

The two styles of masonry afford a striking illustration of the great physical change which has passed over this locality by reason of the inhabitants neglecting to preserve the *terraced* cultivation of the surrounding hills. According to Hugo, the mouth of the well at the date of the Crusades would be as much lower than it now is as the modern masonry rises over the ancient, *i.e.*, some forty feet, since the modern masonry is evidently constructed to keep the mouth above the level of the soil as it was washed down from the surrounding hills by the annual rains. We have an approximate measurement of deposit created in the course of 800 years, *viz.*, some forty feet, pointing out to the traveller what great changes have taken place in the relative heights and depressions around Jerusalem, and warning him against forming a judgment from the present aspect of its hills and valleys.

The total depth of En-Rogel, or Job's Well, is about equal to the elevation of Nelson's Pillar in Dublin, *viz.*, 130 feet; the supply of water that trickles in during twenty-four hours is sufficient to give the city about 300 donkey-loads a day—an amount equal, at twelve gallons per load, to about 3,600 gallons daily—a precious boon in that now “weary land.”

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By PHILIP J. BALDENSPERGER.

(Continued from *Q.S.*, 1922, p. 172.)

*Arab Life.*¹

THE morality, hospitality and honesty of the inhabitants have been greatly exaggerated by some writers, misrepresented by others; each has looked upon some special case. Burckhardt finds them very generous and modest, because they turned their backs “modestly” whilst the women were made to strip. Thomson calls them universal liars, thieves and robbers, who tyrannize over the women. He says “they are idle, smoke, and drink coffee, play

¹ [The reader is reminded that these sketches were written some years before the year 1914.—ED.]

at games of hazard, of which there is no end, are filthy and foul-mouthed, uneducated and extremely proud." Lynch says of them: "The bar of iron may break, but not the words of an honest man." Stephens says: "There is no end of paying with them," and then, "he is not so bad as he looks to be," and he finds their logic justifiable: "The desert is ours, and every man who passes over it must pay us tribute"; but he calls them "breechless desperadoes."

Layard, who paid them royally, is very tender towards them, and seems to excuse everything they do. Everyone is right in his turn, and at the proper moment the haughty Arab is kind and polite, the independent sheikh submissive, the liar very truthful, the robber very generous, and the cruel warrior almost effeminate. With foes he might show all his bad qualities; with friends, on the contrary, he manifests the brightest characteristics, loyally protecting the murderer when under his roof, but treacherously destroying him when he is otherwise in his power, and in his Arab revengeful mind never pardoning an injury.

A sheikh of the Nimr, a tribe of the 'Adwān, was displaying his agility in a *jarūde(t)*, and was surpassed by a common Bedawy of the tribe. The women chanted the beauty of Nimr, but Homeyed (حميد) was praised as a superior horseman, showing still greater skill. As in the case of Saul and David, Nimr swore vengeance to his subordinate. One day when he was out hunting he shot a gazelle and carried it into a cave in order to look for more game after having deposited it. To his great surprise Homeyed was sleeping in the cave. He would not kill him treacherously, but woke him up, and said: "Prepare yourself, you cursed of your parents; your time is come." In piteous manner Homeyed prayed for his life, saying: "I am in your hands, consider me as one of your women." Nimr could do nothing but swear to him that he would not kill him by his own hands, neither by his rifle nor by his sword. But he had noticed a *Dabaia* viper in a hole above the Bedawy, and said: "Put your hand into the hole, for your hour is come, and show your obedience." Homeyed put his hand as commanded, and was bitten by the viper and died there a few hours afterwards. The vengeance was more terrible than mere killing.

Remorse (*tawbikh el-damir*, توبيح الضمير) and conscience (*edh-dhimmet*) are only words, and hardly ever affect the Bedawy, especially if after a murder he is afraid for his life, or in a theft he

has been cunning. Not even Dervishes, who have a certain framework of life and follow known principles and fixed laws, will take any initiative beyond hospitality, such as it is known to exist. There may be exceptions to the rule, but I have not come across them. When a man is asked upon his conscience (علي ذمتك, *alla dhimtak*), to explain a theft, a murder, or anything else, he will answer whatever he pleases, and does not feel wrong if he says the contrary of what he knows to be true, so long as he does not swear. The *yamin*, oath, alone binds him to speak the entire truth.

Hospitality, moreover, is not expected to be bestowed in full upon those who are not Arabs. There are many reasons for this. Europeans, for example, very often disdain Bedawy food, except when they are obliged by sheer hunger to accept it, and they cannot be expected to be treated as other Arabs. They are called *Consuls*, and the title excludes them in one sense from partaking of hospitality as it is understood; for, in point of fact, it is lent (*kurtal*, قرطاة) and ought to be returned; and how and when could Europeans return it, who have no tents and never come back again?

The *jindi* (جندي) or Government official is an oppressor, and if he receives hospitality, it is out of fear, that is if there are towns near at hand; or he may receive none at all when far away. Therefore hospitality is really exchanged almost exclusively between Arabs, or Europeans in rare cases, who assimilate themselves to the Bedu, and give Arab suppers, with rice and lamb, and so forth, set before the guests in Arab fashion on the ground in trays, and if possible in tents.

The 'Adwān with whom I lived for several months were, to a certain extent, very nice fellows, admiring courage, enjoying shooting, giving and partaking of whatever we wanted and possessed ourselves. Certainly we had to share with them whatever we had beyond bread, on the same day of its arrival, either from es-Salt or from Jerusalem. Though we were good friends in religious matters, however indifferent they were to Mohammedanism, yet they owned that the most glorious death would be in the holy war against infidels.

We had to swim across the Jordan with our wheat and barley in a *kirby*. In those days (1874) there was no bridge, and many a donkey, camel, or man was drowned. The Bedu all swam across naked, with no thought of appearances; whereas I was more modest.

On one occasion I was molested and threatened by a Bedawy of another tribe for daring to be thus better than the rest. But while he thought my modesty an insult to every Bedawy, on another occasion another Bedawy was incensed and smote me on discovering that an uncircumcised Christian was in their midst. Their own behaviour before the *fellahin* women is gross, and popular sayings reflect the low idea the *fellahin* have of the wantonness (*'akrate*[t]) of the Bedu.

The Bedu language differs as we approach Sinai or Mesopotamia, and as we come into contact with the inhabitants of towns or villages. Many Bedu words resemble the Hebrew more than the modern Arabic; but when the bards on their one-stringed Rababy tell in song and in prose the tales of bygone days, it is pure Arabic as it is used in Palestine. One such bard (شعر), Sa'id el-Ma'ti, of the Ta'amry, was known from north to south of Palestine, and was always wandering about on his white mare (of more or less pure blood), from village to village and from camp to camp, fiddling away through whole nights, sometimes receiving a pound or two, sometimes a Medjidi or less, happy when he and his meagre mare were well fed. I last saw him in 1891, never as much as changing his features, a smile ever on his face, and ready to say some funny verses in return for a Beshlik. While fiddling he would announce from time to time that a cup of coffee would improve his voice, and very soon the drink would be handed round.

The following comparison of the three kinds of Arabic used in the town, village and desert will show how completely expressions very often differ, but in some cases are only pronounced differently :—

BEDU.	VILLAGE.	TOWN.	
<i>Salaam 'aleikum</i> (سلام عليكم)	<i>Salaam 'aleikum</i> (سلام عليكم)	<i>Es-salaam 'aleikum</i> (السلام عليكم)	Peace be to you.
<i>'alfy</i> (الفي)	<i>dūr</i> (دور)	<i>fūt</i> (فوت)	Come in.
<i>ijlis</i> (اجلس)	<i>etrieḥ</i> (اتريدهم)	<i>ek'ed</i> (اقتعد)	Sit down.
<i>weshzeyāk</i> (وش زيديك)	<i>kēf h'alak</i> (كيف حالك)	<i>kif kēfak</i> (كيف كيفك)	How are you?

BEDU.	VILLAGE.	TOWN.	
<i>ta'lahinna</i> (تع لهنا)	<i>jāi</i> (جاي)	<i>ta'al</i> (تعال)	Come here.
<i>antni</i> (انتيني)	<i>hāt</i> (هات)	<i>a'tini</i> (اعتيني)	Give me.
<i>hāk</i> (هاك)	<i>khudh</i> (خذ)	<i>khōd</i> (خود)	Take.
<i>haiti</i> (هيتي)	<i>haini</i> (هيني)	<i>haini</i> (هيني)	Here I am.
<i>'alāmak</i> (علامك)	<i>shū bidak</i> (شو بدك)	<i>shū bitrid</i> (شو بتريد)	What do you want ?
<i>kithā</i> (كذا)	<i>haik or hāch</i> (هيك)	<i>haked</i> (هكد)	Thus, so.
<i>kathīr</i> (كثير)	<i>hōl</i> (هول)	<i>k'tir</i> (كتير)	Much.
<i>hawel</i> (حول)	<i>enzil</i> (انزل)	<i>tih</i> (تديح)	Alight (from a horse).
<i>esra'</i> (اسرع)	<i>esta'jel</i> (استعجل)	<i>ermah</i> (ارمحم)	Be quick.
<i>ghaleb el-kheir</i> (غلب الخير)	<i>tchāfi</i> (كافي)	<i>bikefi</i> (بكفي)	It is enough (for food).
<i>kuthar</i> (كوثر)	<i>ruwah</i> (روح)	<i>rāh</i> (راح)	He is gone.
<i>zah ibdinno</i> (صح ابدنه)	<i>zah badanno</i> (صح بدنه)	<i>'awef</i> (عوان)	Strength (i.e., good day)
<i>waish</i> (وئش)	<i>shū</i> (شو)	<i>īsh</i> (ايش)	What ?

It is rare to find any Bedawy reading or writing. The tribes in Philistia have a *khatib* in the town next to their camp, who reads, writes, prays, and performs all religious ceremonies for them. But generally they go to Gaza. The Ta'amry and Wadiyeh have their *khatib* from Bethlehem. The southern tribes go to Hebron. A Bedawy considers it disgraceful to write: they write with the point of the spear on their enemies' backs whatever they have to tell them. As a rule the Bedu pronounce the ك as *k* and the ق as *g* in *great*; the 'Adwan pronounce the ج as *g*, and often the ح (*h*) as ح (*kh*), as in the Fella'hin word طرحة, *tar'ha(t)*, which they pronounce *drikha*; it means a portion of unthreshed straw prepared on the threshing floor.

One day I asked a Philistia Bedawy what he knew about numbers: what is a hundred? A hundred camels or cows was the answer. Well, as you like, I said, and I received his answer, *Meat bakra* (ميت بكرة). I rose to two hundred and thence to three, and up to six hundred. Here he stopped, and said that he knew nobody to have so many cows. Well, say camels, I went on. I got him up to 5,000 camels, and again he refused to admit so many for a tribe or man. I urged him to say 10,000 without any animal, but he could not grasp the idea of 10,000 nothings. He said that in the first place it was sinful to count his animals, in the second place nobody possessed so many thousands, and in the third place it was nonsense to count *nothings*, and here our essays in arithmetic had to end.

The fellah is better versed in ideas of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, because the mountains and valleys present a greater choice of all kinds of trees, flowers, shrubs, and animals; but the Bedawy is superior in meteorology and astronomy. When the month of Ramadan was announced over all Syria and Palestine the nomads had to give the news of the appearance of the Crescent, the surest sign of the beginning of the month. Here again is another proof of the unchangeableness even in minute details in the different classes of Oriental society. The sacred writers have generally taken examples of the trees, animals, or heavenly bodies to illustrate their speeches, every one alluding naturally to those objects or animals which either struck him most in his surroundings or were more comprehensible to the people to whom they were addressed.

David, who was generally in the desolated mountains south of Jerusalem, fleeing from Saul, or pursuing the enemy, or wandering about with his sheep, has many images of his daily life and surroundings in the Psalms. Isaiah has more examples of town life, and Jeremiah takes his from the Fella'h. But Job has many Bedawy examples. He speaks of the horse, the firmament and weather, much more than any other book of the Old Testament.

The sea is kept back from overflowing the land simply by "divine might," *kudra(t) illahie(t)* (قُدْرَةُ الْإِلَهِيَّةِ), as seems natural when on the sea-shore, and the horizon seems higher than the observer. "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed" (Job xxxviii, 11).

Tent Life.

The Bedawy invariably calls his tent a house of hair (*bait sha'r*). *Bait* does not only mean house, but also family. The common curse in Arabian countries, *yeklureb baitak*, means "May your family be ruined," and is considered to be injurious only to a married man. In Hebrew the tent is called *ohel*, which in the Arabic *ahl* also means family. Family and tent or house meant originally the same thing. The tent is called *kheyme(t)* only when it is the white canvas tent used by travellers; but the bedouins also call their tents *ziwān*. Some of the tents of the poorer tribes who live in the sandy plains about Jaffa are made of sack-cloth and are grey, in which case they are called *kheyshe(t)*; but most of the tents are black, being made of goats'-hair. Thus have they been for thousands of years: "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar" (Cant. i, 5). The tent has the form of a black barge turned over, though not quite so regular, for the poles over which the hair-cloth is spread stick out at convenient distances, and give the roof an irregular shape. It is kept up by 5, 7, 9, or 11 poles, according to the importance of the tent. The cloth is made of goats'-hair, spun and woven by the women, in strips (*fulj*) of a yard in breadth, and sewn together very tight, to form an impermeable shelter from the rain.

The front part of the tent is the *irwāk* at the door, the *rafe* is between the men and the women, the *me'nad* is the separation. The curtains (Jer. xlix, 29), *yēri'oth*, are made of goats'-hair, "as the curtains of Solomon" (Cant. i, 5). The poorer classes have a

mat for a curtain; it is called *kishk*. The woman's apartment is called *mehram*, or the room of the Harem. The *mek'ad* is the sitting-room for men. The three poles in the middle are: *el-muk'dum* in front, *el-wāset* or *'amūd* in the centre, and *edh-dhūry* (المذورة) behind. The *'āmer* are the back poles, right and left. These together with the *wāset* are the longest, and to a certain extent the foundation on which the whole rests. The right-hand pole is the *yad* and the left-hand pole the *rijel* (foot).

The ropes are bound to the top of each pole and fixed into the ground by the peg, *watad*, the *yāthēd* of Heber's tent (Judges v, 26). The camp is called *marāh* or *mehlah* or *dār* (a circle). When it is soiled by the beasts, and the multiplication of fleas becomes intolerable, and the surroundings afford no more pasturage, the tents are pulled down and the men decamp. By the time everything is loaded on the backs of the camels the new camp has already been decided upon by the assembly before setting out. The new situation depends on the season: in autumn a sheltered camp, where the waters can do no harm, is looked for. In spring pasture is found almost everywhere; but in summer, when pasture is scarce and water distant, the choice is most difficult, and they have to put up with any place, however disagreeable it often proves. How barren such places may be we read in the threat against Babylon, "the Arabian shall not even pitch his tent there" (Isa. xiii, 23).

The new camp being chosen, the tent of the sheikh occupies the extreme left, and according to their number the tents are either pitched, *kād* or *nazab*, in a line or in a more or less regular square, with the opening and the principal entrance towards the east. We read of "the wealthy nation, that dwelleth without care, which hath neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone" (Jer. xlix, 31), "their camels shall be a booty" (ver. 32). In point of fact they never bar the tents, but the ropes are crossed so that it is very difficult for a pedestrian, to say nothing of a horseman, to enter the camp but by the front.

The visitor goes to the guest's tent (*thūwy* or *madhāje*) in large camps, or to the tent next the entrance, which is supposed to be the sheikh's, where information is had or entertainment as food and lodging provided for. Sisera entering the camp of Heber went to the first tent and was received by the sheikh's wife, as the men were out, probably hunting or looting. She invited him into her

mehram and covered him with her rug (Judges iv, 18). Sisera knew well that the woman's apartment was sacred, the only place where he was safe from the pursuers. But her true character showed itself. Heber was on friendly terms with Sisera and Deborah, and Sisera did not expect to be treacherously murdered.

Abraham's camp, with 318 trained servants (Gen. xiv, 14), who were equipped by him, was one of the largest camps, and whenever he received a visit (Gen. xviii, 2), his tent being the first one, he was the first to observe the visitors and take them to his tent, or to the tree next to the tent, which in that case was the *madafe(t)*, where, in bedouin fashion, the guests were entertained. Abraham used the same modest language as a sheikh now would—"lean against the tree and I will fetch a morsel of bread." Sarah prepares the bread whilst he goes to prepare the calf (ver. 8). In true Bedu fashion, he neither asked them who they were, whence they came, nor where they were bound to; he doubtless took them for some sheikhs of his Hittite neighbours, and was accustomed to show hospitality to the passers-by. The tents of great sheikhs are often lined with silks of different colours, and valuable arms hang on the tent poles. Carpets and beddings, like the *hujra(t)* of the fellahin, are spread on the ground. The kitchen utensils are fewer than those of the fellahin, so that in decamping they are less troubled with luggage. The wheat is put in the black home-made goats'-hair sacks, *farde(t)*, which means "a single one," and which is generally put across the donkey. The *farde*, the Hebrew *sak* (Gen. xlii, 25), holds about 150 to 180 lbs. of wheat. Two are put on a camel.

The Ta'amry are generally to be met with their small donkeys and a *farde* of wheat or barley, which they bring from very far, sometimes from Salt. They have *time* enough, but little *money*. Jacob himself was a bedouin, but his children, who had married Canaanites, resembled the modern Ta'amry, impoverished, and the tribe greatly reduced.

The bread is generally unleavened and baked on the concave copper or iron plate, *sāj*, then called *khobez sāj* or *fatā'ir*. The *kirby* is one of the great necessities of desert life, and the wooden bowls are always handy, either for preparing the dough or for *lebben* (milk). The hand-mill is very much the same throughout all the land of the bedouin from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic.

They are most particular about the coffee and its preparation. The coffee utensils, *'ede(t) el-kahwe(t)*, are in the sheikh's tent, and are public property. The Arabs are said to smell the least uncleanliness which may have touched the coffee beans before being roasted. Several sheikhs of the Beni Sakhr were visiting in a village and received the usual coffee in small cups; on smelling it, they declared the coffee soiled and asked for another preparation, which was readily granted, but the second decoction proved the same; the coffee utensils were brought and examined, and declared clean by the visitors themselves, but when the grains were examined a tiny millipede was found dead in the bottom of the jar, and had communicated to the coffee a noxious odour imperceptible to fellahin noses.

The Bedu are also very fond of smoking, but only smoke a very short pipe; the cigarette is almost unknown. The fellahin and townsmen smoke the arghileh or a long pipe made in the potteries in towns, but the bedouins have another form of pipe made of black stone. The *ruh* or spirit is longitudinal, the inner part being hardly wide enough for the index-finger to reach the bottom, whilst the fellahin pipe, with its broad brim, is low and wider. The stem of the bedouin pipe is short, that of the fellahin pipe is longer. Often the bedouin smokes his pipe with no stem at all, and puts it into his small leather bag, or *suffran*, when done with. The tobacco is taken fresh from the plant, cut up very roughly, and put to dry in the sun for a few hours. The easy-going bedouin waits impatiently till it is dry, and often smokes it almost green, if the sun does not act quickly enough. Both Arab and fellahin "drink the tobacco" (*bishrab el-titun*); but whilst the fellah "lights the pipe" (*wale' et-ghalyun*), the bedouin "sets the spirit in motion" (*'allek ruh*). In the Jordan valley, where they are out of government control, they plant their tobacco in cleverly concealed enclosures near the brooks in out-of-the-way places. Often, when the bedouin has no stone pipe, I have seen him cut a reed and make a green pipe of it, simply boring a hole through from which he would draw the smoke—both pipe and tobacco green, so impetuous is he sometimes.

To eat bread and salt is no particular ceremony, but is no less sacred. The *'aish wal-malh* of the fellahin is the food partaken, which is never without salt, when on friendly terms. The bedouin says *mallahna*, "we have salted," that is, eaten salted food together,

when even an enemy may be sure of his life, if he has partaken unawares.¹ But should he be known, and receive food without salt, he may prepare himself to receive either insults or to run the risk of losing his life, if blood is between them; for the bedouins, like fellahin, are very prompt to avenge themselves against murderers, and have always some old feud to settle, but they will not lightly provoke new quarrels and will take a life only for another one.

Besides the bread above mentioned, when there are no *fata'ir* ready a few handfuls of flour is quickly kneaded and thrown into the fire in round cakes. The *kurse* is the most indigestible kind of bread I ever tasted, but is thankfully received when none other is to be found.

However poor and needy, the bedouin will prepare for his guest whatever he can get, and should he positively know that he has to starve the next day or days the laws of hospitality are none the less rigidly held between them. Every respectable bedouin has a tinder-pouch (*mekdah*); by the means of which steel (*zinade*) and flint-stone (*zuwane*) and the tinder (*zufan*) they quickly light a fire, even in the most inclement weather, often with wet wood and a handful of straw. When there is only a spark in his tinder, it is often incomprehensible how he can patiently blow with his strong lungs till he succeeds.

A little wood is always found in the neighbourhood or along in the wady, and in extreme cases cow-dung is found, and is a good substitute for heating and even for baking bread, as the prophet Ezekiel found (iv, 12).

As a rule the bedouin is, and must be, content with very little food, nor do his dishes vary very much. In spring, when cows and goats give plenty of milk, the family enjoy all kinds of milk dishes. Wild herbs, being tender, afford many vegetables, especially mallow and the common nettle. If the winter is severe, and many animals would be too weak to endure it, numbers are killed and the half-starved beasts are eaten, so that often meat is refused for the simple cause of their being over-stocked. A fallen-down camel is also divided among the tribe, as it takes long to heal, and it does not pay to attempt it. Sweets are rare, but the bedouin is very fond of any kind—sugar, honey, and all kinds of pastry and preserved fruit,

¹ [Compare Ezra iv, 14, R.V., "we have eaten the salt of the palace."]

though he does not very often get a taste of these in some places. Sweetmeat merchants who venture among the camps with loads of *halawy* in the right season exchange their goods for lambs, wheat, *samn*, or cheese, which they sell again advantageously in towns. The bedouin has a sweet tooth and generally decayed teeth. Dried figs and dates are a dainty. The Ta'amry exchange them for dried milk in Bethlehem, though they are poor enough, and cannot enough indulge in the luxury. The townspeople and fellahin often pass several months in their vineyards and enjoy the summer fruits (*ka'itz*, cf. *kayiz*, 2 Sam. xvi, 1), and ironically say of the bedouin who has eaten a few figs, "I have passed a summer season." In the Jordan valley, where there are innumerable hedges, the Arabs gather the ripe berries of the *sidr* and rub them between two stones until all the edible parts have fallen off and the kernels are completely peeled. This is called *dēgiga(t)* (دقيدقة), and is put away in a leather bag for winter use.

(To be continued.)
