

The proportionate distances agree, though the mile used seems to have been longer than the English mile. This is almost the only case I have met of a town retaining a Crusading name; there were many others to which the Crusaders gave new names, as Casal Blanc (*Kueikât*), Casale Lambert, Casal Beroard (*Minet el Kûl'ah*), Casale Royal, which have lost their mediæval names.

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THE MOSLEM MUKAMS.

I.

NEXT to the study of the language of the peasantry in Palestine there is probably nothing which will throw more light on the question of the origin of their race than that of the vulgar faith as exemplified in the local sanctuaries scattered over the country, a study which is also of no little importance in relation to the ancient topography of Palestine, as is shown by the various sites which have been recovered by means of the tradition of sacred tombs preserved after the name of the site itself had been lost.

In his interesting paper on the Peasantry (*Quarterly Statement*, Oct., 1875) M. Ganneau remarks: "A methodical search for these *Mûkâms* is of the greatest importance." This search has been made during the course of the Survey, so that the names of no fewer than 300 sacred places are now marked on the map, many of which are of the greatest value. It is proposed here to give a sketch of the character of these sites, abstracted from the notes which are to form part of the memoir.

It must be stated first that there is a marked difference between the Bedouin and the Fellahin in regard to the *Mûkâms*. In the country occupied by the nomads no such buildings exist, with exception of one or two fallen into ruins. The Arabs, or Bedouin, are by profession Moslems, by practice (at all events east of Jordan) heathen and moon-worshippers, as in the time of Mohammed. Their sacred places are the tombs of their ancestors, and the ancient history of Palestine forms no part of the religion of a race which only entered and conquered the country a thousand years after Christ.

With the *Fellahin* it is far different. In their religious observances and sanctuaries we find, as in their language, the true history of the country. On a basis of polytheistic faith which most probably dates back to pre-Israelite times, we find a growth of the most heterogeneous description; Christian tradition, Moslem history, and foreign worship are mingled so as often to be entirely indistinguishable, and the so-called Moslem is found worshipping at shrines consecrated to Jewish, Samaritan, Christian, and often Pagan memories.

It is in worship at these shrines that the religion of the peasantry consists. Moslem by profession, they often spend their lives without entering a mosque, and attach more importance to the favour and pro-

tection of the village *Mūkām* than to *Allāh* himself, or to Mohammed his prophet.

The word *Mūkām* (the Hebrew *Makom*) means simply "a place" or "station," but the use as meaning a "sacred place" dates back to the Bible times, and it is found in Deuteronomy (chap. xii. v. 2) applied to the places of false worship existing throughout Palestine at the time of Joshua's conquest.* Other titles are applied to the sacred sites. *Haram* ("sanctuary"), *Kubbeh* ("dome"), *Jāmi'a* ("meeting-house" or "mosque"), *Mazār* ("shrine"), *Mesh-hed* ("monument"). The latter is used also for the little piles of stones (*Meshā-hed*) raised by pilgrims at the various high points (*Meshārif*), whence the sanctuaries first become visible.

The divinities are also known by various titles: *Neby* (Hebrew *Neby*), "the prophet," only applied to the more important and generally the most ancient; *Sīdna*, "our Lord," applied to the patriarchs and to Moslem saints of the first order; *Wely*, "favourite," or saint, a term often applied by a very simple ellipsis to the building itself; *Sheikh*, "chief" or "elder," by far the commonest term; and *Hāj*, "pilgrim," applied very rarely.

The *Mūkāms* are not always supposed to stand over the tombs of the saints to whom they are dedicated. A cenotaph is indeed almost always to be found there, but often they are regarded merely as "stations," like those in Roman Catholic countries, not necessarily connected with the history of the saint, though very often erected on spots where it is considered probable that he once stood.

The white dome of the *Mūkām* is the most conspicuous object in a Syrian village. The sacred chapel on the hill-top, or the sacred tree by the road-side, is of constant occurrence, and brings forcibly to mind the words of Scripture denouncing the idol altars on mountain-tops and "under every green tree." Few who have visited Palestine will doubt that in the *Mūkāms* we see the survival of the Canaanite false worship; and in one case (*Sheikh Abu 'Amr*) I found beside the chapel a huge platform of unsquared stone and a pit cut in rock, which seemed not impossible to be the remains of the ancient altar of this divinity, whose present title means simply "the father of worship."

The *Mūkāms* differ very materially in their importance. Mr. Drake, writing on the subject (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1872, p. 179) remarks that whilst in one instance the *Mūkām* is a mosque, in another it is merely a rude circle of stones. In some cases nothing is to be seen at all, in others (as at *Tibneh*) the name is attached to a sacred tree, to the branches of which rags are attached as votive offerings.

The reverence shown for these sacred spots is unbounded. Every

* The word is also used in Exod. xx. 24, as follows: "In all places (*Ham-Makom*) where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." The passage in Deuteronomy is as follows: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places (*Ham-Makomoth*) wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree."

fallen stone from the building, every withered branch of the tree, is carefully preserved. The chapels are sanctuaries in which property can be left with perfect safety. Thus a plough is often to be found put away inside, and one of the sheikhs receives the title "the trustee," from the fact that articles of value to the peasantry are left under his care. The ordinary *Mūkām* is a little square building, some 10 feet side and 8 feet high, surmounted by a dome, generally having a rude stone crescent in the centre. The building is generally modern, of rude masonry, whitewashed, and therefore very conspicuous. In the south wall, in the interior, is a *Mīhrab*, or "prayer niche," and very generally there is a rude grave in the corner—a cenotaph resembling a modern Moslem tomb. A few mats cover the floor, the door is often ornamented with henna, and a pitcher of water is left for the pilgrims. A large tree, also held sacred, very generally grows close by, a carob, or oak, or terebinth being the most common.

There is frequently a custodian to the site—a religious *sheikh*, a *derwīsh*, or perhaps the elder of the neighbouring village.

The sanctuary is never entered except with bare feet, and the expression *destūr* ("permission") or *destūr ya mubārakeh* ("your leave, O blessed one") is used on crossing the threshold.

It is stated that sacrifices are offered at these places, but this I have never witnessed; votive offerings are given, and when a person is sick a little earthenware lamp is lighted at the *Mūkām*. Processions round the chapel are also often made, especially at the feast of *Beirām*.*

The fear of the anger of the local divinity is deep-rooted in the hearts of the people. To forswear oneself by the sacred tomb is thought sure to bring disaster and death on the offender. Many persons state that they have received blows from invisible fists, supposed to proceed from an enraged *Neby*. The influence of a powerful *sheikh* is thought to extend ten or twenty miles round his *Mūkām*.

The *Mūkāms* may be divided into seven categories, though the distinction is not observed by the natives, and saints or *Welys* are now living who will at death be honoured with *Mūkāms*. The separate species are as follow:—1st. Biblical characters. These are, no doubt, generally the oldest, and can often be traced back to Jewish tradition. 2nd. Christian sites venerated by the Moslem peasantry, and not always distinguishable from the first class, but often traceable to the teaching of the monasteries or to monkish sites. 3rd. Native heroes or deities not to be identified as belonging to either of the other class, and perhaps sometimes the most ancient sites of all. 4th. Later and known historic characters. 5th. Saints named from the place where they occur, or having appellations connected with traditions concerning them. 6th. Sacred sites not connected with personal names. Some of these are of the greatest value. 7th. Ordinary Moslem names which may be of any date and are often modern. These classes will be con-

* The Jews do perform sacrifices of small objects at Joseph's tomb and that of Bar Jochai the Cabalist.

sidered in order, and the deductions which naturally may be drawn will prove to be—1st. That however modern the building, the site is often of great antiquity. 2nd. That in the mixture of so many separate classes of sacred sites we find proof of the mixed character of the peasant population, and the influence of successive races and religions on the original stock.

II.

Biblical Characters.—The patriarchs, from Adam downwards, and Scripture characters, including Our Lord himself, being venerated by the Moslems as by Christians, it is not always easy to make certain whether a tradition concerning them is of native or of imported Christian origin. Many Scripture stories are, indeed, found more or less garbled among the peasantry; but these, by internal evidence, can often be shown to come from monkish teaching, and very often are modern and due to the inhabitants of neighbouring convents. Many examples of this corruption of true tradition might be adduced to prove the point. Thus, for instance, the Druse inhabitants of Mount Carmel visit and revere the grotto of Elijah which is now in the centre of the chapel of the convent, and the ceremony of devoting a child to the prophet I have myself witnessed in this church.

If, however, the tradition be traceable to Jewish origin, it is, of course, of greater value; and instances of this kind are not wanting, as in the case of the sacred rock in the temple of Jerusalem, to which traditions now attach which reproduce exactly those to be found in the Mishnah concerning the *Eben Shatiyeh*, or foundation of the Holy of Holies.

It is among the *Nebys* principally that the Scripture worthies are to be recognised, and of these shrines no less than fifty have been found as yet, including most of the patriarchs and greater prophets.

Adam and Eve are traditionally supposed to have been buried at Mecca, and have no *Mukams* in Palestine. On expulsion from Paradise, however, they are supposed to have hidden themselves in or near a spring at Hebron, which is now called *Ain el Judeideh*, or the "excavated fountain," being cut in rock with an arch above. Here also the red earth, from which Adam was said by the Jews to have been formed, is shown by the Moslems.*

Cain and Abel also are not, properly speaking, represented in Palestine. The tomb of Abel is shown at Abila above Damascus, and is thought by modern explorers to be only a huge reservoir. A curious tradition of the wanderings of Cain with the body of Abel bound to his back here exists. Cain, however, appears among the prophets as *Nebý Yúkin*, but this is evidently a case of the saint being named from the

* The tradition is mentioned by several writers in the time of the Crusades, and may be of Christian origin.

place, as the ruin of *Fūkân* has been identified with the town of Cain. (Josh. xv.)*

Nimrod again, though having no sacred place, is an important character in the native mythology. He is supposed to be the author of many ancient forts, notably the *Kûsar Nimrûd* below Hermon at *Kûl'at el Jindl*, where no dew ever falls, according to the natives, because his body lies buried there. Another tradition concerning him attaches to *Khûrbet Mîrd* (Mons Mardes) in the Desert of Judah, as mentioned by M. Ganneau.

Noah, again, is a favourite divinity, and has several sanctuaries; one at the ancient Adoraim (*Dûra*) in the south of Judah, and another at *Khûrbet Nûh* farther west, where there is a tradition of Noah's daughter and of a spring whence the flood originated. Of his sons, Ham alone has a *Mûkâm* in the Gaza district, and farther north we find at Beshshît (the House of Seth) the tomb of *Neby Shît*, who has also another sanctuary—*Haram en Neby Shît*, in Samaria, and another in Lebanon.

First of all the Bible heroes, however, Abraham, "the friend," stands out in the estimation of the native peasantry, and his tomb, in the sanctuary of Hebron, is now the most sacred spot in Palestine. The monuments of the patriarchs are mentioned by Josephus and by all subsequent travellers, and the tradition is thus, no doubt, older than Christian times. With Abraham lie the bodies of Isaac, Jacob, and the three wives—Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah.

Isaac enjoys a peculiar reputation as being the most easily offended of all, and the Moslems are more afraid of his wrath than of that of any other prophet or chief. There is another *Mûkâm* of Isaac (*Neby Is-hâk*) in Galilee, the origin of which is not known, but as the name is of common occurrence among the Jews it may possibly represent the tomb of a later historic character, for, as we shall see clearly in proceeding, historical names are often wrongly applied in the confused mythology of the peasantry.

Jacob also has a second *Mûkâm*, the mosque of the *Hizn Y'akûb*, or "mourning of Jacob," connected with the tradition that here (at Shechem) he mourned the loss of his son Joseph. It may perhaps represent a tradition of Samaritan origin.

At Hebron also the tomb of Joseph is shown outside the *Haram* wall, but this tradition of the transportation of his bones from Shechem to Hebron is apparently of later origin, and Jews, Samaritans, and Moslems unite in venerating the *Kabr Yûsef*, or "tomb of Joseph," outside Nablûs, a tradition of great antiquity, and traceable, through Josephus, to Jewish origin. By Christian and Jewish writers alike, from the fourth century downwards, this tradition is handed on unchanged.

Hebron contains other sanctuaries of less note, the tombs of Esau, Abner, and Jesse being shown by the Moslems in and around the town.

* The Crusaders considered *Keimân* (ancient Camon) to mean "Mount Cain," and showed at this site the place where Lamech killed Cain with an arrow.

Alone and separated from the family sepulchre, the little "dome of Rachel" stands between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The *Kubbeh* itself is modern, and has been repaired of late years. In 700 A.D. Arculphus saw only a pyramid, which was also visited by Benjamin of Tudela in 1160 A.D., and perhaps by Sanuto in 1322 A.D. The site has been disputed on account of the expression (1 Sam. x. 2) "in the border of Benjamin," and there can be no doubt that the *Kübbet Rahîl* never was on or very near this border. The Vulgate translation, however, seems perhaps to do away with this difficulty, and as Rachel's tomb was only "a little way" from Ephrath, "which is Bethlehem" (Gen. xxxv. 16-19), and the tradition is of great antiquity, there is no very good reason for rejecting it.

Farther up the country, near Sharon, is another sacred place dedicated to *Sheikh 'Obeid Rahîl*, or "Rachel's servant."

Next in order come the children of Jacob. At Shechem, outside the town wall, is the *Mükâm Oulad Y'akûb el 'Asherah*, "the ten sons of Jacob," a tradition dating no doubt after the division between Judah and Israel.* In Galilee is the sanctuary of the *Benât Y'akûb*, or "daughters of Jacob," and a bridge over Jordan also bears their names.

Of the twelve patriarchs, we find the *Mükâms* of seven, not including the northern tribes, in the part as yet unsurveyed. Joseph has two sanctuaries as above noted. Benjamin may perhaps be represented by *Neby Yemîn*, whose *Mükâm* is towards the centre of Samaria. Reuben (*Neby Rûbîn*) lies near the shore south of Jaffa, Simeon (*Neby Shem'on*) in the plain of Sharon. Levi is possibly *Neby Lauîn*. Judah has a *Mükâm* (*Neby Hûdah*) in the Sharon plain, near which, in the territory of Dan, is the *Mükâm en Neby Dîn*. Issachar, Zebulon, Asher, Naphtali, Gad, Manasseh, and Ephraim,† we have not as yet found in the number of the sanctuaries.

Proceeding to the period of the Conquest, we find south-west of Jericho the reputed tomb of Moses, much revered by the Moslems. But this tradition appears to be of Christian origin, and will be subsequently noticed. The tombs of Eleazar and Phineas are, however, more probably authentic, and have been already described in my paper on Samaritan Topography. Aaron was buried on Mount Hor, where his tomb is now shown. Joshua requires a more particular notice.

The foregoing characters are all known by the peasantry in their proper relations. No special legends seem attached to the tombs, but if one inquires who *Neby Hûdah* was, the answer of an intelligent native will be, "The son of our Lord Jacob." There is one curious instance of confusion, however: *Neby Y'arûd Ibn Y'akûb*, who probably represents Jared, the ancestor, not the son of Jacob (Gen. v. 15). When, however, we seek for the memory of Joshua we find the name to have entirely disappeared. At Jericho he is confused with the *Imâm 'Aly Ibn*

* This tradition is noticed by Josephus.

† The *Mükâms* of Ephraim and Gad and Manasseh might be expected east of Jordan.

Abu Táleb, brother-in-law of the prophet, in a tradition which seems most probably of Christian origin, being located to a sacred spot standing apparently on the site of the mediæval Chapel of the Apparition of St. Michael to Joshua; but Joshua also seems to appear under the name of *Neby Kifl*, "the apportioner," whose *Múkâm* is shown in *Kefr Ilâris*, where mediæval Jewish tradition fixes the site of Timnath Heres. *Neby Kifl* has two other sanctuaries in the centre of the country. At *Tibneh*, which is now generally held to be the true Timnath Heres, there is a large oak called *Sheikh et Tein*, "the chief the servant of God," and in this perhaps some memory of Joshua is still retained, but it is remarkable that the name of so great a hero should so completely have disappeared from the native mythology.

Proceeding to the later period of the prophets, kings, and judges succeeding the Conquest, the mythology becomes more confused. Barak may perhaps be recognised in *Sheikh Ibreik*, a *Múkâm* standing over the Kishon, in which the host of Sisera was engulfed; but Gideon is forgotten, unless he be recognised as *Neby Dühy*, "the general," whose sanctuary stands above the site of Gideon's battle on the summit of what is supposed by many to be the "Hill of Moreh."

Samson, however, plays a more conspicuous part. The tomb of *Sheikh Samat* I discovered, and described in October, 1873, at Sür'ah (Zoreah). It is mentioned in 1334 apparently in the same position by Rabbi Isaac Chelo, so that the tradition is apparently not of Christian origin. M. Ganneau has given the legends which are connected with Shamshûn el Jebbâr ("the hero"), the brother of Sheikh Samat, which are, however, of doubtful origin. At Gaza, Samson has also two *Múkâms*, that of 'Aly *Müntâr*, on the hill south of the town, traditionally that to which the gates of Gaza were carried, where an annual festival takes place,* and that of 'Aly *Mirwân* ("Aly the enslaved"), now supposed to be the tomb of Samson. The origin of these legends is as yet undiscovered. It is remarkable that on the hills east of Gaza is another chapel dedicated to 'Aly (at *Duweimeh*), near which is a ruined convent called *Deir Samat*, which raises a suspicion that Christian teaching as to Samson has been confused by the peasantry as referring to 'Aly, the famous Imâm, who has many sanctuaries all over the country.

Samuel, the next hero, has but one sanctuary, *Neby Samwîl*, but this tradition seems of Christian origin, and is not recognised as genuine by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who accuses the Christians of pretending to have transported the body from Ramleh, which he considers to have been Ramathaim Zophim. If the latter place is to be identified with *Süffa*, then perhaps the real tomb of Samuel may be represented by the sanctuary of *Shehâb-ed-Dîn*, "the hero of the faith." There was, however, as will be seen later, a historic character of this name.

The tombs of David and Solomon at Jerusalem are sanctuaries of no mean order, and the praying-places of Abraham, David, and Solomon are shown in the cave of the *Sakhrâh*, but the origin here again is

* This tradition dates from the middle ages.

doubtful, and cannot easily be traced to indigenious tradition.* There are many sanctuaries of *Sheikh Dāūd* in the country, but whether connected with the king it is impossible to determine. There is also a curious tradition of the *Bint Sultān el Fenish*, "the daughter of the Phœnician Sultan," not far from *Tell Jezer*, which may perhaps be attached to Solomon's wife, whose dowry was Gezer.

We have finally to deal with the names of the later prophets, of whom the most famous is Elijah. In the native mythology he is called *el Khādr*; but as the same title is also applied to St. George, it is impossible to distinguish the two in many cases. There is, however, in Samaria a *Mūkām* dedicated to *Neby Elyās*, in which we recognise the name of the prophet unchanged.

† Daniel (*Neby Dāniāl*) has five sanctuaries, and is perhaps to be recognised also as *Neba Kunda*, "the Chaldean," whose sanctuary exists near *Yebna*.

Ezekiel also is represented in *Neby Hazkīn*, on a high hill over the Jordan valley, and perhaps Isaiah in *Neby S'atn* above Nazareth, a name which is of otherwise unknown origin.

Jonah has no fewer than four *Mūkāms*: that at *el Mesh-hed* (Gath Hopher), where his tomb was shown at an early period, the tradition being apparently of Jewish and not of Christian origin; secondly, *Neby Yūnis*, south of Jaffa, on the coast, representing probably a tradition of the spot where he was left by the whale; thirdly, *Neby Yūnis*, at Halhūl, which seems at one time to have been considered to be the tomb of the prophet Gad; fourthly, the tomb near Sarepta, a tradition which dates from the middle ages, and appears to be of Christian origin.

Of smaller prophets Haggai is perhaps *Neby Hūj*, near Gaza; Zechariah, *Neby Zekariya*,† near el Medyeh; and Baruch possibly *Neby Būrk*, at *Burka*, though this may be a case where the tradition originates from the name of the town.

One important name remains still to be collected—the *Mūkām* of Nahum the Elkoshite. It was shown to Isaac Chelo in 1334, on the road from Tiberias to Kefr 'Anan, and may prove to be the *Kubbeh* in *Abu Shusheh*, situate above the *'Ain el Madawerah*, which Dr. Tristram identifies with the Fountain of Capharnaum. Could this be settled, we should have entirely new materials for settling the position of Capernaum, which is still so much disputed, for the tradition in this case is of Jewish and probably indigenious, and not of Christian or foreign origin.

It may be thought that the above is a mere list of names to which traditions should have been attached. The natives, however, as a rule,

* Professor Palmer informs us that the tradition of the site of David's tomb is of purely Moslem origin, and dates back only to 1447 A.D. (Jerusalem, Besant and Palmer, p. 436. See also the account of the discovery of the tomb given by Benjamin of Tudela.)

† This, however, is also perhaps Christian in origin, as the site is noticed by Marino Sanuto as being the birthplace of John the Baptist.

are either ignorant, or affect ignorance of the history of the saints. This is no doubt partly due to suspicion and fear of consequences in telling sacred names to infidels; but it seems to me certain that in many cases the ignorance is real, and that the name has long survived any memory of the circumstance which first consecrated the sacred station.

III.

Christian Sites.—The sites treated of as yet are, as far as can be judged, mostly of pure native origin, and often traceable to Jewish and therefore indigenous sources. Nothing is more important in studying Palestine than to draw a broad line of distinction between all that is of native origin on the one hand, and foreign traditions principally Christian on the other.

The second class of *Mūkāms* includes those sites which, though now venerated by the peasantry, are undoubtedly of Christian origin. A few examples will show clearly that such sites exist undistinguished from those belonging to a more reliable tradition. Thus on the hill east of Hebron, near *Beni Na'im*, stands the Minaret and Sanctuary of *Neby Lūt*, and a tradition existed in the fourth century that it was from this point that Lot and Abraham surveyed the Promised Land. From this origin doubtless the modern site has arisen. Again, in the Jordan valley we are surprised to find the reputed tomb of Moses (*Neby Mūsa*) near Jericho. Many traditions connected with the prophet exist; a valley, a pool, and an aqueduct are called by his name. Yet there is evidence which points to the Christian origin of all this mythology, for in the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr we find the "thermæ Moysi" mentioned in connection apparently with *Wādy Kelt*, and the Quarantania mountain, near Jericho, in which we may probably recognise the present *Birket Mūsa*.

There are also two *Mūkāms* sacred to our Lord, one in a village near Hebron, where a church once existed, the other at *Nein*, connected with the site of the raising of the widow's son, and no doubt standing on the site of a mediæval chapel. In the centre of the country also there is a *Mūkām* of *Sitti Miriam*, the Virgin Mary, whose memory is kept alive at Jerusalem in the *Birket Sitti Miriam*, which is not, however, a sacred place.

Several of the apostles also have *Mūkāms*, notably *Neby Metta*, the "prophet Matthew," whose sanctuary, in the village of *Beit Ummar*, is no doubt the St. Matthew mentioned by Willibald of Oldenburg, 724 A.D., as between the Fountain of the Eunuch (*'Ain Dhirweh*) and St. Zacharias (*Beit Iskāria*), south of Jerusalem, or in the very position of the village above mentioned.

St. John has a very curious *Mūkām*, called *Neby Yahyah*, in the plain of Sharon, which, though it is now a Moslem sanctuary with Cenotaph and *Mihrab*, is yet sometimes called *Mār Hannah*, "St. John," as well as *Neby Yahyah*, the native name of the Baptist.

St. Paul again is recognisable in *Neby Bulus*, whose sanctuary lies near *Sār'ah*, in the Shephelah, and a little farther south we find at Beit Jibrin the *Mūkām en Neby Jibrīn*. The town was called Gibelin by the Crusaders; but William of Tyre translates the original name to mean "House of Gabriel;" and two churches, one to St. John (*Sandahannah*) and one to St. Gabriel, seem to have existed here. The last is almost entirely destroyed, but *Neby Jibrīn* is worshipped on a plot of open ground just south of one of the aisles, in a part which probably was once in the middle of the church of St. Gabriel.

St. George, *el Khūdr*, was considered by the Saracens to be the patron of the Crusaders, and his sanctuaries, though now Moslem, seem to be almost always on the site of chapels or churches. Thus at Deir Belāh (the Fort of Darum of the Crusaders), the *Mūkām* of *el Khūdr* is full of fragments of Christian work, and the second name of the village is *Deir Mār Jirius*, monastery of St. George. At Ascalon and at Blanchegarde the same saint is worshipped, and the name attaches to many Christian ruins, and to one Christian village. Wherever, in fact, *el Khūdr* appears, we may suspect Christian origin to attach to the ruins.

St. Anne (*Sitti Hannīyeh*) has also a Moslem sanctuary, but the most curious confusion is in the large Kubbeh, on the edge of the Sharon plain, now called *Sheikh Sandahāwi*, in which we recognise at once an original St. Eve or St. Eva, now changed in sex as in creed, to become a Moslem chief.

The adoption of so many Christian worthies appears to me to show that at some time, probably the peaceful era of the fifth century preceding the invasion by Omar, the peasantry were considerably under the influence of the monastic establishments which then covered the whole country, and of which an almost affectionate memory seems retained in such titles as "the charitable convent," &c.

It is to this period that the class of legends which treat of Scripture history may be referred with great probability; with the invasion the names were changed, and hence to the companions of the Prophet we find the deeds of Joshua and Samson now ascribed. In some cases Scripture traditions may be of even later origin, and due to direct monastic teaching at the present time.

IV.

Native Traditions.—There is a third class of sacred characters which I have not succeeded in identifying with certainty, but which are occasionally of great interest, and which form a large proportion of the whole number.

Thus, for instance, *Hāj 'Aleiyān* is a much-respected saint, whose history I have told in a former report (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1874, p. 23), and several prophets may be enumerated. *Neby Sāleh*, "the good prophet," has four *Mūkāms*, one of which is shown as the place of his martyrdom. The red streaks in the limestone are supposed to be

due to his blood; and the cave in which his son hid is also shown near the place. Who was Neby Sâleh? is a question still to be answered. *Neby Belân* and *Neby Baliân* belong to this class. *Neby Heiyis* (possibly Ahijah), *Neby Mâmin*, *Neby 'Anîn* (or Ananiah), *Neby N'amân* (Naaman), *Neby Kâmil* ("perfect prophet"), and *Neby Nûrân*.

Two others have a curious bearing on Scripture—viz., *Neby Turfîni*, which may be rendered "the Tarpelite," one of the races which were brought by Asnapper (Ezra iv. 9, 10) to colonise Samaria, and secondly, *Neby Leimûn*, near Jerusalem, whose name recalls that of the unknown King Lemuel (Prov. xxi. 4). Equally obscure are *Neby Kundah* (the Chaldean), *Neby Târi* (the Stranger), and *Neby Serâkah*, perhaps named after *Surik*, "the valley of Sorek."

Amongst the Sheikhs also curious names occasionally occur, as *Ahya* (Ahijah), 'Awed (Uz), *Iskander* (who appears to be Alexander the Great). In the Jordan valley, not far from the sites which I suggested as representing the Rock Oreb and "hole" of Zeeb, we have *Sheikh edh Dhiâb*, "chief of the wolves," or possibly a tradition of Zeeb. At Beit Jibrin is *Sheikh Sh'aîb*, the native name of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. At Adullam is *Sheikh Madhkâr*, "the famous chieftain," perhaps David himself.

Then there are *Sheikh Nedhîr*, "the Nazarite," *Sheikh Kanwâsh*, "the Æthiopian," and *Sheikh Kâmir*, a name apparently of Syriac origin, meaning "priest," and found applied (2 Kings xxiii. 5) to the idolatrous priests "put down" by Josiah.

There are also female Saints among the native divinities, and it is instructive to find couples in which a sister or mother is revered with the Sheikh, or in a neighbouring sanctuary. Thus, close to *Sheikh Abu Leimûn*, we have the *Umm esh Sheikh*, "mother of the chief," who was the daughter of *Ahmed ed Dujâni* (the man of Beth Dagon). At Yebnah *Sheikh Waheb*, "the devoted," has a sister, *Sheikhah S'adeh*, "the fortunate." And many other instances occur of this purely pagan mythology. With these we may class the many "ladies"—*Sitt el Kâmeh*, and *Sitt Neftisah*, apparently representatives of Lucina; *Sitt Eslamiyeh*, who gives her name to Mount Ebal; *Sitt Nekîyeh*, "the pure lady," and *Sitt Men'a*, "the recluse." From these titles we gain no small insight into the native religion, and the fifth category still further enlightens us; but before proceeding to it it is necessary to separate out the sacred characters of later historical times.

V.

Historical Characters.—The early companions of the Prophet have gradually become mythical characters of importance. Not only is this the case with the Nuseiriyeh, Druses, and other heretical sects, but in Palestine they have developed into saints of the first order, and have grouped round themselves the history, tradition, and mythology of other races and creeds. We have seen that the *Imam 'Aly Ibn Abu*

T'aleb, son-in-law to the prophet husband of Fatimah, and "lion of God," with *Bellāl Ibn Rubāh*, the Muezzin of the Prophet, have been converted at Jericho into Joshua and his servant. 'Aly also, on the other side of the country, represents Samson, and he has many other sanctuaries in the centre and north of Palestine.

At Hebron we have *'Aly Bukka*, who died in 670; and west of this *Sheikh es Sehab*, "the companion" (of the Prophet). There are also some half-dozen sanctuaries dedicated to the *Ar'atn Ghazāwy*, "the forty champions," companions of the Prophet, the most important being the White Mosque at Ramleh, where their memory has been confused with the Forty Martyrs of Cappadocia.* We have also two *Mūkāms* of *Sheikh Khalīf*, "the Caliph," or "Successor," of the Prophet, and thus we gradually descend to more modern times.

South of Jerusalem is the *Deir Abu Tōr*, where is the monument of *Abu Tor*, or *Sheikh Ahmed et Tori*, "the father of the bull." This worthy, whose name was *Sheikh Shehāb ed Dīn el Kūdesy*, "the sacred hero of the faith," was a follower of Saladin, who in 1187 gave him the monastery of St. Mark, now called *Deir Abu Tor*.† Professor Palmer tells us that he derived his name from riding on a tame bull. At St. Mark's he lived, died, and was buried, and has now become a saint.

Then, near the great plain, we have on a high hill *Sheikh Shibleh*, who was a powerful Emir about 1700 A.D. Though now a saint, he was, when alive, no better than a common robber. Mauudrell, the traveller, had the satisfaction of seeing him in the flesh, and was "courteously relieved" by him of his great-coat as baksheesh.

At *'Arsūf* (the Crusading *Arsur*) is the *Haram 'Aly Ibn Aleim*, who lived in the time of Sultan Bibars, 1270 A.D., and defended the town against that monarch. His mosque is said to have been built by Bibars himself.

South of Jerusalem is a real "Mosque of Omar," *Jami'a 'Amr Ibn Khüttāb*, close to the village of *Beit T'āmir*, dating perhaps from 636 A.D. West of Jerusalem is *Sheikh Abu Ghōsh*, a bandit whilst in the flesh, about 1813 A.D., now a respected saint. It is curious to find in Galilee Jewish rabbis in the same category, as, for instance, at *'Arrābeh*, where is the *Kabr Y'akūb es Seddik*, "tomb of Jacob (or James) the Just," probably representing that of Rabbi Chanina, shown here as far back as 1564, the Rabbi himself (if Chanina ben Dosa) having lived about 70 A.D.

* *Sidna Hāshem*, the prophet's father, is buried at Gaza.

† *Abu Tor* might be thought to be St. Mark himself, whose emblem is the bull. The place is also called *Deir el Kaddis Modestūs*, "Monastery of St. Modestus," probably the monk who restored the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, about 620 A.D.

VI.

Appellations.—The fifth category includes no less than eighty names, nearly a third of the whole, the saints being principally of the second order, *Sheikhs*, or “chiefs,” known by titles either showing their origin or their attributes. The peasantry appear to believe that the saint sometimes gave his name to the town where his *Mūkām* exists; but there is often historic evidence to prove that the process has really been the reverse, and the saint has been created from the town. Thus at *Yānūn* we have *Neby Nān* (apparently the father of Joshua), but the name of the town is probably a corruption of the ancient Janoah. *Neby Tōba*, again (perhaps Tobiah), has his sanctuary at *Tūbās*, the ancient Thebez. *Neby Yūkūn* derives his name from the town called Cain, and *Neby Hūshān*, at *Hūsheh*, from the place which is apparently Osheh, the seat of the Sanhedrim.

Another curious case is that of *Sheikh Selmān el Farsi*, companion of the prophet, whose sanctuary stands on Mount Salmon, whence it probably derived its name originally. At *Tell Jezer*, again, we have *Muhammed el Jezāri* (the Moor), who seems to derive his name from Gezer. *Neby Būrk* is found in Burka, *Sheikh er Rāfāti* at Rafat, *Sheikh el Hubāni* at Hubin, *Sheikh Arehāb* at the ancient Rehob, and *Sheikh Mukhnah* in the plain of the same name, the word meaning “camping-ground.”

The second class of appellations is of more value, and examples taken at random will serve to show clearly the attributes and characters of these revered saints. Thus we find in Philistia “the father of the lion,” and “the father of curls” (names, perhaps, for Samson), also “father of the crescent,” “of the mail coat,” “of the olive,” “of the carob,” “servant of the almighty,” and “servant of the prophet.” “The Stranger,” “the Median,” “the man of Aleppo,” “the rain-giver,” “the idiot,” “the madman,” “the goodly,” “the pleasant,” “the shining,” “the healer,” “the place of sickness,” “the high place,” “the place of prayer,” “the place of steps,” “the dwarf,” “the sun of the faith,” “the honour of the faith,” “the trustee,” “the pilgrim,” “the soldier,” “the full moon,” “the propitious,” “the place of protection,” “the place of flight,” “the conqueror,” “the champion,” “the inspired,” “the just,” “the fortunate,” “the wise,” “the snow-white,” “the beautiful.”

In this category of adjectives we see the character of the mythology. The personal names in these cases are often common Moslem names, but in some cases the title very probably conceals an important name. The peasantry shrink from pronouncing the true name, especially before Christians, and prefer a circumlocution, just as the English and Scotch peasantry might speak of “the good people” and the “canny folk.” The titles are, however, of no small value. They show that the mythology is extremely mixed, and that many strangers are admitted into the pantheon. They show also that the *Sheikh* is the protector of

property, the giver of rain, the healer of sickness; that the olive, the carob, the oak, are sacred to him; that warriors, madmen, idiots, pilgrims, are alike canonised after death, and that prayer is offered and assistance begged in all the calamities of life from the *genius loci* of each village or town.

VII.

Sacred Sites.—A few *Mükâms* not to be classed under either of the foregoing titles appear to refer to traditions now forgotten. Thus we have the *Hisn Y'akûb*, "mourning of Jacob," the *Jami'a el 'Amûd* (Pillar of Shechem), and the *'Amâd ed Dîn*, marking, as I have proposed to identify it, the monument erected on Ebal by Joshua. At Shiloh, also, there is the *Jami'a el Yetaim*, "mosque of the servants of God," retaining probably a memory of the tabernacle. Such sites are, however, few, and the traditional connection appears to be lost.

VIII.

Last of all come the common Moslem names applied to some fifty less-important *Mükâms*; Abdallah, Omar, Ali, Abraham, Kasim Mohammed, Hasan, Moses, Othman, Joseph, Masud, David, and Solomon are among these.

In some cases it is possible these names may be falsely given, in others they are distinguished by adjectives, "the long," "the tall," &c., and appear certainly genuine. In one or two instances the peasantry differ as to the name, but this is never the case where a Neby is concerned.

Such is a brief review of the worship and origin of the *Mükâms*. The subject is well worth further study by competent Arabic scholars. Traditions may probably remain to be collected, and other names may be added; but the greatest caution is necessary, and the subject could scarcely have been further pursued during the course of the Survey without raising the fanatical suspicions of the peasantry, from whose zeal and superstition the Survey party has always been in continual danger.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, LT. R.E.

Feb. 17, 1877.

LIST OF THE NEBY MUKAMS.

1.	Mükâm on Neby 'Aisa	Jesus.
2.	" " 'Anin	Ananiah?
3.	" " Baliân	
4.	" " Belân	
5.	" " Bûlus	Paul.
6.	" " Bürk	"Blessed."
7.	" " Dâniân	Daniel.
8.	" " Dâûd	David.

9.	Mükâm on Neby	Dân	Dan
10.	„	„	Dühy
11.	„	„	Elyas
12.	„	„	Hâm
13.	„	„	Heiyis
14.	„	„	Hûdah
15.	„	„	Hûj
16.	„	„	Hûshân
17.	„	„	Is-hâk
18.	„	„	Jibrîn
19.	„	„	Kâmil
20.	„	„	Kifil
21.	„	„	Kunda
22.	„	„	Lâwin
23.	„	„	Leimûn
24.	„	„	Lût
25.	„	„	Mâmin
26.	„	„	Metta
27.	„	„	Mûsa
28.	„	„	N'âmân
29.	„	„	Nûh
30.	„	„	Nûn
31.	„	„	Nûrân
32.	„	„	Râbi
33.	„	„	Rûbin
34.	„	„	S'ain
35.	„	„	Sâleh
36.	„	„	Samwil
37.	„	„	Serâkah
38.	„	„	Shem'ôn
39.	„	„	Shît
40.	„	„	Târi
41.	„	„	Toba
42.	„	„	Turfini
43.	„	„	Yahyah
44.	„	Y'arûd Ibn Y'akûb	St. John.
45.	„	„	Yemîn
46.	„	„	Yukîn
47.	„	„	Yunis
48.	„	„	Zakariya

"Leader."

Elias.

Ham.

Judah.

Haggai?

Oshanite.

Isaac.

Gabriel.

"Perfect."

Joshua, "divider."

Chaldean.

Lemuel?

Lot.

Matthew.

Moses.

Naaman.

Noah.

Nun.

Reuben.

"Good."

Samuel.

Sirach?

Simeon.

Seth.

"Stranger."

St. John.

Benjamin?

Cain.

Jonah.

Zechariah.