

2. The seasons in Palestine are unchanged, and there is no evidence of any very remarkable falling off in the amount of rain, though the data are not sufficient for a definite conclusion on the subject.

3. The spontaneous growth resembles in character that mentioned in the Bible. In some districts it has greatly decreased, in others it has spread; woods of timber trees have decreased in extent, but still exist in part of the districts formerly occupied by them.

4. Cultivation and drainage have both been neglected, and the richness of the soil makes it certain that very little labour would make an enormous change in the productiveness of the country.

5. The present water-supply answers exactly to that described in the Bible, in the Talmud, and in Josephus, and depends entirely on geological formation.

6. The north of Palestine is and has apparently always been more fruitful than the south.

7. The Judæan hills are unchanged in appearance, at least since the twelfth century, and were probably always the most barren-looking of all the districts. The deserts to the east and south appear also to be unchanged.

To sum up, the change in Palestine is one of *degree only and not of kind*. The curse of the country is bad government and oppression. Justice and security of person and property once established, Palestine would become once more a land of corn, vines, and olives, rivalling in fertility and in wealth its ancient condition, as deduced from careful study of such notices as remain to us in the Bible and in the later Jewish writings.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE NATIVE PEASANTRY IN PALESTINE.

In the course of conversation with travellers in Palestine I have always found it considered an extraordinary fact that the names of so many ancient sites should remain unaltered to the present day, when the language has apparently been changed from the Canaanite, or the Hebrew, to the modern Arabic. The study of the immense number of topographical titles which we have now accumulated, and which is necessary for the preparation of the final name indexes of the Survey, gives very clearly the reason for this preservation of ancient names. It is well known to those familiar to the country that whatever else they may be, the Fellahin, or native peasantry of Palestine, are not Arabs; and if we judge from the names of the topographical features their language can scarcely be called Arabic.

It is not indeed merely that tradition has handed down, more or less imperfectly, the memory of a few ancient names, but that *the whole*

Bible nomenclature still lives unchanged in the country. I have had occasion to point out that in Bedouin districts the ancient nomenclature has disappeared. The nomadic tribes called *Beni 'Arab*, or "Sons of the Arab," are invariably mentioned among the settled population by that title, thus making it clear that the *Fellahin* do not consider themselves to be Arabs. The nomadic people call themselves *Bedawin*, but no doubt are descendants of the Arabs of Scripture (Neh. vi. 1). Their language presents marked differences from that of the settled population, and their *patois*, or rather *argot*, is a tongue unintelligible to the ordinary Arabic student.

The study of the *Fellah* language by a competent student would no doubt do much to set at rest the question of the origin of the race. We see clearly from the cases, few and far between, in the Bible, where a change in the name of a town is specially noted, that the Jews accepted the existing Canaanite nomenclature as a rule, and this conclusion is strengthened by the discovery that the Canaanite nomenclature of the lists of Thothmes the Third is identical with the later Jewish nomenclature of the Book of Joshua. The fact that the latter exists almost unchanged in the *Fellah* dialect tends to show that these people are of Canaanite origin, though no doubt a mixed race as now constituted. The following notes on that part of their language which has come under my notice may therefore perhaps be of use to students.

In his valuable work on Palestine Dean Stanley has collected the Hebrew words which refer to topographical features, and which are used in the Bible. In looking over the list I find that all those most commonly used in the Old Testament recur again and again in the nomenclature of the Survey. The following are the most interesting examples.

I. HOROGRAPHIC TERMS.

1. BIKAH (בִּקְעָה), a plain, occurs in the diminutive form *Bukei'a* (Josh. xi. 8).
2. SHARON (שָׂרֹן) occurs once under the form *Sarona*.
3. SHEPHELAH (שְׁפֵלָה), "low ground." This term was applied in the fourth century to the district round Beit Jibrin, and it is by no means proved that in the Bible it applies to any larger district, for all the towns mentioned in Josh. xv., as in the Shephelah, occur in this very neighbourhood. Besides the name *Sifteh*, mentioned by Captain Warren and M. Ganneau as representing this term, we have in this district the name *Allar es Sifteh*, *Bîr es Sifteh*, and *Bîr es Siflâni*.
4. ARABAH (עֲרִבָה), "desert" (Josh. iii. 11), remains unchanged in the modern *Arabah*.
5. CICCAR (כִּכָּר), "round," applied to the course of Jordan, is possibly represented by the modern *Kerkâr*, applied to the windings of the river (2 Sam. xviii. 23).
6. GELLILOTH (גִּלְיֹלוֹת), "mounds," is no doubt preserved in the name

Jelil, applied to a *Tell* east of Jordan, and to several places in Western Palestine (Josh. xiii. 2).

7. ABEL (אַבֵּל), "a meadow," occurs as *Abil*, in the north of Palestine (2 Sam. xx. 14).

8. ROSH (רֹאשׁ), "headland," is common as *Rās* (1 Kings xviii. 42).

9. CATAPH (כַּתֵּף), "shoulder," occurs as *Kūtf* in the modern nomenclature (Josh. xv. 10).

10. GIBAH (גִּבְעָה), "hill," is common in all parts, applied to villages called *Jeb'a*.

11. OPHEL (עֶפְלָי), "swell" (of ground), occurs in the name *'Afūleh*. The inspection of the lists of Thothmes seems to show that *el Fūleh*, and possibly the two places called *Tell el Fūl*, have the same derivation (1 Sam. v. 6). *Fūl* in Arabic means a bean.

12. SHEFI (שֶׁפִּי), "a bare place," possibly occurs as *Shūfi*, applied to a village (Numb. xxiii. 3).

13. TZUR (צִוּר), "a rock," is common as *Sūr*, applied to rocks and villages on cliffs (Judg. vii. 25).

14. SHEN (שֵׁן), "crag," with the article, occurs possibly in the names *Beit Shenna* and *Khurbet Hasan* (1 Sam. xiv. 4).

15. CEPHIM (כַּפִּיִּם). Plural, translated "rocks," occurs once in the name *Kuf Sanasín* (Job xxx. 6).

16. AROOTS (עֲרִיץ), a word of doubtful meaning, only found in Job xxx. 6; occurs possibly in *'Ain 'Arūs*, with the *sad*.

17. RAMAH (רֵאמָה). "Height" appears as *Rāmeḥ*, but has lost its original meaning, being now understood to mean "pool."

II. HYDROGRAPHIC TERMS.

1. NAHAR (נָהָר), "a perennial stream," occurs unchanged as *Nahr*, with the same restricted meaning.

2. MABARAH (מַעְבְּרָה), "a ford," occurs once in the name *'Abārah*, which we identify with Beth Abara (Josh. ii. 7).

3. SHIHOR (שִׁחֹר), "the black river" (Josh. xix. 36); is no doubt the present *Wādy Shaghār*.

4. NAHAL (נָהָל), "torrent." The word has been superseded by the modern term *Wādy*, but is no doubt to be found in its plural form in the name *Nehalín*, applied to several places in or beside great torrents.* The word *Wādy* in general use is exactly equivalent to the Hebrew term, which is generally rendered "brook" in the English version.

5. PELEG (פֶּלֶג), "stream" (Judg. v. 15), is probably the origin of the name *Falājeh*, applied to a village.

6. JAVAL (יָבַל), "a flood" (Jer. xvii. 8), is recoverable in the name *Yebba*, applied to a ruin beside a perennial stream.

7. APHIK (אַפִּיק), Psa. xliii. 1, "strong," has become *Fik*.

8. AIN (עַיִן), "spring;" remains unchanged as *'Ain*.

* *Nahl* in Arabic means a bee.—C. R. C.

9. MAIN (מַעַיִן), Josh. xv. 9, "a collection of springs," occurs in the names *M'ain* and *Bir M'ain*.
10. MOTZA (מוֹצֵא), "springhead" (2 Kings ii. 21), occurs once as *Mizzeh*.
11. MAKOR (מַקוֹר), "well spring," occurs unchanged, with the same meaning as *Mekûr* (2 Kings xix. 24).
12. GAL, plural GALLIM (גַּל), "fountain" (1 Sam. xxv. 44), occurs frequently in the word *Jellameh*, applied to villages.
13. MABOÛA (מַבּוּעַ), "a gushing spring" (Isa. xxxv. 7), occurs in the name *'Ain Yambu'a*.
14. BER (בַּאֵר), "well;" occurs in the late Aramaic form of *Bir*.
15. BERCAH (בֵּרְכָה), "tank," (2 Sam. ii. 13), is unchanged as *Birkeh*.
16. BOR (בוֹר), "pit" (Gen. xxxvii. 20); occurs as *Bûr*, and in the dual *Bârîn*.
17. GEB (גֵּב), "ditch" (2 Kings iii. 16); occurs as *Jub* more than once.
18. HAPHRAIM (הַפְּרַיִם), "two pits." This word is identical with the modern *Hûfîreh* (Josh. xix. 19).
19. BITZAH (בִּצְהַ), "a marsh," is common as *Bûssah*.

III. FORESTS.

1. CHORESH (חֹרֶשׁ), "thicket" (1 Sam. xxiii. 15); occurs as *Khoreisa* twice, also in *Kharas* and in *Hirshesh*, all applied to ruins. The ordinary word answering to this term is *Hîsh*.
2. PARDES (פַּרְדֵּס), "plantation" (Neh. ii. 8), occurs at least twice in the word *Fureidis*. The two words JAAR,* "thick wood," and ETZ, "timber," do not appear to be now in existence.

IV.—TOPOGRAPHICAL TERMS.

1. KIR. (קִיר) (1 Sam. xx. 25), "a wall," occurs in the name *Kirch* applied to a ruin.
2. KIRJATH (קִרְיָה) "city," is unchanged, is *Kurich*.
3. BIRAH (בִּירָה) "fortress," is common throughout the country, unchanged as *Bîreh* (Neh. i. 1).
4. TIRAH (טִירָה) "fenced city" (1 Chron. vi. 39), is also very common in the name *Tîreh*; both these last words have lost their significance in the language being closely akin in sound to the words *Bir* a "well," and *Tîr* a "bird," with which the natives connect them.
5. ARMUN (אַרְמוֹן) "keep," (Psalm xlvi. 3), is probably to be found in the name *Râmûn* applied to a village.
6. HATZOR (הַצֹּר) (Josh. xv. 3). This term generally becomes *'Asûr*, but in some cases *Hazûr*. There were many Hazors or "enclosures" in all parts of Palestine.

* I have noticed in another paper the possible preservation of the plural JEARIM in the modern name *'Armah*.

7. CAPHAR (כפר) is unchanged as *Kefr*. It means, properly, a "hamlet." (1 Sam. vi. 18.)

8. PERAZOTH (פרזות) "unwalled towns" (Deut. iii. 5). This is possibly recognisable in the name *Ferasîn*.

9. BETH (בית) is unchanged in *Beit*, "house."

This list is not complete, several other words might be added, including the names of towns which have a topographical meaning such as DANNAH, "low ground." This being a town of Judah (Josh. xv. 49) cannot be identified with the modern *Dennah* in the valley of Jezreel, but the position of *Dennah* agrees with the derivation of the Hebrew. The above instances are quite sufficient to show that the whole nomenclature of the country is almost entirely unchanged. The newly imported words, such as *Wâdy* for instance, form a very small proportion, and in these cases the Hebrew word generally lingers although its meaning is lost. Out of the forty-six words given above only ten have certainly lost their original meaning among the peasantry, though several are unknown to the townspeople.

This enquiry may be carried a little further, for it seems probable that the nomenclature still contains traces of the ancient Canaanite tribes as follows:—

1. HIVITES. This name (חיי) always occurring in the singular is identical with the modern *Haiyeh* applied to many ruins, as was first remarked by Robinson.

2. HORITES. The troglodytes, or cave dwellers, descendants of Keturah, inhabiting the south of Palestine where caves are abundant. A trace of the name, perhaps, remains in the names *Hôra* and *Tell Hôra*. Jerome notices that *Beit Jibrin* (Eleutheropolis) was originally inhabited by Horites, a tradition no doubt connected with the great caverns to be found there.

3. HITTITES. The northern Hittites lived beyond the bounds of Palestine proper, but the Talmud mentions a CAPHAR HITTIM or "village of the Hittites," which appears to be the modern *Hattin*.

4. AMORITES, or "highlanders," called in the Egyptian records *Amaur*; probably the name 'Amurieh, which applies to several places in the hills, contains a trace of the name. It may, perhaps, be running a theory too far to suggest that the name 'Amr, so common throughout the country, has the same derivation.

5. PERIZZITES, or "Rustics," *Pagani*, or, as the modern Arabic has it, *Kufâr*, have possibly left their name at *Ferasîn* in the district they are supposed to have occupied.

6. AMMONITES. Though properly a tribe belonging to the country beyond Jordan, a Caphar Ha-Ammonai existed in the territory of Benjamin. From its position in the list it is evidently the modern *Kefr 'Ana*. There are three villages of this name in Palestine.

7. PHœNICIANS are commonly supposed to be intended in the various legends of the *Fenish* which exist at *Beit Jibrin*, *Kuratiyeh*, and *Soba*.

The object which I have always endeavoured to keep in view is the raising of the study of Biblical Topography to the dignity of a *science* governed by laws which cannot be questioned. Our discoveries have already shown *consecutive order* to be a law of the principal lists of the Old Testament, and have established the perfect accord between this order and that of the Egyptian records. It is no less necessary to study the laws which govern the survival of the Hebrew sounds, the violation of which will always cause any identification to be considered unsatisfactory by philologists. For this reason it may be useful to note here the changes which are generally known to have taken place, and which are recognised by such scholars as Gesenius. The order of the Hebrew alphabet will be the most convenient to follow. The difficulty of printing forbids the use of Arabic type.

TABLE OF CONVERSION OF HEBREW SOUNDS INTO ARABIC:—

א. This being a weak letter is often lost or represented by the Arabic article *el* as in the cases Adoraim = *Dura*, Eshtemoa = *es Semû'a*. It is sometimes strengthened and becomes 'Ain as in Ascalon = 'A^skalôn. The confusion of ץ and א was a Galilean vulgarism (cf. Tal. Bab. Erubin 53 b.)

The addition of an aleph to the beginning of a word is a common Fellah vulgarism, as *Ibâk* for Bezek.

ב. This was confused with ב by the Galileans and used instead of ך by the Samaritans.

ג. Is generally the Arabic *Jîm*, but in a few cases where pronounced hard in Hebrew it seems to have become *Qaf* in Arabic, which is vulgarly pronounced as a hard G. Instance, *Gederoth* = *Katrah* (Warren).

ד. Is always unchanged, but sometimes an error of transcription is suspected to have placed ד for ד. It is always *Dâl* in Arabic and never *Dâd*.

ה. Is the Arabic *Hé-té*. It is very often lost altogether, especially as an article, and in other cases is represented by *Yeh* as in Ha-Cain, now *Yekin*.

ו. Is *Wou* in Arabic, but *Yeh* is often added in the diminutive form, as *Shuweikeh* for Shochoh. It is sometimes lost, as in the case *Lebban* for Lebonah.

ז. Is generally *Zain* in Arabic, but often *Dhal*. The two sounds are not distinguished by the peasantry, who pronounce Dhal like Z.

ח. Is properly *Héh* in Arabic, but often *Khéh*, and very constantly 'Ain takes its place. This confusion of ח and ע is noticed in the Talmud (Tal. Bab. Erubin, 53 b.) as a Galilean vulgarism. The Samaritans confused ח and פ.

ט. Is represented by both *Tâ* and *Tzâ* (pronounced *Dhâ* in Palestine.) There is no well authenticated instance of any confusion with ט = *Té*.

י. Being a weak letter this is very often lost, especially at the begin-

ning of words, as in *Zerîn* for Jezreel. It is properly the Arabic *Yeh*, but one instance occurs where '*Ain* takes its place, namely, '*Attîr* for Jattir, an identification which has not been disputed as yet.

כ. Is the Arabic *Caf*, commonly pronounced *Châf* by the peasantry. The Galileans did not distinguish כ and ק, but in modern language they are very distinct in sound.

ל. The Arabic *Lâm*, but the peasantry confuse it with *Nun*, as in the well-known instances of *Beitin* for Bethel, *Zerîn* for Jezreel. As a termination it is generally lost, as *Yebna* for Jabneel.

מ. The Arabic *Mîm*. In Hebrew it is often assimilated, disappearing, and the next letter being doubled. As a plural termination it is generally now represented by *Nûn*. This change is also to be remarked in the Aramaic plurals, as קירין for קירים. In some cases *Bé* seems to take its place, as in *Tibneh*=Timnah.

נ. Arabic *Nûn*. It is often confused with *Mîm* in sound, and when it occurs as a termination is almost always lost, as in the well-known instance, '*Akir* for Ekron.

ס. Is always the Arabic *Sîn*. This is an important law to notice. The Ephraimites confused ס and ש (Judges xii. 6).

ע. Is the Arabic '*Ain*, but a few instances occur in which it is softened to *Aleph*, as *Andâr* for Endor, and *Kîla* for Hebrew *Kilah*. It is often also represented by the *Ghein*, as in *Ghuzzeh*—*Azzah*. The confusion with ה is noted above.

פ. The Arabic *Fe*. No known instance of confusion with *Be* can be considered proved.

צ. The Arabic *Sâd*, or *Dad*, as in the cases '*Asûr* for Hatzor, and *Beit Sur* for Bethzur, and in '*Ard* for the Hebrew *ARTZ*.

ק. The Arabic *Qaf*. Pronounced like hard G and like J by the Bedouin (there is a difference from *Jîm*, which is like the French J, not the English J); by the townspeople and some of the peasantry it is dropped, being only represented by a sort of catch in the breath.

ך. The Arabic *Ré*.

ש. Is both *Sîn* and *Shîn* in Arabic, but most frequently the latter.

ת. The Arabic *Té*, and more rarely *Thé*. It is not unfrequently lost altogether, as in *es Semûa'*—*Eshtemoa*, and *Eshu'a*—*Eshtaol*.

All these equivalents will be found in Gesenius, but the vulgar pronunciation of the letters often throws additional light on the connection. It will be seen that many sounds alike in English are widely separate in these languages, and that the amount of change which is really known to take place is smaller than has generally been supposed. Robinson's identifications have the advantage of following these laws much more closely than any except those of M. Ganneau, who is an accomplished philologist. Robinson's identifications are consequently, as a rule, more satisfactory than others. The weak letters liable to change are א ה' ל' ת', to which we may add the servile מ and the ordinary confusion of ש and פ. The number of identifications made during the survey, and obeying these laws, is large, and I consider that a few put.

forward by me which do not obey them, will probably prove in the end unsatisfactory for other reasons.

Two points of interest with regard to the nomenclature may be noted in conclusion.

In the first place, it is remarkable that the ancient nomenclature sticks more closely to the ruined sites than to the natural features of the country. Thus, almost every great valley had a Scriptural name now lost; no trace of the valleys of Elah, Bezor, Kishon, Jiphtah-el, Achor, &c., &c., has been recovered, whilst the valley of Soreg has left its name in the ruin of *Surik*, that of *Aijalon*, in the village of *Yalo*, and that of Charashim in the ruin *Hirshah*. No mountain noted in Scripture has yet been found to retain its name, and very few wells. On the other hand, not only do the ruins retain unchanged their old names, but innumerable sites not mentioned in Scripture have titles not to be interpreted by reference to an Arabic dictionary, but identical with Hebrew words having a topographical meaning. This is what is naturally to be expected. The natural features of the country give a small percentage of the Biblical names often taken from neighbouring towns. The titles of the natural features in the modern nomenclature are for the most part descriptive, and of little value, whilst those of the ruins are almost invariably of importance.

The second point requiring special attention is the nomenclature of the *Mukams*, or sacred places. In his interesting paper on the "Arabs in Palestine," M. Ganneau has drawn attention to these local deities, following in the steps of Robinson, who first recognised their importance.

The veneration paid to the local deities by the peasantry resembles that esteem in which local saints are held by the Italian *Contadini*, and is a sure relic of Polytheism. The mythology is, however, extremely complex, as not only original deities, but Jewish heroes and Christian saints have been received into the calendar of the *Welys*, or "friends" of God.

It is remarkable that in Samson's country we should find not only *Shamshûn el Jebbar* and *Sheikh Samat* noted by M. Ganneau, but *Sheikh Abu el Jahm*, "father of the lion," and *Umm el Hemâm*, "mother of the hero." The names of Paul, Ezekiel, Barachel, David, Moses, and many other Scripture worthies exist at the various *Kubbehs*, or chapels; but on the other hand later sainted characters can be detected, and sure traces of Christian origin are discernible in the name *Mukam Sidna Isa*, "Station of our Lord Jesus;" *Sandahanna*, Saint John; *Sandahawi*, Saint Eva; or *Jebriil*, Gabriel; all venerated by the Moslem inhabitants of the country. It would be no easy task to determine whether a tradition is of really ancient origin, or merely a reminiscence of monkish teaching, added to which the improvements made by the peasantry are often quite modern, as in the legend of the wire which connected the habitation of *Melik el Fenish* with the palace of his daughter, a story dating since the establishment of the electric telegraph.

The veneration in which these saints are held cannot be doubted. As in England the fairies were feared, so in Palestine the peasantry will not, if they can avoid it, speak of a *Wely* by his full name; they prefer a complimentary nickname, such as "the good Sheikh of the raft" (*Haj 'Alián*), "the lady of childbirth," "the famous Sheikh," "the father of the Crescent," "the strength of the faith," &c., &c. These divinities have a local power extending to a greater or less radius; within this circle they are feared, and it is said a man would rather confess a murder than allow himself to be perjured in swearing on the tomb in the *Mukâm* of his village. Whether the complicated mass of tradition, the growth of so many centuries, and the product of three religions, can be disentangled or is worthy of minute investigation, I leave others to judge.

The general outcome of this inquiry is, it will be seen, the probability that the whole language of the native peasantry (following the indications given by topographical nomenclature) approaches much closer to the Aramaic, which Jerome tells us was in his time the common tongue of the country, and even to the Hebrew than it does to modern Arabic. The dialect of Palestine is not understood in Morocco, where the Arabic words are entirely different, nor even in Egypt, and many words in the Survey sheets are not to be found in any dictionary of Arabic, though easily traced in Buxtorf or Gesenius.

If such be the case there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that by far the larger majority of Scripture sites are capable of recovery, and the collection of these names becomes a greater service to the study of the Bible than any amount of excavation for ruins which scholars doubt ever to have existed—such as Ahab's palace of ivory, or the temples of the Calves at Bethel.

CLAUDE R. CONDER.

PALESTINE BEFORE JOSHUA.

By LIEUT. CONDER, R.E.

(Continued from *Quarterly Statement*, April 1876, p. 87.)

GROUP I.

Section III.

THE third section refers to towns in the plain of Esdraelon and the *'Ard el Humma*. In seeking for the sites, we are guided by the identifications proposed by Mariette for Nos. 42, 43, 52, 57. The list proceeds as follows:—

41. *Kebatua(n)*.—As this follows sites near Acca it is to be sought north of the next. No doubt it is the Gabatha of Josephus, the modern *Jebâta*, on the north edge of the plain.

42. *Taanak*, Mariette Bey identifies with the famous Taanach of the Bible (Josh. xii. 21), the present ruin of *Taanuk*.