh came the brother had received from her authority to act in her name. Then the sheikh came and said: 'Show me the girl! We want to make the contract.' He came to the girl and said: 'Has thy brother taken over thy representation?' She said: 'Yes.' They said: 'Make the contract, sir!'

And he asked the girl: 'Where is the bridegroom?' They said: 'In the village [i.e. his village Lifta].' He said: 'Then I will not make the contract.' They said: 'Why?' He said: 'Perhaps he is one-eyed, perhaps bald-headed, perhaps poor, perhaps the girl will not accept him. I am responsible. The Government will punish me.'

Then they telephoned to Lifta and the bridegroom came [to Bethlehem]. They found that he had only one hand. The men [present] from Arṭās said: 'This will not do. How much is her bride price?' They said: '80 pounds.'»

Now the Arṭās villagers who were present became very angry, because the bride price for a bride who goes out of the village must be a hundred pounds; they began to shout at one another:

»Is she an ass to be sold in the bazaar? — 'Are there no more bridegrooms in the world?' — 'Is she stale food (*hī kusbe baite*)?' — 'Abd is-Salām [92] again said: »I wish to have her [for my son], if she is so cheap. I have the first right; because I am from the village (*ana abda ana ibn il-balad*).'

Then they found out that her father's brother Aḥmad [34] had taken £20.»

The Lifta villagers had given £100 as they ought for an Arṭās bride who goes outside the village, but her father's brother Aḥmad [34] had kept £20. The people from Arṭās especially the near relatives turned their anger against Aḥmad [34].

»He took his portion. There were words which cut the bowels and blows for his head.»

It was the report of this fuss which again raised Ḥamde's [*D. of 33*] hope not to be obliged to take the man, and this explains her utterance, quoted above, at the olive picking.

'Alya [*D. of 1*] also said: »The thread is broken and the beads of the rosary are scattered.»

But the Arṭās men understood also that Ḥamde's [*D. of 33*] people had money troubles and that the girl's father's brother, Aḥmad [34] was in the power of the Christian in whose house the matter was arranged, because he had lent the family much money.

»Ḥalīl 'Isa is the adviser for Aḥmad [34] and the children. Not a thread of wool is cut without it being discussed with him.»

They took comfort also from the fact that Ḥamde [*D. of 33*], an Arṭās girl, was going to a »respected and rich family». It appeared that in spite of all fuss and quarrel the marriage contract had been made and the civil heads of the village had stamped the paper so that the marriage could take place.

On the 14th November some Lifta women, near relatives to the bridegroom, came in motor cars to Arṭās in order to dye the bride with henna.

Before the ceremony began and during it they sang and danced for the bridegroom — their cousin as they called him — while the bride sat in the corner and bewailed her fate to be taken away to a strange place and to a man whom she did not desire. The following day there came more relatives and friends from Lifta, among them the bridegroom's father but not he himself, and Ḥamde [*D. of 33*] was taken away from her father's house veiled and on horseback through the village. The Arṭās women followed her and clapped their hands and sang farewell and other wedding songs to the bride. It was raining so people said that she was a blessed bride. When the procession reached the road which runs from the village Convent to Solomon's Pools, the bride was lifted from the horse and placed in the motor car which brought her to her husband's house in Lifta.

We stood at the door of Louise Baldensperger's house and witnessed the departure. Sad at Ḥamde's [*D. of 33*] fate I now asked the women: »Is this not selling a daughter?» And I reminded them of Fāṭme from Sinjel [*W. of 92*] and ʿEše from Silwād [*W. of 99*], the two women from the Northland, who according to them were sold like cattle or slaves (*aju jalab*).¹ They reminded me that in those cases there had been an agent who had offered the girls for sale in the bazaars in Jerusalem, that the betrothal and wedding in those cases had been only one feast that there had not been the usual formalities that no bridal procession had gone from the village and that nobody in Arṭās had seen the house door of the bride; while Ḥamde [*D. of 33*] had had two feasts on different days and had been honoured according to custom. The women could not see any parallel at all to the earlier examples. I had to correct my opinion. I realized the enormous significance attached to wedding ceremonies which justify a marriage; the strict observance of custom is of more importance than the consent of bride and bridegroom, and added to that is public opinion, the sanction of society.

Under certain circumstances people do not mind if some forms are not quite strictly observed, so long as a man has public opinion on his side and the leading men of the village behind him, and does not act on his own responsibility. Thus ʿEṭmān Mḥammad [*37*], the brother of Ḥamde [*D. of 33*] above mentioned, knew how to obtain a bride for himself without incurring the whole of the expense. Hitherto it has been emphasized how important it is for a marriage that all the expenses are punc-

¹ *Supra*, p. 147 sq.

tiliously paid, so it can be valuable to describe a case where people find it possible to reduce their claims in this respect. Had it not been for Ḥamde [*D. of 33*], 'Eṭmān [37] could not have married, it was remarked in the village; yet, in spite of that, he had not sufficient money for the bride price and the wedding, partly because the father's brother who had arranged the girl's marriage had taken a great part of the bride price for himself and partly because a part of the family's debts had to be paid when it was known that the sister's marriage had procured money for her brothers. Ḥamde [*D. of 33*] had two unmarried brothers remaining in the house; the mother having died long ago and an elder sister being married. The one brother was blind and would probably not marry while 'Eṭmān [37], in spite of lack of means, was determined to marry.

Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] relates how he proceeded.

»Eṭmān Mḥammad [37] went to the men's club to the relatives (*qarāyeb*). He said to them: 'My house is ruined. What do you advise me?' They answered: 'Come, let us see the girl, if she will wait for the necessary or not.'

Mḥammad Sma'in [53] and the Ḥalḥūl man Mḥammad Maḥmūd [the husband of Helwe il-Ḥajje [*D. of 170*]] went to Muṣṭafa's [18] [the girl's father's] house. They said to her: 'What dost thou say, O maiden?' And they said to her: 'Wilt thou have patience with him and wait until he can give the necessary or wilt thou remain in thy father's house? But if thou wilt have patience with him, then thou canst marry already this week. If thou hast patience with him, thou hast patience with thyself, because there are only thou and he. If thou wilt take from him, thou wilt make thyself poor.' The bride answered: 'I will have patience and wait for the money.' They gave her a written acknowledgment that 'Eṭmān [37] owed her £20. — She must get £10 from her father and £20 from the bridegroom.

This discussion took place in the evening and the next morning they went to buy the outfit. They brought her a green dress (*tōb ihḍāri*), they brought a jacket and a silk headkerchief.

The men spoke to the girl and the two mothers [her own [*W. of 18*] and Ṣabḥa [*W. of 18*]] and her father was also there; this happened with the parents' blessing. This Ṣabḥa [*D. of 51; W. of 18*] had arranged.

This evening — Wednesday, November 17th the people will sing [for Ḥamde's wedding].»

This happy result for 'Eṭmān [37] must be attributed in the first place to his wisdom in presenting his case at the club whose members took it up and sent representatives to discuss it with the girl in her father's house in the presence of her people; it thus became a wider question, witnessed

and sanctioned by society. 'Eṭmān [37] was further well supported by her father's first wife Ṣabḥa Sma'in [D. of 51; W. of 18], that energetic and determined woman, who according to Ḥamdiye [D. of 183] was behind the whole affair — it should be noticed that one of the representatives sent out was her brother — and who was said to have more understanding and sympathy with the young man's position than with her co-wife's grown up daughter, whom she would be glad to see leave the house. The girl's own mother Fāṭme [W. of 18] had nothing to say in the matter, she had to sit still and silent. For this reason also the bride's interests were neglected. 'Eṭmān [37] still owed his bride [D. of 18] outfit, ornaments and money, but she was promised that later she should receive from her husband what was lacking.

Ḥamdiye [D. of 183]: »The representatives gave security in case 'Eṭmān [37] should fail to fulfil his promise. The guarantors are the village head (*muḥtār*) Mḥammad Sma'in [53] and the Ḥalḥūl man Mḥammad Maḥmūd [the husband of Ḥelwe il Ḥajje [D. of 170]]. They wrote her a paper and gave it to her mother.»

But both Ḥamdiye [D. of 183] and 'Alya [D. of 1] agreed that this was purely formal; the former said:

»If Ḥaḍra [D. of 18; W. of 37] desires money, they will say to her: 'The whole man belongs to thee!' It [the payment] will be far from her, still farther than the stars of heaven.»

When one compares this with how the men reasoned with the girl and explained to her that if she demanded all the money and the whole outfit from her husband, she would only harm herself, it seems very probable that Ḥaḍra [D. of 18; W. of 37] will never receive what is due to her, especially as she cannot count upon her family's support owing to Ṣabḥa's [D. of 51; W. of 18] extraordinary influence over her father and the other members. It is interesting to notice how eager the men are to refer to the bride and obtain her consent just when they wish to evade giving her what is due to her. They can be certain that owing to her inexperience and dependence on her own people she will not protest. Ḥamdiye [D. of 183] also emphasizes that her parents gave their blessing to the proceedings.

The consent of the bride and bridegroom is of little consequence. If a man cannot or will not give the bride price to a woman's family and incur the expenses of the betrothal and the wedding there is nothing else

to be done except to run away with her provided that the girl is willing; but such an action places them both for ever beyond the pale of society. In Arṭās there is only one example of such a case.

‘Alya [D. of I] relates as follows, how a man ‘Aṭallah ‘Aṭiye [191] eloped with Sabḥa from Bēt Sāḥūr [W. of 191] whom he met in Bethlehem and of their fate.

»She served a certain man, Maḥṣi by name and he was a coachman. They met at the market [in Bethléhem] and began to talk to each other. He said to her: ‘Come, lay thy hand in my hand and let us go eastwards [beyond Jordan] and leave this country and go!’ They left this country. — I lived with them during the war. She gave birth to her first child and it died. — He fled from the Government and from the bride price. This happened during the war.

He lived by stealing; because he stole from the Circassians who wanted to bind him and take him to the Government, he fled during the night. He came back here to live and the Bēt Sāḥūr people [from whom he had stolen his wife] were after him. He rebuilt and lived in [Ḥelwe Ḥalīl] il-Ḥajje’s [D. of 170] house during her absence in Mekka.

Then the people of Bēt-Sāḥūr came to know (*naṣaḡu*) that he was in Arṭās. They met ‘Abd is-Salām [92] and said to him: ‘If thou doest not force him to leave the village we will come up and kill him and pull down the house!’

‘Abd is-Salām [92] summoned him and informed him of this. So he brought a cart in the night [for his furniture] and sold his house to his cousins for £7.»

‘Alya’s [D. of I] verdict on this was »This is robbery (*ḥatef*); he stole her (*ḥatafha*).« This is how it is looked upon not only in this special case, but always when a man and a woman agree to leave the country in order to live together. The reason for such an action is not always the desire of the man to evade for some reason the giving of the bride price and other obligations, it can also be and usually is due to real affection which meets with opposition from the relatives; the knowledge that their families will not favour or encourage such a match may drive them to such a step. In any case by this action they set themselves in antagonism to their families and in conflict with society whose marriage rules they have broken; they have not only neglected to give the bride price but they have ignored all the customary forms for betrothal and marriage.

Although the customs and ceremonies connected with betrothal (*ḥu!be*) and marriage are partly intended to remove the evil influences and dangers which are supposed to threaten the bride and bridegroom, they are chiefly

necessary to make the marriage legally binding. Even though it has long ago been decided that a certain man and woman shall marry, there must be a formal request for the bride and a formal negotiation of the bride price; both of these can take place within a small circle of relatives, and then follows the betrothal feast.

Ḥamdiye [*D. of 183*] says:

»The food is placed before the men. One says to them: 'Please accept what is given to you!' They say: 'For what reason are we invited to eat?' One says [for example]: '£50 [i.e. the amount of the bride price]'. They ask: 'Is all clear?' — One says: 'Yes.' — They say: 'Is there anything not clear, or unsatisfactory in this affair?' — One assures them: 'Everything is clear' and again says to them: 'Are ye witnesses to this? will ye bear witness to what ye have heard?' They say: 'We will bear witness to what we have heard. We wish to keep to what is right.' Then they eat; the food bowls stand in front of them. One says: 'Read the first Chapter of the Koran in the name of [e.g.] Mḥammad [i.e. the bridegroom].»

This ceremonial feast is called the »cooking» (*it-tabḥa*); after this it is said of the bridegroom »he has cooked for her» (*ṭabaḥ 'alēha*).

The most important part is the making of the marriage contract (*iṣ-ṣfāḥ* or *'aqd in-nikāḥ*). The bride's father or brother asks her three times in the presence of two witnesses: »Am I thy representative in thy marriage?» She answers every time: »Yes, thou art my representative.» He then, in front of the sheikh and the same witnesses, promises his daughter or sister in marriage either direct to the bridegroom or to his representative. Three times the bridegroom or his representative asks: »Dost thou give me thy daughter in marriage» and three times the other answers in the affirmative; the first Chapter in the Koran is then read.

The conclusion of the marriage contract is arranged with the greatest secrecy and after it both parties are so indissolubly bound to each other that only divorce can set them free. If the bride price has also been given the wedding can take place at any time; it may happen that the conclusion of the contract is postponed until the wedding-day, but in any case the bridegroom may not go in to his bride before it has taken place.

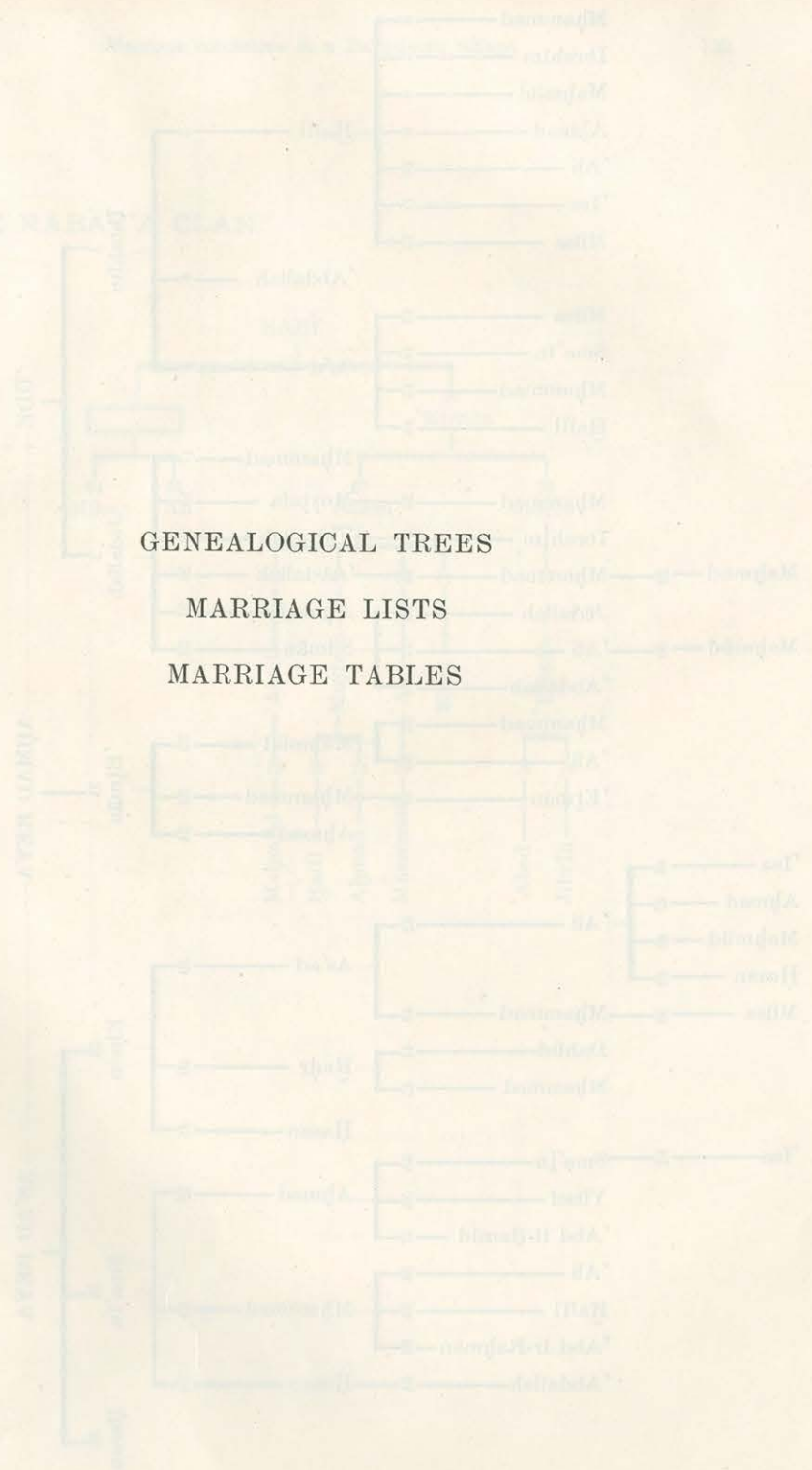
This conclusion has only given a short summary of the different ceremonies mentioned, which are necessary to make a marriage binding and recognised by society. A detailed description of them belongs to an account of betrothal and wedding ceremonies, but this lies outside the purview of this treatise which was intended to deal with questions of principle.

THE KARATA CLAN

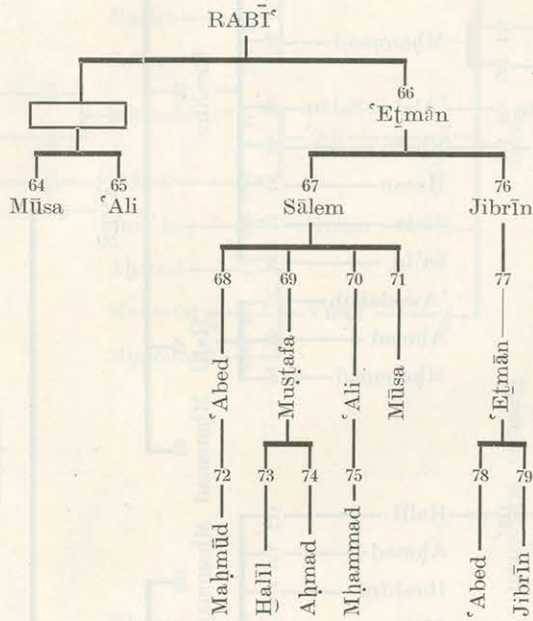
GENEALOGICAL TREES

MARRIAGE LISTS

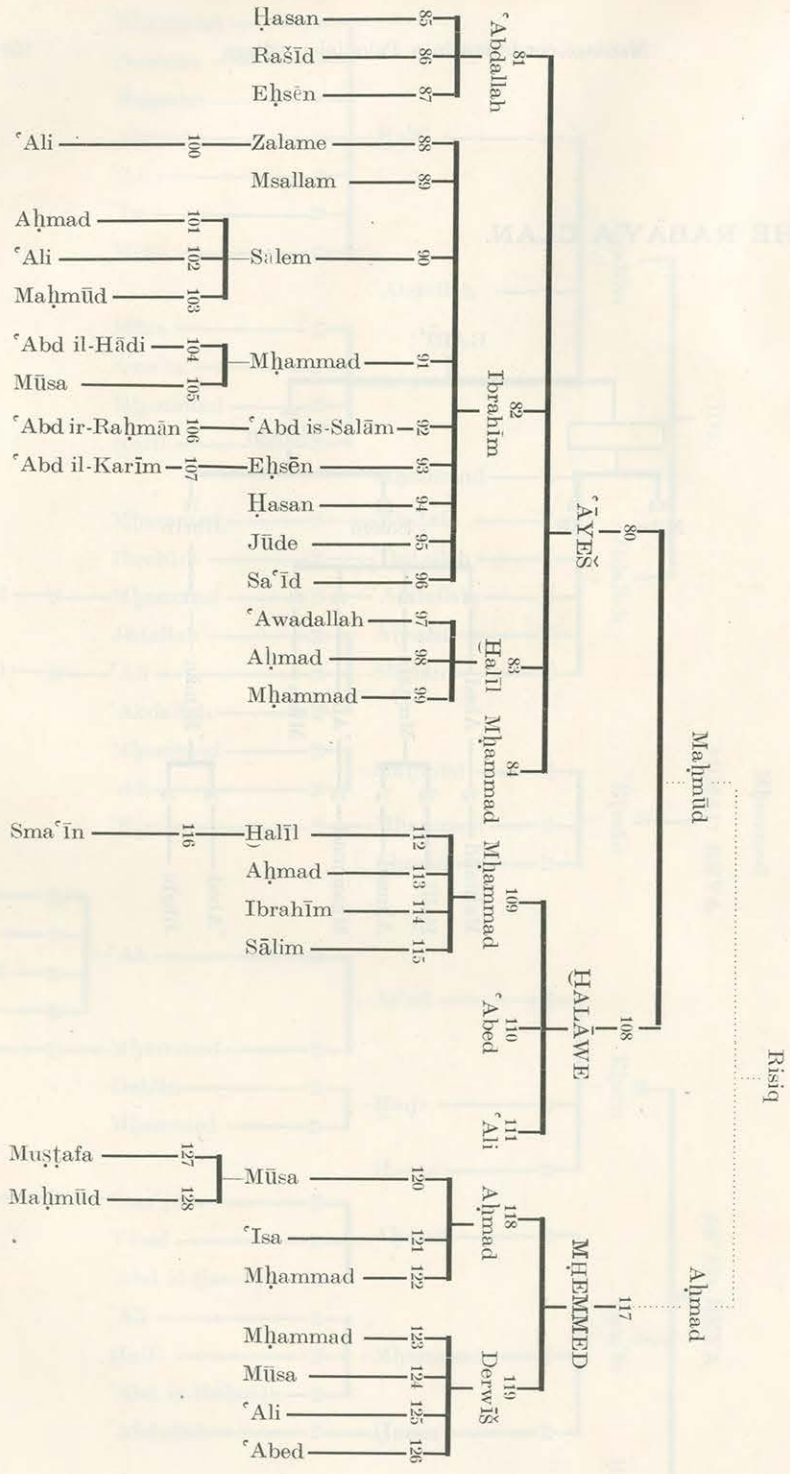
MARRIAGE TABLES



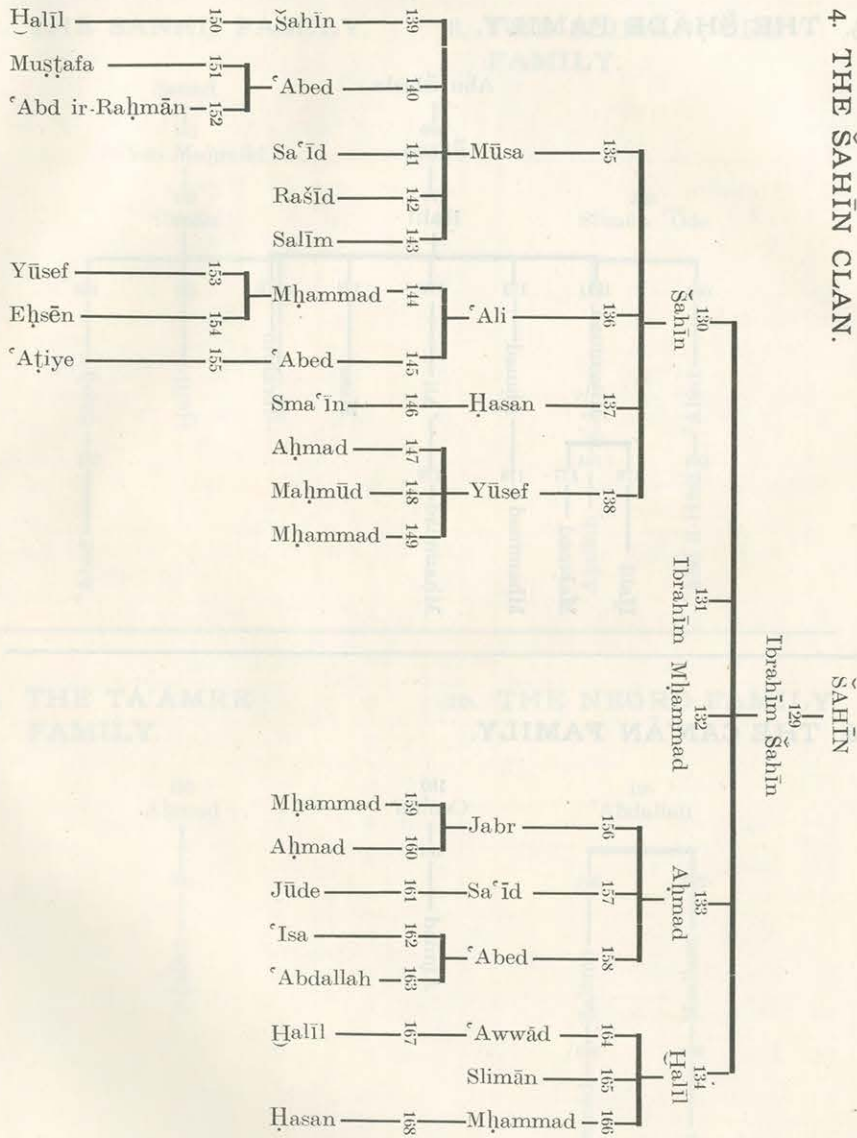
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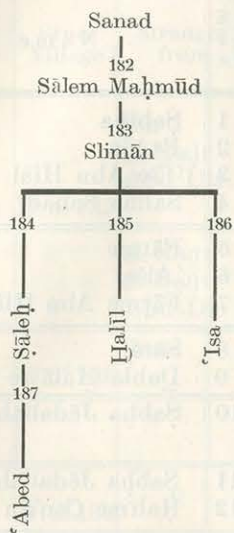
3. THE MEŞĀNĪ CLAN.



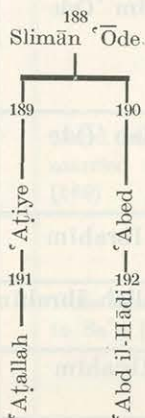
4. THE ŠAHĪN CLAN.



7. THE SANAD FAMILY.



8. THE SLIMĀN ʿŌDE FAMILY.



9. THE TAʿĀMRE FAMILY.



10. THE NEGRO FAMILY.



I. THE SA'D CLAN.

Number	Married men						Marriage Number	Wives
	Name	Died		Living	Mono- gamous	Poly- gynous		Name
		Sonless	With Sons					
1	Ibrahīm 'Ōde		●			●	1 Sabīḥa 2 Fadda 3 'Eše Abu Hlāl 4 Salma Sanad	
2	Jēdallah 'Ōde		●			●	5 Fātme 6 'Aīše 7 Fātme Abu Hlāl	
3	Ḥalīl Ibrahīm		●			●	8 Sāra 9 Dabla Ḥalāwe	
4	'Abdallah Ibrahīm	●			●		10 Šabḥa Jēdallah	
5	Sa'd Ibrahīm		●			●	11 Šabḥa Jēdallah 12 Ḥalīme Can'an	
6	Mḥammad Ḥalīl			●	●		13 Ḥamde Ḥalāwe	
7	Ibrahīm Ḥalīl	●			●		14 Jamīle	
8	Maḥmūd Ḥalīl		●		●		15 Jamīle	
9	Aḥmad Ḥalīl			●	●		16 Fātme Jēdallah	
10	'Alī Ḥalīl			●	●		17 Zarīfe Sa'd	
11	'Isa Ḥalīl			●	●		18 Fātme Šaḥtūr	
12	Mūsa Ḥalīl			●	●		19 Helwe 'Etmān 20 Ḥalīliye Mḥammad	
13	Mūsa Sa'd	●			●		21 Zarīfe Aḥmad	
14	Sma'in Sa'd			●	●		22 Zarīfe Aḥmad	
15	Mḥammad Sa'd			●	●		23 Fātme 'Ōdtallah	
16	Ḥalīl Sa'd			●	●		24 Jāzie Mḥammad	
17	Mḥammad Jēdallah	●			●		25 Nuāra	
17	<i>To carry forward</i>	4	5	8	13	4	<i>25 marriages for 17 men</i>	

W i v e s			Form of Marriage							R e m a r k s	
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only		Divorced
	D. of 182	Sūrīf el-Haḍr Abu Dīs	● ● ●			● ● ●					
		el-Haḍr el-Haḍr Abu Dīs	● ● ●			● ● ●					Third wife previously married to Šḥāde [169]
	D. of 108	Sūrīf	●	●	●						
D. of 2				●	●						Wife later married to Sa'd [5]
D. of 2	D. of 180		●	○		● ●		●			
	D. of 109				●	●					
		Bethlehem	●			●					(Wife later married to Maḥmūd [8])
		Bethlehem	○			●		●			
D. of 26				●		●					
D. of 5				●		●					
		Bethlehem		●		●					
D. of 25	D. of 77		●			● ●					First wife previously married to Jēdallah [26]
D. of 21				●		●					(Wife later married to Sma'in [14])
D. of 21				○		●		●			
D. of 19				●		●					
D. of 25				●		●					
		Abu Dīs	●			●					Husband a leper
9	5	11	12	10	4	21	3				
			22								

I. THE SA'D CLAN.

Number	Married men						Marriage Number	Wives	
	Name	Died		Living	Mono-gamous	Poly-gynous			Name
		Sonless	With Sons						
17	<i>Carried forward</i>	4	5	8	13	4			
18	Mustafa Jēdallah			●		●	26 27	Sabha Sma'in Fāṭme Mḥammad	
19	ʿŌdtallah Jēdallah			●	●		28 29	Šakra As'ad Fāṭme iṣ-Šeḥ	
20	ʿAbdallah Jēdallah		●		●		30	Sa'da As'ad	
21	Aḥmad Jēdallah	●			●		31	Sa'da As'ad	
22	Slimān Jēdallah		●		●		32	Miryam Ibrahim	
23	Mḥammad Muṣṭafa			●	●		33	Fāṭme Mḥammad	
24	Ibrahīm ʿŌdtallah	●			●		34	Miryam Aḥmad	
25	Mḥammad ʿAbdallah		●		●		35	Yāmne	
26	Jēdallah Slimān	●			●		36	Ḥelwe ʿEṭmān	
27	ʿAli Slimān			●	●		37	Faḍiye	
28	ʿAbdallah Slimān			●	●		38	Ḥaṣīde	
29	Maḥmūd Mḥammad			●	●		39	Sāra ʿAli	
30	Maḥmūd ʿAli			●	●		40	Sāra Mḥammad	
31	ʿEṭmān Aḥmad		●			●	41 42 43 44	Safiye Sanad Šafiye Da'du Maḥbūbe Mas'ūde Jēdallah	
32	Maḥmūd ʿEṭmān		●		●		45	Nafise Sma'in	
33	Mḥammad ʿEṭmān		●		●		46	Miryam Eḥsēn	
34	Aḥmad ʿEṭmān			●	●		47	ʿAlya ʿAli il-Kūr	
34	<i>To carry forward</i>	7	11	16	28	6	<i>47 marriages for 34 men</i>		

W i v e s					Form of Marriage							R e m a r k s
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only	Divorced		
9	5	11	12	10	4	21		3				
D. of 51		Bēt Ta'āmir		●		●						
D. of 39		Naḥḥālīn	●	●	●							
D. of 39				●		●					Wife later married to Aḥmad [21]	
D. of 39				○		●		●				
D. of 1			●		●							
D. of 25				●		●						
D. of 21				●		●					Wife later married to Mḥammad [171]	
		Bēt Ta'āmir		●	●							
	D. of 77		○		●						Wife later married to Mūsa [12]	
		Bēt Ta'āmir		●		●						
		Sahion		●		●						
D. of 27				●		●			●			
D. of 43				●		●					Wife previously married to Maḥmūd [48]	
	D. of 182		●			●					First wife previously married to Ḥasan [63]	
D. of 2		el-Ḥaḍr Ḥalḥūl	●			●						
D. of 51				●		●						
D. of 38			●			●						
		Bēt Ta'āmir		●		●						
21	7	19	19	23	12	35		4	1			
				42								

I. THE SA'D CLAN.

Number	Married men						Marriage Number	Wives	
	Name	Died		Living	Mono-gamous	Poly-gynous		Name	Name
		Sonless	With Sons						
34	<i>Carried forward</i>	7	11	16	28	6			
35	Mḥammad Maḥmūd			●		●	48	Nafise Mḥammad	
							49	Fāṭme il-'Arakāt	
36	'Ali Maḥmūd			●	●		50	Miryam Ḥasan	
37	'Eṭmān Mḥammad			●	●		51	Ḥaḍra Muṣṭafa	
38	Eḥsēn		●		●		52	'Alya	
							53	Ḥelwe	
39	As'ad Eḥsēn		●			●	54	Salma	
							55	Maḥbūbe Jibrīn	
40	Ḥaḍr Eḥsēn			●		●	56	Sāra Sma'in	
							57	Faḍa	
							58	'Īde	
							59	Ṣafiye	
41	Ḥasan Eḥsēn		●		●		60	Jāzie 'Eṭmān	
42	'Ali As'ad			●		●	61	Sabīḥa Jēdallah	
							62	Ṣalma 'Ali	
43	Mḥammad As'ad		●		●		63	Ḥelwe il-Ḥammād	
44	Dahūd Ḥaḍr	●			●		64	Jāzie As'ad	
45	Mḥammed Ḥaḍr	●			●		65	Ḥelwe As'ad	
46	As'ad 'Ali			●	●		66	'Alya Ḥaḍr	
47	Aḥmad 'Ali			●	●		67	Ḥelwe 'Ali	
48	Maḥmūd 'Ali	●			●		68	Sāra Mḥammad	
49	Ḥasan 'Ali			●	●		69	Ṣubḥiye Ḥaḍr	
50	Mūsa Mḥammad			●	●		70	'Alya il-'Ali	
50	<i>To carry forward</i>	10	15	25	40	10	<i>70 marriages for 50 men</i>		

W i v e s			Form of Marriage							R e m a r k s
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only	
21	7	19	19	23	12	35		4	1	
	D. of 171	Abu Dīs		●		●				
D. of 54				●		●				Wife previously married to ʿAbd il-Ḥamīd [57]
D. of 18				●		●				
		Bethlehem	●			●				
		Abu Dīs	●			●				
	D. of 76	Bethlehem	●			●				Second wife later married to Aḥmad [52]
			●		●					
D. of 51		Bethlehem	●	●		●				
		Abu Dīs		●		●				
		Bēt Taʿāmir	●			●				
D. of 31			●			●				
D. of 2		Bēt Taʿāmir		●	●					Second wife previously married to Ḥalīl [170]
		Bēt Taʿāmir		●		●				
D. of 39				●		●				
D. of 39				●		●				
D. of 40				●		●				
	D. of 173			●	●					
D. of 43				○		●				Wife later married to Maḥmūd [30]
D. of 40				●		●				
D. of 42				●		●				
32	10	28		25	39	17	53	4	1	
				64						

I. THE SA'D CLAN.

Number	Married men						Marriage Number	Wives
	Name	Died		Living		Poly-gynous		Name
		Sonless	With Sons	Mono-gamous	Poly-gynous			
50	<i>Carried forward</i>	10	15	25	40	10		
51	Sma'in		●		●		71 Yāmne 72 Helwe il-Ḥajjazi	
52	Aḥmad Sma'in			●		●	73 Raya 'Etmān 74 Maḥbūbe Jibrīn 75 Muhra	
53	Mḥammad Sma'in			●	●		76 Sa'da iz-Zīr 77 Ḥamde iz-Zīr	
54	Ḥasan Sma'in		●		●		78 Fāṭme (Ṣbēḥa) iz-Zīr	
55	Sma'in Aḥmad			●	●		79 Fāṭme Ḥalīl	
56	Yūsef Aḥmad			●	●		80 Raḥme Ḥalīl	
57	'Abd il-Ḥamīd Aḥmad			●	●		81 Miryam Hasan 82 Ḥaḍra Mḥammad	
58	'Ali Mḥammad			●		●	83 Bahiye Aḥmad 84 Fāṭme Maḥmūd	
59	Ḥalīl Mḥammad			●	●		85 Raḍa	
60	'Abd ir-Raḥmān Mḥammad			●	●		86 Faḍiye	
61	'Abdallah Ḥasan			●	●		87 Ḥasna Sma'in	
62	'Isa Sma'in			●	●		88 Ḥamde Mḥammad	
63	Ḥasan As'ad	●			●		89 Ṣafiye Sanad	
63	<i>Totals for Clan</i>	11	17	35	51	12	89 marriages for 63 men	

W i v e s			Form of Marriage								R e m a r k s
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only	Divorced	
32	10	28	25	39	17	53		4	1		
		Bethlehem	●		●						
		Bethlehem	●			●					
D. of 31	D. of 76		●		●					●	Second wife pre-viously married to As'ad [39]
		Bēt Ta'āmīr	○			●					
		Bēt Ta'āmīr	●			●					
		Bēt Ta'āmīr		●		●					
		Bēt Ta'āmīr		●		●					
	D. of 170			●		●					
D. of 3				●		●					
D. of 54				○		●				●	Second wife later married to 'Ali [36]
D. of 33				●		●					
D. of 52				●		●					
D. of 32				●		●					
		Bēt Fejjār		●		●					
		Bēt Ta'āmīr		●		●			●		
D. of 55				●		●					
D. of 43				●		●					
	D. of 182		○			●					Wife later married to 'Eṭmān [31]
40	13	36		29	51	19	70	4	2	2	
				80							

2. THE RABĀYĀ CLAN.

Number	Name	Married men					Marriage Number	Wives	
		Died Sonless With Sons	Living	Mono- gamous	Poly- gynous	Name		Name	
64	Mūsa Rabī'	●			●		90	Nazriye	
65	'Ali il-Rabī'	●			●		91	Helwe	
66	'Eṭmān		●		●		92	Šālḥa	
67	Sālem 'Eṭmān		●			●	93 94	Zhūr 'Alaya	
68	'Abed Sālem		●		●		95 96	Fāṭme 'Eṭmān Ḥamde Ḥalīl	
69	Muṣṭafa Sālem			●	●		97	Sa'da Jibrīn	
70	'Ali Sālem			●	●		98 99	Hamde Sma'in Fāṭme Ḥaḍr	
71	Mūsa Sālem			●	●		100	Šabḥa 'Eṭmān	
72	Maḥmūd 'Abed			●	●		101	Nafise Sma'in	
73	Ḥalīl Muṣṭafa			●	●		102	Fāṭme 'Ali	
74	Aḥmad Muṣṭafa			●	●		103	Zarīfe Sanad	
75	Mḥammad 'Ali			●	●		104	Ḥamde Sma'in	
76	Jibrīn 'Eṭmān		●		●		105	'Amriye	
77	'Eṭmān Jibrīn		●			●	106 107 108 109	Ḥaḍra As'ad Šāra Ḥalīl Šabḥa Ḥalīl Mdallalī Slimān	
78	'Abed 'Eṭmān			●	●		110	Helwe Mḥammad	
79	Jibrīn 'Eṭmān			●	●		111	(Name unknown)	
16	Totals for clan	2	5	9	14	2	22 marriages for 16 men		

W i v e s			Form of Marriage							R e m a r k s	
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only		Divorced
		Šarafāt	●			●					
	D. of 129		●			●					
		el-Walaje	●			●					
D. of 64		Bēt Ta'āmir	●			●		●			No brideprice
D. of 77	D. of 170		●	●		●				●	First wife later married to 'Abed [140]
D. of 76				●	●						Wife previously married to Slimān [165]
	D. of 51 D. of 40		●	●		●					Husband is in America
D. of 77				●		●					
	D. of 55			●		●					
D. of 70				●		●					
	D. of 184			●		●			●		
	D. of 55			●		●					
		Harās	●		●						
	D. of 39 D. of 134 D. of 170 D. of 22		●	●		●				●	Second wife later married to Ibrahīm [82]
	D. of 53			●		●				●	
		Bet Šafāfa		●		●				●	
5	12	5		9 13	6 15	1			3 2		
				22							

3. THE MEŠĀNI CLAN.

Number	Married men						Marriage Number	Wives	
	Name	Died		Living	Mono-gamous	Poly-gynous		Name	
		Sonless	With Sons						
80	‘Āyeš		●		●		112	Hamde Aḥmad	
							113	Faḍḍa	
81	‘Abdallah ‘Āyeš		●		●		114	Mdallali	
							115	Fāṭme Ḥalāwe	
82	Ibrahīm ‘Āyeš		●			●	116	Šeḥa	
							117	Nafise	
							118	Sāra Ḥalīl	
							119	Šafiye Mušṭafa	
83	Ḥalīl ‘Āyeš		●		●		120	Ḥasna	
							121	Šabḥa	
84	Mḥammad ‘Āyeš	●			●		122	Šafiye il-Aṭraš	
85	Ḥasan ‘Abdallah			●		●	123	Nijme	
							124	Salma Sālem	
86	Rašīd ‘Abdallah			●	●		125	Nazha	
87	Eḥsēn ‘Abdallah			●	●		126	Miryam ‘Etmān	
							127	Sāra Mḥammad	
88	Zalame Ibrahīm	●			●		128	‘Ābde ‘Abdallah	
89	Msallam Ibrahīm			●	●		129	Miryam ‘Abdallah	
90	Sālem Ibrahīm			●	●		130	Fāṭme Aḥmad	
							131	Fāṭme Bettiriye	
91	Mḥammad Ibrahīm			●	●		132	Sāra Ḥalāwe	
92	‘Abd is-Salām Ibrahīm			●	●		133	Fāṭme Šamāliye	
							134	Šeḥa Šahīn	
93	Eḥsēn Ibrahīm	●			●		135	Sa‘da Aḥmad	
94	Ḥasan Ibrahīm			●	●		136	Miryam	
95	Jūde Ibrahīm			●	●		137	Ḥalīme Ḥamīs	
							138	Ḥelwe Mušṭafa	
16	<i>To carry forward</i>	1	6	9	14	2	27 marriages for 16 men		

W i v e s			Form of Marriage							R e m a r k s	
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only		Divorced
	Sr. of 31	Nūba	●			●					
D. of 108		Bēt Ta'āmir	●			●					
	D. of 134	Nūba Adjūr el-Walaje	● ●	●		● ● ●					Third wife previously married to 'Eṭmān [77]
		Bēt Ta'āmir el-Qabu	● ●			● ●					
		el Walaje	●			●					
D. of 90		Bēt Tā'āmir		● ●		● ●				●	First wife later married to 'Ali [100]
		Šiyūḥ		●	●						
		Bethlehem Bethlehem	● ●		●	●					
D. of 81			●			●					
D. of 81				●		●					
D. of 118		Bettir	●			● ●					
D. of 108			●			●					
	D. of 139	Sinjel	●			● ●					Second wife previously married to Mūsa [124]
		el-Walaje		●	●						
		Bethlehem		●		●					Husband is in America
	D. of 69	Halḥūl		● ●		● ●				●	
6	4	17		14	13	3	24			2	
				27							

3. THE MEŠĀNI CLAN.

Number	Name	Married men					Marriage Number	Wives
		Died		Living	Mono-gamous	Poly-gynous		Name
		Sonless	With Sons					
16	<i>Carried forward</i>	1	6	9	14	2		
96	Sa'īd Ibrahīm			●	●		139 Ḥadije	
97	ʿAwadallah Ḥalīl		●			●	140 Mḥammadiye Mḥammad 141 Ḥalīme ʿAlī 142 Dalāl	
98	Aḥmad Ḥalīl			●		●	143 Hadba 144 Hadba ʿAbed	
99	Mḥammad Ḥalīl			●	●		145 ʿEše	
100	ʿAlī Zalame			●	●		146 Nijme	
101	Aḥmad Sālem			●	●		147 Miryam in-Na'ime	
102	ʿAlī Sālem			●	●		148 Ḥamde Mḥammad	
103	Maḥmūd Sālem			●	●		149 Jamīle Mḥammad	
104	ʿAbd il-Hādi Mḥammad			●	●		150 Ṣafīye ʿAbd is-Salām	
105	Mūsa Mḥammad			●	●		151 Ḥelwe Sālem	
106	ʿAbd ir-Raḥmān ʿAbd is-Salām			●	●		152 ʿAlya Sālem	
107	ʿAbd il-Karīm Eḥsēn			●	●		153 Ḥelwe Mansūr	
28	<i>To carry forward</i>	1	7	20	24	4	42 marriages for 28 men	

W i v e s			Form of Marriage							R e m a r k s	
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only		Divorced
6	4	17	14	13	3	24				2	
		el-Walaje		●		●					
D. of 84	D. of 136	Bēt Ummar	●	●	●			●			First wife — no bride price; the only Arṭās convert to Christianity; lives in Jerusalem.
D. of 110		Bēt Ta 'āmir		●		●					
		Silwād		●		●					
		Bēt Ta 'āmir		○		●					Wife previously married to Ḥasan [85]
		Bethlehem		●	●						
D. of 91				●	●						
D. of 91				●	●						
D. of 92				●	●						
D. of 90				●	●						
D. of 90				●	●						
		el-Walaje		●		●					
13	5	24	15	26	11	30	1			2	
			41								

3. THE MEŠĀNI CLAN.

Number	Name	Married men					Marriage Number	Wives
		Sonless	With Sons	Living	Mono-gamous	Poly-gynous		Name
28	<i>Carried forward</i>	1	7	20	24	4	42	
108	Ḥalāwe		●		●		154	Šēḥa ʿEṭmān
109	Mḥammad Ḥalāwe		●			●	155 156	Bannūra Mḥemmed Mḥammadiye
110	ʿAbed Ḥalāwe			●	●		157 158 159	Helwe Slimān Šabḥa Ḥalīl Šabḥa Šālem
111	ʿAli Ḥalāwe		●		●		160	Mdallali
112	Ḥalīl Mḥammad			●		●	161 162 163	Farḥa Ḥalīl Lika Ḥesen ʿAbed
113	Aḥmad Mḥammad			●	●		164	Šabḥa ʿAbdallah
114	Ibrahīm Mḥammad			●	●		165	Šabḥa Mūsa
115	Sālim Mḥammad	●			●		166	Zarīfe ʿAli
116	Smaʿīn Ḥalīl			●	●		167	Miryam ʿAbed
37	<i>To carry forward</i>	2	10	25	31	6		<i>56 marriages for 37 men</i>

W i v e s			Form of Marriage								R e m a r k s
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Brother only	Divorced	
13	5	24	15	26	11	30	1			2	
	D. of 66		•			•					
D. of 117		el-Walaje	•	•	•						
	D. of 188			•		•					•
D. of 90	D. of 3		•	•	•	•					
		Şürif	•			•					
	D. of 3	Hebron	•		•						
D. of 110			•	•		•					
D. of 81				•		•					
D. of 120				•		•					
D. of 111				•		•					Husband disappeared during the last war. Wife lives with her brother.
D. of 110				•		•					
20	9	27	21	34	14	41	1			3	
			55								

3. THE MEŠĀNI CLAN.

M a r r i e d m e n							M a r r i a g e N u m b e r	W i v e s		
N u m b e r	N a m e	D i e d		L i v i n g	M o n o - g a m o u s	P o l y - g y n o u s			N a m e	
		S o n l e s s	W i t h S o n s							
37	<i>Carried forward</i>	2	10	25	31	6	56			
117	M̄hemmed		●		●		168	Jābrie		
118	Aḥmad M̄hemmed		●		●		169 170	Farḥa M̄hemmed Ṣabḥa Slimān		
119	Derwīš M̄hemmed		●		●		171	Ḥelwe Ḥalāwe		
120	Mūsa Aḥmad		●		●		172	Šēḥa Slimān		
121	ʿIsa Aḥmad			●	●		173	Fāṭme Ibrahīm		
122	M̄hammad Aḥmad	●			●		174	Ḥelwe		
123	M̄hammad Derwīš			●	●		175	Fāṭme M̄hammad		
124	Mūsa Derwīš	●			●		176	Šēḥa Šahīn		
125	ʿAli Derwīš			●	●		177	Ḥelwe Aḥmad		
126	ʿAbed Derwīš			●	●		178	Šellebiye Aḥmad		
127	Muṣṭafa Mūsa			●	●		179	Fāṭme M̄hammad		
128	Maḥmūd Mūsa			●	●		180	Nīme Yūsef		
49	<i>Totals for Clan</i>	4	14	31	43	6		<i>69 marriages for 49 men</i>		

W i v e s			Form of marriage								Remarks
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only	Divorced	
20	9	27	21	34	14	41	1			3	
		el-Walaje	●			●					
	D.of 188	Bethlehem	●		●	●					
D.of 108				●	●						
	D.of 188			●	●						
D. of 82				●	●						
		Šarafāt		●	●						
		Sūr Bāhir		●	●						
	D.of 139			○	●						Wife later married to 'Abd is-Salām [92]
D. of 98				●	●						
D. of 98				●	●						
D. of 123				●	●						
	D.of 138			●	●						
25	13	31	23	44	19	49	1			3	
			67								

4. THE ŠAHĪN CLAN.

Number	Married men					Marriage Number	Wives
	Name	Sonless	Died With Sons	Living	Mono-gamous		Poly-gynous
129	Ibrahīm Šahīn		●		●	181	Mešāyeh
130	Šahīn Ibrahīm		●		●	182	Helwe Šāleḥ
131	Ibrahīm Ibrahīm	●			●	183	‘Eṭmāne ‘Eṭmān
132	Mḥammad Ibrahīm	●			●	184	Fāṭme Šaḥtūr
133	Aḥmad Ibrahim		●		●	185	Fāṭme Šaḥtūr
134	Halīl Ibrahīm		●		●	186	‘Alya il-‘Ali
135	Mūsa Šahīn		●		●	187	Helwe Šāleḥ
136	‘Ali Šahīn		●		●	188	‘Eṭmāne ‘Eṭmān
137	Ḥasan Šahīn		●		●	189	Miryam Ibrahim
138	Yūsef Šahīn		●		●	190	Raḥme in-Na‘ime
139	Šahīn Mūsa			●	●	191	Šafiye Ḥasan
140	‘Abed Mūsa			●	●	192	Fāṭme ‘Eṭmān
141	Sa‘id Mūsa			●	●	193	Fāṭme Jabr
142	Rašid Mūsa	●			●	194	Ḥamde Derwiš
143	Salīm Mūsa	●			●	195	Ḥamde Derwiš
144	Mḥammad ‘Ali			●	●	196	Ḥamde Halīl
145	‘Abed ‘Ali		●		●	197	Fāṭme Mūsa
146	Sma‘in Ḥasan			●	●	198	Šabḥa Mūsa
147	Aḥmad Yūsef			●	●	199	Mešāyeh ‘Abed
148	Maḥmūd Yūsef			●	●	200	Raḥme Šahīn
149	Mḥammad Yūsef			●	●	201	Sa‘da Derwiš
150	Halīl Šahīn			●	●	202	Zahiye Hlāl
22	<i>To carry forward</i>	4	9	9	22		<i>22 marriages for 22 men</i>

W i v e s			Form of Marriage							R e m a r k s	
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only		Divorced
		el-Walaje	●			●					
		Šarafāt	●			●					
	D. of 66		●			●					Wife later married to ʿAli [136]
		Bethlehem	●			●					Wife later married to Aḥmad [133]
		Bethlehem	○			●		●			
	D. of 65		●			●					
		el-Walaje	●			●					
	D. of 66		○			●					Wife previously married to Ibrahīm [131]
D. of 131			●					●			
		Bethlehem		●		●					
		Šarafāt		●	●						
	D. of 77			●		●					Wife previously married to ʿAbed [68]
D. of 156				●	●						
	D. of 119			●	●						Wife later married to Salīm [143]
	D. of 119			○		●		●			
	D. of 83			●	●						
D. of 135			●			●					
D. of 135				●		●					
D. of 140				●	●						Husband is in America
D. of 139				●		●					
		el-Ḥaḍr		●		●					
		Bethlehem		●		●					
6	7	9	8 11		5	16	1	2			
			19								

4. THE ŠAHĪN CLAN.

Number	Name	Married men					Marriage Number	Wives Name
		Died		Living	Mono- gamous	Poly- gynous		
		Sonless	With Sons					
22	<i>Carried forward</i>	4	9	9	22		22	
151	Muṣṭafa ʿAbed			●	●		203	Miryam Yūsef
152	ʿAbd ir-Raḥmān ʿAbed			●	●		204	Ḥesen
153	Yūsef Mḥammad			●	●		205 206	Ḥesen Ḥesen Ḥasan
154	Eḥsēn Mḥammad			●	●		207	Ḥadije
155	ʿAṭiye ʿAbed			●	●		208	Laṭife Mūsa
156	Jabr Aḥmad		●		●		209	Šabḥa Šaḥtūr
157	Saʿīd Aḥmad		●		●		210	Fāṭme Ibrahīm
158	ʿAbed Aḥmad		●		●		211	Faḍḍa Awwād
159	Mḥammad Jabr			●	●		212 213	Hasna Šaḥtūr Zarife Mūsa
160	Aḥmad Jabr			●	●		214 215	Fāṭme ʿAwwād Faḍḍa Saʿīd
161	Jūde Saʿīd			●	●		216	Miryam Aḥmad
162	ʿIsa ʿAbed	●			●		217	Laṭife Ibrahīm
163	ʿAbdallah ʿAbed			●	●		218	Raḥme Mḥammad
164	ʿAwwād Ḥalīl		●		●		219	Mešāyeh
165	Slimān Ḥalīl	●			●		220	Saʿda Jibrīn
166	Mḥammad Ḥalīl			●	●		221	Saʿda ʿAli
167	Ḥalīl ʿAwwād		●		●		222	Yāmne Mūsa
168	Ḥasan Mḥammad			●	●		223	Yāmne ʿOdtallah
40	<i>Totals for clan</i>	6	14	20	40			<i>43 marriages for 40 men</i>

W i v e s			Form of Marriage								R e m a r k s
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only	Divorced	
6	7	9	8	11	5	16	1	2			
D. of 138				●	●						
		Bēt Ta'āmir		●		●					
	D. of 54	Bet Ta'āmir		○		●				●	
		Bethlehem		●		●					
	D. of 120			●		●					
		Bethlehem		●	●						
D. of 131				●				●			
D. of 164				●		●					
D. of 135		Bethlehem		●		●					
D. of 164				●		●					
D. of 157				●	●						
D. of 160				●	●					●	
	D. of 82			●		●					
D. of 159				●		●					
		el-Qabu		●		●					
	D. of 76			●	●					●	
D. of 136				●		●					
D. of 135				●		●					
	D. of 19			●		●					
16	12	15	$\frac{14}{39}$	$\frac{25}{39}$	12	29	2	2	1	2	

Wife previously married to Yūsef [153]

Husband is in America

Husband leprous. Wife later married to Mustafa [69]

5. THE ŠĤĀDE FAMILY.

Number	M a r r i e d m e n					M a r r i a g e N u m b e r	W i v e s
	N a m e	Died Sonless With Sons	Living	Mono- gamous	Poly- gynous		N a m e
169	Šĥāde	●			●	224 225	Fāṭme Abu Hlāl ‘Eše
170	Halīl Šĥāde	●			●	226 227	Hasna Sma‘in Šalma ‘Ali
171	Mĥammad Halīl			●	●	228 229	Itayme Sālem Miryam Aĥmad
172	Aĥmad Halīl	●		●		230 231	‘Aqle Miryam Muṣṭafa
173	‘Ali Halīl			●	●	232 233	‘Eše Fāṭme ‘Ali
174	Mūsa Halīl			●	●	234	Fāṭme Hrēwiš
175	Ibrahīm Halīl	●			●	235	Haḍra Can‘ān
176	Halīl Mĥammad			●	●	236	Faḍḍa Aĥmad
177	Maĥmūd Mĥammad			●	●	237	Hadīje
178	Mĥammad Aĥmad			●	●	238	Fāṭme Ibrahīm
179	Mĥammad ‘Ali			●	●	239	Azīze Mūsa
11	<i>Totals for family</i>	1	3	7	7	4	<i>16 marriages for 11 men</i>

6. THE CAN‘ĀN FAMILY.

180	Can‘ān		●		●	240	Šabiĥa ‘Eṭmān
181	Aĥmad Can‘ān	●			●	241	Helwe Halīl
2	<i>Totals for family</i>	1	1		2		<i>2 marriages for 2 men</i>

W i v e s			Form of Marriage								R e m a r k s
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only	Divorced	
		Abu Dīs Harās	●		●	●					First wife later married to Jēdallah [2]
	D. of 51	Bēt Ta'āmir	●			●					Second wife later married to 'Ali [42]
	D. of 67 D. of 21				●	●					Second wife previously married to Ibrahīm [24]
	D. of 69	Bēt Ta'āmir	●			●					Husband is in America
	D. of 42	Bēt Ta'āmir			●	●					
		Bēt Ta'āmir			●	●					
	D. of 180		●		●						
D. of 172					●	●					
		Halḥūl			●	●					
D. of 175					●	●					
D. of 174					●	●					
3	6	7	$\frac{5}{16}$		11	6	10				

	D. of 31		●		●						
	D. of 170				●	●					
	2		$\frac{1}{2}$		1	2					

7. THE SANAD FAMILY.

Number	Name	Married men					Marriage Number	Wives	
		Died Souless With Sons	Living	Mono- gamous	Poly- gynous	Name		Name	
182	(Sālem Maḥmūd) Sanad	●		●		242	Ḥelwe bint Abu Ṣhāde		
183	Slimān Sanad	●		●		243 244	Nijme Ḥamīde Fāṭme Mḥammad		
184	Ṣāleḥ Slimān	●		●		245	Ḥamde		
185	Ḥalīl Slimān			●	●	246	ʿIde		
186	ʿIsa Slimān			●	●	247 248	(Name unknown) Ḥelwe il-Ḥasan		
187	ʿAbed Ṣāleḥ			●	●	249	Fāṭme Muṣṭafa		
6	<i>Totals for family</i>	3	3	6			<i>8 marriages for 6 men</i>		

8. THE SLIMĀN ʿODE FAMILY.

188	Slimān ʿOde	●		●		250	Ḥamde	
189	ʿAṭiye Slimān	●		●		251	Fāṭme Eḥsēn	
190	ʿAbed Slimān	●			●	252 253	Jazie ʿAbd il-Ḥamīd Ḥaḍra Slimān	
191	ʿAṭallah ʿAṭiye			●	●	254	Ṣabḥa	
192	ʿAbd il-Ḥamīd ʿAbed			●	●	255	Ḥamde Aḥmad	
5	<i>Totals for family</i>	3	2	4	1		<i>6 marriages for 5 men</i>	

9. THE TAʿĀMRE FAMILY.

193	Aḥmad il-Madani			●	●	256 257	ʿAlya Ḥamde	
194	ʿAṭallah Aḥmad			●	●	258	Ḥaḍra	
2	<i>Totals for family</i>			2	2		<i>3 marriages for 2 men</i>	

W i v e s			Form of Marriage								R e m a r k s
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only	Divorced	
	Sro.f 169		●			●					
		Bethlehem el-Haḍr	●			●					
		Bēt Ta'āmir		●	●						
		Bēt Ta'āmir		●		●					
		Tripolis Bēt Ta'āmir		●		●					
				●		●				●	
	D. of 69			●		●				●	
	2	6	3	5	1	7				1	
			8								

		°Adjūr	●			●					
		el-Haḍr	●		●						
	D. of 22	Dūra	●		●					●	
				●		●				●	
		Bēt Sāḥūr		●			●				Marriage by elopement
	D. of 172			●		●					
	2	4	3	3	2	3	1			2	
			6								

		Bēt Ta'āmir	●			●					
		Bēt Ta'āmir		●		●					
		Bēt Ta'āmir		●		●					
		3	1	2		3					
			3								

10. THE NEGRO FAMILY.

Number	Married men						Marriage Number	Wives
	Name	Died		Living	Mono- gamous	Poly- gynous		Name
		Sonless	With Sons					
195	ʿAbdallah il-ʿAbid		●		●		259	Miryam
196	Salāme ʿAbdallah			●	●		260	Tamāme
197	Msallam ʿAbdallah		●		●		261	Ḥalīme
198	Mḥammad Salāme			●	●		262	ʿAzize
199	Salīm Msallam			●		●	263 264	Miryam Mirjān Ṣabḥa
5	<i>Totals for family</i>		2	3	4	1	<i>6 marriages for 5 men</i>	

W i v e s			Form of Marriage							R e m a r k s	
From Clan	From Village	Stranger from	Dead	Living	Exchange	Bride price	Exceptional	Levirate	Betrothed only		Divorced
		Jaffa	●					●			Husband a slave. Wife bought for him by his master
		el-Haḍr		●	●						
		Se'ir		●	●						
		el-Haḍr		●	●						Husband is in America
		Hebron Dūra		● ●		● ●					
		6		1 5 6	3	2	1				

SUMMARY.

CLANS AND FAMILIES	MARRIED MEN							MAR-RIAGES
	Numbers	Total	Died		Living	Mono-gamous	Poly-gynous	Numbers
			Son-less	With sons				
1. Sa'd clan	1—63	63	11	17	35	51	12	1—89
2. Rabāy'a clan	64—79	16	2	5	9	14	2	90—111
3. Mešāni clan	80—128	49	4	14	31	43	6	112—180
4. Šahīn clan	129—168	40	6	14	20	40		181—223
5. Šhāde family	169—179	11	1	3	7	7	4	224—239
6. Can'ān family	180—181	2	1	1		2		240—241
7. Sanad family	182—187	6		3	3	6		242—249
8. Slimān 'Ode family	188—192	5		3	2	4	1	250—255
9. Ta'amre family	193—194	2			2	2		256—258
10. Negro family	195—199	5		2	3	4	1	259—264
<i>TOTALS for VILLAGE</i>		199	25	62	112	173	26	264 marriages for 199 men

MARRIAGES				FORM OF MARRIAGE							WIVES		REMARKS
Total	In the Clan	In the Village	With Strangers	Ex- change	Bride price	Excep- tional	Levirate	Betrothed only	Divorced	Dead	Living		
89	40	13	36	19	70		4	2	2	29	51		
22	5	12	5	6	15	1		3	2	9	13		
69	25	13	31	19	49	1			3	23	43 (44)	W. of 82 = W. of 77 already included	
43	16	12	15	12	29	2	2	1	2	14	23 (25)	W. of 140 = W. of 68 W. of 165 = W. of 69 already included	
16	3	6	7	6	10					4 (5)	9 (11)	W. of 169 = W. of 2 W. of 170 = W. of 42 W. of 171 = W. of 24 already included	
2		2		2						1	1		
8		2	6	1	7			1		3	5		
6		2	4	2	3	1			2	3	3		
3			3		3					1	2		
6			6	3	2	1				1	5		
264	89	62	113	70	188	6	6	7	11	88	155	136 Arḥās wives & 107 stranger wives	
	<u>151</u>									<u>243</u>			

CLAN MARRIAGES.

CLAN (Relationship reckoned only in the male line)	Husband and wife cousins		Husband and wife second cousins		The wife her husband's father's cousin		The wife her husband's cousin's daughter		The wife her husband's father's second cousin		The wife her husband's second cousin's daughter		The wife a daughter of her husband's cousin's son		Husband & wife relatives of the fourth generation		Husband & wife relatives of the fifth generation		The wife a daughter of her husband's relative of the fourth generation		TOTAL OF MARRIAGES
	certain	uncertain	certain	uncertain	certain	uncertain	certain	uncertain	certain	uncertain	certain	uncertain	certain	uncertain	certain	uncertain	certain	uncertain			
1. Sa'd clan	12		7	2	2		2	1	1		3	3			4	2	1				40
2. Rabā'yā »	2	1					2														5
3. Mešāni »	11	1	1	4	1	1							1		2					3	25
4. Šahīn »	3	2		4	1		4	2													16
5. Šhade family	3																				3
6. Can'ān »	These smaller groups show no clan marriages																				
7. Sanad »																					
8. Sliman'Ōde »																					
9. Ta'āmre »																					
10. Negro »																					
TOTAL OF MARRIAGES	31	4	8	10	4	1	8	3	0	1	3	3	1	0	4	4	0	1	0	3	89
	35		18		5		11		1		6		1		8		1		3		

VILLAGE MARRIAGES.

HUSBAND'S CLAN	WIFE'S CLAN										TOTAL OF MARRIAGES
	1. Sa'd	2. Rabāy'a	3. Mešāni	4. Šahīn	5. Šhāde	6. Can'ān	7. Sanad	8. Slimān 'Ode	9 Ta'āmre	10. Negro	
1. Sa'd		4	2		3	1	3				13
2. Rabāy'a	7			2	2		1				12
3. Mešāni	3	2		5				3			13
4. Šahīn	2	5	5								12
5. Šhāde	3	2				1					6
6. Can'ān	1				1						2
7. Sanad		1			1						2
8. Slimān 'Ode	1				1						2
9. Ta'āmre											
10. Negro											
TOTAL OF MARRIAGES	17	14	7	7	8	2	4	3			62

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