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THE NORTHERN ḤEĞÂZ

A Topographical Itinerary

BY

ALOIS MUSIL
Professor of Oriental Studies
Charles University, Prague

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Map of the Northern Ḥeğâz (1:500,000) *in pocket*
Index map (1:2,000,000) *in pocket*

PREFACE

In 1896, at the request of Dr. Fr. Ladislav Rieger, the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts made me a grant for the purpose of carrying out explorations in Arabia Petraea. In 1908, after the fruits of these explorations had been published, the Academy, as a result of the intercession of its founder and first president, Mr. Joseph Hlávka, made me a new grant which provided funds for my investigations in Arabia proper. Therefore it is with a profound sense of obligation that I dedicate the first part of this new scientific work to the Academy which has done so much to make it possible.

To Dr. J. K. Wright the author owes a debt of gratitude for his services as editor of this volume.

The skeleton of the accompanying map of the Northern Ḥeǧâz was based on my detailed itinerary, determinations of latitude, and extensive plane-table surveys. The Ḥeǧâz Railway was drawn according to the sketch lent to me by the Board of the Railway at Damascus; the Red Sea coast according to the British Admiralty chart. In filling in the parts not previously investigated I have made use of many sketches obtained from the natives. The northwestern part of the map I have compared and checked with the map in Sir Richard F. Burton's *The Land of Midian*, 2 vols., London, 1879. To ascertain the elevations we took readings of three aneroid barometers examined before and after the trip at the Military Geographical Institute at Vienna. The Directorate of this Institute has determined the heights above sea level by comparing our observations with those taken simultaneously at the stations at Jerusalem and Beirut.

To the spelling of the proper names I have given great attention, since names correctly spelled may form the basis of historical investigation. In transliterating Arabic sounds I have used the same signs as in my *Arabia Petraea* and *Ḳuṣejr ʿAmra*. I have endeavored to express every sound by a single letter or a single symbol. The meaning of the different symbols will be found by experts below the title of the map of the Northern Ḥeǧâz. For the general reader I would point

out that *ǧ* is to be read like *g* in gem, *š* like *sh*, *ž* like *z* in azure, *č* like *ch* in chief, *j* like *y* in yoke. *ʿ* is a strong guttural sound. The remaining symbols need not trouble him.

Throughout this work most of the Biblical names have been transliterated consistently with the scheme of transliteration employed for Arabic names. The forms, hence, are often somewhat different from those found in the King James version, but the latter may readily be ascertained by reference to the Bible itself. When the transliterated form of familiar Biblical names differs very widely from that of the King James version the latter is in some cases indicated in parentheses.

References to the Bible are to Rudolf Kittel's second edition of the Hebrew text, Leipzig, 1913. The reader will observe that occasionally these references are at variance with the text of the King James version. These variations are due to the fact that my interpretations of the meaning of the original Hebrew sometimes diverge from that of the translators of the King James version.

Bibliographical references in the footnotes are given in abbreviated form. The full references, with the dates of Arabic and ancient authors, will be found in the Bibliography, pp. 335—340.

The meaning of the majority of Arabic terms used in the text will be evident from the context. The following terms, however, are frequently employed without explanation:

šeʿîb (plural, *šeʿîbân*): relatively small watercourse or valley occupied by an intermittent stream.

wâdi (plural, *wudijân*): relatively large watercourse or valley occupied by an intermittent stream.

wâli: governor of a Turkish vilayet or province (Arab. *wilâje*).

mutaṣarref: governor of a Turkish sanjak (Arab. *mutaṣarrefijje* or *liwa'*, subdivision of a vilayet).

ḳâjmaḳâm: governor of a Turkish kaza (Arab. *ḳaḍa*, subdivision of a sanjak).

mudîr: governor of a Turkish nahiyeh (Arab. *mudîrijje* or *nâḥije*, subdivision of a kaza).

ḳâḍi: judge, magistrate.

Arabic botanical terms which appear in the text are listed in the index with brief characterization and Latin equivalents as far as they have been determined.

A sketch map showing the author's route and indicating the pages in this volume in which the different portions of his itinerary are discussed accompanies the volume.

CHAPTER I

MA'ÂN

DAMASCUS TO MA'ÂN

In the middle of March, 1910, I was invited, at the suggestion of Dr. Mark Kaller, to Constantinople, where I entered into negotiations with the Turkish Government and the Board of Health regarding a journey of exploration in the northern Ḥeǧâz. The Board of Health was desirous of discovering by what routes pilgrims were evading the quarantine station at Tebûk, the methods by which this evasion could be checked, and whether this center could or could not be transferred. Ṭal'at Bey, the Minister of the Interior, wished to learn the political attitude of the tribal chiefs in this region, and he also desired to know in what localities settlements could be developed. He promised me every assistance and said that he would send special instructions to the Governor General at Damascus, who at that time was Ismâ'îl Fâḍel Pasha. Assuming that Ṭal'at Bey would fulfill his promise and that I should be able to work unrestrictedly, I took with me Dr. Leopold Kober, of the Geological Institute of the University of Vienna, and my valued assistant Rudolf Thomasberger of the Military Geographical Institute. Leaving Vienna on April 21, we proceeded via Trieste to Alexandria, Beirut, and Damascus, where we made preparations for our journey.

When we reached Damascus we found that Ismâ'îl Fâḍel Pasha was inspecting the extensive area under his administration and that he was not expected to return for several weeks. His deputy knew nothing about the promise made by Ṭal'at Bey concerning special instructions and maintained an attitude of complete passivity. After two weeks, however, he informed me that he had received word from Constantinople that I might proceed to the Ḥeǧâz, but only by railway, and that I must not alight at any intermediate stations. This was at variance with the promises I had been given in Constantinople; but I thought that Ismâ'îl Fâḍel Pasha would act on my behalf when he returned to Damascus or when I applied to him by letter or telegram for assistance.

My only desire was that the Turkish Government should not interfere with me. I did not expect active aid from them, as I was aware that their authority did not extend more than a very short distance from the railway track. My old friend Ḫalîl Fattâl and various acquaintances had provided me with recommendations to a number of prominent men in the Ḥeğâz and at al-Medîna. Then, too, I was familiar with the conditions of the country and knew several of the native chiefs, so I had no doubt regarding the success of the expedition. I was troubled only by our late start, as I knew that the tribes migrate at the beginning of June from the interior of the desert to the seashore and that in the remoter districts we should find neither water nor guides. As head man and servant, I had engaged my acquaintance Ğwâd, clerk to my friend and brother Prince an-Nûri eben Ša'lân and his relative Šerîf. Ğwâd was to proceed with our supplies from station to station, our purpose being to explore the surrounding district on camels, returning to the stations only to secure fresh supplies. We all donned the attire of Arab nomads. Kober and Thomasberger, who did not know Arabic, were passed off as Turks, and we gave them the names of Rif'at and Tûmân respectively.

Having completed all our preparations at Damascus, we left that city on May 21, taking the railway for Ma'ân. From the station of Zîza, whose ancient and venerable name has been distorted by Turkish officials to Ğîza, we sketched out a map of the area on either side of the railway as far as Ma'ân.[1]

From Ma'ân I sent a message and a letter to my friend, the chief 'Awde abu Tâjeh, asking him to lend me some camels, so that I might travel on them to his camp, where I could purchase camels for our expedition. We took up our abode at the station inn and spent our time in exploratory rides over the surrounding district.

THE OASIS OF MA'ÂN

Ma'ân forms an oasis on the western edge of the desert (Fig. 1). The slopes of the aš-Šera' range rise gradually to the westward, and to the east extends an undulating plain.

[1] A key to place names on the map of the Northern Ḥeğâz accompanying this volume is included in the index. See also index map in pocket.

The territory west of Ma'ân can be cultivated and in former times was cultivated and colonized. To the east there stretches an inhospitable desert. At Ma'ân itself and in the immediate neighborhood there are a very large number of springs

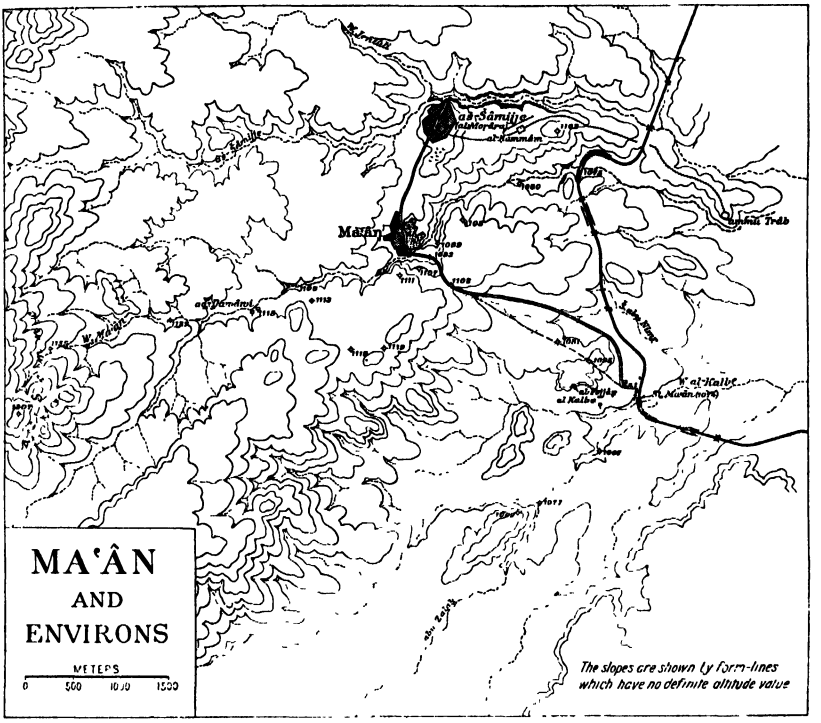


FIG. 1—Ma'ân and environs.

and even several copious fountain-heads. The nearest and the most abundant of these is aḍ-Ḍawâwi, from which water flowed and still flows through a subterranean aqueduct as far as Ma'ân. A second aqueduct, reaching from the distant spring of al-Ǧiṭṭe, used to convey water to the reservoir of al-Ḥammâm and thence possibly even farther eastward to the ruined garden tower of Ammu-t-Trâb. This tower is situated on the eastward extremity of a long, flat-topped mountain spur. Utilizing this elevation, a narrow connecting drain was installed from which the water formerly flowed north and south, irrigating the garden into which the whole eleva-

tion had been transformed. The wall of this garden is still visible running all along the foot of the elevation, but, suffering the same fate as other gardens in the surrounding district, this one fell into neglect during centuries of unrest, and only some scattered remains of the other gardens have been preserved near the two entrenched settlements, today known as Maʿân.

The southern settlement,[2] Maʿân al-Maṣrijje or al-Kebîre, sometimes called also al-Ḥeğâzijje, contains one hundred and eighty families, which form two groups: at-Taḥâta and al-Karâšîn. To the former belong the clans:

al-Ḫawâlde
al-Ḥammâdîn
al-Bezâjʿe
al-Fanâṭse.

Al-Karâšîn comprise the clans:

al-Helâlât
ʿEjâl Marʿi
al-ʿAbîd
al-ʿAḳâjle
aṣ-Ṣallâḥât.

The headquarters of the Government are at the southern settlement of Maʿân.

The northern settlement is called aṣ-Ṣaṛîra, aš-Šâmijje, or al-Moṛâra, and contains about one hundred and ten families. The largest clan here is that of the Ḳarâmse, smaller being the clans:

aṯ-Ṯawâbṭe
ʿEjâl Ḥajjâne
ʿEjâl al-Ḥaṣân
an-Nisʿa
ʿEjâl ʿAbdallâh.

The inhabitants of both settlements are occupied principally in trading. The soil in the immediate neighborhood of Maʿân contains limestone, and grain will not grow there unless it is continually irrigated. For that reason it is said that only *arâẓi al-baʿal* (bare grounds, because they are insufficiently watered by rain) belong to Maʿân. In places which are continually irrigated there is successful cultivation of grain, vegetables, and particularly figs, pomegranates, grapes,

[2] See Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 3, pp. 56—57.

and apricots. A few kilometers to the west the old fields begin. These are leased, tilled, and cultivated by the people of Maʿân.

The settlement of Maʿân is situated at the junction of important transport routes. On its eastern side runs the best natural transport route uniting southwestern Arabia with Damascus and the Phoenician harbors. From it there branches off in a southwesterly direction the most convenient road to the former harbor of Elath, now comprising the settlement of al-ʿAḳaba on the Red Sea gulf of the same name. To the west there runs an important caravan route to Gaza and northern Egypt; and on the east there is a route through the oasis of Dûmat al-Ǧandal, known to the ancients as Adumu, to the Persian Gulf and Babylonia. To the northeast there is a road which divides into two branches at the spring of Neǧel. One passes by way of the ruins of ʿÎṣ — which is identical with ʿÛṣ, the residence of Job — northward to western Moab. The second, branching off to the north-northeast, leads through the ruins of at-Twâne — which, in my opinion, mark the former settlement of the Têmân tribe — to central Moab.

These crossroads and the abundance of water, which is not found farther eastward, explain why the settlement of Maʿân has been preserved till the present day, instead of being destroyed by the innumerable attacks of the nomads to which all the surrounding settlements to the southwest and northwest have already succumbed. It would have been surprising had the settlement of Maʿân not been of considerable importance during the period when the greater part of international trade was directed along the above-mentioned routes.

CHAPTER II

MAʿÂN TO AL-ḤOMEJMA

The *ḳâjmaḳâm*, or representative of the Turkish Government at Maʿân, was one of the most intelligent and honorable officials whom I ever met in the Turkish Empire. He exhibited great readiness to assist me, but he himself admitted that his influence over Maʿân was less than mine, and he asked me to reconcile him with several of the native chiefs. No Turkish gendarme dared to show himself east of the railway, and from time to time the noise of gunfire could be heard. All the people showed signs of unrest and were afraid of what the morrow might bring forth.

We were anxious to get away from the oasis into the open desert, but our camels had not arrived. As we were at luncheon, however, we heard the growling noise of someone forcing the camels to kneel down. The sweetest music could not have been so gratifying to our ears. We immediately brought out our baggage and prepared for the journey to the camp of Chief ʿAwde abu Tâjeh of the tribe of Ḥwêṭât.

THE ḤWÊṬÂT TRIBE

The tribe of Ḥwêṭât is divided[3] into three groups:

Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama
Ḥwêṭât eben Ǧâd (or ʿAlâwîn)
Ḥwêṭât eben Ǧâzi.

The first group encamps by the Red Sea, from the valley of ad-Dâma on the south to the oasis of Maḳna on the north and eastward to the mountain chain which is known generically as al-Ǧeles. The Ḥwêṭât eben Ǧâd have their encampments in the northwestern corner of the Ḥesma region, from Mount Ramm, or Iram, in the northwest to the foot of the aš-Šera' mountain range in the east. The Ḥwêṭât eben Ǧâzi are the masters of aš-Šera' and the adjacent desert to the east. The clans of the latter are as follows:

[3] See Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 3, pp. 48—49, 51—55.

al-Maṭâlḳa
Darâwše
ʿAmâmre
Marâjʿe
ad-Dmânijje
al-ʿUṭûn
at-Tawâjhe.

The head chief Eben Ǧâzi is descended from the clan of al-Maṭâlḳa. Until the year 1894 his authority was acknowledged by all the other clans. At that time ʿArʿar eben Ǧâzi, who was the great chief, resisted the advance of the Turkish Government and killed several soldiers. The Turks, thereupon resorting to stratagem, captured him, put him in prison at al-Kerak, and negotiated with the various chiefs who promised the captors support and gifts if they released ʿArʿar. When ʿArʿar was set free at the end of 1896, nobody would obey him. After his death in 1900 there arose dissension among his Ḥwêṭât. Each chief did what he pleased. The one having the greatest authority was Ḥarb abu Tâjeh — chief of the at-Tawâjhe clan — who was joined by several families from the remaining clans who did not wish to pay tribute to the Turkish Government. Ḥarb died in the year 1904 and his aged son Rbejjeʿ became chief, but only in name, the real authority being exercised by Rbejjeʿ's younger brother ʿAwde, who, when Rbejjeʿ died in 1907, was recognized as chief of all the Tawâjhe and of the various clans encamping with them.

ʿAWDE ABU TÂJEH

ʿAwde was renowned far and near for his courage, energy, obduracy, and also for his cruelty. In 1902 when he was encamped near al-Moṛejjera he led a raid upon the tribe of Šarârât at Abu ʿAmûd and returned laden with booty. The Šarârât united and surrounded his camp. For seventeen days the women did not leave their tents. The Šarârât were passionately exhorted to persistence by their leader, Daʿsân eben Hemš. The chief ʿAwde prayed: "O Allâh, may Daʿsân fall beneath my hand, that I may be able to drink his blood." Daʿsân fell, mortally wounded by Ǧwêred, a relative of ʿAwde. The latter flung himself upon his enemy, tore out his beating heart, and gulped his blood. Over three hundred

men are said to have fallen on both sides and twenty-seven of ʿAwde's kinsmen perished. Eye-witnesses described to me how ʿAwde on several occasions cut the heart from a wounded enemy and bit at it.

I met this chief in the spring of 1909, when he was visiting the camp of Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân at al-Hawǧa. His hand had been injured by a gunshot and I cured the wound for him. He hated the Turkish Government, which, in 1908, issued a warrant against him for having shot two gendarmes who had been sent to arrest him because he had not paid tribute. ʿAwde assured me that the charge was a lie and that he had paid the tribute. He said that in 1906 he had accompanied his brother to Maʿân and that they had taken with them all the money collected for tribute, together with the proceeds of the sale of ten camels. At Maʿân they deposited both wallets with the *ḳâḍi*[4] and the tax collector, asking them to calculate the amount due to them and to return the remainder. The Turkish officials took all the gold coins except seven and assured both the chief and his brother that everything was paid. The cautious ʿAwde wanted a receipt, but the officials declared that it was just the time for the *al-ʿaṣr* (afternoon) prayer and that they must go and pray. They departed and did not return again that day. On the following day the *ḳâḍi* fell ill and the tax collector went on a journey. ʿAwde and his brother waited at Maʿân for several days, but the sick man grew no better and the tax collector did not return. Their friends in Maʿân asserted that it was a matter of common knowledge that they had paid their tribute and promised that they would obtain a receipt for them as soon as the *ḳâḍi* recovered his health. Accordingly, the brothers departed to join their tribe and proceeded to their winter encampment in the aṭ-Ṭubejḳ region. They did not return to Maʿân until eight months later, but they found no receipt and discovered that both the officials had been transferred elsewhere. At the end of 1907 Rbejjeʿ died and ʿAwde received an order to pay his arrears of tribute from 1905. When he did not obey this order, declaring that the tribute had been paid up to the end of 1906, two gendarmes were sent to his camp near Maʿân, early in the summer of 1908, for the purpose of conveying him to the seat

[4] Arabic terms (except botanical terms) not defined in the text are explained above, page xii.

of Government. ʿAwde, afraid that he would be imprisoned, refused to go. One gendarme fired at him but missed his aim; whereupon both servants of the law were killed. Since then ʿAwde has avoided Maʿân.

DEPARTURE FROM MAʿÂN

On Thursday, May 26, 1910, at 3.45 P. M., we left the station of Maʿân, traveling in a southeasterly direction. We were accompanied by the negroes Mḥammad and Sâlem, whom ʿAwde abu Tâjeh had sent to us with six camels, and by the gendarme Ismaʿîn. ʿAwde was encamped to the southeast of Maʿân, on a plain which extends between the lowland of al-Ǧafar and the southeastern spur of aš-Šera'. We did not proceed to him by a direct route but by a detour along the foot of aš-Šera', in order more easily to avoid the hostile bands patrolling the depression of al-Ǧafar. As the journey to ʿAwde's camp was very dangerous, we were joined by fifteen settlers from Maʿân and several Bedouins with camels, each animal carrying two men.

Leaving the station on our right, we soon reached the well ʿAjn al-Kalbe on the left slope of the broad *šeʿîb* of the same name, which extends in an east-northeasterly direction from Maʿân. The *šeʿîb* of al-Kalbe joins on the east with the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḥaṭâba, ar-Ratami, Ab-al-Ǧerḍâm, and ar-Rwejǧîde, all of which converge on the lowland of al-Ǧafar.

On the right slope of al-Ḥaṭâba we saw about forty horsemen, chiefs of the clans of the Ḥwêṭât returning from Maʿân, where they had gone to claim payment of the money which the Government owed them for the protection of pilgrims. Until the railway was constructed from Damascus to al-Medîna, the tribes encamped along the Pilgrim Route used to protect the pilgrims, and for this service the Government paid them fees on a fixed scale, known as *maʿâše*. After the railway was built the Government wished to abolish this payment, but the tribes protested against the proposal and threatened to destroy the bridges and remove the rails. The more judicious chiefs pacified their companions and suggested that they should negotiate with the Government, and it was for this purpose that about forty of the Ḥwêṭât chiefs had proceeded to Maʿân to discuss matters with the *ḳâjmaḳâm*. Being afraid that they might be attacked and slaughtered by Turkish

troops, they had not entered the narrow streets of the settlement but had encamped on the slope opposite the Government building and had threatened to shoot everyone who entered or left the building until the *ḳâjmaḳâm* had paid what was due to them. The *ḳâjmaḳâm* pleaded that he was not in possession of so much money and asked them to be satisfied with a sum on account, offering to let them have the balance as soon as he could procure it from the provincial governor at Damascus. After negotiations which lasted for two days, the chiefs consented to accept a sum on account and to depart. They promised, however, that they would return in greater numbers if the whole amount were not paid to them before the middle of July.

At 4.48 P. M. we entered the broad channel of ʿAḳejḳa, which passes through a rocky slope consisting of three horizontal layers. On the left we saw the railway embankment and to the north the yellow sides of the table-shaped elevation of al-Mamlaḥ, where the peasants of Maʿân dig for salt. The *šeʿîb* of ʿAḳejḳa begins to the southwest on the ridge of aš-Šera', near the Roman camp of al-Ḳarana, at a height of 1676 meters. The hilly region of Abu Ḥsejnân divides its head from the *šeʿîb* of Ṭaberijja, the lower part of which is known as al-Mṣawwal. At five o'clock we caught sight of a small white house with a red roof towards the southeast, the station of Abu Ṭarfa'. Almost in the same direction, but nearer to us, we saw the tree Umm ʿAjjâš, which, in the opinion of the pilgrims and settlers, is inhabited by a spirit. Then we crossed the small *šeʿîb* of al-Ğemâğem. Our camels were hungry and greedily searched for the perennials which grew here and there in the stony soil. Wishing to give the animals time to graze, we halted at 5.58 P. M. in the *šeʿîb* of al-Mṣawwal, on the left slope of which workmen had broken stone for the construction of the railway track.

THE LOWLAND OF AL-ĞAFAR

Mounting the slope of the *šeʿîb* of al-Mṣawwal, we drew a map of the lowland of al-Ğafar. The setting sun illuminated the yellow hillside which sinks down towards the lowland. The separate channels, partly obscured by shadows, resembled dark bands and were plainly visible.

North of the *še'îb* of ar-Rwejǧîde, the *še'îb* of aẓ-Ẓersi runs into the lowland of al-Ǧafar. This latter *še'îb* takes its origin in the *še'ibân* of Ab-al-Ḥamâm, al-Bêẓa (al-Bêẓa being formed by the junction of the *še'ibân* of Neǧel and ad-Da'ǧânijje), and, last of all, al-Ḳalât. Farther to the east rose the dark slopes of Rwêšed ar-Rawjân and Rwêšed al-'Aṭšân, which run from the tabular hill of al-Burma. Eastward from al-Burma could be seen the shining hills of aš-Šhejba, in which the *še'ibân* of Mdejfa'ât and Abu Ṭlejḥa have their origin. Behind aš-Šhejba are the heads of the *še'ibân* of 'Ajrijje, Abu Sarâwîl, Riǧlet al-Ḥrâḳ, and al-Kzejme. From the east proceed the *še'ibân* of aš-Šômeri, Ṛadejrât Zâjed, al-Ṛwejr, al-'Arfa', and finally al-'Âdrijjât, separating the hills of Wad-'at aš-Šhaba' from Wad'at al-Ḥamra' and aš-Šwêḥeṭ.[5]

To the northeast, between the *še'ibân* of 'Aḳejḳa and al-Ǧemâǧem, there extends in a northeasterly direction a series of isolated hills called aṯ-Ṯwêrên, the last remnants of a stratum which has disappeared through the action of wind and rain. In the plain, the *še'îb* of al-Mṣawwal joins with the *še'îb* of 'Aḳejḳa, with the united *še'ibân* of Umm Ṛaẓa' and Abu Dims, and still farther on with the *še'îb* of aš-Šîdijje, which rises near the pass al-Ḥdejb. On the right bank of the lower portion of the last-named *še'îb* is situated a group of yellowish elevations called al-Kbejda, which form the southern border of the actual lowland of al-Ǧafar.

ABU ṬARFA' TO 'AŠÛŠ ABU ṚADÎR

At 7.31 P. M. we again took up our march. The soldiers guarding the station of Abu Ṭarfa' heard our voices and shot at us twice, thinking that we wished to attack them. The Bedouins creep round the railway stations under cover of night, fling themselves upon the soldiers, rob them of their arms and ammunition, and vanish before the victims can recover from their surprise. The garrison at Abu Ṭarfa' had already been attacked and robbed in this manner on two occasions and was on the alert.

At 8.22 we reached the railway track, which projected about thirty centimeters above the plain. It was not easy to persuade our camels to cross the rails. They became frightened at the unexpected sight and fled to right and left, so that we were finally compelled to dismount and force them across one by one. We continued in the same direction at a rapid pace through Šaṭnet umm Ṛaẓa and Abu Dims. Camels proceed at night more rapidly and steadily than by day, espe-

[5] These two Wad'a hills and their neighborhood recall the region of Mawdû', which Jâḳût (1224 A. D.), *Mu'ǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 678, and Abu-l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahâni (*Aġâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 9, pp. 148—149) locate in the territory of the Beni Murra belonging to the tribe of Ṛaṭafân. It was there that the valiant warrior Hirm ibn Ḍemḍem al-Murri used to dwell. — The surrounding district of al-Wad'a once belonged to the Beni Murra, the warrior's kindred. In the poem quoted, the name was changed to Mawdû' for the sake of the preceding rhyme, *huǧû'*.

cially if they are passing over a plain where they need not avoid stones. At 9.52 we arrived at the *še'îb* of aš-Šîdijje, in the hollow of which we encamped, now being north of the railway station of Bîr aš-Šîdijje (or Bîr aš-Šedijje).

On Friday, May 27, 1910, after a peaceful night, we set out at 4.15 A. M. in a southeasterly direction through a region covered with coarse sand of a dark-gray, almost black, color and cut by numerous twisting *še'ibân*, broad but shallow. These watercourses are the only places in which annuals and perennials can thrive. But the valleys are not entirely covered with plants, and it is only in their lower portions that one can observe clumps of various kinds of vegetation. Here and there bushes and low *ṭalḥ*[6] trees project above the brushwood.

At 5.30 A. M. we crossed the *še'îb* of al-Makmi and immediately afterwards 'Ašûš abu Ṣadîr. To the east we spied a rider on a camel. Scarcely had the negro Sâlem caught sight of him when he called to one of the Bedouins who were accompanying us. Whereupon they threw aside their outer garments, loaded their rifles, and started off in pursuit of the unknown rider. Seeking cover among the high slopes, they endeavoured to cut him off. The rider, observing us, came to a momentary standstill, but immediately afterwards disappeared not far from a high pile of stones heaped upon the hill above, which indicated the position of the well of al-Marmak. After a short interval we again caught sight of the man fleeing from Sâlem and his companion. When they caught up with him Sâlem flung him from his camel and rode up to us with the captured animal. It was 6.08 A. M. when he returned. After a while the plundered rider came running up to us and asked for his camel. He was a Šarâri, or member of the tribe of Šarârât, which occupies the inhospitable territory north of the oasis of Tejma. As the Šarârât cannot obtain enough sustenance in their own territory, they associate with the tribes of the Ḥwêṭât, Beni Ṣaḫr, and especially with the Rwala, to whom they pay tribute. No one holds them in great esteem, and the Bedouins number them among the dishonorable Arab tribes. Sâlem, being the negro of a chief, only laughed at the Šarâri and refused to return his camel to him. When I urged Sâlem not to torment the poor fellow any more, he declared that he would restore the camel to its owner but not until he reached the chief's

[6] Latin equivalents and brief characterizations of many Arabic botanical terms appearing in the text are given in the index.

camp. He would ride there on it and would lend his own camel to his acquaintance, a settler from Maʿân, who had been proceeding on foot. The Šarâri made no objection to this arrangement, happy in the thought that he would not lose his animal. From 6.08 to 7.35 our camels grazed (temperature: 16.8° C).

The negro Mḥammad recounted to me how the chief ʿAwde abu Tâjeh had plundered the Šarârât early in May. During the rainy season he had been encamped with his clans at Ṭubejḳ al-Ḥamar and Ṭubejḳ al-ʿAfar; that is, in the territory which belongs to the Šarârât, with whom he was on the most friendly terms. When all the ponds of rain water dried up at the end of April, ʿAwde with his Ḥwêṭât proceeded northward into his own territory. The Šarârât, who had been his friends hitherto, desired to go with him, but ʿAwde attacked one of their divisions, robbed it of all its herds, and proclaimed war on the whole tribe. When I remarked that I should not have expected such conduct from ʿAwde, Mḥammad replied: "The Šarârât are our magazine, *maḫzan*, which we empty whenever we please. If we want war, then we have war with them, if we want peace, then we force them to make peace." At the time of my journey several clans of the Šarârât had remained at aṭ-Ṭubejḳ; others had made their way to the *šeʿîb* of Ḥedreğ and the depression of Sirḥân, whence they were making inroads into the territory of the Ḥwêṭât, robbing the latter of their flocks.

THE ḤWÊṬÂT, THE BENI ṢAḪR, AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT

The majority of the Ḥwêṭât clans were encamped between Maʿân and al-Bṣejra – that is west of the railway – and only three clans with ʿAwde abu Tâjeh were still grazing their herds southeast of Maʿân. Even they were already on the march westward to the territory of the settlers who till the soil, where they desired to obtain grain necessary for themselves and their horses. Within the next fourteen to twenty days they wished to strike out toward the southwest and west of Maʿân, so that after that time the region between Maʿân and the depression of Sirḥân would be stripped of all camps and would form the seat of war between the Ḥwêṭât and their enemies. The latter included the Beni Ṣaḫr as well as the Šarârât. The Beni Ṣaḫr and the Ḥwêṭât have no strictly defined frontiers, and when

in the territory of the settlers both tribes often lay claim to the same settlements and exact payment from the same settlers. This proceeding generally results in skirmishes. The Turkish Government many times endeavored to reconcile the two tribes. At the time of the harvest, when they were both encamped in the territory of the settlers, the governor would summon the chiefs and exhort them to make peace, threatening that he would not pay the money due to them for the protection of pilgrims until peace was concluded. Several chiefs of the Beni Ṣaḫr and the Ḥwêṭât would proceed to the *mutaṣarref* at al-Kerak and agree to everything that he demanded; whereupon the authorities at Damascus and Constantinople would be informed that peace had been concluded between the tribes encamped along the Pilgrim Route. But this peace concluded by the Government did not last long. The Bedouins would say: "We did not conclude peace of our own free will, but it was the Government who forced us to do so *(ad-dowle aṣlaḥatna)*," and would continue merrily to steal the flocks. Then the Ḥwêṭât would send a message to the *mutaṣarref*: "To please the Government we concluded peace with the Beni Ṣaḫr, but they are disturbing the peace *(amm beni ṣaḫr ḳlobow)*." The chiefs of the Beni Ṣaḫr would directly contradict their enemies and lay all the blame on the Ḥwêṭât.

As the Ḥwêṭât were waging war both with the Beni Ṣaḫr and with the Šarârât and Šammar, who were encamped northeast, east, and southeast of Maʿân, it was clear that I should not be able to use Chief ʿAwde's camp as a starting point from which to explore the territory of aṣ-Ṣawwân, which extends between al-Ğafar and the depression of Sirḥân. As our only guide would in that case have belonged to the Ḥwêṭât, we should have fallen a prey to one of the enemy marauding parties; in which case we might have lost not only all our equipment but our lives as well. Mḥammad comforted me, saying: "Do not be afraid, Chief. If Allâh is well disposed to thee, thou wilt not perish *(elja ḫajjark allâh lâ tmût)*."

ABU RTEJMÂT TO ʿAWDE'S CAMP

At 8 A. M. we crossed the combined *šeʿîb* of Abu Rtejmât and of Abu ʿAlejdijjât and ascended a slight elevation that divides this channel from that of the Abu ʿAmûd val-

ley. At 8.28 we caught sight of a large troop of riders mounted on camels, proceeding from the north in a westerly direction. We at once forced our camels to their knees and watched the riders. But they were not visible from the ground, and it was impossible to keep our binoculars steady when we were in the saddle as the focus changed at the least movement of the camels. We therefore urged our mounts on, doing our utmost to reach the *še'îb* of Abu 'Amûd as quickly as possible. There we should have a better chance of concealing ourselves from the strange riders who we feared might be a troop of the Šarârât on the lookout for herds belonging to the Ḥwêṭât.

We remained in Abu 'Amûd until nine o'clock. The *še'îb* begins under the name of al-Mšâš in the territory of al-Kḏûr near the pilgrims' station Ḳal'a Faṣô'a, and it joins with the *še'îb* of al-Makmi near the rain wells of al-Marmak, and lower down with aš-Šîdijje on the left and al-Maṯḫ on the right. It forms the border of the al-Kbejda hills and ends at the wells Ḳulbân al-Ǧafar. An old road runs along the right side of the lower part of this *še'îb*, past the rain wells of al-Marmak to the wells Ḳulbân al-Ǧafar and continues northward between the *še'îb* of 'Ajrijje and that of Abu Ṭlejḥa.[7]

At 9.20 A. M. we sighted a grove of *ṭalḥ* trees on the north, with the rain wells of al-Marmak close by. These wells are about two meters deep and hold water for two to three years following a heavy rain. North of al-Marmak rise the tabular hillocks, al-Kbejda, which, enveloped by vapors, resembled a big isolated tent.

We were now passing through the plain of aš-Šubejče, which is covered with coarse, brown gravel, in which a good rain helps the plant *semḥ* to thrive. *Semḥ*, which grows thickly and has a short but very disjointed root topped with an umbel as wide as a human palm, never exceeds four centimeters in height. The small sprigs and leaves are yellowish green, soft, gelatinous; the blossoms, tiny and white. The Šarârât, Beni Ṣaḫr, and the inhabitants of the oasis of al-Ǧowf gather the ripe *semḥ* into bags, and when these are filled they beat them

[7] Abu Šâma, *Raẘḍatejn* (Cairo, 1287-1288 A. H.), Vol. 2, p. 6, writes that as long as the Crusaders held sway at al-Kerak the journey from Syria to Egypt was made by way of Boṣra, al-Azraḳ, al-Ǧafar, and Ajla. — Boṣra is a well-known town in the southern Ḥawrân; al-Azraḳ, a fortress at the northern end of the depression of Sirḥân; Ajla, a harbor on the Red Sea, now known as al-'Aḳaba. From its situation, the old al-Ǧafar must be identical with our al-Ǧafar.

with sticks and stones to separate the seed pods. Then, shaking the bags till the pods fall to the bottom, they remove the husks, throw the seeds into some rain pool, and wait patiently for the moisture to open the pods, thereby causing the seed to drop out. Throwing away the now worthless pods, they pick out the seeds, which they dry and preserve for food. The seeds are eaten either roasted or boiled; they are also ground into flour for bread.



FIG. 2—The dolmen of Abu ʿAğârem.

At 10.49 we crossed the head of the *šeʿîb* of al-Maṯḫ, where *ṭalḥ* trees grow plentifully. The terebinth and *sidr*, on the other hand, will not thrive southeast of Maʿân. At 12.35 P. M. we rode across the watercourse, Ammu Mîl, which rises in the southwest from the long hillside al-Čabd that stretches southeastward. This hillside forms the watershed between the plains of al-Ğafar on the north and of as-Sabḫa or Sabḫa Soraṛ on the south. From 1.10 to 2.35 we rested in the *šeʿîb* of al-Čehdânijje, where our camels found good pasture in some of the low spots. These spots are called *rowẓe* by the Ḥwêṭât, while they give the name of *ḥamâd* to bare gray surfaces (temperature: 30° C).

At 3.28 we perceived on our left a dolmen about two meters high, known as Abu ʿAğârem, rising above a large artificial reservoir (Fig. 2). Before long we saw a number of tents to the east, two of which were supported by two main poles, whereas the remainder rested on one pole only. The small triangular tents are called *ḫarâbîš*, while the tent with two or more main poles is known as *bejt*.

The negro Mḥammad at once informed me that the tents must belong either to members of the Šarârât or the Beni ʿAṭijje, as the Ḥwêṭât have no *ḫarâbîš* tents. For several years the Beni ʿAṭijje have lived at peace with the Ḥwêṭât, and their head chief Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje was a faithful friend of ʿAwde abu Tâjeh. Mḥammad added that he believed that we saw before us the camp of a Beni ʿAṭijje clan. Nor was he wrong. On asking for news of Chief ʿAwde, we were informed that he was camping somewhere near

the *šeʿîb* of al-Mnâwaḫ, if he had not already proceeded farther on to the rain pond Ḫabra Minwa'.

Changing our direction somewhat to the east-northeast, we hurried over a bare, undulating plain covered with coarse gravel until we reached the *šeʿîb* in question. At about five o'clock we perceived on a broad elevation a long row of black spots which vanished for a while in the brown atmospheric layer and then reappeared. Gradually these spots increased in size, remained more firmly in their places, and were transformed into a row of tents. It was the camp of ʿAwde abu Tâjeh. Mḥammad recognized the chief's tent from afar and we made our way towards it.

AT THE CAMP OF ʿAWDE ABU TÂJEH

Several men came out of their tents and stared at us inquisitively. The chief's tent was open towards the east, so the men's division was located in its southern portion as the men's division is always to the right. Turning towards it, we rode round the long tent ropes and ordered our camels to kneel at about thirty paces south of the tent. ʿAwde, accompanied by several younger chiefs, came towards me, embraced and kissed me, and led me into his tent, where he assigned me to the place of honor north of the fire near the partition that divides the men's and women's quarters. I sat down on a small rug and rested my left arm on a pile of small cushions. ʿAwde sat at my right on a long carpet which was spread out alongside the back wall of the tent. My two companions, Tûmân and Rifʿat, sat on the carpet with him. Our baggage was left outside, in care of the servant Šerîf.

The tent was crowded with more than fifty persons who greeted me one by one. When the greetings were concluded, ʿAwde beckoned to a negro who was boiling coffee and tea over the fire, whereupon we were each served three times with several drops of black coffee and a cup of sweetened tea. Just then a rifle shot resounded behind the camp, causing all the youths present to leap up, arms in hand, and rush out in the direction of the shot. After a while they returned, announcing that there was no trouble, the shot having been fired by a mischievous herdsman. I was surprised to see that each man had a cartridge belt slung around his body and that even when they were sitting in the tent they

all kept their rifles in their hands. The chief himself wore two cartridge belts which contained about a hundred and forty rounds of ammunition. Later I discovered that ʿAwde and his men were fearful that they would be attacked by a kindred clan with whom they had had some dispute on the previous Wednesday. Returning from a raid, a relative of ʿAwde had stolen a camel from a Šarâri, a protégé of another relative. The plundered Šarâri hastened to his protector and asked him to have the lost animal restored. But all endeavors proved vain. It was impossible to recover the stolen camel. The protector then lodged a charge against his kinsmen with the judges of the Ḥwêṭât tribe, and they decided that the camel was to be restored immediately to the Šarâri. But ʿAwde's kinsmen would not comply with the court's decree. Thereupon ʿAwde called together his negroes and cousins, proceeded to the tent of his obstinate relative, and requested him to return the camel at once, as he would otherwise take it by force. The relative and his family began to abuse and threaten the chief and his companions: a shot was fired and one of those accompanying the chief fell dead to the ground. ʿAwde fired his rifle, inflicting a mortal wound on his relative's son. Further fighting was prevented by the more prudent men, who surrounded both parties and urged them to make peace. One of ʿAwde's negroes led the stolen camel away and returned it to the Šarâri. As one man had been killed on either side, the score was even; but the relative from whom the camel had been taken declared that he would not endure such injustice and departed with his whole clan to the settlement of Maʿân in order to seek help against ʿAwde. As ʿAwde did not know whether his offended relatives with other opponents would attack him, he commanded his men to equip themselves and set up a guard all around his camp. Only about fifty tents were left with him, but in case of danger he hoped to receive assistance from his friend, the chief Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje, who was encamped not far off.

Toward evening, when the camels had returned from the pasture, ʿAwde ordered a fat old she-camel *(fâṭer)* to be slaughtered in our honor. The evening meal was not ready until midnight. The boiled camel's flesh was heaped up on a shallow dish one meter in diameter and filled with rice. Four slaves brought the dish in and placed it before me. ʿAwde invited me, my European friends, and three other chiefs

to commence eating. A young slave poured a little water on the fingers of our right hands, we drew around the dish, sat down on our left heels, took up the rice with pieces of meat, and with three fingers of our right hands kneaded it into mouthfuls which we swallowed almost without chewing. Our native companions thrust into their mouths pieces of food larger than hens' eggs and after about four minutes had eaten their fill and, holding their right hands over the dish, waited for us to satisfy our hunger. As soon as we had finished, we all rose and went to our places. Rif'at and Tûmân, my European companions, whispered to me that they were hungry. After us, 'Awde invited the second row, then the third; and when the meat and rice were eaten up he had the dish filled for the fourth time, so that nothing remained of the whole camel save a mere heap of bones, which were gnawed at by some of the poor Šarârât. After midnight we left the tent and went to our baggage, where we lay down to rest.

RIDE TOWARD ḤABRA MINWA'

Early on Sunday morning, May 28, 1910, 'Awde brought me two camels, and, shortly after, the other chiefs also arrived with camels, so that we were supplied with a sufficient number of animals for mounts and as baggage carriers. 'Awde informed me that we should proceed in a northerly direction in order to approach the rain pond Ḥabra Minwa'. The Ḥwêṭât struck their tents, loaded them on the camels, and waited for the chief. Almost all the other tents were already disposed of, but his still remained untouched. Though 'Awde shouted abusive words at his slaves, no one listened to him, so he was finally reduced to pulling out the poles and rolling up the tent himself. He was then joined by his people, who packed up his supplies and tent; at 5.30 we moved off.

There was no order on the march. Each one rode or drove his camel however and wherever he wished. 'Awde was continually avoiding the pack camels, turning off first to the right and then to the left in order to keep clear of the throng. At first I rode with him, as I wished to discuss various matters; but we had scarcely begun to talk before some ragged servant or herdsman would thrust his camel between us, followed by a second and a third rider, compelling us to ride

round them in order to rejoin each other. The same thing happened to the other chiefs who joined ʿAwde.

FAWZÂN ON THE ḤWÊṬÂT

Seeing that it would be impossible during the march to talk to ʿAwde undisturbed, I joined a camel merchant named Fawzân as-Sâbeḳ, who was followed by his servants driving more than two hundred animals that he had purchased. This herd, as well as the servants, protected us from the troublesome Ḥwêṭât.

Fawzân, a man about forty years of age, had a good-natured, dark face, with expressive eyes, and he conducted himself very quietly and modestly. He had bought the camels on behalf of an acquaintance of mine, the rich camel-dealer Mḥammad eben Bassâm, by whom he had been warmly recommended to me. When I expressed my surprise that the Ḥwêṭât observed no order either in camp or on the march, Fawzân said that the Ḥwêṭât were not genuine camel-breeders but that they belonged to the Âhl ad-Dîre, who breed sheep and goats, and that, in fact, many of them were mere tillers of the soil. The Ḥwêṭât, he declared, had no head chief, so that any chief who was in charge of more than ten tents acted in complete independence, declared war, and concluded peace with whom he liked, regardless of the other clans and families. This independence was supported by the Turkish Government in the case of all the tribes encamped along the railway between Damascus and the Ḥeğâz, as the authorities considered that it was easier to subjugate scattered tribes and mutually warring clans, than if they were subordinated to a single head chief. But this policy was not altogether correct; for if any move was set on foot against the Government, all the scattered clans would unite at once and rally round the chief who happened to be acting against the Government. If, on the other hand, the Government wished to obtain something from the tribes, desiring, for example, to count their herds so as to fix the amount of their taxes, or if it was searching for flocks stolen from the settlers, it had nobody to support and assist it in carrying out its intentions. There was no head tribal chief, and the numerous petty chiefs would take flight with their flocks, or join the chiefs of neighboring tribes who were under no obligation

to keep watch on them or to supply the Government with reports concerning them. Thus the Government never succeeded in achieving what it set out to do. Of course, it would call upon this or that chief, enjoining him to collect taxes on his herds or to find out what had become of stolen flocks; but in such cases the chief generally would plead disobedience on the part of his subordinates, or would announce that they had left him and that he did not even know where they were encamped. These statements were true and could be corroborated by numerous witnesses. In the autumn, when these tribes used to penetrate more deeply into the desert, they would again rally round their chief and remain with him until the end of May or the beginning of June. Then they would return to the frontier of the cultivated territory under Government jurisdiction, separating and scattering again in order to evade the governmental demands. During this season they would rob and plunder in the villages subordinated to the Government. The peasants who had been robbed often enough recognized the plunderer and reported him to the Government, which would then send his chief a written order that the culprit be produced immediately with his booty. But the chief, supported by witnesses, would assert that the culprit was not encamped with him and that he did not know where he was to be found. Meantime, the lawbreaker had packed up his tent and departed with his booty to join another chief, to whom he would give a share of the plunder remaining with him, safe in the knowledge that he would not be reported. Even when a whole tribe engaged in a raid on Government territory, the Government was unable to discover the culprits.

In March, 1908, a band of the Ḥwêṭât attacked the large settlement of Salamja, situated southeast of Ḥama', and made off with about twenty horses and a hundred and sixty camels. All these animals were branded with the mark of the inhabitants of Salamja, yet the Government was unable to discover a single one of them. The victims complained to the Government that they had been robbed by the Ḥwêṭât, who were under the control of the chiefs ʿAwde abu Tâjeh and ʿArʿar eben Ǧâzi. The Government requested the two chiefs to restore the stolen animals and then sought to imprison them; but both ʿArʿar and ʿAwde were able to prove that they had not taken part in the raid. ʿArʿar had been detained

at the settlement of Maʿân at that particular time, and ʿAwde produced twenty witnesses, all of whom swore that the chief had not left his camp either in February or March, 1908. The *ḳâjmaḳâm* at Maʿân therefore informed the authorities at Damascus that he could punish neither ʿAwde nor ʿArʿar for what had been done by other chiefs who, moreover, were recognized by the Government as independent and not accountable to the two leaders accused. The inhabitants of Salamja sent four men into the environs of Maʿân to find out which chiefs were looking after the animals stolen from them. The investigators reported five petty chiefs to the Government at Maʿân, but the chiefs mentioned did not put in an appearance, preferring to proceed farther into the desert. In the summer of 1909 two men from Salamja were again staying at Maʿân and reiterated their complaints. In reply to a fresh summons by the *ḳâjmaḳâm*, the accused chiefs arrived with numerous witnesses, who all asserted that they had, indeed, had the stolen camels with them, but that these animals did not belong to them, being the property of strangers who were now encamped somèwhere with the Beni ʿAṭijje or with the Šarârât. So the inhabitants of Salamja did not recover a single horse or a single camel. Yet I personally bought from Fawzân a young she-camel which bore the mark of the settlers at Salamja, and I was informed that in ʿAwde's camp there were twenty-eight such camels and six horses. The Ḥwêṭât laughed not only at the foolish settlers of Salamja, but also at the unwise Government. If the Ḥwêṭât had had a single head chief and the Government had effectively supported him, he could have controlled the chiefs under him and thus preserved order. But he would, of course, have had to stand in awe of the Government, knowing that obedience would be forced from him if he did not fulfill its wishes voluntarily.

EBEN SAʿÛD AND EBEN RAŠÎD

From the autumn of 1909 to March, 1910, Fawzân had been residing in the Neğd, in the territory of the Princes Eben Saʿûd and Eben Rašîd. He explained that during the last few years there had been very little rain in the region of Eben Saʿûd, in consequence of which expeditions against Prince Saʿûd eben Rašîd had suffered. During the last rainy

season Prince ʿAbdalʿazîz eben Saʿûd had been encamped within the area of al-Ḥasa. The minister, Zâmel eben Subhân, regent for Saʿûd eben Rašîd who had not yet attained his majority, had concluded peace with Prince ʿAbdalʿazîz and had established his authority among the Šammar and among the inhabitants of the various settlements in their territory, especially in the town of Ḥâjel. In the environs of this town and, in fact, in the whole territory belonging to the Šammar, there had been a great abundance of rain during the last two years, so that there had been a great increase in the prosperity of the Šammar; and many of the smaller tribes who owed their allegiance to Eben Saʿûd had joined the Šammar for the simple reason that they sought pastures for their flocks. Many of the orthodox Moslems are said to have regarded the lack of rain in the territory of Eben Saʿûd as a punishment sent from Allâh because Eben Saʿûd's followers had joined the unbelievers and slaughtered the faithful children of Mohammed. Fawzân declared that ʿAbdalʿazîz eben Saʿûd would not be content until he had driven out Eben Rašîd and occupied all the latter's territory, including the town of Ḥâjel. This would be an act of revenge, as Mḥammad eben Rašîd had once expelled ʿAbdalʿazîz's father, ʿAbdarraḥmân, from his residence at ar-Rijâḍ and had established his deputy, or *ʿâmel*, there. The deputies of Eben Rašîd had resided at ar-Rijâḍ until the year 1902.

At the end of 1901, Prince ʿAbdalʿazîz rode out from the town of al-Kwejt, where he had been dwelling with his father, ʿAbdarraḥmân. Accompanied by an escort of ten, he found adherents among the ʿAǧmân tribe, which was encamped in al-Ḥasa, and with them advanced toward ar-Rijâḍ, where his ancestors had formerly resided. The inhabitants of this town hated ʿAǧlân, the representative of Eben Rašîd, and longed for the return of the old ruling family. ʿAbdalʿazîz pitched his camp at a point about two hours' journey from the town and, when night fell, led his men on foot under cover of darkness to the gardens. There he was awaited by the citizens who were favorably disposed towards him. They led him from the gardens into the town and after midnight they attacked the citadel which was the residence of ʿAǧlân, whom they slaughtered with his friends. After the fall of the town of ar-Rijâḍ, nearly all the remaining settlements acknowledged ʿAbdalʿazîz as their ruler, and in a short time he was

joined also by the Mṭejr tribe. In the spring of 1906 Eben Rašîd undertook a great raid on this tribe, attacked several of its camps, and drove away a goodly number of its herds. But just at that time Prince Eben Saʿûd was resting with a large body of troops only about two hours' journey from the encampments which had been attacked; and he set out in pursuit of ʿAbdalʿazîz eben Rašîd, who had started home with the booty. Overtaking his quarry, the pursuer ordered a small band to attack the raider and then to flee. The ruse was successful. Eben Rašîd, who began to pursue the attacking band, was waylaid by Eben Saʿûd, completely surrounded, and slaughtered with all his men. After their leader's death domestic warfare arose between the members of Eben Rašîd's tribes, and Eben Saʿûd took advantage of this to establish and extend his authority.

AT 'AWDE'S CAMP NEAR ḤABRA MINWA'

While Fawzân was telling me of these events we were proceeding along a slightly undulating plain covered with coarse sand of a dark gray color, where grass and perennials grew only upon a few patches of hollow ground. The grass was already parched, but the perennials were luxuriantly green. The watercourses are very broad and shallow and in places they almost disappear. At 8.10 A.M. we reached a large patch of low ground thickly covered with perennials; and from all sides the Ḥwêṭât raised a clamor, demanding that ʿAwde should encamp there. I was surprised at this, for the Rwala never would have dared to shout at Prince an-Nûri or to decide when and where he was to pitch his camp. In reply to the shouting, ʿAwde announced that he would encamp by the rain pond of Minwa', so as to have water close at hand; but his Ḥwêṭât increased their din and, when he refused to come to a standstill, they urged their camels to kneel down, flung the tents to the ground, shouting to their chief that he could ride on as far as he liked, but that they would encamp there. At 8.20 ʿAwde also halted and the Ḥwêṭât made a new encampment.

ʿAwde came up behind me, sat down at my side, and we began to discuss the best way for me to reach the oasis of Tejma. But after a short while we were surrounded by about a hundred men and boys, who one after another asked all kinds of questions, threw my baggage and equipment into disorder,

and annoyed me by their obtrusiveness, until they heard the noise of the mortar in which a negro was crushing roasted coffee grains. This sound, so dear to every nomad, freed me from their unwelcome attentions. Forming a long line, they made their way into the tent, and those who could find no room inside sat down near the entrance, glad of an opportunity even to smell the fragrance of the coffee, although the slave did not pour out a drop for them.

At noon ʿAwde invited me to proceed with him to a point about fifty paces from the tent and shouted orders that nobody was to come near us. Squatting down, we began to talk about my journey. In ʿAwde's opinion it was not possible to visit either Bâjer or al-Ḥawṣa. There were wells of spring water at both of these places, which were consequently the most important centers of water supply between the depressions of Sirḥân and al-Ǧafar. Raiding bands proceeding from west to east, or vice versa, visit these wells. During the rainy season, when all the rain ponds are full of water so that the nomads can obtain a supply anywhere and need not search for wells of spring water, it is possible to explore the environs of Bâjer and al-Ḥawṣa without great danger. But in summer, when the rain ponds are dried up and every marauder is anxious to reach these wells, it is extremely dangerous to remain in their vicinity. The danger is all the greater when the surrounding tribes are waging war against each other, because then the bands of raiders never pass by the wells.

ʿAwde explained that near al-Ḥawṣa there are long underground passages called al-Kelwa. The entrance is very narrow, but the passages increase in breadth, so that they can be traversed comfortably. ʿAwde said that when he was there he had carried a taper and his companions had lighted small bundles of dry brushwood, this illumination enabling them to penetrate the crooked underground passages for quite a long distance. One of these passages, he informed me, is several hundred paces long and consists of numerous spacious galleries, in the walls of which there are small recesses similar to berths. In some places it seems as if the walls had been artificially hewn out, although elsewhere they are rugged and rough. More to the south of al-Kelwa ʿAwde had seen three ruined towers *(burǧ)*.[8]

[8] Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, pp. 179 and 361, states that Ḫawṣa' is situated between Wâdi al-Ḳura' and the settlement of Tebûk. The Prophet is said to have encamped

I learnt from ʿAwde that for the past four months a Turkish garrison consisting of seven gendarmes had been stationed in the oasis of Tejma. Tejma had formerly belonged to the domain of Eben Rašîd, whose representative had resided there and kept order not only in the settlement itself, but also in the surrounding district, since the Fuḳara' and al-Âjde clans of the Weld ʿAli tribe of this neighborhood had paid tribute to Eben Rašîd. When Eben Rašîd's power was overthrown, the Fuḳara' and al-Âjde drove out his representative and harassed the settlers. The latter sent a petition to Damascus, asking the Turkish Government to protect them; which the Government was able to do as far as the Fuḳara' and al-Âjde were concerned, because both these clans were in the habit of encamping by the railway and used to obtain supplies, clothing, and money from the Government, upon which they were thus dependent. Their territory is very unproductive and they cannot provide themselves with grain and clothing except from Syria, hence from regions that were entirely under the control of the Turkish régime. If the Government had barred their access to Syria they would have died of hunger. As a result of a decree from Constantinople seven gendarmes were sent to the oasis of Tejma and later a strong military garrison was to be transferred there. I was anxious to proceed from ʿAwde's camp direct to Tejma in order to explore the regions of Ṭubejž al-ʿAfar and Ṭubejž al-Ḥamar, as well as the oasis of Tejma itself and especially the burial ground of Ẓelʿ al-Ṛnejm. I therefore asked ʿAwde whether I might find a reliable guide in his camp. ʿAwde replied that there was in the camp a Fežîr, or member of the clan of the Fuḳara', who was well acquainted with the whole region and who could guide me safely. But he drew my attention to the fact that between the territory of the Fuḳara' and his camp extended the regions belonging to the Šarârât and Beni ʿAṭijje,

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there on his march to Tebûk, and in consequence a mosque of the same name was erected at the upper end of the passage of al-Ḥawṣa', the Mesǧed ḏu al-Ǧîfe standing at the lower end of it. Ibn Isḥâḳ (died 768 A. D.) calls this place Ḥawḍa'.

In his description Jâḳût is certainly thinking of our al-Ḥawṣa', although his Wâdi al-Ḳura' is either the famous southern Wâdi al-Ḳura', in which the modern settlement of al-'Ela' is situated, or the northern Wâdi al-Ḳura' with the settlement of Dûmat al-Ǧandal. It is noteworthy that not a single mosque is recorded on the Prophet's journey to Dûmat al-Ǧandal. Whether Mohammed actually reached our al-Ḥawṣa' on his march to Tebûk or to Dûmat al-Ǧandal, it is impossible to prove; but this Ḥawṣa' is situated on the important junction of the routes from Syria to al-Medîna and from Egypt to Irak, and it is possible that the mosque was erected there and dedicated to the Prophet. The mosque of Ḏu al-Ǧîfe is perhaps identical with the ruins near Moṛejrat al-Fâṭer, where ends the valley which one traverses on the way to the wells of al-Ḥawṣa'. Near Moṛejrat al-Fâṭer the *še'îbân* of Umm Ǧirfejn and Ammu Ǧîfejn come together, and their names perhaps contain the primitive sound of the word Ǧîfe.

from whom I should have to take a guide as well. He added that he was expecting a visit from the chief Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje with whom I could discuss the matter.

In the afternoon I was informed by the servant Šerîf that some of the Ḥwêṭât were demanding payment for the camels which ʿAwde had sent to Maʿân for us. Mḥammad, ʿAwde's negro, claimed that all these camels belonged to the chief, who had received various gifts from me in return for the animals. But it turned out that ʿAwde had sent only one of his own camels, while the five others belonged to different members of the Ḥwêṭât, who were now asking the sum of six *meǧîdijjât* ($5.40) for each and in addition a special gift to every guide. Before I had dealt with this awkward business, Fawzân came and asked me whether I could not offer ʿAwde a pair of binoculars as a gift. I replied that I needed my good binoculars for myself and my companions. Fawzân excused himself for having come to me, saying that it was the chief's command and that the latter would like either a pair of binoculars or firearms or some other gifts. Realizing that ʿAwde would like the binoculars, the firearms, and the other gifts as well, I announced my extreme regret at being unable to give him anything, as I had brought with me only absolute necessities, having left the gifts, the extra firearms and binoculars, among my stores at Maʿân, whence they would follow me to Tebûk. However, as I should be very pleased to comply with the chief's wishes, I would ask him to send one of his slaves to me at Damascus, where, after returning from my journey, I would give him everything that remained. If he did not wish to send to Damascus, then I would forward the things he asked for to his friend and brother, Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân, who would certainly deliver them to him in the interior of the desert. Fawzân went away and ʿAwde did not put in an appearance.

It was after four o'clock in the afternoon when four men came riding up on camels to the chief's tent. They were the chief Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje with his retinue. Ḥarb was about forty-two years old. The expression of his face revealed sagacity, but at the same time it aroused repugnance. He was a blood relative of ʿAwde, his mother being a sister of ʿAwde's father, and he had married ʿAwde's daughter. Ḥarb announced that by the well of al-Mšejṭijje, northeast of the railway station of al-Mdawwara, his men had perceived a troop of

about three hundred on camels proceeding to the north or somewhat to the northwest. It was certain that they were enemies, but it was not known to what tribe they belonged or against whom they were riding. Ḥarb conjectured that they were the Šammar on their way to attack the Beni ʿAṭijje, but ʿAwde declared that they were certainly the Beni Ṣaḫr, who had purposely eluded the Ḥwêṭât, with the intention of attacking them by surprise from the south. Both urged the men who were present to be cautious and alert. ʿAwde despatched twelve horsemen to the south for the purpose of protecting the herds of camels from an unexpected attack. Ḥarb immediately returned to his men to the west in order that they might repel the enemy, should an attempt be made on the flocks returning from the pasture.

The impending danger induced the herdsmen to return with the camels from the pasture at an early hour, and the owners brought the animals to me, offering them for sale. All the camels were exceptionally fat. In the regions of aṭ-Ṭubejḳ, where they had been grazing throughout the rainy season, there had been an abundance of rain during the past two years, in consequence of which they had thriven on luxuriant brushwood and fresh grass. I was told that it is sometimes necessary to bind the camels' jaws to prevent excessive grazing, as otherwise the surplus fat would cause a breakage of their humps. If the camel fattens too much as a result of good pasturage, the hump increases by about half; the lower part, uniting it with the camel's back, cannot bear the weight; the hump breaks and hangs down on either side, and the animal perishes.

In the evening we ascertained our geographical latitude.

On Sunday, May 29, 1910, many more camels were offered for sale to me. I selected seven animals whose ages were between four and six years and paid from fifty to sixty-five *meğîdijjât* ($45.00 to $58.50) apiece for them. Six of the camels were thorough-breds; the remaining one being a cross-breed, though very strong and yet of slender build. With a hot wire we immediately branded our mark on their left thighs—this being a half-moon between two vertical lines *(helâl w meṭraḳên)*. One of the camels already had eight such branded marks, thus recording eight different owners before myself. The old marks *(wsûm)* cannot be obliterated,

but it is easy to distinguish which mark is the latest, and that indicates the owner.

DEPARTURE FROM ʿAWDE'S CAMP

While the camels were being branded I had a talk with the Fežîr whom ʿAwde had recommended to me as a guide. From his information, supplemented by that of others, I had drawn a sketch map, on the previous day, of the territory between al-Ğafar and Tejma. I could see that he was well acquainted with the district, and I should have liked to secure his services as a guide; but he was unwilling to accompany me on account of the danger and therefore asked more than I could pay him. He wanted first a hundred and then fifty Turkish pounds ($450, $225) in gold, which were to be paid immediately, irrespective of whether we reached the oasis of Tejma or not. In addition I was to give him firearms and my own camel for the journey. It occurred to me that in case of attack he would not lose much if he left all his wages at home and took nothing of his own with him except his old garments. By fulfilling this demand, I should have placed myself entirely at the mercy of his caprice and should have been unable to obtain a cheaper leader later. I offered him one *meǧîdijje* (90 cents) per day and his railway transportation from any southern station as far as Maʿân, whence it would be easy for him to reach ʿAwde's camp. The herdsman in charge of the camels, whom I also wished to engage, demanded two *meǧîdijjât* per day, his usual pay being four *meǧîdijjât* for a whole year. Both of them declared that they would accompany me only because they were fond of me, knowing as they did that they were threatened by certain death. ʿAwde sent for other guides, but they all demanded the same amount, their excuse being the danger which they would incur if they came with me. At last about twenty of them were sitting round me; one after another they described the horrors of thirst and the hostile bands that lay in wait during the summer season for travelers proceeding from the settlement of Maʿân direct to the oasis of Tejma. The more they talked, the more certain and terrible became the danger of death, until finally they declared that not a single one of them would accompany me. My native companions grew alarmed at this talk, and the

gendarme Isma'în whispered to me that he would rather return to Ma'ân than go with me to death: I should not forget that he had a young wife and three children and that it would be difficult for me to bear the responsibility before Allâh if through my fault his children became orphans.

Ḥarb eben 'Aṭijje now entered the camp again, sat down near my baggage, called my companion Ğwâd to him, and questioned him concerning me. He was probably annoyed at not having yet received the gifts he had demanded. I had already sent him word on Saturday that I should be glad to give him something as a keepsake but not until I was in his territory and in his tent. On account of this annoyance he wished to frighten me. He therefore asked Ğwâd to show him the orders which the Governor had sent him personally from Damascus. If we did not have such orders addressed specially to him, he would not permit me to enter his territory. To this demand of his I replied that I had not yet spent any time in his territory and that he therefore had no right to demand such orders. Moreover, the Governor at Damascus would not allow any chief to demand that he send orders to each chief specially, in view of the fact that they were all fed and paid by him. Knowing, however, that Ḥarb would work up feeling against me, I gave orders for the baggage to be loaded immediately upon the camels which had been purchased, and announced that I was returning to Ma'ân. I asked 'Awde to permit his negro Mḥammad to accompany me.

At 9.30 on the morning of Sunday, May 29, 1910, we left the camp without a guide and without a herdsman in charge of the camels. There were not many who took leave of us. They had expected abundant gifts and easy earnings, and they had been disappointed. I promised the negro Mḥammad, who was well acquainted with the region, an ample reward if he would tell me exactly the situations and names of various places and would remain with me as long as the gendarme Isma'în. I promised the same thing to the latter, and I won them both over, because they realized that they could obtain more from me than had been given to the two chiefs and the other Ḥwêṭât who had tried to extort presents from me at the camp.

The journey on the spirited camels was very troublesome. Our mounts took fright and dashed off at a trot or canter,

so that the gendarme Ismaʿîn wished to proceed on foot rather than risk falling from the saddle and breaking his neck. I soon tamed the most spirited of the animals by compelling each one to gallop along with me. After ten minutes they were out of breath and after a quarter of an hour all the camels went along quietly. From 11.32 A. M. to 1.25 P. M. we halted on an extensive stretch of lowland covered with brushwood and prepared our lunch. Not far from us stood two dolmens (Fig. 3), the southern one being 2.1 m. high and the northern one 1.65 m. high, 0.7 m. broad at the bottom and 0.5 m. at the top, with a thickness of about 0.35 m. To the north of the dolmens the soil had been artificially hollowed out, and rain water had collected there. Eastward the plain was enclosed by the steep walls of aš-Šwêḥeṭ, which the narrow plain Ḥarm aẓ-Ẓbejʿâni separates from Wadʿat al-Ḥamra and al-Ḳennâṣijje. At three o'clock we reached the eastern spur of the flat ridge Ḥazm al-Čabd, the steep sides of which project as much as eighty meters above the plain. These consist of three yellowish strata with an occasional admixture of black stone upon which no grass or brushwood thrives. Cut in them, however, are some short, deep *šeʿibân* covered with brushwood. At 3.56 the furrowed region of Ṭubejž al-ʿAfar became visible, called al-ʿAfar (the white) because it contains numerous drifts of white sand. At 4.50 we halted near the southeastern spur of al-Čabd in the channel of a deep *šeʿîb*, in which our fire could not be seen. The camels were able to graze around the baggage. Not knowing whether a hostile band was still hidden somewhere close by, we did not venture to make a fire on the bank, nor did we allow the camels to graze on the uplands, where they would have been visible from afar at sunset.

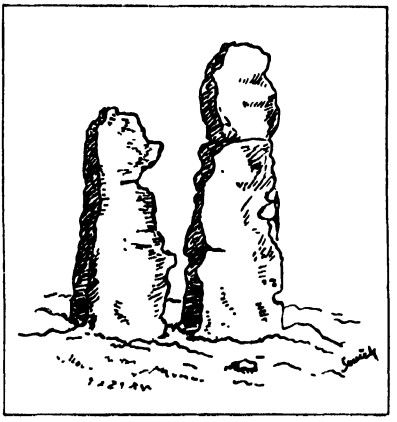


FIG. 3—Two dolmens south of Ḥabra Minwa'.

VIEW FROM AL-ČABD

Accompanied by Mḥammad, Tûmân and I ascended al-Čabd, from which we could sketch the whole of the surrounding country. The view to the north, east, and south was extremely impressive.



FIG. 4—Ṭubejž al-ʿAfar from the west.

To the north we could survey the whole plain of al-Ğafar, as well as the more southern slopes of the mountains of al-Ḥğânağêm and al-Ḳâʿade, which form the watershed between the Dead Sea and the depression of al-Ğafar. To the southeast of these heights the mountain ranges of ar-Rḥa', Ḥmâr aṣ-Ṣawwân, Berḳ ad-Dûde, and Ğâl al-Ḥawṣa divide the fertile depression of Sirḥân from that of al-Ğafar. On the western slope of this watershed there is a very abundant growth of *ʿâḏer*, for which reason the gullies uniting in the valleys of al-Ṛwejr and ʿArfa are called Šeʿibân al-ʿÂḏrijjât. The steep slope Ğâl al-Ḥawṣa separates the region of Ṭubejž al-ʿAfar from Ṭubejž al-Ḥamar. Beneath it in the hollow of Fîhat aṭ-Ṭlejḥa are wells, Ḳulbân al-Ḥawṣa, from which the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿEnâb extends in a northwesterly direction as far as al-Ğafar. Along the right-hand slope of al-ʿEnâb and to the northwest of the wells stretches the table-shaped elevation of Umm Ruḳuba, while still farther to the northwest is the table-shaped elevation Ḳârt al-ʿEnâb; and on the left-hand side among the hills of Radh as-Sumr is the water Meḥîr abu ʿAlda. The defile of Ḥarm abu ʿAlda separates these hills from the jagged elevations of al-Mrejğdijje, the central part of which is called al-Bwejb. To the west of these heights, from south to north, extends the narrow plain of Ḥarm ʿAlejjân, bordered on the south by the table-land of al-Ḳennâṣijje. Down the northeastern spur of these hills, under Ḳârt al-Amṛar, the rain water flows into the pond al-Faṣaṣijjât.

The watershed between the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥawṣa and the basin of Soraṛ on the southwest is formed by the hills of al-Ğuḥfe, ar-Riše, an-Neğîli, al-Mšêrîf, Sarmada, Ṭwejjel az-Zibed, Umm Leben, az-Zejdânijje, and al-Ṛdawijje. North of Ṭwejjel az-Zibed is the water Ṯmêd Rabîʿa. All these uplands belong to the region of Ṭubejž al-ʿAfar (Fig. 4), the western frontier of which is formed by the plains of Ammu Rğâm and Fîhat Ḥawmal, from which rain water fills the ponds Ḥabâri ʿAmrât. Westward from these plains rise the uplands of ʿEnâz, Duṛdâš, aṭ-Ṯâje, Ẓelʿ Ḥawmal, Ṣaʿada'-l-Ḥamra', al-ʿErâḳ, and az-Zejdânijje. The plains of Ḥarm al-Ḥemâra and Ḥarm al-Mḥaššar separate the elevations az-Zejdânijje from Ṣaʿada'-l-Barṣa' and al-Ṛdawijje, the last-named being connected with aš-Šwêḥeṭ.

Westward of these table-lands we could see beneath us an endless yellowish plain, from which rose countless cupolas, cones, peaks, and obelisks, isolated and in groups. As the highest of these elevations rose only a little higher than the point where we were standing, it was obvious that none was more than 980 meters high. The nearest to us was the mutilated pyramid of al-'Ejsâwi which towers up to the southeast; southwest of it rises the peak of al-Mzejjen; and west of the latter the five cones of at-Tamlât, southwest of which there extends from east to west a table-land overlooked by the hill of al-'Awǧa'. South of al-Mzejjen and Ṣa'ada'-l-Barṣa' rise the three high obelisks of Ḳalb al-Mǧawwaḥ, and south of them, westward of Ṣa'ada'-l-Ḥamra', the huge group of Ḳlûb al-Ḫejl and al-Ḫešše.[9]

Southeast of al-Ḫešše the plain of Bwejb al-Ḥâwi merges with the plain of Fîhat Ḥawmal. At a considerable distance to the south, from a yellowish plain, there rose the dark ridge of Še'aṭa partly concealing the peak of Ḫiššt aṭ-Ṭowr, which lies north of the railway station of Ḏât al-Ḥâǧǧ and southeast of the station of Ḥâlât 'Ammâr. North of Še'aṭa the peaks of Dbejdeb Selîṭ were reflected from the glistening white salt marsh as-Sabḫa. At the southwestern edge of this marsh stand the old pilgrims' station of Ḳal'a Soraṛ[10] and the new railway station of al-Mdawwara.

The *še'îb* of Fzêr al-Ṛâzi, dividing aṭ-Ṭâje from Duṛdâš and Šdejjed Ṛâzi, ends in the marshes of as-Sabḫa; and here also ends the *še'îb* of al-Mkejḥîl, which originates at Mšâš al-Čabd under the name al-Ǧebû', as well as ar-Rwêṭje and ar-Râṭje to the west of al-Mkejḥîl. On the right side of ar-Râṭje, stretching from north to southeast, the plain is shut in by a row of hillocks, Berḳ ar-Rezâje, partly buried in sand.

[9] Ibn Isḥâḳ (died 768 A.D.) relates (Ibn Hišâm [died 834 A.D.], *Sîra* [Wüstenfeld], p. 975; Jâḳût, *Mu'ǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, p. 448) that Zejd ibn Ḥâreṭa attacked the Beni Ǧudâm near Ḫušejn, which, according to Ibn Hišâm, is situated in the region of Ḫesma. — If we ventured to read Ḫuššejn, we could locate this spot in al-Ḫešše, situated on the eastern border of Ḫesma not far from a supply of water at al-Mšejṭijje and thus suitable for a camping place. It is possible that Zejd returned through the region of Ḫesma to Tebûk; but from the narratives of al-Wâḳedi and Ibn Hišâm it does not seem as if he penetrated into Ḫesma.

[10] Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 77, states that Sarṛ is the border between the Ḥeǧâz and Syria, that it lies between al-Muṛîṭa and the settlement of Tebûk, forming a station on the Syrian Pilgrim Route, and that it was there that the leaders of the armies fighting in Syria waited for the Caliph 'Omar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭâb. He also asserts that al-Medîna is thirteen days' march distant from the station of Sarṛ and that, according to Mâlek ibn Ans, Sarṛ is a settlement in Wâdi Tebûk.

Al-Muṛîṭa should be located on the Pilgrim Route, north of Soraṛ, but it is utterly unknown. It seems to me that it has been erroneously transcribed from Ma'ân or confused with the station of the same name on the road from al-Kûfa. The statement of Mâlek ibn Ans that Sarṛ is situated in the Wâdi Tebûk is obviously incorrect, for the Arabic geographers nowhere refer to the Wâdi Tebûk.

The same place, Soraṛ, is also recorded by Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 86, in the form Sarû'. He quotes a passage from a lost work by Abu Ḥudajfa on the conquest of Syria, in which it was stated that Abu 'Obejda marched with the Moslems by way of Wâdi al-Ḳura', al-Ǧunejne, al-Aḳra', Tebûk, and Sarû', whereupon he advanced into Syria. — All these places here referred to are situated on the present Pilgrim Route, and from this it is clear that Sarû' is a corruption of Sarṛ. The old name Sarṛ has been preserved by the natives in the form Soraṛ; but in the later literature of the pilgrimages it was replaced by the name Ṭubejlijjât or Ṭabilijjât.

Meḥmed Edîb (1779 A.D.) writes (*Menâzil* [Constantinople, 1232 A.H.], p. 72) that the station of Ṭubejlijjât is fifteen hours distant from Ẓahr al-'Aḳaba, that no water is to be had there, and that the stronghold and reservoir there were built by 'Abdallâh Pasha. According to him, on both sides of the stronghold rise stony slopes, and an endless desert stretches away from the mountains, undulating and from afar resembling an ocean of sand. The road to the station of Ḏât al-Ḥâǧǧ is stony except for a track on which one travels for about three hours.

Farther west extends another row of jagged brownish hillocks, which at the time we observed them were covered with bluish shadows cast by the setting sun.

AL-ČABD TO THE ŠE'ÎB OF AL-ḲRÊN

Having returned to our camels, we made them kneel down close to the hillside, tethering their front legs; and after supper we lay down around them, fearing lest the high spirited animals should be frightened by some wild beast during the night and run away.

On Monday, May 30, 1910, we were in the saddle as early as 4.15 A. M. (temperature: 8° C). Not wishing to ride around the spur of the ridge of al-Čabd, which extends far to the north, we laboriously ascended the steep slope *(ğâl)* by winding paths and then, after a short time, crawled down into a low ground covered with luxuriant perennials. At six o'clock we reached the dome of Mḥaḳḥaḳ al-Čabd and remained beneath it until 7.03. This dome, which rises above the southern slope of the table-land al-Čabd, affords a delightful view across the southern plains. It seemed as if the latter, lying several hundred meters below us, were plunged in bluish water from which arose a dark blue vapor enfolding still darker water with a thin veil. Above the dense haze there rose like islets countless horns, cones and truncated cones, blunt pyramids, obelisks, and other quaint shapes, fashioned by the action of rain, frost, and wind, which had gnawed at the layers of rock and carried away the softer ingredients to the east and southeast as far as the sandy desert an-Nefûd. The rays of the rising sun were reflected from the separate peaks in a dense shower of golden sparks, while the sides turned away from the sun were wrapped in a dark red shadow.

From Mḥaḳḥaḳ al-Čabd we turned toward the west, riding above the slope itself until we descended through a deep gap to the foot of it. The descent was very difficult. The road led between huge broken boulders, amid which our camels, loaded as they were, could not pick their way; so we were obliged to unload the animals and carry the baggage ourselves. In places there were drifts of sand a meter in depth and so soft that the camels sank into it up to their knees. At 8.05 we arrived at the rain water well Mšâš al-Čabd, situated at the foot of the mountains in a small bay. The

well is between three and four meters deep and after a heavy rain is filled with water to a depth of one meter. If it does not rain copiously for two or three years the water dries up. In the immediate vicinity there is an abundant growth of *baʿêṯrân.*

Having let the camels drink and after filling our goat-skin bags with water, we moved on at 8.40 and by numerous windings reached the summit, along which we proceeded in a west-southwesterly direction. From 9.32 to 11.05 we let the camels graze, while we drew a sketch of the southern region. At twelve o'clock we reached the very edge of the slope which falls steeply towards the south and saw beneath us on the plain of al-Mazlûm large green expanses that reminded us of our own fields of central Europe. They were densely covered with the plants known as *semḥ.* In the lower places the *semḥ* was dark green, while on the borders higher up, where the moisture had already evaporated, it was beginning to grow yellow and ripe. Bluish sandstone rocks enclosed the *semḥ*-covered plains. Farther to the south there extended olive-colored cones, horns, and ridges, with pink slopes, which seemed to throb in the burning and almost visible rays of the noonday sun. All the sides facing the northwest were covered with yellowish sand, while the eastern and northeastern sides had a dark brown gloss, and on some of them blood-red stripes could be distinguished. At two o'clock Mḥammad pointed out to me, far in the south, the sharp, jagged peaks of al-ʿÂğât and, to the northwest of them, two cones and seven dome-shaped groups which formed Šeʿaṯa. To the southwest of us and quite close by, there arose the three tabular hills of aṯ-Ṯlejṯwât, which at times disappeared in the quivering haze and at other times assumed gigantic shapes which appeared to change their positions. The undulating upland of al-Čabd gradually merges into the plain of ar-Râṭijje, inclining to the north toward the *šeʿîb* of Ammu Mîl but falling steeply toward the south. In places the stony soil is so eaten away by wind and rain that it appears to have been artificially paved. In places, too, it is covered with coarse gravel in which the only growing things are small groups of *daʿâʿ*, a species of *semḥ.* In a few shallow declivities there thrive *mti, rûṯe, mrâr,* and *ḳnêfḏe,* which the Ḥwêṭât call *čaff marjam.*

At 2.45 P. M. Mḥammad showed me, to the south at the

foot of the slope, the rain water well Mšâš Ğebû', by which 'Awde abu Tâjeh encamped in December, 1909, on his march to Ṭubejž al-'Afar. From this camp he undertook a campaign against the Sirḥân clan, whose flocks were then grazing on the southern foot of the Ḥawrân, north of Ḳuṣejr 'Amra. Passing through the *še'îb* of Ḥedreğ, the Ḥwêṭât were observed by the Beni Ṣaḫr, who immediately pursued them on horses and camels and overtook them in five hours. A fight took place, in which the Beni Ṣaḫr succumbed to the superior power of the Ḥwêṭât. Between twenty and twenty-five of the combatants fell, among them Hâjel eben Fâjez, my good friend and brother, who in the years 1898, 1900, and 1901 accompanied me to the castle of 'Amra. A treacherous bullet ended the life of this undaunted warrior, whose body was covered with scars of both rifle and sword wounds. Of his brothers, who were friends of mine, Barğas, Ğerûḥ, and Mḥammad perished in the fight; the only one to die a natural death being Ṭalâl, who died in October, 1909, at Damascus, where he was negotiating with the Governor. In the above-mentioned fight north of al-Ḥedreğ, the Ḥwêṭât captured seven mares, whose riders were thrust from the saddle (*ḳalâje'*), and also sixty good riding camels.

At 4.05 we perceived on our right hand some small thickets of *ṭalḥ* trees growing in the gullies which join with the *še'îb* of Ammu Mîl. At 4.19 we halted by one of these thickets (temperature: 31.5° C). The trees, which attained a diameter of eight-tenths of a meter, were luxuriantly green and dotted with hard circular buds. Their long thorns covered all the surrounding ground, and we had to gather them up, as otherwise they would have penetrated our skin bags. Our camels found abundant pasturage in the vicinity and we prepared the evening meal. As the smoke from our fire could have been seen from afar, we decided not to spend the night in the same place; so at 7.02 we proceeded farther to the west and at 8.30 encamped in one of the gullies of the *še'îb* of al-Ḳrên.

THE ŠE'ÎB OF AL-ḲRÊN TO RWEJSÂT UMM ṚAṬA

On Tuesday, May 31, 1909, at 5.05 A. M. (temperature: 10.5° C) we entered the region of al-Kḏûr. This consists of undulating plains furrowed to the north by broad, deep chan-

nels, and it contains no considerable peaks or elevations. Only to the northeast could be seen a knoll of no great height with a large pile of stones upon it. Beneath this knoll, in the *šeʿîb* of al-Keḏer, lies the rain water well Mšâš abu ʿAmûd. To the northwest the region of al-Kḏûr extends as far as the ruin of al-Mṛejjera, which is also called Ḫirbet al-Kḏûr.[11]

In the autumn of 1907 the clan of ʿAwde abu Tâjeh was encamped at al-Kḏûr. Their flocks, which were grazing in the *šeʿibân* of Abu ʿAlejdijjât, were attacked by the Šammar and driven away as booty. The Šammar also stole a herd of white she-camels (*maṛâtîr*) belonging to ʿAwde. Now white she-camels are the pride of every clan, and they form the only herd from which not a single animal is sold. So it is customary to have them guarded by the best fighters; and if an enemy succeeds in stealing this herd the news spreads throughout the desert, all who hear it admire the alertness of the marauder and jeer at the careless clan which allowed its white herd to be driven away. At that time ʿAwde was paying a visit to an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân, who was encamped on the southern foot of the Ḥawrân by al-Azraḳ. ʿAwde returned to his men on the day following the raid; as soon as he heard the sad and ignominious news that his white herd had been stolen from him, he at once proceeded with sixty men on camels in pursuit of the Šammar. He overtook them in the region of al-Hûǧ, on the northwestern border of the Nefûd near the well of Abu Ṯenijje. There are only two convenient roads leading from the basin in which the well is situated to the upland. During the night ʿAwde occupied both roads, surrounded the Šammar who were asleep, killed seven men, rescued the stolen herd, and took thirty-two riding camels as plunder, with which he returned to his men. The latter, who were then encamped by the rain water well Mšâš ar-Râṭijje, greeted him with hearty rejoicings.

At 6.02 A. M. we crossed the main road leading from south to north, the road which is followed by the migrating tribes. At the station of al-Ḥazm it separates from the Pilgrim Route and passes by the watering places at al-Mṛâṭijje,

[11] Al-Masʿûdi (956 A.D.), *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), p. 338, relates that in the year 716—717 the Abbasside, Muḥammed ibn ʿAli, dwelt, according to some in al-Ḥomejma, according to others in Krâr among the aš-Šera' mountains in the territory of al-Belḳa' in the administrative area of Damascus.

According to manuscript L (British Museum, Add. 23, 270), *ibid.*, p. 338, note 8, the place Krâr should be read as Kḏâr, which is identical with the present Keḏer or Kḏûr. It is situated among the aš-Šera' mountains bordering on the environs of al-Ḥomejma in the administrative area of Damascus. Al-Belḳa' did not extend so far to the south.

al-ʿAḳejla, al-Mšêṭijje, and al-Ğafar. Thence it winds through the defile of an-Nḳejb to the Ḳurṭâsijje range, passes by Ṭwîl aš-Šhâḳ on the west, swings off to Ṛadîr al-Ğinz, and at al-Ḥasa' again unites with the highroad of al-Ḥâğğ, the Pilgrim Route. At the wells of al-Ğafar this road is crossed by another road leading from the west from Petra (Wâdi Mûsa) via Maʿân, al-Ğafar, al-Ḥawṣa, and Majḳûʿ to Dûmat al-Ğandalijje (al-Ğowf).[12]

Westward from the former road the region of al-Kḏûr becomes more and more rugged. The individual gullies are deeper and the slopes more precipitous. At 8.42 we perceived in one of the gullies a boulder 2 m. long, 1.6 m. high, and 1.1 m. thick, known as al-Maḏbaḥ (place of sacrifice) because it is said that upon it goats and sheep have been sacrificed to the dead who are buried in the small cemetery to the south. Around al-Maḏbaḥ, as well as in the other *šeʿibân* of the neighborhood, there is an abundant growth of *ratam*, *iḏen al-ḥmâr*, *šîḥ*; also *žetâde* in places and *ṭalḥ* bushes. The hills separating the *šeʿibân* from each other are covered with coarse stones, which made it difficult for our camels to press forward. From 9.30 to eleven o'clock we remained in the *šeʿîb* of al-Mutrammel, where the camels found only a scanty pasture (temperature: 29.8° C). The winter rains had filled the artificial reservoirs at the pilgrimage station of Faṣôʿa, and several clans of the Ḥwêṭât had encamped near by. Their flocks had been grazing in al-Kḏûr, and in consequence all the grass and brushwood had been consumed. At 1.15 P. M. we crossed the railway line near the station of ʿAḳabat al-Ḥeğâzijje (1150 m.).[13]

To the northeast we perceived a higher elevation, Ṭwejjel al-Ḥâğğ, and to the west a tower-shaped pile of stones indicating the site of the pilgrimage station of Faṣôʿa, hidden in the basin of the *šeʿîb* of al-Mšâš, which unites with Abu ʿAmûd

[12] This is the transport route which Artemidorus (100 B.C.) states (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 4: 18) is used by the trade caravans of the inhabitants of Gerrha proceeding to Petra.

[13] Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 712, relates that Dât al-Manâr is situated on the extreme southern border of Syria. It was there that Abu ʿObejda (634 A.D.) pitched his camp on his expedition to Syria. — As we know from the report which is recorded by Abu Ḥuḏajfa (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 86), Abu ʿObejda entered Syria north of Soraṛ; we must therefore expect to find Dât al-Manâr between this settlement and the town of Maʿân and thus somewhere near the present station of ʿAḳabat al-Ḥeğâzijje. The main transport route from southwestern Arabia to Syria ascended the ridge of aš-Šera' behind the station of Soraṛ, through the pass of Baṭn Ṛûl, which is the most convenient for draft animals. Above this pass there certainly was erected a watchtower, illuminated on dark nights in order that the caravans might not wander from the right path and therefore called Dât al-Manâr. Similar towers were built along the road from al-Kûfa to al-Medîna, where they were also known as Manâr.

farther to the northeast. At 12.40 P. M. we descended to the small ruined fortress of Faṣô'a, north of which are situated two artificial rain pools still partly filled with water (Figs. 5, 6, 7). We remained near this spot until 1.32.

The camels were very thirsty, pressing forward to the edge of the parapet of the rain pools, and it was all we could do to drive them away and prevent them from falling into the water. Šerîf and Mḥammad baled the water out of the pond with a canvas bucket, making the camels drink from this container. No sooner had the animals assuaged their thirst than they were running about in search of pasture. Accordingly, there was nothing for us to do but to replace the baggage quickly and move on, as there was not a single plant in the vicinity of the rain pools. Everything had been entirely eaten up.

We proceeded to the west through the opening of the *še'ibân* of Abu 'Alejdijjât, which join Abu Rtejmât and al-Makmi. At three o'clock we reached the *še'îb* of al-Moṛâra, near which the region of al-Kḏûr ends and the actual range of aš-Šera' begins. The latter consists of a broad, flat ridge ascending towards the northwest, covered with coarse gravel in which the *ša'rân* grows abundantly. At 4.20 we halted on the southern foot of the cone of Rwejsât umm Ṛaẓa, northwest of the pass Naḳb al-Ḥdejb, which is traversed by a fairly convenient road to the southern lowlands (temperature: 30.5° C). Šerîf was to prepare our evening meal while Isma'în guarded the camels.

VIEW FROM KNOLL OF AL-ḤDEJB

Taking Mḥammad with us we proceeded to the knoll of al-Ḥdejb, which is of no great height and stands near a precipitous slope, and from its summit we made a geographical sketch.

The station of 'Akabat al-Ḥeǧâzijje is mentioned under different names in various descriptions of travel. Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A. H.), p. 71, calls it Ẓahr al-'Aḳaba, as well as 'Ibâdân, while the pilgrims are said to have called it also Syrian 'Aḳaba. It is thirteen hours distant from Ma'ân, without water, and situated in a valley. A military guard from Ma'ân escorts the pilgrims as far as this station along a flint-covered road. Just before al-'Aḳaba is reached the pilgrims dismount from their litters and proceed downhill on foot; the pasha — the leader of the pilgrims — sits beneath a parasol at al-'Aḳaba and inspects the pilgrims advancing before him. At this point the water bearers distribute sherbet. In the sandy and stony district round about, Othman Pasha (died 1753) caused a stronghold and a fountain to be built. The locality of Lîs, like a village, is situated behind 'Ibâdân, to which it belongs. It is in these places that the chamberlain of the pasha who is in charge of the pilgrims' caravan collects letters from the pilgrims on the return journey and conveys them speedily to Constantinople. Generally, however, this is done earlier, at the settlement of Tebûk. — The Lîs referred to by Meḥmed Edîb perhaps designates the group of isolated rocks, ad-Dîse, between 'Aḳabat al-Ḥeǧâzijje and Soraṛ.

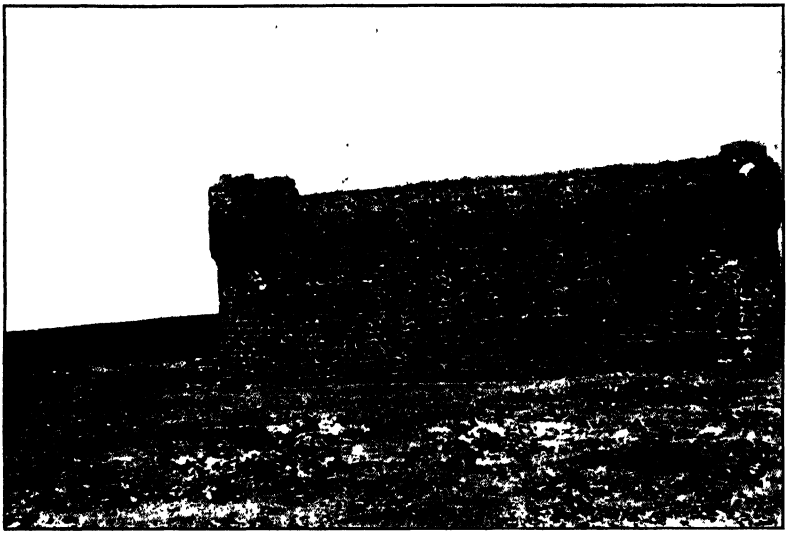


FIG. 5

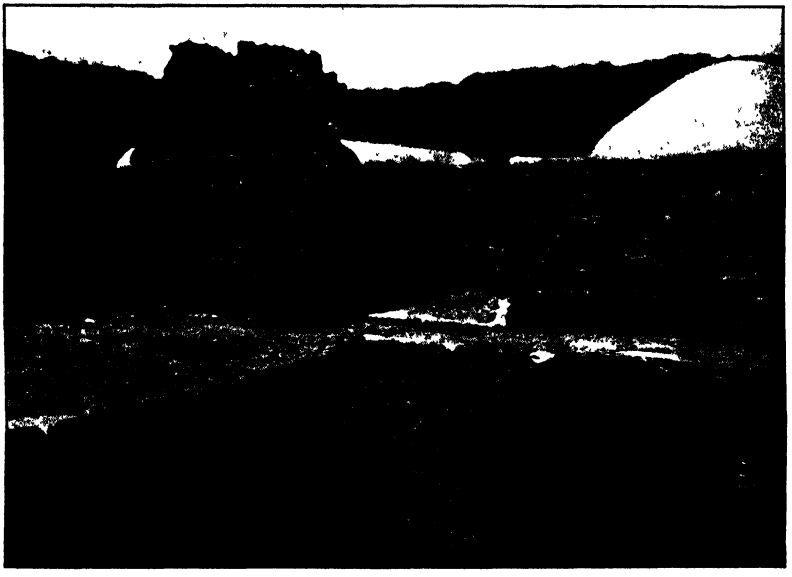


FIG. 6

FIG. 5—Faṣô'a fortress from the southeast.
FIG. 6—Faṣô'a fortress, interior.

To the east we could see the deep gap of Baṭn al-ʿAḳaba, through which the railway line winds to the stations of Baṭn Ṛûl (1125 m.) and Wâdi ar-Ratam (993 m.). To the south from aš-Šera' lead the passes Naḳb aṣ-Ṣenʿ, al-Mumbaṭaḥ, al-Aḥmar, and al-Ḥdejb, from the last of which we were taking observations (1355 m.) (Fig. 8). Not far to the west aš-Šera' bends northward at the spur Râs al-Msaṭṭara. At this spur begins the *šeʿîb* of Râbeṛ, called al-Ḥafîr in its central part. This *šeʿîb* is joined on the right by the *šeʿibân* of Umm Zâreb, Umm Eṭle,

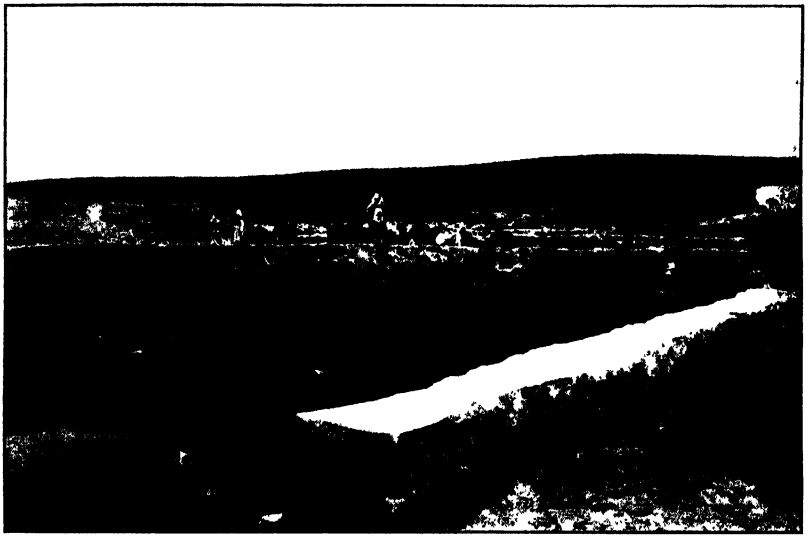


FIG. 7—Rain pool of Faṣôʿa.

and Ammu Ṭlejḥa and comes to an end in the rain pond Naḳaʿ al-ʿAlejjîn near Ḳalʿa Soraṛ, where also end the al-Mhejš and ar-Ratam valleys, which are traversed by the railway line. Between the two latter valleys rise the isolated peaks of al-Ḥarad, ʿEmmêr, and al-Ḥaṭijje, while between al-Mhejš and al-Ḥafîr, on a rocky plain, are situated the cone-shaped hills of ʿAmmar, Dbejbân, and al-Ḳaws. West of Dbejbân and the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥafîr towers the isolated ʿOmejr, south of which is Ammu Šdâd, split into two parts; and southwest of Ammu Šdâd stands the mutilated obelisk of aš-Šḳêḳ. To the south of al-Ḥafîr the Ḥoẓon (or al-Ḥoẓn) valley, which begins between the al-Abraḳ and al-Birde ranges, ends also at Naḳaʿ al-ʿAlejjîn. In its upper portion, on the right, al-Ḥoẓn is joined by Ammu Rkejbe, Umm Hašîm, and al-Baḫtijje, as well as by as-Samra, Abu Ḥsejje, and al-Mḫâš, all three of which proceed from the as-Saʿejd elevation. The latter is bordered to the south by the al-Loṣom valley, which starts in the as-Sardân plain and is joined on the right by the *šeʿibân* of ar-Ratama and Umm ʿAlda. Between the lower courses of al-Ḥoẓon and al-Loṣom lies the short gully Sidd al-Ḳâḥ. The rain ponds Ḥabâri Soraṛ derive their water from the *šeʿibân* of aṣ-Ṣalâdeḫ, Wudej

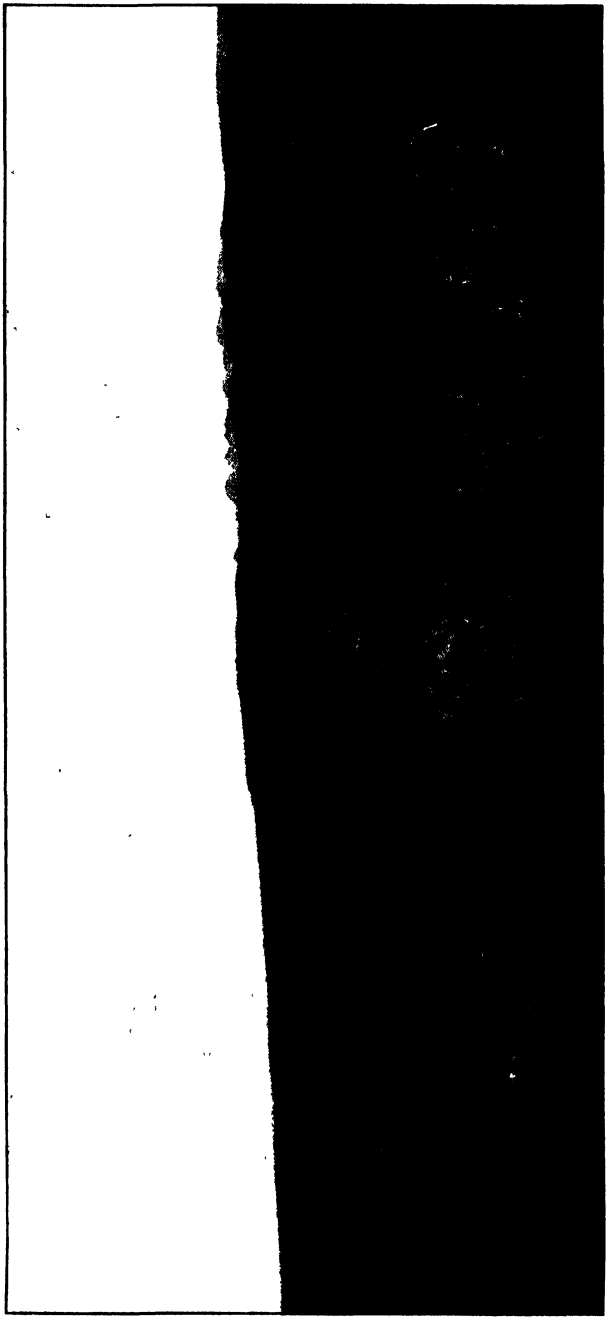


FIG. 8—From al-Ḥdejb looking southeast, south, and southwest.

Rakeb, Ab-al-Ḫâr, al-Ḥaṣra, and al-Ḥalfa. The latter proceeds from the water Ḥsi ammu Sejfên in Ammu Kaff and is joined on the right by Umm Ṛâṭi and Umm Šellâle, between which rises the cone of Bnejẓer. To the southeast of Ḫabâri Soraṛ ends Šeʿîb at-Tebaḫḫer, which begins near Ṭwejjel al-Maǧnûn under the name of al-Mustaḥaḳna, and in which is situated the water of Ḥsejjet Štejje. The last *šeʿîb*, running in a northeasterly direction through the hills of Ndêrat al-Fḥûl to the marshes of as-Sabḫa, is called al-Muʿajẓeb.

Near D̲ât al-Ḥâǧǧ end the *šeʿibân* of Ḥlejf Zeben, which runs from the hills of al-Abraḳ, and Umm Zarb, which is joined by al-Hind. The latter comes from the watershed of Nedra and from the fountain of al-Hind (Bîr al-Hind), divides the hills of ʿEnejḳ on the south from those of ʿÎd (Berḳa ʿÎd) on the north, and borders on the south side of al-Ḫanâṣer. Near Berḳa ʿÎd are the springs of al-Hlêlît.

The station of D̲ât al-Ḥâǧǧ lies in a basin into which the water flows from the surrounding valleys, hiding itself beneath alluvial deposits and sand. In many places the water rises to the surface, so that it would be possible to plant the whole hollow with palms, which now grow here and there only. The pilgrimage station is a rectangular stone stronghold with a large courtyard and a shallow well containing good clean water.[14]

The plain of ad-Daṛejn, extending southward from D̲ât al-Ḥâǧǧ, is enclosed on the west by the hills of ad-Dḥal, Berḳ aṭ-Ṭwêref, and al-Ḳidrijje. Into it merges the *šeʿîb* of Dimne (near which are situated the wells Ǧebw al-Ḥamîr, Bîẓ, and Dimne), as well as the great Wâdi az-Zejte, which, under the name of an-Nǧejli, begins at Bîr al-Msallam in the az-Zejte range. On the left this *wâdi* is joined by Ammu Frûṭ and Umm Ḫašab, which proceed from the al-Mḥaṣṣa and al-Ḫarîḳ hills; on the right the following *šeʿibân* merge with az-Zejte: al-Mrašša, which rises in the Farʿûn hills; aṭ-T̲âmri, which conveys water from al-Mnejdîr, ad-Darâbîǧ, and as-Sehem; Sdêr, separating the al-Ḫrejmât hills from ʿEmârt al-ʿAǧûz and al-Ḥawâṭel; and Rejlân, proceeding from the ruins al-Ḳrajje. At the lower end of the last-named *šeʿîb* are the wells of al-ʿEjêne.

To the north of our halting place, near the pass of al-Ḥdejb, the rain water flows through the *šeʿibân* of al-Moṛâra, Bajjûẓ, and al-Abjaẓ to the valley of aš-Šîdijje, which ends in the depression of al-Ǧafar. The dome-shaped hills of Rwejsât umm Ṛaẓa separate aš-Šîdijje from the gullies of Ṣnâʿ Ẓâher and Abu Ḳejṣûma, which combine to form the *šeʿîb* of aẓ-Ẓerîb. The latter, after merging with ad-Dabbe, is called Ṭa-

[14] Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 182, refers to a place called D̲ât Ḥâǧ between al-Medîna and Syria.

According to Abu-l-Feda' (died 1331 A.D.), *Muḫtaṣar* (Adler), Vol. 5, p. 284, the Beni Lâm, who were encamped in the Ḥeǧâz, gathered together near D̲ât al-Ḥâǧǧ in the year 1313 and attacked the merchants traveling out on camels to Tebûk to meet the returning pilgrims. More than twenty merchants fell before they managed to beat off the Beni Lâm and take about eighty riding-camels away from them. — The Beni Lâm belonged to the tribe of Ṭajj. Today they encamp in southern Irak.

Meḥmed Edîb, *op. cit.*, p. 72, states that the station of D̲ât al-Ḥaǧǧ is also called Dâr al-Ḥaǧǧ, Ḥaǧar, and Bijâr. He says it is fourteen hours distant from Ċarîmân, as the station of Ṭubejlijjât was sometimes called. During the reign of Sultan Suleiman, according to Meḥmed Edîb, a stronghold and a reservoir were established there, the latter being filled from a well dug in the stronghold. An abundance of wild dates was to be found there, because date palms thrived in soil in which water could be obtained anywhere by digging; the shallow wells at this station belonged to the Beni Selîm tribe; the hill opposite was called Ḳubbet al-Ḥaǧar; all the gravel consisted of pebbles and flints.

berijja and is joined on the left by Abu Ḥalûfa. Its lower course is known as al-Mṣawwal.

We stood on the ridge of the aš-Šera' range where, after running from north to south, it turns off almost at a right angle to the east, thus forming for a distance of nearly one hundred kilometers the natural frontier between territory on the north which might be partially cultivated and rocky and sandy desert on the south; between present-day Syria and the Ḥeğâz; between the Arabia Petraea and Arabia Felix of classical times; and between the mountain range of Se'îr, or Edom and the territory of the Madianites of Biblical times.

RWEJSÂT UMM ṚAṚA TO AL-BATRA

Returning to our baggage, we came without warning upon Isma'în sitting quietly by the fire drinking coffee. Five of the camels were not to be seen, but two of them were grazing on a hill about two kilometers away. When I reproached him for neglecting to guard the camels, which, in this undulating region, might easily be driven off by enemies moving through the numerous passes, he replied calmly: "If Allâh has decreed that the camels are to be stolen from us, we cannot prevent it even if we guard them."

After the evening meal we proceeded farther to the west at 7.40 and at 8.47 encamped in the *še'îb* of Ṣnâ' Ẓâher. The night was very warm and clear.

On Wednesday, June 1, 1910, I roused my companions at three o'clock, untethered the camels so that they could graze, and lit a small fire over which I warmed the coffee. Mḥammad and Isma'în did not get up until the smell of the steaming beverage reached them. A small cup of coffee and a morsel of bread composed our breakfast. At 4.45 (temperature: 17° C) we set off on the march, at first to the west, but from five o'clock onwards due north, because aš-Šera' itself turns off almost at a right angle to the north near Râs al-Msaṭṭara (1455 m.). We proceeded over broad, low table-lands, and through shallow, broad valleys, all of which could have been cultivated. They were covered with an abundance of annuals and perennials. To the west these plateaus fall away steeply, without any transition, to a depth of about three hundred meters, while to the east the descent is gradual. At eight o'clock we reached a region where the table-lands

merge into an elevation cut by broad valleys and numerous narrow, deep, transverse gullies. Only the lower valleys might be transformed into fertile fields; but on the slopes of the gullies there is an abundance of grass and bushes, which affords copious pasture. There is a fair amount of water, as nearly every *šeʿîb* contains a spring; so the whole region might be tilled and colonized. Before us rose the mighty dome-shaped peak of al-Batra, projecting somewhat to the east from the ridge of aš-Šera' itself.

We met five migrating families of the Beni ʿAṭijje, as they call themselves, though the Ḥwêṭât and other tribes camping to the north of Maʿân nearly always refer to them as Maʿâze or ʿAṭâwne. Each family had but one camel, upon which was loaded all its property: a tiny tent with a single main pole, torn blankets, a bag of *semḥ*, a small pouch of sour milk, and the smallest of the children. The other members of the family walked behind the camels, driving a small flock of goats with long, shiny, black hair. No flock contained more than fifteen animals.

At 8.27 we arrived at the spring wells Bijâr al-Batra (Figs. 9, 10). Of these about twenty are filled with stones, but eight have been preserved in good condition. They are nearly four meters deep, and the water in them is always clear and fresh but flows only gradually. Šerîf crept into a well and filled a canvas bucket which Ismaʿîn held attached to a rope. The camels did not want to drink, so we filled one of the bags and at 8.50 began to mount the winding paths to the peak of al-Batra. We were accompanied by a Ḥwêṭi who had joined us at the springs. At 9.15 we deposited our baggage by the ruined Roman watchtower (Fig. 11) and remained there until noon (temperature: 34.5° C). The camels grazed while we drew a sketch map.

VIEW FROM AL-BATRA

From al-Batra a wide view is obtainable. To the south the prospect s enclosed by the high peaks and cones constituting the mountains of Ramm, al-Barra, al-Mazmar, and the mutilated pyramid of Umm ʿAšrîn, with the huge and lofty ridge of Râmân west of Umm ʿAšrîn. In the more immediate foreground to the south, above a rocky plain, rise the solated remains of mountains of various partly disintegrated forms. From the plain the rain water flows through the *šeʿîb* of Bṭajjeḥât to the Wâdi al-Jitm. Bṭajjeḥât has three tributaries: from the southeast, al-Ḫerîm; from the northeast, an-Nâsfe; and from the north,



FIG. 9



FIG. 10

FIGS. 9 and 10—Bijâr (wells of) al-Batra.

aṭ-Ṯelâğe. Al-Ḫerîm rises between al-Barra, al-Abraḳ, and Ǧilf al-Mnejšîr; near it and in the eastern part of the Ramm range are situated the wells of al-'Âǧelîn, Abu Rmejle, aṣ-Ṣbâḫ, al-Ḳwejse, and al-Mṛejra. An-Nâsfe begins south of al-Msaṭṭara on the southern foot of the low table-shaped rocks of Ḏerâ' umm Swâde and Haẓb as-Sâferîn

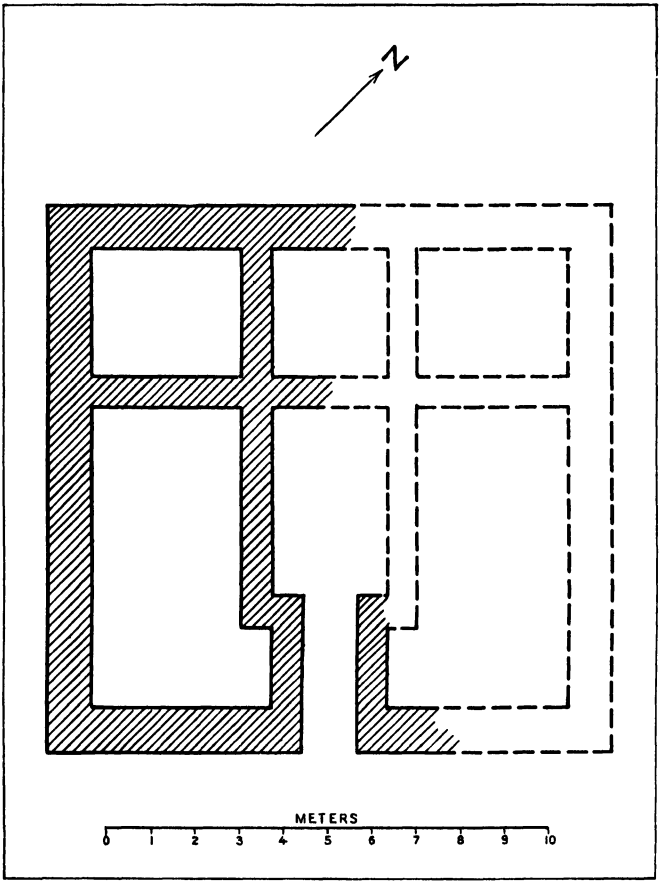


FIG. 11—Plan of Roman watchtower, al-Batra.

and joins al-Ḫerîm southwest of the brown, cone-shaped peaks of 'Aṭra and 'Emûd and south of the huge broken summit of al-Ḥṣâni. Aṭ-Ṯelâğe proceeds from the ruins of the same name on the western edge of the aš-Šera' range. It separates the rocks of al-Me'zânijje from al-Ǧill; al-'Emejjed from Haẓb as-Sâferîn, near which flows the spring of al-Ṛorr; the peak of 'Erḳa from Salaḳa; Abu Ḥalḳûm from Hẓejb ar-Ruḥbi; al-Mḫarûḳ and al-Ḥmejẓa from Haẓbat ar-Ratama; and, joining with al-Ḫerîm west of al-Ḥṣâni between the cones of Aḥejmer and Umm Ḥaṣa, forms Bṭajjeḥât.

To the northeast could be seen the railway station of Ma'ân, the depression of al-Ğafar with Ṭwîl Šhâḳ to the north, and west of the latter the extinct volcanoes rising east of the settlement of Ḍâna. There is no view from al-Batra to the west because the vast ridge of aš-Šera' rises up to cut off the prospect in that direction.[15]

AL-BATRA TO BÎR ḤADAB

From al-Batra we proceeded to the west. The *še'ibân* are deep, the slopes rocky, but between them extends a level elevation upon which both annuals and perennials flourish. North of al-Batra there are numerous springs of water. At 12.30 P. M., in the *še'îb* of al-Ḥufejjere, we found the remains of old gardens, and at 12.47 two old, but still active, wells of the same name. We then mounted the ridge of aš-Šera', upon which we halted at 1.17 among the ruins of Umm aṭ-Ṭelâğe (Fig. 12).

Umm aṭ-Ṭelâğe is the southernmost settlement on aš-Šera', there being hundreds of similar ruins to the north of it. The ridge of aš-Šera', which is flat and covered with a broad layer of yellow clay, could easily be transformed into fertile fields. There is a magnificent view into the region of Ḥesma', toward which aš-Šera' falls steeply over three hundred meters.

Ḥesma' begins to the northwest of Umm aṭ-Ṭelâğe and extends far to the south. It is a white, rocky plain, eroded by rain, wind, and sand, upon which are found the numberless scattered, brown remains of various firmer strata. On the northeast this plain is bordered by the steep wall of the aš-Šera' range; and on the west by a brown ridge which runs from north to south, falling off on the west towards the

[15] Stephen of Byzantium (about 600 A. D.), *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 237, calls Dusara a very high mountain in Arabia. According to him it is named after the god Dusare, who is worshipped by the Arabs and Dacharenoi tribes.

Ibn Ḫaldûn (died 1406 A.D.), *Muḳaddima* (Quatremère), Vol. 1, pp. 110—111; idem, *'Ibar* (Bûlâḳ, 1284 A.H.), Vol. 1, p. 52, writes that to the east from the shore of the Mediterranean Sea there rises a huge mountain called al-Lukkâm. Beginning near the Sea of Ḳolzum, not far from the town of Ajla, it extends in a north-northeast direction, separating Egypt from Syria. At its southern extremity, near Ajla, is the steep pass of al-'Aḳaba, through which the journey is made from Egypt to Mecca, and to the north of which Abraham is buried. The mountain range of al-Lukkâm is bordered to the north from al-'Aḳaba by the aš-Šera' range, which first runs towards the east but then changes its direction. To the east of it is situated the settlement of al-Ḥeğr, the territory of the Ṯamûd tribe, and the oases of Tejma and Dûmat al-Ğandal, which latter forms the remotest settlement of the Ḥeğâz. Between the aš-Šera' range and the Sea of Ḳolzum extends the sandy desert of Tebûk. At a turning of the al-Lukkâm range to the north is situated Damascus, separated by this mountain range from the towns of Ṣajda' and Beirut.—

Ibn Ḫaldûn calls the western edge of the Syrian rift valley al-Lukkâm. He sometimes refers to al-'Aḳaba as a steep slope of this mountain range near the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba and sometimes as the pilgrims' station of al-'Aḳaba (Ajla) from which the aš-Šera' range extends to the east. Ibn Ḫaldûn is thinking of the southernmost part of this range, which, projecting far to the east, bends in a semicircle open towards the east and runs in a northeasterly direction. Al-Ḥeğr does not lie to the east but to the south of aš-Šera'; likewise the territory of the Ṯamûd and the desert of Tebûk, which, according to Ibn Ḫaldûn, extends as far as the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba of the Sea of Ḳolzum. It is interesting that he reckons the oasis of Dûmat al-Ğandal as still forming part of the Ḥeğâz.

rift valley of al-'Araba and the Red Sea. From Umm aṯ-Ṯelâğe to the southwest extend oblong groups of isolated rocks: Ḥzejbt as-Smê'e, al-Ğill, Ḏerw aṣ-Ṣulba, and ar-Rokob. West of them the channel of Ammu Sawra twines like a white girdle, its head lying near the spring of Fawâra, westward from the ruins of Štâr.[16]



FIG. 12—Ruins of Umm aṯ-Ṯelâğe.

A small telegraph line has been installed along the left side of the *še'îb* of Ammu Ṣawra, which runs down from the Štâr pass. This line passes the spring of az-Zerâfa not far below the pass. Westward from the *še'îb* of Ammu Sawra can be seen innumerable white dome-shaped rocks of the groups Ḏerw as-Sâḳi, Harâbt al-'Abîd, and al-Ḳoff. Behind

[16] Saladin marched through our pass of Štâr. Abu Šâma, *Rawḍatejn* (Barbier de Meynard), p. 217, relates that on May 11, 1182, Saladin set out from Egypt for Damascus by way of Ṣadr and Ajla and arrived there after five days. Learning that the unbelievers were concentrating their army near al-Kerak in order to obstruct his path, he strengthened his two flanks and proceeded from the region of Ḥesma' through the pass of Šitâr to al-Ḳarjatejn, making an incursion into the enemy's country. Thereafter he marched with the main strength of his army along the very border of the al-Kerak territory to al-Ḥasa', while his brother, Tâğ al-Mulûk Bûri, traveled with the noncombatants on his right flank. Within a week they had joined at al-Azraḳ. —

It would seem that Saladin, when coming from Egypt, followed the ancient transport route by way of Ṣadr to Ajla. Traveling rapidly, he arrived at the latter harbor within five days. Thence he took the northeastern branch road to the main transport route by way of Ma'ân. From the account given it is clear that he reached the region of Ḥesma and the pass of Štâr. The branch road in question leads from al-'Aḳaba through the Wâdi al-Jitm to the northwestern corner of the Ḥesma' region, whence it ascends through the Štâr pass across the aš-Šera' range and then follows parallel to this range as far as the oasis of Ma'ân, which our report refers to as al-Ḳarjatejn -- two settlements — because it comprises two villages. From Ma'ân Saladin proceeded with his army along the main south to north transport route until he got as far as the station of al-Ḥasa' at the head of the *wâdi* bearing the same name. From there he moved in a northeasterly direction to the stronghold of al-Azraḳ, where he met his brother.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 259, refers to the Šitâr pass as lying to the east of the Egyptian Pilgrim Road and leading through the aš-Šera' range between the regions of al-Belḳa' and al-Medîna. It leads north into an extensive grassy district, located south of al-Kerak, over which loom the Fârân mountains.

them to the west rises the white, mutilated cone of az-Za'tar, flanking the rocky plain to the north. On the west the plain is bordered by a brown mountain range intersected with numerous deep *še'ibân.* The parts of this range situated west of az-Za'tar are known as *'Arḳûb al-Mšejṭi, Rwejs ad-Dukkâne, aš-Šunnârijje,* and *Kṭejb aẓ-Ẓab'i; while farther to* the south are Uḥejmer, az-Ziblijje, Umm al-'Aẓâm, Šejḳer, Msâwer, Ḏnêb, Trejbîn, Ṭabaḳât Kalḥa, aṣ-Ṣôr, az-Zarnûḳ, al-Mlêḥ, aẓ-Ẓarba, al-Ḥeğfe, Abu Sjejle, al-Ḥmejra, Ummu Nḥejle, and al-Mdajfen, separated from Râmân by the defile Ḫarm al-Merṣed.

At 2.38 P. M. we started off toward the north through fields sown with barley and wheat. After three o'clock we entered the valley of al-Bijâra, where lie the springs of al-'Anejzi and the ruins of the large settlement of an-Naṣâra. At 3.46 we were at the spring of Abu Ḳrejẓât, and at four o'clock we were standing by the ruins of the Roman encampment at al-Ḳarana (temperature: 21° C). I wished to make a sketch plan of this stronghold, which I had visited as far back as 1898,[17] but this was not possible. Some of the Ḥwêṭât, while cultivating the neighboring fields, had set up folds for their sheep and goats among the ruins and had removed the walls, which had been still preserved in 1898. They were encamped about six hundred meters east of al-Ḳarana, near the springs of al-Mğawğa and Ab-ad-Dûd, and immediately came up behind us. As the negro Mḥammad was not well acquainted with this region, I wanted one of these Ḥwêṭât to act as our guide, and Isma'în brought me a man about forty years of age who declared that he knew all the hills, springs, and ruins from there to Wâdi Mûsa. Wishing to make sure of his knowledge, I asked him to point out on the ground the directions north and south and to indicate the position of the *še'îb* of aẓ-Ẓerîb, through which the rain water flows from al-Ḳarana to the northeast. The poor fellow could not distinguish north from south; he described everything situated to the north or south of us as being between sunset and sunrise. When I declared that he could not go with us because he did not know the directions, he asked me to take him nevertheless and endeavored to make an exact drawing of the *še'îb* of aẓ-Ẓerîb for me. Five times he set about the work, and five times he arrived at a different result, being quite unable to indicate in the sand the winding course of this valley although he could see it in front of him. Finally one of his kinsmen who was with him told him to go home, saying that

[17] See Musil, *Arabia Petraea,* Vol. 2, Part 2, pp. 229—230.

he could understand nothing and offering to accompany me himself. *This man was able to indicate accurately both the directions and the names of the various localities.*

Having ascertained our geographical latitude, we started off on the march again at 7.55 P. M. Mḥammad and Ismaʿîn urged this move, declaring that the Ḥwêṭât who were encamped near al-Ḳarana were notorious robbers and that they might easily steal our things in the night. When I objected that we had one of their kinsmen with us as our companion (*ḫâwi*) in order to protect us against his tribesmen, Mḥammad replied that in recent years the Ḥwêṭât had ceased to acknowledge the rights of the *ḫâwi* and that they would rob their own fathers.

The night was so dark that nothing could be seen at a distance of two meters, and the region was covered with coarse stones, so that we could not move forward. Therefore we halted at 8.18 not far from the spring Bîr Ḥadab, from which the road leads westward to the region of Ḥesma through Šrejf abu Ṛalâjîn over the pass of the same name.

BÎR ḤADAB TO THE RUINS OF ḤAMMAD

On Thursday, June 2, 1910, we started off at 4.49 A. M. (temperature: 22° C). On our right lay the two wells of ʿAtûd, each about fifteen meters deep; on the north we perceived the extensive ruins of Daʿûḳ and to the east of them, in the valley of ʿAḳejḳa, the springs of al-Maʿêḳel, near which ʿAḳejḳa is joined by the *šeʿîb* proceeding from the springs of al-Mğawğa and al-ʿArejža. At five o'clock, at a point not far from Bijâr al-Maṣri, we entered the broad valley of ʿAḳejḳa, which contains numerous shallow springs with good, fresh water. At 5.20 we branched off to the west, near the springs of ʿAḳejḳa, in order to obtain a better view by mounting the ridge of aš-Šera'. Both the valley of ʿAḳejḳa and the ridge itself have been converted into fields of wheat and barley. The wheat was only just in flower but was plentiful and well developed. At 5.40 we had on our right hand the entrance to the *šeʿîb* of al-Fwêri, in which an abundant spring gushes out near the ruins of the same name. From 5.47 to 7.05 we remained among the ruins of al-Ğdejjed (temperature: 24.2° C), for it is possible to obtain from that point a view not only of the Ḥesma territory but also of the north-

eastern part of the aš-Šera' range. The latter was entirely covered with dark green plants, which made it resemble an endless expanse of grainfields. The lowlands were still covered with dark blue shadows, from which the separate peaks rose like fabulous monsters. At 7.30 there was a slight shower, which, however, did not last long, and at 7.35 near a ruined watchtower we crossed the Darb as-Sulṭâni or, as our guide called it, as-Sikke, the highroad.

At the post and telegraph station of al-Ḳwêra, as-Sikke swings off to the northeast and runs alongside the telegraph line across the eastern slopes of the *še'îb* of Ammu Ṣawra, past the mutilated cones of al-Ma'ejṣi, al-Mešârîḳ, al-Ḫlejfi, and al-Moṛr to Derw aṣ-Ṣulba, over which it gains the spur of Štâr. Winding around the western side of the latter, it reaches the ridge of aš-Šera' near the ruins of Štâr. From there it continues in an almost northerly direction through the *še'îb* of Wahadân to the ruins of al-Fwêle, Ab-al-Lesel, and Mṛejjera, after which it trends to the northeast following the *še'îb* of aḏ-Ḏawâwi as far as Ma'ân. The telegraph line is installed to the east of the road upon the slopes of Swêmât and Ammu-l-Ḳṣejr.

At 8.09 we rode through the beginning of the *še'îb* of al-Ḫajjâṭ, which runs towards the ruins of aš-Šdejjid. The camels found the crossing quite difficult, as the ridge is cut by deep ravines with stony sides, and it was necessary to dismount and mount again, no easy task among the shifting stones. At 8.35, on the left arm of al-Ğemân and toward the northeast, we perceived the three huge, bare, dome-shaped peaks Nebât as-Swêmrât situated on the spur of the aš-Šera' range between the ruins of Ab-al-Lesel and Ṭâsân. To the west our guide pointed out the spring of al-Ḳena', from which an aqueduct leads down to the ruins of al-Ḥomejma.

A tortoise measuring about twenty-five centimeters in diameter crawled across our path. We wanted to catch it to make soup from it, but our native companions protected the animal, saying that it was poisonous. We knew, of course, that this was not true, but we did not take the tortoise, not wishing to provoke our people unnecessarily. At 9.28 we observed the small ruin of Ammu Ḏijâb in a gully on our right.

At 9.40, on the eastern foot of the huge mountain of al-Ḳrajje'e near the shallow well Bîr Turki, we met four

riders. They were Terâbîn, who were encamped by the Mediterranean Sea to the south of Gaza and were riding to the Saʿîdijjîn clan, whose encampment we had seen at 8.09 in the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥajjâṭ, in order to arrive at an agreement concerning the consequences of a crime. A fellow tribesman of theirs had killed a member of the Terâbîn and had fled to the Saʿîdijjîn to save his life. He had offered blood money to the avengers of the murdered man; the offer was accepted, and the dead man's relatives were now riding to meet him with his surety, for the purpose of collecting the stipulated amount.

At 9.50 we entered the Roman highroad which leads from the ruins of al-Ḥomejma along the aqueduct as far as the spring of al-Ḳena' and along the southern slope of al-Ḳrajjeʿe to the ridge of aš-Šera'. On the elevation of aṯ-Ṯuṛra, to the left, there lay a great heap of stones, Ab-an-Nsûr, the remains of a watchtower. At 10.09 the guide showed me the ruins of al-Baradijje to the east and, to the northeast of them in a steep rocky wall, the cave of Harâbt ammu Sanâjeḥ. From 10.24 to 12.20 the camels satisfied their hunger with *ʿaẓam* plants, while we drew a sketch map of the surrounding country (temperature: 27.5° C). From here on the journey was even more troublesome than before. The ravines became deeper and deeper, their sides more and more precipitous, so that we were obliged to lead the camels. If one of the animals began to gallop, it lost the articles hung from the saddle, or else its load slipped over to one side, and we had to collect the lost articles or put the load straight again. The Roman highroad branched off of our route in a north-northeasterly direction, leading south of the ruins of Ṭâsân to those of Swêmre and there turning off northward past al-Ḳrên and Ẓôr to the ruins of aṣ-Ṣadaḳa. At 12.40 P. M. we descended into a deep basin in which there are numerous caves, Harâb ad-Dukkân (temperature: 30.2° C).

At one o'clock, having ʿAjn az-Zwejde on our left hand, we made our way cautiously down to the large spring ʿAjn Burḳa (Fig. 13), where we remained from 1.30 to 4.15. Below the spring a rectangular pool had been constructed from large hewn stones, into which the water flowed and from which it was distributed over the surrounding gardens. The pool, however, was entirely clogged up, and there remained nothing of the gardens save the small walls which were built to keep

the fertile soil from being washed away. The Merâj'e clan, belonging to the Ḥwêṭât, was encamped north of the spring, and close beside them stood several tents of the Ḳabâla clan of the Sa'îdijjîn tribe.[18]



FIG. 13—From 'Ajn Burḳa looking north.

Before long we were surrounded not only by the men but also by the women and children, who meddled with our things and asked inquisitively who we were, what we were selling and buying, and where we were going. Fearing that some of our camels might be driven away from us, we divided ourselves into two groups, one of which mounted guard over the camels and the other over the baggage. I did not wish to start off until I had found a reliable guide. We were anxious to proceed through the rocky territory of the Ḳabâla clan to the ruins of al-Ḥomejma, and we needed a Sa'îdi not only to show us the road and tell us the names of the various places but also to protect us from his fellow-tribesmen and from the rapacious 'Alâwîn, to whom al-Ḥomejma belongs. After lengthy negotiations I hired a guide, and at 4.15 we were able to start off. Isma'în and Mḥammad heaped abuse

[18] See Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 3, p. 46.

on the Saʿîdijjîn because they had not negotiated with us as with guests but had begged from us not only tobacco and coffee but also rice, flour, and other articles of food. As a result, we did not warm up any coffee while we were with them, and it was for this that the negro Mḥammad in particular had a great hankering.

Wishing to refresh ourselves a little and to make a sketch of the surrounding district, we remained at the spring of al-Ǧwejbe from 4.32 to five o'clock. South of the spring, on the slope of aš-Šera', are situated the ruins of al-Ǧhejjer.[19]

To the north of al-Ǧhejjer, above the ruins of Delâṛa, there rises a huge mountain, al-Ḥadab, behind which the hills of Ḳrênt az-Zejjât run from south to north, with, to the west of them, the broken dome of al-Hawla which separates the deep *šeʿîb* of Abu Ṛarab from the mountains of Šebîb and Ammu Rwejsât. The large mountain of Mʿawwal al-ʿAzab, which is almost table-shaped, merges to the south with Rwejs ad-Dukkâne and aš-Šunnârijje. Between the two latter mountains a footpath leads through the al-ʿEḳejrbe pass to Wâdi Ṛarandel. To the west and south the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿEǧâne encircles ʿArḳûb al-Mšejṭi and joins with al-Mwêleḥ.

At 5.06 P. M. in a deep, rocky ravine on our left, we saw the spring of Abu Ḥsejje gushing out from under a steep wall of rock. The descent to this ravine was very troublesome. Two of the camels threw off their loads and ran away, and we had to carry the loads after them until we caught them. From the ravine we descended southwest of the spring and ruins of al-Ǧhejjer to the *šeʿîb* of al-Ǧmejl, through which we reached the broad valley of Abu Ṛarab, where we encamped at 6.55 at the foot of Rwejs ad-Dukkâne (temperature: 29.5° C). Taking the guide with me, I proceeded to the ruins of Ḥammad (or Ḥamad), situated about three kilometers to the north and forming the remains of a large village on the right-hand side of the above-mentioned valley. Among the ruined houses which now serve as a graveyard, there is a small shrine, al-Weli Ḥammad, to which the Saʿîdijjîn make pilgrimages. The guide said that there was a large stone with inscriptions near the shrine, which he wished me to see, but it turned out to be merely a large slab of rock covered with tribal

[19] Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Taʾrîḫ* (Houtsma), Vol. 2, p. 385, writes that the Omayyads dwelt in al-Ǧuhajjer between al-Ḥumajma and Aḏruḥ in the administrative region of Damascus. — In the text it is incorrectly printed *al-ḤHJR*. Our al-Ǧhejjer is situated on the road from al-Ḥumajma to Aḏruḥ.

tokens (*awsâm*). The night was quite cold, as a moist west wind was blowing.

RUINS OF ḤAMMAD TO AL-ḤOMEJMA

On Friday, June 3, 1910, we led our camels in a southerly direction from 4.42 A. M. to 5.23 (temperature: 12° C). As far as the well of aṭ-Ṭarîf the road was very trying, as it wound among large boulders and fragments of rock, which often completely filled the river bed. The well Bîr aṭ-Ṭarîf, situated almost exactly on the watershed between the valleys of Abu Ṛarab and al-Jitm, is about three meters deep and four meters broad and contains pure fresh water. Eastward of it rise several piles of rock, the ruins of an old building, to the northeast of which can be seen the yawning black mouths of the Harâb al-Bḥejra caves.

At 5.30 we rode through the broad hollow of al-Mesann, which on the left joins the *šeʿîb* of aṭ-Ṭarîf. A few meters farther to the south we saw the remains of a broad dam by which the *šeʿîb* had been transformed into a capacious rain pond. From the left-hand side of this pond the water passed through a narrow canal into gardens that were laid out in terraces. To the south we could see the Ḥesma territory, lying at a great depth beneath us and swathed in a dense covering of morning mists, from which projected only the highest peaks, cones, pyramids, obelisks, and numerous other forms which the isolated rocks assumed. The rays of the rising sun struck upon them so that it seemed as if their angular faces were burning. In the river bed of aṭ-Ṭarîf grow *ratam* shrubs and low *šîḥ*. On the slopes ʿArḳûb al-Mšejṭi, as well as on al-Mrejbeṭ and az-Zaʿtar, there are supporting walls of varying length, the remains of old gardens. At six o'clock we rode along the right-hand side of the river bed at the foot of the granite ridge of al-Mrejbeṭ, as we wished to avoid the numerous short ravines running down from the soft limestone slopes of az-Zaʿtar. These are twenty to thirty meters deep, scarcely three meters broad at the bottom, and their sides are formed of yellowish clay and soft white limestone. Suddenly the river bed leaves the foot of al-Mrejbeṭ and cuts through the soft limestone in a gorge about fifty meters deep. At 6.48 A. M. we made our way into it near the spring of al-Ḥelwa, which gushes out from the left-hand side and fills numerous pools (Figs. 14, 15).

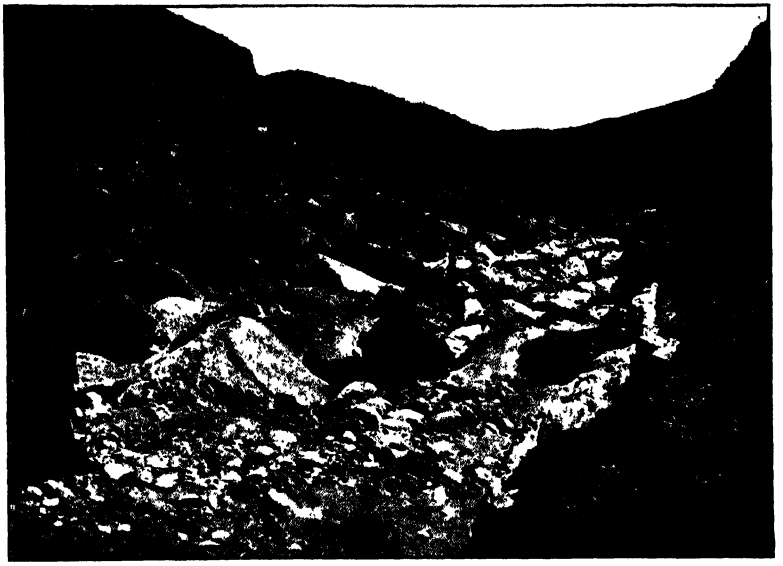


FIG. 14



FIG. 15

FIG. 14—From al-Ḥelwa looking north.
FIG. 15—From al-Ḥelwa looking south.

The *še'îb* of al-Ḥelwa joins ar-Rekijje and comes to an end, under the name of aš-Šebîbi, in the rift valley of al'Araba near Mount az-Ziblijje.

Our party remained at the well of al-Ḥelwa from 6.48 to 10.45. Meanwhile, accompanied by the guide, Tûmân and

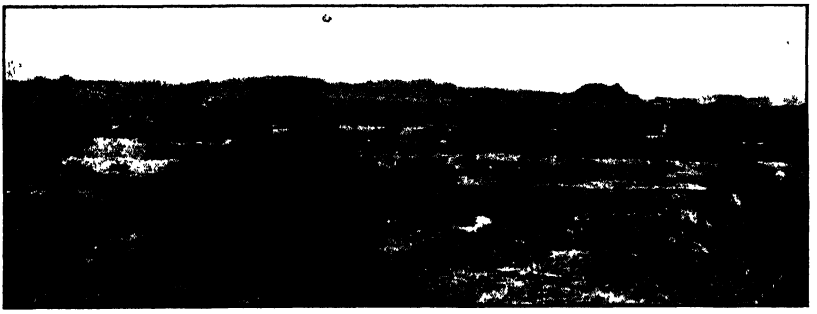


FIG. 16—From al-Ḥomejma looking toward the range of aš-Šera'.

I clambered on to the southern peak of Mount az-Za'tar, where we did some cartographical work. On our return we found that our companions were ready for departure. Having led the camels out upon the left-hand slope of al-Bêẓa, we crept down the broken ridges of rock, picking our way among white boulders, until at last we came out upon a white, undulating plain at 11.06. We caught sight of a pile of old buildings to the west, on our right, and came upon the Roman highroad, here regularly paved for a distance of about two hundred meters. Near it there stood three broken pillars, possibly the remains of Roman mileposts. I could see no inscription on them, as they were made of soft limestone which has been largely decomposed. At 11.31 we rode round the ruined bridge that spans the *še'îb* of Ammu Dûde. This *še'îb* forms a broad but shallow trough between white rocks, which gleamed so brilliantly in the sun's rays that they seemed white-hot. The separate channels attain a depth as great as ten meters and are shut in by steep banks. The whole geological configuration resembles that of Wâdi Mûsa especially in its northern area near al-Bêḍa. After 11.42 we rode alongside the aqueduct, which is said to lead from the copious well of al-Ḳena' and rises only a very little above the plain. The lower wall is 70 cm. broad, the trench being 15 cm. deep and

40 cm. broad. South of the aqueduct there stretches a lowland which could be transformed into fields. The remains of old field and garden walls extend as far as the ruins of al-Ḥomejma, which we reached at 12.42 P. M. (temperature: 29.8° C).



FIG. 17—From al-Ḥomejma looking south.

These ruins cover the eastern and southern foot of the elevation of Umm al-'Aẓâm as well as the surrounding lowland for several square kilometers; but not a single building has been preserved (Figs. 16, 17). The soft limestone of which they were constructed has collapsed, so that the isolated buildings are now reduced to whitish-yellow heaps of soft powdery lime. If these heaps were excavated, apartments would certainly be found intact beneath the crumbling limestone, and in them possibly various monuments as well. There are numerous capacious artificial reservoirs for rain water that are not more than half covered. In every building were installed pyriform cisterns, where the 'Alâwîn conceal chaff and corn. Inasmuch as some of the buildings are constructed in a style which resembles that of the ruined houses at Wâdi Mûsa, it may be inferred with certainty that al-Ḥomejma was also built by the Nabataeans, and for this reason I locate here the Nabataean city of Auara.[20]

[20] Al-Ḥomejma obtained its name from the white color of the rocks and soil which prevail in its environs. In Aramaic and Arabic this white color is designated also by the word *ḥawwâra*, which the natives often interchange with Ḥomejma, and I conjecture that these ruins were originally called Ḥawwâra.

According to Uranius, *Arabica* (Müller, *Fragmenta*, Vol. 4), p. 523 (Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* [Meineke], Vol. 1, p. 144) the Arabic city of Auara obtained its name from a prophecy which was communicated to the Nabataean king Obodas (about 93 B. C.) by his son Aretas. The latter was to seek a place which was white, or *auara*, as white is called in Syriac and Arabic. While occupied with this task, there appeared to him a white man on a white camel who thereafter suddenly disappeared. The searcher then perceived the

Having inspected the ruins, I proceeded to the hills of Umm al-ʿAẓâm, as I supposed that I should certainly find a necropolis there, but my search was in vain. For two hours I scrambled from hill to hill, making my way through deep gaps, and in the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥaẓar I found numerous stone quarries and artificially smoothed walls of rock, but I did not see a single rock tomb. My endeavors won me nothing but a brief inscription in Greek and Nabataean. As I was returning, I heard a shot. It was an alarm signal with which my native companions were recalling me. Running out from the rocks, I saw my companions and the camels surrounded by a crowd of the ʿAlâwîn (Fig. 18). The latter had been reaping barley southeast of al-Ḥomejma and, hearing of our arrival, had rushed up to my baggage, where they were begging for food and presents from Šerîf and Mḥammad. Mḥammad despised them and had warned me against them even before we had encamped at al-Ḥomejma, declaring that they were all rogues. "Those of them who are strong, steal; those who are weak, beg (*ḳawwîhom*



FIG. 18—An ʿAlâwi and our guide.

portion of a tree trunk rooted in a certain place. It was upon this spot that Obodas founded the city of Auara. — As this narrative does not contain the slightest reference to the sea and the harbor city of Leukekome (Auara in Syriac and Arabic), which was known before Obodas' time, I would identify Uranius' city of Auara with the city of Auara which Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 17: 5, places in Arabia Petraea and which, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Vienna, 1888), sheet 8, was situated on the highroad from Aila to Petra and is identical with our ruins of al-Ḥomejma.

Notitia Dignitatum (Seeck), Oriens, 34, Nos. 12 and 25, refers to a place Hauare or Hauanae in Palestine, which contained a garrison of mounted native bowmen.

Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. 3, Part 2, fol. 593, notes, according to Nilus Doxopatrius (1143 A. D.), that in the sixth century of our era the bishopric of Avara belonged to the metropolitanate of Bostra.

Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Taʾrîḫ* (Houtsma), Vol. 2, p. 347, relates that in the year 713—714 A. D. al-Walîd I set out for the settlement of al-Ḥumajma in the district of aš-Šera', which was situated in the administrative region of Damascus. The mother of Salîṭ ibn ʿAbdallâh ibn ʿAbbâs complained to him that ʿAli ibn ʿAbdallâh had killed her son and buried him in a garden in which he lived, and had built a little shop above his grave. Al-Walîd punished him for it. ʿAli settled down permanently in al-Ḥumajma, and his children also remained there until Allâh entrusted them with authority over the Moslems.

Al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), p. 338, records that in the year 716—717 A. D. the Alide pretender Abu-l-Hâšem proceeded to the Caliph Sulejmân ibn ʿAbdalmalek, from whom he departed with rich gifts to al-Medîna. While on the road poison was administered to him. When it began to take effect, he hastened to the Abbasside Muḥammed ibn ʿAli — who,

nahhâb, ẓaʿîfhom šaḥḥâḏ)." I was unwilling, and indeed unable, to give them food, as we did not know when we should reach Tebûk, where we could obtain fresh supplies. When Mḥammad, a servant of the chief ʿAwde abu Tâjeh, to whom the ʿAlâwîn were in the habit of sending gifts, offended them by his words and gestures, they wanted to drive away our camels, declaring that they damaged their corn. Ismaʿîn, who was guarding the camels, was unable to keep them off and had fired a shot for help. Running up to the disputants I endeavored to pacify both sides and after a while succeeded. We should have liked to move on, but Rifʿat had not yet returned. When at last he came running back, he pointed to his half-torn clothing and explained that among the rocks to the west he had been attacked by shepherds and robbed of everything he had. Not until an older man came up to the shepherds and explained to them whence we came and that we had a soldier (*ʿaskari*) with us, did they restore a few things to him.

according to some, was then living in al-Ḥumajma but, according to others, at Kḏâr in the aš-Šera' range, in the district al-Belḳa' of the administrative area of Damascus — and renounced all claims to the Caliphate in favor of his son. —

Following the manuscript L (London) of the *Tanbîh* I identify the dwelling place of the Abbassides, or Beni ʿAbbâs, mentioned in connection with al-Ḥomejma, with the region of Kḏûr situated east of al-Ḥomejma, in the southern part of aš-Šera' near the highroad leading to al-Medîna.

Al-Jaʿkûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje, 2nd edit.), p. 326, refers to al-Ḥumajma as in the aš-Šera' range.

Al-Bekri (died 1094 A.D.), *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 83, 284, states that al-Ḥumajma is a place in Syria. When ʿAli ibn ʿAbdallâh ibn ʿAbbâs emigrated to Syria, he settled in al-Ḥumajma and built a strongly fortified house there.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 342, mentions al-Ḥumajma as a settlement in the aš-Šera' region on the Syrian border, which belonged to the administrative area of ʿAmmân. He states that the Abbasside dynasty dwelt there before they obtained possession of the government. Aš-Šera' was the name of the district in which the settlement al-Ḥumajma lay. — The ruins, however, are not situated in the aš-Šera' range but upon its border in the Ḥesma' region.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), pp. 228—229, asserts that in the neighborhood of the aš-Šera' range there is a settlement, al-Ḥumajma, from which the Abbassides departed in order to obtain possession of the Caliphate in Irak. The village of al-Ḥumajma is situated a day's distance from Šowbak.

CHAPTER III

AL-ḤOMEJMA TO AL-ʿAḲABA

AL-ḤOMEJMA TO ḤARM AL-MERṢED

At 4.25 P. M. we left al-Ḥomejma and proceeded southward over the plain of Ḥarḫûra alongside the broad channel of aṣ-Ṣîḥ. The plain to the east of the channel was planted in places with crops of wheat and barley. Between the various fields there are small clumps of shrubbery formed of *ratam*, *rimṯ*, and thorny *silla*. On the west side rise the steep granite rocks of Šejḳer, cut by the *šeʿîb* of Rîḥân from Msâwer and Dnêb, on the northern side of which gushes forth the spring of Abu ʿAǧârem. To the south of the Rîḥân *šeʿîb* the peak of aṣ-Ṣôr rises above a flat-topped rocky upland and behind it the two prisms Ṭabaḳât Kalḫa.

Toward 7.35 we caught the sounds of loud conversation and the melancholy strains of the *rebâba* (rebec or single-stringed viol), and before long we noticed the smell of brandy, for we were drawing near to the Post and Telegraph station of al-Ḳwêra, beside which we encamped at eight o'clock. We were surrounded by a number of men, who in correct and broken Arabic asked us who we were and where we were going. Ismaʿîn replied to their questions, whereupon they brought us fuel so that Šerîf could cook the supper. In the meantime we ascertained the latitude (temperature: 14.2° C). After supper we were obliged to take part in the conversation and hence could not retire to rest until after midnight.

On Saturday, June 4, 1910, we remained at al-Ḳwêra until the afternoon. This ancient Roman stronghold has been newly populated. The telegraph line from Maʿân to al-ʿAḳaba runs around it. In 1908 a house was begun west of the stronghold for the use of the telegraph and postal official, but the building was not yet completed, as the ceiling and roof were wanting. In consequence, the official and his assistants lived under canvas in the courtyard of the old stronghold. About one-third of the stronghold was cleared of débris, and the small corner rooms were cleaned out and furnished for use as a shelter in the rainy season (Figs. 19, 20, 21). The of-

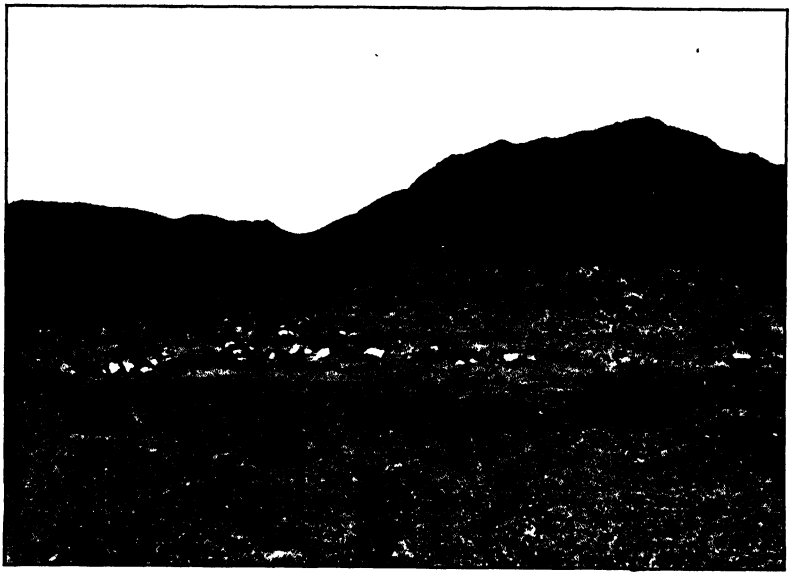


FIG. 19

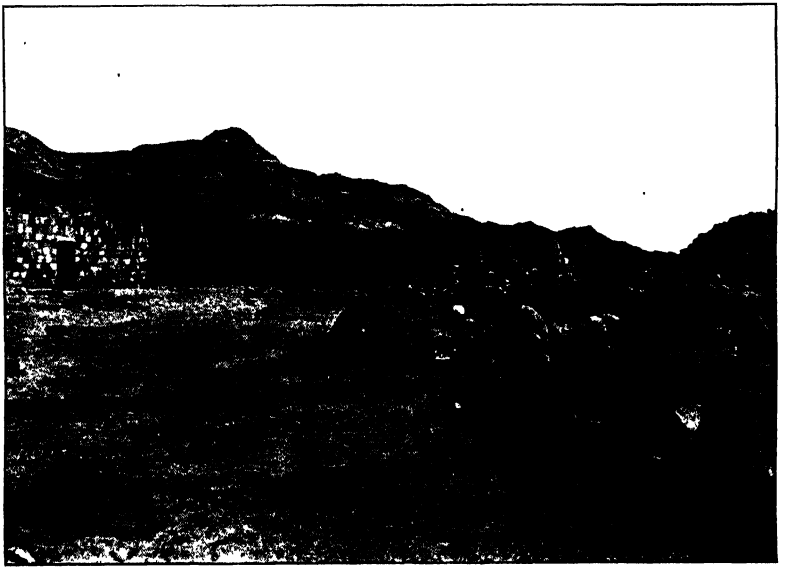


FIG. 20

FIG. 19—Al-Ḳwêra from the east.
FIG. 20—Al-Ḳwêra from the southeast.

ficial received 470 piasters ($21.15) per month, from which he had to feed himself, his family residing at Maʿân, and the horse which carried him on his tours of inspection of the telegraph poles. It was no wonder that he complained of suffering from hunger. All food supplies for al-Ḳwêra had to be conveyed from Maʿân or al-ʿAḳaba, and they were dear. The official was assisted by three telegraph inspectors, who patrolled the line from Ab-al-Lesel on the northeast to the end of Wâdi al-Jitm on the southwest. An *ombâši* (corporal, non-commissioned officer) and six men of the regular army guarded the stations and telegraph lines. Every day they brought water on an ass from the spring of al-Ašhab, which flows out about six kilometers to the west at the foot of the granite mountain of al-Ḥeğfe. About one hundred meters south of the station there rises a low, red, sandy hill, bearing the remains of an old wall. More extensive ruins, perhaps those of a watchtower, are noticeable upon a table-shaped hill northeast of the stronghold. This small table-shaped hill, which is called *ḳwêra* (diminutive of *ḳâra*, isolated table-shaped hill), gave the ruins of the stronghold their name.[21]

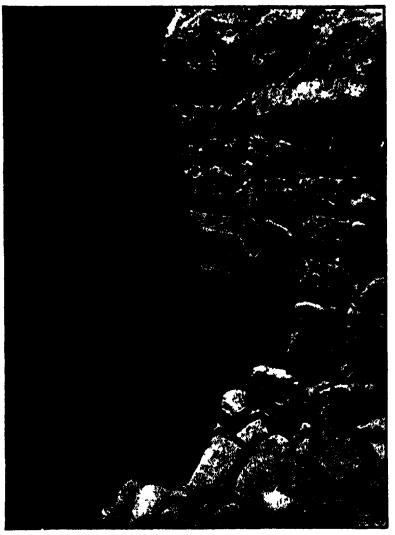


FIG. 21—In the Roman camp, al-Ḳwêra.

[21] The Roman highroad is clearly distinguishable near the station of al-Ḳwêra. The part of it which leads from Syria east of the Dead Sea to the harbor of Aila is defined as far as the station of Zadagatta (aṣ-Ṣadaḳa). From Zadagatta to al-Ḥomejma only the general direction can be determined. From al-Ḥomejma to the lower end of the deep Wâdi al-Jitm numerous mileposts have been preserved from the time of the Emperors Constantine and Constans, which establish the fact that the Roman military road was constructed through this *wâdi* and did not branch off through any *šeʿîb* winding down to the rift valley of al-ʿAraba between al-Jitm and Zadagatta. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Vienna, 1888), sheet 10, shows a single highroad running from the harbor of Haila (Aila) to the north, which, at the mark indicating the station of Ad Dianam, divides into two branches: a western one proceeding toward Palestine and an eastern one to Zadagatta. It is questionable whether the *Tabula Peutingeriana* has accurately represented this division. The red line denoting a new branch road on this map frequently either joins the main road too far to one side or the other of the actual junction, and is thus assigned to the wrong station, or else forms a crossroad where there is none. It is possible that, in this case also, the red line of the Syrian road was placed too high and the station of Ad Dianam was thus turned into a junction point. In this respect it is very striking that Aila, where the tenth Legio Fretensis encamped, has no special symbol, while the entirely unknown station of Ad Dianam bears the symbol of a temple, although it is only the chief cities that are supplied with symbols on other parts

Early in the morning we sent a scout to procure us a good guide from the camp of the ʿAlâwîn situated near the defile Ḫarm al-Merṣed. Tûmân and Rifʿat, accompanied by a soldier, set out for the peak of al-Mlêḥ, rising to the northwest, south of which there is a spring of the same name; whereas another spring called Abu Turrah flows to the northwest of al-Mlêḥ. Meanwhile I changed the photographic plates, sketched the surrounding district, recorded the names of the various hills and valleys, and gave out necessary medicines to the soldiers. Toward noon the scout returned with a guide. The chief of the ʿAlâwîn, Sâlem eben Ḥammâd eben Ǧâd, wished to accompany us and wanted to take with him his negro and another man, but I would not consent to this latter plan, fearing that these famished and unnecessary companions would be likely to deprive us of our small stock of supplies. At first Sâlem remonstrated. However, when Ismaʿîn told him that if he went by himself he would obtain the remuneration which would otherwise be divided among three, he ordered his two companions to go back to camp. In the afternoon Mḥammad with two scouts led our camels to the spring of al-Ašhab, not returning until three o'clock. Rifʿat and Tûmân had been back for some time, and we had everything ready for our departure. Having loaded the baggage on the camels, we started off at 3.08 for a lengthy march southward along the trade route.

The level plain of al-Ḥmejẓa, over which we passed, is shut in on the west by the granite wall of the Abu Sjejle mountain, while on the east it gives place to numerous isolated, sandy hills of various shapes, among them Salaḳa, Abu Ḥalḳûm, ar-Ruḥbi, al-Mḫarûḳ, ar-Ratama, ʿAṭra', ʿEmûd, al-Ḥṣâni, and al-Aḥejmer. At 4.02 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Abu Sjejle, which starts at the well of the same name on

of the map. The symbol indicating a temple at the station of Ad Dianam perhaps originated from the fact that Adian — the Semitic name of the station — was twisted into Ad Dianam by the designer and that either he or a copyist drew a symbol belonging properly to the military camp and harbor of Aila in such a way as to make it apply to the neighboring station of Ad Dianam, which it transformed into a temple. The red line of the Syrian high-road bends off to the south after its division from the Palestinian line. This bend tallies perfectly with the actual state of things.

From the station of Zadagatta to the city of Aila, by way of Ad Dianam, is represented as 81,000 paces, or about 120 kilometers, while the actual length of the Roman road with all its turnings is not more than 64,000 paces, or 95 kilometers. If we exclude the 16,000 paces from Ad Dianam to Aila and reckon the distance direct, assuming that the roads diverged at Aila, we obtain 65,000 paces, which accords with the actual distance (approximately 64,000 paces). The positions of the two stations Hauarra and Praesidio can be determined accurately. At 20,000 paces from Zadagatta (the modern aṣ-Ṣadaḳa) we reach the spring of al-Bêẓa' and the extensive ruins of the city of al-Ḫomejma. Everything indicates that this city was built by the Nabataeans and thus antedates the Roman epoch. It controlled the most convenient and the shortest road leading from the south along the western foot of the aš-Šera' range to the city of Petra. The name Hauarra has the same signification as al-Bêẓa' or al-Ḫomejma. From the northern part of the ruins of al-Ḫomejma the Roman road runs

the border of the rocks of al-Ḥeğfe and Abu Sjejle. At 4.28 we arrived at the telegraph line. Twenty-four telegraph poles for an unknown reason had been set up in a southeasterly direction from al-Ḳwêra, and only the farther poles were directed to the southwest. At 4.53 we left the trade route and at 5.05 came upon the watercourse of Bṭajjeḥât, which joins Wâdi al-Jitm. To the west there yawned the black *še'îb* of al-Filk, which comes from the well of al-Ktejfe and separates Abu Sjejle from al-Ḥmejra. Both sides of the watercourse of al-Bṭajjeḥât, as well as all the slopes inclining to the east, are covered with soft sand in which there is an abundant growth of *ṛaẓa*. Among the green shrubs of *ṛaẓa* a flock of sheep and goats were grazing, and our guide Sâlem dragged a fat ram to us.

We entered the broad, sheer defile Ḥarm al-Merṣed, which rises to the south between the granite rocks of al-Mdajfen on the west and 'Atûd on the east. The western half of this defile was covered with a growth of *ṛaẓa* shrubs (Fig. 22), beneath which we encamped at 6.08 P. M. Our camels munched nothing but *ṛaẓa*, which they had not tasted for many months, perhaps even for many years, as in the land of the Ḥwêṭât the *ṛaẓa* is found only in isolated spots. The chief, Sâlem, killed the ram, skinned it, cut up the meat, hacked the bones, and Šerîf and Isma'în stewed it in all the utensils which we had with us. They had plenty of fuel, because the stout, dry trunks and branches of the *ṛaẓa* burned well and slowly. Sâlem baked the liver and lungs in the ashes. He wound up the intestines, buried them in the sand, divided

a distance of twenty-one kilometers to the Roman fort of al-Ḳwêra. This stronghold was built to the south of a low, isolated, table-shaped rock, generally called *ḳâra* (diminutive *ḳwêra*), upon which are situated the ruins of the Nabataean fortress. The distance of twenty-one kilometers makes 14,000 paces, whereas the *Tabula Peutingeriana* gives it as 24,000 paces. It is well known, however, that the figures indicating distances on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* have been very unsatisfactorily preserved. We have, therefore, every reason to suppose that an inaccurate "xxiiii" came from a correct "xiiii" — an easy error in Roman figures. Hence al-Ḳwêra would seem to be the Roman station of Praesidio. Beyond al-Ḳwêra the Roman road turns off from the cultivated lowland into the deep Wâdi al-Jitm surrounded by granite mountains, passes through it southward to a point nearly due east of Aila, thereupon turns to the northwest, leaves the *wâdi* about five kilometers north of Aila, and then turning again south arrives at Aila at a distance of forty-five kilometers from al-Ḳwêra. This distance should not be 21,000 paces, as given on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, but 30,000. The Roman figure "xx" is on the left and the figure "i" on the right of the red line; this figure "i," however, is so short that it resembles the stroke of an "x" rather than an "i." On this road there actually is no place for the station of Ad Dianam, whereas on the Palestine road Ad Dianam would correspond to the Semitic Adian (Ḳaḍjân), a town which was located 32 kilometers, or exactly 21,000 paces, north of Aila on the eastern border of al-'Araba (see Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 254).

The station of al-Ḳwêra is situated at the crossing of two important ancient transport routes. One ran from Madian in the south to ancient Petra in the north; the second led in a northeasterly direction from the harbor of Aila (the modern al-'Aḳaba) by way of Naḳb aš-Šṯâr to Ma'ân. I hold the opinion that the Israelites followed the former road to Ḳadeš, near Petra, and, returning, branched off on the second road to Mount Se'îr, Ma'ân, and farther on to Moab (see below, pp. 267—272).

the fire above them, turned them twice, and then proceeded to feast on them. After supper he lit a small fire, placed a can of strong coffee near it, called for a handful of tobacco, sat down by the fire, and smoked and drank coffee until dawn.



FIG. 22—Ḫarm (defile of) al-Merṣed.

ḪARM AL-MERṢED TO AL-ḲNÊNEṢIJJE

On Sunday, June 5, 1910, we were in the saddle again at 5.08 (temperature: 15.2° C) and made our way southward through the defile of al-Merṣed. To the west rise the rocks of al-Mdajfen and to the east those of ʿAtûd. They both consist of vertical, black granite ribs, over which are layers of yellowish limestone, gnawed and consumed by the action of rain, wind, heat, and cold. Lying in the defile there are large pieces of limestone that have broken away. At 5.20, through the gap in al-Mdajfen, we caught sight of the sharp obelisks formed by the granite mountains of at-Till, to the southwest, northeast of which were the broad summits Rwêsât al-Ḫâlde and to the south the huge pyramid of Bâḳer. The reflected rays of the rising sun seemed to glance off all these peaks in showers. At 5.34 we crossed the path leading east-

ward to the water of al-Muḥalleba. At 5.50 Sâlem pointed out on a granite slope to the left the spring of Šamʿûl and to the right on another slope the well of Ḥawâra, the water of which is said to be particularly fresh. Here the *ṛaẓa* shrubs ceased; but in place of them the plain was covered with *šîḥ, ğerad, ʿağram, ḏanabnâb, baʿejṯrân, naṣi, ḳejṣûm, ḥarmal* (known also as *ḥarğal*), *nateš, wrâḳa, niḳd, silla,* and also, as an isolated growth, *kalḫ*. At 6.30 we saw to the left the broad gap of Mojet Râmân and to the right the deep *šeʿîb* of Abu Neda'. The Mojet Râmân gap leads along the southern foot of Mount Râmân to the plain of al-Krejnîfe, separating Râmân from Mount Ramm with its countless sharp-pointed pyramids. At 7.10 we passed out of the defile and viewed to the southeast the high pyramids shining with a ruddy glow and the isolated, broken cones called as-Sarâbîṭ.

The mighty Ramm, or Iram, revealed itself in all its beauty. The broad plain Ḫawr Ramm, which separates its southeastern part, known as al-Barra, from the northwestern al-Mazmar and Umm ʿAšrîn, makes it seem as if the mountain range of Iram had been split in two. The southeastern half is higher than the northwestern and has an almost level ridge, from which rise innumerable small, sharp-pointed pyramids, so that from a distance it resembles a huge, mysterious fortress. In the northern part are the springs of al-Ḳwejse, aṣ-Ṣbâḫ, al-Mṛejra, Abu Rmejle, and al-ʿÂğelîn.

At eight o'clock we reached the watershed and halted below the hill Ḳlejb al-Merṣed, from which I drew a map of the surrounding district (temperature: 25° C).

The eastern part of the Râmân mountain is called Ṛarnûḳ and borders on the plain of al-Krejnîfe, which extends between it and the Ramm group. To the southwest al-Krejnîfe is enclosed by Mount al-Ḳaṭṭâr, south of which a rocky plain gradually rises to the southwest, the southern part of the plain being called al-Moṛâr. To the east al-Moṛâr extends as far as the ridge of al-Abraḳ, to the southeast as far as al-Birde, while to the south it merges into the plains of as-Sardân and Ḫawr Ğerîs, north of the mighty ridge of aẓ-Ẓahr which runs from north to south. To the east of the plain of al-Moṛâr rise the rocks of Ammu Mḳûr and Umm Ğasar, and to the north of these al-Mḥarraḳ and al-Ḥadad. To the west of Ḳlejb al-Merṣed stretches the long elevation of al-Mrejweẓ, separated by the *šeʿîb* of al-Maʿnân from the higher ar-Ratâwa.

While here, the camels grazed on the *ğerad* and the high *swâs*, similar to the *kalḫ*. At 10.45 A. M. we made our way still farther southward.

Ḳlejb al-Merṣed and al-Barra form the southern border of the ʿAlâwîn, the tribe to which our guide Sâlem belonged. Also called Ḥwêṭât eben Ǧâd,[22] they number about fifty tents and comprise the following clans:

Ṣwêlḥîn	al-Farrâǧîn
Maḳâble	as-Srûrijjîn
al-Maḥâmîd	al-Menâǧeʿe
al-Bdûl	al-Ḳidmân
aṣ-Ṣḳûr	al-ʿAwasa'
al-Ḥẓêrât	as-Sallâmât
as-Sallâmîn	al-Ṛajâlîn.

The ʿAlâwîn paid no taxes but received from the Turkish Government an annual grant of five hundred English pounds. The Egyptian Mameluke sultans, and later the Turkish rulers, had formerly paid them this money in return for their protection of the pilgrims journeying from Egypt by way of al-ʿAḳaba to al-Medîna and Mecca; but after the construction of the Suez Canal the Government discontinued the payments, as the pilgrims from Egypt no longer passed through the desert but took ship to Jidda or Râbeṛ. However, those who still journeyed through the desert continued to pay personally for their protection. In 1898 the tribes encamped southwest of Maʿân began a revolt against the Turks and wished to transfer their allegiance to Egypt. In order to win them over, the Turkish Government consented to grant gifts of money in individual cases and recommenced the annual payment of five hundred English pounds to the ʿAlâwîn.

Sâlem urged me to take a guide from among the ʿImrân, who would protect us from his predatory friends. It should be explained that each tribe regards the neighboring tribe as more thievish than itself.

The defile of al-Merṣed is enclosed to the south by the uplands of Šhejb al-Arâneb and Smejr as-Sebîḥi. Avoiding these uplands, we entered a capacious basin sloping towards the south, in which, near the well of Abu Sjejle, we perceived several camels belonging to the Šamsân clan of the ʿImrân. After a while we were joined by an old man with a good-humored expression, whom Sâlem recommended to me as guide. This was Ḥammâd, the chief of the Šamsân. On his head he wore a black and threadbare kerchief, while his body was clothed only in a tattered black shirt, which he

[22] See Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 3, pp. 54—55.

carefully concealed under his new red and yellow cloak, received a few days before as a gift from the new *ḳâjmaḳâm* at al-ʿAḳaba. No Bedouin would have bought a garment of such a color. When, however, the Sultan at Constantinople selected this garment for Ḥammâd and sent it to him by his official, Ḥammâd could not refuse the gift, for Mawlâna-s-Sulṭân (Our Lord the Sultan) knew well what would be most fitting for the chief of the Šamsân. Entering into conversation with him, I discovered that he was familiar with the art of giving directions and distances and that he had a wide knowledge of local place names. In consequence I hired him as a guide. As we were drawing near his camp, he seized my camel by the bridle and implored me to dismount at his tent as a guest sent by Allâh. Not wishing to squander time unnecessarily, I extolled his lavishness and hospitality in high-flown words and asked him to excuse me on this occasion, adding that I would perhaps rest in his tent on my return.

Inquiring about ruins, I discovered that there are no remains of old buildings in the territory of the ʿImrân, but was told that southeast of us there were the caves Moṛâr ʿAntar, constructed in the same extensive and beautiful manner as those at Wâdi Mûsa (Petra). After Ḥammâd had given me an exact description of these caves, we branched off to the east at 12.45 in order to inspect them. We rode through a *šeʿîb*, broad in most places but made so narrow in spots by the encroachment of the sandstone hills that the watercourse can scarcely penetrate it, and therefore called aẓ-Ẓjejḳe (the gorge) (Fig. 23). The banks are steep walls and reminded me of Sîḳ Wâdi Mûsa. The rays of the sun were reflected from the brown rocks, and the white sand which here and there formed extensive drifts was so dazzling that it was impossible to look at it. My right eye pained me; the lid was swollen, and the veins in the white of the eye were bloodshot. At 1.25 P. M., from a high rock, we perceived to the west on the right-hand side of Wâdi Jitm al-ʿImrân (or al-ʿEmrân) the dark-tinted mountain of aẓ-Ẓabʿi; the flat ridge of Lebenân lies opposite, on the left side of the *wâdi*. To the south of us rose the black, worn, granite rock of al-Hešîm, near which there flows a scanty spring; while south of us towered the isolated summit of al-Mkasseb. Branching off to the southeast, at two o'clock we entered into a broad *šeʿîb* that contained a number of small fields, and later we came

to the peak of al-Ḳnêneṣijje, which shuts in the great plain of al-Moṛâr on the northwest.[23]

AL-ḲNÊNEṢIJJE TO AL-WARAḲA

At 2.30 P. M. we rode alongside the dark red rocks of aṭ-Ṭfejḥwât with their precipitous sides, admiring the groups

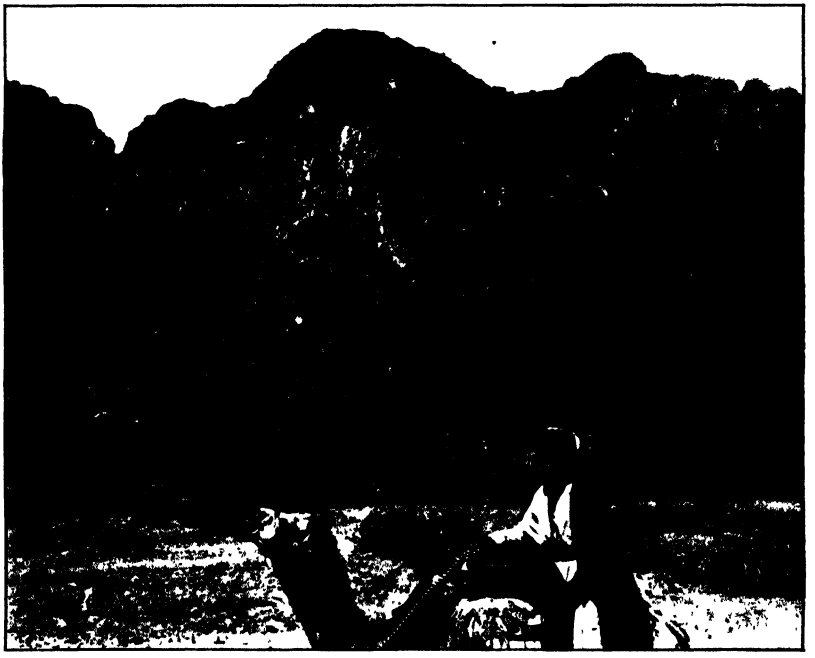


FIG. 23—Aẓ-Ẓjejḳe.

of cleft cones of Sardân and Nuṛra. The latter are prominent by reason of their peculiar olive color, and, as they extend to the northward separating the large, level plains of Ḫawr

[23] The plain of al-Moṛâr is mentioned by Arabic authors as being in the territory of the Ǧudâm tribe.

Al-Hamdâni (died 945 A.D.), *Ṣifa* (Müller), p. 129, states that the Ǧudâm tribe encamped between Madjan, Tebûk, and Aḍruḥ, one clan sojourning, however, in the vicinity of aṭ-Ṭabarijje (Tiberias). The same author mentions (*op. cit.*, pp. 130 f.) that the territory of the Beli tribe borders on the territory of the Ǧudâm on the shore near the station of an-Nabḳ and that the Ǧudâm territory extends as far as 'Ajnûna' and Tebûk in the desert, the aš-Šera' range, Ma'ân, and thence back again to Ajla, and farther on to within sight of al-Maṛâr, the place last mentioned being the encampment of the Laḫm tribe, who are also the owners of a strip of country between the settlements of Tebûk and Zoṛar.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 550, mentions the place al-Ma'în as being in the Ǧudâm territory. According to the poet Ḥassân ibn Ṯâbet, the camping places of the Ǧudâm are distributed between al-Ma'în, 'Awd, Ḫazza, al-Marrût, al-Ḫabt, al-Muna', and Bejt Zummâra'. The poet Mâlek ibn Ḥarîm mentions Mount 'Urâd together with al-Ma'în.

Ğerîs and Sardân, they are visible from a long way off. At three o'clock we had the white limestone hills of al-Ḫazʿali to the east and the high dark gray cone of al-Ḳiḏer to the southeast. At 3.20 we reached the plain Ḫawr Ğerîs, where Ḥammâd pointed out to me on the right the famous caves Moṛâr ʿAntar. On the eastern side of the limestone mountain Ṭôr ʿAntar were the mouths of three large, natural caves which served as a shelter for flocks of goats and sheep. Nowhere in these caves is there the slightest trace of any decoration or any other sign that human hands have touched them. Their resemblance to the burial caves at Wâdi Mûsa was a product of Ḥammâd's lavish imagination. He was distressed to find that the caves did not please me, but he comforted me by saying that he would conduct me to the rock of ʿAlaḳân, where he would show me boulders containing gold dust. He declared that in the spring of that year an official, *ḫaddâm*, of the Viceroy of Egypt had searched for such boulders near ʿAlaḳân without being able to find them, but that he would certainly show them to me. I thanked him for his willingness, but declared that I would not go to ʿAlaḳân, as I could not go there alone, and, if I were to take my companions with me, Ismaʿîn and Mḥammad would likewise see the boulders and later on would certainly make a raid upon the ʿImrân for the purpose of taking the boulders from them.

Having turned to the southwest through the gap of Abu Ḥsejje, we halted at 4.08 beneath the rocky wall of al-Waraḳa (temperature: 28° C). To the northwest, near the

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Al-Bekri also states, *op. cit.*, p. 190, that the places mentioned by Ḥassân ibn Ṯâbet refer to the encampments of the Ğuḏâm and that they are situated in Syria (Ḥassân ibn Ṯâbet, *Diwân* [Tûnis, 1281 A.H.], p. 28).

Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 524, refers to Marrût as a region in the Ğuḏâm territory, which was presented to Ḥuṣejn ibn Mušammet by the Prophet Mohammed, together with the fountains of Uṣejheb, al-Mâʿeze, al-Hawi, aṭ-Ṭmâd, and as-Sdêra in that area. —

Madjan is the present oasis of al-Bedʿ about half-way up the *wâdi* of al-Abjaẓ. Aḏruḥ is situated sixteen kilometers northwest of the town of Maʿân. An-Nabk is a pilgrimage station on the shore of the Red Sea, which must be located in the *šeʿîb* of Šaʿaf, although the frontier between the Ğuḏâm and Beli was and is still formed by the *wâdi* of Dâma, nearly sixty kilometers northwest of Šaʿaf. 'Ajnûna' is located about fifty kilometers south-southeast of Madjan (al-Bedʿ). Al-Maṛâr — or, as it is called today, al-Moṛâr — is a plateau to the south and southeast of the Ramm range, or the ancient Iram, rising to the east of the former city of Ajla and enclosing the northern corner of the Ḥesma' district. According to al-Hamdâni the Ğuḏâm tribe occupied Ḥesma' as far as the harbor of Ajla and al-Moṛâr, as well as the neighboring aš-Šera' range as far as Maʿân and the eastern table-land. The Laḫm tribe had the territory to the north of al-Moṛâr and to the west of the neighboring aš-Šera' range as far as the Dead Sea, always supposing, of course, that the details given by al-Hamdâni are accurate. It is certain that the Laḫm territory did not extend as far as the settlement of Tebûk. No other writer mentions the Laḫm in the vicinity of Tebûk, and no tribe would have permitted a foreign zone to be thrust as a wedge into their territory, thereby intercepting the road from water to water. Al-Maʿîn is a mountain overlooking the coastal plain about sixty kilometers north of the Dâma *wâdi*. Some accounts mention 'Ard in place of 'Awd, although it seems to me that the former name is correct, for 'Arâjed is the name of an important encampment north of Tebûk, well known to the Arabic writers. The place named Ḫazza is unknown to me in the territory of the Ğuḏâm tribe. It is, however,

rocks Sarbûṭ Amṛar, we perceived a woman with three asses, who hastily took to flight when she caught sight of us. Our guide Ḥammâd wished to pursue her, in order to evade the taunts and reproaches which Ismaʿîn and Mḥammad were heaping upon him for having extolled the caves of ʿAntar as resembling the caves at Wâdi Mûsa and for declaring that he knew of a boulder near ʿAlaḳân baked in golden flour. It was with great difficulty that I soothed his feelings. I had realized that he was well acquainted with the whole territory of his tribe, and I knew that we should need him to protect us against the aggression of his fellow tribesmen.

Accompanied by Ḥammâd and Tûmân, I went to the top of al-Waraḳa and drew a map of the surrounding territory. It took us over forty minutes to reach the summit, and it was a very difficult climb, as we had to scramble from boulder to boulder and from rib to rib. Scarcely had we set about our work than we heard a number of muffled shots below us, followed by shouts that sounded like bellowings. Running to the very edge of a wall of rock, I gazed down at our encampment. The camels were grazing among the broken fragments of rock at the foot of al-Waraḳa. The baggage was lying about two hundred meters to the east of the animals. Ismaʿîn, Mḥammad, Šerîf, and Sâlem were lying hidden in a semicircle behind four boulders and were defending themselves against some thirty assailants. The attackers had come from the northwest, some on camels, the majority on foot. Among them and behind them came women and boys, armed with

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very probable that the name has not been accurately preserved and that its proper form was ʿAzza or something similar. There is an encampment ʿAzâza known to the modern nomads in the former territory of the Ġuḍâm tribe situated at the entrance to the al-Bdejje pass, through which the road from Tihama runs eastward across the rocky plateau of al-Ġeles. I locate al-Ḫabt in the modern al-Ḫbejt, on the eastern side of the *wâdi* of al-Abjaẓ. Al-Muna' is unknown to me. Bejt Zummâra' may be identical with the modern range of Zunnâra, for in the Arabic dialects *m* is often interchanged with *n*. More probably, however, Bejt Zummâra' has been preserved in the modern Abu Zummârîn, which is the name of an important passage from the eastern plateau to the shore. The encampment of ʿUrâd of the poet Mâlek ibn Ḥarîm can very reasonably be identified with ʿArd and ʿArâjed, for the poets often adapted place names to their particular requirements. Al-Marrût denotes the whole region, the position and extent of which we can determine if we find the wells of Uṣejheb, al-Mâʿeze, al-Hawi, aṭ-Ṭmâd, and as-Sdêra.

Uṣejheb is the modern well and *šeʿîb* of aṣ-Ṣahab near al-Weli Samʿûl. The spring of al-Hawi flows out about ten kilometers north of aṣ-Ṣahab. Al-Mâʿeze suggests al-Maʿâzi, twenty-five kilometers northwest of al-Hawi. I identify aṭ-Ṭmâd with the wells of al-Maʿajjenât, ten kilometers south of al-Maʿâzi. Ṭmâd is the general name of shallow wells in a river bed, and al-Maʿajjenât are of this description. About fifteen kilometers from them are the hills of as-Sedâra, in which there are several wells west of al-Hawi, and it is there that I locate as-Sdêra. Near al-Maʿâzi rises the *šeʿîb* of al-Mrâtijje, the root of the name of which suggests the diminutive Marrût. This, accordingly, denotes the zone between aṣ-Ṣahab to the south and al-Mrâtijje about forty-five kilometers to the north.

The Prophet granted in fief to Ḥuṣejn ibn Mušammet the wells near the important transport route that passes from north to south through the western district of the Ġuḍâm territory, and Ḥuṣejn was entitled to demand a remuneration from the trade caravans.

cudgels; all were shouting and cursing. Our guide Ḥammâd, recognizing the assailants as his fellow tribesmen, shouted to them that he, their chief, was guiding and protecting us, and, when they paid no heed to his words, he pulled his splendid mantle from his shoulders and, waving it in the air in his right hand, went leaping down towards them, jumping from boulder to boulder. As soon as the marauders perceived him they came to a standstill. Gradually the women went away, and at last the men also took their departure. After this incident we could complete our work. When, after sunset, we returned, I thanked Ḥammâd for his protection; but the negro Mḥammad declared that we had not been saved by the chief but by the chief's red and yellow cloak. Mḥammad said that as soon as the assailants had caught sight of this garment — selected and sent to Ḥammâd by the Sultan — they had been struck blind and had therefore been compelled to depart. So long as this cloak was with us, not a single thief among the ʿImrân would venture to steal anything from us. But Ḥammâd had no such faith in the great power of his cloak, and he urged me to post a guard to watch over our camels and baggage throughout the night. The chief Sâlem offered to keep watch until morning, if I would fill his bag with tobacco and give him a can full of coffee to boil. I sat up with him nearly all night, as I was suffering from a severe pain in my right eye.

AL-WARAḲA TO AẒ-ẒJEJḲE

On Monday, June 6, 1910, at 4.40 A. M., we rode out from camp toward the southwest, through the *šeʿîb* of Swêbeṭ (temperature: 14° C), and at 5.44 we crossed to the watercourse of Sâbeṭ. This *šeʿîb* runs from southeast to northwest through the sloping basin Ḫawr Ǧerîs, from which protrude only a few low, rocky ribs. The largest of these is called al-Meḳjâl. The whole basin and surroundings of the *šeʿîb* of Sâbeṭ were covered with a thick growth of grass and shrubs, a sign that there had been an abundance of rain during the last rainy season. Many snakes were crawling about among the vegetation, and we saw at least twenty of them. They were about thirty centimeters long, very thin, and their backs were covered with black scales. Ḥammâd praised the "richness of the pasture that year (*rîf has-sene*)."

He explained that in the preceding year also there had been plenty of rain, but the young locusts had destroyed the grass and shrubs, so that the ʿImrân had been obliged to move on with their flocks to the region of al-Kḏûr on the southern border of the aš-Šera' range.

We reached the watershed of the valleys of al-Jitm and al-Mabrak through the broad defile of ʿElw al-Jitâma, and from 7.30 to 11.42 our main party remained beneath the steep wall of Ammu Zḳûḳ (Fig. 24). Jumping down from our camels, Tûmân and I took up the instruments we needed and with Ḥammâd made our way to the summit of Ammu Zḳûḳ. The ascent was difficult and even dangerous in places. We crawled among the granite ribs, frequently passing round vertical walls of rock, and scrambled between broken boulders, continually taking care not to set loose a stone that might roll down and wound or kill one of our companions coming up behind. After eighty minutes we reached a rocky ridge at an elevation of 1387 meters. Thoroughly tired, and breathing with difficulty, we sank down upon a rock, but after a short time recovered and set about our task.

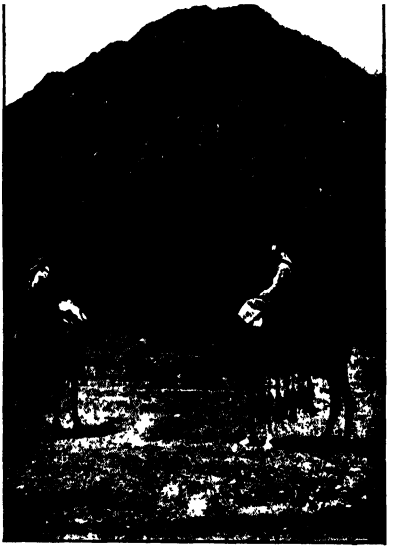


FIG. 24—Ammu Zḳûḳ.

To the east our view was shut off by the higher peaks of Ammu Zḳûḳ, and to the northwest it was barred by Abu ʿUrûḳ; but in all other directions we could see for a great distance. To the northeast, behind the elevation of Ammu Drejra, from which the *šeʿîb* of an-Naʿami proceeds, there extends the plain Ḫawr Ǧerîs, separated by the group of Sardân and Nuṛra from the plain of as-Sardân, which slopes to the southeast. South of Nuṛra the mountains of Ammu Saḫan and al-Muṭṭalaʿa are united with the broad ridge of aẓ-Ẓahr, and still farther south they merge with the mountains of Nedra and az-Zejte, which form the watershed between the eastern lowlands and the Red Sea. Below Ammu Zḳûḳ to the south, the broad *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳrejn extends from east to west — bordered on the east by the hills of al-Bṭâne, Ammu Lowze, and ʿAlaḳân; on the south by az-Zerânîḳ, an-Nḳejra, Abu Reḳâjeṣ, and

Ṛurâba; on the west by aṣ-Ṣfejḥe; and on the northwest by Abu Ḳrûn and Abu 'Urûḳ. Through the plain of al-Ḳrejn there winds the watercourse of the same name. The spring of an-Nḳejra lies between the rocks of an-Nḳejra and az-Zerânîḳ on the eastern portion of the plain, while toward the western end the spring of al-Esâwed rises at the foot of Abu Ḳrûn. The *še'îb* of al-Ḳrejn joins the *še'îb* of al-Mabrak, which extends from the rocks of 'Alaḳân, aṭ-Ṭafḥa, and Ammu Kedâde that lie to the southeast. To the west of 'Alaḳân, on the right-hand side of al-Mabrak rises the mountain of al-Ṛoṣon; on the left-hand side, al-Emejṛer and Umm Burḳa; Ammu Ḥamâṭa farther to the west is on the right-hand side, and aẓ-Ẓrejf on the left. At the head of the *še'îb* of al-Mabrak — to the southwest of 'Alaḳân — is the spring of al-'Elli; to the west of al-Emejṛer is the spring of aṭ-Ṭarfa', while northwest of aṭ-Ṭarfa' are al-Wuğîde and al-Ma'ajjenât, the latter on the west slope of Ammu Ḥamâṭa.

I collected some plants during the descent, so that I returned about a quarter of an hour later than my companions. Having described the plants and put them away, I made ready for departure, without refreshing myself with even a cup of coffee: my hungry companions had consumed everything available.

We turned back northward through the defile of 'Elw al-Jitâma, as I wanted to journey through Wâdi al-Jitm to the settlement of al-'Aḳaba. Before us, to the northwest, rose the dark mountains of Sarbûṭ al-Amṛar with their vertical ribs, on which stand steep-walled, red, natural strongholds. The vertical ribs are of granite and the strongholds of limestone and sandstone. The individual mountains are divided by broad notches, the walls of which are black while the ridges of the mountains are red, and in the rays of the sun these two colors spread around them a thin veil, woven of the most various shades of color. This veil appeared to be in perpetual motion, which was irritating to the eyes. I was obliged to bind up my sore right eye and use only the left.

At 1.10 we had on our left the *še'îb* of Ammu Nṣâl, in which rises near a *sidr* tree the spring of Ḥawâra. The 'Imrân believe that this tree is the abode of a spirit—*hal-welijje hâḏi mamlûka* (this holy tree is possessed by a spirit). At 2.10 on the right among the black granite rocks we perceived the broad gap of Meḳreḥ al-Ğemal and came to the *še'îb* of al-'Emêdijje, through which a road leads to the spring of Abu Ḥbejle. From 2.40 to 5.13 we rested at the foot of Mount al-Mkasseb (Fig. 25). The baggage was unloaded and the camels were led to the spring of Taten, which comes up from the northern slope of al-Ḳnejne. The air was filled with thick

vapors, which formed broad layers and shut out the view (temperature: 37.2° C). They quivered in the hot rays of the sun and were continually changing their position. My left eye also began to hurt and I trembled with fever.

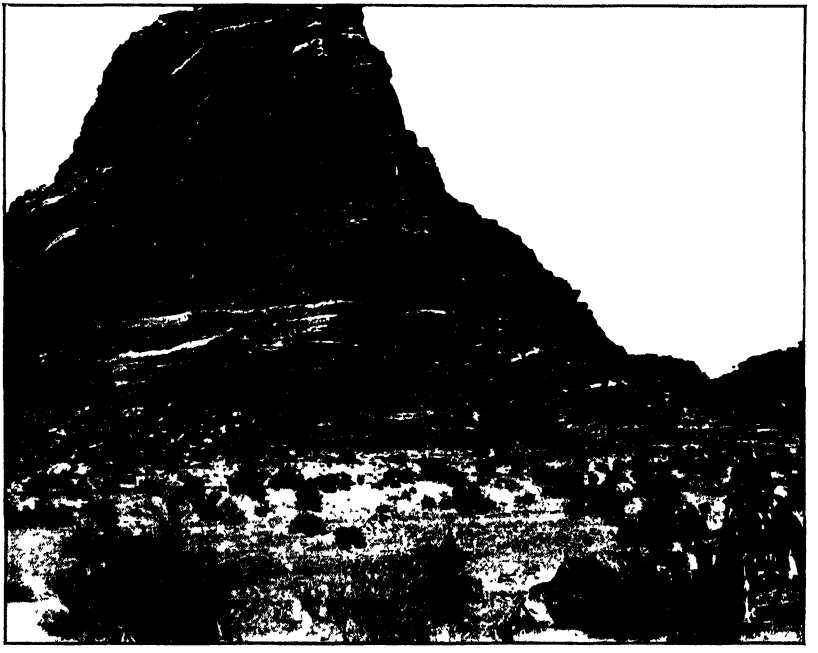


FIG. 25—Mount al-Mkasseb.

Toward five o'clock my companions brought back the camels, and at 5.13 we set off between the rocks of al-Ḳejṭûn, al-Ḥalal, and al-Ḥmejra on the left and al-Mkasseb on the right. At six o'clock, on our right beneath the spring of aš-Šerîʿa, we observed a large encampment of the ʿAsbân clan, who also belong to the ʿImrân. The chief, Ḳâsem, ran up to us with about twenty men and entreated me and my companions to be his guests. Tormented by fever and by the pain in my eyes, which was so severe that I could scarcely hold myself in the saddle, I craved rest and peace. I prayed the chief to allow us to sit down in the shadow of his tent and beneath the protection of his countenance, saying that we should everywhere extol and proclaim his bountifulness. At 6.12 we settled down beneath a rock of no great size near

the *šeʿîb* of aẓ-Ẓjejḳe, about one kilometer from the tents (temperature: 21° C).

Mounting the rock with Tûmân and the guide, I noted the names of the surrounding mountains and then dragged myself to the baggage. Šerîf placed my saddle for me in the shadow of the rock, where I lay down. My right eye was swollen and blood-shot, I had excruciating internal pains, and was shaken by fever. Scarcely had I wrapped myself up in my mantle, covering my head also, when Ḳâsem, the chief, came to pay me a visit, bringing me a bleating ram as a gift. Tying up the animal behind my head, he sat down beside me and inquired how I was prospering, how my parents were prospering, how my relatives were prospering, how the Sultan of Constantinople was prospering — not only the new Sultan, but also Abdul-Hamid, who had been deposed and who was, Ḳâsem said, a great benefactor of the ʿImrân, because he selected better cloaks than the present Sultan — and so on. Many other men came with the chief, and they also sat down around me, fingering the softness of my cloak, judging its cost, and declaring that it was of better material than the cloak which the Sultan had sent from Constantinople to their chief. Observing the barrel of my three-chambered rifle lying beside me underneath my cloak, they asked how it worked. As my head was entirely covered, I did not move or pay any heed to the chief and the rest of the company. After about a quarter of an hour, the leader got up and went to our fire, where coffee was just being boiled, and the rest of them crowded after him. Only the ram remained tied up behind my head and kept on bleating. At last the animal succeeded in breaking loose and escaped from the camp. Scarcely had its escape been observed than the chief and his followers dashed off, caught the animal, and brought it back again; but this time they did not tie it up near my head but near the fire, where it continued bleating until morning. All night long, as in a dream, I heard the voices of the men talking and the bleating of the ram.

AẒ-ẒJEJḲE TO THE RIFT VALLEY OF AL-ʿARABA AT RIĞM AL-FAẒḤ

Before dawn on Tuesday, June 7, 1910, Ḳâsem, the chief, was again sitting by my side with his ram, which he now

held by the horns with his left hand. He offered it to me as a gift, expecting, of course, a much more valuable gift from me. The evening before he had invited us to come to his tent as guests, but in the meanwhile he and his followers visited us, consumed all my companions' supper, and drank four cans full of coffee. But he nevertheless continued to regard himself as my host and demanded a gift. My companions were very much annoyed with him, and Mḥammad signaled to me that I should give him nothing. When Šerîf, at my hint, paid him three *meğîdijjât*, Ḳâsem mounted his camel and rode away without a word of thanks: he had expected a much greater gift. On the heels of the chief about fifteen other men came up and all begged for gifts. I was glad when we rode away at 4.58 P. M.

The ʿImrân comprise the following clans:

Šamâmse (or Šamsân), 10 tents; at aẓ-Ẓjejḳe.

Dbûr, 25 tents; at Sâbeṭ.

Rabîʿijjîn, 20 tents; at the head of Sâbeṭ.

al-Maḳâble, 30 tents; between as-Sedâra and Zerânîḳ.

al-Fẓûl, 20 tents; at Ḥaḳl. They form two groups: ar-Rwêkbîn and al-Ḳawâsme.

al-Ḥawâmde, 35 tents; at ʿElw as-Sirr. They include al-Hlêlijjîn.

ʿAbâdle, 20 tents; in Tihama from al-Ḥmêẓa to ad-Dabr.

al-ʿAṣâbne, 40 tents; from Ṣfejḥa to the west and south.

The head chief of the ʿImrân is Sâlem eben Maḳbûl. He receives 250 Turkish gold pounds ($ 1125) annually from the Sultan. The territory of the ʿImrân from aẓ-Ẓjejḳe in the north to ad-Dabr in the south is about sixty kilometers long by thirty-five kilometers broad. They have a clear and distinct pronunciation of *ḳ*, *k*, and *ǧ*; their *ẓ* is nearer to *ḍ*; *ta' marbûṭa* sounds nearly always like *a*.

At 5.45 we rode through a grove of *sejâl* trees which covered not only the valley but also the northern foot of Mount aẓ-Ẓabʿi. The *wâdi* forms a basin open on the east but shut in on the west by the steep walls of Mount Lebenân. The latter are made of black, reddened, and blue strata, broken perpendicularly.[24]

[24] Abu Muḥammed al-Aswad (Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 4, p. 347) recalls a ride from the sandy desert of Ajla through the lowland of Lubna' and through the volcanic region of al-ʿAramât, which is covered in places with sandy drifts. He states that Lubna'

At seven o'clock, on our left, we saw the *še'îb* of Umm 'Ešš, which is clogged with stones and sand, so that the river bed is over five meters deep. At 7.20 we arrived at the junction of the two valleys called Jitm, Malâḳa' al-Ajtâm (junction of the Jitms), one of which proceeds from the ruins of al-Ḥomejma on the north, while the other, through which we rode, comes from the southeast. The small ruins of al-Kiṭara, situated on the spur between the two channels, are said to be inhabited by a spirit and consequently are avoided by both the 'Alâwîn and the 'Imrân.[25] North of them is the spring of al-Ḥaraḳ.

I should have been very glad to have halted and inspected the ruins, but there was nowhere any trace of plants. Both *wâdis* were completely dried up, and in the joint valley of al-Jitm only *sejâls* were growing in the stony soil. Our guide Sâlem said that in the lower part of Wâdi al-Jitm there had been no rain during either that year or the previous one. The sun beat down upon the black rocks that enclose the *wâdi*, the air did not stir, and in the deep ravine the sweltering heat was unbearable. The camels were as eager as their riders to escape from this closed furnace and needed no urging to hasten westward. At eight o'clock we had the rocks of Maksar al-Ğerra on our left; four minutes later the *še'îb* of Umm Ḥamâṭa was on our right, and at 8.10 we were thrusting our way among countless granite boulders that had been wrenched from the wall of ar-Reṣafa which enclosed the *wâdi* on our right. At 8.44 we came upon the dam of al-Mesadd, which once ran across the full breadth of the *wâdi* from southwest to northeast, transforming it into a large rain pool. Its southern portion has now been broken through and carried away. At 8.52 P. M. we saw many *sejâl* trees in the *še'îb* of Umm Laṣam on our left; and at nine o'clock we rode out from Wâdi al-Jitm and from the granite walls enclosing it. On the left of the river bed, beneath the rocky wall, lies the huge, smooth boulder Dims al-'Oḳbijje, so named

is situated in the territory of the Ğudâm. — I locate the lowland of Lubna' in the valley near Mount Lebenân, for Lubna' is the feminine form of the masculine Lebenân. It belonged to the Ğudâm tribe, and an important road led through it from the harbor of Ajla to the southeast. The region of 'Aramât would then be identical with the volcanic territory Ḥarrat al-'Awêreṣ.

[25] Al-Ḥâzimi, according to Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 317, mentions Mount Kawṯar as lying between al-Medîna and Syria. — This is perhaps the mountain which rises above the ruins of Kiṭara. The approximate indication of its position between al-Medîna and Syria is customary with the Arabic geographers and implies that it is situated by the road — or at least not far from the road — which leads from al-Medîna to Syria. This road runs from Ajla by al-Kiṭara to the pass of Šitâr, the position of which is defined by Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 259, precisely as lying between al-Medîna and Syria.

after a young woman of the Beni ʿOḳba tribe. She is said to have been a renowned beauty, who was married as a girl to the chief, a relative of hers. After having been married for two years she had not yet presented her husband with a boy or a girl. At Allâh's injunction, she came one day to



FIG. 26—From Riğm al-Faẓḥ looking northeast.

look for fuel in Wâdi al-Jitm. She was accompanied by another woman but lost sight of this companion. After shouting had failed to attract the attention of the missing woman, the chief's wife leaped upon a huge boulder but missed her footing and slid down. Lo and behold! after due time, she gave birth to a strong, healthy boy. Since then the childless women of the neighboring tribes have made pilgrimages to the boulder of al-ʿOḳbijje, where they climb over its surface: if Allâh wills it they obtain children and if Allâh wills not they obtain no children.

RIĞM AL-FAẒḤ TO AL-ʿAḲABA

At 9.15 A. M., to the east of Riğm al-Faẓḥ, we perceived a few yellowish *rimṯ* bushes (Fig. 26), beside which we

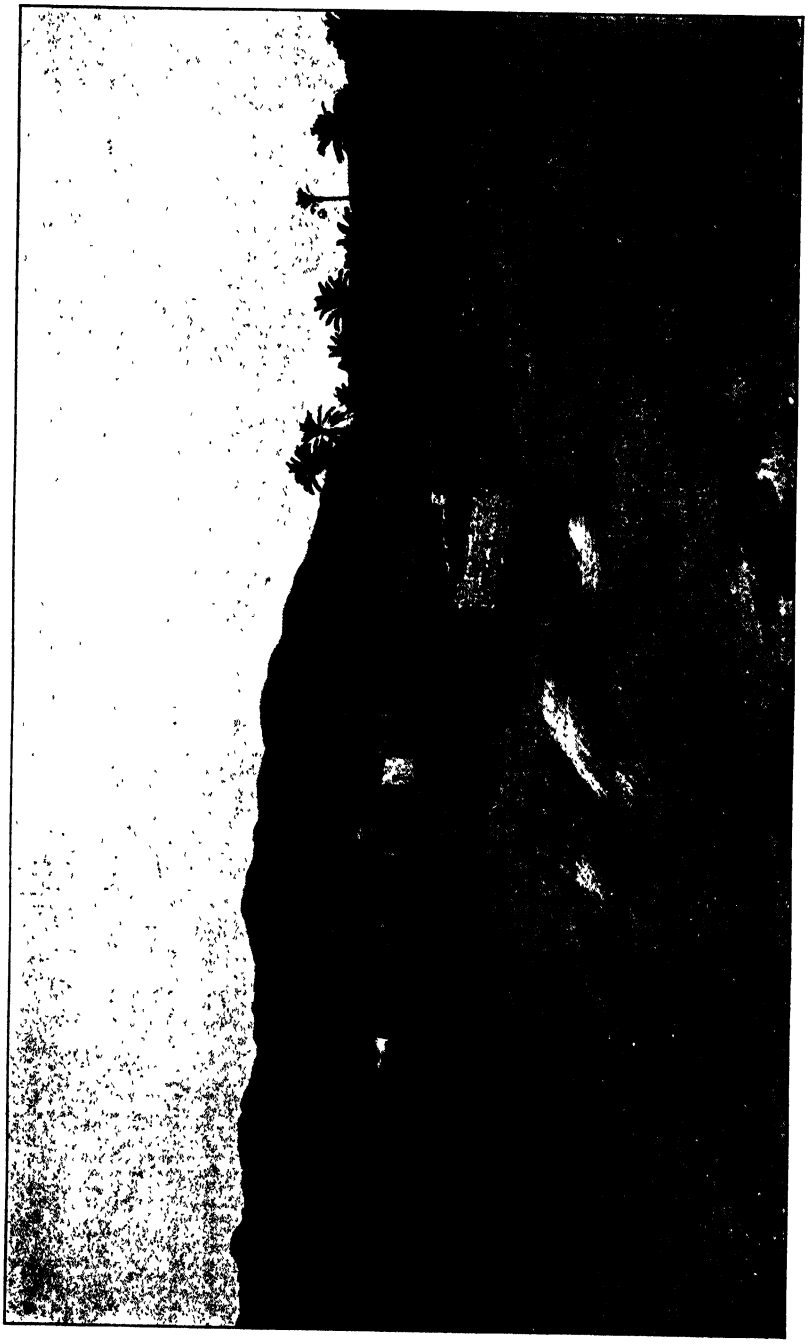


FIG. 27—Al-ʿAḳaba from the north.

remained until 11.45. Our famished camels could find nothing except *rimṯ*. The rift valley of al-ʿAraba was completely parched, and, as there was nowhere the slightest trace of grass or green plants, the prevailing color was gray. The heat was so great that we found it difficult to breathe (temperature: 37.8° C). The air was full of yellowish layers; the sun could not be seen, but its hot rays warmed these layers and scorched the stones and sand. There was not the least breath of wind to bring cooler air to the heated soil upon which we lay. Our lungs struggled to gulp down as much air as possible, and we could not bear to turn our eyes upon the glowing atmosphere. My right eye was paining me so much that I did not venture even to move the muscles of it, not wishing to increase my agony. My fever had grown more severe again, and I could feel the blood throbbing in my temples.

Mounting our camels at 11.45, we rose above the warmest atmospheric layer and could breathe somewhat more freely. After proceeding southward along the western foot of the Ummu Nsejle mountains, at twelve o'clock we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Umm Ǧurfejn, through which we could see the black ridge of Mount ar-Rwêḥa. But we did not find any fresh green plants anywhere at the foot of the mountain; the needles had been preserved only on the *rimṯ* bushes and not on all of these, for many of them were completely bare, a sign that the roots had not found enough moisture to nourish the long, thin leaves, which resemble pine needles. At 12.47 we caught sight of the palm gardens of the oasis of al-ʿAḳaba (Fig. 27). The tops of the palms seemed to be a dull black, while the sea behind them was a dirty yellow. At 1.06 we rode across the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šellâle and reached the wooden huts in which a hundred and fifty foot soldiers were quartered. Skirting the encampment and settlement on the western side, we urged our camels to kneel down by the well of Ajla (temperature 42.3° C).

The well of Ajla is situated between the stronghold and the seashore, from which it is scarcely fifty paces distant. To the north and south extend the palm gardens. At the advice of Ismaʿîn, who was well acquainted with al-ʿAḳaba, we carried our baggage into the nearest of the northern gardens, where we encamped. After a while, the owner of the garden came up to us with a watchman, and both gave

us a hearty welcome. Accompanied by Ismaʿîn, I proceeded to the *ḳâjmaḳâm*. The Government building — a low, dirty hut with two rooms and a single window — is situated north of the village. We did not find the *ḳâjmaḳâm* there, as he was paying a visit to the hut of the Military Commander farther to the north. In front of the latter's hut the soldiers had planted several *ratam* bushes, which had grown abundantly as a result of careful watering.

The *ḳâjmaḳâm*, a man of about thirty-five, with an intelligent expression, was lying on a carpet and reading a Turkish newspaper. He spoke Arabic quite fluently, and this I immediately remarked as unusual among the younger Turkish officials, especially since the change of Government. I first handed him a recommendation and a letter from his father-in-law at Damascus, and then a recommendation from Constantinople. He heartily bade me welcome and questioned me particularly about events in Constantinople and Syria. He informed me that he had reached al-ʿAḳaba from al-Medîna by way of Maʿân only a few days before and that he proposed to subject the region entirely to the Turkish Government from Moṛâjer Šuʿejb in the south to the well ʿAjn Ṛarandal in the north, from ʿAjn Ṭâba in the west to the mighty ridge of aẓ-Ẓahr in the east. He was to be supported by one hundred and fifty foot soldiers and twenty-six men mounted on camels. The *ḳâjmaḳâm* complained that one hundred and thirty of his men were lying ill, suffering from fever and malaria and that his mounted men had only two camels, which were deteriorating from day to day as a result of insufficient food. The camel riders all came from al-Ḳaṣîm, thus being ʿAḳejl, whom the *ḳâjmaḳâm* had hired in al-Medîna. The Government had appointed him the first *ḳâjmaḳâm* in al-ʿAḳaba but had not supplied him with money, food, or even ammunition. In al-ʿAḳaba there were no medicines and no doctor. The soldiers who were seriously ill were transported on camels to Maʿân and thence by railway to Damascus, a journey which required eight days, so that few of those who were dangerously ill reached Damascus alive. The garrison was relieved every six months. In 1909 many of the soldiers and the native inhabitants had died of cholera brought by pilgrims returning by way of al-ʿAḳaba to Egypt and thence to northern Africa.[26]

[26] Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), pp. 86—87, states that in his time nothing was left of the former small town of Ajla except the stronghold on the Egyptian Pilgrim Route situated by the shore of the Ḳolzum Sea. There were no fields in the

The settlement of al-ʿAḳaba has about thirty huts, inhabited by nineteen families who have emigrated from various countries and cities. The majority of the inhabitants are descendants of Egyptian soldiers and pilgrims who fell ill at al-ʿAḳaba, were cured, and married there. The huts are built of broken stone or unburnt brick. The only building of a higher type is the stronghold, which is constructed of square-hewn, black and white stones (Fig. 28). At each corner of the stronghold there is a round tower. A fine gateway in the center of the northern side leads into an extensive courtyard, along the walls of which there are stables, storehouses, and rooms for visitors and pilgrims. To the right and left of this gateway there are rosettes, and on the northeastern tower is a knight's escutcheon (Fig. 29). On both walls of the broad passage formed by the gateway there are inscriptions announcing by whom and when the stronghold was restored. Today it again stands in need of restoration, for its northern and eastern walls are half in ruins.

The inhabitants of al-ʿAḳaba cultivate the date palm. They have excellent plantations to the south of the settlement, to the northwest near the ruins of ad-Dejr on the road to Egypt, and in the western part of al-ʿAraba. They assured me that they have more than three thousand date palms. Under the palms they grow figs, pomegranates, sweet lemons, and various kinds of vegetables. The gardens do not provide them with a living, as they nearly all belong to the chiefs of neighboring tribes, for whom they are cultivated in return for a half or a third of the yield. The settlers seek a livelihood in trade, conveying and selling various goods which are brought by the coasting traders or sailors on ships from Egypt. In the Wâdi al-ʿOḳfi the soil can be cultivated, and the harvests there are abundant when there has been plenty of rain and water has been flowing through the *wâdi* for a considerable time. In this valley the inhabitants rent allotments from the Ḥêwât, sowing the land with wheat and barley and living in tents beside their fields during the periods of sowing and of harvest. After the harvest they return to al-ʿAḳaba with the threshed corn.

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vicinity of this stronghold. In former times Ajla had a small fortress on the island [a small island (not shown on the map) situated near the western shore of the gulf and not explored by me]; but this also was abandoned, and the Egyptian governor resided in the above-mentioned stronghold. For records of the history of the harbor of Ajla, see Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 305, note 16.

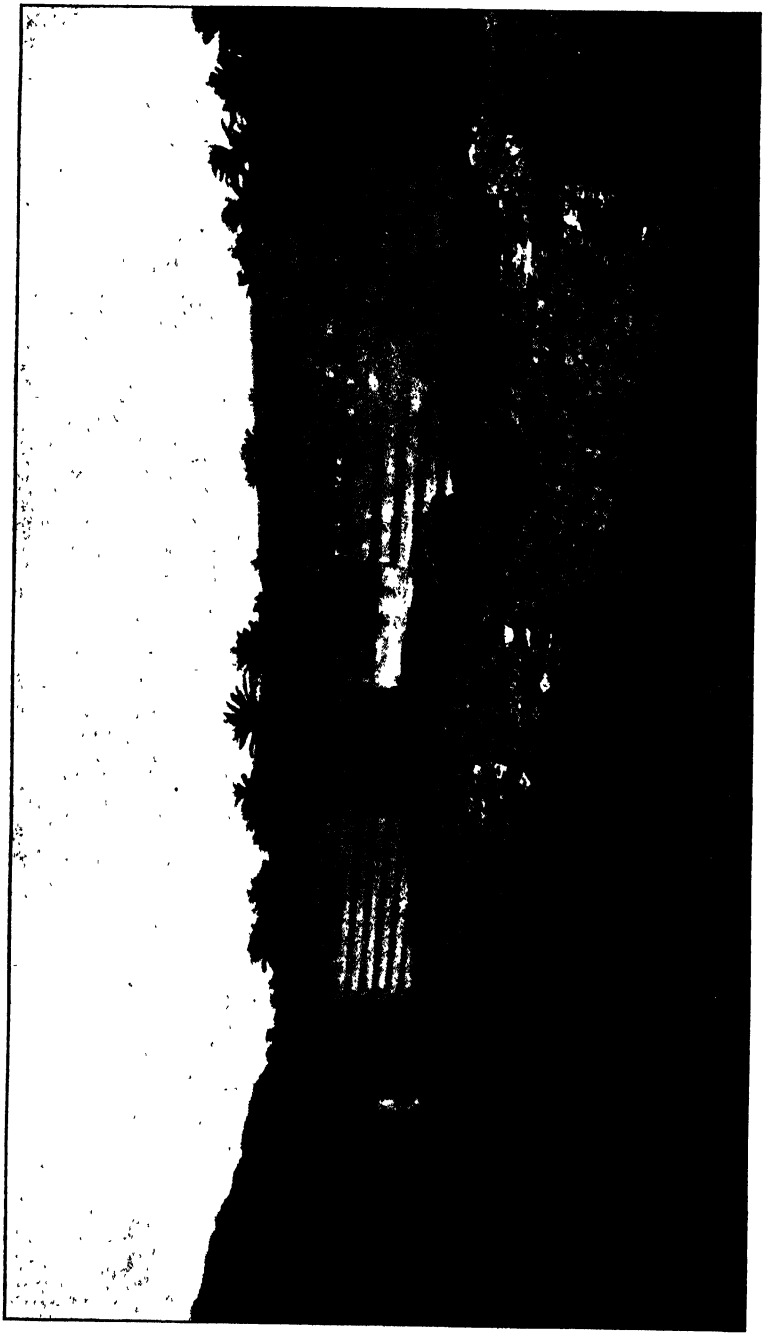


FIG. 28—The stronghold of al-ʿAḳaba from the northeast.

Northwest of the ruins of Ajla we visited a grove of luxuriant date palms in which we found other remains of old buildings, called ad-Dejr or ad-Dâr. In 1898 the Military Commander began to construct a large barrack to the south

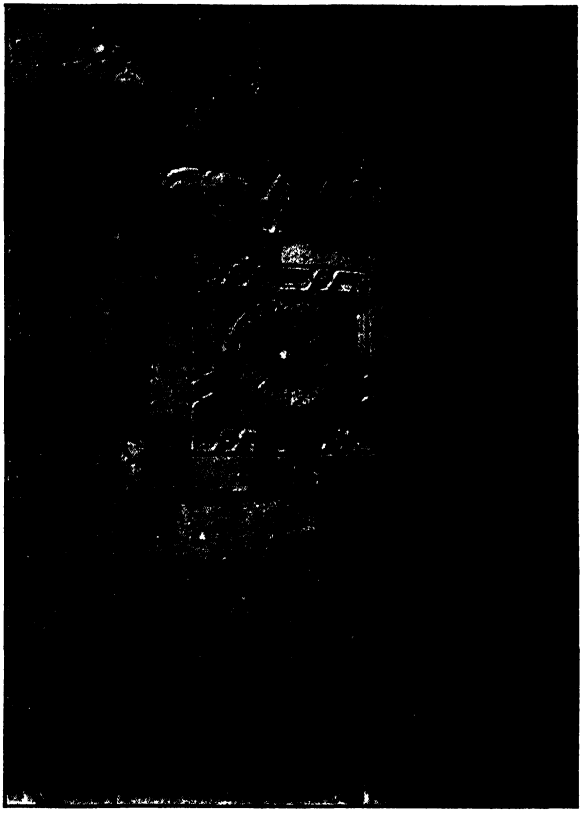


FIG. 29—Al-ʿAḳaba, the northeastern tower.

of this palm grove, but the building was never completed and now resembles a ruin.

After our return from ad-Dejr, I photographed the inscriptions on the stronghold, visited a number of the sick soldiers, conversed for more than an hour with the *ḳâjmaḳâm*, and looked about for a reliable guide. The chief, Sâlem eben Ğâd, who had accompanied us to al-ʿAḳaba, had become so accustomed to our coffee that he did not feel inclined to leave us.

CHAPTER IV

AL-ʿAḲABA TO MADIAN

The negro Mḥammad, who was guarding our camels on the pasture, sent me word that there were neither annuals nor perennials in the neighborhood and urgently advised that we should quickly finish our work at al-ʿAḳaba and continue our journey. I accordingly sent Šerîf to Mḥammad, so that they might drive the camels on to the well of Ajla (Fig. 30) and let them drink there. But the animals did not wish to drink the fresh water from the well, preferring to go to the seashore where they very readily drank from the many springs which flowed there. At low tide the rocky shore was laid bare for a distance of about two hundred meters, uncovering numerous springs which gushed forth with great strength.

AL-ʿAḲABA TO ḤAḲL

At 2.04 P. M. we left al-ʿAḳaba, making our way in a southerly direction between the gardens and the sea. At the southern extremity of the gardens, at 2.15, we fell in with a man riding on a camel in the direction of the oasis of Ḥaḳl. Joining us, he told me the names of the various places that were visible. On the eastern shore of the gulf there is a group of yellowish mountains from which run numerous deep and shallow *šeʿibân*. Many of these have watercourses as deep as twenty meters, hollowed out amid small stones mixed with clay; and there are also places where the *sejâl* trees grow. No green plants were visible anywhere. Immediately behind the gardens we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Ammu Sidd, which rises at Ḫala' D̲âḫne; then we crossed al-Ḫoloẓâni, al-Ǧowšijje, and at 2.28 ar-Râhbijje, which comes from the mountain of Abu Ruẓumân, the rocky spur of which thrusts itself down to the sea. At low tide the spur is separated from the water by a strip about twenty meters broad, covered with many boulders and with soft sand into which our animals slipped up to their knees. At high tide the sea washes against the foot of the spur's rocky wall, and in stormy weather the waves

rise to a height of many meters, wearing away the rocks. At this point it is impossible to cross between the sea and the steep wall, so a bridle path about four meters broad has been cut across the spur about one hundred meters from the



FIG. 30—By the well of Ajla.

sea, and a small watchtower (Fig. 31)—called al-Brejǧ—has been set up to prevent the Bedouins from occupying the rocks surrounding the saddle path and thus intercepting the pilgrims on their journey. This steep path, artificially cut out from the rock, was originally called ʿAḳabat Ajla, and from it the present settlement and stronghold of al-ʿAḳaba has received its name.

At three o'clock we rode across the *šeʿîb* of Umm Ḥajṭ; at 3.10 we had Riǧm ad-Darak on our right; at 3.30 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Šrejḫ, which comes from the northern slope of al-Ḫalal and joins Umm Sidre on the left; and at about 3.45 we rode through the *šeʿibân* of aš-Šmejsijje, al-Mḥaǧǧar, and al-Jemanijje. Beyond the last-named the mountains recede toward the east, and between them and the sea there extends an undulating plain about two kilometers broad, on which the *eṭmân* grows in some places. From 4.22 to 6.45 we halted

in the *še'îb* of al-Arwaḥ in order to let the camels graze a little, and here we made a fire from the long-thorned branches of the *sejâl*, this being the only wood we could find (temperature: 40.8° C).

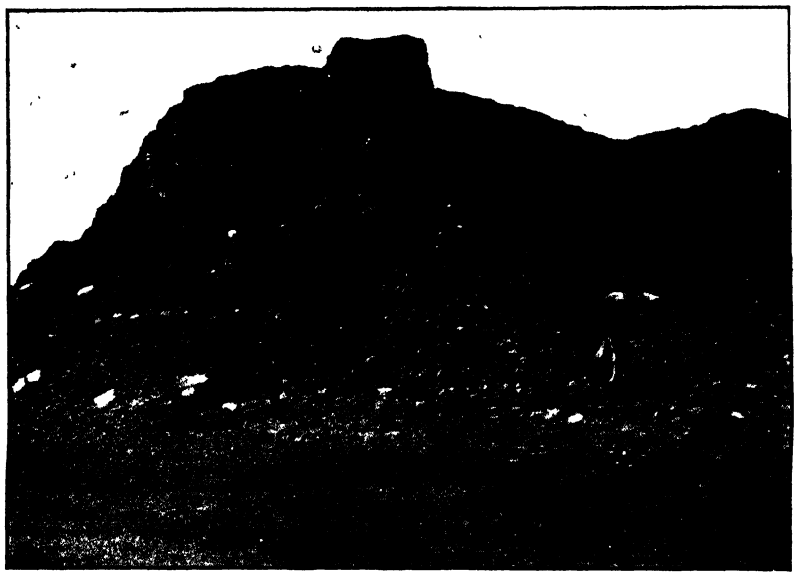


FIG. 31—'Aḳabat Ajla, watchtower of al-Brejğ.

At 6.50 we rode across the *še'îb* of al-Ḥeṣâni. The road leads along the seashore itself, beneath a brittle slope of white marl, about six meters high, through which the *še'îb* of al-Ḥalal—which we crossed at 7.08—has worn away a deep channel. After 7.30 we proceeded across the marshy soil of al-Mamlaḥ, which extends to the southeast as far as the low hills of Ḥeḳînt ar-Rimṭ. Later we crossed the *še'îb* of al-Mrâtijje (formed by the union of al-Ḳrejẓi and an-Nwêb'e) and beyond it al-Esâwed.[27]

[27] The poet an-Nâbiġa, who was a member of the Ḏubjân tribe to which the land east of the region of Ḥesma' belonged and who lived about 600 A. D., mentions (An-Nâbiġa, *Dîwân* [Derenbourg], p. 292 : [Ahlwardt], p. 21 ; Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 797) the camping places between the fertile lowland of Nu'mi and the valleys of al-Ağâwel and al-Asâwed. — As he was well acquainted with the camping places of the northern Ḥeğâz and mentions them often in his poems, we must locate these three spots in the northern Ḥeğâz. Rowẓe Nu'mi would then be identical with the fertile lowland by the well of an-Na'emi; the valleys of al-Ağâwel with the broad lowlands near Mount Ğawla; and the valley of al-Asâwed, if this name is accurately given, we should locate in the vicinity of the well of al-Esâwed.

Az-Zamaḫšari (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 587) locates the lowland of an-Nu'mi on the seashore, the Tihama, thus confusing it with the valley of al-Ağâwel. Burḳa Na'mi is the name of a half-reddened, half-black cone above the well of the same name.

The night was extremely dark, for the stars were partially hidden by haze. On the right, the sea was phosphorescent and appeared to be illuminated by numerous lamps burning beneath the water. The fever was shaking me again, and I was glad when we settled down at 8.30 at a short distance from the road among the *rimṯ* bushes near the *šeʿîb* of Sâhjet al-Maʿâzi. Fearing that some robber from al-ʿAḲaba might creep up behind us or that some traveler along the trade route might hear our voices and steal something from us, we kept guard over our encampment all night.

On Thursday, June 8, 1910, we started off at 4.34 A. M. (temperature: 27.8° C). At 4.40 we rode through the Sâhjet ad-Dirri and passed along the marl slope of ad-Debbe. The *sejâl* trees which grow there are low and stunted, and their trunks and tops bend eastward, a sure sign of prevailing westerly winds. At 5.08 we rode round two piles of stones, one covering the grave of a Bedouin, the other marking the place where his blood had been shed. He had been riding to Egypt with his nephew. At this place the nephew shot him and rode on to Egypt with his uncle's horse and all his property. But the man who had been shot roused himself from his swoon long enough to tell of the villainous deed to a traveler, who, by the ordinance of Allâh, was passing that way; after which he died. The traveler buried the man and announced to his son that he should avenge his father.

By the sea we noticed numerous piles of shellfish. In the autumn the Arabs camping by the seashore collect these shellfish, warm them over a fire, and when they are half-open eat the contents. At 5.20 we rode through the deep channel of al-Ktejf, hollowed out in the marl of ad-Debbe. On the left this *šeʿîb* joins the *šeʿîb* of Ammu Ḥsi. On the shore itself, by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ktejf, there stood three high palm trees. About one hundred and fifty paces to the south rises a salt spring, to the east of which extends a large burial place.

At 5.34 we caught sight of the oasis of Ḥaḳl. Steep slopes thrust the road towards the sea, and in places broken rocks are piled up across it. The crossing below Keṯîb al-Mbassi is dangerous. A steep slope about forty meters high, completely covered with fine sand, rises sheer from the sea, and in this the road has been artificially cut. But the soft marl does not adequately resist the attacks of the waves; it



breaks and crumbles so that nothing remains of the broad road but a narrow footpath, which in places is scarcely forty centimeters wide. During storms at sea, when the waves reach the footpath, the connection with the south is cut off.

Keṭîb al-Mbassi is often beset with robbers, who lie in wait for the rich trade caravans; but these hostile bands have suffered more than one defeat there. In the spring of 1907 the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama — who owe allegiance to the head chief Abu Ṭḳêḳa — made a raid against the ʿImrân who were encamping by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ktejf. The latter, being forewarned of the approaching danger, carried a great number of stones to the edge of the slope Keṭîb al-Mbassi and hid behind them. When the last man of the enemy passed along the footpath — about five hundred meters long — advancing from the south to its northern extremity, the ʿImrân began to roll large and small stones down on both ends of the path, in this way killing six of the enemy and compelling all the rest — over two hundred in all — to beg for mercy. At the southern end of this footpath is the spring of Ḥḳejl, near which there are four groups of palm trees.



FIG. 33—Our guide Farrâğ.

At 6.12 we reached the outlying palm trees of the small oasis of Ḥaḳl. These trees form a narrow strip extending southward along the shore. Among and behind them rise numerous springs, the water of which, however, is either salt or brackish and causes violent fever. Hence the saying: "Ḥaḳl is the ruin of reason, *ḥaḳl salab min al-ʿaḳl.*" Only to the south of the *šeʿîb* of al-Mabrak is there a spring with good fresh water. Near it are several huts built of palm leaves and therefore called *ʿešše* (nest, bower). To the north of

these huts, on the right-hand side of al-Mabrak and to the east of the date palms, there grows a group of *dûm* palms (Fig. 32).[28]

We remained in the *še'îb* of al-Mabrak from 6.25 to 7.28. Four men and two women came up to us and very willingly described to me the vicinity of Ḥaḳl, asking if one of them could accompany us as a guide. I selected a short, thickset man, named Farrâğ ar-Rwêkbi (Fig. 33), to come with us to the nearest camp of the 'Imrân.

While I was negotiating for the guide, Iṣma'în shot twelve *ḳaṭa'* birds (a species of partridge), which were drinking from the fresh spring. Nowhere in this oasis are there any traces of old buildings, and, as there was absolutely no pasture in the vicinity for our camels, we could not remain in Ḥaḳl.

ḤAḲL TO 'ELW AS-SIRR

At 8.38 we went on to the left side of the *še'îb* and proceeded in a southeasterly direction across the undulating, bare, parched region of al-Haša', which gradually merges into the elevation of Sahab aṭ-Ṭabaḳ. At 9.20 we had the palm groves of al-Ḥmejẓa and al-'Enâbijje on our right hand, in a deep notch; and we rode into the *še'îb* of al-Ḥmejẓa at the spot where it is joined by the *še'îb* of al-'Emejḳ. At the head of the latter stands a small *weli* (shrine) of Sheikh Ḥmûd. The saint Ḥmûd is called the liberator of the prisoners, *fakkâk al-maḥâbîs*. If an Arab who has been imprisoned by the Turkish Government appeals to him, he will set him free, even though he may be in chains. It is seldom that he assists a Turk or a Črkas (Circassian).

At ten o'clock we descended into the *še'îb* of al-Ğille, known as Umm Ğurfejn in its middle part, where there was a settlement of liberated black slaves. Their chief was called Faẓlallâh. They live like the Arabs, breeding goats as well as a few sheep and camels. They comprise thirty-six families

[28] I think that in Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 27, Agkale is a corruption of the Arabic word Ḥaḳl. The location tallies.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 26, writes that Ḥaḳl is situated on the shore of the oasis of Tejma in the territory of the Ğudâm tribe.

According to Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 299, Ḥaḳl is a place sixteen miles from Ajla, in the direction of al-Medîna. 'Azza, the beloved of the poet Kuṭejjer, had a garden there. In agreement with Ibn al-Kalbi, Jâḳût makes Ḥaḳl the landing place of Tejma. —

The distance between Ajla and the oasis of Ḥaḳl is thirty-five kilometers. It is doubtful whether this oasis was ever of any importance to Tejma. The landing place Ẓbe' is situated 150 kilometers nearer Tejma than is Ḥaḳl.

and obey Eben Maḳbûl, the head chief of the ʿImrân. Many of them are the descendants of Egyptian soldiers who guarded the various halting places on the Pilgrim Route leading from Egypt by way of al-ʿAḳaba to al-Medîna and Mecca.

At 10.30 we came upon the plateau of al-Mṛejra, where we remained from 10.47 to 1.15. The camels chewed at the hard woody portion of the *eṯmân*. To the south of Umm Ğurfejn rise the hills of al-Asmar, from which the *šeʿibân* of ar-Ramṯi, aṯ-Ṯawṯaḥijje, Ğeḏûʿ and al-ʿArajḳên proceed toward the west. The *šeʿîb* of aš-Šrejḥ divides the hills of al-Asmar from the ridge of the same name. Toward the north rise the broken peaks of at-Tnejnîr and east of them the huge cones of al-Ḥadab. My companions boiled the *ḳaṭa'* birds, but after two hours they were even harder than when they were put into the water.

At 1.45 P. M. we had the *šeʿîb* of Salab al-ʿArejf on our right; at 2.15 Umm Mešta was on our left; and at 2.45 Sejḥ al-Ḳṣejr. These *šeʿibân* come from the rocks of al-Ḳerîn and al-ʿAwğijje. At the northern foot of al-Ḳerîn is the well Bîr Ğedîd, while the spring of ʿArejğa rises on the southern foot. The hills gradually grow into mountains. The *šeʿibân* become narrower and deeper. Except for the grayish-green *seǰâl* trees, there was no vegetation. At 3.20 we saw on our right the *šeʿîb* of al-Msejḥeṭ which comes from the spring of the same name; on our left was al-Hwêwîra, separated by the ridge of as-Sedâra from Sejḥ al-Ḳṣejr; and at 4.38 Feğğ al-Kalḫ was on our right, while on our left lay the *šeʿîb* of Sejhîğ near Mount al-Hawâra. We reached the plain of ʿElw as-Sirr, upon the northeastern portion of which are the three isolated dome-shaped peaks of Manâẓer aš-Šerḳi. South of these extends the ridge of al-Farwa with the broken cone of as-Silmi. Finding that this plain furnished pasture for our camels, we encamped at 5.31 P. M. beneath a high red rock, from which we obtained a view of the surrounding country (temperature: 32.5° C).

To the west of ʿElw as-Sirr extends the narrow ridge Šrejf al-Maktale, west of which is Umm Râšed and, still farther, al-Kalḫi. From the eastern slope of al-Maktale rises the *šeʿîb* of ad-Dabr, which runs in a northwesterly direction and is joined on the right by the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḥadab and aṯ-Ṯmejmijje, on the left by Ḫṭejmijje and al-ʿAjn. Šeʿîb ad-Dabr comes to an end beneath the hills of al-Ḥamẓa on the shore of the Red Sea. Southwest of Šrejf al-Maktale and south of Umm Râšed, rain water collects in the *šeʿîb* of al-Eḥẓêri, the branches of which are al-Ḫrûṭ and

al-Ḥaša' on the right and al-Ḥsej on the left. The *še'îb* of as-Sulṭânijje runs from al-Kalḫi. South of this *še'îb* and north of al-Eḥzêri stands the small shrine al-Weli 'Azzâm.

There was once a pregnant woman who was walking along the seashore, unable to find any water. Being very thirsty, she knelt down and begged Allâh to have mercy on her. At that very moment she gave birth to a male child. Being too weak to hold him in her arms, she laid him beside her on the ground, and behold, at the child's feet a spring gushed forth. Allâh had saved mother and child. The spring, hence, is holy, and it is called 'Azzâm. This story is probably an echo of the legend of Hagar and Ishmael in Genesis, 21:15.

Farther south the *še'ibân* of Ğennijje, al-Ṟurajje, and al-Klejb extend from the hills of an-Nâṭeš toward the sea. These *še'ibân* start in the mountains of Ḳrejdât al-Arnab, al-Ašhab, and al-Mḥejmeẓ, south of Šrejf al-Maktale. At al-Ašhab rises the *še'îb* of Ṟalâl; at al-Mḥejmeẓ the *še'ibân* of Umm Ḥaṣa and an-Nimrijje, in the latter of which is the spring of Ṯiṟeb. To the east of an-Nâṭeš the *še'îb* of an-Neḳwa joins al-Klejb, dividing an-Nâṭeš from aš-Šaḳḳa. The southern border of an-Nâṭeš is formed by the *še'îb* of an-Nḫejl. From it the mountains of al-Ḳorẓijje and as-Sîḳijje rise to the southeast, descending steeply to the sea near the copious well Bîr Marša'. The *še'îb* of the same name ends in the *še'îb* of Ḫarḫûra near al-Marša'. To the south of the latter the *še'ibân* run in a southwesterly direction and end near Ṭajjebt Ism, where there is a small grove of date palms.

Ṭajjebt Ism is a small oasis belonging to the 'Amarîn clan, which comprises only eleven families. Formerly this clan possessed the whole region between the valley of al-Abjaẓ and the sea, but the greater part of the families have migrated to the neighborhood of Wâdi Mûsa.

The large spring of al-Lâwi rises between Ṭajjebt Ism and Bîr Marša', north of the *še'îb* of as-Swêḥel. It is situated at the foot of the Ğehâmân, which we could also see both from Ab-aḍ-Ḍên and 'Elw as-Sirr.

East of 'Elw as-Sirr the ridge of al-Farwa forms the watershed between the *še'ibân* running in a westerly direction and the deep valley of al-Abjaẓ extending southward. This valley starts near the shrine al-Weli Sam'ûl, at the junction of three branches. The longest of these is aṣ-Ṣahab, which extends from the east, from the hills of aẓ-Ẓorf and the ridge of aẓ-Ẓahr. On the left it is joined by the *še'ibân* of al-'Ajenât, aẓ-Ẓell, aš-Šrejf, and al-Kiswe, and on the right by aš-Šuḳḳa, which comes from the cones of al-Malfi and Abu Rḥajjât. The northern branch, al-Wâseṭ, begins under the name of al-Ḥṣajd, between Umm Burḳa' and the rocks Hẓejb al-Bîẓ and al-Mu'allaḳ. The *še'ibân* which merge with it on the right are al-Hawi (in which is the spring of al-'Awğijje), al-Bakra, Ammu Kaẓm, Ammu-t-Tîn, and Še'ibân ar-Raẓijje; on the left it is joined by Umm Ğaser (which comes from near the well of the same name on the northern foot of the ar-Rîlân rocks), by al-Mğejfel (which rises between ar-Rîlân and al-Ḳaḥaze), and finally by al-Ḥrejğ. The third branch, as-Sejâle, starts from the ridge of al-Farwa and divides Ḳlejb ar-Retâme from the Eḳṭân rocks. With the valley of al-Abjaẓ merge on the eastern side the following *še'ibân*: al-Ḥarâḳîṣ, which begins among the rocks of Ṟurâb; Srejm and Ṯbêt, coming from the large mountain al-Ma'ṭijje; al-Ḫbejt, bordering al-Mwêleḥ to the south; al-Mḥemm, which joins with

al-Ḫeǧijje; Sejḥ al-Ḳṣejr; al-Metâha; aṣ-Ṣdejr; al-ʿEmejḳ; ʿAleǧân, made by the junction of al-Mḥaṭṭa and al-Ṛâra; Amwas, formed by the combination of Fejḥân, ar-Râḥa, and Emtân; and, finally, at the water of al-Bedʿ and ruins of Ḥawra, the *šeʿîb* of an-Nmejr. On the right the valley al-Abjaẓ is joined by the shorter *šeʿibân* of Sidd near the spring of al-Wuǧêra, by aš-Šerâf, as-Seʿêd, aṭ-Ṭleje, al-Ḥṣâne, Mašra', Umm ʿEšš, Ḫarm al-ʿÂḳer, Asejḥer, az-Zerâfa, al-Maḳje, and Eḳdâd.

ʿELW AS-SIRR TO THE ŠEʿÎB OF AL-MISMA'

Having spent a peaceful night, we left our encampment at 4.34 A. M. on Friday, June 10, 1910. There were a number of isolated rocks scattered over the plain, among them, on our right, the small red rock of al-Ḥmejdijje, said to be inhabited by a spirit. At 5.20 we reached the rocks of aš-Šaraf and Umm Ǧidde, between which the Pilgrim Route of as-Sulṭânijje swings off, maintaining, however, its generally southeasterly direction from al-ʿAḳaba to the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šerâf, through which it reaches the *wâdi* of al-Abjaẓ where it trends southward.[20]

Leaving the Pilgrim Route, we rode in a southerly direction along the foot of ad-Daʿǧânijje. At six o'clock we met two riders on camels and three wayfarers traveling from west to east. Having greeted our guide, they stopped with him for about ten minutes, after which the riders went on eastward, while the wayfarers joined us. Falling into conversation with them, I discovered that one had an admirable knowledge of the region, so I asked him to accompany us as a guide. He accepted my offer and told me that he was going to fetch his riding camel which his father was watering at the well of Bwâra.

At 6.24 A. M. we entered a gap about three hundred meters broad and rising to the south, which we followed until 7.20, when we halted. The baggage was unloaded, and Ismaʿîn and Šerîf, together with the old guide, drove the camels to the well of al-Bwâra, which flows in a deep *šeʿîb*. The new

[20] Aš-Šerâf is the ancient pilgrims' halting place, Šaraf al-Ba'l or Šarafe Beni 'Aṭijje. Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 675; Vol. 3, p. 278, mentions Šaraf al-Ba'l but does not know whether it is a place in Syria or a mountain on the Pilgrim Route from Syria. — Jâḳût was not familiar with the Pilgrim Route from Egypt.

Al-Ḳazwînî (died 1283 A. D.), *Aǧâ'ib*, (Cairo, 1321 A. H.), Vol. 1, p. 234, says that the mountain of Šaraf al-Ba'l rises on the Pilgrim Route leading from Syria to al-Medîna. On it there is a large building for the statues of deities wrought so artistically in stone that it would have been exceedingly difficult to do the same work in wood. Everyone marvels at the height of the building, the size of the stones, and the length of the pillars. — The name Šaraf al-Ba'l is printed Šaraḳ al-Ba'l. The place now is full of isolated rocks curiously eaten away by sand and wind, rain, frost, and sun.

guide returned with the animals, but without his own camel. His excuse was that his father had driven it away; but the real reason was that he did not wish to risk his camel's being stolen. I asked him to draw for me in the sand a plan of the whole shore of al-Ḥmejẓa as far as ʿAjnûna, with the various *šeʿibân* and the mountains from which they run. From his statements and his plan I myself drew a sketch map. Twice I rubbed out his drawing and asked him to sketch the *šeʿibân* again — on each occasion from a different side — and I thus found that he never contradicted himself. His statements as to direction and distance were accurate. He measured distance either in terms of camel rides or of marches on foot.

At 8.50 we proceeded farther southward. At 9.20 we reached the elevation of Ḳrejdât al-Arnab, and we remained beneath a high granite peak until 12.30. Originally we had intended to eat, but we had five hungry ʿImrân with us, and our stock of supplies was already running short. Consequently Mḥammad urged me to complete our cartographical observations rapidly and then continue our journey. Only the heaviest baggage was unloaded from the camels, the lighter articles being left on them. Accompanied by the new guide, Tûmân and I climbed to the top of the peak, from which we intended to sketch the surrounding district. At first we went up a slope of crumbling stone which shifted with every footstep. We then clambered from boulder to boulder until we reached a projection which we took to be the actual summit, but we soon discovered that the latter was situated farther on towards the west. It consisted of vertical ribs between which we cautiously climbed upwards. The upper ends of these ribs rose up like a wooden fence and were so smooth that we had to crawl among them at full length. The summit was formed by a single boulder three meters long and two meters broad at the top. As I am subject to dizziness, I could not look downward into the precipitous chasm, more than one hundred and fifty meters deep. Having completed our work, we went down again, the descent proving even more difficult and dangerous than the ascent. Before we were safely down blood was drawn from our hands and feet. The camels were already loaded, so that we could continue our journey immediately. Our uninvited guests had waited a long time for our return, but not knowing where

and when we should prepare the midday meal they had finally departed.

Passing through a narrow, rocky ravine we came at 12.50 P. M. to a *šeʿîb* which contained an abundant growth of plants, and here we stayed until 2.30 P. M. Our guide was acquainted not only with the region lying between the right-hand side of the al-Abjaẓ valley and the sea but also with the territory situated to the east and northeast of al-Abjaẓ. From his various remarks I gathered that he was a chief of robbers and that he only occasionally visited his tent. He was willing to accompany us as far as al-Bedʿ, where he had left with the Mesâʿîd two stolen camels that he intended either to sell or to send to Egypt. Of all our camels, he liked best the one that Ismaʿîn was riding. He stroked it and patted it at every opportunity, which made Ismaʿîn afraid that the man would steal the animal during the night.

At 2.59 we observed the mountain range of al-Mwêleḥ to the southeast. It consists of two horizontal strata, the lower one white, the upper one black. From this range proceeds the *šeʿîb* of the same name, which joins with al-Abjaẓ on the left-hand side. East-southeast of al-Mwêleḥ rise two cones of Jabb, and southwest of these cones we could see the ridge of aš-Šemrâḫ with several high pyramids denoting the pass of al-Ḫeğijje. On our left we had the head of the *šeʿîb* of Seʿêd, which joins al-Abjaẓ opposite the *šeʿîb* of al-Mwêleḥ. At 3.10 the guide showed me the spring of ʿEjert al-Kabš on the right, while on the left we saw the ravine of Ḥṣij al-Benn with several black boulders, said to be possessed by spirits (*mamlûkât*). At 3.20 we had the *šeʿîb* of al-Klejb on our right and aṭ-Ṭrejfi on our left. Through a gap in the left-hand rocky wall we perceived at 3.32 three palm trees above the fountain of Môjet al-Ḥṣâne. At 3.45 we rode around a large pile of stones heaped up upon the grave of al-Welijje Saʿîde, or the holy woman Saʿîde, who is said to help women in distress or illness. At 4.05 we observed the *šeʿîb* of Medliğ on the left, and south of it Mount aẓ-Ẓrejbijje, with springs of the same name, from which proceed the *šeʿibân* of ad-Dbâklijje and al-Mešall, which join with al-Ḥṣâne and end in Wâdi al-Abjaẓ.

We rode through the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥṣâne until 4.20, when we reached the red elevation of as-Snejdʿe and the shallow channels of ar-Rîḥijjât. To the southeast glistened the red

and white strata of the al-Lowz mountain range, south of which, on the mountain of al-Maḳla, we saw the high, white, shining pyramid of Nṣejlet al-ʿAjn, from which the large spring al-ʿAjn flows to the southwest. From this spring there are roads leading to the passes Naḳb al-Madsûs and Naḳb al-Maḳla; and southeast of the latter is the well of Maṭʿama with the holy tree of the same name. The pass of al-Maḳla divides the mountain range of al-Maḳla from the black mountain of ar-Râḥa. North of al-Lowz we saw a deep, dark gap — the *šeʿîb* of al-Mḥemm — and east of it a clear, white strip, which was the road to the pass of al-Ḫeğijje, near which there is a well with good water. To the left of us rose the hills of al-Ḳaṭṭâr, and on our right to the southwest the guide pointed out the spring of Rîḥa at the foot of al-Ašhab.

At 4.24 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of an-Nwêbʿe, which starts on Mount al-Mḥejmeẓ from the spring of the same name. West of al-Mḥejmeẓ flows the spring of aṯ-Ṯireb, and southwest that of Šowša. The region through which we passed was completely barren. There was no vegetation on the rugged, rock-strewn slopes; in the river beds there grew some scattered *ratam* and *rimṯ*, but no verdure was upon them. The guide drew my attention to the fact that we were approaching an area in which there had been no adequate rain for four years and that he therefore doubted whether we could find any pasture for our camels on this part of our journey.

At five o'clock we reached a low elevation called ʿArejf al-Ṛalâjîn, where the Arabs dig out meerschaum from which they cut their short pipes. Smokers from the whole of the northern half of the Ḥeğâz are said to come here. Many of them carry away on their camels as much as two loads of the soft stone and sell it to their fellow tribesmen. Southwest of ʿArejf al-Ṛalâjîn rises Mount Mrâḥ, the vertical ribs of which surmount the ridge by almost four meters. In the broad *šeʿîb* of al-Mašra' we found numerous traces of Arabs and their flocks, *arẓ maṭḳûḳa* (trodden ground), but no pasture for our camels. The guide pointed out to me Môjet Šowša in a short *šeʿîb* to the west and to the east the large, black mountain aš-Šaʿâl. At 5.25 we crossed a footpath leading to the spring of ʿArejğa, and at 5.35 we perceived the broad, gray ridge of al-Ḫbejt running in the direction of al-Abjaẓ.

It was 6.15 before we found at the eastern bank of the *šeʿîb* of al-Misma' a few green *rimṯ* bushes, beside which we

encamped (temperature: 30° C). The camels were hungry and tired and the road was stony, so that we could not leave this place after our evening meal. We therefore made a fire under a large boulder, but after cooking the supper we immediately extinguished it in order that its flame might not betray us. The camels knelt, one close beside the other; whereupon we fastened their two front legs together. Then we lay down in a circle around the animals, with the new guide between Ismaʿîn and Mḥammad. He was not called upon to act as guard during the night.

THE ŠEʿÎB OF AL-MISMA' INTO WÂDI AL-ABJAẒ

On Saturday, June 11, 1910, we started off at 4.34 A. M. (temperature: 22° C) through the *šeʿîb* of al-Misma' which forms the beginning of the *šeʿîb* of Asejḥer, in which, at five o'clock, our guide Slîmân pointed out to me the water of al-Ḫarada. He also showed me farther to the southeast on the left side of the *wâdi* of al-Abjaẓ the deep gaps formed by the *šeʿibân* of an-Nzêrât that join with aṣ-Ṣdejr and al-ʿEmejḳ. South of them we could see the *šeʿibân* of al-Mḥaṭṭa and al-Ṛâra extending to the *šeʿîb* of ʿAleğân. At 5.20 we saw the narrow peak of Ab-aḏ-Ḏên to the southeast. We then came to the beginning of the *šeʿîb* of Zerâfa, which forms the western border of the territory belonging to the ʿEmêrât, a clan of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama numbering about one hundred tents. On the south their territory extends as far as the oasis of al-Bedʿ, on the north as far as al-Weli Samʿûl, and on the east it reaches to the mountain of Šemrâḫ and al-Maḳla. South of this clan the Mesâʿîd encamp, and to the north the ʿImrân. At 6.04 we rode between the rugged hills of al-ʿAjdijje and the mountains of Abu Rijâš, where the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥḳâf begins. After being joined on the right by the *šeʿibân* of aš-Šarma and Ğehâmân, which extend from the mountains of Ardâd, al-Ḥḳâf penetrates the hills of ar-Rafîd and ends on the seashore near the oasis of Ṭajjebt Ism.

Our guide explained that the territory between Ḥaḳl and Ṭajjebt Ism used to belong to the ʿAmarîn clan. They had migrated to Egypt and to the neighborhood of Wâdi Mûsa, so that only about ten families remained in the original territory and these few were now encamped with the ʿImrân. The latter are also accompanied on their nomadic wanderings by about

twenty families of the Fawâjde clan of the tribe of Beni ʿOḳba, which once ruled over the tribes of the Maʿâze and the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama and is said to have been descended from the Ṯamûd tribe that built rock dwellings at al-Ḥeğr and Moṛâjer Šuʿejb. Today the ruins of these dwellings, as well as the oasis of al-Bedʿ, belong to the Bedaʿîn clan of the Mesâʿîd tribe. The Mesâʿîd are not akin either to the ʿImrân or to the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama, and they form two equally numerous clans, the Bedaʿîn and Farâḥîn together consisting of about one hundred and twenty tents. The Farâḥîn sojourn for the most part between the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳijâl and Râs Fartak (Cape Fartak), while the Bedaʿîn remain north of them between the oasis of al-Bedʿ and Maḳna on the seashore.

At 6.38 we rode through the *šeʿîb* of al-Maḳje and approached the black mountain of al-Ḫšêrme. To the southeast we saw the mountain of Zihed, which resembles a kneeling camel. Its isolated peak rises above the entrance to the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫrob.

To the northwest rose the high obelisk of Ab-aḍ-Ḍên, separated from the lower one of Abu Riǰâš by the broad *šeʿîb* of Faršt ʿEdd. At 7.15 the broad *šeʿîb* of Frejšt al-ʿEḳejl opened out on our right. The region through which we were passing was completely void of life. Nowhere did we see animals or birds, nowhere was there any green growth of vegetation. The *ratam* bushes were absolutely bare, as though dried up, and even the hardy acacia *sejâl*, which defies the drought, had not a single leaf. My right eye was not yet well, and my left one also began to pain me. The fever returned.

At eight o'clock we had the huge mountain of Lebûn on our left, and we admired the mountains of ar-Râḥa and al-Maḳla, covered with a delicate veil of haze. These mountains form the watershed of the Wâdi al-Abjaẓ — and thus of the Red Sea — and the lowlands traversed by the railway to al-Medîna. West of the saddle Naḳb al-Maḳla yawned the deep ravine of Fejḥân, through which a road leads from the valley of al-Abjaẓ to the well al-ʿAjn and farther on to the passes Naḳb al-Madsûs and Naḳb al-Maḳla. At 8.30, on our right lay the small *šeʿîb* of Ḫajjij, with the water of the same name at its entrance; at 8.40 we saw the small *šeʿîb* of ʿEḳejl, which comes from al-Klejḫi and Ṭrejf al-Bawwâl.

At 9.28 we entered the Wâdi al-Abjaẓ at the point where it is joined on the left by the *šeʿîb* of ʿAleğân. In the broad, white river bed of al-Abjaẓ we found an abundance of *rimṯ* bushes, but they too were completely dead. However, on the left-hand side in a small basin through which winds the channel of al-Abjaẓ — below this point known as al-ʿEfâr or al-ʿEfâl — we could see a darker clump of *rimṯ* bushes at the foot of a high, black peak. We turned aside towards them and remained beside them from 9.46 until 12.42. Rain water had been collecting for some time in this basin, so the roots of the *rimṯ* were still able to nourish the grayish-green leaves. Our camels grazed on the *rimṯ* for a few minutes and then proceeded to search for other plants, but, finding none, they knelt down one after the other and rested. To us this was a discouraging sign, for it showed us that the animals were already very tired (temperature: 37.5° C).

Accompanied by the guide and Tûmân, I climbed up to the black peak, beneath which we sat down. The ascent required more than half an hour and was dangerous in places, as we had to crawl on our stomachs up the smooth slope. We named this peak Samra' Tûmân (Fig. 34), and the guide promised to see to it that the Bedouins should call it by the same name.

Southwest of Samra' Tûmân rise the dark brown peaks of Ḳdâd, Eṣdeḥ, aṣ-Ṣoḳḳ, and al-Laṭṭ, from which the *šeʿibân* of aṭ-Ṯemîle, aṣ-Ṣoḳḳ, al-Ḳṣâra, Abu Ḥlejfi, and Abu Dwejme reach to the sea. On the watershed to the southeast rises the black range of ar-Râḥa, on the western slopes of which are situated the cones of Umm Ğâḏeb, Ṣelf, and al-Ferš. In the southern part of ar-Râḥa, by the cone of al-Ferš, flows the spring ʿAjn Marra, near which rises the *šeʿîb* of aṭ-Ṯmejmijje, joining with Fejḥân. Somewhere near the middle of this *šeʿîb* is the spring of Ḳammâḥ, from which the pass Naḳb an-Naššâš leads eastward. To the north of Ḳammâḥ is Naḳb al-Aḥejmer. To the south of ar-Râḥa the watershed is formed by the brown and white streaked hills of al-Muʿaffara, the southern spur of which is called al-Ṟâjme. Az-Zihed towers to the west of al-Ṟâjme and to the north of az-Zihed stretch the narrow ridges of al-Ḥrejbe, al-Mnîfe, aḍ-Ḏbejbi, aš-Šedîḫ, al-Kbejda, al Ḥemâra, an-Nmejr, Lâha, al-Ṟarâḳ, and Mikwan al-Ḥâğğ, which slope toward the southwest.

A little before noon a strong, south-southwesterly wind arose which, though it failed to moderate the intense heat, at least set the air in motion and thus facilitated our breathing. We felt the full strength of it as we were moving toward the south through the broad valley of al-Abjaẓ. This valley is covered with a layer of fine sand, from which isolated

clumps of *rimṯ* bushes emerge like small islands. It is bordered to the right and left by high, rocky walls, through which break numerous *šeʿibân*, large and small. After one o'clock the *wâdi* became tapering and twined round the spur of Mikwan al-Ḥâğğ, which extends towards al-Abjaẓ from the east. Egyptian

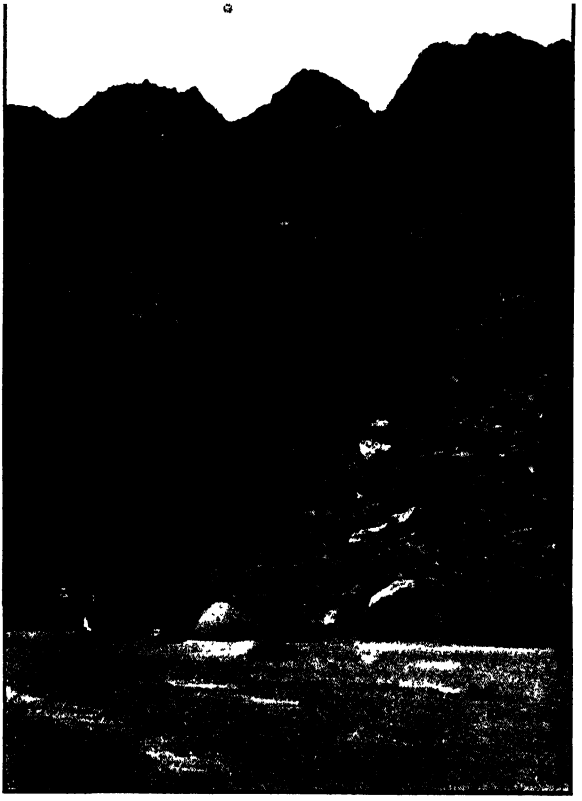


FIG. 34—Samra' Tûmân from the northwest.

troops always occupied this spur when the pilgrimage caravans passed this way, for on several occasions the Arabs had attacked and robbed the pilgrims near here. Our guide Slîmân related how his father Sâlem had taken part in such an attack. The Egyptian soldiers had built a wall of rough stones on the mountain spur, behind which they had set up two small cannons. Not seeing any hostile Bedouins anywhere about, they were looking at the approaching pilgrims, admir-

ing the decorated camels carrying gifts from Egypt to Mecca and the splendid palanquins of the Egyptian ladies and gentlemen, and keeping no watch on the higher rocks to the east. But it was precisely in these rocks that the ʿImrân were concealed with the Beni ʿAṭijje. Creeping down softly toward the soldiers, they flung themselves upon them with a great shout. Some they killed, others escaped. The Bedouins set light to fuses and fired at the pilgrims who were crowded together in the narrow valley beneath the spur, where they were completely unable to defend themselves. The victims were thoroughly plundered by the Bedouins. Slîmân said that his father carried off two camels, upon which he loaded various garments, carpets, and food, and that in addition he made off with a small bag containing forty-eight gold coins.

TO THE RUINS OF ḤAWRA'

At 1.50 P. M. we saw on our right the small *šeʿîb* of Eḳdâd, which comes from Ṭrejf al-Bawwâl, and to the southeast we could see the flat elevations of aẓ-Ẓerw and al-Ṛarâḳ, composed of red and white strata. At 2.22 we had the small *šeʿîb* of Amwas on our left hand, and on our right the short *šeʿîb* of al-Krejbât.

Slîmân recited a poem which he had composed in my honor, but Mḥammad and Ismaʿîn would not let him finish it, declaring that they had composed a better poem; whereupon they also said a few verses. But Slîmân disposed of them, saying that their verses were not original, being a mere repetition of his idea.

Toward three o'clock there was a change in the appearance of the country. The serried granite mountains disappeared, and on both sides and ahead of us we saw limestone hills and uplands, covered at the foot with a moderately deep layer of sand. The slopes of these hills and uplands were more gradual than those of the hills through which we had come, and the *šeʿibân* were shallower and broader but with no vegetation. At three o'clock we could see to the south through a notch of no great depth the high, red ridge of an-Nmejr and above it higher brown mountains with the white strata of al-Muʿaffara. The valley of al-Abjaẓ gradually grows broader, and the channel on the western side runs along a high, yellow escarpment known as Ṣafra'-l-Bedʿ. This escarpment

is composed of countless pillars nearly all of the same height, some of which are hollowed out and lie in the river bed. At 3.22 we had the *še'îb* of Emtân on our left, while on our right, above the escarpment, were the uplands of Sbejlât and Šiḳḥ. At 4.12 we reached the defile of Ḳa'edân Râbeṛ at the

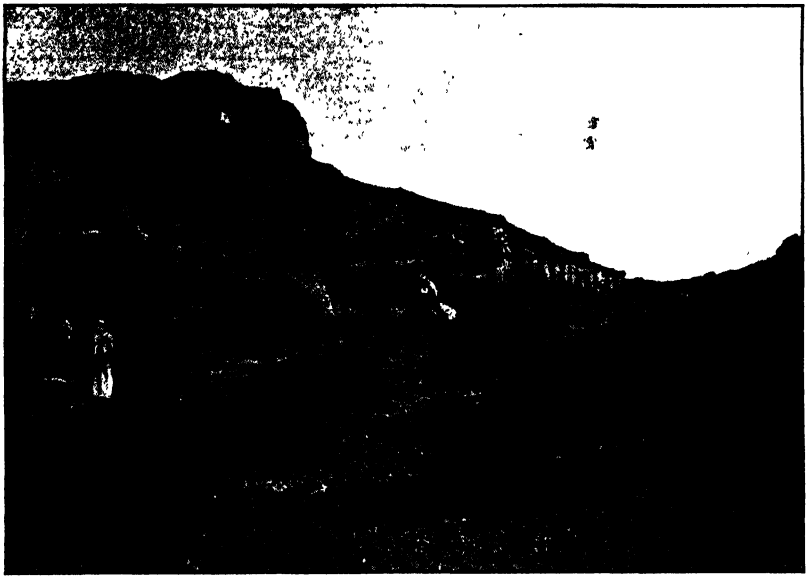


FIG. 35—From Ḳa'edân Râbeṛ looking northeast.

point where the escarpment of Ṣafra'-l-Bed' swings off somewhat to the southeast (Figs. 35, 36). The channel of al-Abjaẓ penetrates through the bend thus formed, thereby cutting the defile. The river bed, scarcely twenty meters broad and covered with a growth of dark green *ṭarfa* trees, is bordered on the right and left by walls more than fifty meters high, formed of horizontal, yellow, red, and blue strata. The rays of the sun were reflected from the southeastern wall, and there quivered a rainbow spectrum around the separate strips of color. Seen from the south, the defile produces an even more overwhelming impression. The southern façade resembles a gigantic fortress with olive-blue foundations, violet walls, and a high, slender, yellow, rectangular tower sharply cut with battlements and numerous round loopholes. Behind this fortress, far on the northeastern horizon, rises the purple mountain range of Lowz

and to the south of it the half white and half black mountains of al-Maḳla and ar-Râḥa; while in front of the latter, nearer the valley, are the lower hills known as al-Ḥemâra and al-Kbejda, the colors of which range from grayish-green to orange-yellow. In the river bed numerous half buried *sejâl* trunks were visible.

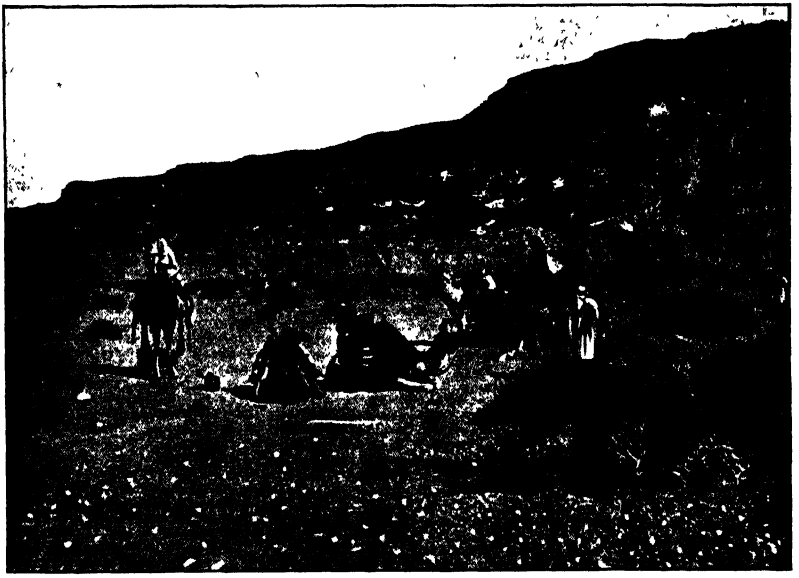


FIG. 36—From Ḳaʿedân Râbeṛ looking southeast.

At 4.30 we reached a grove of *dûm* palms and made our way across some ancient walls that stretched crosswise and lengthwise through the valley. These were the remains of gardens. Here the river bed is more than fifty meters broad and five meters deep and is completely covered with a growth of *ṭarfa*. From the south the fans of date palms beckoned to us, and at 4.55 we were near the palm gardens where here and there we could see huts built of palm leaves. Toward the east the gardens are shut off by a white marl slope about thirty meters high.

On all sides there are springs of various sizes, the water of which flows together and forms a stream, beside which we halted at 5.20. Some men and women of the Bedaʿîn were watering goats and camels and filling their skin bags. The men scarcely replied to our greeting. But they inspected us

with covetous eyes, asked what our intentions were, and wished to conduct us immediately to their chief who was encamped a few kilometers to the south. Ismaʿîn and Slîmân declared that we would remain at al-Bedʿ that day to let our hungry camels graze and to rest ourselves a little, so that we could not visit the chief until the morrow. When the men and women had departed, we were joined by a youth about sixteen years old (Fig. 37) in a tattered shirt, who invited us to enter his palm hut. Thanking him for his courtesy, I offered him our hospitality. We were in urgent need of a companion belonging to the rapacious Mesâʿîd, who would protect us from his fellow tribesmen. Knowing that he could obtain from us his fill of bread — which, he asserted, he had not tasted for more than a year — the youth began to drive our camels together, urging us not to camp by the water, because if we stayed there we should be stung by gnats during the night. I asked him to lead us to the caves Moṛâjer Šuʿejb (Fig. 38).



FIG. 37—Our guide at al-Bedʿ.

At 5.40 we left the meadow, through which flows the stream al-ʿEfâr, mounted a slope about ten meters high, and proceeded to the ruins of Ḥawra. These ruins are nearly five-tenths of a kilometer long from southwest to northeast and about four hundred meters broad. Half a kilometer to the south there are similar ruins, composed of piles of old building material, long, white foundation walls, and a quantity of débris. Not a single building had been preserved. They were constructed of soft limestone, which, though very easy to work with, could not resist the wind, sand, and rain. It has disintegrated into fine dust, some of which still lies in small heaps, while the rest has been carried away by the wind.

There are about ten heaps of larger size and more varied composition, in which it might, perhaps, be possible to find something.

Behind the ruins we branched off a little to the west into a small *šeʿîb* and found ourselves in front of monumental tombs hollowed out in the white limestone rock (Figs. 39, 40, 41). These tombs obviously recall Wâdi Mûsa. We encamped by them at 5.56. Having made some examination of the surrounding neighborhood, we obtained our geographical latitude for the evening (temperature: 31.8° C).

Our new guide brought up a lame old man driving a lean goat, which he offered to sell for the sum of four *meǧîdijjât* ($3.60). Ismaʿîn and Mḥammad handled the animal and then returned it to the old man with the suggestion that he let it graze until its bones were covered with at least as much flesh as one *ḳaṭa'* bird (see above, p. 94). I could not sleep at all during the night, as I was tormented by fever, and our new companion Sâlem kept up a continual shouting to warn any possible robbers that we were under his protection. Whenever Sâlem was quiet, our old guide, the robber Slîmân (Fig. 42), shouted in an even louder voice that he would shoot anyone who interfered with us or our property.

AT MADIAN

On Sunday, June 12, 1910, I visited the necropolis of Moṛâjer Šuʿejb before sunrise. The tombs had been hollowed out of the soft limestone rocks. In front of each one the slope had been cut away to form a vertical wall, and through this wall had been cut a door that led into a large excavated room, on the floor and on walls of which were the individual graves. Many of the entrances were adorned with crumbling decorations (Figs. 43—52). The necropolis is over one kilometer long and nearly two hundred meters broad, but not a single grave had been completely preserved. The soft limestone rock had crumbled and cluttered the rooms and the doorways. The best preserved graves are those in the western part, where the rock is somewhat harder; the northern and especially the southern parts have completely decayed. For more than two hours I crawled from tomb to tomb, searching for inscriptions, but I did not find a single one. They had been carved out in the soft limestone walls, which had

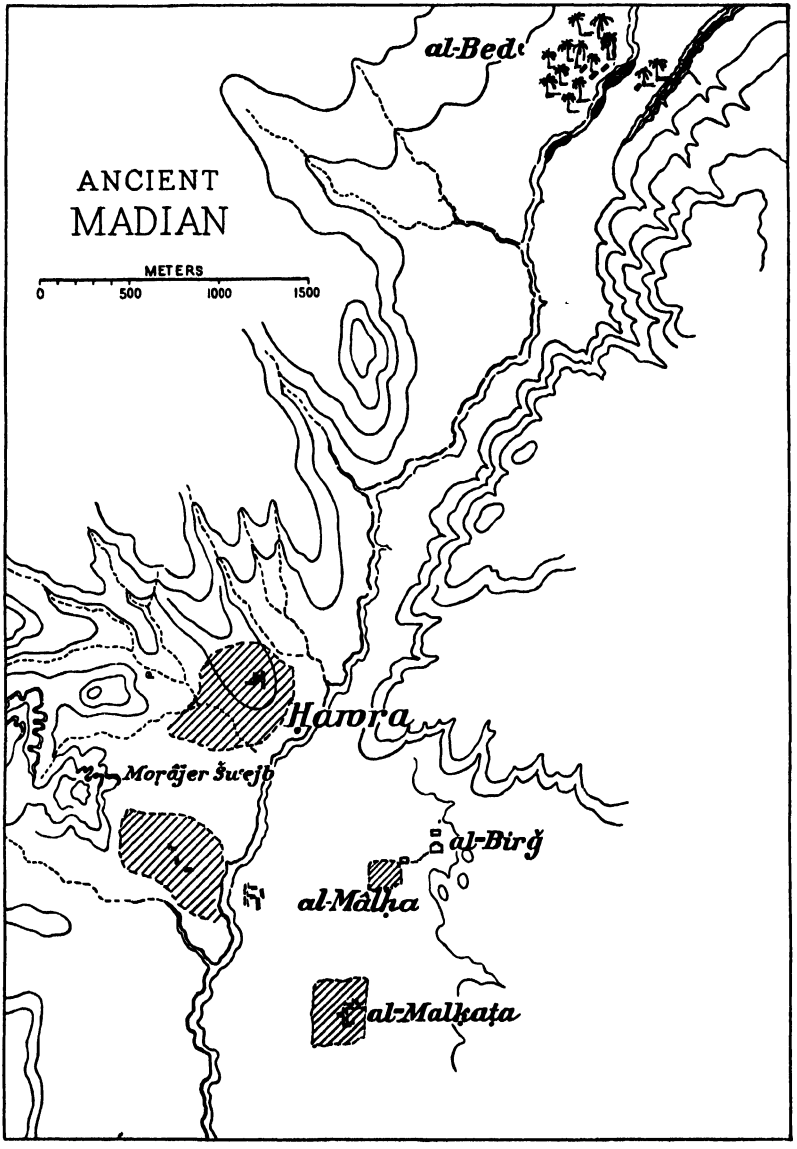


FIG. 38—Map of the site of ancient Madian.

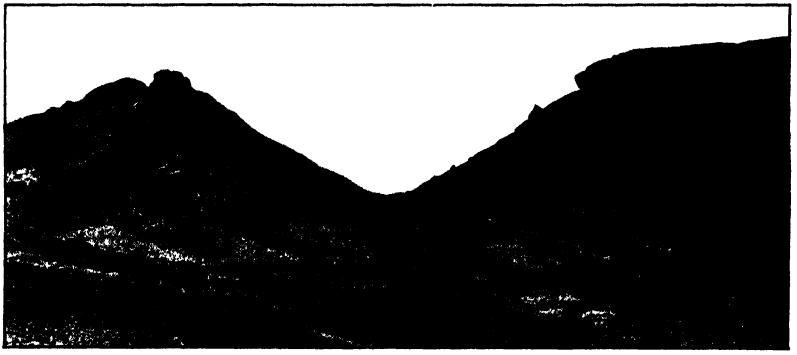


FIG. 39



FIG. 40

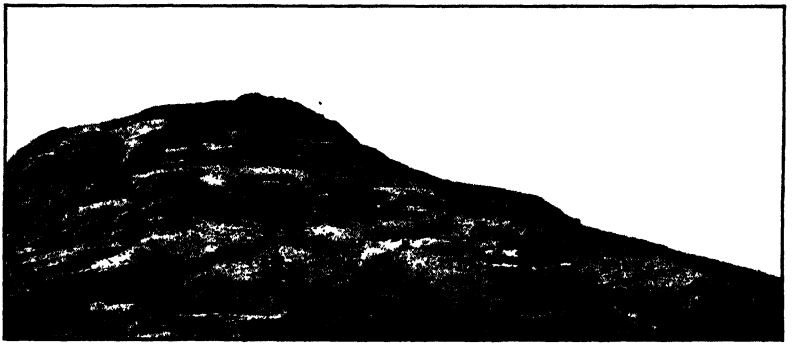


FIG. 41

FIGS. 39, 40, 41—In the necropolis, Madian.

crumbled and vanished. But the walls of several tombs had received a fairly thick coating of firm mortar, and in about five tombs I came upon insignificant traces of Nabataean inscriptions written in black upon this coating of roughcast. Even of these, however, not a single letter had been com-



FIG. 42—The robber Slîmân.

pletely preserved. After a vain search I photographed several tombs and then went on with Tûmân and Sâlem to the ridge of al-Mṣalla, where we sketched the surrounding district. It was not easy to reach this ridge, as its sides had broken away at a height of about ten meters, so we were compelled to make a detour of more than two kilometers in order to ascend it from the north. On the ridge we found about fifty

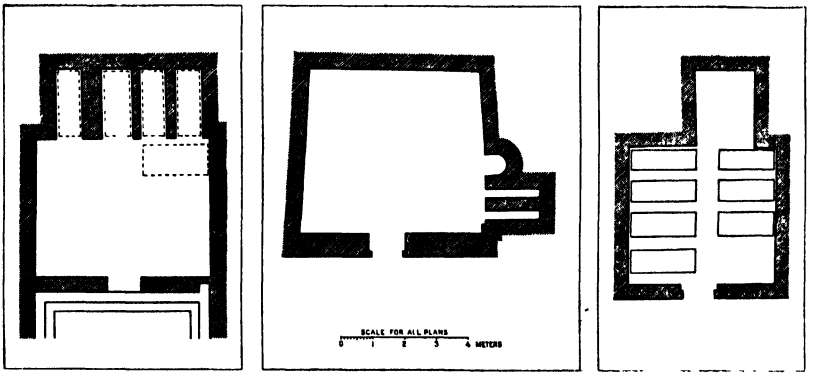
circles marked out on a stone elevation. Sâlem said that those who wish to pray to Šuʿejb stand inside these circles.

The lowland, in which the extensive ruins of Ḥawra and the oasis of al-Bedʿ are situated, is bordered on the east by the hills of al-Ḥarûs, al-



FIG. 43—A sepulcher, Madian.

Kbejda, and aš-Šedîḫ; on the west by aš-Šiḳḥ, ʿAğʿûğe al-Ḳṣâra, and ʿAbdejn; and on the southwest by al-Ḥamra and aṭ-Ṭlâḥ. To the north of al-Mṣalla extends the white plain of al-Brejṭem; and to the southwest, al-Ḥamṣa, in which is situated the well of the same name. The rain water flows from both these plains through the *šeʿîb* of Maḳna to the grove of date palms bearing the same name situated on the shore.



FIGS. 44, 45, 46—Plans of sepulchers, Madian.

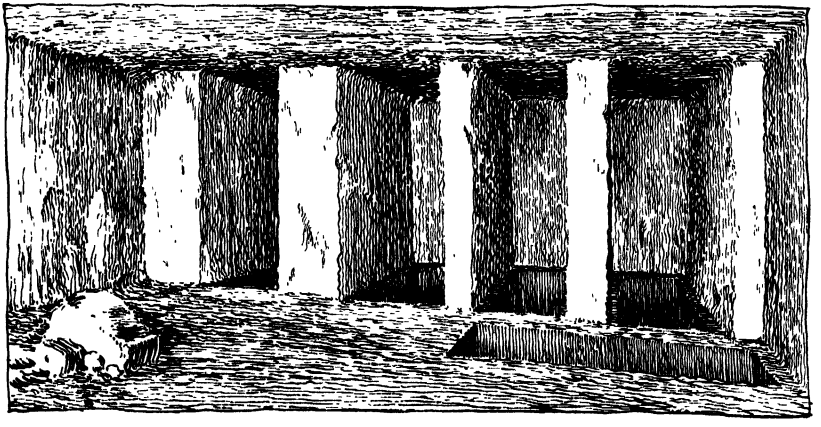


FIG. 47—Interior of a sepulcher, Madian.

The oasis of Maḳna belongs to the Fawâjde clan. They dwell in twenty huts, *'arâješ*, of palm leaves and cultivate about fifty date palms and large vegetable gardens. Al-Fawâjde are the remainder of the Beni 'Oḳba tribe, various clans of which migrated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some to the territory of al-Kerak, some to Egypt.[30]

To the south-southwest of al-Ḥamra' extend the limestone hills of Umm Ḳefa', Umm Losof, and al-Mesadd, forming the watershed between

[30] Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 27, records in northern Arabia Felix a place Makna or Maina, which is certainly identical with our oasis. The name Maina recalls the *še'ib* of al-Ma'ajjenât, in which the settlement of Maḳna is situated.

During his residence at Tebûk, Mohammed imposed annual taxes upon the Jews living in the settlement of Maḳna and gave them a charter (al-Wâḳedi, *Maġâzi* [Wellhausen], p. 405; al-Belâḏori [died 892 A.D.], *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], p. 60). These taxes — which consisted of a quarter of the yield of the sea fisheries, date palms, and weavers' looms — were received by 'Ubajd ibn Jâsir ibn Numajr of the Sa'dallâh clan, as well as by a certain Ġuḏâmi from Banu Wâjel, who went to Tebûk and became a Moslem. Mohammed assigned a hundred grass plots to 'Ubajd's horse, and these plots still belonged to the Sa'd and Wâjel clans at the time of al-Wâḳedi (died 823 A. D.). Later, 'Ubajd put his horse in the care of a certain

Maḳna and the valley of al-Abjaẓ—the latter being known in its lower part as al-ʿEfâl. From these hills the *šeʿibân* of al-Mṛejzel run to Maḳna, penetrating the table-land of al-Fḥejṭât, al-Ḥaraǧ, and al-Mabʿûḳ, in which rises the spring of al-Amṛar; while the springs of ʿEjâne and al-Far-

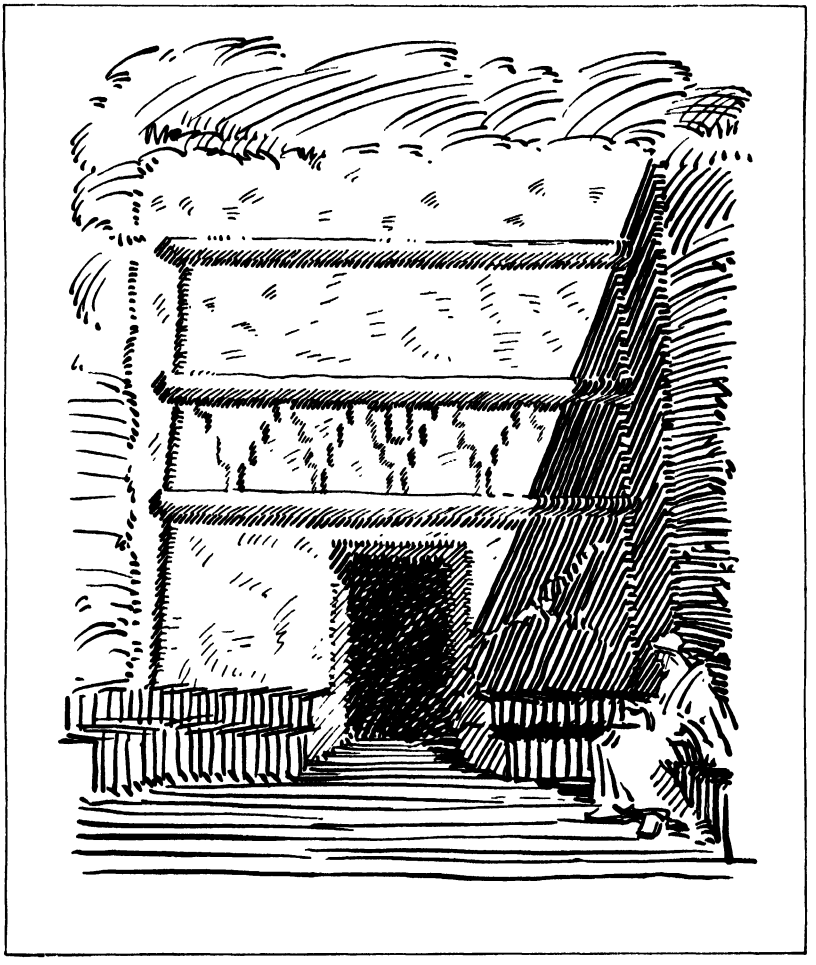


FIG. 48—A sepulcher, Madian.

Jewess in the settlement of Maḳna, assigning to her sixty of the hundred grass plots. These plots were taken away from the heirs of the Jewess only toward the close of the rule of the Omayyads, but the heirs of ʿUbajd did not obtain them. The charter was said to have been lost, and the one which was exhibited in the settlement of Maḳna at the end of the ninth century and which was intended for the Beni Ḫubejba and the inhabitants of Maḳna, was said to be an undoubted forgery.

Ibn Ḥaǧar (died 1449 A. D.), *Iṣâba* (ʿAbdalḥaj), Vol. 2, p. 1070, does not believe the tale about ʿUbajd's horse.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 610, writes that Maḳna is situated not far from Ajla.

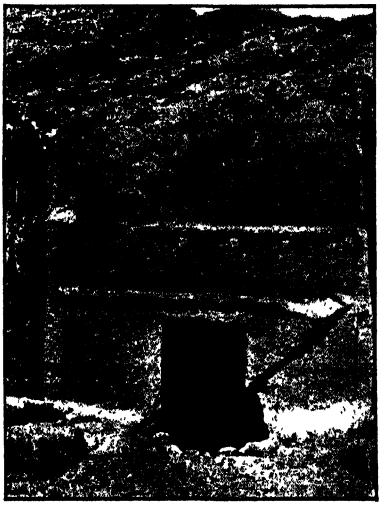


FIG. 49

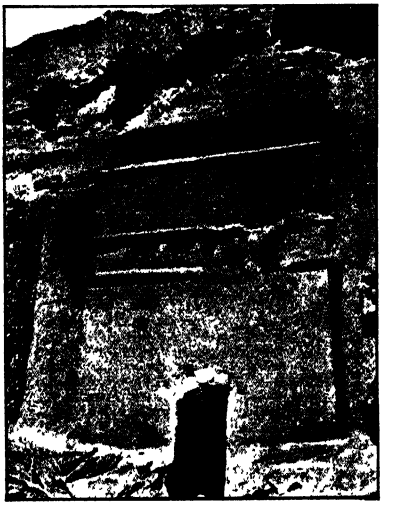


FIG. 50

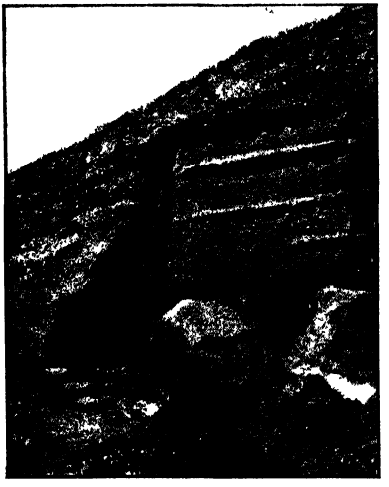


FIG. 51



FIG. 52

FIGS. 49, 50, 51, 52—Sepulchers, Madian.

râ'i are in the *še'îb* of Maḳna. South of Maḳna the *še'ibân* of Asmar and ar-Rîše run down to the sea. South of these *še'ibân* and south of the hills of al-Kebrît a white, rocky plain extends as far as the sea. In the southwest portion of this plain are cut the small coves, Šerm Dabba and

Šerm Muğawwan; and to the southwest the plain forms two capes: Râs Fartak with the small shrine aš-Šejḫ Ḥmêd and Râs al-Ḳaṣba.

To the east of Râs al-Ḳaṣba extend the *šeʿibân* Woḳob, as-Sbejti, al-Ḳmejle, an-Naḫala, al-ʿAṣla—all three of which proceed from the plateau of an-Ndejra—as well as al-ʿEšš, Abu Ẓufra, and al-Ḳijâl, rising on the southern slope of Matent aš-Šujûḫ.

In the oasis of Ḳijâl dwells the al-Farâḥîn clan of the Mesâʿîd tribe. This clan numbers about sixty families who live in tents or huts made of palm leaves. They cultivate date palms, pomegranates, and various vegetables.[31]

Al-ʿEfâl, or al- Efâr, is joined on the right, to the south of al-Bedʿ, by the broad valley of Umm Hašîm, which extends from al-Ḥamra' to the southeast between Umm Ḳefa', al-Ḫbejrât, and aṭ-Ṭlâḥ on the west, and Ṭwejjel Ğedʿân on the east. Farther south al-ʿEfâl is joined on the right by Rbejla, known in its western part as al-Mṣejr, which proceeds from ar-Rîše and penetrates Matent aš-Šujûḫ. From the east al-ʿEfâl is reached by the *šeʿibân* of al-Mhâš, which begin under the name of al-Ḳarîd near the ridge of aš-Šedîḫ; by al-Marra umm Ğarda', formed by the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḫomsi, al-Minḳâši, Ḳdejdi, and al-Ḳtejbe, which come from the hills of aḏ-Ḏbejbi and al-Mnîfe; and still farther on by Mšâš al-Ḥawa, al-Kûs, and al-Ḫrob, the latter being joined by the *šeʿibân* of al-ʿEsejle, ar-Râka, and al-Mrâḥ, which begin in the mountain range of az-Zihed and al-Mrejfeḳ.

We had not yet finished our work when Šerîf, out of breath, shouted to us from below that the Mesâʿîd had surrounded Mḥammad and our camels and were about to steal the animals. Seizing our firearms we hastened with Ismaʿîn to Mḥammad's aid. Šerîf remained with the baggage. The attacking party numbered eight. From afar we heard them cursing the Government at Constantinople and the Sultan and threatening to kill Mḥammad if he fired at them. The leader informed me that he would at once take me and all my effects to his chief, saying: "Order your companions to pack your things immediately and to come with us to our chief. Here in al-Bedʿ no Government issues orders, here he alone issues orders, and you must submit to his will."

To this I replied: "I submit only to the will of Allâh, by no means to the will of any of his creatures. There is no son of the Arabs in the whole of the Ḥeğâz who could force me to do what I do not wish to do. Deliver a greeting to your chief from me and tell him that I shall not go to him, the chief of the Mesâʿîd, but to the chief of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama,

[31] The poet Kuṭejjer (died 723 A. D.) describes (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 26) the journey along the valleys of al-Buḍajʿ, the well of Una', and the shore of Ḳijâl. —
Al-Buḍajʿ (not an-Nuṣajʿ, as is given in the text) is identical with the region of al-Beẓîʿ; the well of Una' (not Uba') with the well of 'Ajnûna'; and Ḳijâl (not Ḳibâl) with the valley of al-Ḳijâl to the northwest of 'Ajnûna'.

and I make known to all of you present that I am journeying before the countenance and under the protection of the chief Abu Ṭkêḳa, and he who harms me or my companions, or hinders us on our journey, let him fear the vengeance of the chief Abu Ṭkêḳa. You know that his sword is sharp and his arm is long."

"We do not fear Abu Ṭkêḳa; he does not hold sway over us," the Arab answered.

"Nevertheless," I went on, "you pay him annual tribute for his protection and send him gifts. If you do not fear him, then know that there are six of us, that each of our rifles has six charges, each of our revolvers ten, and Allâh, who led us into your country, will not permit a single one of our shots to miss its aim."

Paying no heed to the robbers and their leader, I caught hold of my camel, urged it to kneel down, jumped into the saddle, and turned towards our baggage. My companions drove the rest of the camels on before me. We did not even look behind us at our assailants.

While we were packing up our baggage, Sâlem, our companion, told me that he could not accompany me to the chief Abu Ṭkêḳa, as one of his relatives had killed a subject of Abu Ṭkêḳa, who attended to a palm garden in the oasis of Šarma; but he added that he had found another guide for me. This proved to be a man of about sixty, who had a very marked squint. Mḥammad spat when he first saw the new guide and called upon Allâh to protect us from bad omens and from the misfortune which is brought by every person who squints.

At eleven o'clock we rode off in a southeasterly direction past the ruins of Ḥawra, crossed the stream of al-ʿEfâl, and at 11.26 halted by the ruins of al-Mâlḥa (Figs. 53, 54). This was a pilgrimage station established after the sixteenth century. Northeast of al-Mâlḥa appear the ruins of an old building — the watchtower al-Birǧ, with a well. After halting for twenty minutes, we turned off towards the south and at 11.55 came upon the large, quadrangular, ruined fortress of al-Malḳaṭa, situated at the southern edge of the oasis. Here the broad ramparts and deep trenches are still clearly visible, surrounding great piles made up of ruins of old buildings that have fallen to decay. Some of the walls can be traced for a distance of one hundred paces. Only a strip of soft

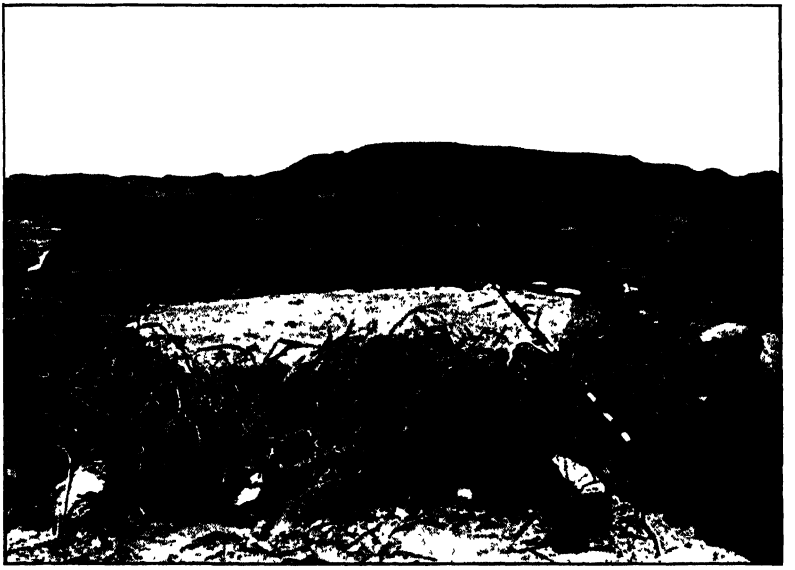


FIG. 53

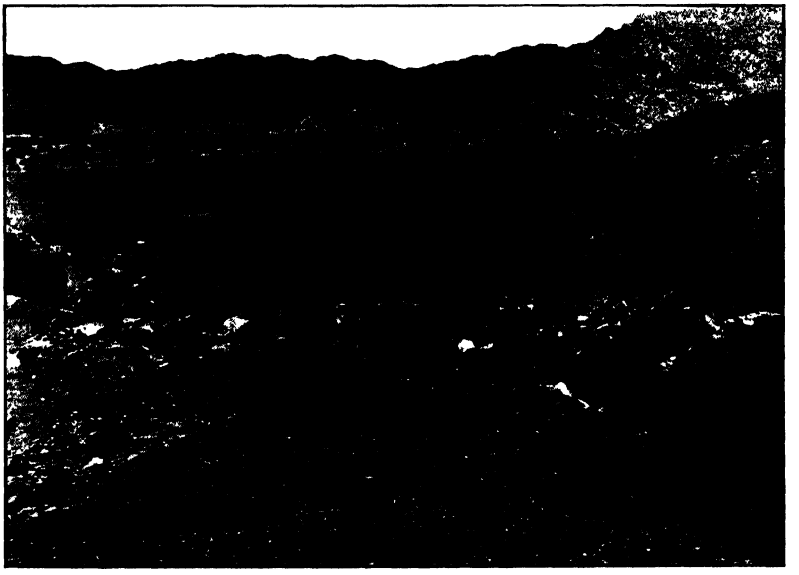


FIG. 54

FIG. 53—Rain pool of al-Mâlḥa.
FIG. 54—From al-Mâlḥa looking northwest.

limestone, about forty centimeters broad, forms the remains of each wall on the surface. Around the fortress there is an abundant growth of *dûm* palms.

In the oasis of al-Bedʿ we found four settlements. The most ancient one seemed to me to be al-Malḳaṭa; the next oldest, the settlement to the south of Ḥawra; and the most recent, al-Mâlḥa and al-Birğ. Ḥawra is certainly of Nabataean origin.

According to the Arabic and classical authors, this oasis is identical with ancient Madian, the Madjan of the Arabic authorities.

CHAPTER V

MADIAN TO THE OASIS OF ŠARMA

AL-MALḲAṬA TO AL-ḤRAJBE

Having left the ruins of al-Malḳaṭa, we reached the ancient Pilgrim Route at noon and proceeded along it toward the south-southeast. After a short while we met two riders on camels, subjects of the chief Abu Ṭḳêḳa, who were carrying a message to the ʿImrân. They informed us that ʿAfnân, the son of the chief, was living at al-Ḫrajbe. The Mesâʿîd, who until now had been watching us from a distance, disappeared as soon as they saw that we were talking to the riders.

The Pilgrim Road leads across a stony, bare, and almost flat plain, al-Ṛarâma, bordered on the east by the red peaks of aš-Šedîḫ and aḍ-Ḍbejbi. At 1.30 P. M. we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Mhâš, and at two o'clock al-Marra umm Ǧarda. From 2.30 to 3.25 we halted by al-Ḳtejbe in order to make a sketch of the surrounding district. At 4.05 we crossed the broad channel of Mšâš al-Ḥawa and perceived on the left a deep gap through which the *šeʿîb* of al-Kûs proceeds from the mountain. We reached this *šeʿîb* at 4.30 and at 5.48 came to the channel of ar-Râka, or Arâka, in which grew a quantity of green plants of the same name, but these our camels refused to touch. The *šeʿîb* of ar-Râka joins that of al-Ḫrob. We searched vainly in the undulating plain, with its broad and shallow valleys, for pasture for our camels, but nowhere could we find any green vegetation, for everything was completely dried up. But at 6.15 we found extensive groves of low *dûm* palms, from which the *ʿarâd* shrubs stood out here and there by reason of their yellow color. Branching off eastward from the highroad, we encamped at 6.45 in the deep *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫrob, which was covered with a growth of *ʿarâd* shrubs (temperature: 33.8° C). Our camels could now graze. I was feeling far from well, as I was racked with fever and physically quite exhausted. Fearing the rapacious Mesâʿîd, we kept guard all night over our baggage and camels.

On Monday, June 13, 1910, we started off at 4.47 A.M. (temperature: 26.8° C), leaving the Pilgrim Route that leads to the southeast and proceeding southward to al-Ḫrajbe. This region is full of lofty, oblong heights with steep, rocky slopes and broad, fertile valleys; but the latter were completely parched, as there had been no adequate rain for the last four years. There was an impressive view to the east, where the sun was just rising. A chain of high granite mountains, extending toward the southeast to within about fifty kilometers of the shore, concealed the sun in such a way that isolated rays penetrated only through the deep mountain gaps. The eastern peaks and angles of the granite summits shone with a clear light, while the western parts lay swathed in a dark blue curtain. Two thirds of the whole range were almost invisible, for dense vapors rested on them; only the upper third projected above the mists. I felt as if I were standing before a great exhibition of ecclesiastical architecture, save that I was not confronted with small patterns or diagrams of the various styles but with temples of all possible shapes in their natural sizes or even of gigantic dimensions. There was perhaps no variety of Gothic which was not represented there. The roofs and towers glittered in the sun's rays and around them could be seen Gothic churches with countless turrets and windows, unequaled in wealth of ornament even by the Milan cathedral. Magnificent domes were displayed in every possible variety of style, and among them the attention was held by a number of cupolas, reminiscent of baroque architecture in its prime. Nor were the simple and magnificent forms of the earliest basilicas missing. And all these towers, turrets, roofs, columns, pillars, and statues were as if festively illuminated, shining with the clearest luster, while the houses and churches below were hidden in a mysterious twilight. My eye fondly clung to this splendid picture, and my only desire was that the sun should rise quite gradually. But suddenly the pure orb leaped above the highest towers, and all those temples, houses, and basilicas disappeared, leaving only the bare parched rocks before us. How beautiful is mere illusion, how prosaic is reality!

At 5.02 we rode through the broad *še'îb* of al-Mrâḥ, in which the luxuriant, dark green *'asla* grows.

To the east of this valley rise the plateaus of aṣ-Ṣe'ede and Radma, and above these plateaus project the isolated black cones and ridges of

the granite mountains which form the above-mentioned chain on the watershed between the Red Sea and the lowland near the Ḥeǧâz railway. Naming them from the northwest, these mountains are al-Ḫejmri, al-ʿEnejme, Dafdaf, Ṣafwân, ar-Râwa, as-Sîḳ, aš-Šâṭi, and Ḳîr. From al-Muʿaffara they approach the sea like an arch, so that between them and the mountains of az-Zihed and al-Ṛâjme there lies a deep basin, from which the



FIG. 55—The *šeʿîb* of aṣ-Ṣwêr.

rain water flows to the oasis of ʿAjnûna. From the southern slope of the mountain of al-Muʿaffara runs the *šeʿîb* of the same name; from Ṣafwân comes the *šeʿîb* of ʿAẓbe; from ar-Râwa and al-Ḫarîṣ, the *šeʿîb* of Râwa, near which rises the spring of al-Bsajjeṭ; and from the plateau of Radma, the *šeʿibân* of Umm Nîrân and Entêš.

At 5.42 we advanced through the broad *šeʿîb* of al-Ǧimm, which is covered with a growth of palm thickets and could be transformed into an extensive plantation of date palms. It forms the border of the region known as al-Hrajbe. At 6.16 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of aṣ-Ṣwêr, which contains a growth of *dûm* bushes. From 6.45 to seven o'clock we halted in this *šeʿîb*, for among the *dûm* palms we discovered a number of *ratam* bushes which our camels devoured greedily (Fig. 55). To the west there rises the elevated ridge of Dabbet aṣ-Ṣwêr.

Proceeding on our journey, we rode through the hillock range of Berḳ al-Mḥaṣṣab with its deep and narrow *šeʿîbân*

and steep slopes, the eastern sides of which are covered with sand.

All night long quite a strong northeast wind had been blowing. At sunrise the wind abated, but at 7.28 A. M. it began to blow from the southwest.

At 8.40 we entered the *šeʿîb* of al-Mḥaṣṣab. In the sand drifts on both sides of this *šeʿîb* there is a luxuriant growth of *tonẓob* bushes, which in places form low trees. As soon as the south-southwesterly wind began to blow, the air was filled with innumerable horizontal veils of vapor, which rested nearly on the ground. The sun's rays then penetrated and heated them, so that they became as a sweltering furnace. At 9.10 we again caught sight of the Red Sea through a gap in the *šeʿîb* of al-Mḥaṣṣab. It was not red, but of a pale and even yellowish blue. The flat marshy shores merge into it without any sharp transition. Our guide Ḥsejn caught a large *ẓabb* lizard, which he tied up in his cloak, wishing to take it home as a delicacy.

At 9.25 we passed from the hillock range to the flat shore, and proceeded to the southeast through a region covered with *rimṯ* shrubs and *sejâl* trees that make it resemble our orchards. But neither the *rimṯ* nor the *sejâl* was green; all the trees and shrubs were a pale yellow or a parched gray. Towards the northeast this coastal plain joins a green hillock range, behind and above which there rise the granite mountains. To the west, rising above the sea, were the pink rocks of the islands of Tîrân, Ṣenâfîr, Abu Šušwa, Rajamân, Umm as-Sjêle, Barḳân, and al-Maḳṣûd. Close to the shore itself we observed numerous islets, among which a white sail was wending its way.

At 9.42 we saw to the southeast the green palm groves in the oasis of ʿAjnûna, which belongs to the Dijâbîn and Zamâhre clans of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama. It is situated at the foot of the red hillock range of Berḳ al-Mḥaṣṣab at the point where the latter is penetrated by the Râwa *šeʿîb*. Beneath the trees could be seen a number of white huts constructed of palm leaves.[32]

[32] Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 2, notes, on the coast of northern Arabia Felix, the settlement of Onne, which is identical with al-Ḫrajbe, the former harbor of the settlement of Una' ('Ajn Una', Ajnûna').

Marcianus of Heraclea (about 400 A.D.), *Periplus* (Müller), p. 527, speaks of Onne, as an emporium of Arabia Felix.

Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 341, writes that in his time (about 891 A.D.) the settlement of 'Ajnûna' was inhabited, that it had palm gardens, and that buried gold was being sought there. — As early as the end of the ninth century the covetous natives were destroying ancient tombs and buildings.

The oasis of ʿAjnûna is famed for its good, fresh water, which once flowed through a walled aqueduct, now ruined in places, to the coast settlement of al-Ḫrajbe. We recognized this place from a number of palm trees standing on the shore itself. Behind the palms several stone huts have been built, but as they are of the same gray color as the shore they are indistinguishable from it. At ten o'clock we entered Wâdi ʿAjnûna, two kilometers broad, which might easily be transformed into one great palm garden. On the southern side there rose a low elevation, upon which was situated a four-cornered building with the Turkish flag flying over it. This building, really no more than a spacious cottage, is the fortress of al-Ḫrajbe. West of the fortress, or rather of the barracks, there are a number of palms, and between them and the sea stand ten small trading huts built of marl.

AT AL-ḪRAJBE

At 10.28 A. M. our camels knelt down beneath the palms at al-Ḫrajbe (Fig. 56) (temperature: 35° C). As there was no pasture anywhere in the neighborhood, we tied their forelegs together, and instead of grazing they rested. Before long six traders approached us. They were young men with thick lips and broad, fleshy noses; and all of them were

Al-Muḳaddasi (985 A. D.), *Aḥsan* (De Goeje, 2nd edit.), p. 54, assigns the settlements of ʿAjnûna', Wajla, Madjan, Tebûḳ, Aḏruḥ, Moab, and Maʿân to the administrative district of Ṣoṛar.

Al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 266, mentions the settlements of Ḫebra' and ʿAjnûna', situated between the Wâdi al-Ḳura, and Syria, which Tamîm ad-Dârij obtained from the Prophet as a fief. Al-Kalbi thinks that these two settlements belonged to Syria. When Sulejmân ibn ʿAbdalmalek (died 717 A. D.) journeyed there, he did not venture to spend the night in them, as he said, for fear of the Prophet. —

Tamîn ibn Aws ibn Ḫâreǧe ad-Dârij was probably a Christian monk who passed over to Islâm (see an-Nawawi [died 1278 A. D.], *Tahḏîb* [Wüstenfeld], pp. 178—179).

The place Ḫebra' is not mentioned by any other writer. Possibly it is a bad transcription for the settlement of Ḫawra' situated near Madjan. According to al-Kalbi these two were the only fiefs bestowed by the Prophet in Syria, but al-Wâḳedi, *Maṛâzi* (Wellhausen's transl.), p. 405, records that the Prophet bestowed also the settlement of Maḳna as a fief, and this is situated to the northwest of ʿAjnûna'. If Ḫebra' and ʿAjnûna' belonged to Syria, then Maḳna did also; and so there were then not two but three fiefs situated in Syria. Syria denotes the administrative district of Ṣoṛar. Al-Bekri places ʿAjnûna' not in Syria but in the border territory.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 758, decides that it is possible to write either ʿAjn Una' or ʿAjnûna'. According to him, Una' is a valley on the shore between aṣ-Ṣala' and Madjan. As-Sukkari, the commentator on the *Kitâb al-luṣûṣ*, writes that the settlement of ʿAjnûna' is situated on the Egyptian Pilgrim Route. The poet al-Kuṭejjer refers to a journey from the valley of al-Buḍaj', by way of ʿAjn Una', to the slopes of Ḳibâl. —

Aṣ-Ṣala' is identical with the modern al-Mwêlḥ and Madjan with the oasis of al-Bedʿ; I locate the valley of al-Buḍajʿ among the valleys of the region of al-Beẓlʿ; the place Ḳibâl must be read as Ḳijâl, as the valley about twenty kilometers to the west of ʿAjnûna' is called.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il (died 1338 A. D.), *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 294, records the form ʿAjnuwunna', which presupposes a name Unna', recalling the Onne of Ptolemy.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 367, also mentions the simple form Una'. It is a *wâdi* near the shore of aṣ-Ṣala' and Madjan, through which the pilgrims passed. In it there is a spring which is called the spring of Una', ʿAjn Una'.

dressed in thin white shirts and fine white turbans. They were eager to know what we were buying or selling. Behind them came two other men: one dressed in trousers, one leg of which reached only to the knee, and in a vest, while the second was wearing trousers similar to our bathing drawers and a thick



FIG. 56—Al-Ḫrajbe from the northwest.

padded coat. They introduced themselves to me as gendarmes and requested that I should visit the commander of the garrison, under whose command were fifteen infantry soldiers of the line.

The commander was sitting in a hut which had been built north of the barracks. He greeted me very agreeably and offered me his services and help even before I had shown him my recommendations. He complained of the ruinous climate and the dreadful solitude in al-Ḫrajbe. The head commander resided at Jidda and paid no attention to the separate garrisons distributed along the coast. Once a month a ship arrived at al-Ḫrajbe from the settlement of Ẓbe' with rice or *ḏura* (a kind of millet, a variety of *Andropogon sorghum*); once every two or three months a ship from Suez put in with flour, rice, and particularly clothing, which were exchanged for charcoal, obtained by the neighboring Arabs from *sejâl*, *ṭarfa*, and, in the highlands, from *ṛaẓa*. Except for these vessels, nobody came to al-Ḫrajbe for months at a time. If the garrison was relieved, it received food supplies for six to twelve months. When I mentioned that our flour was running short, the

commander immediately offered me some of his own for sale. His flour was clear white, but half mixed with potato flour. The officer and the soldiers declared that they had enough to eat, but that they were suffering from various diseases. They were afraid of water, especially of sea water. Not a single one would bathe in the sea, and they washed only when it was absolutely necessary and then only in a superficial manner so as to carry out the command of their religion. They were firmly convinced that all the diseases which were rampant at al-Ḥrajbe came from the sea and that the deeper a man plunged into the sea water, the sooner he would catch them. They were afraid of water, but they drank distilled liquor, *ʿaraḳ*, which was brought by the vessels from Suez. The officer's family dwelt in a cottage of palm leaves built in an old cellar which had been somewhat cleaned out. The commander showed me a rectangular pool to the east of the barracks where the aqueduct from ʿAjnûna ends.

Southwest of the pool had been laid out gardens of date palms, which, though not large, were carefully tended. They were the property of the chief, Abu Ṭḳêḳa, and his son ʿAfnân was then inspecting the promised harvest for that year. As soon as I left the commander, the chief's son came to call upon me. He was about twenty years of age, puny and frail, with a dark-colored face like all the coast dwellers. On his head he wore a fine white kerchief fastened with a broad, bright-colored string. A thin white shirt, over which was a loose white cloak, covered his body, and he wore large sandals on his feet. The expression of his face was gentle, his eyes were large, and the edges of his eyelids were darkly tinted with *koḥl* (collyrium, antimony powder). After the usual greetings I asked him to furnish me with a guide to Tebûk. He told me to visit the territory of his tribe and then to travel to Tebûk from Ẓbe'. I thanked him for his kind invitation and promised him that I would be sure to visit their territory, but not for about a fortnight. The scientific investigation of the territory of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama demanded at least twenty days, and our supplies were not sufficient for that length of time. When leaving Maʿân, I had taken supplies for only fifteen to twenty days, for I had supposed that I should be able to survey the region lying east of the railway and within the allotted time reach Tebûk, to which place I had arranged that all my supplies

should be transported by railway. But the war between the Ḥwêṭât and Beni ʿAṭijje on one side, and the Beni Ṣaḫr and Šarârât on the other, had prevented me from traveling to the east of the railway. Consequently, I had proceeded westward to al-ʿAḳaba, and had already been on the road for eighteen days. The uninvited guests had partly helped us to diminish our supplies so that not even the additional flour which we purchased was adequate, and there was no other food to be had. In addition to that, I needed photographic plates and gifts for the head chief of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama and his relations; our camels were tired and hungry, and we learnt from ʿAfnân that in the whole territory of his tribe there was absolutely no pasturage; in fact, his father had sent his horses to Egypt and had entrusted his camels to the protection of Chief Abu Šâma, who was encamped to the west of al-Ḥeğr. It was therefore necessary for us to proceed to Tebûk to obtain the necessary supplies there and to give the camels a rest and good pasturage. I proposed that after a stay of about ten days at Tebûk we should return to the coast territory of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama, through which I intended to travel as far as al-Weğh, where I could visit my old acquaintance Slîmân eben Refâde, the head chief of the Beli tribe. From al-Weğh we were to go to al-Ḥeğr, to which place our supplies were likewise to be transported.

When ʿAfnân heard that I intended to return to his territory, he promised that he would give me a guide who would conduct us as far as Tebûk and from Tebûk to Ẓbe'. When I asked him where I should find this guide, he answered that he was now sojourning in the oasis of Šarma and that he would send for him. I suggested that we should immediately set out for the oasis of Šarma, as our camels had no pasturage at al-Ḫrajbe. But neither ʿAfnân nor the commander, who meanwhile had joined us, wanted to let me leave al-Ḫrajbe at once, and it required a long time to obtain their consent. ʿAfnân declared that he would come with me and asked me to have the water bags filled. At al-Ḫrajbe there is plenty of water, for wherever a hole about four meters deep is dug water is found, but it is quite salt. For that reason drinking-water is brought from the oasis of ʿAjnûna. We filled one skin with salt water, while the officer had the other one filled for us with good water from ʿAjnûna, and when we left al-Ḫrajbe at 2.30 he accompanied us some distance.

THE ḤWÊṬÂT AT-TIHAMA AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT

ʿAfnân was riding on a very lean white camel, and his two negroes went on foot. His father, the head chief Abu Ṭḳêḳa, generally resided in the settlement of Ẓbe' where the *muḥâfeẓ*[33] of the *wâli* of the town of Jidda also dwelt.

The tribe of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama[34] is composed of the following clans:

al-ʿEmêrât	Selêmijjîn	al-Ǧawâhre
al-Mesâʿîd	al-ʿObejjât	al-Ḳbêẓât
aḍ-Ḍijâbîn	al-Mawase	al-Faḥâmîn
az-Zamâhre	al-Mešâhîr	al-Ǧerâfîn
aṭ-Ṭḳêḳât	al-Ḳurʿân	

Until 3.40 we rode along the shore in an almost easterly direction and then turned southward. We met four men going to al-Ḫrajbe. They were farmers who tended ʿAfnân's gardens at Šarma in return for a quarter of the net yield. They joined us. At 4.15 we rode into the broad, marshy lowland of Wâdi Šarma. Here and there rise low, sandy drifts and cones, from which grow *tonẓob* and *rimṭ*. Between them stand serried groups of *sejâl* trees. We saw, on the peninsula of Mṣajbet Šarma before us, a large ruined building and in front of it Ḳṣêr abu Ṭḳêḳa, a large, roofless, four-cornered house with broken windows. Both buildings had been erected for the use of pilgrims by the chief Abu Ṭḳêḳa, but as the number of pilgrims was growing smaller year by year, the houses were deserted and falling into decay.

At 4.50 we encamped near a small hovel constructed of palm leaves, which also belongs to the family of Abu Ṭḳêḳa, the members of which use it as a nocturnal lodging when they visit the oasis of Šarma. They are afraid of the oasis, because the ague is said to lurk there at night and to attack every stranger who ventures within its domain. The oasis itself appeared to us as a broad, dark strip lying towards the east-northeast.

Sitting down with ʿAfnân about one hundred paces from the rest of the party, I asked him whether the inhabitants of the coast were satisfied with the Turkish Government. His reply was voluble:

[33] Vernacular equivalent of *ḳâjmaḳâm*.

[34] See Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 3, pp. 48—49.

"May Allâh curse the Turkish Government! What do we get from it? They give us nothing and oppress us wherever they can. In every harbor they have placed a toll collector, but they pay no heed to the harbor itself, or to the buildings which are necessary for the storing of goods. All along the shore they have placed regular garrisons who do not protect, but harass and exploit us. I am sorry for the soldiers who die here or who are killed by our arms. They are destroyed by the climate, to which they are not accustomed, and they are destroyed by us when they steal our goats, sheep, and cows. They are supposed to protect us against our enemies, but they do not venture even so much as a gunshot beyond their barracks and indeed scarcely dare even to thrust their heads outside the doors. It is a good thing that they let us have their ammunition and even their firearms by trade or sale. And these poor wretches are the representatives of the Turkish Government in our country! It is no wonder that we hate and despise the Turkish Government as we do. It never occurs to us to pay any attention to what is happening in Constantinople, but we are all interested by what is happening in Egypt or among the English. The Turkish soldiers and ourselves have Turkish money, it is true, but we fix its value according to Egyptian or English money. Our traders maintain trading relations only with the Egyptians and the English. They read Egyptian newspapers and tell us about everything that they learn. The poor people go to Egypt to find work and profit, and when they return home a few months later they proclaim the splendor of Egypt. We all want our coast to become a possession of England, or at least of Egypt. When the Viceroy of Egypt, the *Ḫedîwi,* made a pilgrimage to Mecca this year, we supposed that he would become our master. But we were mistaken. If we belonged to the Egyptians or the English, all the settlements on our coast would flourish. Our oases would be capable of feeding thousands of people. Thou visitedst al-Bedᶜ, Mûsa; thou sawest al-ᶜEfâl and thou wilt see Šarma, so thou wilt believe it when I tell thee that at al-Bedᶜ and al-ᶜEfâl and in the *šeᶜibân* situated to the east thousands and thousands could find nourishment. The whole of this region could be planted with palms and transformed into a garden. And ᶜAjnûna, the coast by al-Ḥrajbe, the whole of the *wudijân* of Šarma, Terîm, and aṣ-Ṣurr, the neighborhood of Ẓbe' and other places could be inhabited

by peasants, if the safety of our lives and property could be guaranteed. We are told about Paradise which we have not seen, but the whole of our coast could be made a single paradise and we could dwell in it."

"Who taught thee, ʿAfnân, to speak thus?"

"My father, my uncles on my father's side, and all with whom I meet. Betake thyself, O Mûsa, to al-Mwêleḥ or Ẓbe' or Ẓaḥakân, and everywhere thou wilt hear the same thing that I, ʿAfnân, am telling thee."

We were disturbed in our conversation by three riders on camels arriving from the south. They were going on the Darb ar-Rakak road as far as the aš-Šarma valley, where they had branched off to the oasis, and, having discovered that ʿAfnân was sojourning at al-Ḫrajbe, they had wished to go there to see him. But the slave, whom ʿAfnân had sent into the oasis for the sheep, had told them that ʿAfnân was to be found on the peninsula of al-Mṣajbe, and they had therefore journeyed to us. While ʿAfnân was discussing things with one of them, the other two drew in the sand for me a map of all the surrounding neighborhood from al-Ǧeles to the sea, indicating the hills and mountains by means of small stones and cutting the courses of the various *šeʿibân*. They were admirably acquainted with the whole region, especially the elder, who, quite unabashed, declared that when he had been a young man he had been fond of going on marauding expeditions and that he had spent months at a time in the ravines of the granite mountains which separate the coast valleys from the northern highlands. From his indications we drew a map of the whole coast area and fixed the position of the mountains in sight, from Mount Ṛâl in the south as far as Ornub in the east and az-Zihed in the north.

Mṣajbet Šarma is actually the eastern extremity of a strip of dry land which formerly extended westward nearly as far as Râs al-Ḳaṣba. This strip was broken through by the sea in six places, and of it there remain six larger islets and several smaller ones. Between them and the northern mainland there is a bay about twenty kilometers broad and sixty-five kilometers long. During the reign of the Ptolemies these islets were explored, and detailed accounts of them and the coast have been preserved to us from the second century before Christ.[35]

[35] See below, pp. 302—308.

TOPOGRAPHY OF REGION BETWEEN ŠARMA AND BADA'

To the southeast of the peninsula of Mṣajbet Šarma rises the tableland of an-Nuḫbâr, and, to the south of the latter, Burḳa Ḳrajḳre, which passes eastward into al-Ḥamûm. Near Burḳa Ḳrajḳre the *še'îb* of ar-Râṭijje proceeds seawards, and farther on are Rowẓ al-'Abd; Terîm; al-Waḳẓân; Ṣwêr, near the village of Ṣawra; Abu Serîḥa; al-Mṛîr abu Hašîm, separated by the elevation of aṣ-Ṣafra from al-Mṛîr abu Ḫajme; aṭ-Ṭwejjeḳ; Umm Ğejhîle; al-Mestebeḳ; aẓ-Ẓawğe, proceeding from the spring of Ammu Sjejle in the hills of al-Aṣâjle; Smejr Ğâber; al-Ḳâmre; al-Fšêr, which rises in al-Frejš; Abu Dijje; aṣ-Ṣurr; and al-Ḫağğâr, forming the northern border of the elevation of Leḥjâne, through which winds al-Miṣṭâḥ, which begins in the hills of al-Mawḳre. Southeast of these, the jagged hillocks of as-Snejwijje, Ṭwejjel al-Kibrît, al-Bêẓa, and Ḥmêra-l-Ḳrajḳer approach near the shore. The separate river beds form deep *še'ibân* with steep banks. They are: al-Ḥarr, which terminates in the harbor of the same name; al-Ḳmajjes, which ends in the harbor Šerm al-Ḫirḳe; al-Bêẓa; al-Madsûs, which, joining Abu Ṛarâjer and al-Mradder, reaches the harbor of Ğibbe; al-Manaṭṭ; al-Mu'arraš, which passes through the salt swamp as-Sabḫa; ad-Derre; and Abu Šerîra and al-Ṛâl, which form the southern border of the hills of Ḥmêra-l-Ḳrajḳer. Farther to the southeast the undulating plain nearly reaches the sea, towards which it falls in a gradual slope. Through this plain pass the *še'ibân* of al-Mhaššam, 'Ejâne, aš-Šḳîḳ, al-Hâši, Ẓaḥakân, Ẓbe', Sidre, and al-Kfâfi, all of which come from the mountains of aš-Šrejḫ and Abu Rîš. Farther on are: as-Sâlmi, with the spring of al-Bedî'; al-Ğawḫa; Abu Tîrân; al-Baḥara; ad-Dâma; aš-Šbêrem and al-Marr, penetrating the hillocks of an-Nuṣba; al-Aznam; Ḥrajmel; ad-Duḫḫân; ad-Dḫêḫîn; Balâḫt; al-Marra; Ḳrejdaḥḥa; and Ša'af.

The longest valleys are those of aš-Šarma, Terîm, aṣ-Ṣurr, al-Ṛâl, as-Sâlmi, al-Baḥara, ad-Dâma, and al-Aznam. They all rise in the mountain chain which extends over a distance of fifty to one hundred kilometers from the sea in a southeasterly direction, forming a continuation of the watershed between the valley of al-Abjaẓ and the lowland through which the Ḥeğâz railway passes near the Pilgrim Route. The mountains of al-Mu'affara, which have already been mentioned (see above, p. 123), also stretch toward the southeast, and the same direction is followed by al-Ḥejmri, al-'Enejme, Dafdaf, ar-Râwa, as-Sîḳ, Ornub, an-Na'ejẓa, and ar-Rawjân. The mountains of al-Meljân and ad-Dwejme trend toward the east, while Tmarr — which is next to them — swings off toward the northeast. Nûf, Nwejfât, al-Ḳṭejfe, an-Nawmân, al-Ḳerâḳer, al-Muḫteleṣ, as-Sowṭ, and aẓ-Ẓelfe again trend in a southeasterly direction.

The continuous chain terminates to the south of aẓ-Ẓelfe. Here separate mountains diverge somewhat to the southwest and form a lower watershed. Thus, the lower spur of aẓ-Ẓarba runs from aẓ-Ẓelfe to the southeast and is joined on the west by aṣ-Ṣâne', with the cones of Naṛar and Nuṛejjer; while to the southeast of aṣ-Ṣâne' are grouped: Abu Ṭîne; Mwêreb; al-Wited; al-Wutejdât; al-Ğowla; al-Maḥâẓa; al-'Ešš; Ammu Rumejs, with the pass of al-Ḳnej; al-Ḳlûb; as-Sa'ad; al-Libne; al-Ḫasîf; Ḥamṭ at-Tjûs; Šahbat at-Twejs; as-Sel'; and Šhejb al-Bûm.

Wâdi Šarma, the middle part of which is called al-Ṛarr and the upper part Umm Ḳarâdi, starts near the well of an-Naʿemi, between as-Sîḳ and Ornub. Into it, on the right-hand side, run the *šeʿibân* of: Umm Hašîm; ʿAjn Ḳîr; Bîr az-Zerb; Abu Turbân; al-Ḥtân; ʿAjn abu Ḥrêra; ʿAnṣûrijje, rising near the ruins of al-Merw; Umm as-Sarâbîṭ; and al-Mellâḥ. On the left it receives the *šeʿibân* of: Abu Ḥamâṭa; ʿAlaṣ with al-Medâʿîḳ; Ornub with al-Maṭḥane, al-Ḥaṭijje, and Ǧarâǧra; an-Naḫala; Dṛejm; Abu Taḳar; al-Ḥrâše; and Ẓeḥijje with Umm Hešîm.

Wâdi Terîm begins under the name of al-Ḥambara on the eastern uplands behind the chain of granite mountains to the north of the Tmarr range. At first it trends toward the west-northwest, but near the granite chain it swings off to the southwest and runs through the deep gap of al-Malḥaǧa, between the mountains of Ornub and an-Naʿejẓa, to the coast lowland, where it is called al-Kaḥala; it then waters the oasis of Terîm, from which it receives its name, and comes to an end at the seashore near some ruins which bear the same name. In the uplands it is joined on the right by the *šeʿibân* of: Abu-l-Ḳawâṣîm; Retâme; and Zwejbt aṣ-Ṣḳûr, the last-named being joined by the *šeʿibân* of Obejjeẓ abu Zukra and Obejjeẓ aṭ-Ṭarîḳ. Lower down on the right Wâdi Terîm is joined by: al-Aǧzaʿ, running from the well of the same name; al-Wejmijje, which rises on the western slope of Mount Râẓi near the well of Ḏḳêṭ; Ḥarḫûra, at the upper end of which flows the spring of aẓ-Ẓabʿijje; Ammu-d-Dûd, with the well of the same name; and Abu Ḏêl, which extends from the hills of al-Mufa'. Wâdi Terîm is joined on the left by al-Ḳwêra, al-Frâš, and aṭ-Ṯawar, as well as by the long *šeʿib* of Ṣadr, which begins under the name of aṣ-Ṣwêwîn at the foot of the mountains of ar-Rawjân and Ḥrejṭat ammu Rǧûm. On the right hand Ṣadr receives only the *šeʿibân* of ʿAzâza, through which a road leads to the pass Naḳb al-Bdejje, and an-Namra; but on the left there merge into it: aṣ-Ṣafra, Ajlân, Umm Leben, al-Mrajfeḳ, Naḳwa, Turbân, al-Wêwi, Umm Ẓaʿẓaʿ, Zunnâra, Umm ʿAḳab, an-Naḫala, Umm Sijâle, and Umm Ṛarejmîn.[36]

Wâdi aṣ-Ṣurr runs from the defile Naḳb al-Ḥrejṭa, between the mountains of Ḥrejṭat ammu Rǧûm and al-Meljân, where the spring of al-Hâma has its source. On the right it is joined by the *šeʿibân* of: al-Kšâbrijje, into which ad-Dâra and al-Ǧidde merge; and by the *šeʿibân* of aḍ-Ḏbejjeb, al-Ḳtajfe, al-Ḳwêmra, Ammu Mzêrîḳât, and Ammu Skâka; on the left by al-Meljân, Umm Ḥârǧa (with Abu-ṭ-Ṭanâẓeb), al-Makḥûl, al-Muṣâb, and Abu Ḥawâwîṭ.

Wâdi al-Ṛâl rises on the northwestern slope of Mount aš-Šâr near the springs of al-Mlêḥ and al-Bdejje and, running in a southeasterly direction, separates the high ridge of aš-Šâr from the lower cone of al-Ḳwâjem. After this *wâdi* is joined by the *šeʿîb* of Umm Ǧirma, which comes from Mount al-Ṛâl, it swings off to the west.

Wâdi ad-Dâma begins in the pass Naḳb al-Ḳerâḳer, between the mountains of aš-Širṭ and al-Muḫteleṣ, near the springs of ad-Difla and al-Lowza. It extends through the plain of ar-Raḥaba and is joined on the

[36] Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 846; Vol. 2, p. 727; and al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 196, assert that Ibn as-Sikkît places the valley of Tirjam close to Madjan. — As according to al-Bekri, *loc. cit.*, the poet Kuṯejjer also was acquainted with the form Terîm, we may infer that Ibn as-Sikkît identifies the oasis of Terîm with the place called Tirjam situated not far from Madjan.
Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 270, locates the place called Šarâwa near Tirjam at Madjan.

left by the *še'ibân* of: al-Ğbejl, in which there is a well of the same name; al-Bed', in which there are also a well and the ruins of al-Ḳanṭara; aš-Šubejče; ad-Dijâr; al-Malaka, united with Ammu Nṣâl; al-Bedî'; Šwâḳ, coming from the ruins of the same name near the oasis that lies between the mountains of aṣ-Ṣâne' on the north and al-Hašîm on the south; al-Ḫandaḳi; al-Ḳṭân; and the *še'îb* in which are the wells of al-Mzêḥfe and Abu Salama. On the right ad-Dâma is joined by the *še'ibân* of: Šagarât al-'Arâjes; az-Zarb; aṭ-Ṭlejḥ; and the great *še'îb* of Tmarr, which begins between the mountain range of the same name and the mountains of Nûf, Nwejfât, and at-Twejme. On the right hand the *še'îb* of Tmarr receives the *še'ibân* of: 'Affân, near the Ḳârt al-Ḥamra; and Salûwa, which is joined by Farrâše, as-Slejsel,[37] Râtje and Daḥal, and by al-Ḳṭejfe, which comes from Ḫarm al-Bedarijje; while on the left hand the Tmarr *še'îb* is joined by al-Mrejṭbe, al-Ḫğejl, and an-Namra.

Wâdi al-Aznam rises among the mountains of Mwêreb, al-Wited, and al-Wutejdât; not far from the ruins of Šaṛab[38] it is joined by the *še'îb* of al-Eṭle and farther to the west by the *še'îb* of Ziḳlâb, both of which come from the southeast.

Still farther to the southeast lie: Wâdi al-Manabb, with the branches of Sḥejjer and 'Anḳa, proceeding from the mountains of al-Maḥâza; al-Ḳnej and al-Medhem, rising between the mountains of Ammu Rumejs and al-Ḳlûb, near the defile of Naḳb al-Ḳnej; as well as Wâdi as-Srûm,

[37] According to Ibn Isḥâḳ (768 A.D.) (*Sîra*, as edit. by Ibn Hišâm [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 1, pp. 984—985; al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 780) 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ in 629—630 A.D. penetrated the territory of the Ğudâm as far as the well of Silsil, from which his expedition was then called *ġazwat as-Salâsel* (raid to as-Salâsel). — Our Slejsel is a diminutive of Silsil, and the spring bearing the same name is on the western slope of this valley.

Al-Mas'ûdi, *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), p. 265, writes that Dât as-Salâsel, from which the raid of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ in 629—630 is called, is situated ten days' march from al-Medîna to the north of the Wâdi al-Ḳura'. — As al-Mas'ûdi fixes the distance between al-Medîna and Tebûk at twelve night halts (*ibid.*, p. 270), the position of Slejsel tallies exactly with the distance of Dât as-Salâsel, for our Slejsel is situated nearly ninety kilometers (i. e. two days' march) to the south-southwest of Tebûk, and the road from al-Medîna direct to Slejsel is not as troublesome as that to Tebûk. The Moslems proceeded along the old transport route from al-Medîna to Palestine and Egypt through the territory of the Beli — with whom 'Amr was related through his mother — wishing to surprise the camps of the Beni 'Uḏra from the west.

[38] Aṭ-Ṭabari (died 923 A.D.), *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, p. 395, explains that the descendants of the Patriarch Jacob dwelt below the Palestinian territory of Ḫesma' in the coast region of aš-Šaṛab, where there are many caves. Jacob was a nomad and possessed camels and sheep. —

The territory of Ḫesma' is nowhere reckoned as geographically part of Palestine but always as part of the Ḥeğâz. That aṭ-Ṭabari calls it Palestinian must be explained by the political administration which incorporated the northern Ḥeğâz as far as latitude 27° 40' N. — this comprising nearly the whole of the territory of Ḫesma' — into the Syrian political area of Šoṛar.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri (951 A.D.), *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 27, writes that the Beni Merwân gave the settlement of Šaṛab as a fief to az-Zuhri, an expositor of the oral tradition (see Ibn Sa'd [died 845 A.D.], *Ṭabaḳât* [Sachau], Vol. 2, Part 2, pp. 135—136) and that he was also brought up there.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 302, locates Šaṛba' in the territory of the 'Uḏra tribe. Ibn as-Sikkît relates that the place contains a pulpit *(mimbar)* and a market, and that in the settlement of Bada' there is likewise a pulpit. According to others, Šaṛba' and Bada' are situated between al-Medîna and Ajla. The expositor az-Zuhri Muḥammed ibn Šihâb was brought up at Šaṛba' in the Ḥeğâz. Bada' of the Patriarch Jacob is a day's journey from Šaṛba'. —

It is not certain whether in the thirteenth century the Beni 'Uḏra were still encamped to the west of al-Ḫeğr. As early as the tenth century Šaṛba', which is certainly identical with our Šaṛab, had become the property of the Beli tribe, to whom it still belongs. Az-Zuhri, the famous expositor of the law, died in 742 A.D.

According to Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa (died 1658 A.D.), *Ğihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 525, Azlam (so written instead of Azlad) is a bare, salt territory, a day's journey wide and surrounded with mountains. In it the senna plant flourishes. In the year 1504—1505 A.D. Sultan al-Malek al-Ašraf Ḳansûḥ al-Ḳawri caused the pilgrimage station, built by Sultan al-Malek an-Nâṣer Muḥammed ibn Ḳelâ'ûn (1298—1308 A.D.), to be fortified and provided with a military garrison.

the beginning of which forms the *še'îb* of aẓ-Ẓa'ame, near which is the oasis of Bada'.[39]

Between the chain of granite mountains described above as steeply enclosing the coast region and the uplands to the east, there are numerous high hills, mountains, and elevations which give the region a distinctive charm. Thus, from the ar-Râwa range on the northern side of the Šarma valley there stretch westward the mountains of Ḳîr, aš-Šâṭi, al-Abjaẓ, ad-Dubba, Ummu Rğûm, and Umm as-Sarâbîṭ.

The watershed between aš-Šarma and Terîm is formed by Mount Râẓi and the elevations of al-Ḥamûm, Ḳôs al-Ḥnâne, an-Nuḫbâr, and Burḳa Ḳrajḳre. Between al-Kaḥala and aṣ-Ṣadr the huge black cone of Ḥarb rises to a height of 2134 meters. Mount Debbâṛ, southeast of Ḥarb, is higher, rising to an elevation of 2347 meters, and, with its spurs Ḫejšûmi, Ṭôr (or Ṭowr) al-Wušem, Šrejf al-Ḥaṭab, al-Ğimm, al-Ḳalb, Ammu Ğdejl, Zunnâra, Ṛarṛûr, and Wabri, forms the border between the valleys of Terîm and aṣ-Ṣurr. To the southeast of Ḫejšûmi stretch the elevations of as-Saḥḥâra and Ḳalḫa.

Between the upper part of Wâdi aṣ-Ṣurr and Wâdi al-Ṛâl extends the narrow but lofty ridge of aš-Šâr, which in its northwestern spur, Râs al-Ḳṣejb, attains a height of 2000 meters. Between the eastern part of this spur and Mount Umm al-Frûṭ cuts the defile Naḳb abu Ša'ar. To the southwest, from the ridge of aš-Šâr, projects the elevation of al-Ḳwâjem with the springs of al-Mâlḥa, al-Bdejje, Umm Časr, al-Leḥjâne, Abu Râka, and al-Ḥwêṭ; to the west are the hills of al-Ḳumma, al-Mejšeri, al-Mawḳre, and Leḥjâne. The southwestern extremity of the aš-Šâr ridge — known as Abu Šenâḍer — is connected with the mountains of Ṛâl and Ab-al-Bâred, between which the pass Naḳb Hwejd leads to the head of the *še'îb* of Salûwa which separates the mountain of al-Ma'în from aš-Šâḥṭa.

From Mount al-Ṛâl to the southeast extend the hills of al-Hawâni, al-Me'tedân, Ṛajdân, Ziḳlâb, Ṛurâb, and Ṯalba, from which the ridge of Naẓ'ân proceeds in a southwesterly direction. The branches of the Tmarr *še'îb* run eastward from Ab-al-Bâred, between the ridges of as-Slejsel,

[39] Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 30, was acquainted with Badais to the south of Soaka, (Šwâḳ), which is certainly our Bada'.

Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), Vol. 1, p. 155, mentions the town of Badeos situated in Arabia Felix near the shore of the Red Sea.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 84, records that at his time Bada' Ja'ḳûb was inhabited and its environs were cultivated.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 143, locates Bada' between the road from Egypt and that from Syria to al-Medîna. He quotes passages from the poet Kuṭejjer, who mentions Bada' together with Šarab, and also from the poet Ğumejl, who connects the valley of Bada' with the region of Ḥesma' and the oasis of Šarab. — All these particulars are accurate. Bada' is situated to the east of the Egyptian, and to the west of the Syrian Pilgrim Route. From Bada' a road leads in a northwesterly direction to the oasis of Šarab and then in a northerly direction to the region of Ḥesma'.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, pp. 463—464, says that Ḍabba is a settlement near the coast in the Tihâma still belonging to Syria. Opposite, seventy miles from it, is situated another settlement known as Bada', through which a stream flowed and which belonged to the Patriarch Jacob. From this settlement Jacob proceeded on a journey to Egypt to his son Joseph. — Ḍabba is the modern Ẓbe' on the coast. At a distance of 130 kilometers, or over seventy miles, to the southwest of it is situated our Bada', watered by a stream which swells into a wild torrent after abundant rains.

Elsewhere (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 523) Jâḳût states that Bada' is a valley on the coast near the town of Ajla, or an oasis in one of the valleys of the Beni 'Uḍra territory, or that it is located in Wâdi al-Ḳura'. — The two last details are inaccurate. Both the territory of the Beni 'Uḍra and al-Ḳura' lie to the east and southeast of Bada'.

Al-Ḳazwîni (died 1283 A.D.), *Âṯâr* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 104, likewise recalls the oasis of Bada'.

Sawd al-Lehûd, Ḳârt al-Ḥamra, al-Mḫajneḳ, Šdejjed, ar-Rwejṭ, al-Mrejṭbe, al-'Emdên, Nezâha, an-Namra, and Ummu Rmejṭ. To the south of al-Mḫajneḳ stretches the plain of Burajrîğ, connected on the south with the defiles Ḫrejm al-'Aṣîra and Ḫarm al-Bedarijje, from which the pass Naḳb al-Merwa leads across the ridge of al-Me'tedân to the springs of 'Emûd and Umm 'Âmel and farther on to Ẓbe'.

South of the upper part of the valley of ad-Dâma rise: the hills of Abu Šnân enclosing the plain of ar-Raḥaba on the south; Ẓlû' al-Ḥumr; al-Fğejme; aṣ-Ṣâne' with the cones of Naṛar and Nuṛejjer; still farther on: al-Hašîm; aẓ-Ẓuma', and Abu Tîne, separated from Mount Rajdân by the *še'îb* of al-Ḫandaḳi; and to the south of aṣ-Ṣâne', Mwêreb, al-Wutejdât, Šhaba' Ğâmra, al-Ḫaẓa, Šhejb al-Bûm, and al-Ğebâla.

On the seashore near Wâdi aṣ-Ṣurr is the shrine of the Sheikh (aš-Šejḫ) 'Abdallâh, and to the east of it the spring of az-Zaḥlûṭa, while still farther eastward are the oases of an-Nğêr and an-Neğel. South of the *wâdi*, on the shore itself, is located the settlement of al-Mwêleḥ beside the ruins of Leḥjâne.

Farther to the southeast are clustered the huts of the village of Ẓaḥakân on the bay of the same name, and about five kilometers still farther south is the large settlement of Ẓbe'[40] with fine palm gardens. Beyond this village is the shrine Ḳabr aṭ-Ṭwâši, and near it the well Bîr as-Sulṭâni.

The island of an-Na'mân lies to the south of Ẓbe' and almost west of Wâdi ad-Dâma, which forms the old frontier between the territories of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama and the Beli, to whom the rest of the coast with the settlement of al-Weğh belongs.[41]

There are two old trade routes leading along the coast to the southeast; they branch off from each other north of the oasis of 'Ajnûna. The eastern one is called Darb ar-Raṣîfijje; and the western, Darb al-Mellâḥ. The latter leads via the oases of Šarma, Terîm, and an-Nğêr, makes a crooked detour around the rugged elevations of as-Snejwijje and al-Bêẓa, under the name of Darb al-Falak, then passes the settle-

[40] Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 53, records Ḍabba also among the settlements belonging to the Ḳurḥ area.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, pp. 463—464, as we have already seen (see above, p. 135, note 39), says that Ḍabba is a settlement near the coast in the Tihâma, still belonging to Syria. Opposite, seventy miles from it, is situated another settlement known as Bada', through which a stream flowed and which belonged to the Patriarch Jacob. From this settlement Jacob proceeded on a journey to Egypt to his son Joseph. — Bada' is an oasis on the Darb ar-Rakak road leading from Egypt to al-Medîna. About 130 kilometers to the northwest of it, on the shore, is situated our settlement of Ẓbe', which I identify with the Ḍabba of al-Muḳaddasi and Jâḳût. Al-Muḳaddasi does not transcribe names accurately, and those who copied from him did not investigate the correctness of his lists. He mentions two places of the same name in the Ḥeğâz and in the depression of Sirḥân. Both are pronounced al-'Awnîd by him, and Jâḳût follows his example, although the two places are actually called al-'Wejned. He probably jotted down Ḍaba' and later transcribed it as Ḍabba', while actually the name of this settlement was Ẓaba', or, as it is now pronounced, Ẓba' or Ẓbe'.

This supposition is confirmed by al-Maḳrîzi (died 1142 A.D.), *Mawâ'iẓ* (Wiet), Vol. 1, pp. 57—58, who says that to the east of the Ḳolzum Sea are situated the region of al-Ḥawra', Ḍabba, and Nebk, the region of Madjan, and the region of Ajla. Some manuscripts have Ṭana' and others Ẓaba'. The transcription Ḍabba, however, is certainly erroneous. It is obtained from Jâḳût and is due to an inaccurate etymology. The name of this settlement does not come from *ḍabb*, as Jâḳût supposes, but from *ẓaba'* or *ḍaba'*. Codex Vindobonensis has Ḳaṭaja', which suggests an original phrase *fa Ẓaba'* (and Ẓaba), that is our Ẓbe'.

[41] Al-Maḳrîzi, *Mawâ'iẓ* (Codex Vindobonensis), Vol. 1, fol. 36 v., writes that the island of an-Na'mân is situated not far from aṭ-Ṭûr and that it is inhabited by Arabs. — The landing place of aṭ-Ṭûr is located 260 kilometers to the northwest of the island of an-Na'mân.

Al-Maḳrîzi, *Mawâ'iẓ* (Wiet), Vol. 1, p. 62, also records that in the Ḳolzum Sea there are fifteen islands, of which four are inhabited, among them the island of an-Na'mân.

ments of Ẓaḥakân and Ẓbe', approaches the sea itself, crosses Wâdi al-Aznam by the ruins of the halting place of al-ʿWejned, and again turns away from the marshy seashore.[42]

The eastern road, Darb ar-Raṣîfijje, seems to be the older. It crosses Wâdi al-Ṛarr west of the spring of the same name; reaches Wâdi Terîm by way of the *šeʿîb* of Ammu-d-Dûd; leads along the western foot of the al-Ǧimm mountain range; passes round the ridge of aš-Šâr through a plain extending to the east of the upper part of the aṣ-Ṣurr *wâdi*; then, under the name of Darb ar-Rakak, it crosses the elevations of Ab-al-Bâred and al-Maʿîn; follows the *šeʿîb* of Salûwa' past the point where the latter joins ad-Dâma; runs through the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫandaḳi to the water and ruins of Šaṛab; and continues along the western slope of Šhaba' Ǧâmra to the oasis and ruins of Bada'.

From the coast it is possible to ascend the eastern uplands through numerous defiles. The road most often taken is the Darb al-Wabri, which runs from al-Mwêleḥ through the aṣ-Ṣurr valley and the pass Naḳb al-Ḫrejṭa to the uplands, whence it leads by way of the well of al-Ǧdejjed to Ṛadîr abu ʿAẓejne, Ṯemîlt ar-Radhe, and farther on to Tebûk. The settlement of al-Mwêleḥ serves as a harbor for Tebûk.

TO ŠARMA

I did not cease making my notes until it had grown completely dark and Tûmân called me to determine our latitude (temperature: 31.1° C). ʿAfnân was sitting beside me, smoking and groaning. Like myself, he had been tormented with recurrent ague and had no appetite. After supper, he got up, kissed my head, and thanked me for the kindness which I had shown him in accepting his hospitality. He went through the same ceremony with the rest of my friends, excepting only the black Mḥammad; him he did not kiss.

On Tuesday, June 14, 1910, we set out at 4.29 A. M. for the oasis of Šarma (temperature: 25° C) across a flat plain which was covered with *sejâl* thickets. At 5.44 we reached the edge of the oasis where we were to wait for ʿAfnân. Our camels grazed around the water, while we, with the

[42] Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), pp. 26, 84, was acquainted with two towns called an-Nabk and al-ʿAwnîd in the Ḥeǧâz, which he compares with the two halting places of the same name on the road through the desert to Tejma. He describes al-ʿAwnîd as the populated harbor of the town of Ḳurḥ, famous for its honey, and includes it among the main settlements *(ummahât)* of the Ḥeǧâz. — The reading al-ʿAwnîd is not accurate. The halting place of the same name, situated in the desert to the north of Tejma, is not called al-ʿAwnîd, but al-ʿWejned. Ḳurḥ is an older name for the modern oasis of al-ʿEla'.

Al-Maḳrîzi, *Mawâʿiẓ* (Codex Vindobonensis, Vol. 1, fols. 10 v., 36 v., 134 v., 316 v.; Wiet, Vol. 1, p. 311), asserts that the vocalization should be al-ʿUwajnid and not al-ʿAwnîd.

Al-Idrîsi (1154 A. D.), *Nuzha* (Rome, 1592), III, 5, likewise records al-ʿUwajnid as an anchorage where mariners take in a supply of water, situated opposite the island of an-Naʿmân at a distance of ten miles. The nearest anchorage to the south is called aṭ-Ṭanâfijje.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 748, allots al-ʿUwajnid to Egypt and says that it lies near Madjan and al-Ḫawra'. — This location is not very exact, for Madjan is nearly 200 kilometers away and al-Ḫawra' more than 250 kilometers.

guide, made a sketch map of the surrounding district. About an hour later ʿAfnân rode up accompanied by six men and asked us to proceed farther eastward. After riding for ten minutes through a dense palm forest, we arrived at a large vegetable garden and halted in front of a palm-leaf hut. As there was no pasturage in the vicinity, we tied up our camels. At ʿAfnân's request the farmers brought the animals a lapful of green dates, but our camels, which were not accustomed to this food, did not touch it, while ʿAfnân's camels consumed the dates with great relish.

CHAPTER VI

THE OASIS OF ŠARMA TO TEBÛK BY WAY OF AL-ṚARR

ŠARMA TO THE CREST OF THE AL-ĞELES RANGE

Not wishing to let our starved and weakened camels suffer unnecessary hunger any longer, I asked ʿAfnân to allow us to depart and to give me the guide he had promised. The latter asked me to pay him twenty English pounds in advance and declared that he would go with me no farther than the first camp of the Beni ʿAṭijje, as at Tebûk and in its vicinity there dwelt families hostile to him. ʿAfnân called upon his people, one after another, to accompany me, but they all refused. In the midst of our difficulties there arrived at the oasis a Bedouin about twenty years old, who was seeking work and profit. Scarcely had he heard of our quandary than he seized the edge of my cloak and begged me to take him, saying that as a shepherd he knew the whole region of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama from al-Bedʿ in the north to Wâdi ad-Dâma in the south, that he was also acquainted with the shepherds of the Beni ʿAṭijje and could therefore obtain one of them as a new guide for me. Having come to an agreement with him, I gave ʿAfnân the presents intended for him and his servants, and at 8.04 A. M. we left the oasis.

Our road led through dense palm thickets, across small, marshy, shallow streams. The oasis of Šarma is scarcely four hundred meters broad and is bordered on the north and south by low, steep, rocky slopes. Date palms thrive there admirably and their fruit ripens quite early in the year. Many dates had already attained a bright brown color, and ʿAfnân brought me a handful of the half ripe fruit.[43]

At 8.45 we reached a large, dry hollow with a few palms, close to the spot, to the north, where the combined gullies of al-Maḳʿade and al-ʿEfrija come to an end. Toward the east

[43] In the literature dealing with the pilgrims, the oasis of Šarma is called al-Ḳaṣab. Abu-l-Feda', *Muḫtaṣar* (Adler), Vol. 5, p. 334, made a pilgrimage with his master to Mecca in the year 1320 A. D., and he greeted the new moon of al-Muḥarram (Feb. 12) at the halting place of al-Ḳaṣab, about four days' march from Ajla in the direction of Janbaʿ.

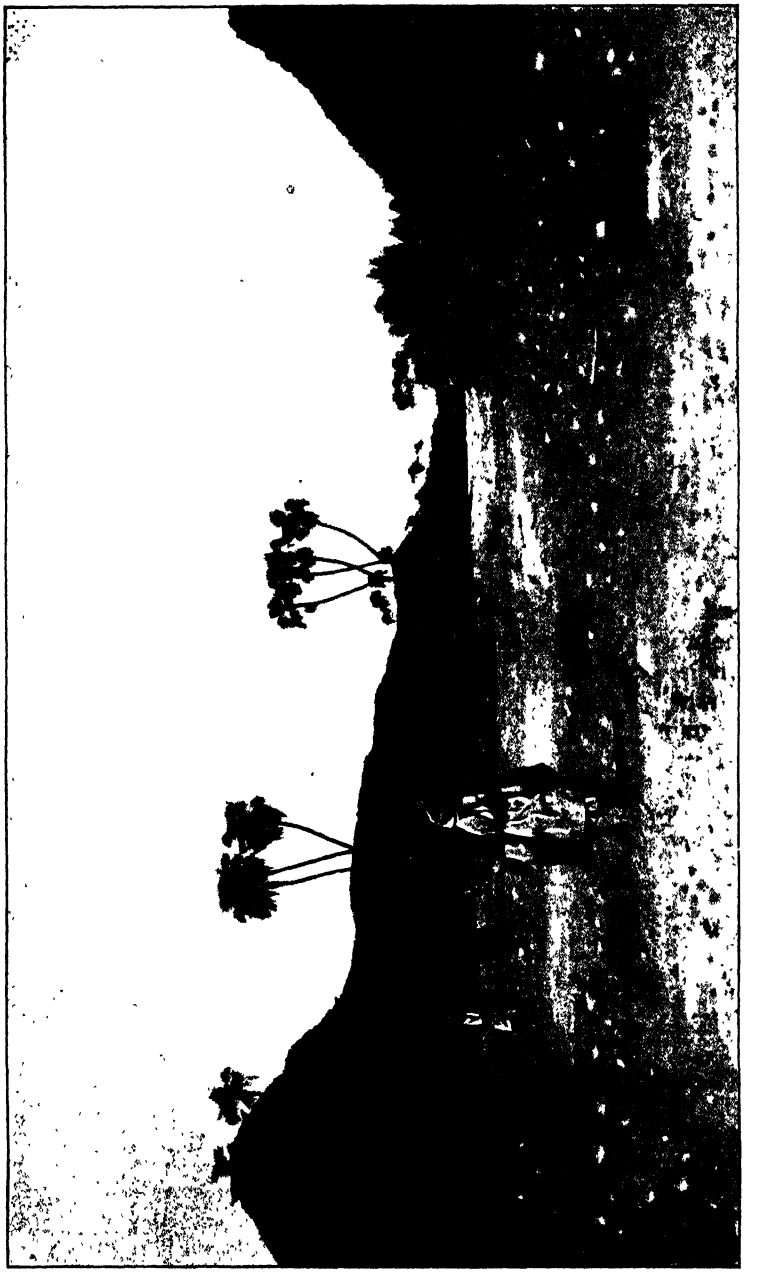


FIG. 57.—Palms in the valley of al-Ḳarr from the west.

the hollow becomes tapering and is called Wudej. It is reached from the south by the *šeʿîb* of Ẓeḥijje, which runs through the rocky hills of Umm Hašîm. After 9.15 the guide gave the name of al-Ṛarr to the valley through which we were proceeding. On both left and right we saw numerous springs and groups of date and *dûm* palms (Fig. 57). From 9.55 to 11.40 we rested in a marshy hollow filled with a growth of reeds, where our camels found pasturage. In places the rocky soil was so scorching hot that it was impossible to walk barefooted. Our rifle barrels were as hot as if they had been left in a fire. Towards noon a slight wind arose from the east and we were able to breathe more freely (temperature: 38.2° C). At twelve o'clock we had on our left the copious spring of al-Ḫrâše, which irrigates several gardens and forms a stream more than three hundred meters long. In the gardens there were crops of onions, melons, and tobacco.

At 12.25 we saw the *šeʿîb* of Umm as-Sarâbîṭ on the left and crossed the old Pilgrim Road of ar-Raṣifijje leading southward to the hills of Ḳôs al-Ḥnâne, where spirits abide. Date palms were still growing in parts of the valley, so that the oasis of Šarma could be extended a full twenty-five kilometers to the east.

At one o'clock the *šeʿîb* of Ummu Rǧûm was on our left and Abu Taḳar on our right. At 1.40 on the northern edge of the valley we perceived the well Bîr al-Ṛarr, near which some Arabs were watering some sheep and about ten camels. The Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama breed few camels, because the beasts do not thrive on the coast and in the moist oases. Instead of camels they keep cows on the coast and sheep and goats in the mountains. Eastward from the well Bîr al-Ṛarr the valley through which we were riding is called Umm Ḳarâdi. It is covered with fine gravel, in which the *rimṯ* and *sejâl* grow only sparsely, and it is joined from the north by the *šeʿîb* of ʿAnṣûrijje, near the beginning of which is situated a pile of old, ruined buildings, called al-Merw. The slopes of the valley are steep and barren of vegetation. From the rugged uplands project isolated peaks and obelisks.

To the east, without any gradation, there rise precipitously from the uplands the huge granite mountains belonging to the chain that separates the coast from the eastern highland. In front of them towers Mount ad-Dubba, the curious shapes of which attracted our attention (Fig. 58). The northern



FIG. 58—Mount ad-Dubba from the west.

peak resembles a tall man standing up and attired in a Roman toga; while on the right a young man appears to be leaning against him, and on the left there is a girl with dishevelled hair. The southern peak forms a group of six persons, all of whom are looking westward to the sea. South of this group yawns a narrow, deep gap, through which emerges the valley of al-Ḳarâdi. The camels grazed from 2.10 to 4.12 P. M. while we drew a map of the distant surroundings from a high cone to which we had climbed with great difficulty (temperature: 39.8° C).

Passing on between the granite mountains of ad-Dubba and Arejka we proceeded through a bare and dismal valley. On the right and left were high smooth walls, and between them a river bed about one hundred meters broad, which in places contained deep deposits of gravel, with no trace of vegetation. At 5.20 the guide drew my attention to the spring of Abu Ṣwêr on the left. This rises north of the entrance of the *šeʿîb* of Dṛejm which comes in from the south. At 6.12 we reached the *šeʿîb* of Turbân, which, coming from Mount ad-Dubba, rises in a copious spring of the same name that waters an extensive grove of date palms. East of it we proceeded through another *šeʿîb* covered in places with drifts of sand.

At 6.55 we encamped (temperature: 37.2° C) beneath a high, isolated cone that stood in the midst of the valley. On its western and northern slopes were high drifts of sand in which we observed some bushes of luxuriant green *arṭa*, of which the camels are very fond. The inflammation in my right eye had disappeared, but the ague had not yet left me. The night was clear and comparatively cool. The granite giants rising to our right and left assumed bewitching shapes in the moonlight and seemed to stretch their huge limbs as if preparing for some weighty undertaking. From time to time slight but very agreeable sounds broke the clear calm of the silent night. I did not understand these sounds, although I listened intently. Mḥammad said: "The moon is rousing these enchanted giants and trying to find out whether they are still alive and strong and is instructing them what they are to do. How good and sweet the moon is, O Mûsa, and how cruel and hot the sun!"

On Wednesday, June 15, 1910, we started off at 4.54 A. M. (temperature: 31.6° C). On our right were a *šeʿîb* and the

water of Umm Naḫale on the slope of Mount Arejka, which is conspicuous because of its ocher color. At the southern foot of the mountain are the springs of Ḏḳêṭ and aẓ-Ẓabʿijje, which belong to the al-Kaḥala basin. At 5.30 we saw the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿAğûz on the left and to the southeast the high walls of the granite mountain range of an-Naʿejẓa, through which lead the defiles of al-ʿArajjeḳ and al-Bdejje. In front of these mountains to the east of us rose the black mountain of al-Ṛurâba, along the southeastern foot of which extends the *šeʿîb* of al-Maṭḥane, which joins the *šeʿîb* of Ornub. At 6.15, entering an extensive hollow covered with a dense growth of *sejâl*, we observed under the trees a few wretched tents belonging to the Ḥwêṭât. From 6.30 to 7.34 we rested to the west of the *šeʿîb* of al-Medâʿîḳ, on the northern edge of the hollow near a deep gap which contains the spring of az-Zrejb. Having unloaded our baggage, we led the camels to the water. After a while three women came up behind us driving three flocks of small goats, and behind them followed a young man with a flock of about ten sheep and two camels. I wished to hire him as a guide, but he could not leave his flock. Our previous guide was afraid that he might be seen by some of his enemies encamped on the uplands of Ḥesma, and he asked me therefore to let him return. According to ʿAfnân's statements, we should find in the vicinity of the spring of az-Zrejb on the border of the Ḥwêṭât and the Beni ʿAṭijje a camp of the latter, but both the women and the young man assured us that all the ʿAṭâwne had departed for the uplands of Ḥesma, where their flocks had abundant pasturage, while on the coast the flocks were perishing with hunger.

At eight o'clock we rode round an ancient burial place. At 8.03 we observed on the left the *šeʿîb* and spring of Ḳîr, the source of which is high up on the steep slope of the granite mountains bearing the same name and is very difficult of access. Mount Ḳîr is composed of a great quantity of granite ribs some of which project above its general level and from afar resemble black stalactites. At 9.40 we had the *šeʿîb* of Umm Hašîm on our left; at 9.50 the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ḥamâṭa and the spring of the same name were on our right. South of the latter *šeʿîb* begins the cleft of al-Medâʿîḳ, which joins the *šeʿîb* of Ornub. Having passed the latter, we entered the narrow *šeʿîb* of as-Sîḳ, enclosed by high, rocky walls which seem to touch

each other at the top. Here we vainly searched for pasturage for our camels. Only some isolated *ratam* and *šîḥ* grew there and these plants were all dead. The walls enclosing this *še'îb* are of black granite, which had absorbed the burning rays of the sun and was giving out an unbearable heat. As no



FIG. 59—The *še'îb* of as-Sîḳ.

breath of air could penetrate the deep *še'îb*, we felt as if we were passing through a fiery furnace. The road was very difficult, because the camels had to walk over piles of stones and sand which had drifted there. Our guide drew our attention to the fact that we were approaching even more difficult places and advised us to let our camels rest. We did so from 11.32 to one o'clock (temperature: 35° C). Finding no pasturage the animals kneeled down and gazed sadly at us (Fig. 59). After 1.30 we reached the water of as-Sîḳ, which fills a narrow fissure in the rock whence it does not flow out, as much of it evaporates. Behind the water rises a rocky wall, about fifteen meters high, which completely shuts off the *še'îb* on the east. Only a narrow and scarcely distinguishable little path leads upwards through a rocky cleft. Our camels were afraid to attempt this path. Leading my animal, which was urged on by Rif'at,

I endeavored to persuade it to enter the cleft. For a long time it refused and turned back, but at last it jumped on to the path and the rest of the camels followed, but only so long as they could see one another. As soon as the front camel disappeared around a bend the next animal stopped, and all the rest came to a halt behind it. We had to bring the leading camel back in order to persuade the others to continue the march. It was not only difficult but frequently even dangerous to turn round on the narrow and precipitous pathway. The baggage fell from the backs of two of the camels and slipped down on the tail of the third one, so that the beast knelt. The fallen baggage went rolling down the slope, and it was no easy task to carry it up again and load it on the camel. Both men and animals found it almost impossible to breathe, and the sweat was pouring off us.

At last we climbed on to a rocky wall and entered a narrow crevice known as aẓ-Ẓjejḳe, through which we climbed comfortably after a few minutes. In two places the water had formed puddles, but they were full of leeches of various sizes, so that not even our camels could drink from them. Suddenly the crevice was barred by a steep wall over four hundred meters high, which prevented us from continuing our journey. Nowhere could we see a trace of any path. After a few minutes Mḥammad discovered on the eastern slope, behind a clump of palms, a smooth strip leading steeply to a small spur. This was the path. The spur projected scarcely sixty meters above the crevice, but it took us more than an hour to mount it. The first third of the way consisted of high, steep, twisting steps. My camel jumped up to the first step, thence to the second; behind it came the camels of Rif'at, Tûmân, and Isma'în, and in a short time our mounts were all side by side on the spur, where we persuaded them to kneel down and tied up their feet. Not seeing the rest of my companions, I climbed downwards and saw two camels with baggage already standing on the steps, but the third was still in the cleft. Ordering Mḥammad and Isma'în to hold the two front camels, I hurried down into the ravine to persuade the stubborn animal to move forward. I led it away from the path until it could see the two camels higher up, then I drove it behind them and it actually jumped up to the first step. But at that moment a stone of no great size worked itself loose from the top of the slope, rolled down, and rebounded in front of the first

camel carrying the baggage. At this the beast took fright, wheeled round and stampeded down to the crevice, dragging the two others with it. Isma'în's camel broke its tether and likewise fled down from the spur. The frightened animals did not come to a halt in the ravine but fled back to the rocky wall on which we had climbed so laboriously through the gap, and did not stop until they reached the very edge of the precipice. My European companions, Rif'at and Tûmân, held three camels fastened on the spur, while the natives uttered lamentations and curses, exclaiming that they would not move a finger. Paying no heed to them, I ran out on to the spur, unfastened my camel, and brought it down into the crevice again. The guide followed me. Having overtaken the fugitive animals, we chased them back to the path, where we let them rest for a few minutes. In the meanwhile, Tûmân and Rif'at, having first of all tied up the remaining two camels also by their right forefeet, had collected the scattered baggage and carried it up to the spur. The natives, who were now ashamed, gave aid, so that all our baggage was carried up before long. At last I persuaded my camel to jump up to the steps again. The second one jumped up behind it and followed me as far as the spur. When it had been safely secured there, I returned to the ravine with my camel, to lead up the second and third animals. As I was starting back for the fourth one, my animal began to offer resistance. Jumping out on all fours it lost its balance, rolled over, and began to slip down the rocky slope, dragging me with it. Leaping and sliding, we both reached the crevice. The animal was lacerated, my hands and feet were bleeding, and I felt a severe pain in the upper part of my chest, for while falling I had knocked myself against a sharp stone. But I did not lose the camel and finally succeeded in bringing the last animal up to the spur.

TO AN-NA'EMI

Having secured the luggage, we rode on and at four o'clock reached the summit. We had now completed the worst part of the journey. From four to 4.48 men and animals rested (temperature: 36.5° C). Then, having refreshed ourselves with strong coffee, we set out again. Toward the west we saw the high, black walls of the as-Sîḳ range; to the east were the broken rocks of Ornub; to the southeast there yawned

beneath us the unforgettable ravine of aẓ-Ẓjejḳe; and before us extended a region of narrow *še'ibân* and rocky knolls. At 5.30 we had reached the pools of the spring of an-Na'emi in the *še'îb* of the same name. The water of an-Na'emi is surrounded by steep rocky walls more than two hundred meters high. Beside the water we searched for a path that would lead to the south or to the east, but we could not find one. Proceeding downward through the *še'îb*, we came to a standstill at the edge of a declivity more than twenty meters deep. Here we branched off into a gap leading eastward, but after half an hour we had to return again because steep rocks prevented us from going on. Šerîf then called out that we were being watched by two men on the hillside. They vanished, however, the moment they perceived that we had observed them. The sun had now set, and we did not know whether they were friends or enemies (temperature: 32.4° C).

Having returned to the *še'îb* of an-Na'emi, we encamped in the middle of it, so that no stones could be rolled down upon us. Crawling upon my hands and knees I slipped out to the eastern slope to look round for any signs of a fire and to listen for voices from an encampment. Nothing could be seen from the slope, but about two hundred meters to the east there rose the black bulk of a knoll, to which I made my way. From it I saw, at some distance to the southeast of us, the glow of several fires, which I knew must belong to the camp of some clan of the Beni 'Aṭijje. Were the two men, whom we had perceived, from this camp and had they returned there, or were they acting as scouts for robbers and watching the spring of an-Na'emi to see whether they could water their animals and supply themselves with water there undisturbed? These questions I was unable to answer.

I found the descent of the slope much more dangerous than the ascent, and when, in the morning, I observed the place where I had climbed, I could not understand how I had managed it.

All night long we kept up a big fire and had our rifles loaded beside us, prepared to defend ourselves. None of us closed an eye, but the night was calm.

On Thursday, June 16, 1910, at six o'clock we were drawing near to the water on a fresh search for a path leading to the east, when suddenly we saw two men mounted on camels galloping straight toward us. They waved their rifles and

called upon us to surrender if we were enemies. They were shepherds tending the camels of the Beni ʿAṭijje, and they had ridden up to ascertain whether the well of an-Naʿemi were safe or not. Having discovered that we were peaceful travelers, they greeted us and promised that they would lead us to the nearest camp as soon as they had let their camels drink. Jumping down from the saddle, they dug with their hands and sticks a pit about sixty centimeters deep in the sand of the river bed, and it soon filled with water. One man led up the camels; the other stepped into the pit, collected water in a wooden dish, and poured it into a large, deep copper plate, from which the camels drank. While doing this they sang in a monotone. Meantime two other shepherds had driven up two flocks, and I beckoned to my companions to help them dig a new pit and to water the flocks, so that we might depart as soon as possible.

Accompanied by the elder of the shepherds and Tûmân, I climbed a knoll not far off and drew a sketch map of the surrounding district.

Before us, to the east, extended a vast plain covered with hills, cones, horns, mutilated pyramids, and obelisks, just as we had viewed it from Mount aš-Šera' (see above, pp. 41, 43, 47—49). This was the upland of Ḥesma'. Northeast of us appeared the flat elevation of al-Ṛurûr, from which the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥadad extends eastward to the lowland of al-Mamlaḥ, northeast of Tebûk. To the north of al-Ṛurûr is the white plain of ʿElw ar-Rwa', on the eastern edge of which is situated the cone of Ammu Ẓumejrîne, while east of it, on the left-hand side of the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥadad, are the two knolls of al-Ḫwij, and farther to the northeast the al-Mzannad group with the *šeʿîb* of the same name, which joins al-Ḥadad east of the broad mutilated pyramid of ar-Râkeb and the peaks of Umm ʿAdâme. Farther to the east, under the hill of Umm Ǧeba', al-Ḥadad is joined by the *šeʿîb* of Ammu Rḥa', which rises at the foot of Dafdaf between Ammu Darağ and al-Balas. The *šeʿîb* of aẓ-Ẓamm runs out from the pass Naḳb al-Maḳla. This *šeʿîb* begins near Šağara Maṭʿama, under the name of al-Ḫwejme, and forms the northern border of the cluster of cones known as al-Aḥâwâṭ and Ammu Rẓîm. From the right it receives Ammu Štân, formed by the arms of Rakak, ar-Rkejb, and al-Mḥawa, which collect the rain water from the eastern slopes of the mountains of ar-Râḥa, al-Muʿaffara, and al-Ḫejmri and twine around the rocks of Bejdwât and Abu ʿAlejḳât. Lower down aẓ-Ẓamm is joined on the right by the *šeʿibân* of ʿArejka and Umm Lâṭje, which wind between the rocks of an-Ndêrât, ʿArejka, Abu Zejjer, al-Bâred, and Abu Ṛzejlât; while it is joined on the left by the *šeʿibân* of al-Mirǧihem and al-Mḥarraḳ. Al-Mirǧihem proceeds from the mountains of ar-Rass, Jabb, and Farʿûn; on the right it receives al-Ḥeseb (which rises near the pass Naḳb al-Ḫeǧijje) and al-Ḫwejmân (which begins in the mountains of al-Lowz, al-Maḳla, and aṭ-Ṯlêṭe); it

is divided from al-Ḫwejme by the hills of Moṛr and Abu Darağ. Near the latter al-Mirğihem is joined on the left by the *še'îb* of al-Maḥâš, which begins on the eastern slope of the ad-Darâbîğ elevation near the mountains of Abu Ḫirḳa. On the western edge of the depression of al-Meḥteṭeb, the *še'îb* of al-Mḥarraḳ, which extends from the hills of al-Amṛar along the low table-shaped hillocks of al-Ḥawṣal, terminates in the *še'îb* of aẓ-Ẓamm. To the east of al-Amṛar, the eastern part of the al-Ḫaẓẓa plain is entered by the *še'ibân* of al-Bezwa and al-Awẓâm, which rise west of the railway station of al-Ḥazm in the hills of aṭ-Ṭaff and Ṭṛâr al-Awẓâm.

On the right al-Ḥadad is joined by the *še'îb* of ad-Ḍrâle, which begins east of the mountains of Ornub among the rocks of Abu Ḳṣejme, al-Mḥawwar, Ḫašm Nḳejb, al-Ḳwâra, al-Minḫ, Abu Ḫašaba, Abu Šdâd, and aš-Šiḳîḳ; farther on it is joined by the *še'îb* of Umm Neḳâdât, which separates the hills of al-Mhejmi and al-Ḳwejsi from Umm 'Arejḳîb, Abu Ṭbejḳ, Mšejjiš al-Ḫamîs, Muḥaššar al-Ḥâzem and al-Mhejbel; and finally it is joined by the *še'îb* of aš-Škâ'a.

On our return we found that our companions had been approached by about ten men who eyed us in no very friendly manner. They suspected that we were disguised envoys of the Turkish Government and that it was our purpose to ascertain the number of their flocks in order that higher taxes might be imposed upon them. Not yet having obtained a guide from their tribe, we were without a protector among them. Then one of them said: "Let us get rid of these strangers and divide what they have." When I heard this, I sprang toward him, seized him by the shoulder and called upon him to repeat his words. He was taken aback and said nothing; after a while he went away. I then asked the others to conduct us to the nearest camp and announced that I was placing myself under the protection of the chief of this camp, before whose countenance I would present myself. In this way I made clear that I recognized this chief, hitherto unknown to me, as being so powerful that he could protect me from his own people. I had accordingly shown him honor and he would have forfeited his honor if he had not actually shown, or at least attempted to show, that he was as powerful as I had conjectured him to be. It was certain that some of the men present would report our conversation and that it would therefore be heard of by the chief to whom I wished to be taken. All who could leave the flocks joined us and guided us to the camp. They were inquisitive as to what would happen to us.

AN-NA'EMI TO NAḲA' ḲEMÂJEM

At 8.20 we left an-Na'emi (temperature: 30.1° C) and proceeded in a southerly direction on a path which led through a deep gap to the uplands. We had not been able to find this path, because hitherto no flock had been watered at an-Na'emi. The sand of the river bed had been worn perfectly smooth by the last trickling water, and the entrance to the path leading from the river bed to the gap was hidden by a high boulder. Between the boulder and the rocky wall beside it there remained a space only about one and five-tenths meters broad, which a short distance farther on was shut off by another boulder on the left, so that from the river bed it seemed as if there were no outlet to the winding path. Entering the upland, we found ourselves in the extensive hollow of Baṭḥ as-Sikâra, running from north to south. On the west this hollow is shut in by the al-Ṛurûr mountain range; on the north by a spur of the same range known as Ḫašm Nḳejb and by the rocks of al-Ḳwâra, al-Minḫ, and Abu Ḫašaba; and on the south by the granite rocks of Abu Ḳṣejme and al-Mḥawwar. Our new guides would not answer a single question. Toward ten o'clock we perceived to the east the first cones, pyramids, knolls, horns, and other shapes, which are so characteristic of the upland of Ḥesma. The *še'îb* broadened out, the separate elevations became flatter, the vegetation more abundant. The various hollows were thickly overgrown with *ratam* among which tents appeared at intervals. It was not an enclosed camp; instead, the tents were scattered over an area of several square kilometers.

At 10.40 A. M. we halted in front of the chief's tent (temperature: 34.2°C). Upheld by a single middle pole, it was shabby and full of holes. An old man came out, greeted us, and assigned a place to us between three *ratam* bushes. There we deposited our baggage. The camels immediately began to graze near by. After a while we were greeted by a youth of about twenty, who welcomed us on behalf of his father, the chief, who was absent on a raid. The youth brought a tent cloth, the old man a few poles and ropes, and with the help of my native companions they set up a temporary tent above our baggage. At my request Šerîf boiled some coffee and served it to all who were present. The youth went off with his cousin to the spring of Djejb, where his

goats were to be watered, in order to bring us back a kid.

Our tent soon was full of people. The old man, the brother of the youth's mother, cautiously enquired where we were going, why we had entered their territory, and what we intended to do afterwards. I replied that we were going direct to Tebûk, that we would visit Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje, the head chief of all the Beni ʿAṭijje, and that we would return under his protection to the upland of Ḥesma. With a sneer the old man remarked that the Beni ʿAṭijje had no head chief.

"Every chief is his own head chief, and without his permission no stranger may enter his territory, unless he is accompanied by Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje himself."

"What thou hast said is true. Every chief of the Beni ʿAṭijje is independent, none is ruled by Ḥarb, but each of them would consider carefully before rebelling against him."

Ismaʿîn asked the old man whether he could not provide us with a guide to Tebûk. The old man described the dangers threatening the guide on the way there and back and said that we should have to be accompanied by at least ten armed men.

I said: "If Allâh allows us to be attacked by a strong band of enemies, your ten armed men will run away or surrender just like a single guide. Therefore I will go from here to Tebûk either with one guide or with none."

The old man beckoned to Ismaʿîn and went out with him from the tent into the bushes. After a long time, when the youth had already returned with the kid, Ismaʿîn came up to me and announced that our host, the chief's son, with his cousin would accompany us to Tebûk for a fee of ten English pounds. This amount I could not pay, and I declared that even ten *meğîdijjât* ($9.00) would be a great deal for this journey. Ismaʿîn pointed out the dangers by which we were threatened, as hitherto we had no protector among the Beni ʿAṭijje, who were accustomed to cheat and rob the pilgrims and traders who passed through their territory. He therefore persuaded me to summon the youth and the old man and to discuss the matter with them. Sitting down about a hundred paces from the tent, we negotiated for a long time and finally agreed that the youth should accompany us for fifteen *meğîdijjât* ($13.50), but only to within sight of Tebûk; as soon as Tebûk came into view, he was to return. He was afraid that on his way back he might be attacked and robbed on the road through the bare plain between Tebûk and the western moun-

tains. The greedy old man demanded two *meğîdijjât* ($1.80) for the kid and one *meğîdijje* (90 cents) for the fuel and the labor of preparing the meal. Yet we had scarcely tasted any of the kid's flesh, for it was eaten up by the rest of those who were present, and we were given neither bread, rice, nor even milk. After the meal I went away with the youth and Tûmân to a cone not far off, in order that we might note down the position and direction of the various localities. Our camels were al ready prepared for departure, but the guide still lingered, his excuse being that his riding camel had not yet arrived. At last, losing patience, I jumped up into the saddle, my companions followed my example, and at 5.30 we rode out of the camp and did not trouble about a guide. As a parting word I told those present that, if he did not overtake us before sunset, we would announce everywhere how faithfully the son of the chief of the Beni ʿAṭijje had kept his word. That proved effective. Scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed before the young guide galloped up to us.

We proceeded in a southeasterly direction through the rocky plain of Baṭḥ as-Sikâra, from which numerous isolated rocks project. Where any quantity of mould had accumulated, various plants were growing, and the camels and goats grazed upon them. In the rays of the setting sun the region was filled with a riot of beautiful colors. The blackened surfaces of the sandstone, leveled down by wind and rain, glistened as if molten iron had been poured over them. The rich green stood out sharply against the ruddy background. The walls and slopes which were turned towards the sun glowed blood-red and their angles seemed to be lined with purple. Fire blazed from each edge. The northern and southern slopes were as if painted a dark blue. In the deep gaps between the various knolls and cones there were already displayed dense, violet-colored veils of mist, above which a golden-yellow firmament was arched.

The road was good, being devoid of stones or débris. At eight o'clock we came upon a clear, white, bare, dry, clay surface. It was the dried-up rain pond Naḳaʿ Ḳemâjem, the eastern extremity of which we reached at 8.20. From it to the east extends a broad, sandy drift, the northern slope of which falls off about fifteen meters. To the north there rises a rock, against which the west wind beats and scatters the sand southward, so that between the rock and the drift there

remains a passage about twenty meters broad, covered only with a thin sandy layer in which *ʿarfeğ* grows. In this passage we encamped at 8.30 P. M. Our camels grazed on the *ʿarfeğ*, while in a rocky hollow we lit a cheerful fire and prepared an abundant supper. We were all hungry, for we had eaten scarcely anything throughout the day. The fire could not be seen from either side.

NAḴAʿ ḲEMÂJEM TO BERḲA'-D-DIMEŽ

On Friday, June 17, 1910, refreshed by a peaceful sleep, we left our camping place at 4.42 A. M. (temperature: 19° C) and proceeded in a southeasterly direction. Our guide led us to an isolated reddened knoll, behind which is the water of al-Bêr. South of Naḳaʿ Ḳemâjem project the rocks of Ḳalʿat az-Zaʿejter, Abu Zummârîn, al-Mlosoma, and Ğimmed; and to the north are Abu Ḥašaba, Abu Šdâd, aš-Šiḳîḳ, and Mhejmi. During the ride I asked the guide for news, and there was one thing I heard which distressed me very much. I had intended that from al-Muʿaẓẓam we should visit the oasis of Tejma, explore the region east of the railway, and meet the Weld ʿAli and Weld Slîmân, whose acquaintance I had made in the spring of 1909. But from the guide I learned that both the Weld ʿAli and the Weld Slîmân had fled away from the regions situated east of the railway and that the Turkish gendarmes had been driven from the oasis of Tejma.

Zâmel eben Subhân, guardian of Prince Saʿûd eben Rašîd, who was about ten years old, had undertaken a great military expedition against the above-mentioned tribes and the oasis of Tejma. The Weld ʿAli were encamped by Medâjen Ṣâleḥ. On June 6 or 7 their shepherds announced the arrival of Eben Rašîd. The Weld ʿAli sent the women with the baggage into the fortress, drove the flocks into the western defiles, and occupied the heights which rise on the western side of the fortress. The army of Eben Rašîd encamped to the northeast of Medâjen Ṣâleḥ, surrounded the Turkish fortress, and the troops watered their camels and horses from the wells belonging to the Turkish soldiers. The Turkish garrison, shut up as they were in the fortress, could in no way hinder them. Wishing to entice the Weld ʿAli from their advantageous position, Eben Subhân ordered the tents to be struck and began to retreat. He left only a small detachment by the

wells, which was attacked and pursued by the Weld ʿAli. But the pursuers were surrounded and defeated, losing eighty-six rifles and seventy riding camels. Eben Subhân proceeded to the oasis of Tejma, drove away the Turkish garrison, had the staunchest adherents of the Government beheaded, and set up his own deputy in the oasis. From Tejma Eben Subhân had intended to attack al-Ǧowf, but, learning that the Rwala had not yet left the depression of Sirḥân, he turned to the southeast in order to subdue the Weld Slîmân. No Arabs remained between the oasis of Tejma, Medâjen Ṣâleḥ, and al-Muʿaẓẓam. The Weld ʿAli marched northwards, pressing on against their enemies the Beni ʿAṭijje, who fled before them to Mount aš-Šera' or to the volcanic territory al-Ḥarra or the uplands of Ḥesma. The father of our guide had gone on a marauding expedition against al-Âjde, a clan of the Weld ʿAli, who were said to have encamped near the central part of the al-Aḫẓar valley. In the neighborhood of Tebûk there were no Arabs, we were told, because bands of marauders were continually passing that way and disturbing the flocks.

This was sad news for us. The journey to Tejma east of the railway was out of the question, nor was it possible to send our exhausted and starving camels to recover in some camp in the vicinity of Tebûk. We had intended to allow the camels ten to fourteen days' rest with abundant pasture, and only then to start on the new journey.

On our left hand we had the cones of al-Maḫarûḳa, az-Zebedijje, and the pyramid of Umm ʿArejḳîb; on our right hand the huge pyramid of Ḳalʿat az-Zaʿejter. At 6.03 we reached the well of al-Bêr and remained there until 6.28 (temperature: 24.5° C). This well is situated at the northwestern foot of the sandstone cone bearing the same name; it is two to three meters deep and contains only rain water. If there is no rain for two or three years, it dries up. On the surrounding sandstone walls we observed numerous carved images of camels, goats, ibexes, ostriches, and horses, but we found no inscriptions. A few men and women were watering long-haired goats, and from them I bought a goat, which Ismaʿîn immediately sacrificed in honor of the spirit that filled the well with water.

The men asked our guide when his father would set out for the al-Kerak territory to fetch grain. It seems that in July every clan of the Beni ʿAṭijje sends some men with a flock

of camels to the regions of aṭ-Ṭafîle, al-Kerak, or Mâdaba, east of the Dead Sea, in order to sell the camels there and with the proceeds to purchase grain and particularly barley. Such an expedition for grain is known by the Beni ʿAṭijje as *ḫaṭar*. The guide complained of the Government for levying tolls on every load of grain.

Above the well some *raḫam* birds (Egyptian vultures) were wheeling, and the men shot at them. They would have liked to bring down at least one, in order to have the flesh for their comrade who had been bitten by a serpent. They suppose that there is no better remedy for the bite of a serpent than the flesh of these birds. The person bitten is allowed to eat only their flesh and must rub their fat into his wound.

The well of al-Bêr is hidden among countless isolated peaks, cones, obelisks, mutilated pyramids, and other formations produced by the joint action of rain, wind, and sand. To the west rises the mutilated pyramid of al-Ǧimmed and to the southwest the peak of Ummu Rkejbe; south of Ummu Rkejbe is the hollow obelisk of Šaʿarat al-ʿEfâš and farther on in the same direction the knoll of al-Melḥem with the pyramid of al-Ǧemez to the east of it. Beyond are the rocks of Ḫejrâb, Bḫejrân, al-ʿÂṣi, Ašhab, and aš-Šaʿara, and the mutilated cone of Belâl to the north of the last-named. East of al-Bêr projects the prism of Ab-al-Ḳûr, northwest of which is the obelisk of ʿÂḳer; and to the north of al-Bêr rise the severed cone of al-Maḫarûḳa, the group of peaks known as az-Zebedijje, and Umm ʿArejḳîb, behind which are seen the flattened knolls of the table-shaped rocks of Abu Ṭbejḳ and al-Mhejmi.

At 7.20 we caught the first glimpse of the volcanic region Ḫarrat ar-Rḥa' to the southeast. A black rampart, as if heaped up by giants, rises to the east and fades from view far on the southern horizon. This rampart forms the southern frontier of the uplands of Ḥesma.

We rode along the broad, rocky elevations, upon which are situated isolated remains of strata that have been carried away. These rocks, the last memorials of bygone mountains, display curious shapes, according to the manner in which the different strata have resisted erosion. Almost directly in front of us rose the crag of al-ʿUwêḳer, composed of three circular rocks of decreasing size set one upon the other. The heat increased, the air did not stir, and the sun was surrounded

with a yellow disk. Between Abu Ṭbejḳ and Berḳa ʿÎd the rocky plain is covered with coarse gravel, débris, and boulders, between which the camels could advance only with very great caution (Fig. 60).

Ismaʿîn and Mḥammad wished to leave me at Tebûk and were already looking forward with pleasure to the reward which they would receive for services rendered. The nearer we approached to Tebûk, the more obliging and dutiful did they become, and Ismaʿîn even composed a poem in which he celebrated our journey and extolled my gratitude and lavishness. But his poem did not meet with the approval of Mḥammad, who corrected various verses, replaced several words by more beautiful ones, and reproached Ismaʿîn with not knowing the poetical language and using expressions which no poet would employ. Ismaʿîn was annoyed at this and referred to the legend about the Beni Helâl, from which he knew several poems by heart and in which the same words occurred. Mḥammad laughed, because, as he was unable to read, he had never read the tales and poems about the Beni Helâl. He said Ismaʿîn composed bad poems and that no Bedouin would express himself in such a way, though Ismaʿîn imitated the speech of the Bedouins.

At nine o'clock, to the east we perceived the broad notch of al-Fûha (Fig. 61), which runs from west to east through the ridge of Umm Ğalâd. The isolated rocks, so distinctively characteristic of Ḥesma, had vanished; and in their place appeared rugged elevations and plateaus between which there were neither gullies nor valleys but only level stretches of varying size, partly covered with sand, so that the water was lost in them. The plateaus are mostly flat, only here and there overlooked by dark, isolated knolls.

At 9.55, on our right by the spur of Nedrat as-Ṡbâʿ, we found a winding path running through a growth of yellowish grass and luxuriant shrubs, amongst which we remained until 12.13. The sweltering heat was unbearable, the air was filled with fine sand, and the sun could not be seen. At one o'clock to the east we saw the knoll of Ḫalâḫel, to the north the dome of Ammu Frûẓ, and beyond it Mšejš al-Ḫamîs. Behind every shrub there glistened from west to east a sand drift, which fell away abruptly towards the east, showing that westerly winds prevail. At 2.50 we entered the broad notch of al-Fûha bordered by high, steep walls (temperature: 35° C). At three

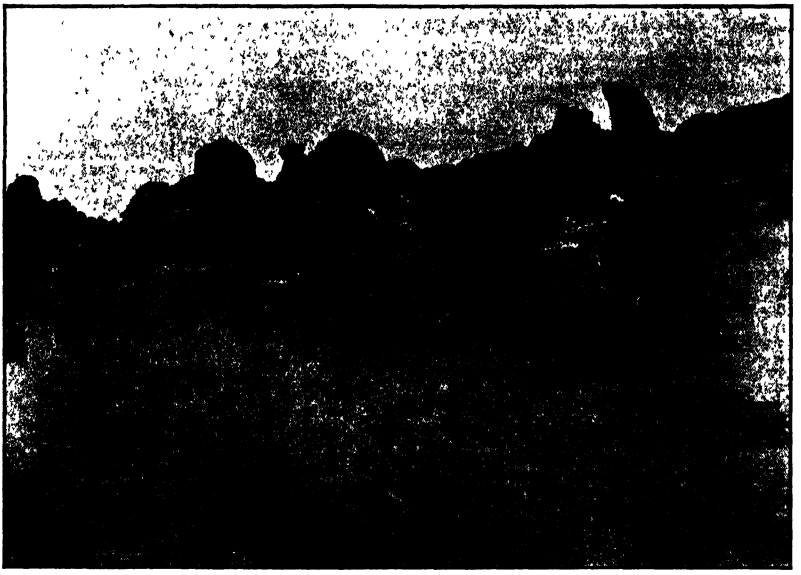


FIG. 60



FIG. 61

FIG. 60—Ammu Frûẓ from the south (near Berḳa ʿÎd).
FIG. 61—The notch of al-Fûha from the west.

o'clock we observed the tracks of about thirty riders on camels. These tracks were scarcely more than twenty-four hours old and were directed toward the east. We knew that a band of raiders was proceeding that way, but it was not certain whether they were friends or enemies, whether they were riding due east or had branched off and were encamping somewhere to the right or left of the road.

Suddenly, from the southeast, a strong wind began to blow, raising and filling the air with sand and flinging it into our eyes. The sand was most dense in a layer up to a height of about two meters, above which it began to grow thinner. Finding it impossible to see where we were going, we covered our faces and did not attempt to guide the camels. Every ten minutes or so the wind would subside and the sand would sink down for two or three minutes, but even in these moments of peace it was impossible to see as far as four hundred meters. The grains of sand penetrated through our clothes and into our mouths, eyes, noses, ears, and skin, and caused us a curious nervous pain. After 3.30 the rocky gap grew wider and the onslaught of the sand became all the stronger. We sought a shelter in which to wait until the storm passed, but in vain. Not until after five o'clock did I perceive on our left, on the slope of Ammu Zrûḳ, a ravine, and with my weary camel I made my way towards it. The ravine led into a deep hollow where we descended at 5.18. Here in places was a growth of *ṛaṛa* bushes, which our camels completely devoured after a few minutes and then vainly searched for more. The hollow was enclosed by walls about one hundred meters high, across which the sand was carried, so that only an insignificant amount of it fell on us. In a small cleft in the southeastern rocky wall we made a fire and prepared our supper. At eight o'clock we rode on. The storm still continued, but we had to proceed on our way if we wished to reach Tebûk in time. We passed through a defile in the plateau of al-Medârîǧ amid rugged and bare rocks until 10.18 P. M., when we encamped among the rocks Berḳa'-d-Dimež.

BERḲA'-D-DIMEŻ TO TEBÛK

On Saturday, June 18, 1910, early in the morning I climbed with Mḥammad to a neighboring rock to get a view of the surrounding district. To the northwest I saw the

reddened rocks Berḳa'-d-Dimež, partly covered with sand; to the north of them were the yellow rocks of Ferdât al-Aṭraš and in the angle formed by the two, on the right of the river bed of al-Ḥadad, the wells Ḳulbân ad-Dimež; far to the north there were to be seen several black hills of al-ʿÂĞât, and to the southeast of them, a long ridge straggling to the southeast, the steep slope of the mountains of Birḳa Šarôra, Ammu Ṛẓejje, al-Ṛawânem, and aẓ-Ẓufejjer.[44]

Between the slope of aẓ-Ẓufejjer and the region of Ḥesma there extends an undulating plain which near al-ʿÂĞât is known as al-ʿArâjed,[45] farther to the south as al-Ḫaẓẓa, to the north of the settlement of Tebûk as al-Meḥteṭeb, and, to the southeast of this settlement, as al-Eṭêli.

On our return we dismissed the guide. He had begged flour, salt, coffee, sugar, ammunition, etc.

At 5.05 we proceeded eastward (temperature: 15.5° C). In front of us stretched a large plain, from which isolated heaps of rock projected here and there. Numerous drifts of sand extended from west to east, overgrown with high and massive *ṛaẓa* bushes. Mḥammad explained that before the railway was built it was impossible even to penetrate the *ṛaẓa* thickets, but it could be seen that since then the woodcutters had been busy there. The wood of the *ṛaẓa* is conveyed to Tebûk and from there sent by railway as fuel for the various garrisons guarding the railway. Also to the north and northeast of Tebûk there are extensive *ṛaẓa* shrubberies, in which the inhabitants of Tebûk burn charcoal.

[44] According to Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 475, Ḏu Ḍafîr is a mountain in Syria. He recalls a verse composed by the vice-governor and poet an-Naʿmân ibn Bašîr, a contemporary of Caliph Moawiyah, in the camp of the Ḳajn tribe at al-Ḥafr in which mention is made of Ḏu Ḍafîr, Râ'is, and Maṛân. In Abu-l-Faraǧ, *Aġâni* (Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.), Vol. 14, pp. 124 f., the verse runs differently. —

Maṛân, about which Jâḳût knew nothing, is probably a transcription from Maʿân. Instead of al-Ḥafr I would read al-Ǧafr, and I would locate the camp of the Ḳajn tribe to the east of Maʿân in the lowland of al-Gafar, where there is an abundance of water. I identify Ḏu Ḍafîr with our Ẓufejjer, and Râ'is with the well of ar-Râjes situated to the west of Ẓufajjer.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 745, calls Râ'is a well of the Beni Fezâra — and at ar-Râjes, six kilometers to the south of Tebûk, there is an abundance of water. Whether this well ever belonged to the Fezâra is doubtful, but it is possible that during the years of drought they encamped at ar-Râjes as guests and dug a well there. Even today we have wells named after clans whose pastures are situated hundreds of kilometers away.

[45] Meḥmed Edîb describes (*Menâzil* [Constantinople, 1232 A.H.], pp. 72—73) Ḳâʿ al-Bussaṭ, which he also calls ʿArâ'id, Meḥâr, Ruhejbe, as well as Ḳâʿ aṣ-Ṣafîr. He asserts that it is situated thirteen hours from Ḏât al-Ḥaǧǧ in a sandy plain. At about the center of the plain there rises a high mountain called Šarôra'. In the year of the Heǧra 1121 (1757—1758 A. D.) the pilgrims were attacked and robbed there. To the right of the halting place a mosque and a pulpit can be observed on the hill. Neither a stronghold nor a reservoir was built there, and therefore the military escort brings water from Ḏât al-Ḥaǧǧ. —

The plain of al-ʿArâjed is enclosed to the east by Mount Šarôra', the peak of which rises up like a pulpit and is therefore known as al-Mambar. It is probably identical with the pulpit to which Meḥmed Edîb refers. Nobody there at the present time knows of a mosque.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 282 f., mentions Mount Šarôra' rising to the east of Tebûk.

After six o'clock, having crossed the *še'îb* of al-'Wejned, we perceived a dark strip in front of us: the palm gardens of Tebûk. At 6.40 we rode through the broad *še'îb* of al-Baḳḳâr and to the south observed the garden of ar-Râjes, which belongs to the chief, Ḥarb eben 'Aṭijje. Southeast of it appeared a small grove near which is situated the copious well of Ǧerṯûma. Beyond the *še'îb* of al-Mu'ejṣi, which we crossed at 7.10, the ground rises toward the east and forms a broad elevation about thirty meters high upon which the oasis of Tebûk is situated. To the south of it projects the isolated crag of al-Ḥṣejb. North of the oasis could be seen the station building with a windmill which pumps water from the well at the railway station. At eight o'clock we reached the northern extremity of the oasis where we induced our camels to kneel down by some *eṯel* trees.

SOJOURN AT TEBÛK

My companions remained in the shadow of the trees while Isma'în and I went to the station to look for Ǧwâd, the clerk. Ǧwâd had transported our supplies from the settlement of Ma'ân to the oasis of Tebûk where he was to deposit them in the house of Mr. Sarikakis, a trader who rented stores and inns at all the larger stations of the Pilgrim Road from Damascus to al-'Ela'. We discovered Ǧwâd in a spacious hut of unburnt brick, with a single apartment used by Mr. Sarikakis as an inn, a shop, a storehouse, and a dwelling. We returned with Ǧwâd to our friends, deposited the baggage under the *eṯl* trees where we pitched our tents, unsaddled the camels, and sent them with a hired shepherd to pasture. We then went off to the hut of Mr. Sarikakis in order to inspect our supplies and to provide ourselves with what was necessary. The baskets and bags containing our supplies lay in a narrow yard behind the hut. They had been gnawed by mice, and much of the food had gone mouldy. The ground and the air contained much moisture which penetrated particularly into the dried vegetables and sugar.

In the afternoon I went with Isma'în to the *mudîr*, or representative of the Turkish Government. He lived in the first story of a little, tumble-down fortress and was sitting on a tattered carpet, upon which I likewise sat down. The *mudîr* was by no means pleased at my visit. He returned my

greeting only with a nod of the head, my letters of recommendation he did not even want to look at, and he slowly went on copying out the Government orders word by word, taking no further notice of me. He offered me neither coffee nor cigarettes. After a while the little room was filled with settlers



FIG. 62—Our encampment, Tebûk.

from Tebûk, who all looked at me inquisitively. Neither the *mudîr* nor the gendarmes had any great knowledge of Arabic. A young gendarme asked me where I came from, where I wanted to go, what my business was, what I thought of political affairs in the Ḥeğâz, etc. As I did not answer some of the questions at all, and others only very curtly, he started a conversation with Ismaʿîn, from whom he learnt a great deal — except that it was all invention. I told the *mudîr* that after a few days I was leaving for Medâjen Ṣâleḥ and that I wanted him to let me have a reliable guide. The *mudîr* wagged his head several times and groaned at the difficulties of his position. The young gendarme accompanied me to our encampment (Fig. 62), where he found out who Rifʿat and Tûmân were and why they were going with me, since there was nothing about them in my orders. From various hints I gathered that he was longing for gifts, both for himself

and the *mudîr*. I assured him that I would reward everyone who did me any favor, but only after it had been done and not before. He warned me not to encamp so far from the oasis, saying that it would be better if we were to pitch our tents in the garden near the fortress so that all could protect us. When I remarked that there were enough of us and that we had good firearms to repel any attack by robbers, should the gallant gendarmes not come to our assistance, he offered to remain with us and guard us. Knowing that he would only annoy us with his begging and that he would fleece us, I declined his offer with thanks, pointing out that the *mudîr* would not be able to fulfil his onerous duties without him and that, far from wishing to cause the *mudîr* any trouble, it was my desire rather to make things easier for him. The gendarme was not pleased at my attitude. He went away in vexation, remarking that he would at once send a report to Damascus that two disguised foreigners were traveling with me. After his departure we arranged the scientific material which we had collected.

On Sunday, June 19, 1910, very early in the morning, assisted by Mḥammad I drew a sketch map of the territory between the Pilgrim Road, the depression of Sirḥân, and the desert of the Nefûd. At noon I was visited by ʿAbdarraḥmân Effendi, the superintendent of the temporary quarantine station. He invited me to take up my quarters with him in the station, where he had prepared three rooms for me and my companions. I thanked him for his invitation and promised that we would perhaps make the move some day or other. Toward evening I paid Mḥammad and Ismaʿîn their wages and added various gifts, such as cloaks and headcloths, and at midnight they departed by railway for Maʿân.

On Monday, June 20, 1910, Ǧwâd brought to me an old man of the Beni ʿAṭijje tribe, named Sbejḥ, who wished to accompany me. He had brought charcoal to Tebûk on his camel during the night and was to take away a supply of various wares to a peddler who happened to be sojourning among his clan. But the wares had not yet arrived from Damascus and therefore he did not wish to wait several days at Tebûk for nothing and would be glad of the opportunity of earning something extra. Wishing to ascertain the extent of his knowledge and his ability, I went with him to the top of a high sand drift to the west of the gardens of Tebûk

and from his indications drew a sketch map of the surrounding district. Comparing his statements with the notes and the map which I had prepared previously, I found that he was well acquainted with the whole region from the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳena' in the south to the *šeʿîb* of az-Zejte in the north. I therefore hired him as a guide.

Before noon Sâlem, the clerk and representative of the chief, Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje, came to us. He greeted me very humbly, offered me his services, and assured me that he would rest neither by day or night until he had fulfilled my every desire. After a while he also began to ask who Rifʿat and Tûmân were, why they did not pray and did not speak either Arabic or Turkish. He explained to me that in recent years several foreigners had come to Tebûk, all of whom he had served willingly and faithfully, so that they had given him and his chief various precious things as keepsakes. I thanked him for his goodwill, overwhelmed him with pleasant words, and dismissed him with the assurance that I would satisfy everyone who satisfied me by aiding me materially to fulfil the task which Allâh himself had imposed upon me.

Soon after that there came to me a gendarme named Ḫalîl, an elderly Kurd, and warned me against Sâlem. He declared that in the whole of Tebûk and the distant surrounding area, where he had now been serving for fifteen years, there was no greater extortioner than Sâlem and that he fleeced not only the natives but also strangers. Thus recently, he said, two strangers had come to Tebûk and had wished to visit the ruins of Ṛwâfa. Sâlem had promised that he would guide them there; he described the journey as being so distant and dangerous that he might lose his life on it, yet nevertheless he said that he would do all in his power to protect them from every danger, if they gave him sixty Turkish pounds ($270). The strangers actually gave him fifty-five pounds ($247). Of this sum he distributed twenty pounds ($ 90) between the *mudîr* and the gendarmes and kept thirty-five ($ 157) for himself. Escorted by the gendarmes, he led the strangers toward Ṛwâfa, but they actually visited only the small heaps of old ruins and tombs of Rğûm Šowhar situated about four hours south of Tebûk, and he returned with them on the same day. In the neighborhood of Ḳṣejr at-Tamra the gendarmes said they had discovered the tracks of a hostile band, and they so frightened the strangers that

they themselves asked that the journey be cut short and that they return to Tebûk. When the strangers later heard from their servant that they had been cheated, they wanted to set out on the journey afresh, but then nobody would accompany them. They asked to have their money returned to them but obtained nothing.

Ḫalîl wished me to take him as a companion. He had a numerous family, and his income as a gendarme was not enough for food, let alone for clothing for his two wives and children. He admitted that he did not know the names of the localities, but on the other hand he was acquainted with the chiefs of the Beni ʿAṭijje, as he had spent fifteen years in Tebûk and the neighborhood. He had been the commander of a Turkish garrison in the oasis of Tejma and had returned from there not long previously. What he had saved at Tejma had been taken from him by the Šammar of Eben Rašîd, so that he and his family had arrived empty-handed. I liked him. I wanted to help him, and I knew that in return for such help I should win him over so that he would not cause me any difficulties on my journey. He was the best of all the gendarmes of Tebûk who had hitherto offered me their services, and accordingly I told him that he and nobody else should accompany me. But this caused him misgivings; he wished to have instructions from his superiors that he might come with me. He was surprised that no answer had yet arrived from Damascus to the telegraphic inquiry whether any gendarme was to accompany me or not. The telegraphic inquiry, he said, had been written by the young gendarme; it stated that I wished to proceed from Tebûk to Eben Rašîd and to Eben Šaʿlân. I could not understand how a gendarme could send such an inquiry to Damascus, seeing that I had not said a word about my intentions of going to those two men. I had distinctly told the *mudîr* that I wished to remain only in the region to the west of the railway between Tebûk and Medâjen Ṣâleḥ.

Toward noon Ǧwâd informed me that Sâlem would not allow Sbejḥ to accompany me, because the *mudîr* announced that I should obtain no guide and should not be allowed to leave Tebûk until an answer had arrived from Damascus. He had given the gendarmes instructions to watch me so that I should not leave without permission. Sâlem assured me that both he and the *mudîr* were alarmed for my safety and that

it was only from love of me and my parents that they would not allow me to proceed to certain death. The Beni ʿAṭijje, he said, did not obey the Government, nor did the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama, and their territories were frequented by gangs of robbers, so that we should assuredly perish if we were to leave

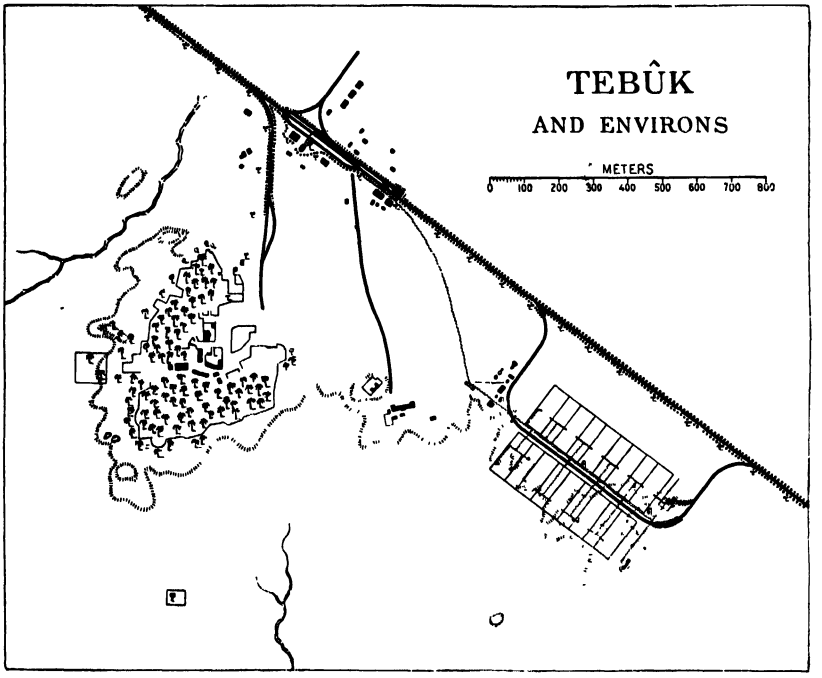


FIG. 63—Tebûk and environs.

Tebûk without the necessary military escort. In addition to that, the *mudîr* must inform Damascus that I was accompanied by two other foreigners who knew neither Arabic nor Turkish and to whom there was no reference in my official documents. I knew that the journey among the fanatical population of the Ḥeğâz involved great danger, but I also knew that both the *mudîr* and Sâlem were purposely exaggerating the danger in order to extort gold and other gifts. I sent a message by Ğwâd to both of them that I relied upon Allâh and his protection and that I would not yield until I had fully carried out my task; that if they would support me effectively, then I would reward their assistance with gold and other gifts; that Tûmân and Rifʿat were my servants, that I could take whom

I wanted as my servants, and that neither the *mudîr* nor Sâlem nor the Governor at Damascus could prohibit my doing so.

In the afternoon, accompanied by ʿAbdarraḥmân Effendi, we proceeded with Tûmân on an excursion through Tebûk and its environs in order to draw a sketch map of this settlement.



FIG. 64—Around the spring, Tebûk.

TEBÛK

Tebûk is situated on a vast rise, which is especially conspicuous from the south and west but which sinks gradually to the north and east down to the surrounding lowlands (Fig. 63). Somewhere in the center of this elevation there is a spring which is so abundant that the water penetrates the sand drifts and flows over the surrounding district. The water has a temperature of 26° C and is yellowish in color. Around the spring there are three cement reservoirs (Fig. 64), set up, not on the hard soil, but on the drifted sand. From the reservoirs, in which it attains a depth of one and a half to three meters, the water is conducted by artificial canals into the surrounding gardens, where date palms, fig trees, pomegranates, and various vegetables thrive. Not long ago the whole area around the spring formed a single palm grove, but the central part of the grove was cut away in order that the west wind might have free access to the stronghold and settlement and disperse the malaria from which the inhabitants were suffering severely. To the west of the

spring the chief Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje had fenced off a part of the ground with a wall of unburnt brick and had established a new garden, in which he had planted date palms, pomegranates, and a few fig trees, and his gardener cultivated vegetables there. But the artificial wall of this garden aroused the wrath of the wind, which deposited sand against it; the drift increased in size, surmounted the wall, and the sand was scattered into the garden. The gardens of Tebûk form the shape of a horseshoe open towards the northeast, and they enfold the stronghold and the settlement. The stronghold, which rises a few meters to the northeast of the spring, is a rectangular stone building of no great height, without side towers, and recalls the medieval structures on the Pilgrim Route. A narrow gate leads into a courtyard, around which dwelling places, storerooms, and stables flank the walls. An open staircase leads to the first floor, which is built along two sides of the wall. In the courtyard there is a well about four meters deep, with good water. From the stronghold a short road of no great width runs nearly due east between huts built of sun-dried brick and broken stone. Of these there are fewer than forty. By the northeastern extremity of the village, near a small mosque built by Italian masons, there is a well about six meters deep. Still farther to the northeast there are wells here and there, which become deeper and deeper the farther one goes; the well by the railway station, from which water is obtained for the engines, is twenty-four meters deep. By the eastern (Fig. 65) and northern extremities of the gardens the sandy soil is sown with barley after abundant rains. In years when there is little rain the barley is not sown, and even when there has been ample rain the ground has to be carefully watered from the neighboring wells, as otherwise it would dry up. About two hundred paces to the east of the eastern extremity of the gardens some huts have been built for the soldiers, and to the northeast of them a large quarantine station has been established for the pilgrims. To the south of this station rise the two isolated crags of al-Ḥṣejb where the stone is hewn for the buildings of Tebûk.

About fifteen families, constituting the original inhabitants of Tebûk, are descended from the Ḥamâjde tribe and are called al-Ḥmejdât. They have a chief from the family of the ʿAwad. The rest are immigrant railroad workmen who have no gardens. The chief Ḥarb eben

ʿAṭijje set up two huts and planted a garden in Tebûk.

When we returned, we found our camels already in the encampment. They were hungry, for in the *šeʿîb* of ʿArejḳên, below Tebûk to the southeast, there was very little vegetation, and we could not drive them elsewhere for fear of robbers.

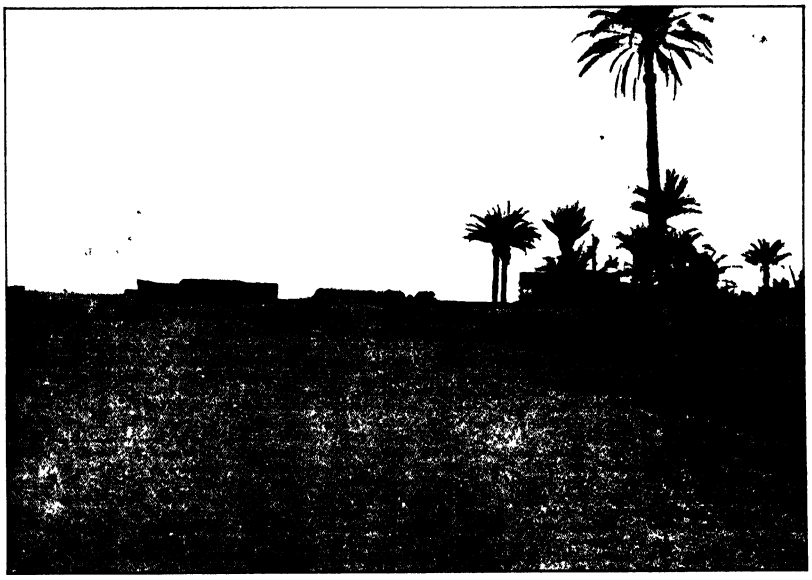


FIG. 65—The eastern extremity of the oasis of Tebûk from the north.

Ǧwâd drew my attention to their feet, which were in a bad state from walking on the sharp stones of the rocky Ḥeǧâz. Two of the camels had the skin of the soles of their forefeet already torn away in places. A sharp stone could have penetrated them. On the advice of Ǧwâd we bought naphtha, saltpeter, and sulphur, and rubbed their feet with this mixture. In the evening we determined our geographical latitude.

On Tuesday, June 21, 1910, in the morning, we drew a sketch map of the region through which we were to travel with our guide Sbejḥ. Before noon Sâlem, the representative of the chief Ḥarb, came to us with the chief Daʿsân âl Zelʿ, of the Rawâẓîn family of the Sbût clan, likewise belonging to the Beni ʿAṭijje. The latter had arrived at Tebûk in the night with several camel riders for salt and clothing material. His attitude towards me was very friendly, but he warned me

against traveling to the south, because, he said, many marauding gangs, both large and small, were wandering about there. Seeing that I did not intend to abandon my plan, he offered to accompany me himself as far as his encampment near the spring of ar-Rawjân, and he said that there he would find me a reliable guide to the territory of the Ḥwêṭât and Beli. In the further course of the conversation I gathered that he would not allow me to pass through his territory without his permission, because several times he remarked that the Sultan ruled in Constantinople, but that he was the one who ruled on his own pastures and that Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje and the *mudîr* from Tebûk were still more insignificant in his eyes than the Sultan. To my question as to when I could start he replied that I should make all preparations for departure, that he would go with his people for salt to the salt marsh of al-Mamlaḥ northeast of Tebûk, and that on the next day he would return and take me with him. About his pay he said nothing. When he was leaving, I told Ğwâd to go with him and ask him how much he would expect me to give. Ğwâd returned with the sad news that Daʿsân demanded fifty Turkish pounds ($ 225) and had declared that if he did not get as much as he wanted he would not take me with him and would not allow me to pass through his territory. As his territory bordered on the northern edge of the *ḥarra* (tract of country covered with lava), I could not reach the territory of the Ḥwêṭât and the Beli by any other way. It was accordingly necessary for me either to fulfil his desire and to go with him or else to cross the frontier of his territory before he returned to his camp. From Tebûk it would take us at the most two days to reach the spring of ar-Rawjân in the vicinity of which Daʿsân's clan was encamped and for this journey Daʿsân demanded fifty Turkish pounds! In his camp I should have been completely dependent upon him, and I feared that he would have demanded fresh money both for himself and for the new guide and would thus have rendered it impossible for me to continue my journey. The craving for gold and for profit was already aroused both in the *mudîr*, the representative of the chief Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje, and in Daʿsân, and it was therefore necessary for me to get away as quickly as possible. I sent each of these three persons a trifling gift as a bait and prepared to shift my quarters to the quarantine.

CHAPTER VII

TEBÛK TO WÂDI AL-ĞIZEL BY WAY OF ṚWÂFA

DEPARTURE FROM TEBÛK

On Wednesday, June 22, 1910, I had all our baggage deposited under the trees and gave orders for the tents to be struck and rolled up. ʿAbdarraḥmân Effendi sent two assistants who were to move our effects to the quarantine. The *mudîr* and Sâlem were glad that I was remaining for a long time at Tebûk and that they would be able to go on fleecing me comfortably. While my companions were busy arranging our baggage, aided by the guide Sbejḥ I sketched all the roads with which he was familiar.

At one o'clock the shepherd Muṭalleḳ drove up the camels upon which our baggage was to be transported to the quarantine. I then sent Ğwâd for the gendarme Ḫalîl, to whom I handed two telegrams, one to the Minister of the Interior at Constantinople and the other to the Commander of the Gendarmerie at Damascus, informing both of them that I was just leaving Tebûk for Medâjen Ṣâleḥ, accompanied by the gendarme Ḫalîl. Ğwâd read them to Ḫalîl and went with him to hand them in at the Telegraph Office. I instructed Ḫalîl to join us before two o'clock, as we were leaving at two. If he should be late or if he refused to accompany me, then let him tremble before his Commander at Damascus! The unfortunate Ḫalîl was so astonished at these proceedings that he trembled from head to foot. After a while Ğwâd returned and announced that Ḫalîl had handed in the two telegrams and had gone to the *mudîr* to ask for his advice. The *mudîr* was asleep, just as everybody else was at Tebûk during the heat of noon. When Ḫalîl disturbed him from his slumbers and brought him such an unpleasant piece of news, the angry *mudîr* told him to go to the devil. Ḫalîl departed, taking his arms and his saddle sack, and came to me.

At two o'clock we left Tebûk. Except for two guards from the quarantine and one small boy, nobody took any notice of us. All the rest of the inhabitants of Tebûk were

asleep. We made our way towards the southwest, because Sâlem and Da'sân had recommended to me the road leading around the gardens of ar-Râjes to the *še'îb* of al-Ḳena' as the best, and Sbejḥ had sent a message by one of the guards, whom he knew at Tebûk, that we should spend the night either at ar-Râjes or at Ğerṭûma. I had expected for a certainty that both the *mudîr* and Sâlem would send gendarmes after us to hinder our journey, so we had to outwit them. At 2.52 therefore, we turned off directly to the west into a rocky area where our tracks could not be discovered. Towards the south we saw the gardens of ar-Râjes, which belong to the chief Ḥarb eben 'Aṭijje, and to the south of them the well of Ğerṭûma. Both ar-Râjes and Ğerṭûma are situated by the *še'îb* of 'Arejḳên, which is connected with Ẓab'ân and Abu Nšejfe; the latter is known in its upper part as Abu 'Ağejğât and terminates by the salt marsh of al-Mamlaḥ. To the west of ar-Râjes extends the *še'îb* of al-Mu'ejṣi, which runs from the southern slope of the black rock of al-Ṛmejjem, winding along the western foot of the elevation of Tebûk and likewise coming to an end at al-Mamlaḥ.

We rode cautiously, continually watching for hiding places behind the dark sandstone rocks of Ammu 'Wejḳîle, and at four o'clock we crossed the broad *še'îb* of al-Baḳḳâr.

This *še'îb* begins in the south at Mount Nûf and extends among the hills of Wa'âl, Ḫalâwi, 'Aṣejfîr, al-'Ajrên, and 'Ašêra on the east, and among al-Ḥambara, ad-Dwejmež,, Ğedîrt aṣ-Ṣefi, al-Ḥṣejra, Ḥlej al-Ḥmêdi, Zhejlîl, al-Mizwâr, Ḥamra'-š-Šwârbi, al-Mu'ezz, al-Brejṭ, and Berḳa-s-Smejḥân on the west. In the upper part it is called Dejjer, and in the elevation of al-Ḥambara it is known as Dellem; from the well Bîr al-Ḳena' it keeps the name al-Ḳena' as far as the hills of Umm Ḫrejmân, whence it is called al-Baḳḳâr. On the west it is joined by the *še'ibân* of al-Baḫît; Hulful; al-Wdej; al-Ḳejṣûm; al-Ğrejs, which extends between al-Mu'ezz on the west and Umm Ḫanğûr on the east; and finally by Umm Ṭibb. On the east there merge with al-Baḳḳâr the *še'ibân* Ammu Rẓej; Ammu Nṣejb—winding between Ṭrejf al-Bûm, Mšejš al-'Abd and Ḳlejb Mardûd; and, farther on: al-Ḥawij; Umm Ğerîd; al-'Aṣfûra; ar-Rḳejḳ (or ar-Rḳejjeḳ); and al-Medra', the last-named descending from the mountains of 'Ašêra and al-'Ajrên.

From 4.30 to 7.03 P. M. the camels grazed on the *arṭa* and *ṛaẓa* in a small, deep hollow (temperature: 38° C). The gendarme Ḫalîl collected fuel, boiled coffee, and promised that he would help us in everything, if only I would declare before witnesses that he was not responsible either for me or my property and that I would protect him against the *mudîr* in

Tebûk and the Commander in Damascus. Šerîf laughed at the guide Sbejḥ, because he could not satisfy his hunger. According to what Šerîf said, he had received more than one and one-half *roṭol* (three and one-half kilograms) of rice, and he was still complaining that his stomach was half-empty. After supper

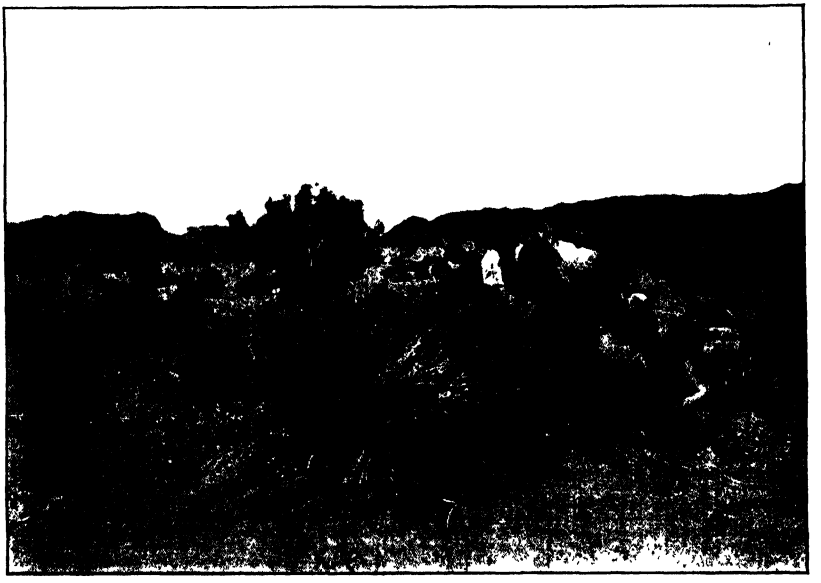


FIG. 66—Al-Medârîğ.

we proceeded through the uplands of al-Medârîğ (Fig. 66) and at 7.20 crossed numerous paths leading to the well of ad-Dimež.

A violent, cold, west wind arose and drove the sand into our eyes. After nine o'clock we searched in the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿWejned for a place with abundant pasture for the camels, but in vain. The *šeʿîb* and also the surrounding district were entirely parched. Sbejḥ declared that there had been no rains in these regions for years. At 9.50 we encamped behind a low, isolated knoll.

AL-ʿWEJNED TO AS-SEJJER

On Thursday, June 23, 1910, we all complained of the cold. Having left the camping place at 4.26 A. M., we went on foot in the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿWejned to warm ourselves. On the

right we had the two violet-colored tabular hills of al-Ḫuḳûḳ, between which projected a high peak. There were no signs of vegetation, everything being quite bare and parched. To the east of the *še'îb* there rise the numerous low hills of Berḳa-s-Smejḥân, half-covered with sand, and to the south extends the high, table ridge of Umm Ḫrejmân. North of the latter rises the three-peaked mountain of Umm Ḫanğûr, in front of which is the high cone of al-Brejṯ. To the south of these mountains and to the west of the well of al-Ḳena' extends the long ridge of aṯ-Ṯmejjem, terminating in a steep slope. At 5.25 we saw in front of us the black sides of the table-shaped hill of al-Mu'ezz (temperature at 5.00 A. M.: 21° C).

The configuration of the whole region is uniform: table-shaped hills with precipitous sides; deep, broad *še'ibân*; and extensive plains, upon which are situated low knolls, cones, and peaks. The *še'ibân* contain much sand in which the *ṛaṛa* and *'âḏer* grow. Here and there isolated *ratam* bushes and *ṭalḥ* trees are found. The guide explained that the *ṭalḥ* trees are very useful. If the bark is cut, fragrant resin, called *ṣamaṛ*, gushes out. This resin in a hardened form is collected and sold at Ẓbe' and al-Weğh for from one to one and a half *meğîdijjât* ($0.90 to $1.35) the *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms), according to the demand. In 1909 the Egyptian traders at Ẓbe' paid as much as one English pound for one *roṭol*. Resin is also collected from the *sejâl*, but this is not as fragrant and does not fetch as high a price.

At 5.38 we saw the hills of Rdejhat al-Ḥamṛ and behind them the rocks of Ḥamra'-š-Šwârbi. At six o'clock the guide pointed out to me a couple of dark cones between which (*bên ha-s-samrawên*, between both of these blackish cones) begins the *še'îb* of Umm Ṭibb, which joins al-Ḳena'.

Our camel driver Muṭalleḳ explained that there were no greater rogues than the fellow tribesmen of our guide Sbejḥ. They have no regard either for hospitality, protection, countenance (*waǧh*), or shelter. Sbejḥ grew very angry and threatened to strike Muṭalleḳ and indeed to kill him if he spoke about the Beni 'Aṭijje in such a manner. Muṭalleḳ hailed from the oasis of Tejma but had been living at Tebûk for several years. In the spring he went to Ma'ân to earn money. Returning from Ma'ân he met with the chiefs Ḥamed and Aḥmed eben Der', who had been driven out from the oasis of al-

Ğowf. Going on foot from camp to camp, they had reached the camp of the Ğmêʿânijjîn clan, belonging to the Beni ʿAṭijje, near the railway station of al-Mdawwara. They gave a greeting, their greeting was returned, and yet they were surrounded by some shepherds and completely robbed. Their good clothes were taken from them and old ones thrown at them in return. They fled to the chief, Maṭlaḳ eben Rbejjeʿ, asking him for his protection and the recovery of their stolen property. But Maṭlaḳ declared that he did not know the culprits, that he must first search for them; and yet they were pointed out to him sitting in front of his tent. Sbejḥ declared that this was not true, that Muṭalleḳ was lying, and that if he thought that he had been badly treated he should go to Tejma, bring out his kinsmen thence, and let them punish the rapacious Beni ʿAṭijje. The inhabitants of the oasis of Tejma had, in the last few years, been robbed several times both by the Beni ʿAṭijje and by the Âjde and Fuḳara', belonging to the Weld ʿAli, and even by several clans of the Šammar. The gendarme Ḫalîl said that he had been at Tejma for three months. Many houses there had been ruined, many gardens laid waste, and many warriors had perished. When Zâmel eben Subhân marched into Tejma, he had all the adherents of the Turkish Government, nine in all, beheaded in front of the gendarmes.

At 7.06 we rode between the mountains of al-Muʿezz and Rdejhat al-Ḥamṛ. To the east rose the dome of Ḫanğûr, to the south Ḥamra'-š-Šwârbi, with which elevation the huge mountain of al-Mizwâr is connected. In these mountains there are many ibexes and beasts of prey, especially *nimr* (leopard) and *fahad* (a leopard-like cat, smaller than a *nimr*). In the sand we perceived the fresh tracks of a *nimr* and of a gazelle, which it had dragged into a *ṭalḥ* thicket and devoured there. Only a few fragments of the legs remained. The *nimr*, it seems, is larger than the *fahad* and so strong that it can drag away a young camel; it therefore often attacks camels. Before the railway was built the antelopes are said to have come into the region of Ḫesma, but now they are afraid of the railway line and remain to the east.

At 7.20 we had on our left the *šeʿîb* of Zhejlîl, which comes from the mountain of the same name, the peak of which projects far above the table-land. At 7.30 we at last found some fresh *arṭa* shrubs, a proof that we had already

emerged from the region in which there had been no rain for four years. Our camels grazed until 9.08. Not far from us there was an ancient burial place. The graves had been built above the earth, each one consisting of large stones bordered by a circular wall of small stones (Fig. 67). At 9.16 we left the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫaraze on the south and reached the black crags of Ammu Rtejmât, among which the *šeʿîb* of al-ʿWejned is transformed into an impassable ravine. This *šeʿîb* descends from the west from the northern extremity of the ridge of Berḳa ʿÎd and, after joining the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫaraze, winds round the northern spur of the volcanic territory, first in a northerly and later in a northeasterly direction. On the right it is joined by the *šeʿîb-ân* of Dbejsuwât and al-Ḥṣejra —the latter being formed by the branches of aṣ-Ṣefi and Salîl — and also by al-Ḳrejweṭ. Branching off to the west, we slowly penetrated the black rocks on the north side of the *šeʿîb*. In front of us we had the black cone of al-ʿAbd, from which the *šeʿîb* of Selîm descends; on the left beneath us was the ravine of al-ʿWejned, the bed of which is covered with pink sand, from which the green *ratam* shrubs stand out conspicuously. At 9.55 we crossed Wdej ʿAmri. In the rocks on the right and left sides of it a ghost, *ṛôla*, is said to have its abode. The ghost resembles a large eagle but sighs and weeps like a human being.

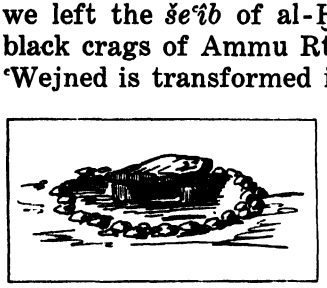


FIG. 67—Ancient grave near the *šeʿîb* of Zhejlîl.

At ten o'clock we mounted to the elevation, and from 10.08 to 11.55 we rested in a shallow hollow, where we found pasturage for our camels (temperature: 34° C). At the eastern border of the hollow there was a rain well, *mšâš*, but without water. On the boulders could be seen numerous carvings of gazelles, camels, and horses, cut out to no great depth; but there were no inscriptions. To the northwest, behind the knolls of Ammu Frûẓ, appeared the hill of al-Ḫamîs and east of it the ridge of aš-Škâʿa, with al-Mhejbel and az-Zôr still farther north. On the south, to our left, extended a black plain with the dark gaps which marked the *šeʿîbân* of al-Ḳrejweṭ, al-Ḥṣêra, and aṣ-Ṣefi.

At 1.30 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ṣôr, which descends from Nedrat as-Sbâʿ and joins al-ʿWejned. At two o'clock we

entered the splendid rocky *še'îb* of Umm Buṭum with high steep sides, through which we again reached al-'Wejned (Fig. 68). The latter *še'îb* is scarcely ten meters broad; its bed is covered with sand to a considerable depth and is bordered by precipitous rocks. On the rocks are carved various

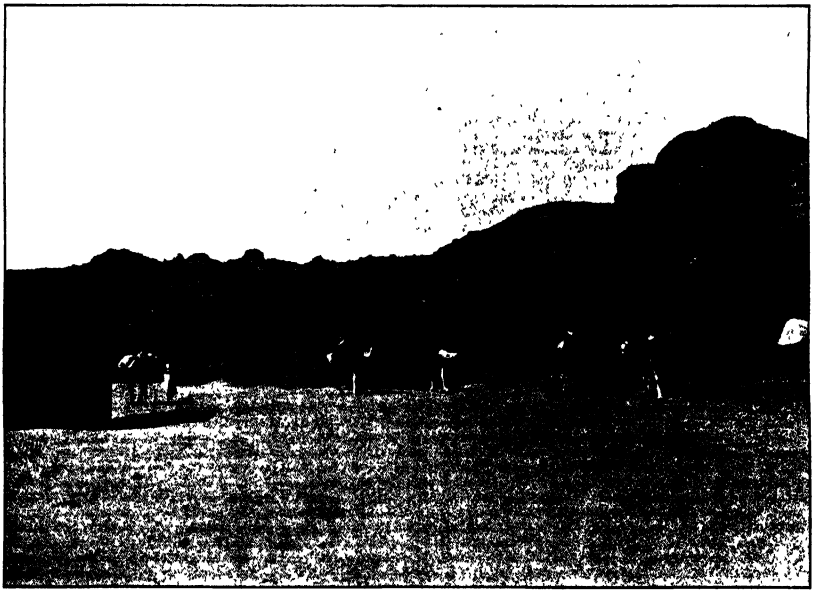


FIG. 68—The *še'îb* of al-'Wejned.

tribal signs, numerous primitive drawings, and also a few brief inscriptions. We remained among the rocks from 2.30 to 2.46. Not far away there was a rain well, but it had dried up.

From 3.05 to 3.40 we halted by the rain well of ar-Radhe, which contained water, so that we were able to fill one water bag. Thence we continued our journey across smooth rocks, which rose like a staircase and were so steep that we had to lead our camels. At 4.15 we climbed an elevation and saw extended before us the curious rock formations so typical of the uplands of Ḥesma (temperature: 35° C).

At 4.45 we dismounted by the cluster of rocks called Dbejsuwât, on the eastern spur of which there is a sand drift more than two meters deep and covered with *arṭa* and *ṛaṛa*, so that our camels were able to eat their fill. I ordered

Muṭalleḳ to drive the animals from our encampment to a place where the *arṭa* grew most abundantly and to guard them carefully, because the proximity of water is always dangerous. Though shaken by an ague I had to climb with Tûmân and the guide to a knoll and from there draw a sketch map of the region. We were just setting about our work when we saw the keeper of our camels driving them back to the fire. I shouted and beckoned to him, Sbejḥ and Tûmân did the same, but Muṭalleḳ did not want to see and, when he saw, did not want to understand. There was nothing for it but for me to climb down and drive Muṭalleḳ and the camels with him back to the pasturage.

Having eaten our supper, we set out again at 7.10 (temperature: 30.8° C). The smoke from our fire was visible a long way off and might have attracted the attention of robbers, who would attack us in the night. Accordingly we had to seek another place in which to camp. Moreover, to the north of the hills of al-Mkejmen we perceived some herds of camels, and Sbejḥ declared that they belonged to the kindred of Rawâẓîn who formed part of the Sbût clan, the chief of which was Da'sân eben Rbejje'. He had threatened that he would not allow me to cross his territory without his permission, and therefore I wanted to get out of his territory as quickly as possible, or at least to obtain some Arab to protect us. Sbejḥ praised Da'sân and declared that among all the Beni 'Aṭijje there was nobody so noble, rich, and bountiful as he. He owned two large herds of camels and was called the father of the poor, *abu-ẓ-ẓu'afa'*.

We rode through the sandy plain of Ab-al-Ḳeṭîn, covered with an abundant growth of grass and perennials, and at 8.45 halted not far from the *še'îb* of as-Sejjer. To the southwest of us some shepherds with large herds of camels were spending the night. As the night was quite clear and the region safe, our camels could graze freely, and not until after midnight did we drive them up to our encampment and make them kneel down. Sbejḥ's camel still went on grazing.

AS-SEJJER TO ḤARM AL-FAḤAM

On Friday, June 24, 1910, immediately after midnight, I sent the guide Sbejḥ to the shepherds to find out whether Da'sân had already returned or not. At the same time he

was to find for us a guide acquainted with the volcanic territory al-Ḥarra as well as with the coast regions belonging to the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama. If he did not find such a guide among the shepherds and Da'sân had not yet returned, then he was to go down to Da'sân's camp. I waited a long time for Sbejḥ and finally at 4.55 A. M. we started without him (temperature: 19.5° C). *'Arfeğ* and *eṭmân*, together with some isolated *arṭa* and *ratam*, grew on the plain. Having crossed the *še'îb* of Obejjeẓ aṭ-Ṭarîḳ at 5.40, we rode round the hill of al-Mkejmen and ascended a rise from which we obtained a fine view to the south and west. On the pale yellow plain are innumerable white, pink, and blood-red knolls, cones, peaks, and obelisks, and in front of them, nearer to us, could be seen about fifty black tents. On the western horizon there rose the huge battlements of the rugged mountain range of Râẓi, steeped in violet vapors; to the southwest we saw the rocky slopes of al-Ḫnejfse, composed of black and red strata, and between the two there towered up above the vapors the high, dark peak of Ḥarb and the majestic Debbâṛ, reaching to the clouds.

From 6.55 to 7.20 we remained in the *še'îb* of Zwejbt aṣ-Ṣḳûr by the rocks of Ašhab, where we were overtaken by Sbejḥ. The chief Da'sân had not yet returned, but they were expecting him every moment. In the encampment Sbejḥ had found a man hailing from the Beli tribe, who was willing to act as our guide. Having arrived at an agreement with him, I asked him to bring up his camel and to proceed with us at once. He promised to do so but asked us to wait for him a short while, as his camel was in the pasture. In the meantime Da'sân's uncle came up to us and invited me to remain in the camp as his guest. I thanked him for his invitation but regretted that I could not accept it, because our camels were thirsty and we were anxious to water them at the well of ar-Rawjân. He offered to water our camels at the well, *mšâš*, of Abu Nmâr and said that in the meanwhile we could rest in his tent. He at once began to question us about our journey, warning both us and our new guide against the dangers by which we were threatened. He asked whether I had spoken with the chief Da'sân and why we were coming that way, since we were neither buying nor selling anything. Knowing the disastrous consequences of such conversations, I beckoned to Sbejḥ, went with him to my saddle to put

something in order there, telling him in the meanwhile to ask the new guide to make haste and to say that we would wait for him by the rocks of al-Ḳwejmi. Thereupon I swung myself into the saddle and, saluting all those present, rode off to the south. My companions were glad to get away from the camp of the Rawâẓîn, for they were afraid that they might make us prisoners, rob us, and send us back to Tebûk.

To the southeast of Ašhab rise the two low, white knolls of aṯ-Ṯwêrên, to the south of them the cone of ar-Rẖejmi, and to the west of the latter the isolated knoll al-Batra. Al-Batra is said to have shifted to its present position from the east and to have brought flints with it, for only upon it and upon about fifty tiny hills situated to the north of it can flints be found. There are none anywhere else in the uplands of Ḥesma. The small, low hills with the flints are called the "baggage of Batra," Ḥellet al-Batra. To the northwest of al-Batra stands a solitary *ṭalḥ* tree, and near it is the *mšâš* of Beni ʿOḳba. Another well of the same name is situated on the southern border of the plain of az-Zâwije southwest of the hill Ğlejf as-Semen. The plain of az-Zâwije extends from al-Mkejmen as far as the foot of the granite mountains of ar-Rawjân and al-Meljân and is bordered to the east by the volcanic wall of Ğedîrt aṣ-Ṣefi with its southwestern spur al-Leḥjâne. The chain of granite mountains dividing the coast, known as at-Tihama, from the uplands of Ḥesma forms a ridge, which, with the eastern spurs, is five to ten kilometers broad and is known as aš-Šefa'. The inhabitants of the Tihama coast give the name of al-Ğeles (the rocky plain) to the eastern uplands, because they are composed of rocky plains.

At 8.54 we crossed the river bed of al-Ḫambara, in which there grows a great deal of *ṭalḥ*. To the west of us Sbejḥ pointed out in a channel the rain well, *mšâš*, of al-Mašḳaḥ. By the gap through which the *šeʿîb* of al-Mašḳaḥ finds its way to the west, on the north side, is the spring of as-Sidd and, on the south, that of aš-Šiḳri. Around the latter the road leads to the pass Naḳb al-Malḥağe. This is a deep notch between high, rocky walls, black below and red above, from which a lower group of sandstone hills runs to the east.

From 9.16 to 11.24 we waited for the new guide in a sheltered place among the rocks of al-Ḳwejmi. While we were drawing a map of the surrounding district we were joined

by two shepherds, who told us that smallpox had broken out in the encampment of the Ḥwêṭât at the head of the *šeʿîb* of Tmarr and that therefore all the Beni ʿAṭijje encamped in the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫambara were fleeing to the north. This was bad news, because we wanted to proceed along the northern foot of the Tmarr mountain range to the southeast. The new guide failed to turn up; either Daʿsân had returned or Daʿsân's uncle had frightened him. Our guide Sbejḥ also wanted to leave us. Previously he had feared the Ḥwêṭât and the Beli; now he feared still more that he might catch the smallpox. His camel had remained in Daʿsân's camp, and the new guide was to have brought it to him. He asked me for his wages, because he said that he did not intend to lose his life. It took me a long time before I could persuade him to remain with us until we found another guide.

Having left al-Ḳwejmi, we proceeded through the plain of az-Zâwije farther to the south. At twelve o'clock we had on our right the pink-tinted elevation of aṭ-Ṭḫi and at 12.20 on our left the yellowish hill of al-Asejher with, near by in the shallow *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳwêra, the hollow Ṛadîr abu ʿAẓejne and farther east Ṛadîr Abejṭer. On the east the plain is enclosed by the steep slopes of sandstone hills about sixty meters high, upon which lies a horizontal stratum of lava. The *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫambara proceeds from a deep, broad gap, the sides of which are as upright as if they had been artificially made with a T square. To the south we saw the blackened and rugged elevation of aṣ-Ṣwejwîn. We rode through the numerous shallow, dry watercourses of as-Saʿejdât, which run in a northeasterly direction. Footpaths lead through them to the gap of al-Ḫrejṭa.

At 1.55 P. M. we approached the rugged crags in which lies the rain well Mšâš al-Ğdejjed. With our loaded rifles in our hands we scrutinized the crags to the right and left, for we feared that there might be robbers about. At 2.35 we went down to a well where we remained until 4.55. This well is situated in the bed of the rocky ravine nearly one hundred meters deep. The well itself, which was about three meters deep and half dried-up, contained only a little water. Ḫalîl climbed up to the southern slope to keep watch while Šerîf went down to the well and collected water with a dish into a canvas bucket. Muṭalleḳ drew out the filled bucket and poured out water for the camels, which had to drink two at

a time. Rifʿat and Tûmân drove away the rest of the thirsty animals, which were thronging round the well. Going down with Sbejḥ through the *šeʿîb* to look for more wells, we found a few half-covered in and likewise containing water, but it was not possible to lead the camels to them because the channel was littered with huge rugged boulders, among which it was very difficult to push forward. We also wished to fill at least one bag with water. Sbejḥ crawled to the well and with a bowl poured water into the bag, which I held suspended by a rope. We had filled the skin about half-way, when above us we heard a voice and a dull report, and a bullet struck the rock a few centimeters above my head. To this very day I feel ashamed to think that for a moment I was frightened. Pulling myself together, I held the rope with the water bag in my left hand, while with my right I drew out my Mannlicher pistol and fired it in the direction of the smoke. At that moment Sbejḥ crawled from the well, took his rifle, and shouted:

"If you are ʿAṭâwne or Ḥwêṭât, show yourselves, but otherwise disappear, or we will shoot you all."

Somewhere about the middle of the left-hand slope we perceived two rifle barrels aimed at us. We did not see our assailants, who were hidden in a rocky crevice. In reply to Sbejḥ's challenge, a voice was heard: "Who are you?" Sbejḥ gave a suitable reply; whereupon two men appeared and scrambled down to us in a zigzag. They belonged to the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama and were guarding the approach to the various wells, because they said within the *šeʿibân* of as-Saʿejdât there had appeared a band of robbers whom they wished to frighten away by preventing them from getting at the water.

Having filled the water bag we returned to our companions, who were awaiting our arrival in a state of alarm. They had heard the three shots, Tûmân had recognized the sound of my pistol, and they had not known whether to hasten to our assistance or to guard our baggage and the camels. The baggage had been loaded up and Muṭalleḳ said that the camels had drunk all the water they wanted. But Rifʿat's camel began greedily licking the water bag which we had brought, showing that it was thirsty. As I supposed that only that camel had not drunk enough, I ordered water to be given it from the bag, but all the rest of the camels

pressed forward, likewise wishing to drink. At my command the baggage was again unloaded from the animals, and we once more doled out water among them (Fig. 69). As they were tired and had rarely been able to graze to their satisfaction, I decided that they should at least not suffer thirst (temperature: 36° C).



FIG. 69—At the rain well Mšâš al-Ğdejjed.

From al-Ğdejjed we wished to proceed to the ruins of Ṛwâfa. Sbejḥ declared that we should find no water there, but one of the two men who had attacked us assured us that the rain water well there contained water that year, but that it flowed slowly. I should have liked to take one of the Ḥwêṭât with me as a guide, but they would not accompany us, their excuse being that they were afraid of the bands of raiders and that they could not leave their post. Having returned to the plain, we branched off to the east-southeast. There was a complete absence of pasturage, for all the plains were dry. It was not until after six o'clock in the evening that we perceived near the western border of the narrow defile Ḫarm al-Faḥam a fair-sized group of half-green *'arfeğ*. We remained there from six o'clock to 8.20 (temperature:

31.5° C) and at 9.04 encamped on the eastern edge of the plain of al-Faḥam, to the southeast of the rock Ğlejf as-Semen. Throughout the night we kept watch, as we were afraid that there might be robbers about, but we saw nobody.

ḤARM AL-FAḤAM TO THE ŠEʿÎB OF RETÂME; ṚWÂFA

Starting at 4.28 A. M. on Saturday, June 25, 1910, we rode through the narrow passage Ẓjejḳat al-Fahade, which is enclosed on the north by the dark slope of aẓ-Ẓhejr and on the south by the sides of the mutilated cone of Ammu Rḳejbe. After a while we perceived to the north the deep gap of Ṛwêl al-Arâneb and to the southeast the dark range of Umm Râtje. At 5.05 we found some fresh *ʿarfeğ*, upon which our camels grazed until 5.28. The passage Ẓjejḳat al-Fahade is more than five hundred meters broad and is shut in on the north and south by steep, red slopes, upon which there is a layer of scattered lava about thirty meters thick. At 6.44 we observed on the right the flat table hill of as-Shejme, south of it the al-Mesâbe range, and at some distance to the northeast the long, high ridge of al-Ḥenw, with the huge cone of al-Mšaḳḳar beyond. At 7.20 we changed our course somewhat more to the southeast and after about ten minutes reached the spacious basin of Zenḳulla. The soil of this basin was covered with a growth of green shrubs from which the steep rocks rose up on all sides, red below, white in the middle, and black above. To the west were the red rocks of al-Mesâbe, north of them the black crags of ar-Rḫa, and still farther north the ridge of al-Ḥenw; to the east rose Abu Ḳrûn (which is connected with the granite mountain range of Tmarr), with the huge dome of al-Ḥâṭeb to the southwest, and to the south the spur of ad-Dwejme. On the western flank of the mountain range thus formed is the pass Naḳb an-Neṭḳi. To the east of Abu Ḳrûn appeared the oblong ridge of as-Sarâwîl, and behind it rose the isolated knolls of Nûf and Nuwejfât; then to the north of the latter the huge elevation of Amm Waʿâl. The western part of al-Ḥenw is known as al-Mšaḳḳar. Its northwestern spurs, called Leḥjâne, are separated by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥenw from the hills of Hbejrât, which are clustered together to the west of ar-Rḫa.

On the southwestern slope of the basin of Zenḳulla we saw a wall more than four meters high and behind it the

ruins of an old building. These are the remains of the sanctuary of Ṛwâfa, by which we dismounted at 7.35 A. M. (Figs. 70, 71, 72). In front of the wall there is a caved-in well, behind the wall a large burial place on the old building site, and about five hundred meters farther to the southwest, at the foot of the rocks of al-Mesâbe, a rain water well, *mšâš*, near which stood eight camels. A larger well, known as al-Lâwi, is situated about five kilometers to the southwest of Ṛwâfa. I ordered Šerîf, Sbejḥ, and Muṭalleḳ to lead our camels away immediately to the well and to give them plenty to drink there. Ḫalîl was to guard our baggage while I examined the ruins. I found it difficult to sketch their plan. Nothing was left except the above-mentioned wall; the rest of the foundation walls had been covered up by large stones, which we could not remove in order to draw a sketch plan. On the building site among some stones I discovered one stone with a Greek inscription and another with a Nabataean inscription. Among the building material I perceived a stone more than two meters long, which I regarded as an architrave. Surmising that there might be some inscriptions upon it, with the help of Tûmân I scraped away some of the smaller stones with which it was covered and endeavored to insert my hand beneath it. From under the stone a snake ran out; after thrusting my stick underneath to make sure that no more snakes were concealed there, I rummaged beneath its lower portion and by my sense of touch traced the cuttings of separate letters. When our comrades had come back from the well, we turned the stone over. On it was carved a long Nabataean and Greek inscription of which I prepared two molds.

The spelling of the name of this building is uncertain. I recorded Ṛwâfa and Rwâfa; my companions, speaking the vernacular, said that it is generally known as Rwâfa, but the old natives call the ruins Ṛwâfa. According to the bilingual inscription, the sanctuary was built by the Thamudenoi tribe at the beginning of the second half of the second century of our era.

We should have liked to have remained at least two days by these ruins and, with the help of the Ḫwêṭât camping not far away, to have cleared the débris, examined the separate stones, and drawn an accurate plan. Among the stones there are certainly many others with inscriptions, and possibly more records are buried beneath the building material. We were

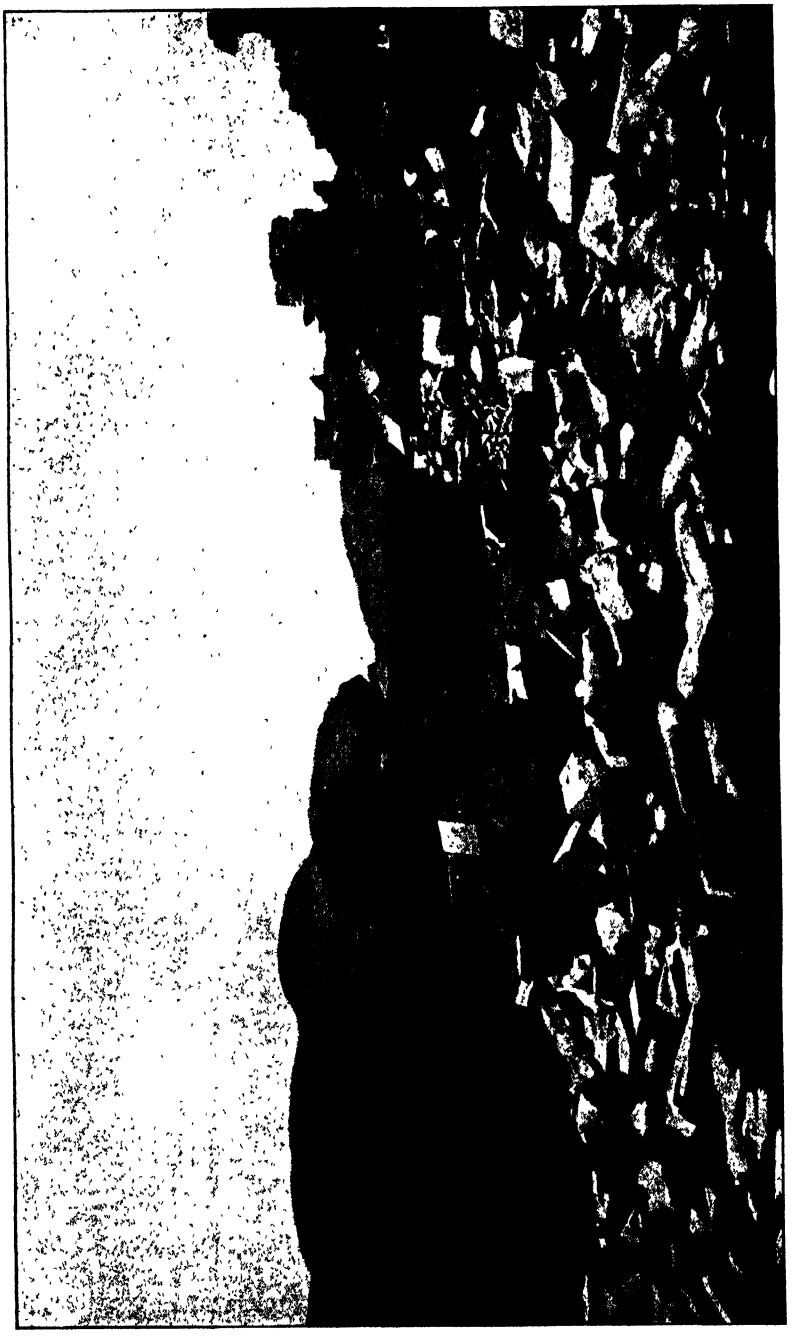


FIG. 70—Ruins of Ṣwâfa from the east.

unable, however, to remain there. From the well a Ḥwêṭi came to us and rebuked us for damaging property not our own. When I asked him to stay with us he said that he was about to leave immediately with his camels, because the district round the Ṛwâfa was infected with smallpox. Near the hill



FIG. 71—Ruins of Ṛwâfa from the northeast.

of Abu Ḳrûn, he said, there was a deserted tent with two men who had been taken ill with smallpox; his own health and that of his children was much more valuable to him than the wages which I offered him. My native companions were also afraid of infection and urged me to finish the work as quickly as possible and to leave Ṛwâfa. Moreover, they supposed that the chief Daʿsân might have returned and that he would take measures against us. The gendarme Ḫalîl then reminded me that the *mudîr* and Sâlem, the representative of chief Ḥarb, would certainly incite the ʿAṭâwne against us. There was nothing left for me but to get away from Ṛwâfa.

We wanted to proceed due southeast across the eastern flank of the Tmarr mountain range, but the Ḥwêṭi warned us against this region, which, he said, was infected with smallpox. He also informed me that the journey was extremely

difficult and that our weary camels would perish after a few days. I had not intended to change the direction. I wished to make my way due southeast, but the guide Sbejḥ declared that he was unacquainted with this territory, and, as the Ḥwêṭi would not accompany us, I could not venture to enter

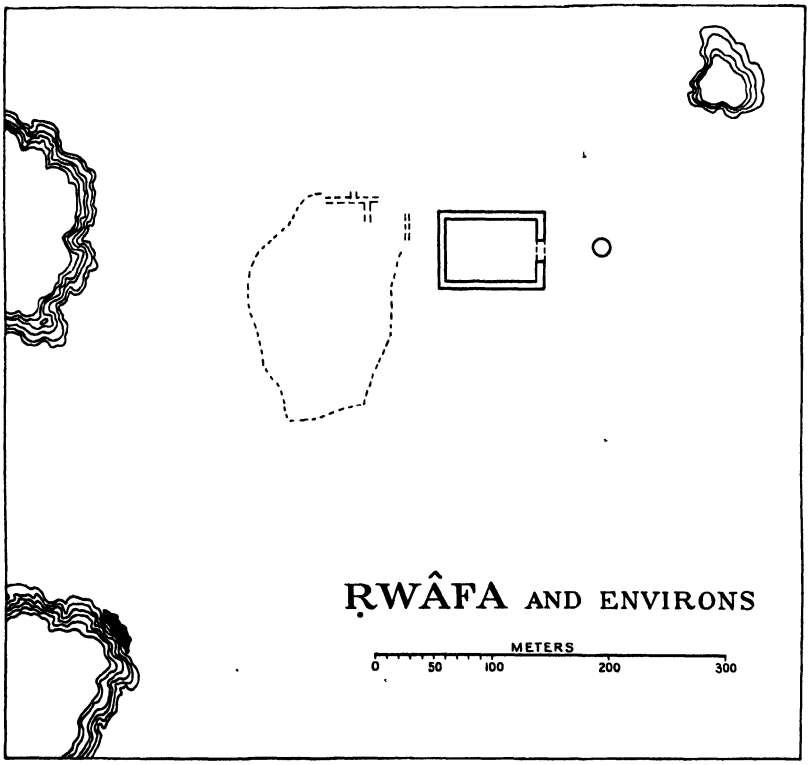


FIG. 72—Ṛwâfa and environs.

the volcanic and almost impassable region without a guide. Then too, the journey would have been useless, because I should have been unable to note down the names of the places which I saw. Sbejḥ was willing to accompany us as far as the "great ruins" of al-Ḳena', where he said we could certainly find the ʿAṭâwne, from whom we could then select a guide who would accompany us farther to the south. At these "great ruins," he said, there are gardens, aqueducts, and ruined houses; the Ḥwêṭi confirmed this, and I had heard the same thing from Sâlem at Tebûk. I agreed that Sbejḥ

should guide us to al-Ḳena', although this was a great detour from our original direction and we should thus arrive in the vicinity of Tebûk, exposing ourselves to the danger of being overtaken by the gendarmes of the *mudîr*.

At 11.23 we left the ruins of Ṛwâfa and proceeded in

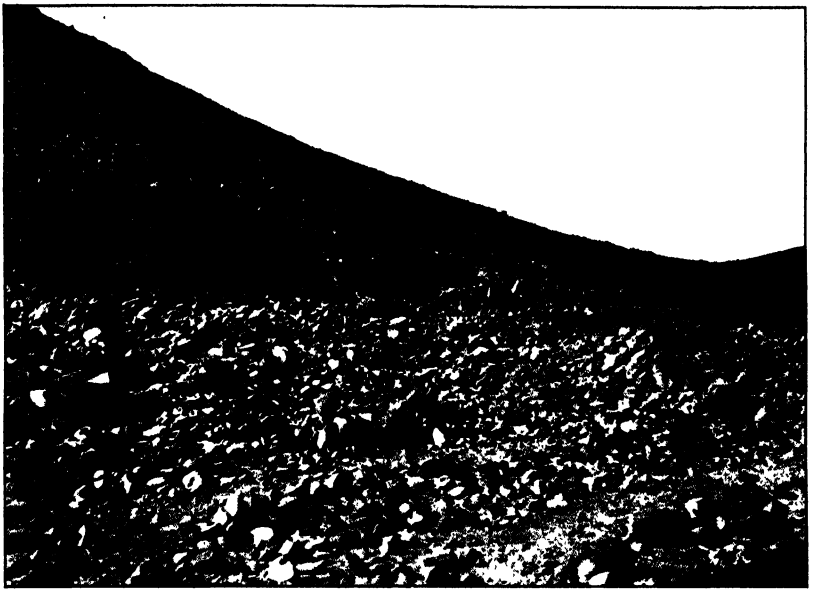


FIG. 73—Bîr (well of) al-Maḏkûr.

a northerly direction (temperature: 34.5° C). I was extremely sorry at being compelled to leave this important place without having thoroughly investigated it. I made up my mind that, as soon as ever I could, I would go to Ṛwâfa for a week's sojourn and carry out excavations there. At 12.50 P. M. we reached the foot of the al-Ḥenw ridge, where we saw clusters of *ṭalḥ* trees with green shoots, upon which our camels fed with enjoyment. We remained there until 1.10 (temperature: 36.2° C). Then we ascended the ridge, leading the camels by the rein, and on reaching the top climbed down again along a steep path into the *šeʿîb* of Lebîd, bordered on the west by the high, rocky slope of Leḥjâne and on the east by the still higher slope of Dejṭân. At three o'clock we halted by the well of al-Maḏkûr (Fig. 73), situated in the *šeʿîb* just mentioned (temperature: 36.8° C), where we found two women

watering a large flock of black goats. One of the women was the sister of the chief Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje, to whose kindred the camp situated to the north of the *šeʿîb* belonged. Ḫalîl and Sbejḥ asked her to send us a guide from her camp, who could overtake us either at the crossing of ad-Dwejmež or the next morning by the water of al-Ḳena'. We could not enter her camp because it was pitched in an almost inaccessible rocky ravine. The woman inquired about her brother and his camp and promised that she would fulfil our wish. At 3.16 we left the *šeʿîb* of Lebîd to the east of the pool Ṛadîr Abejṯer, crossed an elevation from which there was a wide view westward, and at 3.42 descended again into the *šeʿîb* of ar-Retâme, where we remained by some blossoming *ṭalḥ* trees from 3.55 to 6.20. The camels did not find much pasture, for there was no vegetation in the *šeʿîb* except the *ṭalḥ* trees and a few yellowish *rimṯ* bushes. The river bed was gray, the rocky walls white below, black above, and overhead hovered an ash-colored veil of air which blazed with the glowing heat. I trembled with ague, Rifʿat complained that he had a severe headache, Tûmân's eyes were inflamed, red and swollen, the guide Sbejḥ asked for his wages and announced that he would leave us immediately; two of the camels had their backs lacerated and bleeding; all were tired and hungry, and we had to press on.

Following a path about thirty centimeters broad which wound among the sharp lava stones, we reached a narrow, rocky defile, from which there seemed to be no way out. We could not go back, nor was it possible to branch off to one side; we had to move forward, for Sbejḥ declared that this defile led to the crossing of ad-Dwejmež. I led the way forward with my camel. In places we laid lava stones one upon another in order to form steps upon which our camels could mount. After an hour's wearisome march we reached the summit. It proved to be an endless plain covered with black lava, from which projected only slightly to the left the elevation of al-Ḥarḳa and to the right the elevation of Dbejjeb. We again found the small path about thirty centimeters wide, trodden by the camels among the sharp lava stones. From this path it was impossible to move aside either to the right or to the left. At 7.35 P. M. we found a bare surface measuring about fifteen meters in diameter, from which the lava had been removed, and here we encamped at a height of 1451 meters (temperature: 28° C). Not knowing whether the

ʿAṭâwne were pursuing us or not, we kept guard over our property during the night.

RETÂME TO AR-RḴEJḴ

On Sunday, June 26, 1910, we were on the march as early as 4.25 A. M. The pathway led in a direction which was inconvenient for us because we were obliged to move due east across the sharp lava. The march was very difficult and painful for our camels. The poor animals had to pick their way forward through fragments of lava, cautiously stepping between them. After only a quarter of an hour, all the camels were bleeding from the hocks and joints of their feet, but the guide Sbejḥ assured me that it did them no harm. It would be a bad thing, he said, when the soles of their hoofs began to bleed.

At 5.15 we observed to the southeast two isolated knolls, the highest peaks of Mounts Nûf and Nuwejfât. From them there proceeds to the northwest the deep rift of the *šeʿîb* of Abu-l-Ḳawâṣîm, the lower part of which is known as Retâme. To the west we could see on the Sinai peninsula not only the mountains of the southern part of the peninsula but also the plain extending to the north of these mountains. Nearer to us towered the steep peaks of Ḥarb and Debbâṛ, and to the south we had a view of the greater part of the at-Tihama shore. We were traveling at a height of about 1460 meters. Around us extended a black, lifeless, slightly undulating plain that stretched beyond the limits of our vision. The deep, narrow ravines seemed to be blacker than the plain itself.

Before seven o'clock we came to the difficult descent into the ravine of al-Ḳena' and at 7.33 we had reached the channel below. The ravine gradually grew wider, and at 7.40 on our right we saw a clump of *ḥamâṭ* (wild fig trees) and a few fine fig trees, by which we halted at 7.54 (temperature: 28.5° C). These trees are situated about a third of the way down the eastern slope and give shade to a copious spring which fills a pool of no great size about fifty meters distant, to which the water is conveyed by a trench. Near by were to be seen the remains of foundation walls, piles of unhewn stone, and the level sites of old gardens, a proof that a village had once been situated here. By the spring a number of women were

watering some long-haired sheep, and five men were attending to about twenty camels. As the sister of Ḥarb had not sent us a guide, I should have liked to have hired a guide from among the men present, but they all excused themselves, saying that their camp was a long way to the northeast and that they were on the point of moving northwards for fear of the smallpox, which had broken out in the upper part of the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳena'. They told us that we should find an Arab camp by the fountain of al-Ḥadara, situated to the south of al-Ḳena' in the *šeʿîb* of the same name. I asked Sbejḥ to accompany us that far and not to leave us until we had another guide.

At 8.25 we left the spring and proceeded in a north-easterly direction. On our left we observed a herd of camels going down to drink. It was curious to watch how these animals found their way downwards over the steep rocky wall. About half-way down the slope projected a narrow, horizontal rib, in front of which the camels came to a standstill; the leading animal groped about in front of this rib, crawled over it cautiously, but returned and waited until all the rest of the beasts had climbed down; only then did it follow.

At 8.40 we branched off eastward by the *šeʿîb* of al-Hulful, crossed the broad *šeʿîb* of Dellem, which is connected with the shorter ravines of Dejjer and al-Baḥît. At 9.10 we rode through the ravine of Ammu Rẓej, which merges with aṯ-Ṯwejmer; at 9.50 we left al-Ḳena', turning almost due north, and after crossing the low ridge of Ṭrejf al-Bûm we made our way into the *šeʿîb* of Ammu Nṣejb, where we remained from 10.20 to 12.10 P. M. (temperature: 36° C). The camels grazed on fresh *šaʿrân* and *rimṯ*. The sun was scorching, the rocks and sand so hot that it was painful to touch them with the bare hand or foot. The camels, having drunk their fill at al-Ḳena', were craving for pasture, but there was none in the *šeʿîb* of Ammu Nṣejb. I climbed up the slope and in a rather small hollow discovered a fairly extensive space with a growth of fresh *šaʿrân*, but our camels were so tired that they could not get up the steep declivity. After several vain attempts one camel after the other knelt down in order at least to rest, if it could not satisfy its hunger. Nevertheless, we had to urge the tired and hungry animals to a further march.

We rode through a *še'îb* toward the south-southeast until we reached the cleft of aš-Šelûl, which contains a tiny spring. From there we turned eastward at one o'clock. We had lost the path. From 2.10 to three o'clock the camels grazed on a strip of fresh *eṭmân*, which we found in a ravine of no great size. I had sent Sbejḥ to look for the path, but he had not returned. Finally we found him on the height, reposing under a crag, cursing the day on which he had allowed himself to be hired as our guide, complaining of his weariness, and consigning us, together with our wages, to the nethermost hell. Ḫalîl and especially Šerîf grew so angry that they threatened to beat him, but this I would not permit. Sbejḥ was unwilling to go any farther with us. He wanted to get back. I should have dismissed him without further ado, but this was not possible until we had secured another member of the Beni 'Aṭijje tribe as guide, and hence also as protector, for otherwise they would certainly have robbed and possibly even killed us. I sat down by the side of Sbejḥ, gave him medicine which refreshed him somewhat, and asked him not to leave us and at least to show us the direction in which we could reach the spring of al-Ḥadara. At last he got up and led the way through a plain covered with lava to the northwestern slope of the elevation of al-Ḫalâwi. There he lay down again and asked us to pay no heed to him, but to go our way. We were standing on a horizontal ridge somewhere in the middle of the slope. On our left there rose a steep rock, on the right yawned a ravine about one hundred and fifty meters deep; ahead of us appeared a semicircular rocky rift. Ḫalîl and Šerîf looked for the path, but in vain. Leading our camels into the rift, we searched about to see whether we could descend by its right-hand slope, which formed a narrow, precipitous spur. Up this spur we could lead the camels in zigzags part of the way, but this was possible only here and there. In places we had to form steps by means of the stones and elsewhere to roll the stones away. Having reached the top, we found in front of us still another ravine, where we discovered a path leading to the rocky plain, in which it was lost once more. I scrambled out on to the summit no great distance away and inspected the region. Southward I looked over red, high, billowing crags amongst which the *še'îb* wound. East and west the view was shut off by heights. Somewhere about the middle of the southern slope

of the eastern height, I perceived a shining strip, a path, to which we directed our footsteps. Sbejḥ came on behind us, continually complaining. After six o'clock we saw on the northwest the Ḳlejb Mardûd, on the east the ridge of ʿAṣejfîr, and we then caught sight of the deep basin of ar-Rḳejḳ. The slope now became somewhat more steep and we went down in zigzags along the path. We were very glad when to one side we saw a number of goats and on the southeastern edge of the basin three small tents. At 6.30 we were in the basin and at 6.35 we encamped about five hundred meters north of the tents (temperature: 32.2° C).

Ḥalîl immediately entered the largest tent and after a while returned with a lame man about forty years of age, who was willing to act as our guide. Ḥalîl apologized for having brought us a lame guide (Fig. 74), but he said that this was the only adult male in the tents. All the rest of the men and youths were away on a raid. The new guide explained that while he was still a lad a large stone had fallen on his right foot and had crushed it. Since then he could only walk with a crutch and lived on the generosity of others. "My property consists of a two-year old camel, *ḳaʿajjed*, ten small goats, and four little girls." The tent in which he lived did not belong to him but to the chief, his relative, who was not there. Sbejḥ recovered as soon as he had obtained his wages, and was quite satisfied because he had obtained more than he had expected. The night was peaceful and we were able to rest.

BASIN OF AR-RḲEJḲ TO AZ-ZURBA

On Monday, June 27, 1910, we left our encampment at five o'clock in the morning (temperature: 24° C), proceeding through the *šeʿîb* in a southerly direction. On the surrounding rocks Ṯamûd inscriptions could be seen here and there. My camel went lame in its left forefoot and about every two minutes limped so much that it sank down on its knees. Jumping down from the saddle, I examined its foot and in the sole found a sharp stone about the size of a hazel-nut. I extracted the stone and stopped up the wound with cotton wool, which, however, immediately fell out. Sand penetrated into the wound, and whenever the animal stepped on a sharp stone it nearly sank down to its knees, but nevertheless I had to move forward.

Having left the river bed we proceeded after six o'clock along the side of the ridge of al-Ṛmejjem, which runs in a southerly direction. On the surrounding boulders Ṯamûd inscriptions could likewise be seen. The path was covered with coarse gravel, and my camel could make no headway.



FIG. 74—Our guide at ar-Ṛḳejḳ.

The guide advised us to bind up the left foot with a piece of skin. Accordingly, from a skin water bucket, known as *maṭṭâra* or *zemzemijje*, we cut out a piece of skin the size of a camel's hoof, which we tied firmly above its ankles, but the animal had not gone ten paces before this artificial sole fell off. We then unsaddled the camel, made it kneel down, tied up its legs, rolled it over, and sewed the skin on to its

sole. It was a laborious task which took until eight o'clock but proved successful. The skin kept on the whole day, the camel did not stumble, and the wound closed up somewhat.

At 8.10 we entered the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥadara, which extends to the northeast, merges with the *šeʿîb* of as-Sdêr, and forms

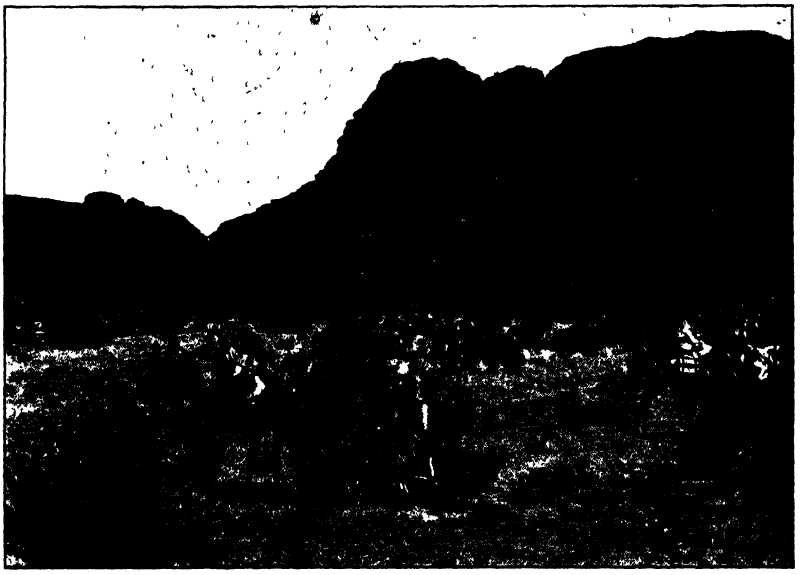


FIG. 75—Umm Leben.

the *šeʿîb* of al-Eṭel, terminating in al-Meḥteṭeb, northeast of Tebûk. At 8.40 on our left we perceived the high, black wall of Umm Leben (Fig. 75) and at 10.20 reached the well of al-Ḥadara. This well is about two meters deep and always contains water. The dry watercourse is covered with fluvial deposits and débris of rocks, and there were no plants in it. At 9.46 we turned northeast through a gap between the ridge of al-Mawʿada and Umm Leben to the wells of an-Nwêbʿe, where we remained from 10.20 to 12.50 P. M. These wells are situated in a deep *šeʿîb* enclosed by bare rocks. There are eight wells still active, varying in depth from three to four meters and filled with clear, fresh water to a depth of six-tenths of a meter. Unfortunately there were no pastures in the vicinity. On leaving the wells we rode for five minutes through a *šeʿîb* in which, about two kilometers farther to

the northeast, there is the smaller well of al-Ferri. We climbed the right-hand slope of the *šeʿîb* to the east and from the top at 1.24 perceived the dark rocks of Sawda' Ḥamde and farther to the northeast the red hills of ad-Daḫâḫîr. At two o'clock we proceeded along the height Šrejf ab-al-Bîẓ, from which we had an unobstructed view of the mutilated cone of al-Watar to the southeast and of a large clump of *ṭalḥ* trees near the water of al-Bedʿ.

The character of the landscape gradually altered. The black lava receded in places, and red elevations began to appear, with isolated brownish cones and cupolas upon them. But the region was bare and parched, because there had been no rain for four years. Through the *šeʿîb* of Abu Nmâr we reached the broad and deep *šeʿîb* of al-Baṣîri, where we entered an ancient road running north and south. On all the more conspicuous points to the right and left of the road there were small circular towers about two meters high and from two to ten meters in diameter. Most of these towers were built of stones without mortar, and some were quite empty inside. Our guide told us that they are landmarks for the wayfarer, pointing out the way in the midst of these craggy hills. They are probably the ancient *ârâm* (stone landmarks). At 3.30 there hovered before us the oblong mountain of az-Zuṛba, in front of which glistened the broad plain of al-Bedîʿ, surrounded by red hills. We moved forward between the low elevations of al-Manâḫer. At four o'clock we descended into the *šeʿîb* of al-Bedîʿ where we remained by a palm grove from 4.40 to 4.53 (temperature: 39.2° C). The palm trees belonged to the chief ʿAlejjân eben Ṣadfân, of the clan of the Saʿejdânijjîn, who encamps there when the dates ripen. Northeast of the palm trees there were ten wells, each about three meters deep, artificially walled in or hewn from the rock. They always contain water and could be used to irrigate a large palm grove.

After filling one water bag, we rode to the southeast past numerous goat folds. Entering a small *šeʿîb* we ascended its left-hand slope, where we found a large burial place. The tombs were not raised up but were level even with the ground and surrounded by a low, circular wall measuring about one hundred and eighty centimeters in diameter (Figs. 76, 77, 78). In the middle there are stone slabs; in each case two are inserted in the ground and a third laid across them, or else all three or even four are propped up against one another. The stone

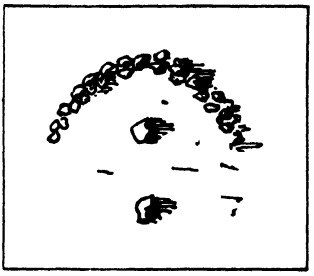


FIG. 76

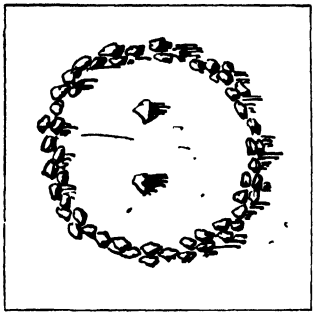


FIG. 77

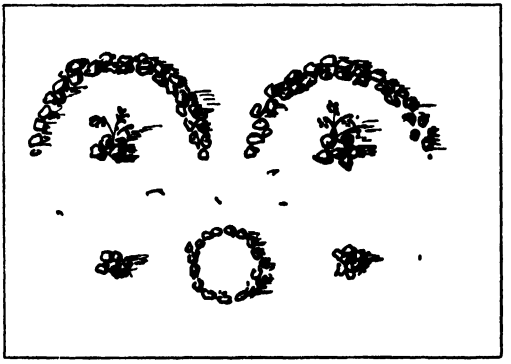


FIG. 78

FIG. 76, 77, 78—Graves at al-Bedî'.

wall of some tombs is semicircular, and in front of some there is a hollow bordered with stones and measuring about forty centimeters in diameter. The Arabs place small green *ratam* twigs upon the slabs and pour water into the hollow, this being their manner of honoring the dead.

Not far beyond the burial place, in a *še'îb* enclosed on all sides, at the foot of the north side of az-Zurba (Fig. 79) we found a fairly good pasture, where, consequently, we encamped at 5.10. In the evening we ascertained the latitude (temperature: 30.2° C).

AZ-ZURBA TO ABU ṢAWRA

On Tuesday, June 28, 1910, we left our camping place at 4.30 A.M. (temperature: 16.5° C) and at five o'clock mounted a height from which we had a delightful view to the south. The region is only slightly undulating and is covered with yellowish *ratam* and coffee-colored *šîḥ* which appeared to have a dark-blue veil over it. In the background hovered the isolated broken cone of al-Watar, from which what seemed to be small clouds of smoke were being carried eastward by the wind. In front of al-Watar towered the cone of al-Lâja, and to the north of both of these mountains lay the brilliant uplands of Ğdejdîlât, an-Na'âme, an-Nimrijjât, and an-Na'âjem. The first rays of the rising sun

caressed the hills and the shrubs. At 5.26 we passed by another ancient burial place similar to the one described above. On three slabs could be seen numerous carved tribal tokens. From 5.50 to seven o'clock we stopped to draw a sketch map of the surrounding district. Thence the road led us through



FIG. 79—Mount az-Zurba.

the basalt rocks of al-Ḳṭejjât, the highest of which towered above the neighboring country to a height of one hundred and fifty meters with perfectly vertical sides. At 7.26 we had the well of al-Ḳṭejje on our left; then we crossed various small ravines and at 9.30 reached the valley of ar-Rumaẓa, which forms the border between the Beni ʿAṭijje and the Beli. From 10.15 to 11.55 we rested on the western slope of the black basalt mountain of al-Lâja (Figs. 80, 81). It was an unpleasant halt, for the sun blazed, the barrels of our rifles were so hot that we did not venture to touch them with our bare hands, and the camels were tired and hungry, having found no pasture.

At 12.30 P. M. we had the head of the deep *šeʿîb* of ar-Retâme on our left, to the south the beginning of the basalt rocks of ad-Dêreʿ, and to the east the table mountain of al-Watar, which is visible from Tebûk. Al-Watar is composed of five strata placed horizontally one on the other. Upon the fourth stratum from below, which has the appearance of being artificially cut out on the slopes, lies the fifth like a flat hat. At 1.35 we entered the eastern upland of an-Naʿâjem. This consists of numerous low, flat, black knolls separated by deep ravines, to the north of which rose the red groups of the an-Nimrijjât hills. On the right and left of the road could be seen piles of tiny stones in addition to the small, round towers which we have already mentioned. The guide explained that the clefts near by were inhabited by an evil female spirit, who, he said, was fond of enticing lonely travelers

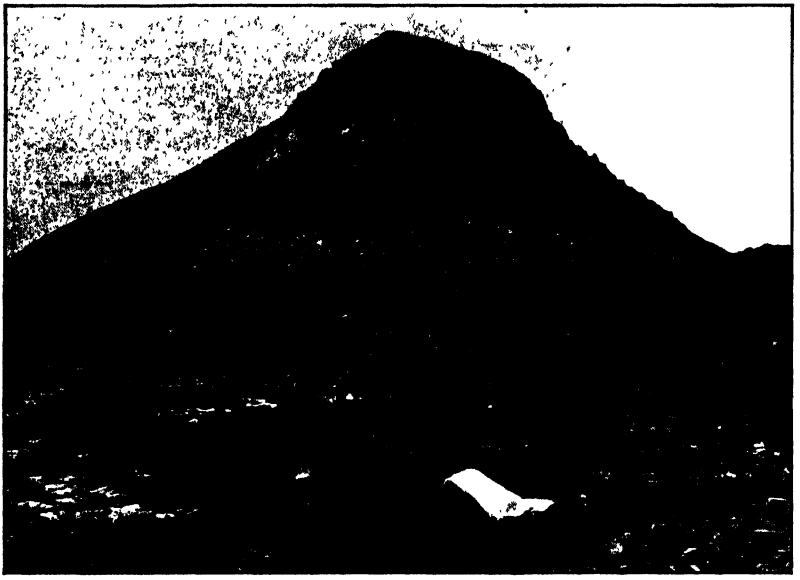


FIG. 80

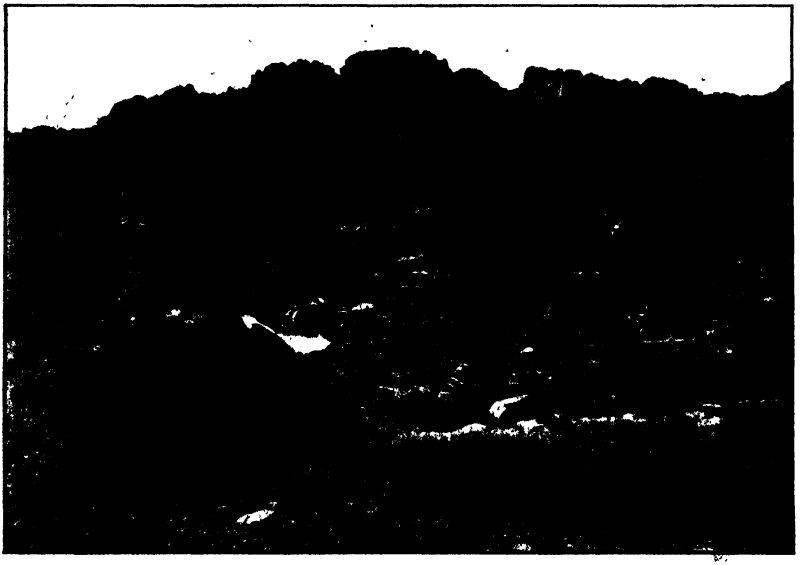


FIG. 81

FIG. 80—Mount al-Lâja from the east.
FIG. 81—From base of Mount al-Lâja looking south.

from the road and then destroying them. Wishing to overcome her temptations, the travelers pick up the small stones, place them on the boulders and think of their relatives, who would mourn for them if they knew that they had gone astray and perished of hunger.

On our right we had the black cone of Ab-aḍ-Ḏahab, covered here and there with a growth of yellow moss (temperature: 35° C).

From 2.48 to 3.15 the camels grazed in the *še'îb* of Sem' which proceeds from the huge mountain of Šejbân, towering up to the southwest. In the northern part of Šejbân are the wells of Ğhajjer and al-Ğeba'. At 3.32 we crossed the *še'îb* of al-'Aṭâne, more than four hundred meters broad and containing a growth of *šîḥ, ba'ejṯrân, ḳejṣûm,* and *ratam.* To the northeast, not far from our road, al-'Aṭâne is joined by the *še'îb* of Zrâb.[46]

The country now becomes rolling; the *še'ibân* are broad, the slopes less abrupt but more stony. At 4.08 we turned to the south toward Mount Šejbân with its innumerable clusters of knolls and mutilated cones. In front of us towered the black spur of ad-Dâra. At 4.46 we were near the water of al-Embâṭe, where we found a large herd of camels being driven by armed men to Mount Šejbân. The camels belonged to the Ḫuẓara' clan of the Beni 'Aṭijje. The men in charge of them said that al-Âjde were preparing a warlike expedition against them. An 'Aṭîwi, or member of the Beni 'Aṭijje, who had served among the Âjde as a shepherd, having heard about this raid, had escaped and warned his kinsmen of the danger by which they were threatened. The Ḫuẓara' and al-Masâbḥe had then occupied the crossings at al-Lwij, La'abân, and al-Ḳnê'er, leading from the southeast into their territory, and had sent herds of camels to Mount Šejbân to hide them there. The flocks of goats had remained near the tents which they had erected in hidden ravines.

We were rather exhausted before we found one of these small encampments of the Ḫuẓara' in the narrow, stony *še'îb* of Abu Ṣawra, where we halted at 5.58 (temperature: 29° C).

Abu Ṣawra is the head of Wâdi al-Aḫẓar (or al-Ḫaẓar), which stretches in a north-northeasterly direction, then swings off to the northwest by the

[46] Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 614, mentions 'Eṯâl as a defile and valley in the land of the Ğudâm. — Our 'Aṭâne (*n* interchanged with *l*) is a valley and a defile, as a road leads through it from the west to the valley of al-Ğizel and to the plains near Tebûk, traversing a nearly impassable volcanic region which formerly belonged to the Ğudâm.

railway station of al-Aḫẓar, and terminates in al-Meḥteṭeb. On the left al-Aḫẓar is joined by the *še'ibân* of an-Na'âme, ad-Delw, and ad-Da'êğ, which descend from the cone of Ḫirḳ; farther on by ad-Da'ûğ and al-'Omejdên, which [rise among the rocks of Mejsûra; then by Abu Ṭarfa', between which and the lower course of al-'Omejdên stands the cone al-Ḳnê'er; then follow the *še'ibân* of Sḳê'ijje, Abu Ḫalfa, Di Tîn, al-Wužerijjet al-Bêẓa', at-Tûlijje, al-Ğeleb, Ummu Ḳwe', al-Ḫaẓra, ad-Drêḳa, al-Muṣṭabṛa, al-Worob, and Ummu Rkêbe. The valley is joined on the right by the *še'ibân* of ar-Râšde, with al-La'abân; and by al-Fḥejl, as-Samake, al-Wužerijjet as-Samra', al-Ḥmejda, Šômân, al-Meḫtebi, Ammu Rtejmât, as-Sûḳ, Erdêht 'Aneze, Ammu Kanâtel, Umm Ṣafa', al-Bêẓa, and Umm Tîna.

In the ten tents of the camp near which we halted there was only one man and he was mad, *maǧnûn*. Having heard of another encampment about a kilometer farther on to the northeast, I sent Ḫalîl there to bring us a new guide, because our lame one was no longer familiar with the country. In this second camp there were five men, all of whom came to us with Ḫalîl. I took as guide a young man who answered all my questions accurately. In the night I again suffered with ague.

THE ŠE'ÎB OF ABU ṢAWRA TO RIĞM AL-FÂSED

On Wednesday, June 29, 1910, we started off at 4.10 A. M. (temperature: 15° C) while it was still dark. The guide was to catch up with us. The *še'îb* of Abu Ṣawra is narrow, and we had to go round the camp, frequently knocking against the ropes of the tents and thus disturbing all the dogs, who pursued us a long way. After about twenty minutes the new guide overtook us. The mad old man likewise joined us and kept on shouting that Allâh might make the road smooth for us. Having left the *še'îb* of Abu Ṣawra at 5.30 by way of a rocky ridge, we reached the broad *še'îb* of al-Bêẓa, here covered with a growth of reeds. Here and there could be seen small pools of dark brown water which gave off a very unpleasant smell. At six o'clock we halted on the southwestern slope of these pools, where our camels drank and we took in a supply of water (Fig. 82). From all sides camel riders were coming up to the wells, fully armed to repel the expected attack of the Âjde. The water near al-Bêẓa is sufficient to irrigate large gardens or fields. That the whole surrounding district was once cultivated is proved by the remains of old garden walls and piles of stones on the gentle slopes where vines once grew. These piles of stones are particularly numerous

on the southeastern slope of ad-Dâra, which runs northeast and southwest. Behind ad-Dâra rises the southern peak of Mount Šejbân, known as aš-Širṭ, from near which, to the south, flow the copious springs of al-Lowza and ad-Difla. South of ad-Dâra extends the low ridge of Abu Ḳarnejn,



FIG. 82—The *še'îb* of al-Bêẓa.

upon which are two peaks, and to the southeast of Abu Ḳarnejn appears the broad elevation of al-Muḫteleṣ.

Upon leaving the water of al-Bêẓa at 6.23 we rode in a southerly direction through a plain covered with coarse gravel. Our guide told us that he had been on his way to al-Kerak for grain and he complained that the railway causes very high prices throughout the country. Before the railway was built the grain at al-Kerak and al-Belḳa' was much cheaper. Now a camel load (one hundred and fifty kilograms) of barley costs five *meğîdijjât* (about $4.50) at Kerak, and a load of rice at al-Weğh costs fourteen *meğîdijjât* and a half (about $13.05). The rice is bought by the chiefs alone and they give it only to specially honored guests. The rest of the Beni 'Aṭijje are glad if they can sometimes bake a single loaf. If the *semḥ* thrives, they mix the flour made from it with

barley flour. The guide mentioned with delight that in that year the great areas between Ṭubejž and Ḥesma were covered with *semḥ*, so that every family would have a few bags of *semḥ* seed. From 7.30 to 7.50 our camels grazed. On the southwest appeared the cones of Abu Šnân.[47]

At eight o'clock we came upon fourteen small piles of stones, which had been set up as a memorial to the fact that upon this place the chief Ṭwêleʿ al-Ḥoẓri saved fourteen starving warriors. The latter had gone on a raid but had been surrounded and overpowered and were obliged to give up their arms, camels, and all their supplies, including even their clothing, and then had to return home on foot. For eight days they lived on various herbs, but on the ninth they became so weak that they could go no farther. For two nights and one day they remained in the same place, listening to the wild animals howling around them at night and in the daytime watching the birds of prey wheeling over them. Thus they awaited death. At last Allâh had pity on them and sent the chief Ṭwêleʿ, who saved them.

At 8.20, to the east, we perceived the extinct volcanic cone of Ḥebrân and nearer to us the broad ravine of Ğemûm, which joins with the *šeʿîb* of ar-Râšde, which in turn merges into the valley of al-Aḫẓar. On the broad elevation of Umm Birḳa, where we found good pasturage, we remained from 9.05 to 10.50 (temperature: 39° C). Having unloaded the baggage I proceeded with the guide and Tûmân to a cone not far away, whence we drew a sketch of the surrounding district. The ascent was difficult because we had to cross fragments of lava, continually avoiding large basalt boulders.

The table mountain of Umm Birḳa, covered with basalt, is situated on the watershed of the valleys of Ğizel and al-Aḫẓar. On the southeast Umm Birḳa is connected with Mount aṣ-Ṣbâḫ, from which ar-Riğm ex-

[47] Ibn Hišâm, *Sîra* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 975, relates that Diḥja ibn Ḫalîfa of the Kalb tribe was sent by the Prophet Mohammed to the Byzantine Emperor. On his return he was attacked in the valley of Šinâr by al-Hunajd ibn ʿÛṣ of the Ẓulajʿ clan of the Ğuḏâm tribe and robbed of the gifts and various wares which he was bringing from the Emperor.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 325, calls the valley in which Diḥja ibn Ḫalîfa was attacked Šinân and locates it in Syria. At the command of the Prophet, Zejd ibn Ḥâreṯa undertook a punitive expedition against the Ğuḏâm, who had attacked Diḥja. —

The valley of Šinâr or Šinân may be identical with one of the *šeʿibân* surrounding Mount Abu Šnân. From Syria a road led by way of Ajla to al-Medîna around this mountain through the valley of al-Ğizel. Jâḳût's statement that Šinân is situated in Syria is not accurate and is due either to the fact that Diḥja of the Kalb tribe hailed from Syria or that under the Moslems a part of the northern Ḥeğâz was for several centuries politically administered from the town of Ṣoṛar at the southern end of the Dead Sea. Mount Abu Šnân is situated in the former territory of the Ğuḏâm, which extended as far as latitude 27° 20′ N., thus tallying with the statement of Ibn Hišâm that the valley of Šinâr belonged to the Ğuḏâm tribe.

tends eastward. Still farther to the east rise the volcanic cones of Dabba, Mlejsa, Ḥebrân, as-Shâm, Neẓûḥ, Abu Marâdîf, and as-Sbâwi. South of the latter appear the cones of ar-Rḥajje, with the pyramid of Nâjef and the volcanoes of Ferdân and Rî' still farther south; southeast of Ferdân and Rî' is the table mountain of Ḥaẓma with the spring 'Ajn Lâla on its western slope, and south of Lâla the hill of aṭ-Ṭlâḥ, with, to the north-



FIG. 83—The *še'îb* of an-Nežîb.

west, the volcano of 'Omejrîs and the broad ridge of Semne.[48] Upon Semne is situated the cupola of 'Ačba.

To the south of Semne extends the black volcanic upland of 'Atķa, with which are connected the ridges of Ķtê'at Dijâbe, al-Mšaķķar, and Swejd an-Niswân. Looking westward we saw the upland of as-Sowṭ, covered with lava, and to the southwest aẓ-Ẓelfe, from which the passes Naķb Eb'ejd and Naķb aẓ-Ẓarba lead to at-Tihama.

Proceeding through the *še'îb* of an-Nežîb (Fig. 83) to the southeast, at 11.32 we crossed several beaten tracks leading to the well of al-Mšejjîd. The region becomes gradually more mountainous. At 12.35 we had on our right the high hillocks of aẓ-Ẓelfe, on our left the broad eminence of aṣ-Ṣbâḥ with the well Bîr Rẓêḥân at its southwestern foot. At 1.45 we perceived before us the high, red wall Ķaṭ'at al-'Eğejbi, behind it the broad gap formed by the *še'îb* of an-Nežîb, and on the southern horizon the lofty mountains of al-Wited and al-Ğawla. The *še'îb* of an-Nežîb, which contains numerous *ṭalḥ* trees, is stony and is enclosed by high rocky walls. Leading our camels, we descended into the dry watercourse at a point where it is joined by the *še'îb* of al-Mšejjîd, which descends from the northwest. From 3.10 to 5.15 the camels grazed by the rain water wells Ṯemâjel an-Nežîb (temperature: 34.8° C) (Fig. 84). At 5.30 we reached the *še'îb* of aṭ-Ṭwejrijje, which

[48] Jâķût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 146, gives the name of Sumna to the water near the valley of al-Ķura' between al-Medîna and Syria. — As the vicinity of the Semne ridge contains several sources, we might identify one of them as the water of Sumna mentioned by Jâķût, all the more so because the valley of al-Ğizel is connected with the valley of al-Ķura', and the road from al-Medîna to Syria leads across the foot of the western spur of as-Semne.

contains six wells each about two meters deep, with good water (Fig. 85) and known as Bjêrât Dabbâṛât. At six o'clock we had in front of us the broad ridge of ʿAṭḳa, enclosing on the southeast the low elevations Matent al-Merw and Matent al-Fle', said to have been the camping place of the Beni Helâl on their march from south to north. At seven we saw on the right a high pile of stones, Riğm al-Fâsed, and behind it the rocky slope of Ḳaṭʿat al-ʿEğejbi, with Ḳṭêʿat Dijâbe to the south. On the southern foot of Ḳaṭʿat al-ʿEğejbi is the spring of al-ʿAḳejrbe at the head of the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥallâṣ, which merges into the broad *šeʿîb* of al-Farrâʿ. At 7.25 we encamped. The night was warm and quite peaceful.

RIĞM AL-FÂSED TO WÂDI AL-ĞIZEL; ATTACKED BY THE BELI

On Thursday, June 30, 1910, we started off at 4.17 A. M. To the east yawned the gap made by the deep *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥžejb, with low, red crags in front and high, rocky walls behind. Before us in the *šeʿîb* of an-Nežîb we saw innumerable red crags enclosed by steep, basalt slopes. At 5.10 we had on our left the *šeʿîb* of as-Snânijje, on the right Rafwân, and farther to the left Ammu-l-Ğejš. The *šeʿîb* of an-Nežîb grows steadily narrower, and the dry channel winds between the isolated knolls and cones of Ḳṭêʿat Dijâbe, which recall the formations of the region of Ḥesma. At 7.15 on our right we saw the red mountain of Ḥašm Limme, with, to the south, the blood-red isolated cupolas of al-Beẓîʿ; between the two runs the broad valley of al-Farrâʿa. This valley begins near Naḳb aẓ-Ẓarba and extends eastward; it is joined on the north by the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḥallâṣ, Râtje, and al-Ṛâjbe, the last-named being connected with aṣ-Ṣulba; and on the south by ʿOnejbeč, Ḥawra, Eržên, aṭ-Ṭwejje, and al-Ždejje. At its junction with an-Nežîb it forms the valley of al-Ğizel.

To the west appeared the peaks of Nuṛejjer and Naṛar in the mountain range of aṣ-Ṣâneʿ; to the southeast of them Abu Ṭîne, al-Wited, the three peaks of Mount Ğawla, and a butte situated on the ridge of al-Maḥâẓa, with, still farther to the southeast, the furrowed mountain of al-ʿEšš, Ammu Rumejs with its broad saddles, and the pointed as-Saʿad.

At 7.25 we reached the summit of the slope of al-Msejlke, where we remained until 9.20 in order to draw a sketch map



FIG. 84



FIG. 85

FIG. 84—Temâjel (rain wells of) an-Nežîb.
FIG. 85—The *še'îb* of aṭ-Ṭwejrijje.

of the surrounding neighborhood (temperature: 34° C). At 9.50, at the place where the *šeʿibân* of al-Mṛallân and al-Ṛoṣon approach the *šeʿîb* of an-Nežîb, we entered a low-lying country through which the *šeʿîb* of al-Farrâʿa makes its way.

The united *šeʿibân* of al-Farrâʿa and an-Nežîb, as has already been stated, form Wâdi al-Ğizel. The bed of the latter is in places as much as one kilometer broad, covered with coarse gravel, but nevertheless showing vegetation. At 11.30 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Ṛubaṭa, which comes from the east, and at 12.05 had on our right the *šeʿîb* of Ẓrejs, which forms a fairly broad plain covered with sand drifts.

In the plain of Ẓrejs we saw the first shepherd of the Beli tribe. He rode up to us at a gallop on his camel and brandished his rifle. Our guide rode off towards him, not wanting him to meet us, for the guide was afraid that if the shepherd discovered we were foreigners he might incite his friends to rob and even kill us. We were in the territory of the Beli and we had no Belâwi as a guide and protector. The clans of al-Mwâhîb, as-Sḥama', and al-Frêʿât, encamping in the valley of al-Ğizel and the volcanic regions of ar-Rḥa' and al-ʿAwêreẓ, are notorious for their rapacity and treachery. Our guide told us that they respect neither the right of hospitality nor the right of refuge but are continually waging war among themselves and obey nobody, not even the head chief Slîmân eben Refâde, who dwells at al-Weğh. Our plan was to endeavor unobserved to reach the tent of some family or other and, entering the tent, to win over the owner as a guide to the nearest camp. Our guide, an ʿAṭîwi, thought that we should not succeed in doing so and that we should only be attacked by the Beli; but trusting in Allâh we wished at least to make the attempt.

Having learnt from the guide that the Beli were encamped due south, we branched off southward at 12.10 P. M. from the valley of al-Ğizel by the *šeʿîb* of al-Mlêḥa. We proceeded through a gray, parched plain covered in places with fine, black lava gravel. At 1.05 we caught the first sight of the extinct volcano al-ʿEnâz, far away on the eastern horizon. Soon afterwards, at the *šeʿîb* of al-Ğiden, we found the fresh tracks of camels coming from the southeast. Following them we went up the slope of Mount as-Saʿad, rode through a narrow defile, and at a distance of scarcely fifty meters in front of us perceived about twenty small tents. Before the surprised

occupants were aware of it, I ordered my companions to urge their camels to kneel down in front of the largest tent, the one which was nearest to us. I greeted its owner, he returned my greeting, and I was able to enter his tent. If he had not returned my greeting, not even his tent would have protected us. Seating myself in the tent, I saw about a meter in front of me a wooden dish filled with water. I could easily have reached it and drunk from it, but I wanted the owner, who was silently sitting beside me, to give me a fresh proof that he was well-disposed toward me. I therefore asked: "Wilt thou not give water to the thirsty?" The owner handed me the dish without saying a word, and I drank from it. He still held his peace, and the assembled men watched us in an inquisitive and hostile manner. Wishing to win them over, I again asked: "Hast thou no pots for boiling coffee?" "By Allâh, I have," said the owner joyfully, and the others regarded us more pleasantly. They brought the pots, kindled a small fire, Šerîf gave them coffee beans, and a kinsman of the owner set about preparing the coffee. In the meanwhile I questioned the owner about various matters, and he replied briefly. A young man then entered the tent, looked at the gendarme Ḫalîl, and exclaimed: "This is that dog of a Government servant who knocked me about at al-Muʿaẓẓam." Ḫalîl vowed that it was not true and that neither by day or night had he seen the station of al-Muʿaẓẓam, and he asked his accuser to produce eyewitnesses. But those present were more inclined to believe the young man, and the danger which threatened us was increasing. The owner then poured about twenty drops of freshly boiled coffee for me into his coffee cup, and his kinsman poured out some for the rest. The quarrel between the young man and Ḫalîl ceased for a while. Having drunk the coffee, I pointed to my tongue, saying: "Behold, thy salt is resting on my tongue"; that is to say: "I have become thy guest and ask thee to treat me as is demanded by the rights of hospitality." He asked me what I wanted of him. I demanded that he should accompany me to al-Ḥeğr, as the Bedouins call Medâjen Ṣâleḥ.

"The journey to al-Ḥeğr takes more than three days and a third. It leads through territory belonging to clans with whom we are at war, and I cannot accompany thee as far as al-Ḥeğr," he said.

"Then accompany me to the nearest clan, and Allâh will provide for the rest," I replied.

Wishing to win him over, I promised him a fitting reward and went to my camel. I paid the old guide his wages and dismissed him.

At 3.15 we departed with the new guide, leading our camels. Scarcely had we reached the valley when a war cry resounded behind us. Turning round, I perceived a crowd of savage forms, men and women, running after us with rifles, spears, and bludgeons. On the right there was a smaller encampment, and from this also various people were hurrying against us. After a while we were surrounded. The men and women flung themselves on us like wild beasts.

"You Christians! accursed Christians! we must slay you," they shouted, striking us with the butts of their rifles and attacking our camels with sticks and spears, so that some of the beasts ran away. What followed cannot easily be described, and, even if I were to attempt it, such a description would seem improbable to many and would not do justice to the danger in which we were. They dragged us off to the smaller camp; Rif'at and Tûmân they condemned to death as Christians and threatened to kill them at once. The rest of us were to suffer a similar fate, because the rapacious Beli wished to remove all witnesses of their crime. Surrounded by a pack of infuriated men and women, abused, ridiculed, and even beaten, we did not close an eye all night.

On Friday, July 1, 1910, early in the morning, a large troop of the Shama' clan arrived at our camp and, after an agitated and wordy warfare, compelled our tormentors to deliver us up and dragged us off to their camp, which was pitched by the spring of Abu Râka in the valley of al-Ğizel. Our sufferings continued, but we were helped by the fact that at the very beginning I had cried out that I was traveling to Slîmân eben Refâde, the head chief of all the Beli, that I was journeying therefore before his countenance and under his protection, and that I called upon each one of those present to report to him how the Beli were infringing his protection. Toward noon there rode into the camp at Abu Râka a negro serving under Slîmân eben Refâde; he threatened, if they would not release us, to tell his master how his name had been reviled by our tormentors. The negro took our part because I had gained his favor by a considerable gift. Negotiations went on for a very long time before we won our case. Our photographic appliances were knocked about, the plants

were crushed, and my notebook with various inscriptions disappeared. Finally, at six o'clock in the evening, we were able to leave the camp of the Sḥama', who gave us a young man as a guide. He was to accompany us to the nearest camp of the Beli on the road to al-Ḥeğr.

The ancient tribe of the Beli[49] encamps to the south of the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama. To the east its territory extends as far as the railway station of Dâr al-Ḥamra'. Its chief clans are:

al-Maʿâḳle	al-Wâbṣe
ar-Rmûṯ	al-Mwâhîb
al-Fawâẓle	al-Hrûf
az-Zabbâle	al-Waḥše
as-Sḥama'	al-ʿArâdât

The family of the great chief Eben Refâde is a scion of the clan of al-Maʿâḳle and dwells at the harbor of al-Weğh. The oases of Bada' and Šaṛab belong to the clan of the Wâbṣe.

WÂDI AL-ĞIZEL

At 6.30 P. M. we left the valley of al-Ğizel.[50]

On the east of al-Ğizel the hills of al-Maʿêḳel separate the *še îb* of al-Roṣon from the *šeʿîb* of Ṛubaṭa with the Ṛadîr al-Lâwi. Farther to the east the rocks of al-Ḥṭân and al-ʿAmâra are penetrated by the *šeʿibân* of Ḥalfa and Enḳêʿ, the latter of which contains the springs al-Aʿâl and al-Asfal, and also by the *šeʿîb* of aẓ-Ẓuma'. Below the latter the valley of al-Ğizel is joined on the east by the *šeʿibân* of Enšejfe and al-Ğife, which come down from the slope of aš-Šmejḥṭa near the volcano of an-Neğme and

[49] See Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 3, pp. 50f.

[50] Al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), p. 170, says that the territory of the Beli contains the places Haǧašân, al-Ğazl, as-Suḳja', ar-Ruḥba, Maʿden Farân, as well as the settlements of Šarb and Bada' between the oasis of Tejma and al-Medîna. On the coast the station of Nabk forms the frontier between the Beli and the Ğudâm. —

According to these particulars, an-Nabk, situated in the valley of aš-Šaʿaf, was the first halting place in the Beli territory on the Pilgrim Route from Egypt to al-Medîna. The settlement of Šarb belonged to the Beli tribe, as did also a part of the plain of ar-Raḥaba and the whole of the valley of al-Ğizel, which I identify with the ancient al-Ğazl. In the time of al-Hamdâni the valley of ad-Dâma would then have formed the actual frontier between the Ğudâm, who guarded the halting places of al-ʿWejned, and the Beli, who protected Nabk. This frontier still exists between the Beli and the Ḥwêṭât at-Tihama, and, just as in the time of al-Hamdâni, the valley of al-Ğizel as well as Šarb, Bada', and Suḳja', belong to the Beli. Ar-Ruḥba, or ar-Raḥaba, in the upper part of Wâdi ad-Dâma belongs to both.

Ibn Ḥabîb (al-Bekri, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], p. 789; Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 4, pp. 702f.) locates the place Majâser, which is mentioned by the poet Kuṯejjer, between ar-Ruḥba and Suḳja'-l-Ğazl, not far from the valley of al-Ḳura'.

This Suḳja'-l-Ğazl must be distinguished from the settlement of as-Suḳja' situated near al-Ğuḥfa, to the southwest of al-Medîna. It was in Suḳja'-l-Ğazl, according to Jâḳût, that the singer Ṭwejs died, but according to Abu-l-Faraǧ (*Aġâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 2, p. 172), he died under Caliph al-Walîd ibn ʿAbdalmalek at as-Swejda, two night halts from al-Medîna on the road to Syria. — As the valley of al-Ğizel joins the valley of al-Ḳura', the settlement of Suḳja'-l-Ğazl can be included among the settlements in the latter. It seems, moreover, that Suḳja'-l-Ğazl is identical with Suḳja Jazîd, referred to by al-Muḳaddassi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 84.

pass through the plain of Farš Dmeža; lower down al-Ğizel is joined by Amṭar, which descends from the volcano of al-ʿÂṣi; by ar-Raṛâj and ar-Raḫama, near which is situated the volcano of ad-Dâl; and farther south by al-Ḫorb, which flows down from Šihbet ar-Reğêʿ; by at-Tefîhe; ar-Ruṣafa; and al-Aḥarr, all three of which proceed from Šihbet at-Tefîhe and the volcano al-Ašhab; and still farther south by ʿAwêrež; by Ẓâʿ, at the head of which towers the volcano Ḥala'-l-ʿAraf; and finally by Ğajle. On the west al-Ğizel is joined below the rocks of al-ʿAḳâba by the deep *šeʿîb* of Ẓamr; then by al-Bêẓ and al-Awân, the latter containing a settlement of the same name; by Sdîʿ, winding from the precipitous walls of Ḥamṭ at-Tjûs; by as-Sidr; al-Mwejẓîʿ; al-Ḥwejmer; Ammu-ẓ-Ẓbâʿ; al-Ḫonṣera; al-Ḥaṭṭa; Roṛobîn, which rises between as-Sikâra, as-Selʿ, Ğamlûd Ğidel, and al-Mḫarraḳa; farther on by al-Maḫâẓa; Jerde; and the long valley of Neğd, which extends through the lowland bordered by as-Selʿ and al-Mḫaddes on the north and by Šhejb al-Bûm and al-Ğebâla on the south. Between the *šeʿibân* of al-Maḫâẓa and Jerde, near the valley of al-Ğizel, are situated the ruins of the settlement of Balâṭa.[51]

[51] Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 784, calls Reṣâfat al-Ḥeğâz a spring which, according to Abu ʿAbdallâh al-Ğumaḥi, is located not far from an-Neğâl. — The *šeʿibân* of ar-Ruṣafa and Ğajle merge into the valley of al-Ğizel. By the *šeʿîb* of ar-Ruṣafa are the ruins of Balâṭa. As this name also recalls Reṣâfa (the paved place), we may identify it with Reṣâfat al-Ḥeğâz.

CHAPTER VIII

RETURN FROM WÂDI AL-ĞIZEL TO TEBÛK BY WAY OF AL-MUʿAẒẒAM

THROUGH AL-ĞAW INTO THE ḤARRAT AL-ʿAWÊREẒ

On leaving Wâdi al-Ğizel we had on the right the *šeʿîb* of ar-Râṯijje, which comes from the cone of Slejʿ.

Wâdi abu Ḥamâṭa, through which we now rode, is enclosed by high sandstone rocks covered with a stratum of lava. It grows broader towards the east. Its channel is more than thirty meters broad, four meters deep, and covered with a layer of fine sand. On its sides there are numerous *ṭalḥ* trees and *ratam* and *rimṯ* bushes. Our camels were showing signs of great weariness. Mine was limping, and all of the animals had such lacerated soles that they walked very cautiously. I should have liked to go from Abu Râka direct to al-Ḥeğr, but in the volcanic Ḥarrat al-ʿAwêreẓ our camels would certainly have perished. Moreover, I was afraid that one guide would hand us over to another and that new difficulties and fresh extortions would arise in every camp. I therefore intended to proceed through Wâdi abu Ḥamâṭa, which is not covered with lava, and thence to the station of Dâr al-Ḥamra'. Whether we went south or north from there depended on the condition of the camels. As I did not trust the guide, for the time being I said nothing to him about my intention, not knowing whether his fellow tribesmen would attack our encampment during the night. At 7.32 we encamped by the dry channel beyond the *šeʿîb* of Ḫrejmel. We did not light a fire, and nobody ventured to talk aloud. We took the guide, along with Šerîf, into our midst and kept guard over him all night.

On Saturday, July 2, 1910, quite early in the morning, I made an attempt to secure the guide for my plan. Ḫalîl supported me and pointed out to the Belâwi the great reward he would receive if he accompanied us to Dâr al-Ḥamra' and if he did not share it with anybody. The guide understood that he would be rewarded only if he avoided every other

encampment, and he promised to guide us so that we should not encounter the Beli. Having settled the payment which he was to receive for guiding us, he demanded an extra fee for giving the topographical names, threatening that otherwise he would merely guide us and not tell us the names of the various places. On disposing of this matter also to his satisfaction, we started off at 4.30. A M. (temperature: 17° C).

The valley broadens out into a basin enclosed on all sides by low, but steep, slopes, and known as al-Ğaw (the watering place) because it contains many *mšâše*, or rain water wells. The plain is covered with a fairly deep layer of clay in which various plants thrive luxuriantly, and it therefore forms the best winter encampment of the Beli. The guide proudly pointed out to us the abundant withered pasturage through which we were passing and asked whether throughout our journey from Tebûk we had seen so many and such various plants. The annuals were yellowish, while the shrubs were a brilliant green. At 4.45 we observed the *šeʿîb* of Derwa on our left. To the east of it, Wâdi abu Ḥamâṭa is joined by the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šeḳḳ, which contains the well of Maḳran aš-Šeḳḳ. The *mšâš* of az-Zennâdijje lies to the northeast. Derwa starts from the hill of aṭ-Ṭlâḥ and divides the table mountains of al-Mšaḳḳar, Swejd an-Niswân, and al-ʿAmâra on the west from the similar mountain of Tadra on the east. In the upper part of this *šeʿîb* are the rain water wells Mšâš al-Bli. The knoll of Ṭôr Ḥamde overlooks its mid-course from the west. From the east Derwa is joined by the *šeʿîb* of an-Neğîli, which begins under the name of al-Mrejra to the north of Tadra near the wells Ḳulbân Ḥzêr and divides this mountain from al-Kafḥa on the east. Upon the eastern slope of the gray table mountain of Tadra is situated the black volcano Ḥala'-l-Bedr. On the western slope there used to flow a spring now said to have been clogged up by the collapse of a rock. Southwest of Tadra the plain is overlooked by Ṭôr Ḥamde. To the southeast we perceived the hill of Slejʿ and still farther in that direction the volcano of al-ʿÂṣi, in which are the Moṛâjer ʿAbîd Mûsa, "the caves of the servants of Moses." Our guide explained that the servants of Moses sojourned in them when their master was abiding with Allâh. Another sacred spot is situated by the well of al-Ḥzêr. It is called al-Manḥal, and upon it are twelve stones known as al-Maḍbaḥ, where the Beli still offer up sacrifices when they are encamped close by.

Ṯadra and the entire surrounding district is associated with various legends. The volcano of al-Bedr is said once to have vomited fire and stones, destroying many Bedouins and their camels and sheep. Since then the Bedouins have been afraid to ascend this volcano and they drive away their animals, not allowing them to graze upon the slopes or upon the gray ridge of Ṯadra. Beneath the volcano of al-Bedr there was once encamped a Bedouin, "belonging to the men of vision, *ahl as-sirr*," i. e. acquainted with what is a secret to others. This Bedouin had intercourse with heavenly spirits. When his tribe wished to migrate and to seek better territory for their flocks, he dissuaded them, prophesying that they would have to face many contests and obstacles in which very many of them would perish. But his fellow tribesmen would not listen to him. They departed, and the man of vision was left deserted with his daughter Ḥamda near the holy volcano of al-Bedr. He used to sit on the summit of the volcano and his daughter upon its spur, which was named Ṭôr Ḥamde after her. Every day Allâh sent them an eagle, which gave half a loaf to the man of vision and half a loaf to his daughter. This continued for twenty years. Then at last the remnants of his tribe, which had once been so powerful, returned to their original settlements. They found the man of vision and his daughter, acted in accordance with his counsel, and within a short time, with the help of Allâh, they prospered so much that they recovered their lost happiness.

The plain of al-Ğaw forms the frontier between the volcanic territory Ḥarrat ar-Rḥa in the north and Ḥarrat al-ʿAwêreẓ in the south. A significant reminder of the latter volcanic territory, the huge volcano of al-ʿEnâz, was perpetually in sight to the east. South of al-ʿEnâz are situated almost in a straight line the volcanoes of al-Fûr, al-Mabna', Ẓobʿân, Saʿede, Saʿêda, as-Shejb, ar-Rḥajje, al-Ašhab, and al-ʿAraf. From ar-Rḥajje to the northeast descends the *šeʿîb* of al-Mnaḳḳa; from as-Shejb, the short *šeʿîb* of Ṯarbe, with the water of the same name, and al-Ḥawẓa; from Saʿêda, the *šeʿîb* of ʿAlija; while from Ẓobʿân descends al-Mizže. To the east of al-ʿEnâz can be seen the volcanoes of Ğwejfle, Ḥala' Bedr, and al-Ḥrejz, near which is the water of Ṛâreb. Ascending gradually toward the northeast we perceived at 7.10 A. M. on our right the hills of al-ʿOmejjed; to the south of them, aš-

Šmejḥṭa; and to the east, the volcano of Abu Ḥašâreb. Below al-ʿOmejjed the *šeʿibân* of Ḫmejjeṭ and aṭ-Ṭarfâje merge.

At 7.50 we reached a narrow ravine, the rocky bed of which was worn away in places to a depth of one hundred meters, thus forming natural reservoirs. The northernmost of these reservoirs, surrounded by smooth and almost vertical walls, is known as al-Mutawwaḥa, and here we halted at eight o'clock. Camels cannot descend to it, and therefore the water remains fresh and pure throughout the year. We drove the camels farther to the south to another cavity, full of water, which, however, had been polluted with refuse. When the animals had drunk, three of them refused to graze. They knelt down, and neither kindness nor severity would induce them to get up. They were already quite emaciated, and our guide asserted that they had no marrow in their bones.

At 10.30 we left al-Mutawwaḥa, passing through the sandy *šeʿîb* of Ḫmejjeṭ between the rise of al-Kafḥa and the volcanic spurs of aṣ-Ṣḳûr and Ṛubejje. To the northeast we saw the volcanoes of Tidneḳ, Ğamlûd, and Ḥala' Ḫmejjeṭ; at 12.10 P. M. we crossed the *šeʿîb* of Abu Slejlât and drew near to a lava flow which comes from the volcano of Ḥawmal. This volcano towers in complete isolation in the plain. The well-formed crater crumbles away toward the west. Northeast of it is the smaller volcano of Ḫwejmel. At 12.18 to the northwest of Ḥawmal we caught sight of Rîʿ and Ferdân, as well as the hill of Nâjef.

At 12.36 the volcano of al-Bedr presented a fine view, rising as it does above the gray table mountain of Ṯadra, which stands in the midst of the fertile, pale green basin of al-Ğaw. Behind it, far away to the west, rise red and white slopes. I wanted to return to it in order to view the surrounding district, especially the sacred place of al-Manḥal, where various signs and inscriptions are said to be carved on sacrificial boulders. But our guide would not accompany us there. He reminded me that we might encounter the Beli and that our camels were in need of rest. Šerîf and Ḫalîl likewise persuaded me not to return there, because it was not certain that the Beli might not rob us.

From 1.45 to 3.05 we halted and drew a map of the surrounding district (temperature: 36° C). The camels grazed on the luxuriant vegetation. The guide told us that the basin of al-Ğaw is frequented by the rapacious bands of all the

tribes who wage war with the Beli. In former times the Beli suffered most from the Šammar, under Eben Rašîd, whom they defeated several times in al-Ğaw. But ten years previously Eben Rašîd sent the chief Eben Refâde a valuable sword and ten camels. Eben Refâde received the sword and had the ten camels loaded with twenty bags of the best rice and sent them back to Eben Rašîd. Since that time there has been peace between the Šammar and the Beli. The Pilgrim Road forms the border between the two. When I asked the guide whether he knew of any ruins in the territory of the Beli, he said that to the south of the road leading from al-'Ela' to al-Weğh he had seen some ruined settlements. North of this road and in the valley of al-Ğizel there are the ruins of at-Tefîhe, Balâṭa, and 'Awêreẓ, the largest of which is Balâṭa. The ruins of Dajdân are situated on the northern edge of the gardens of al-'Ela', and the guide said that the inhabitants of this oasis call them al-Ḫrajba.[52]

[52] According to Gen., 10: 7, Dedan was related to Šeba' (Sheba), for like the latter he was a descendant of Kûš (Kush) through Ra'ama. Gen., 25: 3, makes Dedan also a descendant of Abraham by Keturah and calls him, as well as Šeba', a son of Joḳšan.

From both sources it may be inferred that Dedan maintained close relations with the descendants of Kûš residing in southwestern Arabia as well as with the descendants of Abraham by Ketura, who dwelt in the northwestern corner of Arabia proper. And such was actually the case, for the oasis of al-'Ela', which belonged to the Dedan, is situated in the northwestern corner of Arabia on the important transport route joining the northern country with the fertile southwestern part of the peninsula.

That Dedan was in touch with the Sabaeans is proved by Ezek., 38: 13, where it is stated that Šeba' and Dedan bought spoil from the conquerors. Dedan hence was engaged in trade relations and according to Ezek., 27: 20, sold coverings for saddles to the people of Tyre.

In Is., 21: 13—15, the trade caravans of Dedan are threatened with the same destruction which overtook those of Edom. Isaiah therefore calls upon them to spend the night in the plain, in the wood, and the inhabitants of the land of Têma are to bring water and bread to the thirsty because they are fleeing from the sharpened sword, the stretched bow, and the onslaught of war. — We may interpret this to mean that they are to hide in the thickets formed by the *ṛaṛa'*, *sidr*, *seǰâl*, *ṭalḥ*, and by the bushes growing in certain *še'ibân* near the oasis of Tejma.

A similar threat is repeated by Jer., 25: 23 f., also against the inhabitants of Têma and Bûz and all those with a shaven head, all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the Arabs dwelling in the wilderness. —

Têma and Bûz are two oases to the northeast of the oasis of Dedan (al-'Ela') whose settlers likewise were actively engaged in trade. The inhabitants with a shaven head are the nomads hiring their camels for transport purposes to the settlers in the oases. The kings of Arabia are the chiefs of the separate oases; the kings of the Arabs dwelling in the wilderness are the chiefs of the Bedouins wandering with tents.

Jer., 49: 8, threatens Edom and Têmân with destruction, and therefore the inhabitants of Dedan are told to flee and hide in deep basins.

Edom, and the territory of Têmân in particular, were traversed by the most important trade route from Dedan northwards. The enemy threatening Edom and Têmân could also easily surprise and rob a Dedan trade caravan; for which reason the latter is told to flee and hide itself in the inaccessible basins.

Ezek., 25: 13, likewise repeats that in Edom the people and the animals will be destroyed and that the land will be laid waste from Têmân to Dedan. — Here Têmân forms the northern border of Edom, while Dedan borders on Edom to the south.

The oasis of Dedan with the distant surroundings were subject to the kings of southwestern Arabia, who maintained there a political regent, known as *kebîr*. Many inscriptions preserved at Dedan are dated from the rule of this regent.

It seems that Jâḳût was still acquainted with the ancient name of Dejdan, as it is always found in the Septuagint, for he recounts (*Mu'ǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, p. 639), that ad-Dajdân was once a fair city on the road leading from al-Belḳa' to the Ḫeğâz but that in his time it was ruined.

He also asserts (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 53), that according to old sources Ḳurḥ is the market place of the valley of al-Ḳura'. He records the report that the people of 'Âd, subject to

At 5.10 we saw in the east the two volcanoes of ʿAjr, which have in their midst the water Ğebw ʿAjr; farther on were Ḥlewwât, Arṭa, Abhaḳ, the Amhâr group with four volcanoes, and to the west of them Umm ʿUrf. At 5.35 one of our draft camels knelt down and would not get up again, so that we had to camp. The camels grazed near by, while, with the guide's assistance I drew a sketch map of the territory of ar-Rḥa' and al-ʿAwêreẓ with which he was familiar[53] (temperature: 30° C).

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the Prophet Hûd, were destroyed there. — This report is probably associated with the rock tombs near ancient Dajdân (Dedan; the modern al-Ḫrajba near the oasis of al-ʿEla'). The name Ḳurḥ superseded the old name ad-Dajdân, and even before Jâḳût's time it had been replaced by the name of the neighboring settlement al-ʿEla'.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 709, states that al-ʿEla' is a place belonging to the district of the valley of al-Ḳura', situated between it and Syria. On his expedition to Tebûk the Prophet Mohammed stayed at al-ʿEla', and a mosque was constructed on the spot where he prayed.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 273, defines the position of the settlement of al-ʿEla' much more precisely, saying that it is situated in the district of the valley of al-Ḳura' beyond the region of the Ṯamûd, on the way to al-Medîna, and accordingly to the south of al-Ḥeğr.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (died 1377 A. D.) relates (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, pp. 260f.) that it is less than half a day's journey from al-Ḥeğr to al-ʿEla'. At the time of his visit (at the end of 1326 A.D.) al-ʿEla' was a large and beautiful settlement with palm gardens and well water. The inhabitants kept the peace. In the settlement dwelt Christian traders from Syria, from whom the pilgrims, who spent four days there, bought various wares. Nobody did any harm to these Christian traders.

According to Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 522, the settlement of al-ʿEla' is situated a half day's journey south of the region of the Ṯamûd and therefore the same distance south of al-Ḥeğr, among the mountains, and it has vineyards and flowing water. The stronghold there was restored by Sultan Suleiman. ʿÎsa Pasha, governor of Damascus, fortified this settlement in order to protect its inhabitants against the marauding Arabs, but he increased the tax on each date palm from one *dirhem* to forty, and refused to reduce it.

Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A.H.), p. 80, records that the flourishing settlement of al-ʿEla' is situated nine hours from Medâjen Ṣâleḥ between two mountain ranges. This place also belongs to the region of the Ṯamûd. It is a settlement between mountains and possesses the advantages of flowing water, vineyards, and date palms. In it there is an abundance of sweetish oranges, and sweet and bitter lemons. Watermelons, cucumbers, and several other fruits also thrive there. Many acacias grow as far as Bijâr Râ̂nem. During the rule of Sultan Suleiman Khan a fortress was built at al-ʿEla', where the valley of Mušfeḳ is situated.

[53] I identify the volcanic territory of ar-Rḥa' and al-ʿAwêreẓ with Ḫarrat an-Nâr of the Arabic authors.

Al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), p. 180, says that al-Laṣâf and Ḫarrat an-Nâr belong to the Beni Murra.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 252, following various sources, writes that in Ḫarrat an-Nâr were encamped the Ğudâm, Beli, Balḳejn, and ʿUḏra. Abu-l-Fatḥ Naṣr al-Iskandari mentions that Ḫarrat an-Nâr extends between the valley of al-Ḳura' and Tejma and that it belonged to the territory of the Ḳaṭafân. At the time of Jâḳût the ʿAneze were already encamped in Ḫarrat an-Nâr, which is several days' march long. Borax was obtained there. —

Naṣr, who died in 1164 or 1165 A.D., locates Ḫarrat an-Nâr between the valley of al-Ḳura' in the south and Tejma in the north. The center of the valley of al-Ḳura' was only a very few kilometers to the south of al-ʿEla', for this oasis, under the name of Ḳurḥ, formed its headquarters; the whole of the modern Ḫarrat al-ʿAwêreẓ and Ḫarrat ar-Rḥa' belonged to the volcanic territory of an-Nâr. Naṣr probably derived his information about the tribes from older sources, for the Ḳaṭafân had already migrated from Ḫarrat an-Nâr to the southeast in the seventh and eighth centuries. Only their clans, the Beni Murra and the Beni Fezâra, were encamped in the northeastern part of Ḫarrat an-Nâr. In the southwestern part dwelt the Beli, in the southeastern the Beni ʿUḏra, in the northwestern the Ğudâm, and to the northern parts the Balḳejn perhaps sometimes paid visits. At the time of Jâḳût — that is at the beginning of the thirteenth century — the Beni ʿUḏra were driven by the ʿAneze from the southeastern part of Ḫarrat an-Nâr. In this Ḫarrat an-Nâr some volcanoes were still active in the eighth century, as is shown by the poet ʿAntar, who refers to the smoke arising from the volcanic crater which was visible from the region of Ḫesma'.

Abu-l-Feda', *Muḫtaṣar* (Adler), Vol. 4, p. 550, mentions that in 1256 or 1257 A.D. there was a volcanic eruption in the territory of al-Medîna and at night its flames were visible a great distance off.

In the evening my camel got lost. We all searched for it, but in the darkness of the night its track could not be found. As there are numerous *fahad* and *nimr* in the volcanic region and the camel was exhausted, I was afraid that it might have become their prey, and I therefore listened to every sound. But I heard nothing unusual. Shortly before midnight a dark moving shape appeared to the east; it drew near and turned out to be the camel coming back to us.

THROUGH ḤARRAT AL-ʿAWÊREẒ TO THE RAILWAY

On Sunday, July 3, 1910, we let the camels out to graze before three o'clock in the morning. The animal belonging to our guide strayed away somewhere, so that it was 4.15 before we could start (temperature: 17.5° C). The dark red gravel lacerated the soles of our poor beasts. At 4.40 the region opened out on all sides. In the north appeared the volcano of al-Ḥaẓra, to the northwest of it al-Ḥaṣnawên; on the eastern horizon rose the sharp peak of ad-Dabbe, near which the *šeʿîb* of Ḥaṣât al-Ḳanîṣ begins; nearer to us was the huge volcano of Bâḳûr, with the smaller volcano of al-Mṭawwaḳ to the northwest of it. On the right hand, to the south, we observed the two almost circular volcanoes of ʿAjr, between which is the rain water well Ğebw ʿAjr; and to the north of them the volcano of Umm Arṭa, near which begins the *šeʿîb* of the same name.

The road which we had followed hitherto led in a north-easterly direction to the station of al-Muʿaẓẓam, and, as we wished to reach the station of Dâr al-Ḥamra', we had to branch off eastward on rocky ground. The ground consists of hard sandstone, which the sun has baked to a dark brown color, and forms innumerable small basin-like hollows with sharp edges. At 6.30 we had to the north-northeast the low, rugged mountain range of Ḥlejlât abu Ṭarfa', and we arrived at the uneven rocky tract between the volcanoes of al-Ḫmâm[54] and Umm al-Ğerâd.

To the southeast of Umm al-Ğerâd are grouped the reddish hillocks of Abraḳ al-ʿAšâr. To the east are the hills of ʿAfejž al-Asmar and aṣ-Ṣwêwîne, forming the watershed between

[54] According to Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 469, Ḫimân is the name of the mountains in the territory of the Ḳuḍâʿa on the road to Syria. — Our extinct volcanoes of Ḫmâm (*n* is frequently interchanged with *m* at the beginning and end of words) are situated by the road Darb al-Bakra leading from Wâdi al-Ḳura' through the former territory of the Ḳuḍâʿa. We may therefore identify them with the Ḫimân mountains mentioned by Jâḳût

Abu Ğnêb, which runs almost due north, and al-Ğûba which extends to the south. To the west aṣ-Ṣwêwîne adjoins the plain of Mafâreš ar-Ruzz, through which leads the Pilgrim Route as well as the railway line, and in which is also situated the station of Dâr al-Ḥamra'.[55]

To the east of Dâr al-Ḥamra' appear the limestone hills Ṛarâmîl ar-Rwala, and to the north rise the slopes of Ḫibt aṭ-Ṯemâṭîl, al-'Afêž, and Abu Ḥlejje. The *še'îb* of Abu Ğnêb, beginning near aṣ-Ṣwêwîne, is joined on the east by the united *še'ibân* of al-Ḥemmâẓa, Umm Arṭa, and al-Msêfre; farther on by al-Miṣwal; and near the station of al-Mu'aẓẓam by the *še'îb* of al-Meḳbel, which contains the water of al-'Aḳejla. On the west, not far from the station of Ḫašm Ṣana', the *še'îb* of al-Ğenûd merges with Abu Ğnêb. To the south of the table-shaped hills of aṣ-Ṣwêwîne appears the crag of Šoḳb al-'Ağûz, through which the railway line passes. Below it, on the southeastern side of the *še'îb* of al-Ğûba, is the water of al-Aḳra'.[56]

Along the eastern side of the *še'îb* of al-Ğûba extends southward the oblong Ḫašm Marṯûm, near which, to the east, rise the flat hills of al-'Arejf and Abu Ṭâḳa. Above the latter towers the steep crest of as-Siċċ with the well of the same name on the northwestern slope. To the south of these hills extends the basin of Ḳâ' ab-al-'Aẓâm enclosed on the east by the rugged hills of al-Ğanaḥ, on the south by the elevation of Ḥlewijjet an-Nâḳa,[57] and on the west by the volcanic region of al-Ešêhed.

Ḥlewijjet an-Nâḳa is connected in the south with the hills of al-Mzelže, Umm Ğerfân, Abu Ḥamâṭa, Eṭleb, and al-Ḥwâra, which enclose the basin Ḫôr al-Ḥamâr. From this basin there rises to the west the mesa of az-Ziblijjât, upon which are grouped the volcanoes of al-Ešêhed. The former town of al-Ḥeğr, now only a four-cornered stronghold and station, is situated in the lower half of the basin Ḫôr al-Ḥamâr, where good water may be obtained on all sides by digging to a depth of eight or ten meters. In some of the hollows the water rises nearly to the surface, but it is brackish and hence not good. There are said to be very many old wells there, but they are entirely or partly clogged up. If they were cleaned out, the vicinity of the stronghold could be transformed into a large oasis, for the water never dries up there.

[55] Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A.H.), pp. 76f., asserts that this station is called not only Dâr al-Ḥamra' but also Mafâreš ar-Ruzz (not Maṛâriš az-Zîr as printed), Aḳra' (not Aḳraḥ as printed), Šiḳḳ al-'Ağûz, Maḳbara, and Dâr al-Ḥağar. It is eighteen hours distant from al-Mu'aẓẓam. In the year 1167 A.H. (1753—1754 A.D.) Othman Pasha built a stronghold there and in the following year a reservoir. The pilgrims collect small stones there, which they place in signet rings. The surrounding neighborhood is rocky. Beyond this station the pilgrims bound south turn off to the east and descend through a ravine into a sandy plain, on the right of which are situated the hills of aṭ-Ṭâf, an-Nuṭṭâḳ, Mazḥam, Ṣanwa', and Mabrak an-Nâḳa. It was at Mabrak an-Nâḳa that the camel of the Prophet Ṣâleḥ appeared. It came forth from the rock of Kâṭibe and disappeared in the crag of an isolated table-shaped hill (ḳâra). The pilgrims ride around this hill as rapidly as possible amid shouting, uproar, and the firing of pistols, in order that their camels may not hear the voice of the Prophet's camel, for, if they hear it, they sink down on their knees and cannot get up again.

[56] Ḥağği Ḫalfa, *Ğihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 521, writes that Mafâreš ar-Ruzz (thus, instead of the printed Maṛâriš az-Zîr) is also called Aḳra' and lies a half day's journey from al-Ḥeğr near Ğebel aṭ-Ṭâḳ, where Ṣâleḥ's camel was slain at al-Mazḥam. — Ğebel aṭ-Ṭâḳ is the modern Abu Ṭâḳa.

[57] Al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 466, states that in the territory of the Ṯamûd is to be seen the isolated table-shaped hill of Kebâba, referred to in the narrative concerning the camel of the Prophet Ṣâleḥ. — This is probably the modern Ḥlewijjet an-Nâḳa.

The railway line and the Pilgrim Route lead through the *še'îb* of al-Muṣâb from the crag Šoḳb al-'Ağûz and the station of al-Muṭalla' along the western slope of Ḫašm Marṭûm, where the station of Bwêžre is situated in the basin of al-Ğûba. Below it on the west the *še'îb* is joined by the double *še'îb* of aṣ-Ṣadr and as-Srajjed and a little farther on by the *še'îb* of al-Ḥawẓa, which begins under the name of al-Mizže near the volcano of Ẓob'ân and is joined on the right by the *še'ibân* of 'Alija and al-Mnaḳḳa.

At eight o'clock we crossed the large road, Darb al-Bakra — this being the name of the southern part of the road, Darb al-Mšejṭijje, which connects Syria with al-Medîna. The Bedouins prefer to take this route rather than the Pilgrim Road. It leads from the fountain of al-Mṛâṭijje to the waters of ad-Dimež, Ğerṭûma, al-Ṛẓej, al-Ḫarîm, Ṛadîr al-Ḥṣân, al-'Ešže, and farther to the southeast. After a while, on the dark red gravel, we observed pink blood stains, a mournful sign that the soles of our camels were already lacerated and bleeding. The camel bearing the water bags was bleeding from both hind feet and my camel from its left forefoot. If the animal lost a drop of blood at every step, how long would it hold out on this journey? We could not reach al-Ḥeğr in less than three days, but neither in al-Ḥeğr nor in the surrounding district were any Bedouins encamped, from whom we could have bought fresh animals, and it was not possible to undertake a new journey with our exhausted and wounded camels. We had not intended to work at Medâjen Ṣâleḥ (al-Ḥeğr), our wish being to proceed westward; and at Medâjen Ṣâleḥ there were Turkish gendarmes, whom I should have preferred to avoid. They had certainly been informed of the way in which we had been treated by the *mudîr* at Tebûk and possibly the *mudîr* had received replies to his telegraphic enquiries, replies which were not favorable to us. Our guide told me that he could not go with us along the railway except as far as the station of Dâr al-Ḥamra', which belonged half to the Fuḳara' and half to the Beli; al-Ḥeğr belonged only to the Fuḳara', and the Fuḳara' were the enemies of his clan. I doubted whether we should find a reliable guide at Dâr al-Ḥamra', because both the Fuḳara' and the Âjde had departed from there for fear of the attacks of Eben Rašîd.

At nine o'clock our camels knelt down; when we forcibly urged them to get up and led them to good pasturage, they knelt down again. The heat was unbearable and the air full

of dense sandy clouds. Rif'at and Tûmân complained that their eyes were hurting them and that they were physically worn out. Accordingly I decided that we would not go either to al-Ḥeğr or to Dâr al-Ḥamra' but turn direct to the station of al-Mu'aẓẓam. I hoped that somewhere to the north of this station I should find a camp of the Âjde or the Fuḳara', where we could exchange our camels, and that after recuperating we could proceed either to the south or to the east. My companions were in full accord with this plan.

Mounting a high rock not far away, we drew a sketch map of the surrounding district.

To the southeast could be seen the black hills of Abraḳ al-'Ašâr, partly covered with sand. From them descend the *še'ibân* of aṣ-Ṣadr and as-Srajjed in a southeasterly direction. To the east loomed up the black rocks of 'Afejž al-Asmar, penetrated by the *še'îb* of al-Ğenûd, which joins the *še'îb* of Abu Ğnêb to the south of the station of Ḫašm Ṣana'. To the northeast, through a black undulating plain, extended the gray strip of the *še'îb* of al-'Ešš, to the north the long *še'îb* of al-Ḥâka. This *še'îb* begins by Mount Nâjef, under the name of Mdejsîs, and on the right is joined by the *še'îb* of al-Ḥmejjeṭe, descending from the volcano of al-Ḥmâm; on the left by al-Mğejnîn, al-Ḥaṣnawên, and al-Muṭawwaḳ. Al-Ḥâka also merges into the *še'îb* of Abu Ğnêb.[58]

From the elevation of ar-Rḥajje descends the *še'îb* of al-Mâlḥa, which, after joining the *še'ibân* of Ṛadîr al-Ḥṣân, Rwêšde, and al-Lwij, merges into the *še'îb* of Ammu Wêzrât between Ḥala' umm 'Awâder and Dir'. The latter *še'îb* starts from the volcanoes of al-Ḥaṣnawên and Ḥlej as-Semeḥ and forms the *še'îb* of ad-Dir', which terminates by the station of al-Mu'aẓẓam. To the east and northeast appeared the gray *še'îb* of al-Mṣaḥḥ which is traversed by the Pilgrim Road and the railway. Behind it, to the east, rise gray, table-shaped hills, in which can be clearly seen the gap formed by the *še'îb* of al-Ḥammâẓa, which on the right is joined by the *še'ibân* of Umm Arṭa and al-Msêfre and merges into the *še'îb* of Abu Ğnêb.

At 11.10 we turned off to the north (temperature: 33.5° C). After a short time we observed far away on the horizon Mount al-Farwal and nearer to us Ḫašm Ḫibt aṭ-Ṭemâṭîl with the railway station of Ḫašm Ṣana'. At first we rode through a bare plain covered with coarse gravel. After 12.45 we reached deep, narrow ravines, round which it became necessary to make a detour. The sides of the ravines are twenty to one hundred meters high and so steep that it is impossible to crawl along them. The beds are covered with

[58] Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 187, refers to the valley of al-Ḥâka in the territory of the Beni 'Uḏra and recalls the battle which once raged there. — As our *še'îb* of al-Ḥâka traverses the former territory of the Beni 'Uḏra, we may identify it with the valley of al-Ḥâka mentioned by Jâḳût.

large, rugged boulders, often ten to twenty meters high. After abundant cloud-bursts, foaming cataracts are formed in these beds. Nowhere did we see any water, nor any vegetation except *ṭalḥ* trees and *rimṭ* bushes.

At 1.30 we had the volcano of Bâḳûr on our left, and at 1.52 to the northeast we saw the black volcano of Sâlûm standing out conspicuously from its gray surroundings; to the west of it were the elevations of Abu Ṭôr (or Ṭowr) and to the northwest the eminence of ar-Rmêmijje. With difficulty we drove the camels forward, while we ourselves all went on foot. Finally, at 3.46, we entered the *śeʿîḇ* of al-ʿEšš, the bed of which is covered with sand, so that our camels were able to get along more easily. In the sand we observed numerous traces of rodents, *wabrân*, hiding on the rocky slopes. We should have liked to have halted, but nowhere could we find any pasturage. At last, at 4.40 (temperature: 36° C), we reached some blossoming *ṭalḥ* trees, on the blossoms and shoots of which our hungry animals grazed until 6.52.

The *śeʿîb* of al-ʿEšš gradually opens out into a gray, undulating plain connected with the lowland of al-Mṣahḥ through which wind the railway and the Pilgrim Road.

At 7.08 we rode around some ruined huts once inhabited by workmen engaged upon the construction of the railway. Then, on the right, could be seen the flat elevation Matent al-Habwa extending from south to north. On the eastern spur of the elevations of Ḥlejlât abu Ṭarfa we perceived the glow of a small fire. As this region is continually frequented by marauding bands and we had heard of the warlike expedition of the Âjde and Fuḳara', we were afraid that we might be attacked. With loaded rifles we hastened northward. The animals, who had scarcely crawled during the night, suddenly started off at a swift and regular trot. Listening carefully to every movement and sound, we rode round the fire, reached the railway, and encamped in a dense *ṭalḥ* thicket in the channel of al-Ḥâka at 8.50. Throughout all this time the camels made no noise whatever. Amid deep silence we unloaded our baggage, arranged the beasts in a circle, lay down around them, and kept watch all night, not knowing whether we had been observed.

THE ŠEʿÎB OF AL-ḤÂKA TO AL-ḤAMÎS

On Monday, July 4, 1910, at 3.53 A. M., we left the channel of al-Ḥâka — here crossed by the railway on an embankment of no great height although it is provided with eighty culverts. To the southwest rose the isolated hill Ṭwejjel Ṣaʿîd, near which is the well of the same name. On the east extend the low hills of al-Ṛwêrât, from which proceeds the *šeʿîb* of al-Miṣwal. This *šeʿîb* merges into the short *šeʿîb* of al-Meḳbel by the station of al-Muʿaẓẓam and joins the *šeʿîb* of Abu Ḫlejje. It thus forms a broad valley covered with coarse gravel, gradually narrowing towards the north. On the east it is bordered by the elevation of al-Maradd, on the west by the rocky slope of aš-Šrejf, so that the *šeʿîb* is only about four hundred meters broad. Before it narrows in this way, it is joined by the broad *šeʿîb* of ad-Dirʿ. On the southeastern spur of aš-Šrejf is a large rain water pond, or *ḫabraʾ*, the north and east sides of which are enclosed by a long, artificial, stone wall, in order that more water may be held; but this wall is now broken down in places. The whole pond is fringed by a broad strip of luxuriant vegetation. On its northwestern edge and on the southwestern foot of aš-Šrejf stands the fortress of al-Muʿaẓẓam, in which three gendarmes reside. At every corner the fortress has circular projecting towers connected with the rectangular wall only at the angles. Around the courtyard are constructed stables, storerooms, and dwellings, and in the center a well is hollowed out. A few paces farther to the north there is a tiny house belonging at the time of my visit to the manager of the Royal Telegraph Office. Alongside the railway there were two telegraph lines, one being royal property, the other belonging to the railway administration.[59]

The railway station of al-Muʿaẓẓam is situated to the east of the rain pond at the foot of al-Maradd. In front of the railway station there is a large well, a reservoir, and

[59] Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 523, writes that al-Malek al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿÎsa had a reservoir for rain water built at this place known as Birket al-Muʿaẓẓam.

Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A.H.), p. 76, calls this station Birket al-Muʿaẓẓam or Wâdi al-Asad and says that it is seventeen hours distant from al-Uḫajḍer. During abundant rains there are torrents flowing near it. The reservoir was built in the year 600 A. H. (1203—1204 A. D.) by al-Malek al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿÎsa of the Beni Ajjûb. It is three thousand cubits square, but at the end of the seventeenth century it was broken up. If it contains no rain water, the pilgrims obtain their supplies at al-Uḫajḍer. The stronghold of Birket al-Muʿaẓẓam is called Abu Ǧnejb. In the surrounding neighborhood grow many acacias *(ṭalḥ)*.

a small barrack for soldiers, where fifteen men were quartered. Halting at 5.48 in front of the railway station, we wished to water our camels, but the well was locked up, the station master was asleep, and none of the soldiers ventured to go and wake him. The soldiers filled one of our bags from their own water supply, and at 6.10 we left (temperature: 32° C).

Ḫalîl urged me to give the guide only a third of his wages; otherwise, he said, he would drive him away before he received anything. The reason, he stated, was that the Beli had extorted large gifts from us and had ill-treated us and that he would therefore like to avenge himself on one of them. Together with Šerîf he was preparing to knock the guide about, but I would not permit them to harm him in word or deed, and I paid him all his wages. He at once disappeared among the crags to the west, afraid that after our departure the soldiers or the gendarmes would rob him. I should have liked to proceed to some encampment of the Âjde or the Fuḳara', but nobody at al-Muʿaẓẓam knew for certain where they were encamped. I was told that all their clans had gone at first northward but that some had now joined the Mwâhîb and had fled to the volcanic territory west of Medâjen Ṣâleḥ. The Weld Slejmân, with whom I was likewise acquainted, were encamped in the volcanic territory extending to the south of al-Bird.

As our camels were so tired that they could not have endured the journey to the southern camps, I proposed that we should proceed to the north, hoping soon to discover where the clans were encamped who had departed in that direction.

We had not gone one kilometer from al-Muʿaẓẓam, when we were overtaken by a non-commissioned officer of the gendarmes, who handed Ḫalîl a written order to return with me immediately to Tebûk. If I refused to obey or wished to branch off to the right or left of the Pilgrim Road, he was to inform me and my native guide that the Government would no longer protect me and would assume no further responsibility for the safety of my life or property. Things had thus turned out as I had expected. I could go where I liked, but I should have had no protector, and anybody could have robbed or killed me. The marauding tribes encamped along the railway would certainly have made away with us all, if they had found out that the Government was

no longer protecting me; and it was not possible for me to get from Turkish territory to the great tribes of the Weld Slejmân or the Šammar. Accordingly, there was nothing left for us but to make our way to Tebûk.

At 6.55 our camels found a pasture of no great size in the valley of Ummu Rmam, and we remained there until nine o'clock. The valley is covered with a deep layer of sand, in which *ṭalḥ*, *rimṭ*, and *ʿarfeǧ* grow.

On the east Wâdi Ummu Rmam, through which the Pilgrim Route passes, is joined by the ravine of al-Mḳêbel, separated by the ridge of al-Mẓêbʿe from the *šeʿîb* Ammu ʿAwâder. Beyond this *šeʿîb* Wâdi Ummu Rmam is joined by al-Mšâš, Ammu Ẓrûb, Rdêhat aṣ-Ṣfêra, Dbejjeb al-Mša', Sâlûm, Umm Ḥanẓal, al-Mezâjîn, Abu Ṣdêra, al-Mhejr, al-Mohr, ar-Rwêḥa, al-Fâjde, Ammu Ṛẓejje, al-Mhejdi, Ammu Ṭuʿûs, Erdêht ʿAneze, Ammu Kanâtel, and by Umm Ṣafa', which descends from the foot of the al-Ṛazwân slope at the water Ṯemîlt aṭ-Ṭrûš; still farther it is joined by al-Bêẓa and Umm Tîna. On the left near the Pilgrim Road terminate the *šeʿibân* of ar-Radi; Umm Ḥawâjeẓ; Wudej Selîṭ, with al-Muṭallaḳ, near which rises the volcano of aṭ-Ṭorra; al-Muʿaḳḳar, which is joined on the right by the *šeʿibân* of Umm Hašîm and Umm Ḥanẓal, and on the left by al-Ḥabra and Abu Nmâr. Farther down, on the left, end the *šeʿibân* of Wudej al-Ḳahwa; as-Sinfe, near which is situated the hill of al-Ḳdûd; al-Fwâẓle; ʿAğîrt al-Ḥelw; al-Ḥamaṣ, with ar-Radha and Abu Ṭoboḳ; al-Mdejsîs; al-Ḥawwâr; and finally Maḳṣadet al-Ḳaṣja' and Maḳṣadet ad-Dunja'. Al-Ḥawwâr rises as Telʿet aẓ-Ẓîḥ to the north of the hills of Neẓûḥ and is joined on the right by the *šeʿibân* of al-Mzêrîd and Umm Ẓamrân and on the left by Ummu Ṛẓîm, Sbejḥuwât, Ẓaram, and Ammu Rtejmât.

Proceeding through Wâdi Ummu Rman to the northwest, we passed by the two dark hills of al-Ḳaṭawên, between which and the ridge of Ammu-ẓ-Ẓrûb the valley of Ummu Rmam terminates. At 10.02 we again entered a broad valley, known as ar-Rwêḥa, and from eleven to 11.40 the camels grazed here. At 11.50 we reached the end of this valley; it becomes a ravine, its bed being wedged between the steep slopes of Ammu Ẓrûb and Umm Ḥawâjeẓ. We there observed some railway sleepers which had been carried away by the water.

The railway line is very superficially constructed: the banks are almost vertical, so that the stones which are heaped up gradually fall out from under the sleepers and holes are formed everywhere in the embankments. The culverts built in the embankments for letting the rain water flow off from one side to the other are very narrow and low, in consequence of which the sand clogs them up and they continually have

to be cleaned out by the soldiers. If a rainstorm sweeps to the southwest and the foaming water rushes down, it fills the culverts with a deposit, comes to a standstill, breaks through the embankment, and carries away the sleepers. This had happened the previous winter, and the sleepers were still lying in the river bed. At 12.08 P. M. and again at 12.15 we saw on our right a number of culverts which were completely clogged up with sand.

The valley through which we proceeded is called Ḫanzîra. It is of such a rugged nature that the construction of the railway line there demanded considerable labor. At 12.23 we rode past some ruined culverts, at 12.35 past a bridge whose pillars were entirely covered up with a deposit of stone and sand; at 12.40 we saw a part of the railway embankment in ruins. At one o'clock we arrived at a bridge which had recently been built afresh but had already been damaged again by water. To the right Ḫalîl pointed out two large boulders saying that they were two petrified pigs. Why these wretched animals had been changed into rocky boulders here in the inhospitable desert, neither he nor the shepherd Muṭalleḳ could say, although the latter hailed from Tejma and had often accompanied caravans from al-Muʿaẓẓam to Tebûk.

At 1.08 we passed the small railway station of Maḳaṣṣ al-Asʿad. To the east-northeast of the station in the valley is situated a large boulder known as Ḥaǧar al-Bint. A maiden (*bint al-bejt*) of the Swêfle clan had been compelled by her father to marry an old man. On the eve of the wedding day she had escaped from the tent and had sat down on this boulder, saying: "Never will I marry that old man full of wrinkles, but you, O stone, shall become my husband." And by a miracle her wish was fulfilled. Her father, who was told of her escape, went to look for her and found her lying on this stone. Noticing some blood, he searched in the sand for the tracks of a man, but found no tracks except those of his daughter. So awed was he by this portent that he did not compel his daughter to return to the old man's tent but allowed her to marry the man she loved. Since then the girls of the Swêfle, if they have to marry a man whom they do not like, threaten to make a journey to Ḥaǧar al-Bint.

At 1.25 we observed in the railway embankment a washout a few meters in length, another proof of the hasty

construction of the line. To the west, above the low hills, projected the cone of al-Ḳdûd. The valley grew narrower and narrower, and at two o'clock we reached a defile enclosed on both sides by high lava crags. In the dry river bed was the large natural hollow of Luṣṣân. At 2.30 we crossed the *še'îb* of al-Fawâẓle and reached a broad basin covered with sand and a growth of *ṭalḥ* trees, where we rested from 2.38 to 5.03. To the west the *še'îb* is bordered by the dark walls of al-Ḳdûd; to the east by the rocks of Luṣṣân, upon which rests a stratum of lava. At 5.38 the embankment was again blocked up, and at 5.42 we saw that it was constructed only of sand and clay and that it dropped off, so that the sleepers projected freely on both sides. At six o'clock we reached the broad valley of Ğenâjen al-Ḳâẓi, where an Italian railway workman is buried under a *ṭalḥ* tree. Ḥalîl drew my attention to the fact that the *ṭalḥ*, *rimṭ*, and *'awseğ* growing in Ğenâjen al-Ḳâẓi have much larger leaves and needles than those growing elsewhere. He said that they are not *ṭalḥ*, *rimṭ*, and *'awseğ* but in reality plum trees, almond trees, and orange trees; but I saw no difference between the shrubs here and those growing anywhere else.

On our right yawned the *še'ibân* of Abu Ṣdêra and al-Mhejr. Near the *še'îb* of Abu Ṣdêra looms the huge dark hill Burḳa Ṣdêra, half-covered with whitish sand.[60]

At 6.15 to the west of the embankment we saw a large stretch of low-lying land covered with yellow clay, a sign that the culverts were clogged up and that the rain water had formed a pool around the embankment. At 6.26 we passed by the embankment, here constructed only of clay and protected against storms by means of deep trenches. At 6.45 we crossed the elevation of Šrejf aṭ-Ṭa'âm and rode into the valley of al-Ma'w. Before 8.30 we saw in front of us the light of the station of al-Ḥamîs, situated opposite the *še'îb* of al-Ḥamaṣ. The soldiers guarding the various stations of the Ḥeğâz railway are afraid of the Bedouins, and they im-

[60] I identify it with Burḳa Ṣâder, which is referred to by the poet Nâbiġa (*Dîwân*, [Derenbourg], p. 292). The Beni Ḫunn of the Beni 'Uḏra tribe opposed the supremacy of the Ghassanian (Ġassân) tribe. Near al-Ḥeğr they attacked some members of the Ṭajj tribe, to whom the water of Buzâġa belonged. No'mân, the brother of 'Amr, made an expedition against them, and Nâbiġa met him near Burḳa Ṣâder. — No'mân, the brother of 'Amr, was the head chief of the Ġassân tribe about 604 A. D. (see Musil, *Ḳuṣejr 'Amra*, Vol. 1, p. 138). The Beni 'Uḏra were encamped to the south of the modern station of al-Mu'aẓẓam, and it is therefore very probable that No'mân marched with his army along the great transport route and rested in Ğenâjen al-Ḳâẓi, where there was plenty of fuel and in the surrounding neighborhood an abundance of pasture for the camels. The poet an-Nâbiġa may have met him near our hill of Burḳa Ṣdêra.

mediately fire at anybody who comes near them. Apprehensive lest they might begin shooting at us, I therefore halted and sent Ḫalîl on in front. He kept on calling in the Kurdish language for a soldier whom he knew, and, when the latter appeared and he had told him who we were, we were able to ride on. At 8.40 we encamped by the side of the station. The officials and soldiers asked us how we were and invited us to take part in their amusement. They were exhilarated with tea and *ʿaraḳ* brandy and were dancing and singing. Ḫalîl and Šerîf joined them, but the rest of us lay down beside our camels, for we were tired and needed rest.

AL-ḪAMÎS TO ḪŠÊM BIRḲ

On Tuesday, July 5, 1910, we were in our saddles again at 4.02 A. M. At 4.20 we mounted a rise of no great height and ten minutes later were enjoying a beautiful view: in front of us wound the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫawwâr bordered to the north by dark heights; to the northeast appeared the low cones of Brêḳ al-Mḥâmli; to the north the cones of al-Mšêrîf stood out, while in the east hovered the bluish slopes of al-Ṛazwân and al-Edêreʿ. From 5.15 to 6.06 our camels grazed on fresh *arṭa* in the *šeʿîb* of al-Mdejsîs. At 6.38 we crossed the *šeʿibân* of al-Ḫawwâr and Ammu Rtejmât; at 7.16 Maḳṣadet al-Ḳaṣja'; at 7.32 Maḳṣadet ad-Dunja', where we were overtaken by a member of the Ḫuẓara clan of the Beni ʿAṭijje, who had been appointed gendarme at al-Aḫẓar. He rode with us to his post and described the whole of the surrounding district.

At 8.34 we reached the reservoir of the station of al-Aḫẓar. The station is built on the right-hand side of the valley of the same name and is a rectangular stone stronghold without towers. On the north and east are six deep reservoirs, the water for which used to be obtained from a well about ten meters deep and more than two meters broad, hollowed out in the courtyard of the stronghold. The water is now conducted into a large cistern excavated in the rocky southern slope, whence it is conveyed to the railway water tower constructed by the side of the embankment.[61]

[61] According to Ibn Hišâm, *Sîra* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 905, and al-Bekri, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 802, Abu Ruhm Kulṯûm ibn Ḫuṣejn al-Ġifâri accompanied the Prophet Mohammed on his expedition to Tebûk. When during the night they reached al-Aḫḍar, he fell asleep and his camel collided with the camel of the Prophet; whereupon the latter woke him up telling him to mind what he was about.

Having watered our camels, at 9.20 we rode on, because we found no pasture in the neighborhood. About four kilometers to the west, in the river bed of al-Aḫḍar, are several springs, near which it is said that the ruins of small ancient buildings and garden walls may be seen. Having discovered pasture, we allowed the camels to rest from 9.45 to 11.35, while Tûmân and I mounted the western slope and drew a sketch of the surrounding district. On our return we were informed by Šerîf that the camel carrying the water would not graze any more and that it remained kneeling. Two other animals did the same. A gendarme who came to us from al-Aḫḍar explained that they had received orders to search for me and to compel me to return to Tebûk. It was fortunate for us that in consequence of the threatened raid by the Âjde against the Beni ʿAṭijje, none of the latter had recently come to the fortress of al-Aḫḍar or discovered that the gendarmes were to search for me. This news would have spread throughout the camps of the Beni ʿAṭijje, who would certainly have robbed us before we could get away from their territory.

At 11.50 we heard a piercing shout and immediately afterwards the sound of a shot. On the western foot of the

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Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 79, states that al-Aḫḍar is four days' march distant from Tebûk and contains a mosque of the Prophet. — As it is not quite seventy kilometers from Tebûk to al-Aḫḍar, the statement of al-Bekri is not correct.

Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 164, writes that the pilgrims' halting place of al-Aḫḍar is situated near Tebûk in the direction of the valley of al-Ḳura' and that in the mosque there a spot is pointed out upon which the Prophet prayed on his expedition to Tebûk.

According to Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 523, the well and stronghold of al-Uḫaiḍer were constructed at the beginning of the reign of Sultan Suleiman under the supervision of the Syrian Governor Mustapha Pasha, the building having been carried out by Ṭurbân ibn Farrâǧ, the chief of the Syrian al-Ḥâreṭa. There were twenty soldiers from Damascus guarding this important and frequently visited station among the mountains between Damascus and Mecca. It was harassed by the unruly tribes of the Beni Lâm and Beni ʿOḳba. They clogged up the well and emptied the three reservoirs in front of the gateway. It was likewise the custom of the Beni Lâm to barricade with boulders the pass Naḳb al-Uḫaiḍer, not far off.

According to Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A.H.), pp. 75 f., the station of al-Uḫaiḍer is also known as al-Ḥaidar. It is twelve hours distant from Moṛâjer, is one of the Prophet's camps, and contains a mosque. During the reign of Suleiman Khan a stronghold and five reservoirs were built there. In the stronghold is a large well, from which is obtained water with which the reservoirs are filled. The water from this well is so very pleasant to the taste that many pilgrims carry it several halting places farther on. There is a tradition that Job washed in it, during which process the worms fell from his body and were turned to stone, so that it was possible to collect them. The Prophet Ḫiḍr is reputed to have dwelt there. In the stronghold is the grave of Ḥajdar Baba, to which pilgrimages are made. There are twenty Syrian soldiers guarding the fortress, which was built during the reign of the above-mentioned Sultan in 938 A.H. (1531-1532 A. D.) by Ṭurbân ibn Farrâǧ, the Prince of the Arabs al-Ḥâreṭa, at the command of the Syrian Governor Mustapha Pasha and the Sultan already named, because the Beni Lâm rebelled against the soldiers and clogged up the well. Opposite the stronghold rises a tower, and on all four sides there are high mountains. Part of the region is stony, part flat and sandy. The pass Naḳb al-Uḫaiḍer (not ṭakab, as printed) is situated here. The water carriers near it give "sherbet" (lemonade) to the pilgrims. The tribes of the Beni Lâm encamp here and often barricade this pass. The station of al-Uḫaiḍer is situated half-way between Damascus and Mecca the Sublime. In the region from which Birket al-Muʿaẓẓame may be reached, is situated the spot well known as the Gardens of the Ḳâḍi. Beyond the defile of al-Uḫaiḍer there opens out an extensive plain, on which may be seen here and there snow-white sand drifts.

slope we perceived a Turkish soldier, who was aiming at us and shouting at the top of his voice. Soon after that we saw about twenty soldiers who had been detailed to repair the embankment and were resting in the culverts. Disturbed by the shout and the sound of firing, they had seized their arms, posted themselves behind the embankment, and were aiming at us. We halted and sent Šerîf to them. As they saw that he was on foot and without firearms, they allowed him to approach them and he told them who we were and where we were going. We were then able to ride on. At twelve o'clock we had the railway station of al-Aḫẓar on our left hand. On a knoll situated on the eastern slope to the left of the *šeʿîb* of an-Nâḳa we perceived a dummy soldier made of a pole and some tattered clothing. This scarecrow was hidden behind a large pile of stones and was looking toward the south.

At the station of al-Aḫẓar the broad basin terminates, for the valley swings off nearly due north and between the rocks of Brêḳ al-Mḥâmli becomes so narrow that during the time of rain it is impossible to pass through it. The Pilgrim Road therefore leads through the gap an-Nḳejb on to the western upland and then along it farther to the north, while the railway winds through the *šeʿîb*. Both the engineers and the workmen had considerable labor before they succeeded in constructing a railway in these places. The crags consist of small stones, hard and soft, which are cross-bedded in narrow layers. The gap of an-Nḳejb is in places scarcely three meters broad and is enclosed on the right and left by high rocky walls; in it the Bedouins are fond of lying in wait for the caravans, which they rush upon and rob. The Bedouins have also several times damaged the railway embankment and the track. The railway stations here are therefore placed much closer together and are provided with strong garrisons.

At one o'clock to the east we saw the station of al-Muṣṭabṛa, in a district more forlorn and barren than any other I have seen in the Orient. Around the station are nothing but bare rugged rocks, gray or brown parched slopes, and above them a narrow, gray strip of sky. At 1.30 we crossed the *šeʿîb* of al-Worob, which joins with the ravine of al-Muṣṭabṛa and terminates in the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫabbîni. At 2.25 we had a delightful view: on the left to the southwest, immediately before

us, extended the hills of Ẓahr al-Mohr; behind them could be seen many separate mesas, buttes, and cones of the an-Naʿâjem, an-Nimrijjât, an-Naʿâme, and Ğdejdîlât ranges, all of which are overtopped far to the southwest by the mutilated cone of al-Watar and the huge pink range of Šejbân. To the northwest appeared the bare plateaus of Ḫšêm Birḳ and al-Mowreda with steep black slopes covered with sand on the southeastern side. To the east of them and to the north of us we saw Umm Ẓambûḥ and Ḳrenât al-Ṛazâl, a confusion of diverse crags resembling a petrified stormy sea. Behind them to the northwest was an interminable plain bordered on the horizon by the peak of al-Mambar, an indication of the proximity of Tebûk. At 3.08 we reached the station of Ẓahr al-Ḥâğğ, which is constructed in a rocky basin.[62]

From the station of al-Aḫẓar onward we did not find a single plant. We were now able to ride on two of the camels only, as all the rest were bleeding from their feet. Šerîf, Ḫalîl, and Muṭalleḳ, who for two days had gone entirely on foot, were complaining of weariness and wanted to rest, but this was not possible, because there was no pasturage for the camels. At 4.10 we entered the plain of al-Eṯêli, covered with coarse gravel, enclosed to the west by the steep spurs of Ḫšêm Birḳ, al-Mowreda, Ammu Ğuʿejb, ʿAšêra, and extending eastward as far as the slopes of aẓ-Ẓufejjer. At 4.50, in a shallow gully, we found a strip of soil covered with a growth of *naṣi*, on which our camels grazed until 6.52. Our cameleer complained that he was dying of fatigue; he lay down by the fire, and Tûmân and I had to guard the camels while at the same time we drew a sketch of the surrounding district. We could not spend the night at the place where we had prepared our supper, because the smoke and flame of our fire could be seen from afar. At 7.55 we traversed an undulating plain to the railway station of Ḫšêm Birḳ and there we encamped.

[62] Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A. H.), pp. 74 f., calls Ẓahr al-Ḥağğ Moṛâjer al-Ḳalenderijje, ʿAḳabat Ḫajdar, Dâr al-Ṛadîr, and al-Birke and says that it is situated thirteen hours from ʿÂṣi Ḫurma or Tebûk. Othman Pasha set up a stronghold and a reservoir there, but, as there is no spring, water is often conveyed thither under military escort. In the neighborhood there are numerous caves. The hills are black as if covered with coal. At a distance of three hours' journey before the station of al-Uḫajḍer is reached from the north there is a defile through which only two camels can proceed side by side. The soldiers surround this defile and guard it, and the Pasha, the leader of the pilgrims, sits under a sunshade and watches the pilgrims pass by. On the road can be seen small, thin, oval, black and white stones, which the people say are the petrified worms that fell from the body of Job.

ḤŠÊM BIRḴ TO TEBÛK

On Wednesday, July 6, 1910, we started off at 3.17 A. M. and from 4.16 to 5.22 halted in the river bed of al-Ṛẓej, where the camels grazed on *naṣi.* To the northwest in the rays of the rising sun the slopes of the mesa of ʿAšêra glistened before us, red below and white above and capped with lava. Far to the north the horizon was enclosed by the tablelands of Šarôra', while to the east appeared the heights of al-Ṛazwân and al-Lemleme only slightly higher than the elevations to the west. From 7.00 to 7.30 we again rested, because our camels could not proceed. Five animals were bleeding from the feet, the worst of them being the camel carrying our water. At 7.53 we crossed the broad valley of al-Eṭel which was covered with a dense growth of *ṭarfa.* The railway crosses the valley near a station of the same name by means of a bridge that has frequently been broken down and rebuilt. If a considerable quantity of rain were to fall in the vicinity of the mountains of Šejbân and ad-Daḫâḫîr, the water would certainly carry away the whole of this bridge and with it also a great part of the railway line, which was very rapidly constructed in the plain. Beyond the bridge we observed the tracks of about fifty camel riders who had passed that way the previous night. They had ridden from the north and branched off to the south-southeast and were certainly a troop of raiders. We were not very much concerned about them, however. All my companions were complaining of fatigue and fever, but the camels hurried forward as if they knew that rest was awaiting them in Tebûk, near at hand. They were so emaciated that, as Ḫalîl declared, all their bones could be counted.

From 9.55 to 10.53 we rested in the stony *šeʿîb* of al-Ḳrên. None of the camels would graze, but all knelt down and refused to get up again. We all shouted *"al-ḥamdu lillâh!"* when at twelve o'clock we caught sight of the oasis of Tebûk. If we had been obliged to travel for another two days, we should certainly have lost three of the animals. The road led us through a parched plain covered with coarse gravel and in places with sand drifts. At 1.18 P. M. we crossed the *šeʿîb* of abu Nšejfe, which proceeds from the rocks of ʿAšêra. At its head is situated the ancient burial place of Rğûm Šowhar, to the southwest of which stands the ruined fortress Ḳṣejr at-

Tamra, and to the northwest gushes the spring ʿAjn abu ʿAğejğât. At 1.42 we crossed through the *šeʿîb* of Ẓabʿân, at two o'clock we traversed the broad river bed of ʿArejḳên, and at 2.05 we dismounted in front of the quarantine.

AT TEBÛK; THE BENI ʿAṬIJJE

ʿAbdarraḥmân Effendi, the director of the quarantine, greeted us with great joy, for the news had spread at Tebûk that we had been attacked and murdered. In the last two days Tebûk had been surrounded by a marauding band of al-Âjde, numbering more than fifty warriors, and the foot soldiers had been unable to do anything against the mounted attackers. The raiders had stolen the camels belonging to the soldiers, as well as two large flocks of goats and sheep, which had been intended as food for the officials and soldiers at Tebûk. They had driven their booty to the gardens of ar-Râjes, where they had killed and cooked some of the animals. The rest they had then driven away to the southeast before evening on the previous day. If the Bedouins had actually attacked Tebûk, not a single soldier or official would have escaped. The soldiers and officials live a long distance from each other, their homes are neither fenced in nor fortified, and they have no cisterns, so that after two days they would be compelled to surrender by thirst and hunger. And all the tribes, the Beni ʿAṭijje, the Ḥwêṭât, and the Weld ʿAli complain of the Turkish garrisons and curse them.

From Ğwâd, who throughout the period of our journey had remained in the infirmary, I learnt that the *mudîr* as well as Sâlem, the deputy of Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje, had been in a rage when they had discovered that I had departed without their consent. Immediately after my departure an order had arrived from Damascus that I should not be allowed to leave Tebûk except by railway. That is why the *mudîr* had sent two gendarmes and Sâlem three Bedouins to follow us and bring us back. But after two days they had returned reporting that they had been unable to find us, because, they said, we had gone through the defile of al-Ḫrejṭa to the coast.

In the immediate vicinity of Tebûk there was scarcely any pasture for our camels, and they could not graze at a greater distance because they might have been stolen.

Ğwâd explained that the Beni ʿAṭijje were encamped near Bîr al-Msallam on the eastern side of Mount az-Zejte. I very much desired to go to them. In their camp we could have exchanged our worn-out camels for sound animals and could also have made a more thorough topographical survey of the northern half of the region of Ḥesma; but a few days previously two men from this camp had been in Tebûk and had learnt from the *mudîr* and Sâlem that the Government was no longer protecting us. It was therefore uncertain whether they might not have adopted a hostile attitude towards us; as, however, the Beni ʿAṭijje were moving northward to the territory of the Ḥwêṭât and knew that I was friendly with the chief ʿAwde abu Tâjeh, I conjectured that they would sooner esteem me as a friend of the chief ʿAwde than hate me as a man deserted by the Government. I therefore made up my mind after all to go to them.

The tribe of the Beni ʿAṭijje, which is known also as al-Maʿʿâze, or contemptuously as al-ʿAṭâwne, is composed of the following clans:

al-ʿAṭjât;	chief,	Ḥarb eben ʿAṭijje
as-Sbût;	„	Ḥamûd eben Farḥân
Ğmêʿânijjîn;	„	Muṭleḳ al-Muʿaẓẓam
ar-Rbejlât;	„	Ḥâmed
al-ʿAḳejlât;	„	Hlejjel eben Hirmâs
al-Mrâḳîn;	„	Muḥammad eben ʿEmrân
al-Ḥamâjse;	„	Niğm aẓ-Ẓjûfi
Slejmât;	„	Msellem al-ʿEẓejdi
as-Saʿêdânijjîn;	„	Sâlem eben Ṣaḳr
ar-Rawâẓîn;	„	Daʿsân eben Zelʿ
al-Wkala';	„	Sâlem al-Wakli
al-Maṣâbḥe;	„	Muḥammad eben Mesʿed

Of the families I noted down:

al-Madâmje	al-Ḳurʿân	an-Nwâbte	al-Ḥmûdât
al-Ḥumrân	az-Zlûʿ	al-Ṛnejmât	Awlâd Selîm
al-Furğân	as-Swêrḥijjîn	al-Ḥrâmse	Awlâd ʿEmrân
al-Ğhûš	aḍ-Ḍijabe	ar-Ršîd	al-Hlebât
ar-Rwâjât	al-ʿErğân	al-Jaṣâjṣe	aẓ-Ẓfûfijje
ad-Daḥḥâlîn	as-Saʿêdât	al-ʿEsejfât	al-ʿAjjaba
al-Brejkât	as-Saʿûd	al-Fursât	al-Hlôlât
al-Merâʿijje	ad-Dbâwijjîn	al-Ḥšâjme	as-Swêfle
ar-Rwêʿât	al-Ḥwâmde	al-Ğrâjʿe	al-Ḫuẓara

The clans of the Beni ʿAṭijje possess the territory from the aš-Šera range in the north to the station of Ḫašm Ṣanaʿ in the south and from the mountains of al-Ğalad, or al-Ğeles, in the west to the table mountains bordering the Pilgrim Route in the east. The great chief is of the clan of the ʿAṭjât, after whom the whole tribe is really named, although some clans, such as the Sbût, for example, are of a different origin. They assert that they have dwelt from time immemorial in the various halting places by the Pilgrim Route and that these are their property, although today they are nomads. Concerning the various families, their connections, property, and traditions, I had detailed records in the notebook which disappeared when we were attacked and robbed by the Beli.[63] I should have liked to replace what was lost, but on the journey from Wâdi al-Ğizel to Tebûk we did not meet with the Beni ʿAṭijje, and at Tebûk I learnt only what I have here reproduced.

On Thursday, July 7, 1910, I spent the whole day drawing maps of the environs of Tebûk in accordance with statements made by various Bedouins who had resided for some time in the settlement. My companions overhauled the baggage. Ğwâd made enquiries in the village as to whether some member of the Beni ʿAṭijje had not arrived from the north, or whether anybody would be going in that direction, but he discovered that telegraphic news had arrived from the station of al-Mdawwara concerning a great band of Šammar raiders which had crossed the railway line to the south of al-Mdawwara and was making its way to the southwest. As the Šammar are the enemies of the Beni ʿAṭijje, it was certain that they were looking for the camps and flocks of the latter. Accordingly it was not to be expected that any ʿAṭiwi would in the next few days proceed from the northwest to the southeast, or vice versa.

Neither the *mudîr* nor Sâlem visited us in the infirmary. The gendarme Ḫalîl came to me with the request that I protect him from the *mudîr*, who had threatened to have him imprisoned for having left Tebûk with me without his consent. He had referred to the telegraphic order received from the commander of the gendarmes at Damascus, in accordance with which I was to be strictly watched and not allowed to speak with the Bedouins, because I was to be permitted to

[63] See above, pp. 210—211.

travel only by railway and not to go east or west of the railway line.

On Friday, July 8, 1910, the *mudîr* sent two gendarmes to the infirmary to prevent my speaking with anybody. As the infirmary belonged to the International Board of Health at



FIG. 86—Railway station, Tebûk.

Constantinople, I ordered the gendarmes to leave these international premises immediately and threatened to have them fired at if they came near. But at the same time I promised them half a *meğîdijje* (45 cents) each and three cups of tea daily, if they would retire to the inn of Mr. Sarikakis about one kilometer away from the infirmary. This promise was more effective than the orders of the *mudîr*, and they immediately went off to the inn, where they remained the whole day.

RETURN TO MA'ÂN

We could not remain any longer at Tebûk; the camels were weak with hunger; we did not know whether the Beni ʿAṭijje, in fear of the Šammar, were moving rapidly to the

north or not, and it was likewise uncertain how they would receive us and whether the *mudîr* would allow us to leave Tebûk without interference. I therefore decided to depart for Maʿân, transporting the wearied camels by railway (Fig. 86), and from Maʿân to proceed to one of the camps of the Ḥwêṭât and rest there. But it was not easy to get the camels into a railway van. In Tebûk there was no gangway on which the animals could have entered the van, and, as they had to jump, they became much frightened. It took more than three hours before we got them in by force and tied them up there.

Having reached Maʿân on Saturday, July 9, 1910, at noon, we immediately departed westward to the ridge of as-Semne, where we found pasturage and from where we could make sketch maps of the western region. But now the results of our fatigue manifested themselves. Rifʿat, Tûmân, and Šerîf fell ill and declared that they could not move. The camels ran away, three lost their saddles, and it took a long time before I found them with the aid of the guide and drove them up to the fire. The guide guarded the animals while I went to look for the lost saddles.

On Sunday, July 10, 1910, my European companions could not get up, and there was nothing for us to do but to help them on to the camels and to return with them to the station of Maʿân, where they lay down at the inn of Mr. Sarikakis.

Accompanied by Ğwâd, I proceeded on Monday, July 11, to the town of Maʿân to the *ḳâjmaḳâm*. He also informed me that he had received from Damascus a telegraphic order not to permit me to leave the railway line. To my question whether he knew where the Ḥwêṭât were encamped, he replied that they had all left the region west of the railway and that they were threatening the Government with revolt if they were not paid the money that was due them. He added that he would be glad to pay them the amount to which they were entitled but that the *wâli* had sent no money from Damascus. While I was talking with him, we heard three shots and after that a cry of pain. The frightened soldiers and gendarmes scrambled into the Government building and began to close the heavy gate, declaring that a revolt had broken out at Maʿân. After a while they brought a severely wounded gendarme to the gate and asked me to examine his wound. A bullet had passed through the right

side of his lungs and had embedded itself somewhere beneath the shoulder blade. Quickly tying up his wound, I promised the *ḳâjmaḳâm* to bring the necessary medicines for the wounded man from my baggage, but it was not possible to leave the Government building, because firing could be heard everywhere in the settlement. After about an hour the disturbance abated somewhat, and two gendarmes brought me a horse and accompanied me by the shortest road from the settlement to the railway station. From them I learnt that neither the native population nor the Bedouins had revolted, but the gendarmes and soldiers had begun to fire at each other.

I returned with the medicines to Maʿân and went to the severely wounded gendarme in his quarters. While he was being moved his bandage had slipped down, the wound had begun to bleed profusely again, and it was certain that he would not live till midnight. His friends overwhelmed me with questions as to whether I thought he would recover and, gnashing their teeth, vowed vengeance upon the soldiers, if he died.

Seeing that at Maʿân and in the surrounding area everything was being prepared for a revolt, I proposed to return to Damascus. Rifʿat and Tûmân were much pleased with my decision and said that it had brought them instant relief. Šerîf and Ismaʿîn, who again visited us, were to accompany the camels along the railway line as far as Damascus, while we intended to take all the baggage with us by rail.

On Tuesday, July 12, 1910, we loaded the baggage into a cattle truck, sat down beside it, and during the journey drew sketches of the country around the railway. We reached Damascus without any mishap. The *wâli* excused himself for having sent to Maʿân and Tebûk orders which were so unfavorable to me but said that it had been done in consequence of a direct order from Constantinople. He himself, likewise alarmed about a revolt not only in the environs of Maʿân but also in the Ḥawrân, asked me to act as intermediary between him and my friend, Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

MA'ÂN AND MA'ÔN

Throughout almost the whole of the last millenium before Christ the international trade of Arabia was in the hands of the Šeba' (Sabaeans) and Ma'în (Minaeans), the rulers of southwestern Arabia. The Šeba' and Ma'în were blood relations and struggled for supremacy, not only in their own country but also in the oases through which the great trade routes passed. In every oasis of any importance there was a southern Arabian colony with a southern Arabian resident, who acted as an overseer over the native kings and chiefs, keeping watch lest they should do anything detrimental to the interests of his master, the Sabaean or Minaean king, accordingly as one or the other of the clans of Šeba' or Ma'în happened to be at the head of the feudal states of southern Arabia. We have reliable evidence about this arrangement in the oasis of Dajdân near the present settlement of al-'Ela'. The remoter rulers of Syria and Assyria did not concern themselves with the political organization of the separate oases on the great trade routes; nor did they negotiate with the native kings and chiefs, but rather with the residents of the southern Arabian kings, whom they designated by the names of the latter. This explains why the Assyrian and Biblical records refer to the Sabaeans as being located southeast of the Dead Sea and either do not mention the large oases in that region at all or else mention them but rarely. In the second half of the eighth century before Christ an Assyrian army penetrated the environs of the oasis of Ma'ân and even went far to the south; the Assyrian records, however, do not refer to the oasis at all. We may best explain this circumstance on the supposition that the oasis belonged to the masters of the great transport route, the Sabaeans of southern Arabia, as did the large oasis of Dajdân, to which also no reference has hitherto been found in the Assyrian records; and that both oases were included under the name of Šeba', because the Sabaean residents administered their affairs.

ME'ÛN AND MA'ÔN OF THE BIBLE

In the Bible a number of references to the tribe of Ma'ôn have been preserved, as well as to the inhabitants of Me'ûn, which name we can also easily read in the Hebrew text as Ma'ôn. These references are apparently derived from detailed and accurate sources, because, although they contain allusions to places mentioned nowhere else in the Bible, they nevertheless are in entire agreement with the topography. I hold the view that both "Ma'ôn" and "Me'ûn" designate the inhabitants of the oasis of Ma'ân and its environs. Whether the name Ma'ôn arose from Ma'în or not, I cannot decide, because both are purely Semitic and both are frequently met with in northwestern Arabia.

In Judges, 10: 12, it is stated that the Israelites were oppressed by the Amalekites and Maonites. The tribe of Amalek, or the Amalekites, had their camps south of Judaea proper. Their territory was traversed by the great transport route leading from the oasis of Ma'ân through the pass of an-Namala to Gaza and Egypt, and hence it is evident that they must have had economic and political relations with the inhabitants of the oasis of Ma'ân, with whom they could ally themselves in an expedition against the southern tribes of Israel, who perhaps had disturbed the merchant caravans. The Septuagint, confusing Ma'ôn with Madian, refers to the country southeast of the Dead Sea as their home.

The most important record for us in this connection is that in 2 Chronicles, 20:1, 10, 22f. Joshaphat (Jehoshaphat), the king of Judea (873—849 B. C.), waged war against the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the people of Me'ûn, who marched against him along the southern shore of the Dead Sea. The report, however, also refers to the people of Me'ûn as hailing from the Se'îr mountain range, which tallies with the situation of the oasis of Ma'ân. This oasis is situated at the eastern extremity of the Se'îr mountain range, through which two important branches of the transport routes used to lead. It is therefore highly probable that the people of Me'ûn maintained friendly relations with the inhabitants of the Se'îr mountains and assisted them in their war against Joshaphat. Moreover, Joshaphat was endeavoring to renew the maritime trade of the harbor of 'Eṣjôngeber at the northern end of the narrow arm of the present Gulf of al-'Aḳaba to the north of the town of Elath. When 'Eṣjôngeber belonged to him, he must also have been in possession of the territory which was traversed by the branch transport route from Ma'ân to Gaza, and thus his interests must have conflicted with those of the people of Me'ûn.

According to 2 Chronicles, 26: 7, King Uzziah (779—740 B. C.) destroyed the Arabs that dwelt in Gûr Ba'al, and the people of Me'ûn. The Bible refers to the Arabs as dwelling south and southeast of the Dead Sea, and it is in these regions that our oasis of Ma'ân is located. The records of the political and economic affairs of the time of Uzziah point in the same direction. Uzziah's father, Amaziah, subjugated the people of Edom and Se'îr (2 Chron., 25: 14). Uzziah took advantage of this victory and established sway over the harbor of Elath, the present-day al-'Aḳaba. This circumstance would seem to show that he was the ruler of all the eastern half of the peninsula of Sinai with the rift valley of al-'Araba as far as the actual frontier of Edom along the foot of the Se'îr mountain range; for only thus could the communication with Elath be insured.

Having firmly occupied the eastern part of the peninsula of Sinai and the harbor town of Elath, Uzziah held sway over two important branches of the international trade route from southwestern Arabia to Syria and, just as his predecessor Joshaphat had done, came into contact, either on good or bad terms, with the rulers of the oasis of Ma'ôn, whence branch roads led to Gaza and Elath respectively. It was easier for Uzziah to maintain authority over the branch road to Gaza than over that to the harbor of Elath. The latter was perhaps more important than the former to the people of Me'ûn, because it connected them with Egypt and gave them an opportunity of avoiding the territory of Judea and

of reaching Gaza of the Philistines either from the south or the southwest. When Solomon and Uzziah established maritime trade at Elath, the masters of southwestern Arabia certainly also had trade relations there. Goods conveyed by sea were dispatched from there partly to Egypt and partly to Syria. The main trade center for Damascus and the great Syrian harbors could only be the oasis of Ma'ân, to which place a transport route leads from Elath through the valley of al-Jitm. This route runs to the foot of the aš-Šera' mountain range, ascends the latter through the Štâr pass, proceeds to the east of the formerly inhabited territory, and so reaches Ma'ân. As long as Uzziah did not control this route, he was not master of the trade of Elath, because ships could land at the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba, and from there the goods could be conveyed to the main transport route, and so to Ma'ân. Having obtained control over the branch route from Elath to Ma'ân, Uzziah could interfere with the communication between Ma'ân and the south and thus force the people of Me'ûn to come to an agreement.

According to our interpretation of the report quoted, Uzziah endeavored to gain authority over the branch route from Elath to Ma'ân. He therefore waged war against the people of Me'ûn and the Arabs at Gûr Ba'al (Codex Amiatinus [C. de Tischendorf], *loco collato*, has Ṭûr Ba'al). Many would prefer to read Ṣûr Ba'al, but since the Septuagint has ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας, which in our opinion is entirely correct, I prefer the reading Gûr Ba'al for the following reasons. The word Gûr I take to be the Hebrew transcription of the Arabic *ḳûr*, which designates isolated rocks of tabular form with steep sides. There is an abundance of these east, northeast, and southeast of Elath as far as the foot of the aš-Šera' mountains, while to the north and northwest this configuration is unknown. Not far from the branch route between Elath and Ma'ân there rises among other rocks the *ḳûr* of Mount Iram. In Islâm this is associated with legends supplying evidence that on it, or near it, the surrounding population had a temple of Ba'al, which would account for the name Gûr Ba'al. Biblical report assigns the locality or region of Gûr Ba'al to the Arabs, and this tallies with its situation to the east and northeast of Elath, because for the most part the Biblical accounts locate the Arabs east and south of ancient Edom.

The most detailed Biblical report about the people of Me'ûn is contained in 1 Chronicles, 4: 39—43. Under Hezekiah, king of Judea (727—699 B. C.), several clans of the tribe of Simeon migrated and proceeded to a place from which Gedor can be reached, seeking pastures for their flocks as far as east of Gai'. They found rich and fat pastures, and on both sides the region was wide, peaceful, and safe. It had formerly been inhabited by the Hamites. The men of Simeon destroyed their tents, as well as those of the people of Me'ûn who were there, and settled in their place. There were five hundred of the men of Simeon who proceeded to the Se'îr mountain range, slew the last remnants of the Amalekites, and remained there. The Septuagint does not read Gedor but Gerar; Gai' is translated as if it were the common appellation of a valley. The whole report is generally interpreted as meaning that the men of Simeon migrated westward to a place from which Gerar could be reached and that they arrived at the east of the valley *hag-Gai'*, i. e. the border valley between the Promised Land and Egypt, which formerly belonged

to the Hamites. The phrase "from which Gerar can be reached" does not seem appropriate in this interpretation, because the territory of the men of Simeon was also traversed by a road leading to Gerar. Their dwelling places were located to the east of the border valley, which, furthermore, was generally known as "Nahal," not "Gai'." For a distance of seventy kilometers eastward from the border valley the bulk of the region is covered with sand and contains but scanty water or pasture. It is difficult, therefore, to understand why the men of Simeon should have migrated to so poor a country. Moreover, according to this interpretation a part of the men of Simeon left their new dwelling place near the border valley and proceeded to the Se'îr mountain range, which is at least two hundred kilometers to the southeast, although from the context it would appear that Se'îr was near the new settlements of the men of Simeon.

The Hebrew text of the Septuagint translators had also Gedor, but, as frequently elsewhere, they read *r* instead of *d*. The Hebrew text contains the place names Gedor, Gai', and Se'îr. Gedor I propose to identify with the Arabic Keḏâr (al-Mas'ûdi, *Tanbîh* [De Goeje], p. 338), the modern Kḏûr. (The Arabic *k* is often transliterated in Hebrew as *g*.) This is the name of the southeastern portion of the aš-Šera' mountain range, the ancient Se'îr, and also of the ruins of al-Mṛejjera. Thus, according to our interpretation, Gedor borders on Se'îr or is located in its southeastern portion. I connect the place name Gai' with the reference in Ptolemy's *Geography*, VI, 7: 29, where the place is recorded as Gaia. Ptolemy locates it, however, in Arabia Felix instead of in Arabia Petraea; but this is not the only occasion on which he confuses the two Arabias. The territory to the north of Tejma, where Ptolemy places the town of Gaia, is a complete wilderness in which no town was ever built. Glaucus in his *Arabic Antiquities* refers to the town of Gea as being near Petra in Arabia (Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* [Meineke], Vol. 1, p. 200). Thus both Ptolemy and Glaucus would seem to bring us to the southern half of the Se'îr mountain range, where, amid the very ruins of the town of Petra, has been preserved the settlement of al-Ği, which must be identical with the Biblical Gai'. At a distance of twenty-seven kilometers east of al-Ği is the oasis of Ma'ân, the inhabitants of which we identify with the people of Me'ûn, and which tallies exactly with the situation of the other localities mentioned.

Our view is corroborated also by the interpretation of an Assyrian inscription which has been preserved. During the reign of King Hezekiah an attempt was made by the great Assyrian king Sargon II to subdue Egypt. Frequent battles ensued in the neighborhood of Gerar and the Egyptian border valley. Consequently the men of Simeon who migrated could not have found any safe and peaceful dwelling places there. A different state of affairs prevailed in southern Se'îr and in the Gedor region. In the year 715 B. C. Sargon II had dispatched his army into southern Se'îr and thence to the south along the great transport route leading from Syria to southwestern Arabia (Cyl. Inscr. [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform*, Vol. 1, pl. 36], l. 20; Lyon, *Keilschrift.*, p. 4; Peiser in: Schrader, *Keilinschr. Bib.*, Vol. 2, p. 42). The army destroyed the camps and settlements of the tribes there, took many of the people prisoners, and transported them to Samaria. Many settlements and territories lost all their inhabitants. It is certain that the men of Simeon heard about this and for that reason

set out thither after the departure of the Assyrian army. They marched "as far as the place from which Gedor is reached, seeking pastures for their flocks as far as east of Gai'" (1 Chron., 4: 39f.). According to this the road to Gedor passes through Gai'. Gedor must therefore be sought in the same direction as Gai'. But Gai' is situated by the branch road leading from Gaza (not far from the former settlements of the men of Simeon) through the pass of an-Namala to the oasis of Ma'ân and to the main transport route from Arabia to Syria. The men of Simeon, therefore, must have passed along this branch road, journeying on it as far as a point east of Gai', or the modern al-Ǧi; here they must have left it and proceeded more to the south on a road leading to Gedor (or the modern al-Kḍûr) and the ruins of al-Mṛejjera.

The Biblical record relates that the Hamites had lived there before them. The Hamites are of the same kindred as the Kushites, akin to the Sabaeans, and the Bible mentions the Kushites as masters of the main transport route as well as of the separate oases situated upon it. At the end of the eighth century the Sabaeans were the masters. Their resident dwelt at Dajdân and directed the political affairs not only of the Sabaean settlements in the separate oases but also of the tribes encamped by the transport route. The southern Arabian colonists dwelt both in fixed abodes and in movable tents, because they had to look after the camels which they needed for the transport of goods. On the road to Gedor the men of Simeon destroyed some of these southern Arabian encampments, which must have belonged to the Kushites (or Hamites), and they met with the settlers from the oasis of Ma'ân, or people of Me'ûn, who defended their kinsmen. But both the people of Me'ûn and the tribes encamped along the transport route had been weakened by the recent inroad of the Assyrian army and consequently had to retreat before the men of Simeon, who then settled down in the deserted dwelling places to the southwest of the modern oasis of Ma'ân. Some of the men of Simeon then proceeded to the southwestern spur of the Se'îr mountain range, where they destroyed the last remnants of the Amalekites. Thus, this Biblical record would seem also to justify our identification of the tribe of Ma'ôn and the people of Me'ûn with the inhabitants of the oasis of Ma'ân.

ARABIC AUTHORS ON MA'ÂN

The classical authors do not allude to Ma'ân, for in their time all trade was concentrated in the town of Petra. Among the Arabic authors, it is referred to by al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 65, who states that Ma'ân is a township and stronghold in the district of aš-Šara' and that it is inhabited by the Omayyads and their clients.

Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 124, states that Ma'ân is a township on the edge of the desert, inhabited by the Omayyads, from whom wayfarers can obtain supplies.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ǧam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 501, 549, records that Ma'ân is a large stronghold in Palestine, five days from Damascus on the road to Mecca. He relates that Farwa ibn 'Amr, of the tribe of al-Ǧuḏâm, was governor in the stronghold of Ma'ân and its environs in the Byzantine period. Having become a Moslem, he sent the Prophet a white she-mule. When the Byzantines heard about this, they captured and imprisoned

him and then killed him by nailing him to a cross. — The territory of the tribe of al-Ğuḍâm extended from the present position of the railway station of al-Muʿaẓẓam on the south as far as Maʿân on the north, and it would be possible for the chief of this tribe to be the governor of the frontier stronghold of Maʿân situated in the province Palestina Tertia.

Ḥağği Ḫalfa, *Ğihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 539, relates that the stronghold of Maʿân belongs to the district of aš-Šera' and was built and provided with an aqueduct at the command of Sultan Suleiman, but that there is no good water there.

According to Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A. H.), pp. 70 f., Maʿân was originally called Maʿâl and belongs to the district of aš-Šera'. This prosperous settlement has two strongholds, of which one was built during the reign of Sultan Suleiman. To the southeast of Maʿân there are several thorny trees known as *umm ʿAjjâš*. This kind of tree does not thrive north of Maʿân. Besides them nothing grows there, and therefore all articles are made from a wood similar to that of the acacia. — Meḥmed Edîb was perhaps thinking of the *ṭalḥ* trees, which grow in every valley of any size southeast of Maʿân; whereas nothing is to be seen of them to the northeast.

APPENDIX II

THE LAND OF ʿÛṢ

According to Genesis, 10: 23; 22: 21, the clan of ʿÛṣ belonged to the Aramaic clans related to Abraham. We might look for the land of ʿÛṣ to the north of Palestine, but in Genesis, 36: 28, and 1 Chronicles, 1: 42, it is recorded that Ûṣ was related also to the Seʿîr clan of Dîšân and is located in Edom. In Lamentations, 4: 21, the poet invites the daughter of Edom living in the land of ʿÛṣ to exult.

It seems that separate Aramaic clans settled to the east and southeast of the Dead Sea among their kindred, the people of Moab and Edom, who likewise were descended from the Aramaic kinsmen of Abraham. We may therefore locate Job's land of ʿÛṣ in Edom. This is borne out by the friends who visited Job as well as by his manner of life.

Job was the most important man among all the Bene Ḳedem ("men of the east") (Job, 1: 3). He was engaged in agriculture, but he also bred cattle, including not only oxen, but also sheep, asses, and even camels. He thus dwelt upon the borders between the tilled land and the desert, in which his camels grazed. The camels were fallen upon and stolen by the Chaldaeans (Job, 1: 17).

These Chaldaeans dwelt or camped for the greater part in Babylonia itself, whence they could undertake raids to the east and southeast of the Dead Sea, just as various nomadic tribes in modern Irak do at the present day. Moreover, according to Jeremiah, 25: 9, 20, destruction at the hands of the "king of Babylon" is threatened to all the Arabs and

all the kings of the land of ʿÛṣ. Hence the land of ʿÛṣ must have been adjacent to the area of the nomads.

In his illness Job is visited by four friends, Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, Zophar the Naamathite (Job, 2: 11 f.), and Elihu the Buzite (Job, 32: 2, 6).

TÊMÂN

The Septuagint designates Eliphaz as the king of Têmân, in agreement with Genesis, 36: 15, 42, where it is stated that Têmân was a duke, belonging to the clan of Eliphaz through the descendants of Esau (Gen., 36: 11). In Genesis, 36: 34, there is a reference to Husham, king of Edom, from the land of Têmân. From this it is clear that Têmân must be located in Edom, where so many scattered clans settled down.

References are quite frequently made in the Bible to the Têmân settlements which connected the settlements with Boṣra, a city of Edom. Hence it would appear that they were situated in the northern part of eastern Edom. For instance:

Amos, 1: 12, threatens that the Lord will send a fire upon Têmân, which shall devour the palaces of Boṣra.

Jeremiah, 49: 20, exhorts all to hear the counsel of the Lord, which he had taken against Edom and his purposes against the inhabitants of Têmân. In verse 22 he describes an eagle rising, soaring, and spreading its wings over Boṣra, so that the hearts of the mighty men of Edom tremble with fear.

The men of Têmân held sway over the rest of the inhabitants of Edom, both by their sagacity and by their heroism. Nevertheless, Obadiah, 1: 8—9, threatens that the Lord will "destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau" and that the mighty men of Têmân "shall be dismayed to the end that everyone of the mount of Esau may be cut off by slaughter." The same threat also occurs in Jeremiah, 49: 7, in the form of a question: "Is wisdom no more in Têmân?," the reply being: "Counsel is perished from the prudent, their wisdom is vanished." And there follows an exhortation: "Flee ye, turn back, hide in deep basins, O inhabitants of Dedan; for I will bring the calamity of Esau upon him, the time that I will visit him."

It is interesting that the same fate which threatens the men of Têmân is to befall Dedan as well. The dwelling place of the men of Dedan was the oasis of the same name, the modern al-ʿEla', situated 425 kilometers south of the extreme border of Edom, whereas the men of Têmân owned the northern border of Edom and were thus at least 525 kilometers away from Dedan. It cannot be supposed that the enemy who subdued Têmân would undertake an expedition across five hundred kilometers of desert in order to gain possession of Dedan also; nor in the sources hitherto discovered is there the slightest reference to any such martial achievement. We must therefore assume that the men of Dedan were in direct touch with the men of Têmân and that this was the result of their trade journeys. The settlement of Dedan was situated on the great transport route connecting southwestern Arabia with Egypt and Syria. It was the residence of the representative of the south Arabian merchants, who equipped the trade caravans which set out from there

These were the caravans from Dedan which, according to Jeremiah, 49: 7, were threatened with destruction by the enemies of Têmân. We may therefore infer that the great transport route from Dedan to Syria traversed the territory of the people of Têmân and that the latter acted as sureties for the safety of the trade caravans. If this is the case, we must locate the people of Têmân in the eastern part of northern Edom, whence led and still lead the main routes connecting north and south, avoiding the deep gorges and ravines in the western part of northern Edom. When the people of Têmân were destroyed, the caravans of Dedan were without protection and could easily be plundered by the common enemy. Ezekiel, 25: 13, refers to the same thing when he threatens that the Lord will stretch out his hand upon Edom and will cut off man and beast from it, that he will make it desolate from Têmân, and that they of Dedan shall fall by the sword. Têmân here designates the whole of Edom, and Dedan all the territory ruled by the master of the oasis of that name which bordered on Edom to the south.

In Habakkuk, 3: 3, there is evidence that a great transport route passed through Têmân, for in this passage it is stated that God came from Têmân and the Holy One from Mount Pârân. After leaving Madian, which bordered on Edom to the south, the Israelites passed along the eastern side of the rift valley of al-ʿAraba, or the ancient Pârân, halted at the latitude of what was later the city of Petra, turned southward, entered the southwestern spur of the Seʿîr mountain range, and reached the southeastern extremity of Moab by way of the transport route. Hence they proceeded along the eastern border of Edom, where we locate Têmân; and thus Habbakuk could say God came from Têmân and the Holy One from Mount Pârân.

Têmân is located in these regions also by Eusebius, who in the *Onomasticon* (Klostermann), p. 96, says that Teman is the land of the princes of Edom in the country of Gebal and that the settlement of Taiman is still there, at 15,000 paces (according to Jerome, 5000 paces) distant from the city of Petra and with a Roman military garrison. Thence came Eliphaz, king of Teman, and also one of the sons of Ishmael whose name was Taiman. — The distances given by Eusebius and Jerome should not be taken into account, as the latter does not agree with the former. Jerome must have used a different source. In any case it is difficult to decide which of them is accurate, especially when we see that the statements in the *Onomasticon* concerning eastern Edom are often at variance with the real facts. Thus, we know with absolute certainty the situation of the Biblical Dedan; nevertheless, contrary to the Bible and to the facts, the *Onomasticon* locates it in northern Edom, stating that it is situated 4000 paces to the north of Fênân in Edom (*ibid.*, p. 81).

The eastern environs of Petra have been thoroughly explored to a distance of 10,000 paces. They contain no settlement with a name resembling Têmân nor the remains of the Roman camp which existed there according to the *Onomasticon*. Teman of the *Onomasticon*, therefore, must have been situated more in the southern half of Edom at some distance from the main caravan route; whereas, according to the Bible, it must be sought in the northern half and upon that route. We may therefore suppose that at the time of Eusebius there was a settlement in Gebal located on the Roman road and known as Teman or

something similar; that it contained a Roman garrison; and that the informant of Eusebius knew it to be 51,000 paces from Petra. By an error in transcription the accurate figure 51 was transformed into an incorrect 15 and, in the case of Jerome, into a still more incorrect 5.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, VI, 157, mentions the Timaneans among the tribes in the interior of Nabataea and says that in his time they were called Taveni. According to Pliny, therefore, the old name Timanei had been replaced by a more modern Taveni, a name which, in our opinion, has been preserved in that of the ruins of Tawâne (pronounced also Twâne). The settlement of at-Twâne, fifty-six kilometers to the north of Maʿân (see Musil, *Karte von Arabia Petraea*), lies in the eastern region of northern Edom on the great transport route connecting north with south, contains the remnants of a Roman camp, and tallies both with the Biblical statements and with the *Onomasticon*. We may therefore identify it with the main dwelling place of the Biblical tribe of Têmân, of which Eliphaz, the friend of Job, was a native.

ŠÛAḤ, NAʿAMA, AND BÛZ

Bildad, the second friend of Job, belonged to the clan of Šûaḥ, which is mentioned in Genesis, 25: 2, among the descendants of Abraham and Keturah, and thus among the Madianites, who possessed the territory along the transport route from Dedan through Edom to Syria. Thus this friend of Job also dwelt in the closest proximity to Edom.

Zophar, the third friend of Job, who hailed from the Naʿama, came from the southern part of Edom. There is no other mention of the tribe of Naʿama in the Bible. The Septuagint replaces Naʿama by "Meinaion," thus allotting the Naʿama to the Minaeans. The process by which the Greek connected the Minaeans and Naʿama will perhaps be clearer if we remember that Naʿama was transcribed from Raʿama (Gen., 10: 7) and that the clan of Raʿama was akin both to the Sabaeans and to the people of Dedan, thus belonging, in the Biblical view, to the Minaeans.

The fourth friend who visited Job (Job, 32: 2, 6) was Elihu of the tribe of Bûz. According to Genesis, 22: 21, this Bûz was of the same origin as ʿÛṣ. If we take the Assyrian records as a basis, we shall expect to find its headquarters in the depression of Sirḥân, where its name has been preserved in the local appellation of Bîẓ, or Bîḍ, near which various settlements were and still are situated. Through the territory of the tribe of Bûz led the great transport route uniting Babylonia and the Persian Gulf with Syria and Egypt. We therefore understand why, according to Jeremiah, 25: 9, 23ff., Bûz is threatened with destruction at the hands of the Babylonians just as are the inhabitants of Dedan and Têmân.

As, therefore, some of the friends of Job came from Edom and some from the closer and remoter surrounding districts — that is from territory situated to the east and south of the Dead Sea — we must seek the country of Job, the land of ʿÛṣ, in the same direction. This is where it is located also by the Septuagint, which completes the Biblical Book of Job (42: 17 b) with the observation that Job, whose real name was Jobab, dwelt in Ausitis, on the mountain range of Idumea and Arabia. This passage (42: 17 d in the Septuagint) identifies Jobab, known as Job, with the king Jobab of Genesis, 36: 33.

The mountain range of Idumea was later known as Gebalene, and thus the Septuagint places Job's land of ʿÛṣ in the same region in which Eusebius locates Teman (Têmân), i. e. in the northern part of eastern Edom. Geographically this region can be divided into two halves: the eastern, which is flat, and the western, which is uneven. The center of the eastern half was the ancient city of at-Twâne (Têmân), while the western half is dominated today by the large settlement of aṭ-Ṭefîle, fifteen kilometers northwest of at-Twâne (see Musil, *op. cit.*). At a distance of three kilometers south-southeast of this settlement extends a heap of ruins known as ʿÎṣ. We may regard the word ʿÎṣ as equivalent to the Hebrew ʿÛṣ (just as Fênân, which is not far off, is the Hebrew Pûnôn), and we may therefore say that this was the center of the Biblical land of ʿÛṣ, from which Job came.

APPENDIX III

SEʿÎR, AŠ-ŠERA', AND THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF THE ḤEĞÂZ

SEʿÎR AND AŠ-ŠERA'

Aš-Šera' forms the southern half of the mountain range and region of Seʿîr, to which the Bible frequently refers.

The allied kings of Babylon marched eastward from the Dead Sea to the south (Gen., 14: 6), slew the Horites in their mountains of Seʿîr, and reached Êl Pârân.

Êl Pârân is identical with the later harbor of Elath, or the present settlement of al-ʿAḳaba, at the northern extremity of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba of the Red Sea. It is thus obvious that we must expect to find Seʿîr to the south or southeast of the Dead Sea. But even if we did not identify Êl Pârân as Elath, it would be extremely probable that the Seʿîr mountain range stretched to the south of Moab and thus to the south-southeast of the Dead Sea.

We are brought to the same regions in Genesis, 32: 4, where it is narrated that Jacob, returning southward from Laban and while still north of the River Jabbok, "sent messengers to Esau his brother unto the land of Seʿîr, the country of Edom." Esau had already heard of Jacob's return, was marching against him, and met him east of the Jordan (Gen., 32:23). Having become reconciled with him, Esau returned to Seʿîr (Gen., 33:16), while Jacob proceeded in a westerly direction, reaching Sukkôt and crossing the Jordan.

From the context it is clear that Esau dwelt to the south or southeast of the Dead Sea and that he marched against his brother along the transport route leading from Arabia in the south to Damascus in the north. If we were to locate his dwelling place southwest of the Dead Sea and south of Palestine, we should also have to discover the reason why Jacob sent his messengers to him when he was still far to the east of Jordan and to the north of the Jabbok, and why the reconciled brothers

did not march together, seeing that Jacob also was proceeding toward the south of Palestine and southwest of the Dead Sea.

Se'îr is also placed to the southeast of the Dead Sea according to the narrative given in 2 Chronicles, 20, about the campaign undertaken by the Moabites, Ammonites, and some of the people of Me'ûn against Joshaphat. According to the account in 2 Chronicles, 20: 2, messengers reported to Joshaphat that the enemy were marching from the east of the Dead Sea, from Edom, and that they were already near Ḥaṣeṣôn Tamar, which is Engadi. There it is recorded (2 Chron., 20: 23) that the Moabites and Ammonites quarreled with the inhabitants of the Se'îr mountain range and slew them. —

In my judgment, as we have already seen (see above, p. 243), the Me'ûnites were identical with the Ma'ônites, who held sway over the great transport route and owed allegiance to the southern Arabian kings. Their center was the present settlement of Ma'ân. The Edomites inhabiting Se'îr likewise acknowledged the authority of the southern Arabian kings, whose trade caravans passed through their territory and brought them considerable profit. At the instigation of the Me'ûnites they therefore gladly took part in an expedition against their remoter neighbors in Judea with whom they were continually quarreling. The Ammonites, Moabites, and Me'ûnites dwelt to the northeast, east, and southeast of the Dead Sea, and, as the inhabitants of Se'îr are substituted for the Me'ûnites (2 Chron., 20: 23), the Se'îr mountain range must likewise be located to the south of the Dead Sea.

In 2 Chronicles, 25:11, it is narrated that Amaziah, king of Judea, marched with his men to the Valley of Salt where he defeated the people of Se'îr. — According to this account we may also locate Se'îr to the south-southeast of the Dead Sea. To the south of Palestine, especially to the south of the ruins of 'Abde, there are numerous elevations containing layers of salt, but I doubt whether it is there that we should expect to find the Valley of Salt, or Gê' ham-Melaḥ, which certainly borders on the Salt Sea, as the Dead Sea was also called. In summer the southern part of the sea evaporates, leaving extensive marshes from which the inhabitants of all the surrounding regions obtain their salt and which may be identified with Gê' ham-Melaḥ. The people of Se'îr had heard about the warlike preparations made by those in Judea and therefore marched to meet the latter, encountering them on the frontiers of their country, south of the Dead Sea. As the men of Judea marched from the northwest, it must be supposed that the men of Se'îr arrived from the east or southeast.

In 1 Chronicles, 4: 39—43, there is an account of new settlements made by a part of the tribe of Simeon, who migrated from the southern regions of Judea to Gai'. From there a few of them proceeded to the Se'îr mountain range, where they slew the last remnants of the Amalekites and settled down. — Gai' I identify with the classical settlement of Gea, the modern al-Ǧi, to the east of Petra (see above, pp. 245—247). We must, therefore, expect to find the Se'îr mountain range in the same direction, and this would also bring us to the south-southeast of the Dead Sea.

Our view about the situation of the Se'îr mountain range to the south or south-southeast of the Dead Sea is not at all contradictory to

the Biblical account of the route taken by the children of Israel in their wanderings. Deuteronomy, 2: 1, states that they proceeded from Ḳadeš into the desert in the direction of the Red Sea (Sea of Reeds), making a great detour round the Seʿîr mountain range, until finally they proceeded northward. Deuteronomy, 2: 8, amplifies this with the remark that they went along the road of ʿAraba, marching from Elath and ʿEṣjôngeber and passing through Seʿîr. —

I locate Ḳadeš in the neighborhood of the later town of Petra and hence to the south-southeast of the Dead Sea. They thus must have turned toward the south, either through the deep rift valley connecting the Dead Sea with the Red Sea, or by way of the road leading from Petra southward along the western foot of the aš-Šera' mountain range, or the ancient Seʿîr. The latter is a transport route of very great antiquity, upon which the caravans conveyed various goods from southern Arabia to Petra. Marching along one or the other of these roads southward, they went past the Seʿîr mountain range leaving it to the east and north, until finally they turned back toward the north, according to Deuteronomy, 2: 8, on the road of ʿAraba, proceeding from Elath and ʿEṣjôngeber and passing through Seʿîr.

Elath and ʿEṣjôngeber are harbors well known from the period of the kings. From them important transport routes ran in a westerly direction to Egypt, in a northwesterly direction to Gaza, and in a northerly, or rather northeasterly, direction to Damascus and Phoenicia. As the Israelites in their wanderings arrived to the east of Moab, it is certain that they chose the road leading from the above-mentioned harbors to Damascus. From the context it by no means follows that the Israelites encamped at Elath and ʿEṣjôngeber, but it is clear that, passing through Seʿîr, they turned off upon that road to the north. The road was called ʿAraba. Al-ʿAraba is today the name of the deep rift valley situated between Ajla (Elath) and the Dead Sea, but it is certain that the Israelites did not go by way of al-ʿAraba, as they would have been obliged not only to make the steep ascent to the eastern plateau, but they would have had to go past Seʿîr again; whereas according to Deuteronomy, 2: 8, they passed *through* Seʿîr. The rift valley of al-ʿAraba was never traversed by the large transport route connecting Elath with Moab and Damascus. During the dry season many animals and human beings would have perished from the heat there, nor would it have been possible to avoid the steep ascent. The transport routes of antiquity pass only through places which offer a minimum of obstacles, and this applies to the transport route from Elath northeastward through Wâdi al-Jitm to Maʿân, the ancient Maʿôn. If the latter settlement is identical with the main dwelling place of the Maʿônites — and there is no argument against this assumption — the Maʿônites certainly exerted themselves in every way in order that all the big caravans might pass through their territory.

The ancient transport route from Ajla via Maʿân to the north leads along the border between the settlers and the nomads; and as, according to the Assyrian and Biblical sources, the nomads were called Arubi, or Arabs, and their land was given the same name, we must suppose that this road was called the Arabian road, because it led along the western border of Arubi, or Aribi, i. e. Arabia. The Israelites joined this road

somewhere near the present station of al-Ḳwêra, and upon it they turned off to the north. They certainly passed through the Se'îr mountain range, but upon its eastern edge where numerous other nomad tribes used to betake themselves. As they did not plunder, the inhabitants of Se'îr did not resist their passage but merely guarded their border.

This march through Se'îr is recalled by Deborah (Judg., 5: 4), extolling Jehovah who went out of Se'îr and marched from the fields of Edom. There is an analogous statement in Deuteronomy, 33: 2, to the effect that Jehovah came from Sinai and showed the people his radiance from Se'îr. He shone from Mount Pârân and came from Merîbat Ḳadeš.

By locating Ḳadeš on the western border of Se'îr, I can understand Deuteronomy, 1: 44, where it is narrated that the Amorites pursued the Israelites, who had departed from Ḳadeš against the will of Moses, and destroyed them in Se'îr as far as Ḥorma. The defeated Israelites certainly fled to the western border of Se'îr, where they had their headquarters. There the Amorites went after them and thus likewise reached the border of Se'îr, where they attacked the encampments and flocks of the separate clans who were dwelling at a distance from the headquarters.

All the passages quoted hitherto require, or at least permit, us to locate Se'îr to the south-southeast of the Dead Sea. Difficulties are presented, however, by Joshua, 11: 17; but they can be disposed of. It is there stated that Joshua held sway over all the land from Mount Ḥalaḳ going up toward Se'îr as far as Baal-Gad in the depression of Lebanon. As we cannot precisely define the position of Baal-Gad, likewise we cannot identify Mount Ḥalaḳ. I think, however, that it is the mountainous knot rising in the environs of 'Abde, south of Beersheba and west of Petra (see Musil, *Karte von Arabia Petraea*), where we locate Ḳadeš. This mountainous knot actually rises opposite our Se'îr, being separated from it by the rift valley today known as al-'Araba. Thus interpreted, it not only does not contradict our identification but actually corroborates it.

THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF THE ḤEĞÂZ

According to Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 2, 27, the northern frontier of Arabia Felix, leaving the shore of the Red Sea between the settlements of Ajla and Ḥaḳl, swung off in a northeasterly direction to the aš-Šera' mountain range, the southern slope of which separated Arabia Felix from Arabia Petraea. — Ptolemy is concerned with the geographical rather than the political frontiers.

The southern ridge of aš-Šera' appears to have formed also the frontier of the provinces of Arabia and Palestina Tertia, for Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (Klostermann), p. 124, writes that the town of Madiam is situated beyond Arabia to the south in the Saracen desert east of the Red Sea. — According to this it would be necessary to locate the frontier of the province of Arabia, and hence also of Syria, to the north of Madiam.

The same statement is repeated by Jerome, *Comment. in Isaiam* (Migne), 60: 6.

According to Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, 19, it must be inferred that the islet of Târân belonged to the province of Palestina Tertia, although the adjacent coast did not. The southern frontier of Palestina Tertia coincided with the northern frontier of Arabia Felix.

The Arabic authors call the northwestern part of Arabia Felix the Ḥeğâz and place the border of the Ḥeğâz where the boundary of the former was situated, coinciding with the physiographical frontier.

Abu Ḥuḏajfa says (Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 3, p. 86) that Abu 'Obejda with the Moslem army reached Sarr, or the modern Soraṛ, and from there marched into Syria. — It is obvious, therefore, that the frontier of Syria lay to the north of Soraṛ at the former position of the northern frontier of Arabia Felix and where the Ḥeğâz is divided from Syria by the steep slope of the aš-Šera' mountain range.

Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 92, records that Ajla is situated on the southern border of Syria.

According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 19, and to Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 80, the southern border of Syria is formed by a straight line leading from the Red Sea near the harbor of Ajla along the edge of the administrative area of Tebûk — thus along the southern foot of the aš-Šera' mountain range — to the east.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 259, states that the pass of Šitâr is situated in the aš-Šera' mountain range between the regions of al-Belḳa' and al-Medîna. — As this pass is in the southwestern part of aš-Šera' near the frontiers of the administrative districts of al-Belḳa' (Syria) and al-Medîna (Ḥeğâz), according to Jâḳût also the aš-Šera' mountain range must form the border between the Ḥeğâz and Syria.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, III, 5, writes that Tebûk is four days' march distant from the Syrian frontier — which would place the northern frontier of the Ḥeğâz on the southern foot of the aš-Šera' mountain range. This can be reached from Tebûk in four marches, each of forty-five kilometers.

Abu Zejd al-Anṣâri (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 825) locates Tebûk between al-Ḥeğr, four marches away, and the frontier of Syria — thus about midway between al-Ḥeğr and the frontier.

Muḥammad ibn Mûsa al-Ḥâzemi says (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 451) that Madjan is located between the valley of al-Ḳura' and Syria and is thus within the territory of the Ḥeğâz.

With different political administrations the political frontiers of the Ḥeğâz were shifted, but the old physiographical frontiers did not change. This is clearly shown by al-Muḳaddasi; for in one passage (*Aḥsan* [De Goeje], p. 155) he refers to Madjan as being in the Syrian administrative district of aš-Šera', but in another (*ibid.*, p. 178) he states that Madjan is situated in the Ḥeğâz near its northern frontier. The incorporation of a number of places in Syria is of just as little importance as regards the actual northern frontiers of the Ḥeğâz as their incorporation in Egypt, as is the case in Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 748, with al-'Wejned, and in al-Maḳrîzi's *Mawâ'iẓ* (Wiet) Vol. 1, p. 311, with Bada', Šaṛab, and other places.

Al-Aṣma'i (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 205) assigns the volcanic territory Ḥarra Lajla, as well as the settlements of Šaṛab and Bada', to the Ḥeğâz. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥarbi (*ibid.*) conjectures that Tebûk and even part of Palestine form a part of the Ḥeğâz. This conjecture of Ibrâhîm, however, is entirely isolated. It was probably due to the circumstance of the northern part of the Ḥeğâz having belonged to the political administration of southern Palestine. Unwilling to admit that the sacred Ḥeğâz was dependent on Palestine, Ibrâhîm al-Ḥarbi included with the Ḥeğâz southern

Palestine as far as the town of Ṣoṛar at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 12 and 14, states that the Ḥeğâz extends somewhere between Madjan by the Red Sea and as-Sirrîn on the Persian Gulf, as well as between al-Ḥeğr and the two mountains of the Ṭajj tribe. — According to him, we may assume that the northern frontier of the Ḥeğâz runs close to Madjan and north of it; the eastern frontier is near the mountains of Eğa' and Salma, while the western is formed by the Red Sea. As the ancient Madian was situated near the present oasis of al-Bed', we must locate al-Iṣṭaḫri's northern frontier of the Ḥeğâz between this oasis and the settlement of al-'Aḳaba on the northern extremity of the gulf bearing the latter name. The mountains of the Ṭajj tribe are included by al-Iṣṭaḫri in the Ḥeğâz because politically they belonged to Mecca and because the governor of the Pilgrim Route, who was sent from Mecca, resided in the settlement of Fejd situated at the northeastern foot of Mount Salma.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, III, 5, states that the western frontier of the Ḥeğâz leads from the waterless harbor of Râs abi Muḥammed at the entrance to the gulf of 'Aḳabat Ajla as far as the harbor of al-'Uwajnid, ten miles distant from and opposite the island of an-Na'mân, and farther on towards Ṭena' and 'Uṭûf. — Râs abi Muḥammed is identical with Râs Muḥammed on the southern spur of the peninsula of Sinai. The name of al-'Uwajnid (al-'Wejned) has been retained in the pilgrims' station of the same name southeast of the island of an-Na'mân. Ṭena' must be corrected to Ẓeba', from which it has been transcribed, but Ẓaba' (or Ẓbe') is situated to the north and not to the south of the island of an-Na'mân. 'Uṭûf is unknown to me.

According to Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 77, the name Ḥeğâz (barrier) is derived from the fact that this territory separates the seashore al-Ṛawr from the upland of Neğd. Al-Ḥeğâz extends, he says, from al-Medîna to the environs of the oasis of Fejd and the two mountains Eğa' and Salma. — Jâḳût here copies from Iṣṭaḫri and indicates the then existing political area of the Ḥeğâz. Physiographically the eastern frontier of the Ḥeğâz is formed by the eastern edge of the jagged mountain range extending from near Tejma southward.

Ibn al-Faḳîh, *op. cit.*, p. 27, defines the beginning of Neğd as where the *ṛaḍa* shrub grows. In the Ḥeğâz, he says, there is no *ṛaḍa*, but only *ṭalḥ*, *samur*, and *asal*. — This, however, is not the case, for in the Ḥeğâz itself there are extensive areas covered with an abundance of *ṛaḍa*: for example, the lowland of al-Meḥteṭeb to the north, northeast, and west of Tebûk, and the valley of al-Ğizel.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 53, includes the places al-Ḥağr, al-'Awnîd, Bada' Ja'ḳûb, Ḍabba, and Nabk within the administrative area of Ḳurḥ, as the main settlement of Wâdi al-Ḳura' is called. — Al-'Awnîd, the harbor of this area, is identical with al-'Wejned; Bada' Ja'ḳûb is the small oasis of Bada'; Nebk must be located near the *še'îb* of aš-Ša'af; Ḍabba, or more correctly Ẓaba', is the modern Ẓbe'. The frontier between the Syrian administrative area of Ṣoṛar and the Ḥeğâz area of Ḳurḥ led from al-Mwêleḥ on the shore to al-Mu'aẓẓam, or, as it was then called, al-Muḥdaṭa, on the Pilgrim Route; thus at latitude 27° 40' N.

Henri Lammens (*L'ancienne frontière entre la Syrie et le Ḥidjâz*

[*Notes de géographie historique*], reprinted from *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. 15, pp. 69 ff.) locates the frontier between Syria and the Ḥeğâz somewhere below the oasis of al-'Ela'. This essay is brilliant as regards its equipment of learning, but on a more detailed investigation of the sources quoted it is obvious that the author has arrived at results which are scientifically inaccurate. He does not distinguish the physiographical from the administrative frontiers, pays no attention to classical reports, and does not interpret the Arabic authors faithfully.

From the oldest times the southern slope of the aš-Šera' range formed the frontier between the settlers and the nomads. This is clear both from the Bible and from the Assyrian records. The classical authors took over these native frontiers and gave the separate regions new names; the Arabic authors changed nothing in this natural limitation of frontiers except the names. The southern frontier of Syria coincided with the southern frontier of Arabia Petraea (later of Palestina Tertia, or Palestina Salutaris) which led from the Red Sea across the mountains of Iram (Ramm) to the southern slope of the aš-Šera' range.

On the border of Arabia the Roman *imperium* had a twofold *limes*, an internal and an external one. The internal *limes* followed the edge of the settled and cultivated territory, while the external one led through the frontiers of the territory of the nomads, to whom the Romans paid annual *salaria*. The internal *limes* was permanent and therefore strongly fortified; the external *limes*, on the other hand, was not fixed; it contained no permanent Roman garrisons and therefore no fortified camps. North of Iram (Ramm) and in the aš-Šera' range there is an abundance of remains of Roman strongholds and fortified camps which would seem to confirm the information given in the *Notitia dignitatum*. South of the aš-Šera' range, however, I did not find a single Roman remain; nevertheless the settlements of Madiama (al-Bed'), Onne ('Ajnûna), Bada', and especially Hegra (al-Ḥeğr) were known to the classical writers, who would certainly have mentioned it had there been Roman garrisons in them, or if the remains of Roman encampments had been preserved there. But we search in vain for such references in the classical writers and for Roman camps in the northern Ḥeğâz. From this it is clear that both Madiama and the other oases mentioned above were situated, as Eusebius correctly states, *trans Arabiam*, and that they did not belong to the political administration of the province of Palestina Tertia, or Palestina Salutaris. It does not follow from this that they were not situated in an area enclosed by the external *limes*. This is obvious from the inscription at Ṛwâfa, where the tribe of the Thamudenoi built a temple in honor of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus (see above, p. 185). The Thamudenoi bordered on what was then Arabia Petraea and later Palestina Salutaris, whence they received *salaria* for acknowledging the supremacy of the Roman and Byzantine emperors into whose service they let themselves be hired. Indeed, they were even appointed as Roman or Byzantine officials. This is a usage for which there is evidence in the Assyrian records, and it has continued until now, but we cannot infer from it that the territory of the Thamudenoi, or of the Ǧuḏâm tribe after them, formed a permanent part of the Roman Empire and belonged to Syria. As soon as a chief, who was at the same time a Roman official

or ally, no longer received his *salaria,* he departed *in exteriorem limitem* and made incursions against the Romans, as if they were his enemies. There is abundant evidence to support this in the classical and Syrian records.

When the Romans or Byzantines succeeded in winning over an important chief, the external *limes* was shifted to the border of his political influence. At the time of the chief and phylarch Amorkesos the external *limes* extended to the south certainly as far as the environs of al-Medîna; and the same holds good also for the time of the powerful kings of the Ghassanian tribe, who made punitive raids as far south as the oases of al-'Ela', Ḫajbar, and Ḥâjel. The traces of such temporary influence extending as far as the Holy Cities were preserved even in Moslem traditions. Zubejr ibn Bakkâr relates that 'Oṯmân Ḫuwêreṯ was appointed king of Mecca by the Byzantine emperor (Zobayr ibn Bakkar Sohayly, Manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 161; A. Sprenger *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad,* Vol. 1, Berlin, 1869, p. 89). The actual permanent Byzantine influence did not extend beyond the fortified internal *limes,* which passed along the southern foot of aš-Šera'. This was also known to the more important Arabic authors and explains why they place the northern frontier of the Ḥeǧâz where it is indicated by the classical writers and distinguish between the physiographical and the political or administrative frontiers. We can thus easily explain why some of them refer to the Syrian Ḥeǧâz, that is the Ḥeǧâz politically dependent upon Syria, and why there is variance in their statements about the frontier. A strong ruler of Syria has often exerted and will exert influence as far as the Holy Cities of the Ḥeǧâz; but he may not shift the geographical frontiers by one inch.

APPENDIX IV

THE AMALEKITES

The Amalekites dwelt to the south of Palestine. They are mentioned as living there in Genesis, 14: 7. In this connection we are told that the Babylonian kings marched along the transport route east of the Dead Sea and through Mount Se'îr, inhabited by the Horites, as far as Êl Pârân situated by the desert, where they turned back (Gen., 14: 7—8) and, arriving at 'Ên Mišpaṭ, which is Ḳadeš, smote the whole of the land of the Amalekites, including also the Amorites dwelling in Ḥaṣaṣôn Tamar, and attacked the allied kings in the lowland of Siddîm.

We identify Êl Pârân with the harbor of Elath, or the modern al-'Aḳaba, and we locate 'Ên Mišpaṭ, or Ḳadeš, north of it in the environs of the ancient city of Petra. As the reference to the destruction of the Amalekites occurs after that to 'Ên Mišpaṭ, it is clear from our report that the Amalekites dwelt to the west or northwest of Petra and

thus in the southernmost parts of Palestine as well as in the territory extending to the south.

According to Numbers, 24: 20, Amalek is the first of the nations, — perhaps because they were the first with whom the Israelites came into conflict when migrating to the Promised Land.

In Genesis, 36: 12, it is stated that the concubine of Eliphaz gave birth to Amalek. But Eliphaz was the son of Esau, and Esau the grandson of Abraham; nevertheless, even in the time of Abraham Amalek was living to the south of the Promised Land. — From this it is clear that this passage in Genesis cannot indicate the true origin of the Amalekites; it shows, however, that in time they became related to the sons of Esau, in whose neighborhood they were therefore encamped and with whom they also contracted marriages.

The territory of Amalek to the south of Palestine marched on the east with the territory of the sons of Esau, so that conditions were favorable for establishing contact. Moreover, it was quite possible for Amalek to secure authority even over the sons of Esau for a period, as is stated in Genesis, 36: 16.

Numbers, 13: 29, mentions that the Amalekites dwelt in the southern part of Palestine in the time of Moses, also, and were a source of much trouble to the Israelites as long as they were encamped in the environs of Ḳadeš (Num., 14: 43). According to Deuteronomy, 25: 17ff., the Amalekites attacked the weakened Israelites on their march from Egypt and captured all their stragglers. Exodus, 17: 8, relates that the Amalekites marched against the Israelites at Refîdîm, where, according to Exodus, 17: 6f., Moses obtained water from the rock by smiting it with his rod. Refîdîm, which for that reason was also called Massa (temptation) and Merîba (altercation), was situated (Num., 20: 1—13) near Ḳadeš.

We locate Ḳadeš and Merîba in the environs of Petra and thus in the closest proximity to the land of the Amalekites, who might easily attack the Israelites migrating from one camp to another and capture their stragglers. But the Amalekites also assisted other enemies of the Israelites.

In Judges, 3: 13, it is stated that the Amalekites united with Eglon, the king of Moab, who took the City of Palms (i. e. Jericho) from the Israelites. — In order that the Amalekites should reach Jericho it was not necessary for them to cross over into Moab and from thence to go down to the Jordan, but they could easily pass along the eastern shore of the Dead Sea and thus unite with Eglon.

Judges, 6: 33ff., mentions the Amalekites as the allies of the Madianites and Bene Ḳedem, with whom they were encamped in the plain of Jezreel. They plundered the land of Israel as far as Gaza. — The Amalekites could join the Madianites and Bene Ḳedem either at the Jordan valley after passing by the Dead Sea or on the southern frontiers of Palestine, where the Madianites had plundered also the environs of Gaza. After Gideon's victory in the plain of Jezreel the Madianites and the Bene Ḳedem fled to the east, but there is no mention of the Amalekites. They probably saved themselves by passing along the shore of the Dead Sea to their own country.

The Israelites were greatly harassed by the raids of the Amalekites, upon whom they therefore vowed vengeance. It was Saul, their first king, who marched against the Amalekites.

In 1 Samuel, 15: 3, the Lord tells Saul to go and smite Amalek and utterly destroy all that they have, including ox and sheep, camel and ass. Hence the Amalekites must have been in possession of several settlements and must have tilled the soil and engaged in the breeding of cattle.

Having assembled his men, Saul started on his military expedition from Telam on the southern frontier of Judea. Arriving in front of the main city of the Amalekites, he set his rear guard as an outpost down by a *naḥal*, or valley with a river. — The name of the main city of the Amalekites is not given, nor do we know the name of the river, *naḥal*, by which the rear guard was set. It is therefore not possible for us to determine exactly where the main dwelling place of Amalek was situated. It was either on the southern border of Judea, to the east or southeast of Beersheba, or else farther to the south near as-Sbejṭa.

Saul defeated the Amalekites and according to 1 Samuel, 15: 7, plundered their camps from Ḥawîla to Šûr "that is over against Egypt." — Ḥawîla is identical with the classical Arabia Felix, or the modern Neǧd, and its northern frontier is formed by a line from the northern half of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba as far as Babylon. If Saul smote the Amalekites from Ḥawîla to Šûr (the western part of the Sinai Peninsula bordering on Egypt proper) it must be supposed that they had control of the transport route leading from southwestern Arabia by way of Elath (al-ʿAḳaba) to Gaza and Egypt and that their power certainly extended also to the southeast of Elath as far as Ḥawîla.

We very often find instances of a small tribe, or indeed of a clan, in Arabia with a similarly wide area of authority. For several centuries the family of Abu Rîš, which encamped south and southwest of Aleppo (Ḥaleb), controlled the great transport route leading from Aleppo through northeastern Arabia as far as Babylonia, and members of it were stationed at various points along that route.

The trade relations of Gaza and Egypt with southwestern Arabia were very brisk, and the trade caravans proceeding from Elath (al-ʿAḳaba) to Gaza were at the mercy of the Amalekites, through whose territory they passed. It was therefore likely that these caravans also acknowledged their authority on the road leading from Elath westward to Egypt as well as on that leading southeastward, or at least where the road skirted the seashore.

Saul's army, especially that part of it which came from southern Judea where the settlements had long been afflicted by the Amalekites, was certainly eager for revenge; and therefore, not satisfied with defeating the king, it made an inroad upon other camps and flocks as far as the shore of the Red Sea. The *naḥal* in which Saul set his outpost is perhaps identical with the head of the valley forming the Egyptian border, and the duty of this outpost was to frustrate any attempt at flight into Egypt.

Saul did not destroy all the Amalekites. In 1 Samuel, 30: 1 ff., there is an account of their raids against various settlements in Judea, finally reaching as far as Ziklag, belonging to David, which they plundered, capturing the women and children there. David, having heard of this, pursued them across the stream Naḥal Besor and overtook them in the plain (1 Sam., 30: 17). He released the prisoners and slew the Amalekites, so that only four hundred of their young men escaped on camels. — This

narrative also shows that the Amalekites were still dwelling to the south of Palestine proper. David also waged war against them when king (1 Chron., 18: 11) and slew many of them.

When Joab slaughtered the Edomites in Se'îr and made safe the road to the harbor of Elath, in which Solomon later equipped a mercantile fleet, he certainly destroyed very many Amalekites, partly those who were helping their kinsmen the Edomites and partly those who were defending their territory (reaching as it did as far as Elath) against their enemies from Judea. It seems that they were completely driven out of their original settlements and that the last remnants of them were preserved in the southern part of Mount Se'îr, where, according to 1 Chronicles, 4: 43, they were encountered by the migrating Simeonites, who killed them and occupied their settlements. From that time onward there is no further mention of the Amalekites.

APPENDIX V

THE SITE OF ḲADEŠ

The first mention of Ḳadeš is in Genesis, 14: 7, where there is a description of the march of the allied Babylonian kings. The kings went from north to south along the fields east of the Dead Sea, then through the Se'îr range as far as Êl Pârân, and, passing around 'Ên Mišpaṭ (i. e. Ḳadeš), reached the deep-set lowland of Siddîm, where they defeated the allied kings of the settlements situated by the Dead Sea. We identify the lowland of Siddîm with the southern border of the Dead Sea, and Êl Pârân with the later Elath and the present settlement of al-'Aḳaba, at the northern end of the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba. There is no reason why the kings, having reached Êl Pârân (al-'Aḳaba) in the rift valley of al-'Araba, should have entered afresh the high western plateau, thence to descend with difficulty to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. They could have taken the open road northward through al-'Araba, for they must have known that both in the rift valley and on its south-eastern and western borders they would find the numerous encampments of refugees from the Se'îr range and herdsmen with goats and sheep from the western range; for, during the rainy season, the latter are very prone to linger with their flocks in this warm and well watered region. Thence the kings could easily have dispatched smaller bands to the western range against the Amalekites and Amorites, while they themselves with the main body of their army could have approached the settlements near the Dead Sea, whose owners refused them tribute. After a victorious battle they did not enter either the western or the eastern plateau but, passing round the Dead Sea, hastened with their booty and prisoners northward along the Jordan and did not turn aside until they were beyond the Lake of Tiberias. Thence they proceeded in a northeasterly direction to Damascus. We know the location of Siddîm,

toward which the kings proceeded: it is at the northern extremity of al-ʿAraba. We identify Êl Pârân, which they reached, with the settlement of al-ʿAḳaba at the southern extremity of the same rift valley, and we are not aware of any reason why the kings should have left this valley. We must therefore suppose that they proceeded from Êl Pârân (al-ʿAḳaba) northward to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. Along this road they reached ʿÊn Mišpaṭ (i. e. Ḳadeš), and therefore we must locate ʿÊn Mišpaṭ near al-ʿAraba between Êl Pârân and the lowland of Siddîm.

According to Numbers, 13: 17, Moses sent out spies to view the Promised Land. Starting from Pârân they searched the land from the wilderness of Ṣin as far as Reḥob and finally returned (Num., 13: 21, 26) to the wilderness of Pârân and Ḳadeš. From this it would seem that Ḳadeš must have been situated on the borders, or at least near the borders, of the wildernesses of Pârân and Ṣin. As we know from other passages that the wilderness of Pârân extended as far as the northern extremity of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba and that the wilderness of Ṣin extended along the southern border of the Promised Land (which, according to Joshua, 11: 17, stretched as far as the Ḥalaḳ mountain) we must locate Ḳadeš eastward of the Ḥalaḳ mountain near the rift valley of al-ʿAraba. We thus arrive near the ruins of Petra on the watershed of the Dead Sea and Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. We identify the wilderness of Pârân with the southern portion of al-ʿAraba, through which water flows into the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, while we assign the northern part, through which water flows into the Dead Sea, to the wilderness of Ṣin, placing Ḳadeš on the border line of these two wildernesses near Petra.

Deuteronomy, 1: 2, refers to the transport route leading from Ḥoreb to Ḳadeš Barneʿa; it is there designated as the road to Seʿîr, and the journey along it from Ḥoreb to Ḳadeš Barneʿa is said to take eleven days.

Deuteronomy, 1: 19, mentions the same road as the road to the mountains of the Amorites, and it is there said to lead through a "great and terrible wilderness."

These two statements are of importance to us, because, knowing the exact situation of the mountains of the Amorites to the southwest of the Dead Sea and of Seʿîr to the south-southeast of the same sea, we may, from the mountains of the Amorites by way of Seʿîr, define the direction in which we must seek Ḳadeš Barneʿa. The ruins of Petra, in the neighborhood of which we locate Ḳadeš Barneʿa, are situated precisely on the route from the Amorite mountains by way of Seʿîr to the south-southeast.

The road to Seʿîr, or the road to the Amorite mountains, passed through a "great and terrible wilderness" and thus could not have entered the populated mountain range but must have passed round it at its western foot between it and the wilderness of Pârân to the west. Along the western foot, of the aš-Šera' range there actually leads an ancient transport route from south to north via Petra through the an-Namala pass (about twenty kilometers north of Petra [Wâdi Mûsa]; see Musil, *Karte von Arabia Petraea*) into the ʿAraba and farther in a north-northwesterly direction to the Amorite mountains. From Mount Ḥoreb along this road to Ḳadeš Barneʿa is eleven days' march. We locate Mount Ḥoreb by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫrob in the northeastern part of the al-Hrajbe table-land, and place Ḳadeš in the vicinity of the ruins of Petra. From the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫrob to Petra is nearly two hundred and twenty kilometers, so that one day's

march would amount to about twenty-two kilometers. That is the distance covered in one day by the caravans with merchandise and by the migrating tribes during a lengthy journey.

From Ḳadeš, Moses (Num., 20: 14) sent messengers to the king of Edom, who were to tell him (Num., 20: 16f.): "Behold, we are in Ḳadeš, a city in the uttermost of thy border. Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country ... We will go by the king's highway ... until we have passed thy borders." When he refused, the messengers said: "We will go by the highway: and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then I will pay for it" (Num., 20: 19). But the king of Edom would not let them pass and threatened them with violence. —

According to this account, Ḳadeš was a city on the borders of Edom, from which it was easy to reach the royal highway passing through the land of Edom from south to north. This tallies with the vicinity of Petra, which is at the western slope of the Se'îr range and thus on the western border of Edom. Through Petra leads a convenient transport route from south to north, and by way of the an-Namala pass there is another route to the west and northwest. This pass was and still is connected by means of the ancient transport route with the settlement of Ma'ân, situated on the great trade route from southwestern Arabia northward to Phoenicia and Damascus. The connecting road crossed and still crosses near the ruins of al-Baṣṭa (seventeen kilometers southeast of Petra; see Musil, *op. cit.*) the royal highroad leading from the ruins of Ab-al-Lesel near Naḳb aš-Štâr via aṣ-Ṣadaḳa and at-Twâne northward. It was upon this road that the Israelites wished to proceed on their march. (See below, p. 271.)

Leaving Ḳadeš, they encamped near Mount Hor, where Aaron died and was buried, whereupon (Num., 21: 4) they went along the road to the Red Sea (Sea of Reeds) so as to pass around the land of Edom. —

The Sea of Reeds here designates the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba. The Israelites, being unable to penetrate to the northwest into the Amorite mountains and not having obtained permission from the king of Edom to pass through his country on the royal highroad to the northeast, turned to the south, skirting around the western foot of the range of Se'îr (Deut., 2: 1) for a long time, until finally (Deut., 2: 4) Jehovah ordered them to proceed in a northerly direction through the land of the sons of Esau dwelling in Se'îr. Accordingly they passed through the land of the sons of Esau (Deut., 2: 8) along the highroad of 'Araba, leading from Elath and 'Eṣjôngeber.

The Israelites thus journeyed along the western border of Se'îr and the northern part of the region of Ḥesma. The whole of the latter region belonged to the Madianites. From Ḥesma they followed the road leading from the harbors of Elath and 'Eṣjôngeber to the north-northeast, ascended the Se'îr range by Naḳb aš-Štâr, passed over its southwestern corner, and reached at Ma'ân the above-mentioned great transport route from southwestern Arabia. Here they branched off (Deut., 2: 8) due north and made their way along the eastern border of Têmân to the wilderness of Moab, whereupon they crossed the brook of Zâred. According to Deuteronomy, 2: 14, it took them thirty-eight years to reach the stream Zâred from Ḳadeš Barne'a. (See below, p. 272.)

We identify Mount Hor, where Aaron died and was buried, with Mount Hârûn to the south of Petra (see Musil, *Umgebungskarte von*

Wâdi Mûsa, Petra). The accounts quoted above concerning the journey along Mount Se'îr from Ḳadeš southward to the Sea of Reeds and thence along the 'Araba highroad across the southwestern corner of Se'îr to the northeast and north, agree entirely with the present routes. They thus corroborate our supposition that Ḳadeš must be located in the vicinity of Petra.

Numbers, 20: 1, records that the Israelites reached the wilderness of Ṣin and encamped at Ḳadeš, where Miriam died and was buried. Having no water, they murmured; whereupon Moses struck a rock with his rod (Num., 20: 11) and obtained an abundance of water, which was therefore known as Mê Merîba (Num., 20: 13). —

This would seem to show that the wilderness of Ṣin borders on the environs of Ḳadeš and is entirely in agreement with the position of the remoter environs of the ruins of Petra, which are situated near the watershed of the Dead and Red Seas.

Having reached Ḳadeš Barne'a with the Israelites, Moses said to them (Deut., 1: 20): "Ye are come unto the mountains of the Amorites." That does not mean that Ḳadeš was situated actually at the mountains of the Amorites, but that it was not far from there to this range. From the environs of Petra the mountains of the Amorites are easily visible, and by descending through the an-Namala pass into the northern part of the rift valley of al-'Araba, or the ancient Ṣin, it is possible in a short time to reach the land of the Amorites.

According to Numbers, 34: 3 ff., the southern frontier of the Promised Land is to be formed by the wilderness of Ṣin along Edom; in the east it is to proceed from the extremity of the Salt Sea, to extend in a southerly direction from the ascent of 'Aḳrabîm as far as Ṣin, and to end to the south of Ḳadeš Barne'a. From there it is to lead to Ḥaẓar Adar and farther as far as the valley of Egypt.

Ḳadeš, although it is mentioned so many times in the Pentateuch, is never included among the localities or cities of Palestine. The account just cited shows that the city of Ḳadeš lay on the very borders of the Promised Land and of Edom and, as we know from other records, at the western foot of Mount Se'îr, which, as has frequently been stated already, extended to the south-southeast of the Dead Sea. We must not, therefore, locate Ḳadeš either to the southwest or south but to the southeast of the Promised Land; this, moreover, tallies with the situation in the environs of Petra which we have suggested. To the west of the latter is the watershed of al-'Araba, and near it the frontier of Palestine probably passed westward to the valley of Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea. The border of the Promised Land led along the western side of al-'Araba, which at its northern extremity belonged to Moab, and farther south to Edom.

Genesis, 16: 7, relates that Hagar, when driven out, came to a well on the road to Šûr. According to Genesis, 16: 14, this well was situated between Ḳadeš and Bered, its name being Be'êr Laḥaj Rô'i. — If the well was located on the transport route to Šûr between Ḳadeš and Bered, we must suppose that this road led from Ḳadeš to Šûr by way of Bered. Šûr, which marked the frontier of Egypt proper was protected by strong walls against the inroads of Asiatic nomads. Šûr was thus to the west, Ḳadeš to the east of the encampments of Abraham in a position which

tallies with our suggestion that Ḳadeš was situated near Petra. That there were the crossroads of important transport routes in the neighborhood of Ḳadeš may be inferred from the various reports already quoted, and it is more than probable that an important transport route led thence to Egypt through the northern part of the region of Šûr. This transport route descended through the an-Namala pass into al-ʿAraba and led in a west-northwesterly direction by way of ʿAbde and al-ʿAwğa' to Egypt. Bered must be located on the high table-land westward from al-ʿAraba, perhaps in the ruins known as al-ʿAwğa' (the Crooked), because of the appearance which they present from afar. At that spot there are deep wells with good, cold water, from which the name Bered might have been derived, and it forms the last station on the road from the inhabited area to the wilderness of Šûr. Ḳadeš and Bered must have been important trading stations, otherwise the position would not have been defined with reference to them. The well of Laḥaj Rô'i, which the angel pointed out to Hagar, could not have been visited often, or Hagar would easily have found it from the footprints. It was more likely a small well in a dry river bed, into which flowed the remainder of the rain water which the gravel had protected from rapid evaporation. Such a well may be recognized by a dark patch of moist sand or gravel. If a small pit is dug in the patch, water gushes into it. Hagar could not have drunk from the deep well, as there was neither a rope nor a bucket. Possibly Laḥaj Rô'i is identical with Ammu Temîle (twenty-three kilometers east of al-ʿAwğa'; see Musil, *Karte von Arabia Petraea*), on the junction of the roads from ʿAbde to al-ʿAwğa' and from Bîr as-Sabaʿ (Beersheba) to the south.

According to Genesis, 20: 1, the transport route from Ḳadeš to Šûr was crossed also by Abraham, when he was wandering between Ḳadeš and Šûr and abode at Gerar. — From this passage, as well as from others, it is obvious that Gerar must not be located, as is often done, to the southeast of Gaza on the right bank of the stream an-Nahr in the ruins of Umm al-Ğerâr, but much farther to the south, as the southern environs of Gaza did not belong to Šûr.

Besides the passages quoted — together with Judges, 11: 16 f., where there is a brief reference to the march of the Israelites from Egypt, and Psalms, 29: 8, where the wilderness of Ḳadeš is mentioned — there is no other reference to Ḳadeš in the Old Testament. From the accounts upon which we have commented it is clear that Ḳadeš indicates the wilderness or region of Ḳadeš, the city of Ḳadeš, and even the well of Ḳadeš. It must therefore have been an extensive area, which was fertile and therefore irrigated in some parts but barren in others where there was no water. In this way we may explain the various statements which are associated with Ḳadeš in the Bible. Reference is made to the wilderness of Pârân in which Ḳadeš is situated; to the wilderness of Ṣin, in which Ḳadeš is also located; to Ḳadeš Barneʿa; to Merîbat Ḳadeš or Mê Merîba, which is also Ḳadeš. All these designations may be explained, if we place Ḳadeš in the neighborhood of the ruins of Petra. The eastern part of this neighborhood is fertile and irrigated; the western part rocky, barren, and almost devoid of water.

APPENDIX VI

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS

FROM EGYPT TO MOUNT SINAI, OR ḤOREB

When the Israelites fled from Egypt they endeavored as soon as possible to escape from the reach of Egyptian political influence. They found a refuge in a country which afforded them not only safety but also the necessary food supplies. This country must have had an abundance of water with rich pastures and must have been situated near large transport routes so that they could purchase what they needed from the trade caravans. Moses knew such a country, the land of Madian, where he himself had found a refuge and where, in the person of his father-in-law, the priest of Madian, he had a powerful protector not only for himself but also for his kindred of Israel. He therefore led the Israelites direct from Egypt into Madian to the mountain of God, where Jehovah appeared to him.

The land of Madian, where Moses passed many years as a refugee, is situated, in our judgment, to the southeast of the present settlement of al-ʿAḳaba. This is indicated by the halting places recorded on the march of the Israelites. These camps are scattered in various groups, which unfortunately do not supplement each other; in fact, a connected list of them, such as we read in Numbers, 33, is at variance with several statements made elsewhere.

According to Exodus, 15: 22, the Israelites left Egypt proper by the Red Sea (Sea of Reeds), in which Pharaoh perished, and proceeded through the wilderness of Šûr for three days without finding water, until at last (Ex., 15: 23) they reached Mara', where there was water, which, however, was bitter.

If any great tribe today flees from the government and the army of a civilized state, it proceeds rapidly along the most convenient and most direct transport route, if only to escape as soon as possible from the territory and jurisdiction of the military power. Such also was the case in the fifteenth century before Christ, when the Israelites migrated from Egypt. The peninsula of Sinai at that time contained Egyptian garrisons. The tribes living there were more or less dependent upon Egypt and would have received orders to attack the Israelites with their garrisons and thus force them to return. The Israelites were therefore obliged to hasten so as to traverse the peninsula of Sinai before the garrisons were strengthened and the nomads incited against them. For strengthening the garrisons and mustering the nomads at least a month would have been necessary, and in this time the Israelites had to escape from the peninsula of Sinai. On the first day they had to hasten so as to avoid being surrounded by the army dispatched against them from the border places by the Sea of Reeds; on the second and the subsequent days they could proceed slowly. They had to water their cattle and give them time

for pasture, supply themselves with water, and wait for flocks of goats and sheep which were always behind. The quickest and most convenient way for them to get away from the sphere of Egyptian authority was upon the transport route leading from Egypt to the northern extremity of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. Upon this route the leader proceeded with his retinue, while the remainder of the Israelites marched with their flocks to the right and left of the route but parallel with it.

If today a tribe numbering five thousand famil'es migrates with its flocks, it forms a column at least twenty kilometers wide and five kilometers deep. The wider the line is, the more pasture the flocks will find, but the more will they lag behind and run the risk of being cut off on their flanks; the deeper it is, the less pasture will remain for the flocks in the rear, the more confusion and disorder there will be, but all the greater will be the facility of repelling a hostile attack.

If the Israelites migrated from Egypt in the month of March and if there had been an abundance of rain on the peninsula of Sinai that year they would have found rain pools of various sizes in all the cavities and in all the hollows of the various river beds, and they could comfortably have replenished their water bags and watered their flocks. Where they had to depend only on wells or deep cisterns, the filling of the water bags and the watering of the cattle would have occasioned them much labor.

We do not know the location of the spot which, because of its bitter water, the Israelites called Mara' (Bitter).

From Mara' they reached Êlîm (Ex., 15: 27), where there were twelve springs and seventy palm trees.

If we admit that the Israelites proceeded on the great transport route, we must locate Êlîm in the immediate vicinity of the modern settlement of al-ʿAḳaba, where there are countless springs, where at every spot it is possible to obtain water by digging to a depth of one-half a meter to two meters, and where there are numerous palm trees. I identify this Êlîm with Êl Pârân (Gen., 14: 6) and with the later city of Êlôth or Elath (1 Kings, 9: 26; 2 Kings, 14: 22). It is not necessary to locate the camp of the Israelites in the settlement itself, which at that time certainly stood at the same important spot; but, rather, two or three kilometers to the west of the settlement, where even today there are several palm groves and where there used to be a ford across the narrow arm of the sea extending as far as ʿEṣjôngeber (Ṛaḍjân and al-Ğbêl).

According to Exodus, 16: 1, the Israelites went from Egypt to Êlîm within a month. This, of course, is only an approximate statement, as we do not know how long they were in passing through Egypt proper and how many weeks their march through the peninsula of Sinai lasted. From Êlîm (Ex., 16: 1) they entered the wilderness of Sîn, "which is between Êlîm and Sinai."

Knowing the situation of the land of Madian, in which rises Mount Ḥoreb, we know also the direction in which the Israelites departed from Êlîm. They still remained on the great transport route and moved in a southeasterly direction, at first along the shore itself and later at a distance of twenty-five kilometers from the shore of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. According to this interpretation Sîn denotes the mountain range to the east of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. This tallies with Judges, 11: 16,

where it is stated that the Israelites, when passing from Egypt, went through the wilderness as far as the Sea of Reeds.

Exodus, 17: 1—13, relates how the Israelites went from the wilderness of Sîn to Refîdîm, where there was no water; how Moses obtained water from the rock near Ḥoreb with his rod; how that place was therefore called Massa and Merîba; and how the Amalekites attacked the Israelites there.

According to all our sources of information Ḥoreb was situated in the land of Madian.

The Israelites were thus under the protection of the Madianites there. It is certainly possible that the Amalekites made inroads upon them as far as the land of Madian, but it is not really probable. Nor is it very probable that Moses would have led the Israelites to Mount Ḥoreb if he had known that there was no water close at hand. Moreover, we know from other passages (Num., 20: 13) that Merîba was situated near Ḳadeš eleven days distant from Ḥoreb, where Moses also obtained water from the rock by means of his rod, when the multitude began to murmur. We must therefore identify this miraculous obtaining of water at Ḥoreb with that at Ḳadeš and regard Refîdîm only as a halting place on the march from Êlîm to Mount Ḥoreb. About one hundred kilometers to the south of al-ʿAḳaba (Êlîm) there is a basin in the mountain range of ar-Rafîd, which I take to be Refîdîm. About twenty kilometers southeast of this is the oasis of al-Bedʿ, or the ancient Madian, to which the Israelites hastened. This tallies with Exodus, 19: 2, according to which they went from Refîdîm to the wilderness of Sinai, where they encamped opposite the mountain. There, according to another source (Ex., 18: 5), Jethro, the priest of Madian, came to Moses in the wilderness, where he was encamped by the mountain of God and, having conferred with him, returned to his own country (Ex., 18: 27). The main camp of the Israelites was thus not pitched by the settlement in which Jethro dwelt. The latter must be sought, according to the configuration of the ground, to the south of al-Bedʿ, perhaps in the oasis of ʿAjnûna at a distance of fifty kilometers, and the main camp of the Israelites by the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḫrob, twenty kilometers to the north of ʿAjnûna.

FROM MOUNT SINAI TO THE STREAM ZÂRED

From Mount Sinai, or Ḥoreb, the Israelites wished to proceed to the wilderness of Pârân (Num., 10: 12). They were to be accompanied by Ḥobab, the son of Raʿuêl (Num., 10: 29), a Madianite, as a guide to find out for them the most suitable places for obtaining water and for encamping. According to the Bible, he was to be their *ʿajn*.

ʿAjn (plural *ʿujûn*) denotes a scout who rides in front of a tribe on a warlike expedition and searches for safe places where they may encamp and obtain water. Even when a tribe migrates, it also has such a scout, but he is then known as *ḳallâṭ*. From the name *ʿajn*, which was to be applied to Ḥobab, it may therefore be supposed that the ancient writers regarded the march of the Israelites from Sinai as a warlike expedition; this certainly agrees with what actually occurred, as they wished to acquire new settlements. The wilderness of Pârân, to which the Israelites proceeded from the wilderness of Sinai, we identify

with the southern half of the rift valley of al-ʿAraba and its immediate mountainous neighborhood. The Israelites therefore went from Sinai in a north-northwesterly direction.

Whether the Israelites took the same road as the one upon which they reached Sinai, or whether they chose another road, cannot be exactly determined from the account given in Numbers, but it seems as if the description there refers to another road, because there is no mention of Êlîm, and it is stated (Num., 10: 33) that after three marches from the mountain of God the Israelites fared ill. We may suppose that at the head of the al-Abjaẓ valley they reached the present shrine of Samʿûl, where the broken country begins. The people murmured, the camp was set on fire, and they therefore called the place Tabʿêra (burnt-out encampment) (Num., 11: 3).

They continued their march, and many perished as a punishment for having consumed meat; they therefore called that place Ḳibrôt hat-Ta'awâ (dust graves) (Num., 11: 34). Thence they passed to Ḥaṣêrôt (Num., 11: 35). I look for this halting place near the ruins of al-Ḥomejma, where there is a small *šeʿîb* called al-Ḥaẓra. They then reached the wilderness of Pârân (Num., 12: 16), which they entered near the ruins of Ḥammad, about seventy kilometers north-northeast of al-ʿAḳaba, where the rocks forming the eastern border of al-ʿAraba approach the foot of aš-Šera'. The spies sent from Pârân to the Promised Land (Num , 13: 3), after having inspected the whole country, returned to the wilderness of Pârân (i. e. Ḳadeš). From this it is clear that Ḳadeš must be located in the wilderness of Pârân and thus near al-ʿAraba, not far from the real frontier of the Promised Land.

The account given in Deuteronomy, 1: 2, fixes the distance from Ḥoreb to Ḳadeš Barneʿa by way of Mount Seʿîr at eleven days' march. For our purposes there is a more important fact than the fixing of this distance: that is that the journey from Ḥoreb to Ḳadeš was made by the road of Mount Seʿîr. The account thus refers to the transport route which leads to Mount Seʿîr but does not pass through it. The same route is indicated in Deuteronomy, 1: 19, where it is stated that the Israelites, after departing from Ḥoreb, passed, by the road of the mountain of the Amorites, through a "great and terrible wilderness." The road of Mount Seʿîr and the road to the mountain of the Amorites may be the same, for the mountain of the Amorites rises to the northwest of Seʿîr, so that the road leading to it is only a continuation of the road leading to Seʿîr. This road passes through a great and terrible wilderness; but Mount Seʿîr was cultivated and inhabited, and it must therefore be supposed that the road in question passed along its western foot on the border between Seʿîr and Pârân. In that district there is actually an ancient transport route leading from Madian through the valley of al-Abjaẓ past Mount Iram (Ramm) and the ruins of al-Ḥomejma northward to the ruins of Petra, then farther through the convenient an-Namala pass to the rift valley of al-ʿAraba, and in a northwesterly direction to Hebron or in a west-northwesterly direction to Gaza. This road, upon which in the Nabataean period the main import trade from the south to Petra and Gaza was concentrated, may thus be identified with the road to Mount Seʿîr and the road to the mountain of the Amorites. If the Israelites passed along it, then they reached the actual wilderness of Pârân via the modern

ruins of al-Ḥomejma. We must therefore seek Ḳadeš in the neighborhood of Petra. From there could be seen the mountain of the Amorites and the Promised Land, a circumstance which explains why the spies were sent out to report as to the manner in which the Israelites could obtain possession of the latter. (See above, pp. 263—264.)

From Pârân (i. e. Ḳadeš) the warriors departed to conquer the land, against the will of Moses (Num., 14: 44).

According to Numbers, 21: 1, the king of Arad learnt that the Israelites were approaching on the road ha-Atarîm and marched against them. I consider ha-Atarîm to be an incorrect transcription of ha-Amorîm, the road of the Amorites (Deut., 1: 19). The king of Arad allied himself with the Canaanites and Amalekites, defeated the Israelites, and scattered them as far as Ḥorma.

Numbers, 20: 1, records that the Israelites came to the wilderness of Ṣin and encamped at Ḳadeš, where Miriam died. — From this it follows that Ḳadeš must be located on the border of the wildernesses of Pârân and Ṣin. If the headquarters of the Israelites with the sanctuary continued to be at Ḳadeš, the remainder could encamp round about, especially to the west and northwest of Ḳadeš in al-ʿAraba, the northern half of which bordered on the wilderness of Ṣin and perhaps even formed part of it.

Having ascertained that they could not enter the Promised Land in a northwesterly direction because both the Amalekites and the Canaanites were making preparations against them there, the Israelites wished to penetrate north of the Dead Sea. They therefore sent messengers to the king of Edom (Num., 20: 16), asking him to let them march through his land from Ḳadeš, a city on the frontiers of Edom, along the "king's highway" (Num., 20: 17) or along "the highway" (Num., 20: 19). — From this it may be inferred that Ḳadeš was situated at the junction of important transport routes, or that at least it was possible from there easily to reach the king's highway which led through the land of Edom northward.

The king's highway doubtless might have been the name only of that route which passed through the cultivated territory and was convenient, suitable for transit, and artificially constructed. There is only one such road in Seʿîr. It begins at Mount Seʿîr just north of the pass Naḳb aš-Štâr by the ruins of Aba-l-Lesel and leads past the settlements of aṣ-Ṣadaḳa and at-Twâne through the cultivated territory northwards. By the ruins of al-Basṭa two branch roads divide off from it. One leads eastward to the settlement of Maʿân, and the second westward to the ruins of Wâdi Mûsa (Petra), where it joins the road described immediately above (p. 270), which leads to Mount Seʿîr or to the mountain of the Amorites. I identify the road leading from Ab-al-Lesel via aṣ-Ṣadaḳa to at-Twâne with the king's highway, upon which the Israelites wished to branch off from Ḳadeš. The king of Edom did not permit them to do so, because he was afraid that they might settle in his country. He knew that they were on a warlike expedition and that they were seeking new settlements. Thus, having the hostile Amalekites and Amorites to the northwest, they did not wish to arouse the hostility of the Edomites as well, and consequently they changed their intention and passed round Mount Seʿîr.

Having left Ḳadeš (Num., 20: 22), they reached Mount Hor on the border of Edom, where Aaron died and was buried. — I identify this Mount

Hor with the modern Mount Hârûn to the south of the ruins of Petra.

From Mount Hor they proceeded (Num., 21: 4) toward the Sea of Reeds in order to pass round the land of Edom. The same account is given in Deuteronomy, 2: 1, where it is stated that they turned towards the Sea of Reeds and passed round Mount Se'îr. —

The direction is thus indicated. As far as Ḳadeš they had gone in a north-northwesterly direction from Ḥoreb. Being unable to penetrate the mountains of the Amorites, they had wished to proceed to the north-northeast through the mountains of the Edomites. Refused access this way, they turned in a southerly direction back toward the Sea of Reeds from the direction of which they had started. If we agree that the modern Mount Hârûn is identical with the Biblical Mount Hor, it necessarily follows that they proceeded to the south past Mount Se'îr along the same road by which they had reached Ḳadeš, until they drew near the northern extremity of the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba: that is until they were at no great distance from the Sea of Reeds; then, going into the region of Ḥesma, they turned toward the northeast and proceeded thence through the southern aš-Šera range (the ancient Edom) to Ma'ân and farther to the north (Deut., 2: 4).

According to the account given in Deuteronomy, 2: 8, the Israelites passed through the land of the sons of Esau, who dwelt in Se'îr, along the road of 'Araba from Elath and 'Eṣjôngeber and then turned aside and proceeded in the direction of the wilderness of Moab. —

The Bible does not state that the Israelites arrived at Elath and 'Eṣjôngeber but only mentions that they passed along the road of 'Araba leading from Elath and 'Eṣjôngeber through the land of the sons of Esau, who dwelt in Se'îr. This road starts from the rift valley of al-'Araba, in which the harbors of Elath and 'Eṣjôngeber were situated, runs through the valley of al-Jitm to the region of Ḥesma, thence through the pass of aš-Štâr in the aš-Šera' range, and farther in a northeasterly direction to Ma'ân, where it joins with the main transport route passing from south to north. This road was used by the nomads encamping east of Edom when they journeyed to the harbors of Elath and 'Eṣjôngeber. From Ma'ân northward this road remains on the border between the settlers and the nomads, between the cultivated land and the wilderness; it therefore could be called the road of 'Araba, or the road leading along the borders of Arabia, for the Assyrian sources give the name of Arubi, Aribi, partly to the nomads and partly to the wilderness which they frequent. According to Numbers, 21: 10, it was by this road that the Israelites reached Ôbôt and, farther on, 'Ijjê ha-'Abârîm in the wilderness which borders with Moab on the east, and, finally (Num., 21: 12), the stream Zâred, which forms the eastern border of Moab. These particulars agree entirely, if we concede that the road of 'Araba leading from Elath and 'Eṣjôngeber is identical with the modern Pilgrim Route extending along the eastern border of Moab and Edom, a branch of which passes from Ma'ân through the valley of al-Jitm to al-'Aḳaba, the ancient Elath.

APPENDIX VII

MOUNT IRAM AND THE ARABS OF THE BIBLE

Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 27, refers to Aramaua, the first locality in Arabia Felix, not far from the Red Sea. It is identical with the Iram or Ârâm mountain range (now Ramm), which likewise formed the northern frontier of the Ḥeğâz.

The poet Lebîd, *Dîwân* (al-Châlidi), p. 25, speaks of the tribes of Iram, ʿÂd and Ṯamûd, who vexed Allâh and were destroyed by him as a punishment. Lebîd saw their mummies in old graves, and he says of them that they had covered themselves up and were thus resting in the anterooms of the houses.

Abu Šâma, *Rawḍatejn* (Cairo, 1287—1288 A.H.), Vol. 2, p. 7, states that as long as the Crusaders had al-Kerak and aš-Šowbak in their power the Egyptian army, during the march of the pilgrims from Ajla to Mecca, encamped by Iram and in the vicinity. — The Egyptian army had to beat off the attacks made by the Crusaders on the pilgrims through the valleys of al-Jitm and al-Mabrak, through which the roads to the Pilgrim Route from Ajla to al-Medîna led past Mount Iram.

Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 212, records that the Prophet Mohammed gave the Iram mountain range in fief to the clan of Ğiʿâl of the Ğuḏâm tribe and confirmed this for them in a document. According to Jâḳût, this high mountain range rises between Ajla and the desert of Tîh of the sons of Israel and forms a part of the mountains of the Ḥesma region in the territory of the Ğuḏâm. The inhabitants of the wilderness stated that in Iram there were vineyards and pine trees. —

Jâḳût continually confuses the regions west of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba and the rift valley of al-ʿAraba with the regions situated to the east. He therefore locates the desert of Tîh to the east of Ajla. The vicinity of Iram can be cultivated, and both grapes and pine trees would flourish admirably there. It is thus possible that the Arabian nomads saw the remains of old vineyards and pine groves in that locality.

Al-Ḳazwîni, *ʿAğâ'ib* (Cairo, 1321 A.H.), Vol. 1, p. 224, states that the members of the ʿÂd tribe had their houses on the peak of Mount Ğajš Iram in the territory of the Ṭajj tribe. It is said that statues wrought of stone are to be found there. The houses and the statues are weathered by wind-blown sand, by heat, and by frost; and many of them can be seen in the vicinity of Mount Iram. — In the thirteenth century the great chiefs of the Ṭajj tribe held sway over all the smaller tribes and clans from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea.

In the vicinity of Mount Iram I locate the Biblical Gûr Baʿal, which belonged to the Arabs. Both the Assyrian monuments and the Bible use the word *ʿArab*, *ʿArabi*, to denote nomad.

In 2 Chronicles, 9: 14, it is recorded that all the kings of the Arabs brought Solomon gold and silver. — Gold and silver were conveyed only by the trade caravans, especially those arriving from southwestern Arabia,

so that we should expect to find these kings of the Arabs to the south of Palestine and to the southeast of the harbor of Elath, which belonged to Solomon even after Edom was separated from his kingdom.

According to 2 Chronicles, 17: 11, the Arabs brought 7700 rams and 7700 goats to Joshaphat, king of Judea (873-849 B. C.). Joshaphat still held sway over the harbor of Elath and the trade route leading thence to the northwest and west. It is therefore probable that annual gifts were sent to him by the tribes passing along that route in the trade caravans. His son and successor Jehoram (849—842 B. C.) lost Elath and according to 2 Chronicles, 21: 16; 22: 1, had to fight against the Philistines and Arabs dwelling near the Kushites, who made inroads as far as Judea and plundered it.

The Edomites then gained possession of Elath (2 Chronicles, 21: 8—10), and the Arab tribes encamped on the peninsula of Sinai were certainly incited both by them and the Philistines against Judea. The Assyrian records also refer to kings of the Arabs on the peninsula of Sinai (Rawlinson, *Cuneiform*, Vol. 3, pl. 35, no. 4, rev., l. 2; Winckler, *Textbuch*, p. 54.) The Arabs dwelling near the Kushites may be those who encamped on the Egyptian border in the western part of the Sinai peninsula; but according to the Biblical view they were also those who encamped with the tribes of southern Arabia near the transport route which runs from southwestern Arabia northward, with one branch leading to Syria and another to Egypt. This road was guarded by South Arabian garrisons. The Arabs are to be sought at the southeastern frontier of the Sinai peninsula in the vicinity of Elath.

This view is upheld by 2 Chronicles, 26: 7, according to which God helped Uzziah against the Philistines, against the Arabs dwelling in Gûr Ba'al, and against the Me'ûnites. Uzziah (779—740 B. C.) reconquered Elath and in consequence became involved in dispute with the Philistines and the Me'ûnites. The Philistines owned Gaza, a city to which the trade caravans from southwestern Arabia conveyed their goods. The transport routes to Gaza led from Elath and the oasis of Ma'ân or Ma'ôn. The term Me'ûnites denotes partly the inhabitants of the settlement of Ma'ôn and partly also the garrisons dependent upon this settlement. The latter certainly extended as far as the harbor of Elath, to which an important branch road led from Ma'ôn. As soon as Uzziah was in possession of Elath he had control over both roads to Gaza, and he necessarily endeavored, either in an amicable or a hostile manner, to gain the favor of the Me'ûnites and their allies the Arabs to the south and southwest of Ma'ôn. I identify Gûr Ba'al with the northwestern corner of the territory of Ḥesma. Two old transport routes lead through it, and the whole region is covered with isolated mesas known as *ḳûr* (singular *ḳâra*).

The Bible also refers to the Arabs and consequently to the nomads on the northeast and east of Edom. Jeremiah, 25: 23 f., threatens destruction upon Dedan, Têma, Bûz, and all those with shaven heads; and in the following verse it is added that all the kings of Arabia and all the kings of the Arabs shall perish.

According to the context the kings of Arabia are the kings of the Arabian oases of Dajdân, Tejma, and Bûz, while the kings of the Arabs denote all the nomads with shaven heads. Even to the present day nearly

all the nomads have their heads shaved and leave only a tuft, varying in size, at the crown.

After the Babylonian Captivity the Arabs encamped near the eastern border of Judea, for Nehemiah, 4: 1, relates that they, together with the Ammonites, prevented the Jews from completing the building of the walls of Jerusalem.

In Isaiah, 13: 20, it is noted that on the site of former Babylon not even an Arab (*ʿarabi*) — that is, a nomad satisfied with the worst kind of soil — will venture to encamp.

From the above-mentioned account in 2 Chronicles, 17: 11, as well as from Ezekiel, 27: 21, we learn that the Arabs used to breed sheep and goats, which they sold to the surrounding settlers. But according to Jeremiah, 3: 2, they also engaged in robbery, lying in wait by the roadside and watching for anyone whom they could attack and plunder.

APPENDIX VIII

ÊL PÂRÂN AND PÂRÂN

According to Genesis, 14: 6 f., the Babylonian kings destroyed the men of Ḥôr in Mount Seʿîr as far as Êl Pârân, which is situated in the desert. They then turned and came to ʿÊn Mišpaṭ, which is Ḳadeš, and laid waste the whole of the land of the Amalekites and of the Amorites dwelling in Ḥaṣaṣôn Tamar, whereupon they encountered the allied kings in the lowland of Siddîm. —

The Babylonian kings must have proceeded southward along the eastern side of Moab and Edom as far as Êl Pârân, where they turned back in a northerly direction and reached the lowland of Siddîm by the Dead Sea. They certainly followed the great transport route leading from Damascus southward, and from it they made raids on the separate settlements and encampments. This transport route leads through the eastern part of Moab and Seʿîr. Through the southern half of the latter a branch road leads to the harbor of al-ʿAḳaba, at the northern extremity of the gulf of the same name.

Near al-ʿAḳaba are situated the ruins of the city of Ajla (Elath) which I identify with Êl Pârân of our account. Of Êl Pârân it is stated that it lies in the wilderness, or near the wilderness, and this would tally with the situation of Elath. At the halting places on the trade route and at the harbor of Êl Pârân the kings certainly expected to find an abundance of spoil, and, descending by the convenient transport route as far as Êl Pârân, they avoided the troublesome march through the difficult passes leading from Mount Seʿîr westward to the territory of the Amalekites and Amorites. From the context we may infer that they passed through the whole of Mount Seʿîr, turning back near Êl Pârân, beyond the borders of this mountain; we may also suppose that Êl Pârân did not lie within Mount Seʿîr proper. Proceeding from Êl Pârân toward

the north they likewise followed a convenient road, along which, if it was the rainy season, they found plenty of pasture for their animals and perhaps also numerous flocks belonging to the native population, who like to stay in this hot rift valley during the cold season. From al-ʿAraba the kings could make raids on the separate encampments to the east or west, both to ʿÊn Mišpaṭ, or Ḳadeš, which I locate in the vicinity of Petra, as well as to the territory of the Amalekites and Amorites west and northwest of ʿÊn Mišpaṭ.

The suggestion that we should identify Êl Pârân with the later Elath is supported also by the account given in 1 Kings, 11: 18. Joab, David's captain, conquered Edom and had every member of the king's family murdered. The royal servants protected Ḥadad, one of the sons of the king of Edom, and, wishing to escape with him to Egypt, departed from Madian and reached Pârân. Taking people with them from Pârân, they arrived in Egypt.

From the context it may be supposed that the servants were seeking a refuge for Ḥadad in Madian but that they did not stay long there. The ruler of Madian could not protect Ḥadad if he did not wish to lose the profit he derived from accompanying the trade caravans, which had either to pass through Edom or at least to go round it. The same was the case with the other tribes encamping on the borders of Edom and even with the southern Arabian commanders guarding the separate stopping places on the great transport route. This was known to the protectors of Ḥadad, and they therefore fled with him to Egypt, the only land where he could obtain not only complete safety but also help in recovering his father's inheritance. In order not to attract attention to themselves, they did not join any of the large trade caravans but fled alone with Ḥadad. They certainly passed along the transport route, upon which there were wells and where, because it was the usual route, they were not so conspicuous. From 2 Kings, 16: 6 and 2 Chronicles, 28: 17, it appears that Edom proper lay to the east of al-ʿAraba. The later kings of Judea held Elath, although Edom did not belong to them; the people of Edom, however, finally took Elath itself away from them, though they were unable to gain possession of the territory to the south of Judea and to the west of al-ʿAraba. We must therefore locate the center of the Madianites beyond the reach of Joab's army, i. e. not to the west but to the southeast of Elath.

Through this center passed a branch road of the main transport route from southern Arabia to Egypt, running thence to the present settlement of al-ʿAḳaba (the ancient Ajla or Elath). Proceeding along it, the king's servants crossed the rift valley of al-ʿAraba at Elath. They certainly did not cross farther to the north, because they would then have reached Edom (Seʿîr), which extended as far as the ridge of Mount Seʿîr. They would have naturally avoided such a northerly route, not wishing again to incur the danger of being caught by Joab's spies. If we grant that they crossed al-ʿAraba at the present settlement of al-ʿAḳaba, then we may, and in fact must, locate Pârân there also. And even if this Pârân is not exactly identical with Elath, it lay at any rate in the closest vicinity to it or in any case in the southern part of al-ʿAraba.

From there the fugitives took guides as well as protectors against the tribes encamping between Edom and Egypt. — In a settlement through

which, or in the immediate neighborhood of which, the caravans passed, such guides were and still are easier to find than at a distance in the desert.

From the context it cannot be decided whether Madian denotes the settlement, the tribe, or the territory of the tribe. All these interpretations are possible, and none of them can be wholly rejected. But, whatever it may denote, Madian must be located outside Edom and to the south of it, as we cannot suppose that the servants would have ventured, accompanied as they were by the king's son, to penetrate to Pârân through Edom, which was occupied by Joab's army. Pârân was situated between Egypt and Edom and thus to the west of Edom proper. Furthermore, Pârân may have been not only a settlement but also a territory which did not belong, however, to Edom and was as yet unoccupied by Joab.

The harbor of Elath, with which I identify Êl Pârân, or Pârân, is not situated in Edom proper and certainly never belonged exclusively to it. The inhabitants of the port, as well as those in charge of the transport routes, whether southern Arabians or others dwelling and encamping to the southeast, east, west, and northwest of Elath, took care that the garrison of Edom should not fortify itself there and that the Edomite officials should not retain the payments which they themselves received. From the Biblical accounts we see that the Edomites held authority in Elath only temporarily. At the time when Joab occupied Elath he controlled al-ʿAraba as far as the Red Sea, and a secret journey from east to west to Egypt would therefore have been very dangerous and even impossible. Hence, it must be supposed that the servants saved Ḥadad before the army of Judea had reached the Red Sea. If we judge Pârân to be a locality, then we must identify it with Êl Pârân and Elath; but if we decide that in our account it denotes a larger territory, then we must locate it in al-ʿAraba and must locate the place where the servants crossed the rift valley with Ḥadad on the transport route not far from Elath.

In 1 Samuel, 25: 1f., it is stated that David ascended from Engadi into the mountains; whereupon he went down into the wilderness of Pârân, whence he sent messengers to Nabal, the husband of Abigail, at Maon.

The positions of Engadi on the western shore of the Dead Sea, and of Maon to the southwest of it, are known. The rift valley of al-ʿAraba, the southern part of which we identify with the Biblical territory of Pârân, extends from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea, so that we might locate the wilderness of Pârân, where David stayed with his men, in this lowland. But it would seem that the word Pârân found its way into this account owing to an inaccurate transcription of the word Maon. This might very easily happen because of the great similarity of the two first consonants in the ancient script. Even if, however, we insist upon Pârân, it is not necessary for us to extend the wilderness of Pârân to the Dead Sea itself: we may admit that the shepherds in charge of Nabal's flocks remained during the rainy season in the rift valley of al-ʿAraba at some distance from Maon and that David protected them from the raids of various nomads. Although we should thus not gain absolute certainty as to where the Pârân of this account should be located, yet we see that we are led by it into al-ʿAraba or at least to its border.

This is also where we arrive by considering the early encampments of Ishmael, who, according to Genesis, 21: 21, settled in the wilderness of Pârân. According to the Assyrian and Biblical accounts, Ishmael's descendants encamped from the Egyptian frontiers and the northern gulf of the Red Sea as far as Dûmât al-Ğandal, and al-ʿAraba, or Pârân, formed a kind of center from which they spread both to the west and to the east.

In the accounts of the migrations of the Israelites from Mount Sinai to the Promised Land there are references to Pârân, and not a single one of them is at variance with our identification.

According to Numbers, 10: 12, the Israelites, having departed from the wilderness of Sinai, encamped in the wilderness of Pârân; according to Numbers, 13: 3, Moses sent spies from there to the Promised Land. These proceeded from Pârân to Ṣin and returned (Num., 13: 26) to "the wilderness of Pârân, which is Ḳadeš." —

The wilderness of Ṣin is the name of the territory extending westward from northern Seʿîr and southward from Palestine. The spies, wishing to become acquainted with the Promised Land (that is Palestine proper) proceeded from Pârân to Ṣin. This is entirely possible if we identify Pârân with the southern half of al-ʿAraba. The spies proceeded to the northwest and came to the Biblical wilderness of Ṣin and, farther, to the southern part of Palestine and the mountain of the Amorites. Returning, they came back to the wilderness of Pârân, or Ḳadeš, which we locate in the vicinity of Petra, on the borders of Pârân and Ṣin.

The sojourn of the Israelites in Pârân is mentioned in Deuteronomy, 33: 2, where it is recorded that Jehovah came from Sinai and shone upon his people from Seʿîr, gleaming from Mount Pârân, coming from Merîbat Ḳadeš. This repeats in other words Habakkuk, 3: 3, where it is stated that God came from Têmân and the Holy One from Mount Pârân. —

Mount Pârân here denotes the broken plateau enclosing al-ʿAraba on the east and extending as far as the foot of Mount Seʿîr.

APPENDIX IX

THE CITY OF MADIAN, THE MADIANITES, AND THE MOUNTAIN OF GOD

THE CITY OF MADIAN

Flavius Josephus, *Archaeologia* (Naber), II, 257, writes that Moses fled to the city of Madiana opposite the Red Sea. — This shows that in the first century of our era the city of Madian was commonly known. The old Madianite settlement of Ḥawra near the oasis of al-Bedʿ was not enlarged and fortified by the Nabataeans until about the first century before Christ. Thus we can understand why it is that the older writers are silent about it, although they are well acquainted with the region in which Madian is situated.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 27, records on the northwestern border of Arabia Felix a settlement Madiama, which I identify with Madian.

Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (Klostermann), p. 124, notes that Madiam, a town called after one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, is situated beyond Arabia in the south, in the desert of the Saracens to the east of the Red Sea. — Eusebius and Jerome (see *op. cit.*, p. 125) locate the city of Madian beyond the border of the province of Arabia, the fixed southern frontier of which would correspond approximately with the northern border of Arabia Felix and the southern foot of the áš-Šera' range.

According to the Ḳorân, 11: 85; 22: 43; 29: 35 f.; 50: 13, the preacher Šu'ejb came to the inhabitants of Madjan or the inhabitants of the woods (*ahl al-ajka*), and rebuked them for their idolatry and for various social shortcomings. As they would not listen to him, they were struck by a sudden blow, so that they all fell dead in their houses.

Some traditions say (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ*, [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 458) that Moses departed from Egypt to Madjan, a distance of nine night, encampments, or, as it was said, about as far as from al-Kûfa to al-Baṣra. Having no food, he lived on the leaves of perennials and journeyed barefooted, so that he reached Madjan with lacerated feet.

Ibn Hišâm, *Sîra*, (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 994, records that after the expedition against the Ǧuḏâm in Ḥesma, Zejd ibn Ḥâreṯa, at the order of Mohammed, made an inroad in the direction of Madjan and returned with numerous prisoners from the harbor situated on the inhabited shore. — The account does not state whether Zejd reached the city of Madjan; but, since reference is made to the harbor in connection with Madjan, we must suppose that Zejd gained possession of the harbor of that place, though, it is true, the latter was situated nearly forty-three kilometers from the city, perhaps near the mouth of the al-Ḳijâl valley. The shore of the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba is much nearer, scarcely twenty-five kilometers distant from the city, but the journey thither is difficult whether by land or sea. The sea passage is dangerous on account of the rocks restricting access from the Red Sea into the gulf, in which there is neither safe landing place nor anchorage. Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 2, refers to the harbor of Madian south of the city of Madian and thus beyond the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 129, and Ibn Roste, *A'lâḳ* (De Goeje), p. 177, mention among the districts belonging to the city of al-Medîna the areas of al-Fur', Ḏu-l-Marwa, Wâdi al-Ḳura', Madjan, and Ḫajbar.

At the time of al-Ja'ḳûbi (*Buldân* [De Goeje], p. 341) there were living in the ancient town of Madjan people of various tribes, who cultivated gardens and date palms irrigated by numerous wells and streams with fairly good water.

Al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), p. 129, refers to Madjan in the territory of the Ǧuḏâm tribe.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 155, does not reckon Madjan among the districts of al-Medîna but assigns it to the Syrian district of aš-Šera' with the principal city of Ṣoṛar, to which belong also Moab, ar-Rabba, Ma'ân, Tebûk, Aḏruḥ, Wajla (Ajla). Elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 178) he states that Madjan actually forms the borderland of the Ḥeǧâz, as all

the places enclosed by the sea belong to the peninsula of Arabia. In his time they exhibited a stone at Madjan, which Moses lifted when he wished to water the flocks of sheep and goats belonging to Šu'ejb. Plenty of water was found there. The inhabitants used Syrian weights and measures.— Thus, according to al-Muḳaddasi, the district of aš-Šera' extended from the stream of al-Môğeb, the northern frontier of Moab, in the north, to south of Tebûk. The effect of incorporating Tebûk and Madjan in the administrative district of Syria was that both places were regarded as part of Syria. The northern frontier of the Ḥeğâz was thus often changed, the determining criterion sometimes being the natural and sometimes the administrative border.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 516, assigns to Syria the settlement of Madjan on the highroad leading to Ġaza. It is said that the Prophet despatched an expedition against Madjan, which was led by Zejd ibn Ḥâreṯa. Zejd returned with numerous prisoners from the harbor (*mîna*) — for according to Ibn Isḥâḳ *mîna* denotes shore.

According to Ibn 'Abbâs (al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 135; see az-Zabîdi, *Tâğ al-'arûs* [Bûlâḳ, 1307—1308 A. H.], Vol. 7, pp. 104 f.; Ibn Manẓûr, *Lisân al-'Arab* [Bûlâḳ, 1300—1307 A. H.], Vol. 12, pp. 274 f.) the woods of al-Ajka mentioned in the Ḳorân, in which the kinsmen of Šu'ejb encamped, extended either between Madjan, Šaṛab, and Bada' or between Madjan and the shore. It was formed of low, luxuriant *dûm* palms.

Down to the present day the whole valley between al-Bed' and the sea is covered with thickets, from which project numerous *dûm* palms. But the road from Madjan to Bada' also leads through several oases which are well watered and thus well provided with vegetation; formerly these also belonged to the people of Madjan. There is an interesting statement (Ibn Manẓûr, *Lisân al-'Arab*, *loc. cit.*) to the effect that the word al-Ajka means thicket and Lajka a neighboring settlement. Lajka recalls the Greek *leuke* (λευκή), meaning white; and the part of the ruins of Madian bordering on the thickets is still called Ḥawra, which also means white.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, III, 5, following al-Balḫi, states that the distance between the towns of Madjan and Ajla was five days' march and between Madjan and Tebûk, situated to the eastward, six days' march. In his time (1154 A. D.) the town of Madjan was greater than Tebûk; a well was exhibited there from which Moses watered the cattle. — According to this, it appears that there were two highroads which crossed at Madjan, the first running from Palestine and Egypt by way of Ajla along the seashore southward with branch roads to al-Medîna and Mecca, and the second running eastward to Tebûk and thence to Tejma, or al-Ḥeğr. — From Madjan to Ajla is about 125, and to Tebûk about 140 kilometers, so that al-Balḫi gives distances both as traversed by trade caravans and by travelers proceeding at a slow pace.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 451, records various reports about Madjan. He writes that according to Abu Zejd al-Balḫi (died 931 A. D.) Madjan is situated by the Ḳolzum Sea opposite Tebûk, at a distance of six days' march. It is larger than Tebûk and contains a well from which Moses watered the flocks of Šu'ejb. Al-Balḫi himself inspected this well, above which a house had been built. The inhabitants of Madjan obtained water from the well. Madjan originally was the name of the

tribe to which belonged Šu'ejb's fellow countrymen, who asserted that they were descended from Madjan, the son of Abraham. Muḥammed ibn Salâma ibn Ǧa'far al-Ḳuḍâ'i (died 1062 A. D.) reckoned Madjan with its environs among the districts of southern Egypt. Muḥammed ibn Mûsa al-Ḥâzimi (died 1188 A. D.) said that Madjan was situated between Wâdi al-Ḳura' and Syria. The poet Kuṭejjer mentions the monks in Madjan.

Al-Ḳazwîni, *'Aǧâ'ib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 173, calls the town of Madjan the trade center for Tebûk between al-Medîna and Syria. It contained a well from which Moses watered Šu'ejb's sheep. He was told that this well had been covered and a house built above it, to which the pilgrims used to go. — According to this report it appears that the trade caravans proceeded along the road by the sea, and the inhabitants of the town of Tebûk obtained their supplies in Madjan, situated on the second highroad mentioned by al-Idrîsi (*loc. cit.*).

Aḥmed al-Maḳrîzi made two pilgrimages to Mecca and thus visited Madjan. In the work entitled *al-Mawâ'iẓ* (Codex Vindobonensis, No. 908 [A. F. 69], Vol. 1, fol. 10 v., 36 v., 134 v.; Wiet's edit., Vol. 1, p. 311) he includes in the Egyptian province of al-Ḳible the following districts of the Ḥeǧâz: aṭ-Ṭûr, Fârân, Ajla, Madjan, al-'Uwajnid, al-Ḥawra, Bada', and Šaṛab. According to him the settlement of Madjan is situated by the Gulf of Ḳolzum, five days' march from Ajla. It affords its inhabitants only a modest livelihood, and trade does not prosper. Various strange memorials and huge buildings were exhibited there. —

It is interesting that even the districts of aṭ-Ṭûr and Fârân, though situated on the peninsula of Sinai, are here officially reckoned with the Ḥeǧâz. Fârân is identical with the town of Târân referred to on page 61 of Wiet's edition; Târân is here an error, the correct spelling being Medîne Fârân, inasmuch as the island of Târân is out of the question. In the Codex Vindobonensis, fol. 10 v., occurs a passage to the effect that the town of Fârân is situated between the towns of al-Ḳolzum and Ajla. Equally incorrect is the spelling in Wiet's edition al-'Awnîd for al-'Uwajnid, as is shown by a note in the manuscript L 3 (in the library of the University of Leiden, sig. 828; see note 21 in Wiet's edition, Vol. 1, p. 311) where the first consonant is provided with the vowel *u*, indicating a diminutive; furthermore, the natives say al-'Uwejned or 'Wejned.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, therefore, the once renowned town of Madian survived merely as a wretched settlement. The huge buildings which al-Maḳrîzi mentions are perhaps the Nabataean burial places cut out from the surrounding rocks.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 525, describes Madjan as a ruined town on the shore, situated six days' march to the west of Tebûk. Not far away the people exhibited a rock from which water gushed forth at the command of Moses. Many *etel* and *muḳl* trees grew there, together with date palms. In the valley there were ruined walls and also stone slabs, upon which were cut the names of various kings. —

The statement about the rock from which water gushed forth at the command of Moses is of late origin, for in the earlier centuries this rock had been exhibited near Petra. The boulder in question is situated to the west of the burial place, but no water flows from it or near it. The stone slabs with the inscriptions on them referred to by Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa

are possibly the smoothly cut rocky walls of the separate graves, upon which here and there the remains of Nabataean inscriptions are visible. It is perhaps possible, however, that at the time of Ḥağği Ḫalfa there were actually exhibited at Madian stone slabs with ancient inscriptions covering the separate tombs. The present natives have no knowledge of such slabs and are not aware of any place which contained stones and inscriptions.

The halting place of al-Bed' is called Moṛâjer Šu'ejb, because the Prophet Šu'ejb is said to have lived there in caves, in one of which he worshiped God upon a large, flat stone. Somebody who had been there explained to 'Abdalṛani that he noticed a pleasant fragrance, which led him to a cave where he found a coffin with a corpse swathed in linen. The corpse emitted a pleasant odor and radiated a luster which aroused reverence ('Abdalṛani an-Nâbulusi [1698], *Ḥaḳîḳa*, Codex Vindobonensis, No. 1269 [Mxt. 712], Vol. 2, fol. 12 v.).

THE TRIBE OF MADIAN

In the environs of the oasis of al-Bed' I locate the settlements of the tribe of Madian. According to the Bible the Madianites belonged to the descendants of Abraham by Keturah. Reference to these descendants is also made in the Assyrian records, but there are not enough particulars given in these records to enable us precisely to fix the limits of the area they occupied in the south and east. The Assyrian and Biblical records place their camps and settlements to the south and southwest of Ma'ôn (Ma'ân) as well as to the east and southeast of the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba. The southernmost of their settlements hitherto known was the oasis of Dedan, or the modern al-'Ela'. Their main group, those known as Madianites, were encamped in the region of Ḥesma and in the neighboring territories; that is to say, where the classical writers also located the Madianites.

There is an interesting remark in Genesis, 25: 6, that the descendants of Abraham by Keturah during Abraham's lifetime went "eastward into the land of Ḳedem (eastern land)." As Abraham and Isaac dwelt in southern Palestine and in the northern part of the Sinai peninsula, the descendants in question left the Sinai peninsula and went "eastward into the eastern land." This phrase is still used by the present-day camel breeders. Among the Bedouins *šerḳ* denotes the interior of the desert as well as the east. If at the end of August they leave the border of the inhabited territory, "they go eastward into the eastern land, *šarraḳaw*," irrespective of the direction they take. If the Rwala go "eastward into the eastern land," they usually proceed in a southerly or southeasterly direction; while the 'Amârât, camping westward of Babylon, go "eastward into the eastern land" but in reality make their way to the west. Similarly the Hebrew *ḳedem* must not always be translated by the word "east," because it frequently denotes also the interior of the desert. Thus the meaning of Genesis, 25: 6, is that the descendants of Abraham by Keturah left the Sinai peninsula and proceeded into the interior of the desert, *ḳedem*. We cannot seek their camps and settlements west of the rift valley of al-'Araba.

The Bible refers to Madianites in two regions completely separated and at some distance from each other. The first one may be defined fairly closely. It is situated to the east and northeast of the Dead Sea.

Although the position of the second cannot certainly be recognized from the Biblical account, it undoubtedly must be placed to the south and southeast of Edom, to which region Assyrian and classical indications point.

Genesis, 37: 25, relates that Ishmaelite merchants came from Gilead on camels, bringing various fragrant spices to Egypt, and arrived at the well into which the sons of Jacob had cast their brother Joseph. According to Genesis, 37: 28, the Madianite merchants drew him out, bought him, and took him to Egypt. The names Madianite and Ishmaelite would here seem to be used interchangeably. The trade caravan bearing fragrant spices to Egypt had perhaps branched off through Gilead from the main transport route leading from southern Arabia to Phoenicia and Damascus. It is impossible therefore to say with certainty that it proceeded from Gilead and that the Madianites encamped there. If the trade caravan had branched off from the transport route connecting the south with the north, there might have been both Ishmaelites and Madianites in it. Whether the fragrant spices belonged to these Madianite and Ishmaelite merchants or to a south Arabian wholesale trader, the Bible does not say. We do not know what fragrant spices are here meant, for the Ishmaelites and Madianites could have collected fragrant resin from terebinth and various species of acacia, which likewise were sold and still are sold in Egypt. Instead of Madianite merchants, we might have expected Sabaeans or else Ma'ônites, or Me'ûnites (to give the variant form of the name of the inhabitants of the south Arabian halting place of Ma'ôn). It is impossible to say precisely whence these Madianites came, whether from the region to the northeast of the Dead Sea or from that to the south of Edom, since they might have rented their camels to the caravans in whichever region they were encamped.

In Numbers, 22: 4, 7, it is stated that the elders of the Madianites made an agreement in northern Moab with the king of Moab against Moses and the Israelites. According to Numbers, 25: 17 f., the latter are urged to wage war upon the former, because the daughters of Madian led the Israelites astray at Sittîm by Jordan.

By the orders of Moses (Num., 31: 1—12) the Israelites made an expedition against the Madianites, killed four of their kings, captured their beasts of burden and their flocks as booty, and set fire to all the settlements in their territory and all their encampments.

According to Joshua, 13: 21, these kings of the Madianites dwelt in the land of Sihon, king of Heshbon. — Sihon of Heshbon was not a Moabite but a foreigner who had deprived the Moabites of their territory north of the Arnon and had settled in the town of Heshbon. It is hence possible and extremely probable that the Madianites accompanied him from his original country and encamped in the land which they helped him to obtain. Nowhere is it stated that they dwelt in towns and settlements or that they were engaged in agriculture or handicrafts. The towns which they owned were settlements paying them tribute, and the inhabitants tilled the soil for them in return for one-half or two-thirds of the total yield.

The Israelites under Moses defeated the Madianites but did not destroy them, for in Judges, 6, there is an account of the fresh sufferings which the Israelites endured from the Madianites. The Madianites allied themselves with the Amalekites and the Bene Ḳedem and came with

their camels into the Promised Land, ravaging the fields and gardens, plundering the sheep, cattle, and asses throughout the country as far as Gaza. According to Judges, 6: 33, the Madianites came across the Jordan; and according to 7: 24, they fled back across that stream.

In Judges, 8: 10ff., it is related how two chiefs of the Madianites, during their retreat eastward, came from Jordan to Ḳarḳor and how Gideon pursued them with his men on the "Road of the Nomads" eastward from Nobaḥ and Jogbeha. Having taken their camp by surprise, Gideon captured the two chiefs, scattered their troops, and (Judg., 8: 13) returned home again by the Ascent of Ḥeres.

This account clearly indicates that it was not only the Madianites who harassed the Israelites but that the chiefs of the Madianites were leaders of various Bedouin tribes, for *Bene Ḳedem* was a current expression for camel breeders. When, therefore, these allied tribes ravaged and plundered the Promised Land as far as Gaza, it was easy for the Amalekites to join them.

The Madianites and the Bene Ḳedem, to whom, according to the Bible, belonged various Ishmaelite tribes encamped to the east of Moab and Ammon, came from the east across the Jordan and fled to the east. Gideon pursued them upon the "Road of the Nomads." If a similar occurrence were narrated at the present time, I should not hesitate to define this "Road of the Nomads." The territory of an-Nuḳra extends from Damascus as far as the ancient Jabbok, the present stream of az-Zerḳa. To the east it is bordered by the Ḥawrân mountain range and volcanic territory which is very difficult of access. To the east of Damascus, between this volcanic territory and the chain of mountains extending from the Antilebanon to the Euphrates, there remains a passage, in places only six hundred meters broad, through which it is possible to pass easily from the desert to the territory of an-Nuḳra. A similar natural gateway affords an opening southeast of Der'ât between the southeastern spurs of the Ḥawrân and the broken hills in which az-Zerḳa has its source. Through these two gateways the camel breeders enter the territory of an-Nuḳra from the desert at the end of June, and through them at the end of August they return to their desert. The roads leading through these gateways (see Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, p. 46; Vol. 4, p. 669) used to be and still are called the "Roads of the Nomads." We may therefore locate the Road of the Nomads referred to in Judges, 8: 11, southeast of Der'ât, to which country the settlements of Nobaḥ and Jogbeha also point. The defeated chiefs of the Madianites together with their allies, the Bene Ḳedem, certainly fled along the road leading into the depression of Sirḥân, in which they found both pasturage and water. Knowing that Gideon was pursuing them, they fled a considerable distance and encamped by Ḳarḳor (which I identify with the modern Ḳarḳar or Ḳerâḳer), at the junction of important routes. Here they supposed that they had gone far enough and that Gideon would not follow them.

The wells of Ḳerâḳer are situated in a capacious basin surrounded by almost impassable limestone hills, from which only a single, convenient, but not very broad, outlet, leads to the depression of Sirḥân. Gideon, on coming up, stationed some of his men at this outlet, while with the others he climbed the hills surrounding the basin, took the camp by

surprise, and defeated the enemy. He pursued them as far as the Ascent of Ḥeres (which I locate at Darb al-Mneḳḳa), whence he returned. Gideon's companions took from the enemy many gold rings and other ornaments,

The victory of Gideon over the Madianites is recalled in Isaiah, 9: 3—4 and in Psalms, 83: 9—10.

Concerning the battles of the Madianites with the Moabites on the Moabite plain there is a reference also in Genesis, 36: 35.

It is difficult to determine who the Madianites were whom the Bible mentions as abiding to the east and northeast of the Dead Sea. In Genesis, 37: 25, 28, the names Madianite and Ishmaelite are used interchangeably, and there is a similar confusion in Judges, 8: 24. From this it would seem that the Madianite clans may have joined the Ishmaelite clans and encamped by the latter's camping grounds to the east of Moab and Ammon. We do not know where these Madianite clans came from, but we may suppose that they had migrated from the land of Madian along the great transport route running from south to north. They rented their camels to the southern Arabian traders, who also hired camels from the Ishmaelites, the northern neighbors of the Madianites; thus they became acquainted and in common they harassed both the Moabites and the Israelites.

THE LAND OF MADIAN

Where was the land of Madian situated? The Bible refers to it for in Exodus, 2: 15, it is recorded that Moses sought a refuge from Pharaoh in the land of Madian, where he rested by a well at which the daughters of the priest of Madian were watering their flocks.

We cannot, however, after the manner of the Bible, give the name of the land of Madian to the region in which some Madianite clan was encamped only from time to time or temporarily, but should apply it to the land which formed, as it were, the headquarters of this tribe and which had belonged to it from a very early period.

According to the Biblical account, Moses, fostered by the daughter of Pharaoh, committed high treason by murdering an Egyptian official and thus setting an example of revolt to the immigrant Israelites. Knowing that he was threatened with death, he had to flee not only from Egypt proper but also from the bordering territory, to which Egyptian influence extended.

If we acknowledge that the story of Moses has an historical foundation we must suppose that Moses fled from Egypt somewhere about the beginning of the fifteenth century before Christ. At that time the whole of Palestine and a large part of Syria belonged to Egypt. Egyptian garrisons guarded the important transport routes on the peninsula of Sinai, and the chiefs of all tribes encamped upon this peninsula had to obey the Egyptian commanders and officials if they wished to barter, sell, or buy anything in Egypt or in southern Palestine. If a political culprit were to settle down among them, this would soon be discovered by the commander of the nearest frontier garrison, who would order the guilty man to be brought immediately before him, if the garrison themselves did not wish to incur punishment. So it was at that time and so it is still done today.

In 1910 I found two men on the southern border of the aš-Šera' range. One was from al-'Arîš, where he had robbed an Egyptian soldier; the other from Ḳal'at an-Naḫl, where he had severely wounded another Egyptian soldier. Both of them were in fear of the English commanders of the respective garrisons and had fled to the nomads on the Sinai peninsula, first of all to the Tijâha, then to the Terâbîn and 'Azzâzme, and finally to the Ḥêwât; but with no chief could they remain longer than three days and a third, the length of time accorded to the guest by the law of hospitality, for each chief excused himself for not being able to protect them any longer, saying that if he did so, the English officers would be angry with him and his tribe and would hinder them from trading with Egypt and Egyptian merchants. There was nothing left for the two culprits but to seek a refuge to the east of al-'Araba, which they crossed at the watering place of Ṛaḍjân.

If Moses wished to save his life, he likewise had to escape beyond the range of Egyptian authority and thus beyond the rift valley of al-'Araba. He did not flee alone through the desert; but, as he was disguised, he probably joined some trade caravan, with which he proceeded along the transport route eastward and thus reached the land of Madian. From what has been said, therefore, it is clear that we must locate the land of Madian beyond and to the southeast of al-'Araba. In this we are justified by other Biblical reports.

Moses, when guarding the sheep of his father-in-law Jethro, priest of the Madianites, on one occasion (Ex., 3: 1) left the flock, when he came to the mountain of God, Ḥoreb. The mountain of God is hence situated in the desert of the land of Madian.

The daughter of Jethro, the wife of Moses, was a Madianite woman and yet she is also called a Kushite (Num., 12: 1).

In Habakkuk, 3: 7, there is a description of how the tents of Kûšân shook and the tent coverings of the land of Madian trembled. — From this it follows that Habakkuk thought of the Madianites as nomads living in tents near the Kushites. This tallies with the manner in which the Bible speaks of the Madianites, deriving several of their clans both from Abraham by Keturah and also from the descendants of Kush. We may assume that the camping grounds of the Madianites were in the vicinity of the southern Arabian clans, who hailed, according to the Bible, from Kush, and that they were also related to these clans. It is possible that the priest Jethro was also a member of some southern Arabian clan and had settled among the Madianites, who were politically dependent on the rulers of the main trading stations on the transport routes leading through the land of Madian. These rulers and their garrisons belonged to the southern Arabs.

Moses returned from the land of Madian (Ex., 4: 19—20) on the transport route to Egypt, with his wife and sons riding on an ass. He likewise joined some caravan and, according to Exodus, 4: 27, met his brother Aaron by the mountain of God. Moses also led the Israelites into the land of Madian, knowing that they would find a safe refuge there.

When setting out on the journey to the Promised Land, Moses asked Ḥobab (Num., 10: 29 f.), the son of Ra'uêl, a Madianite, to guide the Israelites, but Ḥobab was unwilling to do so. He wished to return home to his kindred.

All these passages show that the land of Madian must be located beyond the rift valley of al-ʿAraba and preferably to the east and southeast of the present settlement of al-ʿAḳaba at the former harbor of Ajla (Elath), for thither passed the important transport routes guarded by the southern Arabian garrison, whose headquarters were the settlements of Dedan (al-ʿEla') and Maʿôn (Maʿân).

That this is the true situation of Madian is attested by 1 Kings, 11: 18, where it is narrated that the guardians of Ḥadad, the prince of Edom, fled before Joab from Madian to Pârân, where they took people with them to guide and protect them, and then proceeded to Egypt (see above, p. 276). Whether Madian denotes the territory of the tribe or the settlement, we cannot locate it elsewhere than to the south or southeast of Edom. The southern border of Edom is formed by the southern ridge of aš-Šera', or the ancient Seʿîr. Thence Joab was spreading havoc northward with his army. The servants, wishing to save Ḥadad, did not flee with him either to the northeast or east of Edom but only to the south, for they knew that thence alone could they reach Egypt in the quickest and safest manner by the route rounding the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. They therefore endeavored to reach that route and, hiring guides at Pârân (which I identify either with Êl Pârân (Elath) or with the rift valley in which this settlement is situated), hastened with them to Egypt. These considerations show that the Madianites must be located to the east, or rather to the southeast, of Pârân (Elath), for at any distance north of Elath the servants could not have crossed al-ʿAraba, if they did not wish to fall into the hands of Joab's soldiers.

THE MADIANITE CLANS OF BIBLICAL AND ASSYRIAN RECORDS

The Biblical and Assyrian accounts of the various Madianite clans, or at least of those related to the Madianites, point to their habitat to the south of Edom (Seʿîr).

Genesis, 25: 1—2, mentions among the descendants of Abraham by Keturah the names of Zimran, Joḳšan, Medan, Madian, Jišbaḳ, and Šûaḥ. According to verse 3 of this chapter, the descendants of Joḳšan are Šeba' and Dedan. From the latter are descended Aššûrîm, Leṭûšîm, and Le'ummîm. In verse 4 it is stated that the sons of Madian are ʿÊfa', ʿEfer, Ḥanok, Abîdaʿ, and Eldaʿa. Genesis, 10: 7, mentions Šeba' and Dedan also among the descendants of Kush, and in Genesis, 10: 28—29, Šeba' is mentioned, together with Ḥawîla, among the Semitic sons of Joḳṭan. From these statements we may suppose that Dedan and Šeba' were in touch not only with Kushite Eastern Africa — or the modern Somaliland, Abyssinia, and the northern Sûdân — but also with northwestern Arabia and southern Syria, where Abraham's kindred dwelt; and it may further be assumed that Šeba' exerted a considerable influence also in the interior of Arabia: the ancient Ḥawîla or the modern Neǧd.

This view is frequently corroborated both by the Biblical and the Assyrian accounts. In the second half of the eighth century before Christ the Assyrian kings endeavored to extend their sway to the great trade route leading through western Arabia from south to north towards Egypt, Damascus, and the Phoenician harbor towns. Tiglath Pileser IV subjugated the extensive surroundings of the modern Ḥawrân, encroached also farther

to the south, and in 733 B. C. his *Annals* (Layard, *Inscriptions*, pls. 66, 72 b; Rost, *Keilschrifttexte*, Vol. 2, pls. 23, 18), lines 218–226, 240 (see also Rost, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 36, 38, 40, 70), record that from the tribe of Mas'a, the city of Têma, and the tribes of Saba, Ḫajappa, Badana, Ḫatti, and Idiba'il dwelling in the regions of the lands of the west in distant settlements, he received as tribute gold, silver, male and female camels, and spices of various kinds. He appointed Idibi'il of the land of Arubu as resident *(kêpu)* to keep him informed about Egypt. He separated fifteen settlements in the neighborhood of Askalon from the land of Askalon and gave them to Idibi'il.

In this account we meet with names which are familiar to us also from the Bible. The tribe Mas'a is probably identical with the Biblical tribe Massa (Gen., 25: 13—14). According to various reports this tribe had its encampments to the east or southeast of Moab and did not belong to the tribes of the Madianites but to the Ishmaelites.

By the town of Têma the Assyrian annals mean the oasis of Tejma, which, according to the Bible (Gen., 25: 13 f.; Septuagint, 25: 3), belonged either to the Ishmaelite clans or else to the descendants of Abraham by Keturah. The inhabitants of Tejma were engaged in trading by caravan (Job, 6: 19), and they therefore had to send gifts to Tiglath Pileser IV, who had control of the trade route leading to the Mediterranean harbors.

Šeba' or Saba; the Sabaeans

The Saba are identical with the Biblical Šeba', whose caravans together with the caravans of Tejma are referred to in Job, 6: 19. This tribe must therefore be located near the oasis of Tejma. To the west of Tejma the great transport route leads from southern Arabia to Syria and Egypt. This route was at times in the possession of the Sabaeans and at times in that of their kinsmen the Minaeans, who shared with them the supremacy in southwestern Arabia and thus also the predominance in the regions through which their caravans journeyed. In all the oases on this great transport route the rulers of southwestern Arabia had their garrisons and trading centers. These posts were a source of gain to the native settlers and tribes camping in the vicinity, to whom they supplied both clothing and food and over whom they exercised some sort of supremacy. As the home of these important traders was in southwestern Arabia, whence they had frequent relations with Kushite Africa, many Kushites settled among them; thus the Bible is able to attribute both them and their settlements on the route in northwestern Arabia partly to the descendants of Abraham by Keturah and partly to the descendants of Kush. I regard their colonies in northwestern Arabia as having been Dajdân, or the Biblical Dedan near the modern oasis of al-'Ela', and also the oasis of Ma'ôn, or the modern Ma'ân.

The center of the authority of the Sabaeans in northwestern Arabia was the oasis of Dajdân, and it is there that I locate the headquarters of their governor, *kebîr*, Chief It'amara of the land of Saba, who before 707 B. C. sent his tribute to King Sargon II (Great inscription of Khorsabad [Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, Vol. 4, pl. 145$_2$, line 3; Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, Vol. 2, pl. 65, line 27; see also Winckler,

op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 100; Peiser in: Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. 2, p. 54]).

Settled as they were in oases and carrying trade by caravans (Job, 6: 19), the Sabaeans were also engaged in breeding camels, goats, and sheep, and it was urgently necessary for them to camp in tents, at least from time to time. Both their flocks and their caravans were now and then attacked by remoter tribes and clans, and therefore they too, like all the inhabitants of the oases, were fond of setting out on warlike, plundering expeditions, partly to punish the troublesome tribes, partly also to satisfy their longing for adventures and to provide themselves with camels and other animals. There is an account of such a plundering expedition in Job, 1: 14—15. This narrative is entirely probable and shows not only that the writer was well acquainted with the habits and customs of the Sabaeans but also that we should locate the residence of Job near some Sabaean oasis and thus to the southeast of the Dead Sea, where their caravans passed.

Other Biblical writers refer to the tribe of Saba only as traders. Ezekiel, 27: 22, records that the traders from Saba and Ra'ama conveyed the best balsam, various precious stones, and gold to the market at Tyre.

According to Joel, 4: 8, the Jews sold slaves to the Saba nation, dwelling afar off. Ezekiel, 38: 13, refers to the trade relations between the Saba and the merchants from Tarshish. Isaiah, 60: 6, promises that young camels shall come to Zion from Madian and 'Êfa' bearing gold and incense of the Saba traders. From this reference it is clear that the great transport route from Saba proper, or southwestern Arabia, passed through the territory of the tribes of Madian and 'Êfa; for otherwise the latter could not have participated in the trade of Saba. This shows that the camping places of the tribes of Madian and 'Êfa must be located somewhere near the oasis of Tejma. As the inhospitable desert of the Nefûd, through which no great transport route led, extends to the east of the oasis of Tejma, it must further be supposed that these camping places were situated to the west of the oasis and thus in the territory through which the great transport route of Saba actually passed.

Ḫajappa or 'Êfa'

Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 304, identified the Ḫajappa tribe of the Assyrian annals quite accurately with the Biblical tribe of 'Êfa (Septuagint: Gafa(r) or Gajfa(r) of Isaiah, 60: 6). This tribe belonged to the descendants of Abraham who were the kinsmen of Saba and formed the first clan of the tribe of Madian (Gen., 25: 4). There is a reference to this kinship also in Isaiah, 60: 6. The name 'Êfa has still been preserved in the ruin of the ancient temple of Ṛwâfa, as this name is pronounced by some clans of the Beni 'Aṭijje, although others, as well as all the Ḫwêṭât at-Tihama, say Rwâfa. The interchange of *ṛ* and *ʿ* with *r* is fairly frequent. *Ṣadaṛ* is said instead of *ṣadar*, *azraḳ* instead of *azraḳ (azraḳ al-ʿajnên)*, *šarrâṭa* instead of *šaʿʿâṭa*, *taḳanṭaʿ* instead of *taḳanṭar*, etc. If the modern pronounciation *Ṛwâfa* is correct, we may conclude that the 'Êfa tribe had its camping grounds in the territory of Ḫesma. It is impossible to identify 'Êfa with Ṛajfe (Jâḳût, *Muʿǧam*

[Wüstenfeld], Vol. 3, p. 829). This Ṣajfe is situated not far from Bilbejs in Egypt, and in the year 733 B. C. the authority of Tiglath Pileser IV did not extend at all to the southwest of the town of Gaza. There is not a single Biblical or Assyrian record which would imply with certainty that any of the tribes of Madian pitched their tents on the Sinai peninsula in the first half of the first millennium before Christ.

Badana

The tribe of Badana is not referred to elsewhere. The name itself recalls the tribe of Bdûn, or Mdûn, whose camps are found in the highest mountains of the Ḥeğâz to the southeast of the oasis of al-'Ela', or the former Dajdân. The surrounding tribes assert that these folk are of very ancient origin and are related to nobody. A clan of Bdûn, or Mdûn, dwells near Petra.

The name Badana is very similar to Badanatha (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, VI, 157), but the reading Badanatha is not certain. There is better authority for the form Baclanaza (in Detlefsen's edition of the *Naturalis historia, loc. cit*). If the reading Badanatha were certain, we might surmise the inhabitants of the oasis of Bada', which is to the west of al-'Ela' (Dajdân) and is mentioned also by Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 30, as Badais, and by Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 155, as Badeos. In the whole territory of former Madian there are no ruins of a place called Beden, with which Badana was identified by F. P. Dhorme, *Les pays bibliques et l'Assyrie*, p. 196. Beden is an incorrect transcription of Bed', as the classical oasis of Madiama (Madian) is now called, and this cannot at the same time be identical with the classical oasis of Badanatha.

The Assyrian name Badana is somewhat like the Hebrew Madan, as it is vocalized in the Septuagint version of Genesis, 25: 2. At the beginning of a word *b* is often interchanged with *m*. According to the Bible, Madan is related to the Madianites just as is 'Êfa', the Assyrian Ḫajappa. The Assyrian record unites the last-named with Badana, thus justifying us in assigning Madan or Badana to the Biblical tribe of 'Êfa' and in locating its camping place near the oasis of Tejma: that is to the southeast of the present settlement of al-'Aḳaba, or the ancient Elath.

The southern Arabian inscriptions likewise record a settlement of Madan in northwestern Arabia (Glaser's inscriptions [collated by Adolf Grohmann], National-Bibliothek, Vienna, No. 1238).

Ḫatti

I place the tribe of Ḫatti in the immediate vicinity of ancient Edom upon the basis of Genesis, 26: 34; 36: 2, where reference is made to the kinship of the Edomites with the Ḫatti. It seems that the Ḫatti, who in 710 B. C. stirred up strife at Asdod against the Assyrians (Great Inscription of Khorsabad [Botta and Flandin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pl. 149, line 10; Winckler, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pl. 70], lines 95 f.; see also Winckler, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 115; Peiser in: Schrader, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 64), likewise belonged to the same tribe. There is no reason for identifying these two Ḫatti, mentioned in the Bible and the Assyrian sources as dwelling or camping

to the south of Palestine, with the Ḫittites rather than with the Arab clan of the Ḫatti.

Idiba'il or Adbe'êl

The tribe of Idiba'il and the Kêpu Idibi'il, to whom Tiglath Pileser IV assigned fifteen settlements in the territory of Askalon, are certainly the same. Idiba'il, or Idibi'il, was probably the name of the ruling family, and a tribe subordinate to it might well be designated by its name.

The Assyrian Idiba'il is identical with the Biblical tribe Adbe'êl, which Genesis, 25: 13, includes among the Ishmaelites. Its encampments were near and to the southwest of Gaza, near the actual Egyptian frontier, and it had to report to the great Assyrian king on whatever happened near the frontier.

Tamudi

To cite another Assyrian account, we find that Sargon II narrates (Cylinder Inscription [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, pl. 36; Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 4], line 20; see also F. E. Peiser in: Schrader, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 42) that in 715 B. C. he defeated the tribes of the Tamudi, Ibadidi, Marsimani, and Ḫajappa and settled their survivors in Samaria.

The Tamudi are identical with the classical Thamudeni. Agatharchides, *Periplus* (Photius' version [Müller, *Geographi*, Vol. 1]), p. 179, refers to a stony shore one hundred stades long lying behind the small islands situated near the long gulf of the Red Sea and belonging to the territory of the Thamudenoi Arabs. The same statement, with minor changes, is repeated by Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica*, III, 44.

Uranius, *Arabica* (Müller, *Fragmenta*, Vol. 4), p. 525, states that Thamuda borders upon the Arabian Nabataeans.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 4, mentions the Thamyditai and (*op. cit.*, VI, 7: 21) the Thamydenoi in northwestern Arabia.

According to the inscription on the temple at Ṛwâfa, built between the end of the year 166 and the beginning of the year 169 A. D. by the "Thamudenon ethnos" or Thamudenic tribe, the Thamudeni owned the Ḫarrat al-ʿAwêreẓ and the Ḫarrat ar-Ṛha' in the middle of the second century of our era. Their encampments were thus to the west of the oasis of Tejma near the great trade route leading from southwestern Arabia to Syria and Egypt.

The Moslem tradition asserts (Ḳorân, 7: 71; 26: 141; 54: 28; 91: 13) that the Ṯamûd tribe built rock dwellings in the oasis of al-Ḥeğr. Ṣâleḥ, the messenger of Allâh, warned them not to be proud of their earthly possessions but to fear Allâh. They did not believe him and wanted him to attest his message by miracle, but, instead of granting them a miracle, Ṣâleḥ admonished them not to grudge their water to Allâh's camel and not to harm it. The people of Ṯamûd killed the camel at the instigation of a wicked man, and there arose a terrible storm which destroyed them all. — This tradition tallies with the classical accounts and with the inscription at Ṛwâfa. The environs of the oasis of al-Ḥeğr belonged to the people of Ṯamûd, and it is certain that the whole shore also belonged to them, for the tribes encamping on the shore had to acknowledge the

supremacy of the tribe in whose territory the trade center of al-Ḥeğr was situated and who ensured their trade relations. We see that the Ṯamûd tribe, which is mentioned in the Assyrian records, encamped in the same territory as the Ḫajappa, or the Biblical ʿÊfa, the name of which, as we have seen, is preserved in that of Ṛwâfa. The Bible makes no reference to the Ṯamûd tribe.

Ibadidi or Abîdaʿ

I identify the Ibadidi with the Biblical Abîdaʿ, who, according to Genesis, 25: 4, was descended from Abraham by Keturah. The second half of the word Ibadidi is formed by the name of the deity Dad. In the Bible this name, like similar names, was changed into Daʿ in order that any offence might thus be obviated. The Abîdaʿ, and hence also the Ibadidi, belonged to the Madianite tribes related to the ʿÊfa, and we must locate their camping place by the great trade route to the southeast of Elath (al-ʿAḳaba).

Marsimani

The Assyrian record refers to a Marsimani tribe, which is not mentioned in the Bible. On the other hand, the classical authors knew of a tribe to the southeast of al-ʿAḳaba, the name of which recalls the Assyrian Marsimani. Agatharchides, *Periplus* (Photius' version [Müller, *Geographi*, Vol. 1]), pp. 177—179, mentions a Batmizomaneis tribe on the shore to the southeast of the mouth of the Laeanitic Gulf or the modern Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba; and Diodorus, *Bibliotheca*, III, 43 f., records a Banizomaneis tribe in the same region. According to both these authors, the neighbors of this tribe on the southeast are the Thamudenoi, our people of Ṯamûd, a circumstance which justifies us not only in connecting the Ṯamûd of the Assyrian inscription with the classical Thamudenoi, but also the Marsimani with the Banizomaneis, as the name should be transcribed. The Arabic dialects often put *z* in place of *ṣ* and interchange *b* with *m*. Thus, they say *rezâz, Zoṛar*, instead of *reṣâṣ, Ṣoṛar*; and *Madḥ, Tereb, Ḥeseb*, instead of *Badḥ, Terem, Ḥesem*. The Assyrian Marsimani may therefore be read Barsimani. Furthermore, *Bani* and *Bar* mean the same thing. This view is confirmed also by Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VI, 7: 21, who mentions a Maisaimaneis tribe in the northwestern part of Arabia Felix in the interior of the country. But his statements, whether they refer to the interior or to the coast, are not accurate in the case of towns and are all the more likely to be erroneous in the case of tribes. Agatharchides and Diodorus locate the Thamudi on the coast, while Ptolemy places them in the interior of the country; nevertheless in the second century they certainly exercised supremacy over the coast. In Ptolemy's spelling of Maisaimaneis, either an *n* was omitted between the first *a* and *i* or else the first *i* arose through a faulty transcription from *r*. At the beginning of words *m* is commonly interchanged with *b*. The Aramaic trader, from whom Ptolemy obtained his information about northwestern Arabia, might easily have interchanged the Arabic *Bani* with the Aramaic *Bar*. If we admit the identity of the Maisaimaneis and Banizomaneis with the Marsimani of the Assyrian records, we likewise

arrive at the region west of the oasis of Tejma and west of the great transport route from southern Arabia to Syria and Egypt, and thus at the region where the classical writers locate the oasis of Madiama and where, according to the Bible, we seek the land of Madian.

All four of the tribes mentioned by Sargon II in the year 715 B. C. may be associated with the Biblical tribes of the Madianites. The Ḫajappa, or ʿÊfa, certainly belonged to them; the Ibadidi, or Abîdaʿ, very probably; and we may include the Tamudi and Marsimani likewise, considering their camping places. According to this identification Sargon's army made an expedition along the trade route southwards, attacked various camps and oases of the tribes mentioned, and settled the captured inhabitants in devastated Samaria. We cannot tell how deeply the army penetrated, but it did not reach either the oasis of Tejma or Dajdân; for, had it done so, the Assyrian annalist would certainly have recorded the fact. The inroad induced the Sabaean It'amara, whom I infer to have been the Sabaean resident at Dajdân, likewise to send gifts to Sargon.

Other Madianite Tribes

Concerning the Zimran and Jišbaḳ tribes, among the descendants of Abraham by Keturah mentioned in Genesis, 25: 2, we have no other accounts either in the Bible or in other ancient records, as far as they have been published.

Joḳšan is perhaps identical with the descendant of Sem called Joḳṭan, from whom the Bible derives the tribes of Central Arabia. Bildad of the tribe of Šûaḥ visited the great sufferer Job (Job, 2: 11; 8: 1; 18: 1; 25: 1; 42: 9). The land of ʿÛṣ, where Job dwelt, I locate in the neighborhood of the modern town aṭ-Ṭefîle in the northern part of Seʿîr. We may therefore also place Bildad's home, the camping place of the tribe of Šûaḥ, on the southeastern or southern border of the Seʿîr mountain range, or the ancient Edom, and thus in the area of the Madianite tribes.

Among the descendants of Madian (Gen., 25: 4) we know that the tribe of ʿÊfa', or the Assyrian Ḫajappa, camped to the west of the oasis of Tejma and near the above-mentioned transport route. The name of the ʿEfer tribe has perhaps been preserved in the name of the valley of al-ʿEfâr, or al-ʿEfâl, which winds through the oasis of Madian, or the modern al-Bedʿ. We have identified the Abîdaʿ with the Assyrian Ibadidi, and we locate their camping place between the Tamudi, to whom the Ḥarrat al-ʿAwêreẓ belonged, and the Marsimani, who were masters of the oases on the coast to the northwest of al-Mwêleḥ. Ḥanok and Eldaʿa are not mentioned anywhere else.

We have already discussed Saba'. Concerning the clans of the Aššûrîm, Leṭûšîm, and Le'ummîm, the kinsmen of Dajdân, we know nothing.

Dedan of Dajdân

To Dedan belonged the oasis of the same name, the modern al-ʿEla'. The latter is situated on the great transport route uniting southwestern Arabia with Syria and Egypt. From this route another great route here branched off along the southern border of the sandy desert of Nefûd to the interior of Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and Babylon. As we know

from inscriptions which have been preserved in the oasis of Dajdân, the kings of southwestern Arabia held sway over these great transport routes. The population comprised natives and Sabaean emigrants from southern Arabia. This explains why the Bible thus derives Dedan, partly (as in Genesis, 10: 7) from the Kushites of southern Arabia and partly (as Genesis, 25: 1—4) from the Semitic descendants of Abraham by Keturah.

No reference to Dedan has yet been found in the Assyrian inscriptions. It is extremely probable that during the Assyrian period the oasis of Dajdân was completely subordinate to the Sabaean kings and that where the Assyrian records speak of Saba they mean the Sabaean lord of the oasis of Dajdân and not the Sabaean king from southwestern Arabia. The Bible very often connects Dedan with Saba (Gen., 10: 7; 25: 3; Ezek., 38: 13). The great prophets were acquainted with Dedan. In Isaiah, 21: 13—15, there is a reference to the trade caravans of Dedan, who are urged to spend the night in the wilderness in the wood, and the inhabitants of the land of Têma are admonished to hasten to them with water and bread, because they are thirsty and hungry. — The context shows that a great danger threatened Edom and the people of Têmân, through whose territories passed the transport route upon which the trade caravans of Dedan used to proceed. In order to escape the danger they had to flee into the wilderness and seek quarters for the night in the wood. Fugitive travelers, very sleepy in the nighttime, do not keep watch and can easily be attacked. They therefore gladly spend the night in the wood — i. e. in a valley or hollow covered with a growth of acacias and tamarisks, of which there are many to the southeast of Edom. The inhabitants of the land of Têma were to have mercy on the fugitives and to offer them water and bread. This is done even today by the inhabitants of the oases when they learn that a tribe with whom they are on friendly terms has been plundered and is escaping from its enemies.

In Jeremiah, 25: 23, there is also a record of the danger by which Dedan, Têma, and Bûz were threatened. The people of Dedan are urged to hide themselves in deep basins (Jer., 49: 8). Jeremiah is thinking of the basins in the volcanic territory which afford a safe refuge to all refugees, each one being generally elliptical in shape, strengthened by a natural rampart of lava boulders up to a height of fifty meters, and reached only by a narrow footpath, in places artificially made. The footpath is enclosed by boulders, the lava rampart can be held by a few defenders, and the pursuing party must return baffled. The volcanic territory extends to within two hundred kilometers north of the oasis of Dajdân.

In Ezekiel, 25: 13, Jehovah threatens that he will turn Edom into a wilderness from Têmân as far as Dedan. Têmân is the name of the settlement and territory on the northern border of Edom. The latter marched on the south with the territory of Dedan. The phrase "from Têmân as far as Dedan" therefore denotes the whole of Edom from the valley of al-Ḥasa' as far as the southern foot of the aš-Šera' range.

In Ezekiel, 27: 20, it is stated that Dedan sold to Tyre coverings for riding saddles. Such coverings are made to this day in the oases of al-'Ela', Ḫajbar, and Ḥâjel. Goatskin with long, soft, black fur is tanned until it is quite soft and is then decorated and hemmed and placed on the saddles of either horses or camels. Before the War of 1914—1918

a covering of this kind cost the equivalent of two to ten dollars according to quality.

In southern Arabian inscriptions Dedan is often mentioned as a place from which temple servants were imported (Glaser's inscriptions [collated by Adolf Grohmann], National-Bibliothek, Vienna, 942 = 1277, 944 = 1268, 946 = 1270, 961 = 1241, 963 = 1243, 974, 976 = 1255, 1025.

From the inscriptions discovered at Dedan (D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler*, pp. 1—96) we see that the people of Dedan had not only a king of their own but also a southern Arabian resident, who was called *kebîr*. The native clan ruling in Dedan is called Leḥjân on the inscriptions; whereas the residents exercised authority in the name of the kings of Ma'în, or the Minaeans, but no longer in the name of the Sabaeans. From this it follows that the Dedan inscriptions are more recent than the Assyrian records concerning Saba and date from a period after the sixth century before Christ. This is also proved by the Septuagint, which frequently refers to the Minaeans. Although the Bible does not record the name Leḥjân even once, the classical writers are familiar with it and from the time of Agatharchides call the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba the Laeanitic Gulf. This name is a proof that the Leḥjân, or Laeanites, held sway not only over the land trade route but also over the maritime route leading to Elath and that the Hellenic traders and sailors used to pay toll to the Leḥjân collectors. This was perhaps the case in the fourth and third centuries before Christ, for Agatharchides, who wrote about the Red Sea in the second century, knew only the name Laeanitic Gulf but says nothing about a Leḥjân ruling family. It seems that the Nabataeans supported the settlement of al-Ḥeğr to the detriment of the southern Arabian colony of Dajdân and that the Leḥjân kings from the time of their decline settled in al-Ḥeğr. Only thus can we explain the record which has been preserved for us by Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, VI, 156, who, writing about the town of Hagra, says that it is the royal seat of the Laeanites. This record is an extract from some older source now lost, for at the time of Pliny the Nabataean kings themselves held sway at Hagra. Concerning the native Leḥjân kings the classical authors give no details. In one southern Arabic inscription (Glaser, 985 = 1264) the settlement of al-Ḥeğr is likewise mentioned.

Through the decay of the Leḥjân the authority of the Tamudi and their oasis, al-Ḥeğr, increased, and it would seem that by the action of the Nabataeans the transport route from this oasis southward changed its direction, passing about seven kilometers to the east of the old oasis of Dajdân and thus completing the ruin of that place. Even at the rise of Islâm the transport and accordingly also the Pilgrim Route led east of the oasis of Dajdân, and the latter disappeared both from historical and geographical literature. The old town fell into ruins, and about three kilometers to the southwest of it another settlement was built, originally called Ḳurḥ and later al-'Ela'. Only a few clans of the old Beli tribe are still aware that the ruins of al-Ḫrajbe to the northeast of al-'Ela' were formerly called Dajdân. This form of the name, recorded by the Septuagint instead of the Hebrew Dedan, is mentioned by Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 639, where he writes that ad-Dajdân is the name of a town situated on the transport route from the territory of al-Ḥeğâz to al-Belḳa', once a place of fine buildings but now in ruins.

Summary

The evidence in all the foregoing records, therefore, shows that we are justified in locating the camping places of the tribes descended from Abraham by Keturah to the south of the Edom range of Seʿîr, or the modern aš-Šera', and to the west of the sandy desert of Nefûd. It is there that Flavius Josephus, *Archaeologia*, II, 257, locates the place Madiana; Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 27, the settlement of Madiama; Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (Klostermann), p. 124, the town of Madiam; and the Arabic tradition the center of the Madjan tribe.

The Assyrian records mention the oasis of Têma together with the Biblical tribes of Madian. This, with the position of the oasis of Tejma to the southeast of the former Seʿîr, strengthens our supposition that the inhabitants of the oasis of Tejma likewise belonged to the tribes descended from Abraham by Keturah and not to the Ishmaelite tribes. The Hebrew text (Gen., 25: 15) mentions Têma among the descendants of Ishmael, but the Septuagint has in this passage the tribe of Taiman, who, according to Biblical accounts, possessed the eastern half of northern Edom. In the enumeration of the sons of Abraham by Keturah the Septuagint, in Genesis, 25: 3, records between the accusatives Saban and Daidan, also the accusative Taiman. I judge that the nominative of this form Taiman is Taima, just as in the case of the preceding Saban the nominative is Saba, and that in his Hebrew manuscript the translator found the tribe of Têma among the tribes of Saba and Dedan, to which they actually belong.

According to this view, Moses sought and found a refuge in the land of Madian to the southeast of the harbor of Elath (al-ʿAḳaba) where also was the mountain of God, to which he led the Israelites.

THE MOUNTAIN OF GOD

The mountain of God, where the Commandments to the Israelites were issued is called both Ḥoreb and Sinai.

In Exodus, 3: 1, it is narrated that Moses, while guarding the sheep of Jethro, his father-in-law, the priest of the Madianites, once drove them across the desert and came to the mountain of God, to Ḥoreb. — Mount Ḥoreb is therefore situated in the land where the Madianites were encamped but at some distance from the place where Jethro dwelt. Knowing that the land of the Madianites was situated to the southeast of the northern extremity of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, we must locate Mount Ḥoreb likewise there.

According to Deuteronomy, 1: 2, it is possible from Mount Ḥoreb to reach Ḳadeš Barneʿa by way of Mount Seʿîr in eleven days.

According to Deuteronomy, 1: 19, the road to Mount Seʿîr is identical with the road to the mountain of the Amorites, upon which the Israelites after leaving Ḥoreb passed through a great and terrible wilderness as far as Ḳadeš Barneʿa. (See above, pp. 263—264.)

We locate Ḳadeš Barneʿa in the vicinity of the famous Petra, and we know that Mount Seʿîr rises to the east of the rift valley of al-ʿAraba close to ruins of Petra, while the mountains of the Amorites extend to the northwest of it. The road in question went along the western foot

of Mount Se'îr. But as this range extends from north to south, we know that the road must also go in a southerly and northerly direction, and this likewise brings us to the southeast of al-'Aḳaba. Here, therefore, we locate Ḥoreb in the land of Madian. The Bible does not say that the road in question led through Mount Se'îr but that it is the road to Mount Se'îr; that is, in a direction towards Mount Se'îr. From other passages we know that the Israelites, when passing along it, proceeded along the very border of Se'îr, or Edom, but they did not encroach upon its cultivated and inhabited parts. Furthermore, this circumstance entirely tallies with the road leading through the al-Abjaẓ valley, along Mount Iram (Ramm), and by the ruins of al-Ḥomejma to Petra and thence farther to the north-northwest.

According to Deuteronomy, 1: 2, from Ḥoreb to Ḳadeš Barne'a is eleven days' march. If we locate Mount Ḥoreb in the vicinity of the *še'îb* of al-Ḥrob, from there to Ḳadeš Barne'a in the vicinity of Petra is about 240 kilometers, which quite agrees with the eleven days' march of goods caravans or of migrating nomads.

It was to Mount Ḥoreb that Elijah hastened when he was persecuted (1 Kings, 19: 8). From the neighborhood of the capital city of Samaria he proceeded to Beersheba and thence southward. On the day of his journey from Beersheba he was miraculously supplied with food and drink, and he journeyed for forty days and forty nights to Mount Ḥoreb, where he spent the night in a cave.

The round figure of forty days and forty nights shows that he journeyed for a very long time. The statement that he proceeded from Beersheba southward proves that he traveled in the direction of Elath, or the modern al-'Aḳaba, and that he thus went to the land of Madian. After he had been strengthened by the Lord, he was to return through the wilderness to Damascus (1 Kings, 19: 15). He accordingly must have proceeded by caravan along the great transport route on the eastern frontiers of Edom and Moab northward, thus along the 'Araba road, which the migrating Israelites reached near Ma'ân (Deut., 2: 8).

These are the only Biblical records from which it is at all possible to determine the position of Ḥoreb, the mountain of God.

From the rock near Ḥoreb Moses obtained water with his rod (Ex., 17: 6) and upon Ḥoreb the Lord gave him the Commandments for the Israelites (Deut., 1: 6; 4: 10; 4: 15; 5: 2; 18: 16; 28: 69; Malachi, 3: 22). Near Ḥoreb the Israelites prepared the Golden Calf (Psalms, 106: 19), and, after they had been punished for that act, they laid aside their ornaments by Mount Ḥoreb (Ex., 33: 6). By Mount Ḥoreb Moses placed the stone tablets of the Covenant in the ark (1 Kings, 8: 9). Besides these there is no other historical source referring to Ḥoreb.

It is nowhere stated that Mount Sinai lay in the land of Madian, but, if we locate the halting place of Êlîm (Ex., 16: 1) in Êl Pârân (Elath) or in its vicinity in the oasis of ad-Dejr, we find ourselves with the migrating Israelites at the northern extremity of the Gulf of al-'Aḳaba and thus nearly at the frontier of the land of Madian. We must accordingly locate Mount Sinai in the same region.

Exodus, 16: 1, notes that the wilderness of Sîn extends from Êlîm to Sinai, and it was through this wilderness that the Israelites proceeded to Sinai. From Egypt to Êlîm their journey had taken them a whole

month (Ex., 16: 1); from Êlîm to the camp opposite Mount Sinai it took at least sixteen days (Ex., 19: 1 ff.); but they were then advancing much more slowly, as they felt themselves in no danger.

Around Mount Sinai visible bounds were to be set (Ex., 19: 12), which the people were forbidden to cross under penalty of stoning and death. Sinai must, therefore, have been an isolated peak, presumably near the *še'îb* of al-Ḫrob on the northeastern border of the undulating plain of al-Hrajbe.

According to Exodus, 19: 16, thunder rumbled, lightning flashed, a heavy cloud rested on the mountain, and a loud voice of a trumpet was heard, so that the people trembled. Moses led the people out of the camp (Ex., 19: 17) and drew them up at the foot of the mountain. Mount Sinai was entirely wrapped in smoke (Ex., 19: 18) because Jehovah had descended upon it in fire, and the smoke from it arose as the smoke from a furnace. The cloud rested on the mountain for six days (Ex., 24: 16). — Many of these phenomena seem to indicate that Sinai was a volcano, but the description is fundamentally different from that of an active volcano. Moreover, it cannot be supposed that Moses would have encamped with the people in the vicinity of an active volcano. The land of Madian, the only place where we can locate Mount Sinai, has always been a notably volcanic region. In the southern half of Madian there is an abundance of volcanoes, many of which were active not only in the middle of the second millennium before Christ but as recently as four to six hundred years ago. The poetical description of the phenomena accompanying the descent of the Lord upon the mountain must have been taken from actual experience, and the punishment incurred by those who crossed the bounds and encroached upon the mountain was the usual one among the tribes guarding sacred places. Not wishing to touch the culprit, they would discharge arrows at him if he was some distance away or throw stones at him if he was near by.

We have no other particulars indicating the position of Mount Sinai. In Deuteronomy, 33: 2, it is mentioned that Jehovah came from Sinai and shone to his people from Se'îr; he gleamed from Mount Pârân and came from Merîbat Ḳadeš. —

Concerning Se'îr, we know that it extends to the south-southeast of the Dead Sea. Pârân is situated to the south of the Dead Sea, parallel with the southern part of Se'îr. Merîbat Ḳadeš is located on the northern border of Pârân near Petra by Se'îr. As, therefore, all the places through which Jehovah passed with the Israelites are situated to the south and southeast of the Dead Sea, we must look for Sinai also in the same direction, and this brings us to the land of Madian.

According to Judges, 5: 4—5, Deborah praised Jehovah, who came out of Se'îr and proceeded from the fields of Edom. The mountains trembled before Jehovah; even Sinai, before Jehovah, the God of Israel.

"Even Sinai" is certainly a remark of the expositor. It was thence taken by Psalms, 68: 9; but in Psalms, 68: 18, it is directly stated that God came from Sinai, and in Nehemiah, 9: 13, it is noted that God descended upon Mount Sinai, where he gave the laws. —

From this it is clear that one tradition calls the mountain of God Ḥoreb, the other Sinai, but that in both the same place is meant. This place must be located in the land of Madian to the southeast of the modern settlement of al-'Aḳaba.

APPENDIX X

AL-ḤEĞR

Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 4: 24, relates that Aelius Gallus on his march from southern Arabia came through a desert in which there were only a few wells to the settlement of Egra, situated in the territory of the Nabataean king, Obodas, near the sea. Thence he sailed across with his army to Myos Hormos in eleven days and near the town of Koptos reached the Nile, down which he sailed to Alexandria.

Aelius Gallus certainly returned from southern Arabia upon the great transport route leading to Syria. Upon this highroad was situated the important Nabataean trading center of al-Ḥeğr. Accordingly we infer that the Egra mentioned by Strabo is identical with al-Ḥeğr. It is true that al-Ḥeğr lies not by the sea, but inland; but near this town Aelius Gallus left the trade route and branched off to the coast, upon which the port of al-Ḥeğr was situated. It is possible and indeed probable that this harbor was also called al-Ḥeğr, just as the port of Madjan was likewise known as Madjan, and it is perhaps identical with the modern harbor of al-Weğh. Strabo nowhere mentions that the Roman army returned along the coast. The journey from al-Ḥeğr to its port and thence across the Red Sea to the African harbor of Myos Hormos (lat. 27° N.) could have taken eleven days. In southern Arabia the Romans were two days' march distant from a region whence various spices were exported, and from there sixty days' march brought them to the town of Egra. According to Strabo, *op. cit.*, XVI, 4: 4, the trade caravans performed the journey with spices and incense from the region in question to the town of Aelana (or Aila), about 350 kilometers distant from al-Ḥeğr, in seventy days. As the figures sixty and seventy are only approximate and Aila is about ten days' march from al-Ḥeğr (Egra), these particulars confirm our surmise that Egra is identical with al-Ḥeğr.

Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, VI, 156, calls Hagra (variants are Agra, Hagrat) the royal city of the Laeanites, from whom the gulf also received its name. The Laeanites are the Arabian Leḥjân, whose name has been preserved in various places of the northern Ḥeğâz. They were the rulers of the land before, and perhaps for some time together with, the Nabataeans. Their original center was the oasis of Dajdân, or Dedan, about twenty kilometers to the south of al-Ḥeğr. At the beginning of the second century before Christ the power of the Nabataeans increased, and they spread from north to south, settling in al-Ḥeğr, which gradually supplanted the ancient Dajdân. The Nabataeans in al-Ḥeğr were originally subject to the Leḥjân, who certainly also resided in al-Ḥeğr as well as in Dedan. From this it may be inferred that Hagra, the royal city of the Laeanites, is identical with al-Ḥeğr. We cannot locate the capital of the Laeanites on the coast, because they were engaged in trading by land rather than by sea. Moreover, the great transport route did not lead along the coast, and none of the ancient authors, although they

were well acquainted with the coast, mentioned the royal city of the Laeanites as being by the sea.

The same city is referred to by Pliny, *op. cit.*, VI, 157, as Haegra (*var.*, Hegra) in close connection with a reference to the Tamudaei, in whose territory al-Ḥeğr was situated. I believe that the Arreni (*var.*, Araceni, Arraceni, Anagemi), in whose city Pliny (*loc. cit.*) asserts that all the trade was concentrated, are also identical with the inhabitants of the city of Hagra or Hegra, or the modern al-Ḥeğr. The work of Pliny is a compilation of extracts from various other works, and it is not surprising that various accounts are given there of the same city and that its name is written in various ways. The northwestern part of Arabia Felix, with which Pliny here deals, did not contain at his time any city, except al-Ḥeğr, in which it would have been possible to say that all the trade was concentrated.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 29, lists the city of Egra between Soaka and Salma. Soaka is identical with the modern ruins and oasis of Šwâḳ 140 kilometers to the west, and Salma is the modern Abu Salama, sixty kilometers still farther west.

Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), Vol. 1, p. 260, refers to the Arabian city of Egra by the Ailanitic Gulf.

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, p. 215, says that the Ṯamûd resided at al-Ḥeğr and in its environs between the Ḥeğâz and Syria as far as Wâdi al-Ḳura'.

Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 2, pp. 3 f., relates a tradition concerning a priestess dwelling at al-Ḥeğr, to whom the people journeyed from afar in order to ask her counsel in important matters.

On his expedition to Tebûk, the Prophet Mohammed visited al-Ḥeğr (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 1697; al-Wâḳedi, *Muhammed* [Wellhausen], p. 397; Ibn Hišâm, *Sîra* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 1, p. 898) and those accompanying him obtained water from the well there. When they continued their journey, the Prophet gave orders that nobody was to drink the water obtained at al-Ḥeğr; nor were any ceremonial ablutions to be performed in it; and the bread, with the dough of which the water had been mixed, was not to be eaten; but the water was to be given to the camels to drink.

Al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 19, mentions al-Ḥeğr as a small settlement with a few inhabitants, a day's march distant from al-Ḳura' in the midst of isolated rocks known as al-Aṯâleb, in which are the houses of the Ṯamûd.

At the time of al-Muḳaddasi, 985 A. D., al-Ḥeğr was a small fortified settlement with numerous wells and cultivated fields (*Aḥsan* [De Goeje], p. 84). Not far away on a high, rocky level rose a mosque of the Prophet Ṣâleḥ, hollowed out in a rock, and around it were various strange houses of the Ṯamûd, the doors of which were adorned with images and inscriptions.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 270, calls al-Ḥeğr a city of the Ṯamûd located between Syria and the Ḥeğâz.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, III, 5, writes that the fortress of al-Ḥeğr, frequented by spirits, is situated a day's journey from the valley of al-Ḳura' among rocks known by the natives as al-Aṯâleb. These rocks are entirely isolated, and in them are hollowed out the houses of the Ṯamûd. Not far away is a well. The surrounding region is one of rocks and sand, so that it is very difficult to cultivate anything there. From al-Ḥeğr to Tejma is

four days' march, and from Tejma to the oases of Ḫajbar, or Dûmat al-Ğandal, likewise four days' march. Tejma is three days' march from the Syrian frontier.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 634, relates that Šu'ejb with his family dwelt in the land of Madjan; Ṣâleḥ in the environs of al-Ḥeğr; and Hûd, with his fellow-tribesmen the 'Âd, at al-Aḥḳâf (in southern Arabia). According to Jâḳût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 208) al-Ḥeğr is the name of the houses of the Ṯamûd in Wâdi al-Ḳura' between al-Medîna and Syria.

Jâḳût also gives the name of al-Aṯâleb to the rocks near al-Ḥeğr, and he reckons al-Ḥeğr as part of Wâdi al-Ḳura'; according to others, however, it is a day's journey distant from Wâdi al-Ḳura'.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 115, erroneously transcribes al-Aṯâleb as al-Aṯâleṯ, as is clearly shown by his explanation that al-Aṯâleb are mountains in the territory of the Ṯamûd at al-Ḥeğr not far from Wâdi al-Ḳura'.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 1, pp. 259 f., at the end of the year 1326 A. D. visited a well with abundant water at al-Ḥeğr of the Ṯamûd, and with admiration he describes the fine houses of the Ṯamûd, hollowed out in the red rocks and provided with steps. These houses were as well preserved as if they had been built quite recently. Inside the houses could be seen numerous remains of bones. Between two rocks he was shown the place where the camel of the Prophet Ṣâleḥ knelt down, as well as the remains of the mosque where Ṣâleḥ used to pray.

Ḥağği Ḫalfa, *Ğihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 521, calls al-Ḥeğr, or Ḳerâja Ṣâleḥ, a rocky, bare region covered with isolated hills called Aṯâleb. In this region sand drifts can be seen here and there. About half a day's march from al-'Ela' is the mosque of Ṣâleḥ, hollowed out in a crag, as well as numerous rock dwellings of the Ṯamûd.

In Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A. H.), p. 79, al-Ḥeğr is already known as Medâjen Ṣâleḥ, Ḳura' Ṣâleḥ, or 'Adâl. It is here placed nineteen hours distant from Dâr al-Ḥamra and stated to have once belonged to the Ṯamûd. The buildings at Medâjen Ṣâleḥ are large, hollow rocks, in which nobody dwells. At that place there is also a stronghold and a reservoir, which is filled from the large well dug in the stronghold. The water in the other wells is not fit to drink. Not far away rises the mountain called Enân, and on one elevation there is a mosque, which the Prophet Ṣâleḥ hollowed out in the rock. Everywhere many fine ruined buildings of the Ṯamûd nation can be seen. The pilgrims at the time of Meḥmed Edîb (about 1773 A. D.) stayed a whole day there, paid the tent bearers their wages, and distributed gifts.

Often the pilgrims proceeded from al-Ḥeğr by another route (see above, p. 295) to avoid the halting place of al-'Ela'. From Sahl al-Maṭrân the stronghold of Zumrud can also be reached. This other road branched off from the old trade route at al-Ḥeğr in a southeasterly direction through the hollow between the mountains of al-Ḥawra and al-Bâẓa to the plain of al-Mu'tedel and through the defile of al-'Aḳejb southward to the water of al-Bedâje', where it rejoined the highroad leading to al-'Ela'.

APPENDIX XI

THE NORTHERN ḤEĞÂZ ACCORDING TO THE CLASSICAL AND ARABIC AUTHORS

THE COAST AND ISLANDS OF THE NORTHERN ḤEĞÂZ

According to Agatharchides, *Periplus* (Photius' version [Müller, Vol. 1]), pp. 177—179, on leaving the Gulf of Heroöpolis, one arrives at Nessa, a place so called from the ducks which are found there in large numbers. Nessa is situated near a spur of land covered with a thick growth of forest, which extends directly to Petra and Palestine, whither the Gerrhaeans and Minaeans, as well as all the Arabs dwelling in the vicinity, convey incense. Farther on, the Laeanitic Gulf is reached, near which are situated numerous settlements of the Nabataean Arabs, who possess not only the coast but also many villages inland in a region well populated and incredibly rich in cattle. Beyond the Laeanitic Gulf follows the territory of the Bythemani. Extensive, level, and with an abundance of water, this region is low-lying and covered with grass, medic, and lotus clover, which attains the height of a man. Nothing else is cultivated there. In consequence, the country is full of wild camels, as well as of flocks of deer, gazelles, sheep, mules, and oxen. But this prosperous state of affairs has one disadvantage; the territory also attracts numerous lions, wolves, and panthers. From the coast near by a bay extends five hundred stades inland, and by it dwell the Batmizomaneis, who hunt land animals. Opposite the coast referred to there are three islands, the first dedicated to Isis, the second called Sukabya, the third Salydo. These islands are all uninhabited, but olives grow upon them, not like ours but of species peculiar to these regions. Behind the three islands, which are situated outside the bay, extends a long, stony coast belonging to the territory of the Thamudenoi Arabs. Along the coast navigation is very difficult, as it is more than a thousand stades in length and does not contain a single safe or easily accessible harbor nor any actual anchorages, protective bays, or islands such as mariners need for shelter.

Nessa is merely a descriptive noun denoting "duck island," and Agatharchides does not give the proper name of this place. According to other accounts it would seem to be an island identical with the modern island of Tîrân or Târân. The name "Tîrân" also denotes some sort of sea bird, so that the name "Nessa" is analogous to Tîrân. Agatharchides' spur of land extending close to this island is identical with the modern Râs al-Ḳaṣba, the last spur of the mountain range which encloses the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba to the east and extends to Petra, the Nabataean capital, and farther as far as Palestine. A dense forest covers this mountain range in the northern half to as far north as the southern end of the Dead Sea. The southern half of the range is bare, except that in the valleys there can be seen extensive groves of acacias of various kinds and here and there on the slopes other trees, so that even today it could be

afforested. The Laeanitic Gulf, the present Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, extends from the island of Nessa about one hundred and eighty kilometers to the north, and its average width is eighteen kilometers. Not much is left of the Nabataean villages once situated near it. Only the small palm groves on the coast, the valley dikes for irrigation, and the low garden walls inland show that peasants once worked there. The position of the territory of the Bythemani cannot be fixed precisely from the statements of Agatharchides. He would place it beyond the Laeanitic Gulf, and from all accounts it was close to the sea. It is probably identical with the lower part of the al-Abjaẓ valley known as al-ʿEfâl, or al-ʿEfâr. This is a lowland more than fifty kilometers long by twenty kilometers broad and bordered on the north and east by high mountains and straggling hills. It contains a sufficiency of water, and on the banks of the channels of the separate valleys, especially of al-ʿEfâl, there are spacious meadows covered with grass and various kinds of clover (*nefel*). It is not certain whether wild camels actually grazed there at one time. In the works of no writer using an independent source have I found any reference to wild camels in Arabia, and it cannot be believed that they existed in the territory of the Bythemani, surrounded as it was by Nabataean settlements. More probably they were herds of camels grazing freely but belonging to definite owners and guarded in the same way as cattle. The mules mentioned by Agatharchides might presuppose horses also, but there is no reference to them. By deer are perhaps meant white antelopes, which are to be seen in the region today also; whereas deer proper were and still are unknown. In these regions of Arabia lions are completely extinct. There are still many wolves and panthers. The bay five hundred stades (79 km.) long, which Agatharchides mentions, is identical with the strip of sea seventy-five kilometers long by fifteen kilometers broad, which is bordered on the east and north by the coast, on the south and west by the shallows, islands, and islets, and which extends from Târân eastward and terminates by Cape Mṣajbe Šarma.

The coast line of this bay, together with the oases of ʿAjnûna, Šarma, Terîm, and al-Mwêleḥ, and the adjacent eastern uplands, belonged to the Batmizomani tribe. Of the three islets mentioned, Salydo is perhaps identical with the islet of Ṣela'; Sukabya with Ǧobʿa, or, as it is also pronounced, Jobʿa; and the islet dedicated to Isis perhaps corresponds to Barḳân. The stony shore, stretching for a long distance and belonging to the Thamudenoi, extends to the southeast from Cape as-Sabḫa. It has very few bays, and there are only two places, one by the settlement of Ẓbe' and the other south of al-ʿWejned, where ships can safely anchor.

According to Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, III, 43 f., beyond the Cape (at the entrance to the Gulf of Heroöpolis) it is possible to reach the Laeanitic Gulf, near which are situated numerous villages of the so-called Nabataean Arabs. These folk dwell for some distance along the coast and in quite an extensive region inland, for they are unusually numerous and possess an incredible number of cattle. Farther on, there extends an irrigated plain, where wild grass, medic, and lotus clover grow to the height of a man by the springs which flow on all sides. The rich and extensive pastures feed not only innumerable herds of cattle of various kinds but also wild camels, deer, and gazelles. These

animals attract lions, wolves, and panthers from the wilderness, and the shepherds protect their flocks from them day and night. A bay extends along these tracts of land and penetrates for nearly five hundred stades inland. It is enclosed by mighty cliffs, and the entrance to it is winding and difficult of access owing to the isolated rocks. This entrance is dominated by a rock projecting into the sea, so that it is often impossible to sail into the gulf or to leave it; for if the wind changes at high tide, the waves beat against the rocks and are everywhere broken against the projecting spur. The inhabitants of the neighboring territory are called Banizomeneis. They engage in hunting and eat the flesh of animals of the mainland. In this region there is a temple which is reverenced by all Arabs. Not far from the coast in question there are situated three islands with a number of harbors. The first island, now uninhabited, is said to be dedicated to Isis. On it can be traced the foundations of ancient stone buildings and columns with barbaric inscriptions. The other islands are also uninhabited, but on all of them olives different from our species are growing. Beyond them extends a precipitous shore, difficult of access and for nearly a thousand stades without a harbor, without an anchorage, and without an inlet where sailors could find shelter from danger. Along the shore rises a mountain with a rocky ridge which projects to a dizzy height and from which mighty boulders have been torn away. At the foot of the mountain are sharp rocks close together in the sea, and behind them yawn caves eaten away by the waves. These caves are connected with one another. As the sea is deep, the waves now penetrate into the caverns, now flow out of them again, causing a noise like thunder. Many waves beat against the huge rocky boulders, splashing upwards and producing an incredible amount of foam. Other waves penetrate into the rocky caverns and cause a terrible whirlpool which sucks everything into it, so that people who approach these places unawares are ready to die of fear. This coast belongs to the Thamudenoi Arabs. —

Diodorus does not mention either the island of Nessa or the Bythemani. The Banizomeneis are identical with the Batmizomaneis of Agatharchides, in whose text Banizomeneis (i. e. Bani Zomejn) should likewise be read. The entrance to the gulf of the Banizomeneis was probably between the island of Târân and Râs al-Ḳaṣba. The temple which is revered by all the Arabs and to which Diodorus refers is perhaps identical either with the sanctuary near Madian or Ṛwâfa, situated to the east of the gulf.

Artemidorus (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 4: 18) states that from the Gulf of Heroöpolis it is possible to reach the islet of Phokon, so called because of the large number of seals there. Not far from here projects a promontory extending toward Petra, the town of the Nabataean Arabs, and as far as the land of Palestine, whither (i. e. to Petra) the Minaeans and Gerrhaeans, as well as all the neighboring people, convey various perfumes. Then comes the Aelanitic Gulf, as well as the land of the Nabataeans, which is thickly populated and has plenty of pasturage. The Nabataeans dwell, however, also on the islands near by. Here they formerly lived in peace but subsequently took to attacking and robbing the vessels arriving from Egypt, using rafts for the purpose. But they were punished by a fleet which sailed up to their islands and ravaged them. There follows a plain covered with trees and irrigated with water, full of various grazing animals, including mules, and an abundance of

wild camels, deer, and gazelles. Even lions, panthers, and wolves are numerous. Opposite this plain is situated the island called Dia. From there extends a long bay, for a distance of five hundred stades, surrounded by mountains and with a very difficult entrance. The surrounding population hunt land animals. Still farther on there are three islands, uninhabited but containing olives, not like those in our country but native ones which are called Ethiopian olives, the resinous sap of which is used medicinally. Then there extends a stony shore and beyond it, for a distance of nearly a thousand stades, an inhospitable coast with very rare harbors and anchorages. —

The seal island of Artemidorus is identical with the duck island of Agatharchides and thus in all probability with the modern island of Tîrân. Artemidorus calls the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba the Aelanitic, not the Laeanitic Gulf. Both names are accurate. Aelanites is the older name derived from the harbor of Ajla or Aela. Laeanites refers to the clan of the Leḥjân, to whom the whole of the surrounding district belonged from the fifth to the third century before Christ. As in the gulf itself there are no islands and the Nabataeans from the gulf could not, even on rafts, get near to the Egyptian ships which sailed from the Gulf of Heroöpolis, or Gulf of Suez, we must conclude that according to Artemidorus the Nabataeans inhabited the islands situated to the south and southeast of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. The island of Dia is perhaps identical with the island of Ṣenâfîr.

Strabo, *op. cit.*, XVI, 4: 26, writes that in the Nabataean land various fruits flourish in addition to olives and that the inhabitants use sesame oil. The sheep have white wool and the oxen are big. Horses are lacking but are replaced by camels. The Nabataeans are clad only in a loin cloth without a lower garment and sandals. —

If there is a lack of horses in the Nabataean land then it can contain neither mules or hinnies. The herds of ἡμιόνες, which according to Agatharchides and Artemidorus (see above pp. 302 and 304) graze in the land of the Bythemani, should not, therefore, be translated mules or half-asses, but wild asses, of which there used to be large numbers in Arabia.

Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, VI, 156, describes the "inner" gulf of the Red Sea, near which the Laeanitae settled and to which they gave their name. Their royal city was called Hagra. Near the gulf, he says, was situated the town of Laeana, or, as others say, Aelana, whence the gulf itself was called the Laeanitic by some writers, the Aelanitic by others. Thus Artemidorus calls it the Aelanitic, while Iuba calls it the Laeanitic.

Pliny, *op. cit.*, V, 65, writes that one gulf of the Red Sea extending to Egypt is called the Heroöpolitic, the other the Aelanitic. The two towns of Aelana and Gaza near our sea (the Mediterranean) are 150,000 paces apart.

The Laeanitae are identical with the Leḥjân, and their main city Hagra must, as we have seen, be located at al-Ḥeğr. The city situated on the gulf itself was not called Laeana but Aelana or Aela (Aila). From it Gaza is 220 kilometers, or nearly 150 Roman miles away. Both Agatharchides and Diodorus call the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba the Laeanitic, Pliny calls it both Laeanitic and Aelanitic, and Strabo only Aelanitic, from which we may infer that the Leḥjân in the second and first centuries before Christ had already made way for the Nabataeans and

the older name of Aelanitic, derived from the harbor of Aela, had effaced the name Laeanitic. Pliny does not state that the Leḥjân were settled in his time in the town of Hagra (al-Ḥeğr), which in the middle of the first century of our era belonged to the Nabataean kings. The sources from which Pliny derived his information correspond to the other historical records cited above, and it is not therefore necessary for us to assume that he confused the Laeanitic Bay in the Persian Gulf with the Aelanitic Gulf in the Red Sea, as was done by Ptolemy, who connects the trading center of al-Haǧar, situated to the west of the al-Baḥrejn islands not far from the modern town of al-Hufhûf, with the town of al-Ḥeğr, four hundred kilometers southeast of Aela.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 43, places the island of Ainu at long. 65° 45′, lat. 27° 20′ N., and, *op. cit.*, VI, 7: 29, the settlement of Aina at long. 75° 40′, lat. 27° 20′ N. Thus, as he assigns the island of Ainu and the settlement of the same name the same geographical latitude but an entirely different longitude, I conclude that the latter has been badly recorded and that the two places are identical. If this is so, the island of Ainu must be located west of the southeastern corner of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba (Aila) at the spot where the modern islet of Tîrân (or Târân) is situated. Ptolemy recorded its name as Ainu, which in Nabataean was probably pronounced Ḥâinu.

From the third and fourth centuries of our era we have no information about the northern part of the Red Sea and the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. Malchus of Philadelphia (Müller), pp. 112 ff., was the first to explain that in the year 473 A. D. Peter, bishop of the Christian Arabs dwelling in tents and known as Saracens, came to Constantinople for the purpose of asking the Emperor Leo to grant the rank of a Roman phylarch to Amorkesos, chief of the clan of the Nokalians. The chief in question had pitched his tents originally in Persian territory; but, whether he enjoyed little esteem there or whether he preferred the Roman territory to the Persian, he migrated from Persian territory and encamped in Arabia near the Persian frontier, whence he was perpetually making raids, not against the Romans but against the Saracens. His influence became so extensive that he even obtained possession of an island which was a Roman dependency. From this island, called Iotabe, he drove away the toll gatherers, collected taxes for himself, and became particularly rich also by plundering other settlements in the vicinity. Finally he wished to become an ally of the Romans and phylarch of the Roman Saracens encamping in Arabia Petraea. He accordingly sent Peter, bishop of his tribe, to the Emperor Leo. The latter immediately summoned Amorkesos to Constantinople, although, according to the conditions of the peace treaty concluded with the Persians, no Saracen fugitive from the Persian territory was to be allowed to stay in the Roman Empire. Amorkesos, under the pretext that he wished to become a Christian, was received at Constantinople with great honors. He obtained valuable gifts, was appointed phylarch, and was allowed to retain not only the above-mentioned island but also numerous other settlements.

From the following account given by Procopius, the island of Iotabe is identical with the duck or seal island and hence also with the modern island of Tîrân (or Târân). We do not know when a customhouse was established there. The actual territory of Amorkesos is likewise unknown

to us, because Malchus does not state the name of any tribe but mentions only the Arab nomads by the then customary name of Saracens, which corresponds with the ancient Bene Ḳedem and the modern aš-Šerḳijje, or Bedouins. Before the year 473 A. D. Amorkesos was not a Christian, nor does Malchus say whether he ever became one. Peter was the bishop of some nomad Arab tribe subdued by Amorkesos. In the interior of Arabia the territories of al-Wudijân and al-Ḥeğera were under the Persian jurisdiction, and it was from there, probably from al-Ḥeğara, that Amorkesos migrated with his Nokalians. He originally encamped within Roman jurisdiction at the oasis of Dûmat al-Ğandal, of which he obtained possession. From there he made raids upon the Saracens in Palestina Tertia (Arabia Petraea) and the territory bordering upon it to the south. When he had succeeded, by sailing out on rafts, in obtaining possession of the islet of Iotabe and other settlements in the vicinity, he held sway over the caravan route uniting Syria with southern Arabia and also over the islets and the coasts of the northern part of the Red Sea, in the harbors of which the vessels maintaining trade connections between Egypt, southern Arabia, and India had to seek shelter every evening. Nowhere is it stated that the island of Iotabe had a Roman garrison, and it seems that the only people living there were a few traders to whom the customs dues were farmed out and who gave receipts for them. A vessel which could not produce such an acknowledgment had to pay toll in the Roman harbors afresh.

The island of Iotabe did not remain long in the power of Amorkesos and his successors. As early as the year 490 A. D., explains Theophanes, *Chronographia* (Migne), p. 121, the Roman *dux*, after stubborn fighting, had conquered the island of Iotabe in the Red Sea, from which heavy tolls had once been levied for the Roman Emperor but had later been appropriated by the Scenitan Arabs. This island was then handed over to Roman traders to be administered by them, and they had to pay a fixed toll on goods imported from India.

Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, 19, also refers to the island of Iotabe. According to him the province of Palestine extends as far as the harbor city of Aila, situated at the extremity of a very narrow gulf of the Red Sea. Those sailing from Aila through this gulf have the Egyptian mountains on the right hand extending in a southerly direction, and on the left hand the desert stretching a great distance northward. The mainland can be observed on both sides, until the island of Iotabe is reached at a distance of about a thousand stades from Aila. The inhabitants of this island were Hebrews, previously independent but compelled at the time of the Emperor Justinian to accept the Roman yoke. Beyond Iotabe there is open sea, so that no mainland is visible on the right-hand side, and mariners are therefore obliged to keep to the left and to come to a halt every evening by the left-hand shore, as it is impossible to sail by night owing to the innumerable shallows. There are, however, numerous natural harbors, and anchorage can be obtained everywhere. From the borders of Palestine this shore belongs to the Saracens, who for a long time past have dwelt in an extensive palm oasis inland, where only date palms flourish. This oasis was presented by the chief, Abocharab, to the Emperor Justinian, who appointed him phylarch of Palestine. Abocharab protects this province from all hostile raids, for he is feared not only

by his enemies but also, on account of his severity, by the barbarians who pay him allegiance. The palm oasis now belongs to the Emperor but only nominally, because it can only be reached after a ten days' march through a territory devoid of people or water. —

Procopius does not state exactly the borders of the province of Palestine. A thousand stades (i. e. about 150 kilometers) from Aila, or the modern settlement of al-ʿAḳaba, brings us through the gulf to Iotabe; and this, according to the account given by Procopius, is situated at the very entrance to the Gulf of Aila, or the modern Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba. Iotabe, as we have already seen, was the third or fourth name by which this islet had been known. The statement made by Procopius, that it then belonged to free Hebrew traders, is interesting. They were perhaps the original toll gatherers, who as time progressed failed to deliver up the collected toll, until they were again compelled to do so during the reign of Justinian. The presence of Hebrews on this islet is not strange, for at that time there were larger or smaller Hebrew settlements in all the cities and in numerous villages in Arabia near by. They could not have been independent for long, as in the year 490 A. D. the administration of the islet by a Roman commander was renewed. It seems that Iotabe and the adjacent eastern islets still belonged to the province of Palestina Tertia. It is a pity that Procopius does not define the frontiers more carefully. According to him, Palestina Tertia then extended as far as the beginning of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, or as far as the northern frontier of Arabia called Felix. The Saracens camping on the coast acknowledged the supremacy of Abocharab, who ruled over the great palm oasis which he offered to the Emperor Justinian. It is exceedingly regrettable that Procopius does not give the name of this oasis. His statement that it can be reached by a ten days' march does not help us to fix it more closely, because we do not know whether he means the march of camel caravans or riders on camels, and we do not know the starting point. If we admit the palm oasis is ten days' march from the shore in the vicinity of the islet of Iotabe, to which Procopius has just referred, and that he means riders on camels, then ten days' journey in a northeasterly direction at the rate of fifty kilometers a day will bring us to the great palm oasis of Dûmat al-Ǧandal (al-Ǧowf), which from Iotabe is reached by a road actually through territory devoid of people or water. The palm oasis of Dajdân, or the modern al-ʿEla', is situated about 360 kilometers to the east of Iotabe; but this distance does not tally either with the speed of a camel rider or of a goods caravan. Ten days' march of a trading caravan from the shore near the islet of Iotabe in an easterly direction leads to the oasis of Tebûk, 180 kilometers away; yet I do not think that we can identify Tebûk with the palm oasis referred to by Procopius, because the former was never large, and the authority exerted by its chief was never equal to that of the rulers of the oasis of al-Ǧowf, which commanded two or three important trade routes. Moreover, the oasis of Tebûk is situated comparatively close to the frontiers of the province of Palestine, so that connection with it was convenient and the stronger *dux* of that province could easily rule it.

The Arabic writers do not describe as carefully as the Greeks either the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba or the eastern shore of the Red Sea bordering upon it or the islets situated near it.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ǧam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 160, says that the island of Târân is dangerous to mariners proceeding from Ḳolzum to Ajla and that al-Ǧubejlât are situated not far from it. — These *Ǧubejlât* (little hills) perhaps denote the small islands projecting like hills above the surface of the sea to the east of Târân.

Al-Ḳazwînî, *'Aǧâ'ib* (Cairo, 1321 A. H.), Vol. 1, p. 179, remarks that the Beni Ǧaddân dwell upon the island of Târân, which is situated not far from Ajla and is about six miles long. The Beni Ǧaddân are engaged neither in agriculture nor in cattle breeding, have no fresh water, and live only on fish. For dwellings they make use of wrecked ships, and they beg bread and water from people who sometimes sail along the island. By this island there is a rocky spur of land, and near it a whirlpool. If a strong wind blows, it is divided in two by the spur and sweeps a vessel into one of two gulfs on opposite sides. When the wind blows out of these two gulfs, it causes a heavy sea to rise that drives a vessel into a whirlpool, from which it never escapes undamaged. This rocky spur is perhaps the modern Râs al-Ḳaṣba. The report given by al-Ḳazwînî recalls the statements of Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, III, 43 (see above, pp. 303 and 304).

Al-Maḳrîzî, *Mawâ'iẓ* (Wiet), Vol. 1, p. 62, relates that in the Sea of Ḳolzum there are fifteen islands, of which four are inhabited. — As one of the inhabited islands is called an-Na'mân, we see that his Sea of Ḳolzum denotes not only the Gulf of Suez but also the Red Sea, for the island of an-Na'mân is situated at lat. 27° N. well to the south of the entrance of the Gulf of Suez.

CLASSICAL AUTHORITIES ON THE NORTHERN ḤEĞÂZ

Not many reports about the mainland of the Ḥeğâz have been preserved to us in classical literature. The classical writers were unacquainted with the name Ḥeğâz. They speak either of Arabia or Arabia Felix (Eudaimon).

According to Diodorus, *op. cit.*, II, 48, Arabia extends between Syria and Egypt and is divided among numerous nations, differing one from the other. The eastern regions, consisting in part of a waterless desert, in which there is little fertile soil, are inhabited by the tribe of the Nabataeans. These people are engaged in robbery, ranging the surrounding neighborhood for plunder, and it is difficult to overcome them in war, because at suitable places in the waterless desert they have dug cisterns in such a way that no strangers can find them. These Arabs are very difficult to subdue and are still independent. —

Diodorus does not mean the whole of Arabia, but the Arabia later known as Petraea, to the east, south, and southwest of the Dead Sea on the borders between Syria and Egypt. According to him the Nabataeans owned the eastern strip of this Arabia, that is the mountains and plateaus connected with them east of the Dead Sea and east of the rift valley of al-'Araba. The cisterns which he mentions are the wells today known as *mḳûr*. These are usually dug out in the rocky soil to a depth of about four meters. They are pear-shaped and have a narrow neck which is generally covered by a large stone. The rain water from the surrounding rocky areas flows into this neck and falls through the

cavities beneath the stone into the cistern. A stranger not properly acquainted with the region and with the habits of the natives will ride round such a rain well without noticing it. Fragments of dry plants and sand are apt to drift up against one side of the stone, so that it looks as if it has always been lying there.

Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 4: 21, records that Arabia Eudaimon was first inhabited by the Nabataeans and Sabaeans, who often made raids into Syria before the latter region belonged to the Romans. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, XVI, 4: 24) he asserts that the Nabataean realms extended many days' march to the south of Leuke and bordered on the land of Aretas, who acknowledged the rule of his kinsman, the Nabataean king Obodas, or at least was allied with Obodas. Through this land of Aretas the Romans under Aelius Gallus marched for thirty days before they reached Sabaean territory.

All the Nabataeans did not dwell in Arabia Eudaimon, for their capital Petra was situated in Arabia Petraea, but the greater part of their territory was included in Arabia Eudaimon. As Strabo does not describe any contemporary events, it is possible that he obtained the reference to the Sabaean raids on Syria from old records dating from the time when the Sabaeans held sway over the whole caravan route and all the halting places established upon it.

Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, V, 65, writes that beyond the Pelusiac arm of the Nile lies Arabia, extending to the Red Sea as well as to that rich land known as Beata (the Happy), from which various fragrances are conveyed. This country is barren, except at the spot where it touches the Syrian frontiers; it is renowned only for Mount Casius. It is named after the Catabanian, Esbonitan, and Scenitan Arabs. To these tribes are joined the Canchlean Arabs on the east and on the south the Cedreans, both of whom are neighbors of the Nabataeans. —

As usual with Pliny this passage is not clear. He means Arabia Petraea, which extended from Pelusium southward as far as the Red Sea and as far as Arabia Felix, or, as he calls it, Beata. The Catabani were never encamped in Arabia Petraea. The Esbonitae are perhaps the inhabitants of the environs of the town of Ḥesbân, which was situated in Arabia Petraea east of the northern extremity of the Dead Sea. The Scenitae include all the nomad Arabs dwelling in tents. Mount Casius rises east of Pelusium on the actual coast of the Mediterranean. The Cedrei are perhaps the ancient Ḳedar, who owned the Ḥawrân with its environs. On the south they border on the Nabataeans. According to Pliny we should locate the Canchlei to the southeast of the Ḳedar and northeast of the Nabataeans; accordingly, in Arabia Deserta.

Pliny, *op. cit.*, VI, 157, deals with the tribes and towns of inland Arabia and writes that the ancients connected the Thimaneans with the Nabataeans. In his time there were the Taveni (*var.*, Tabeni, Thabaeni), the Suelleni, the Araceni (*var.*, Sarraceni, Anageni), the Arreni (*var.*, Hareni), the town where all traders assemble, the Hemnatae, the Avalitae, the towns of Domata (*var.*, Domatha, Domada) and Haegra, the Thamudaei, the town of Baclanaza (*var.*, Badanatha), the Chariattaei (*var.*, Cariatth, Cariati), the Toali (*var.*, Achoali, Acalin), the town of Phodaca (*var.*, Phoda, Fothca, Totaca), and the Minaei. —

The Thimaneans probably were the Biblical tribe of Têmân. Whether these Thiman of Pliny are identical with the Taveni is not altogether certain, but it is possible. The Taveni were the inhabitants of the town of Thoana (Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 16: 4), which on the *Peutinger Table*, VIII, is transcribed as Thornia and corresponds precisely with the modern ruins of at-Twâne, situated where the Biblical tribe of Têmân dwelt (Gen., 36: 11).

Araceni is perhaps the common appellation of the Arab nomads, Saraceni, or the tribe of the Sarakenoi (Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VI, 7: 21), who (Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* [Meineke], p. 556), were encamped in the region of Saraka (*šerḳ*), beyond and thus to the east of the territory of the Nabataeans, where the Bible mentions the Bene Ḳedem, or the nomads of the interior Arabian desert. Today they are known as aš-Šerḳijje, Bedouins.

The word Arreni is transcribed from Agreni, or Hagreni; these are the inhabitants of the town of Haegra, or Hegra, the modern al-Ḥeğr, which forms an important halting place on the caravan route connecting southwestern Arabia with Syria and Egypt. At this point a branch of the ancient trade route leads off along the southern border of the sandy desert of Nefûd to the Persian Gulf and southern Babylonia. Pliny therefore is right in saying that all trade is concentrated at this town.

The town of Domata is the large oasis of Adumu (Dûma or Dûmat al-Ğandal), situated over four hundred kilometers east of Petra, the Nabataean capital.

The Thamudaei are identical with the Tamudi, who were overcome by the Assyrian king Sargon II and with the Thamydenoi (Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VI, 7: 21). Their central sanctuary of Ṛwâfa was situated at the southwestern extremity of the territory of Ḥesma, where this territory becomes of volcanic formation. Uranius (*Arabica* [Müller, Vol. 4], p. 525) was likewise acquainted with Thamuda, which he assigned to the Nabataeans.

Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VI, 7: 4, 21, records the various tribes who dwelt partly on the coast and partly in the interior of the northern Ḥeğâz. By the coast in the northern part were encamped the Thamyditai, in the southern, the Sidenoi; in the interior, near the mountains between Arabia Petraea, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix, the Skenitai, and beyond them the Thaditai. To the south of the latter was the territory of the Sarakenoi and the Thamydenoi. To the west of Mount Zames were the nomadic Apataioi and Athritai, and near them the Maisaimeneis and Udenoi. —

In Ptolemy also Skenitai is the common appellation for the nomads and not the actual name of any particular tribe. The name Thaditai would seem to be Thamyditai, without the *my*, although it might also be an erroneous transcription of Thaiitai, the Ṭajj tribe. According to Ptolemy, these Thaditai were encamped between the aš-Šera' range and the desert of Nefûd and, indeed, possibly also in the desert itself. If such is the case, we must locate the Sarakenoi in the northwestern half of the modern territory of Šammar, for according to Ptolemy the Sarakenoi and Thamydenoi were encamped to the south of the Thaditai. We know the camping place of the Thamydenoi from the middle of the second

century of our era; that is, almost from the time of Ptolemy. Their center was Ḥesma', and in this territory they built the temple of Ṛwâfa. If the Thamydenoi of Ptolemy are identical with the Thamudenon Ethnos of the inscription at Ṛwâfa, then they owned also the whole coast to the south, at least as far as lat. 27° N. The Thamyditai on the north are identical with them, and the Thaditai on the northeast paid them tribute or formed one of their clans. We must then locate the Sarakenoi to the east of the Thamudenoi in the desert of an-Nefûd; that is, in the territory of the former Ṭajj. But for the classical writers Sarakenoi was the common appellation for the Arab nomads, and down to the present day it denotes all the tribes camping in the interior of the Arabian desert, which is called *šerḳ* (Saraka). The Sarakenoi of Ptolemy, therefore, should not be taken as standing for any particular tribe but as a common appellation of the tribes camping in the actual Arabian desert to the east of the Nabataean realm.

According to Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VI, 7: 2 f., the settlements of Onne, Modiana or Moduna, Mount Hippos, the settlement of Hippos, and the settlement of Phoinikon, the palm settlement, are located on the coast of northern Arabia Felix, beyond the gulf of Aila.

Onne is identical with the modern al-Ḫrajbe, which was the harbor of the great oasis of Una or ʿAjn Una (ʿAjnûna). The Madana, or Moduna, of Ptolemy is situated to the southeast of Una, so that we should perhaps seek it in the small ruins not far to the east of the oasis of Terîm, which was perhaps called al-Modejne. It is also possible, however, that Modiana denotes the harbor of the town of Madian and that it was not situated to the south-southeast, but to the north or northwest of al-Ḫrajbe near the modern oasis of al-Ḳijâl. Mount Hippos is certainly identical with the mountain of aš-Šâr, which is shaped like a horse, and the settlement of Hippos with the ruins in the bay of Ğibbe. The settlement of Phoinikon, the palm settlement, applies best to the mouth of the fertile and well irrigated Wâdi ad-Dâma.

Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VI, 7: 27 ff., records very many towns and settlements in that part of interior Arabia Felix today known as the Ḥeğâz. That the names of these towns or settlements in many cases denote only the more important wells or camping places is evident from the character of the country.

The settlement of Aramaua is certainly the same as Mount Ârâm, or Iram of the Arabic authors, the modern Ramm, where there is an abundance of water.

I locate Ostama in the ruins of al-Ḳrajje, in the river basin of az-Zejte. The position of al-Ḳrajje does not tally with the position of Ptolemy's Ostama, but very frequently the particulars he gives do not tally even when the identity is absolutely certain.

Thapaua perhaps is a distorted form of the ancient name of the oasis of Tebûk, which was probably Thabaucha or Thapaucha. From Tebûk (Thapaua) by way of al-Ḳrajje (Ostama) and Ramm (Aramaua) led the shortest and most convenient transport route from southern Arabia to Petra, the Nabataean capital.

Makna is the modern oasis of Maḳna on the coast of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, although the particulars given by Ptolemy are not in accordance with the facts.

Agkale corresponds to the oasis of Ḥaḳl, likewise on the coast.

Madiama is the ancient settlement of Madian, enlarged by the Nabataeans and today known as al-Bed'. Ptolemy's latitude and longitude also erroneously fix the position of this town in relation to Maḳna.

Achrua (*var.*, Achrona) should, according to Ptolemy, be located to the east of al-Bed'. It is perhaps the modern settlement of al-Ḳena', which is of no great size and is situated west of Mount Umm Ḫrejmân. This name can be traced to the ancient Achrona.

The word Obraka is the common appellation *abraḳ*, *barḳa*, denoting dark rocks half-covered with light-colored sand. If we can trust the particulars of its situation as they have been preserved by Ptolemy, we may locate his Obraka in some *abraḳ* in the al-Ḫunfa region, where the Bedouins were fond of encamping during the spring.

I regard Laba as being in the valley of La'bân, where the halting place of al-Aḫẓar is situated.

Thaima is the well-known oasis of Tejma.

The name Lugana, or Zugana (Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 29) is interesting. It is certain that Ptolemy is recording two pronunciations of the initial sound, but in Arabic it is impossible to interchange *l* with *z*. It must therefore be inferred that the *l* was an incorrect transcription of a Greek *d*, which as *d̲* and *ḍ* in Arabic is very similar to *z* and *ẓ*. The Greek Dugana, or Ẓugana, recalls the Arabic Ḍuḥkân, or, as it is now pronounced in the dialects, Ẓaḥakân and Ẓaḥačân, the oasis near the settlement of Ẓbe'. Ptolemy places Zugana in the interior of the country, as he does Makna, which, however, is actually likewise situated on the coast.

Gaisa, in the same latitude as Zugana, would seem to be the *še'îb* of Ammu-l-Ǧejš to the east of Ẓaḥakân.

Soaka is the modern oasis of aš-Šwâḳ between Ẓaḥakân and Ammu-l-Ǧejš.

Egra is the renowned city of al-Ḥeǧr. From the harbor settlement of Ẓaḥakân (Ẓugana) the transport route leads by way of Šwâḳ (Soaka) and Ammu-l-Ǧejš (Gaisa) to al-Ḥeǧr (Egra).

Badais, *ibid.*, VI, 7: 30, may with every justification be identified with the oasis of Bada' to the south of Laba (La'bân).

APPENDIX XII

THE REGION OF ḤESMA'

As Ibn Isḥâḳ narrates (Ibn Hišâm, *Sîra* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 1, pp. 975 ff.; al-Wâḳedi, *Muhammed* [Wellhausen], pp. 234 ff.; Jâḳût, *Mu'ǧam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 1, p. 407), the Ǧud̲âm encamping in the region of Ḥesma' in 627—628 A. D. announced through their chief Refâ'a ibn Zejd to Mohammed that they would accept Islâm, and Mohammed confirmed this by a special charter. But al-Hunejd, one of the Ǧud̲âm, and his son attacked in the valley of Šinâr a messenger of Mohammed returning from the

Emperor Heraclius and robbed him. When the Ğuḏâm, who had gone over to Islâm, heard of this, they immediately prevailed upon al-Hunejd to return the messenger his stolen property, whereupon the latter proceeded to al-Medîna. There he begged Mohammed for revenge. Mohammed equipped against the Ğuḏâm a band of raiders under the command of Zejd ibn Ḥâreṯa. The culprit, al-Hunejd, was attacked with his clan near al-Mâḳeṣ on the border of the volcanic territory in the district of al-Awlâğ and was murdered and robbed. In the volcanic territory close by, in the valley of Madân which runs eastward, there was encamped a clan, which had already embraced Islâm, together with Refâʿa, the chief. Hearing about the attack made by the band of Moslems upon the clan to which al-Hunejd belonged, they jumped on their horses, rode up to the Moslems, and after they had ascertained what had happened, returned in the afternoon to their camp in Madân. At night, however, they left Madân and shortly after sunset reached Refâʿa ibn Zejd at the well of Kurâʿ Rabba on the border of the volcanic territory Ḥarra Lajla. Having informed him of what had occurred, they rode with him on camels into the valley of al-Medîna, which they reached after three nights, and reported the matter to the Prophet. Mohammed gave orders that the Ğuḏâm who had been captured should be released, and sent ʿAli with Refâʿa to meet the returning raiders. These they encountered in the valley of al-Falḥatejn, and the Ğuḏâm regained everything which had been taken from them. —

Through the territory of the Ğuḏâm there are three roads leading from Syria: one by way of Ajla along the western border of the chain of granite mountains into Wâdi al-Ğizel; the second by way of Maʿân, Tebûk, and al-Ḥeğr; and the third by way of al-Azraḳ, Tejma, and Bird into the volcanic territory Ḥarra Lajla and thence to al-Medîna. As may be inferred from various details, the messenger traveled by the first road. Thus from Palestine he reached Ajla and from there entered the valley of Šinâr, or, as Jâḳût writes, Šinân, where he was attacked and robbed.

Between the attack on the messenger and the punitive expedition of the Moslems certainly no considerable time elapsed. The punitive expedition was directed mainly against the culprit al-Hunejd and was prepared with very great caution. Al-Hunejd must have expected that the Prophet would avenge the humiliation inflicted upon his messenger, and he therefore transferred his camp from the place where he had attacked the messenger, and which was therefore familiar to the latter, to al-Mâḳeṣ on the border of the volcanic territory in the region of al-Awlâğ. Jâḳût writes that, according to Ibn Isḥâḳ, the Moslem troops attacked al-Hunejd at al-Mâḳeṣ on the border of the volcanic territory of ar-Rağla, but Ibn Isḥâḳ merely says that the Moslems attacked al-Hunejd at al-Mâḳeṣ on the border, or in front of, the volcanic territory. Neither he nor Ibn Hišâm connects al-Mâḳeṣ with Ḥarrat ar-Rağla, Jâḳût adding "ar-Rağla" on his own account and, as it seems, incorrectly. The whole context points rather to the volcanic territory of Lajla than to that of ar-Rağla. For the Ğuḏâm, who accepted Islâm, must have been encamped very near to al-Hunejd, if on horseback they could reach the end of the valley of Madân, in which the Moslems of al-Medîna were resting, and return to their camp in the afternoon of the same day.

From there, traveling on camels, in a single night they reached the camp of their chief Refâ'a, which, as the text expressly says, was pitched on the border of the volcanic region of Lajla. All these camping places, including that of al-Hunejd as well as those of the followers of Islâm and of Refâ'a, could not have been more than sixty kilometers distant from each other or about three hundred and fifty kilometers from al-Medîna. We must locate them on the eastern border of Ḥarrat al-'Awêreẓ, which formed a part of Ḥarra Lajla. The volcanic territory of ar-Rağla is nowhere mentioned among the camping places of the Ğuḏâm tribe, for it is situated over two hundred kilometers to the north of the northernmost frontier of their territory. All oral tradition regards this raid as having been directed against the Ğuḏâm in Ḥesma', and Ḥarrat ar-Rağla lies more than three hundred kilometers to the northeast of Ḥesma', whereas Ḥarra Lajla borders on the region of Ḥesma'. In the volcanic territory of Ḥarra Lajla and to the east of it were encamped the Beni 'Uḏra, and it is conceivable that the Moslem band was led by a man of this tribe. According to Ibn Isḥâḳ the subjects of Refâ'a pitched their tents in the valley of Madân, which runs eastward from the volcanic territory; but in the whole of the volcanic territory of ar-Rağla there is not a single valley extending toward the east. From all this it follows that the word ar-Rağla was incorrectly inserted into the account of the expedition against the Ğuḏâm. We are therefore concerned only with that part of the volcanic territory of Lajla which borders on Ḥesma'. It seems, however, that during the raid Zejd ibn Ḥâreṯa did not enter the actual region of Ḥesma' and that his expedition has therefore been erroneously connected with that region.

Wellhausen explains the passage in al-Wâḳedi (*op. cit.*, p. 235, note 5) by saying that Zejd arrived with five hundred warriors from al-Awlâğ and at dawn attacked in ar-Rağla the united tribes of the Ğuḏâm, Ṛaṭafân, Wâjel, Salâmât, and Bahra', who were all present when Refâ'a returned with the charter from the Prophet. — But the tribes of the Ṛaṭafân, Wâjel, Salâmât, and Bahra' did not belong to the Ğuḏâm, and it is not stated in the text that Zejd ibn Ḥâreṯa attacked them in Ḥarrat ar-Rağla.

Caetani, *Annali*, Vol. 1, p. 627, also writes that Zejd, having passed al-Awlâğ, surprised the Ğuḏâm assembled at ar-Rağla. — No Arabic author asserts that the Ğuḏâm were assembled at ar-Rağla.

Al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), Vol. 1, p. 129, says that Ḥesma' extends between the territories of the Fezâra and Ğuḏâm tribes on the border of Syria and that the well-known camping place of Iram is situated there. — The encampments of the Fezâra were to the southeast of the region of Ḥesma' and the territory of the Ğuḏâm. As Iram, or the modern Ramm, is located in the region of Ḥesma', the latter must have extended as far as the aš-Šera' range, which, according to the natives, forms its northern and northeastern border even today.

In another passage (*ibid.*, p. 179) al-Hamdâni refers to the settlement of az-Zihjawṯ on the Syrian border between the Ğuḏâm and Kalb tribes, as well as to the valley of al-Ajm and the region of Ḥesma'.

In several manuscripts of Ḥassân ibn Ṯâbet's *Dîwân* (Tunis, 1281 A. H.), p. 28, we read az-Zihjawṯ instead of al-Marrût, which is unknown to the Arabic geographers. In the ancient territory of the Ğuḏâm, however,

is the place now known as az-Zihed, a name which recalls Zihjawṭ. According to Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 425, al-Ajm is said to be a black hill in the territory of the Beni 'Abs in the valley of ar-Rumma' and therefore several hundred kilometers from the frontiers of Syria and the Ğuḏâm. Where al-Hamdâni simply inserts extracts from the ancient poets, it is very difficult to determine the situation of the different localities, because he often connects places which in reality are situated at a great distance from each other.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 295, states that Ḥesma' is a place in the Ğuḏâm territory where the remains of water from the Flood have been preserved. He quotes the poet 'Antara, who urges the Fezâra encamping in Ḥesma' to pay heed to the smoke ascending as a warning sign from the volcano of al-'Alanda before their camp. Al-Bekri recalls that smoke was perpetually ascending from the hill of al-'Alanda. —

This active volcano could not have been very far from the camping place of the 'Uḏra tribe and must therefore be located in the southeastern part of the volcanic territory of Lajla. Why water from the Flood should have been preserved precisely in the region of Ḥesma' is not clear, for the water of the numerous wells there is in no way different from the water of the neighboring territories.

Al-Maḳrîzi (*Sulûk* [Quatremère's transl.], Vol. 1, pp. 61 f.) writes that in July of the year 1256 A. D. there was a great volcanic eruption to the east of al-Medîna in the district of the Šaẓa valley opposite Mount Ohod. The stream of lava was four parasangs long, four miles broad, and one and one half cubits thick. The flames could be seen as far as the environs of Boṣra' in the Ḥawrân.

Al-Aḥḳâf, where the clan of 'Âd dwelt, is identified by al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 76, with a mountain range in Syria or with isolated rocks in Ḥesma'. — The name Aḥḳâf (Ḥaḳâf) has been preserved to the southwest of al-Bed' (Madian).

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 267 f., calls Ḥesma' a region in the Syrian desert two nights distant from Wâdi al-Ḳura'. From Tebûk one can see the hills of Ḥesma' in the west and Šarawra in the east. Ḥesma' is said to be an extensive rough area near Ajla, containing bad water and belonging to the Ğuḏâm. According to Ibn as-Sikkît as quoted by Jâḳût, the Ğuḏâm own the mountain range and the area between the borders of the Tîh beni Isrâ'îl near Ajla and the territory of the Beni 'Uḏra in Ḥarra Nuhejl, the name of their district being Ḥesma'. In the wells of Ḥesma', it is said, water has been preserved from the Flood and that is why the water of these wells is so bad. In the tradition concerning the escape of the poet al-Mutanabbi from Egypt, Ḥesma' is described as a region with good pastures, fine palm trees of the *lîn* species, and innumerable isolated rocks, the sides of which are so steep that those who try to catch a glimpse of their summits almost dislocate their necks. The summits of some of these rocks are invisible and inaccessible. As the poet an-Nâbiṛa had already stated, Ḥesma' is perpetually swathed in clouds of dust. Only those who have seen it can really form an idea of what it is like, for in the whole world there is no other region which resembles it. Among the mountains of Ḥesma' should be mentioned the huge and lofty Mount Iram, on which, according to the surmise of the nomads, grapevines and pine trees grow. According to the tradition of

Abu Hurejra, the Prophet designated with the word as-Sunbuk that part of Ḥesma' belonging to the Ǧuḏâm. In the opinion of several Arabic writers, Allâh, at the request of the Believers in Ḥesma', caused springs to gush forth at Iram, al-Bedi'a, Na'mân, and 'Alalân. —

From the southern extremity of the region of Ḥesma' to the actual Wâdi al-Ḳura' it is over two hundred kilometers, but to the beginning of Wâdi al-Ǧizel, which is likewise reckoned as tributary to Wâdi al-Ḳura', it is only seventy kilometers. Jâḳût includes this region in Syria, because Tebûk, and accordingly also the greater part of Ḥesma', used to belong to the political area of Ṣoṛar — Ṣoṛar being at the southern end of the Dead Sea. From Tebûk the peaks of Ḥesma' rise up to the west and northwest; Šarôra', however, is seen not to the east, as stated by Jâḳût, but to the northeast. According to Ibn as-Sikkît, it would seem that the eastern edge of al-'Araba opposite the harbor of Ajla belonged to Ḥesma', while the western belonged to the desert of Tîh beni Isrâ'îl.

The Ḥarra Nuhejl, which Ibn as-Sikkît mentions, is unknown to me. Wüstenfeld writes in a note (Jâḳût, *Mu'ǧam*, Vol. 5, p. 152) that Nuhejl nowhere occurs in Arabic literature and that it should probably be Nihja, which is referred to by the poet al-Mutanabbi on his journey from Egypt to Irak ('Erâḳ). Al-Mutanabbi, however, nowhere mentions Nihja on this journey but refers to it in describing the expedition of Sejfaddawle against the nomads; and this Nihja is not situated in the proximity of the region of Ḥesma' but to the southwest of Tudmor (Palmyra). The encampments of the Beni 'Uḏra were in the neighborhood of al-Ḥeǧr and thus on the eastern edge of Ḥarrat al-'Awêreẓ and Ḥarrat ar-Rḥa', so that we should locate the volcanic territory of Nuhejl in the eastern lava spurs to the northwest of al-Ḥeǧr, somewhere near the lava lake of Sâlûm. There we meet with the name Mhejr, which recalls Nhejl (Nhejr), for *n* at the beginning of a word is often interchanged with *m*, *l* at the end of a word being interchanged with *r*.

The natives of Ḥesma' are acquainted with the *lîn* species of palm. This species is said to flourish particularly well in the oasis of Šarma'. Clouds of dust, or rather of sand, can be observed in the region of Ḥesma' almost every other day. They cover the whole country, so that even on a clear day it is impossible to see beyond fifty meters. These clouds of sand are a proof of considerable erosion and of the violent winds blowing through Ḥesma'. In consequence of erosion, the rocky soil of Ḥesma' had been rendered as smooth as a horse's hoof, and that is why the commentators on the oral tradition call it *as-Sunbuk* (fore part of a horse's hoof).

On Mount Iram, or the modern Ramm, grapevines and pine trees would thrive even now, but I have never seen any pine trees to the south of 'Ammân. The spring of al-Bedi'a mentioned by Ibn as-Sikkît is identical with the oasis of al-Bedi', which, however, is situated about thirty kilometers east of the southwestern extremity of Ḥesma' proper. The well of Na'mân I locate in the modern an-Na'emi on the southwestern border of Ḥesma', while 'Alalân is probably the famous camping place of 'Alaḳân provided with the water of al-'Elli, a name which recalls 'Alalân.

APPENDIX XIII

TEBÛK

Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, 7: 27, records on the northwestern border of Arabia Felix a settlement called Thapaua, the name of which I regard as a corruption of Thapaucha, or Tebûk. The position of the two tallies.

O. Blau, *Altarabische Sprachstudien* (1871), p. 561, finds a reference to Tebûk in the work of the anonymous Ravenna geographer, *Cosmographia*, II, 6 (Pinder and Parthey, p. 57), reading Taboca Romanis instead of Taboca Coromanis, but the former reading is not accurate, for the Ravenna geographer erroneously copies Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VI, 7: 19; the correct reading of his Taboca Coromanis should be Abukaion Koromanis, which Ptolemy places on the coast of the Persian Gulf.

Al-Belâḏori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), p. 59, relates that in the year 630—631 A. D. the Prophet reached Tebûk with a large Moslem army, concluded peace with the population there on condition that they should pay the *ǧizja* tax (levied upon Christians and Jews), and after about ten days returned to al-Medîna. —

Tebûk, therefore, at that time was inhabited by Christians and Jews, for they were the only ones who paid the *ǧizja* tax.

According to Ibn Hišâm, *Sîra* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 907, mosques of the Prophet are situated at Tebûk, at the valley of al-Ḳura', and at the following places in between: Ṯenijjet Medrân; Ḏât az-Zerrâb; al-Aḫḍar; Ḏât al-Ḥeṭmi; Alâ'i; by al-Batra at the end of al-Kawâkeb; Šiḳḳ Târa; Ḏi al-Ǧifa; Ṣadr Ḥawḍa'; al-Ḥeǧr; aṣ-Ṣa'îd. —

It seems that Ibn Hišâm quotes these in geographical order, for according to al-Bekri the mosque of az-Zerrâb is situated two days' march from Tebûk; and in Ibn Hišâm it stands in the second place beyond Tebûk and before al-Aḫḍar. The latter is identical with the halting place of al-Aḫẓar, seventy kilometers south of Tebûk, so that about twenty-five kilometers would be reckoned as one day's march. After ten such marches from Tebûk, al-Ḥeǧr would be reached, and Ibn Hišâm mentions the mosque of al-Ḥeǧr in the tenth place. We may thus locate the mosques enumerated between these two places on the Pilgrim Route. It is remarkable, however, that not a single one of the devout pilgrims who have described this route refers to these mosques consecrated by Mohammed, although they give detailed descriptions of various places connected with the legend of the Prophet Ṣâleḥ.

The defile Ṯenijjet al-Medrân is identical with the defile of al-Medra', which begins at the ruins Ḳṣêr at-Tamra. These ruins are perhaps the only remains of the mosque of al-Medrân; they are not situated, however, on the Pilgrim Route but about twenty kilometers to the west. I locate the mosque of aṣ-Ṣa'îd near the springs having their source beneath Ṯwejjel eben Ṣa'îd; this, however, is not situated to the south but nearly one hundred kilometers north-northwest of al-Ḥeǧr. I should likewise

identify the mosque of Ḥawḍa' with the ruins near the well of al-Ḥawṣa' on the crossroad to the northeast of Tebûk and at a long distance from it. If, however, these conjectures of mine are accurate, Ibn Hišâm does not enumerate the mosques in their actual order and thus does not afford an opportunity of fixing their exact position. It rather seems that the pious tradition ascribed all the mosques constructed between al-Medîna and Syria at some distance from the Pilgrim Route to the Prophet on his expeditions to Tebûk and Dûmat al-Ǧandal (al-Ǧowf).

Al-Mas'ûdi, *Tanbîh* (De Goeje), p. 270, includes Tebûk in Syria and states that it is ninety parasangs or twelve nights distant from al-Medîna. — As the journey from Tebûk to al-Medîna is more than 550 kilometers, one parasang would be more than six kilometers. Al-Mas'ûdi is the only Arabic author who gives the distances on the Syrian Pilgrim Route in parasangs. His statement cannot be more than roughly accurate, because, knowing the number of marches, he multiplied them by seven, although the separate daily marches might be longer or shorter according to the supply of water. He reckons Tebûk as part of Syria, because at his time (the middle of the tenth century) it belonged to the political administration of Syria.

According to al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 179, Tebûk in the tenth century was a small town with a mosque of the Prophet.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha*, III, 5, locates Tebûk about midway between al-Ḥeğr and the Syrian frontier, from which it is four days' march distant. At Tebûk, he says, there is a citadel haunted by spirits. The inhabitants obtain water from a well which gushes out with great force, and they cultivate date palms. —

These assertions make the Ḥeğâz extend as far as the foot of the aš-Šera' range at a distance from Tebûk of four days' march. Such marches would be of forty-five kilometers each.

Jâḳût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, pp. 421, 824 f.; Vol. 4, p. 690, says that Tebûk, a place between Wâdi al-Ḳura' and Syria, is a reservoir of the Beni Sa'd of the 'Uḏra tribe. He cites Abu Zejd al-Anṣâri to the effect that Tebûk is situated between al-Ḥeğr and the Syrian frontier, four days' journey from al-Ḥeğr and nearly midway between al-Medîna (twelve days' march distant) and Damascus. He says that it is a stronghold girded by a high wall, with a well and palms, between the mountains of Ḥesma' in the west and Šarawra' in the east. Many have related that the Prophet Šu'ejb was sent from Madjan — which is situated on the shore of the Red Sea six days' journey from Tebûk — to Tebûk to the owners of the thicket of al-Ajka. But Jâḳût did not believe this narrative and was of the opinion that the thicket of al-Ajka must be located in the neighboring Madjan, whence the Prophet Šu'ejb came. At the command of Caliph 'Omar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭâb, the Jew Ibn 'Arîḍ walled up an excellent well at Tebûk, which, according to Ibn Sa'd, was known as Mûla. It contained so much water that it perpetually overflowed. —

The distance from Tebûk to Madjan and to al-Medîna is not given in marches of equal length. Madjan is only 150 kilometers distant from Tebûk, so that Jâḳût must be reckoning according to the march of loaded camels, this being about twenty-five kilometers daily. But from Tebûk to al-Medîna is more than 550 kilometers, so that each march would have to be forty-five kilometers, the average speed of a camel rider. The 'Uḏra

tribe was encamped to the southeast of Tebûk, and, when Jâḳût assigns the reservoir there to the Beni Sa'd of that tribe, he proves that in past centuries the individual clans obtained possession of various halting places just as they do today. — According to Abu Zejd too, the Ḥeğâz extends northward as far as the aš-Šera' range.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 247, refers to Ḥarra Tebûk, through which the Prophet marched on his expedition to Tebûk. — This is the volcanic territory between al-Mu'aẓẓam and Luṣṣân.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Tuḥfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 1, pp. 257 ff., visited Tebûk at the end of 1326 A. D. and heard from the pilgrims that they ascribed the abundance of water there to the Prophet. Arming themselves in memory of the fact that the Prophet entered this oasis at the head of a military expedition, they made a sham attack on it and struck the palm trees with their swords. They stayed in Tebûk four days, in order to rest and to obtain the water necessary for the onerous march between Tebûk and al-'Ela'.

Aḥmed al-Maḳrîzi, *Mawâ'iẓ* (Codex Vindobonensis, 908 [A. F. 69]), Vol. 1, fol. 36 v., writes that the settlement of Tebûk is situated in the desert six days' march east of Madjan and that it has an abundance of date palms.

Ḥağği Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 523, also praises the pilgrims' station of Tebûk for its date palms and water, which was increased by the Prophet in a miraculous manner. According to Ḥağği Ḫalfa the Sultan Suleiman had the stronghold renewed and a large reservoir constructed there.

Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A. H.), p. 73, calls Tebûk also 'Âṣi Ḫurma, fixes its distance from the halting place of Ḳâ' al-Basîṭ at twelve hours, and mentions numerous wild palm trees, which grow there abundantly. The stronghold and reservoir, he says, were built during the reign of the Sultan Suleiman. He adds that in the stronghold there is a large fig tree, by which a well had been hollowed out. In the reservoir there is a powerful spring, near which grow fig trees, pomegranates, quinces, grapes, *bêtinǧân*, and watermelons. In Tebûk there is said to be a mosque where the Prophet prayed and which was later renovated by 'Omar ibn 'Abdal'azîz. Opposite is situated a place called Tenijjet al-Medrâri, in which there was likewise a mosque where the Prophet prayed. In those regions much *bejṭarân* grows, and even forests are found because water flows there. In the neighborhood the Arabs dwelt in places which they cultivated. Only a few Arab huts stand there, where formerly a settlement had been situated. Not far away is the village called Sarr. All these places belong to the Ḥeğâz, in which Mecca, al-Medîna, and Jemâma are situated. According to al-Aṣma'i, Ḥeğâz is the name of the territory covered with volcanic stone. All the camping places of the Beni Selîm as far as al-Medîna are named Ḥeğâz, because they are surrounded by mountains. —

There neither were nor are any forests near Tebûk, but both to the west, north, and northeast of Tebûk the *ṛaṛa'* used to form thickets which from a distance resemble small woods. Since the building of the railway these thickets have become thinner because the *ṛaṛa'* wood is sent to various railway stations or used for preparing charcoal, which is conveyed to Damascus. Tenijjet al-Medrâri is identical with the mosque al-Medrân, or the modern al-Medra' near Ḳṣejr at-Tamra, about twenty

kilometers to the south of Tebûk. The Arab houses stood near the garden of ar-Râjes, near the well of Ǧerṭûma, near Bîr al-Ḳena', and elsewhere to the south and west of the settlement. The village of Sarṛ recalls the halting place of Soraṛ, which, however, is situated nearly 117 kilometers north-northwest of Tebûk.

According to U. J. Seetzen (*Beiträge zur Geographie Arabiens* [in: *Monatliche Correspondenz*, edit. by F. von Zach, Vol. 18], p. 377), who records the statements of Jûsef al-Milki, Tebûk at the beginning of the nineteenth century was inhabited by the Ḥamâjde, who had emigrated northward.

APPENDIX XIV

THE PILGRIM ROUTE FROM EGYPT

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḫ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, p. 2078, records a statement by Ibn Isḥâḳ to the effect that there were two highroads leading from the Ḥeǧâz to Syria: the al-Mu'reḳa road along the seashore to Ajla, and the Tebûkijje road by way of the settlement of Tebûk.

The former highroad is perhaps identical with the later Egyptian Pilgrim Route from Ajla to al-Medîna and Mecca. From Ajla northward the al-Mu'reḳa road probably led through the rift valley of al-'Araba. I infer this from the fact that the first army sent to Palestine under the leadership of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ marched in the spring of 634 A. D. from Ajla through al-'Araba, rested for some time at al-Ḥamr (see Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 201), and proceeded thence in a northwesterly direction to Gaza.

The at-Tebûkijje road leading by way of Tebûk was later transformed into the Pilgrim Route from Damascus to al-Medîna.

Al-Ja'ḳûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 330, likewise mentions the al-Mu'reḳa road as proceeding from Palestine by way of al-Ḥamr to the harbor of Ajla and the settlement of Madjan, even though he does not give its name.

The position of the separate halting places situated on the roads from Syria, Palestine, or Egypt to al-Medîna can nowhere be determined with the help of the exact statement of distances. Computations in parasangs or miles are lacking, and in the case of daily marches we cannot decide whether the marches of transport caravans are meant or those of camel riders, as were the pilgrims. We may therefore suppose that these roads were never officially measured. From the time of the Omayyads there are no particulars of the lengths of the Syrian pilgrim routes, and the Abbassides completely neglected them.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 149, was acquainted with only one road which we can precisely identify: the one from Egypt to al-Medîna. It led from the harbor of Ajla to the oasis of Ḥaḳl (40 km.); to Madjan, or the modern al-Bed' (80 km.); and to al-Aṛarr. — The name of the latter stopping place has been changed by the copyists in various

ways. It may be merely the watering place al-Ṛarr or al-Aṛarr in the valley of Šarma, about sixty-five kilometers southeast of al-Bedʿ (Madjan). The spelling al-Aʿar or al-Aṛarr, used by al-Jaʿḳûbi and Ḳodâma, would therefore be correct; not al-Aṛaz or al-Aʿara'. The small palm oasis of al-Ṛarr, or al-Aṛarr, is situated on the ar-Raṣîfijje road which proceeds from al-Bedʿ (Madjan) to the southeast. The next halting place is not mentioned by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh. It must be located at the crossroads in the valley of aš-Šâr about fifty kilometers from al-Ṛarr, where, after abundant rains, much water collects and near which there are numerous springs in the adjacent mountain range of aš-Šâr. About fifty-five kilometers to the southeast of these crossroads, near the *šeʿîb* of Salûwa, flows the spring of al-Člêbe, which I identify with the halting place of al-Kulâba, as it is written by al-Muḳaddasi. The halting place of Šaṛab is situated on the same road about seventy kilometers from al-Člêbe; and Bada' about sixty-five kilometers to the southeast of Šaṛab.

Al-Jaʿḳûbi, *op. cit.*, p. 340, describes this road in much greater detail than Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh. He asserts that the city of Ajla was inhabited by people from various countries — among them being the alleged protégés of the Caliph Othman — and nearly all of these people carried on trade. An ancient cloak was exhibited there, supposed to have been the property of the Prophet.

At Ajla the pilgrims from Syria, Egypt, and northern Africa assembled (al-Iṣṭaḫri, *Masâlik* [De Goeje], p. 27; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masâlik* [De Goeje], p. 34) and marched through Šaraf al-Baʿl. The road to the latter halting place, which lies at a distance of about eighty kilometers from Ajla, led in a southerly direction along the seashore as far as Ḥaḳl (40 km.) and thence through the mountains southeast to the valley of al-Abjaẓ, in which are situated the ruins today known as aš-Šerâf.

At the next halting place of Madjan (al-Bedʿ) a different route was taken by the pilgrims proceeding to Mecca from that of those proceeding to al-Medîna only. The latter took the road described by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh by way of al-Aṛarr to Ḳâles, as al-Jaʿḳûbi calls the next halting place, which was probably in the valley of aš-Šâr. Between Ḳâles and Šaṛab al-Jaʿḳûbi does not mention any halting place.

It is more difficult to define the exact direction of the coast road to Mecca. From Madjan it led to the inhabited halting place of ʿAjnûna, which has still preserved its name in the oasis fifty kilometers south of Madjan. The other halting places situated in our territory are: al-ʿAwnîd, aṣ-Ṣala', an-Nabk, al-Ḳuṣejbe, al-Buḥra, al-Muṛajṭa, Ẓbe', and al-Weğh. The situation of Ẓbe' is known for certain. This settlement is nearly one hundred and five kilometers distant from ʿAjnûna. Between these two halting places al-Jaʿḳûbi mentions six others, while between Ẓbe' and al-Weğh, the halting place 150 kilometers beyond Ẓbe', he mentions not a single one. It is certain that something must be wrong with the text here. If we distribute the seven halting places between ʿAjnûna and al-Weğh, we obtain seven marches of forty-five to fifty kilometers each, and this distance agrees with the length of the daily marches as calculated from the halting places to which al-Jaʿḳûbi refers. Ẓbe' is then not the seventh but the second halting place from ʿAjnûna, but regarding the others al-Jaʿḳûbi gives us no clue as to where we should insert them.

Ibn Roste, *Aʿlâḳ* (De Goeje), p. 183, mentions only the halting places on the Pilgrim Route to al-Medîna which are referred to by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh but says nothing about the coast route.

Ḳodâma (died 922), *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), pp. 190 f., refers to both routes. On the road to al-Medîna he records the halting places given by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh or al-Jaʿḳûbi. As the junction, however, he does not designate Madjan (al-Bedʿ) but inaccurately makes it Šaraf al-Baʿl. The conformation of the land does not allow the pilgrims to go from aš-Šerâf direct to al-Aṛarr and thus to avoid Madjan. From Madjan the Mecca road must have gone in a southerly direction to the coast. But neither Ḳodâma nor al-Muḳaddasi (*Aḥsan* [De Goeje], pp. 109 f.) refers to ʿAjnûna as a halting place, although it is impossible to suppose that the pilgrims or traders would have avoided it. Both of these writers, it is true, mention a halting place al-ʿAwnîd, not, however, before Ẓbe', where al-Jaʿḳûbi places it, but beyond, where it actually lies. If we admit that the halting places of Madjan and ʿAjnûna are exactly indicated, we see that both Ḳodâma and al-Muḳaddasi insert the halting places of aṣ-Ṣala' and an-Nabk between the latter and the halting place of Ẓbe', which is likewise exactly indicated. But the distance from ʿAjnûna to Ẓbe' does not admit of two halting places; it admits of one only, and that one somewhere about the present settlement of al-Mwêleḥ. The latter name meaning "little salty" is more recent in origin and was derived from the springs there containing somewhat salty water. Since the name of aṣ-Ṣala' is still given to the coast to the north and islets west of al-Mwêleḥ, I locate the halting place of aṣ-Ṣala' at al-Mwêleḥ. It is here located by the other Arabic writers, who define its position between ʿAjnûna and Ẓbe'. About fifty kilometers to the south of Ẓbe', in Wâdi al-Aznam, are heaped the small ruins of the halting place al-ʿUwajnid, which was erroneously transcribed as al-ʿAwnîd by the copyists. The next halting place comes in the *šeʿîb* of Šaʿaf, where the halting place of an-Nabk was actually situated. Thus, in geographical order on the coast route to Mecca in our territory, lay the halting places of Madjan, ʿAjnûna, aṣ-Ṣala', Ẓbe', al-ʿWejned, and an-Nabk.

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalfa, *Ǧihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 541; *Musawwadat ǧihân numa'* (Codex Vindobonensis 1282 [Mxt. 389]), fol. 179 v. f., writes that the Pilgrim Route from Egypt to Mecca passes through the halting place of Saṭḥ al-ʿAḳaba — i. e. a steep ascent (near Ajla). From there at a distance of one mile he says there is a walled-in spring with fresh water. At this halting place dwelt the Ḫwêṭât Arabs, who were engaged in cultivating the date palm. It is there that the first quarter of the Pilgrim Route terminates. The route then leads to two defiles containing fresh water and, ascending the stony slopes of Ẓahr Ḥemâr to Ǧurfejn, reaches Šaraf, which belongs to the Beni ʿAṭijje and where there is an abundance of fuel; the road then continues between two mountain ranges through the valley of al-Muṭallât, where the Beni Lâm dwell. The halting place of Moṛâra Šuʿejb is famous for its abundance of fresh water, its *eṭel* trees, and its *muḳl* and date palms. The following halting places of Ḳabr aṭ-Ṭawâši and ʿUjûn al-Ḳaṣab are in a richly irrigated valley, containing a growth of reeds, but very hot. Here many pilgrims die during the summer. On the shore stands a tomb set up by Abraham, which is reverenced by the pilgrims. Near the halting

place of aš-Šerm and close by the sea rises Mount aš-Šâra. The halting place of al-Mwêleḥ is situated on the shore itself and has an abundance of water, which, however, is brackish. Dâr Ḳâjiṭbâj is so called after the sultan of the same name (al-Malik al-Ašraf Sejfaddîn Ḳâjiṭbâj, 1468—1496) who stayed there while on his pilgrimage. Previously the pilgrims used to encamp at a spot called Baṭn al-Kibrît. By a farther halting place is buried Sheikh Marzûḳ al-Kefâfi, to whose grave pilgrimages are made. At the halting place of Azlam terminates the second quarter of the Pilgrim Route. The surrounding neighborhood consists of waste land bordered by rocky mountains and containing salt water and inadequate pastures; but much *senne* grows there. —

The walled-in spring mentioned by Ḥağği Ḫalfa at the halting place of Ajla is situated in the gardens to the south of the present stronghold of al-ʿAḳaba. It is still called Ajla, as is the fountain near the stronghold. Ẓahr al-Ḥmâr is the name of a rocky elevation between the oases of Ḥaḳl and al-Ḥmejẓa. Ğurfejn is identical with the *šeʿîb* of Umm Ğurfejn, which begins at the hill of aš-Šaraf. The Beni ʿAṭijje or ʿAṭâwne still encamp east of aš-Šaraf. The pilgrims' station was constructed at the spot where the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šerâf merges into Wâdi al-Abjaẓ. Thence the route led southward through the latter valley, here enclosed between high, gray and black mountains. Wâdi al-Abjaẓ is therefore identical with al-Muṭallât. Of the Beni Lâm only the Mesâʿîd clan have remained near this valley. The name of Ḳabr aṭ-Ṭawâši I did not hear in the region referred to, but, as is shown by the name and the distance, the pilgrims' station was situated at al-Mrâḥ (quarters for the night). ʿUjûn al-Ḳaṣab are identical with the springs flowing among the thick reeds in Wâdi aš-Šarma on the al-Mellâḥ road, about eight kilometers east from the coast. I do not know the tomb set up by Abraham. Mount aš-Šâra is the name aš-Šâr badly transcribed. The word aš-Šerm denotes "the harbor," and the place so called must therefore be located on the coast in the bay of aṣ-Ṣafra'. Al-Mwêleḥ is the modern settlement of the same name. Baṭn al-Kibrît, a sulphurous valley, is identical with the valley extending along the southern slope of Ṭwejjel al-Kibrît, the sulphur being deposited not only on these hillocks but also farther to the south on the hill of Ḥmêra'-l-Ḳrajḳer, where the remains of the home of Ḳâjiṭbâj must be located. The grave of Marzûḳ al-Kefâfi is identical with the modern Ḳabr aṭ-Ṭawâši at the end of the *šeʿîb* of al-Kfâfi and is hence identical also with the settlement of Ẓbe'. The halting place of Azlam is the ancient al-'Wejned already mentioned.

Ḥağği Ḫalfa, *Ğihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 483, states that the stronghold of Ajla is situated on the shore of the Sea of Suez near Mount Ṭûr and that it belongs to Egypt. From Ajla it is two days' journey to Madjan, which is also called Moṛâjer Šuʿejb, whence it is another three days' journey to the stronghold of Azlam. — No reference is made to the road leading from Madjan to al-Medîna.

Šamsaddîn al-Bekri, *Tuḥfa* (Codex Vindobonensis, 925 [A. F. 283 or 457]), fol. 18 v., relates that the Egyptian Sultan Ḳânsûḥ al-Ḳawri (1501—1516 A. D.) ordered the restoration of the ascent at al-ʿAḳaba, as well as of the halting place of Ḥaḳl. At Ḥaḳl a *ḫân* (khan) was built with towers by the gateway, a complete ruin as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. At al-Azlam there was also constructed

a large khan in which the pilgrims deposited a portion of the food supplies intended for the return journey.

Jean de Thevenot (1656 A.D.) (*Voyages*, Vol. 1, p. 477) and Gabrielle Bremond (*Viaggi* [edit. by G. Corra], pp. 163f.) writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, likewise record the halting places on the Pilgrim Route from Egypt to al-Medîna. These lead us from Saṭḥ al-ʿAḳaba to the modern Ḳalʿat al-ʿAḳaba, six and a half hours to the watch-tower of Ẓahr al-Ḥmâr (Ḥaḳl) and after another seven and a half hours through a difficult region to the halting place of Šarafe Beni ʿAṭijje. Bremond writes "Scharafè betùgateie," and both Bremond and Thévenot give the distance from Dâr al-Ḥmâr (Ẓahr al-Ḥmâr) to the latter halting place as fourteen hours; this, however, is not accurate, fourteen hours being the whole distance from Ḳalʿat al-ʿAḳaba as far as aš-Šerâf. The road runs farther to Moṛâjer Šuʿejb, which formerly belonged to the tribe of Madjan and is over fourteen hours distant; to ʿUjûn al-Ḳaṣab (the oasis of Šarma), where Moses is said to have helped the daughters of Jethro; thence in fourteen hours to Ḳalʿat al-Mwêleḥ; and in eleven hours to Castel. The latter halting place must be identical with the modern Ẓbeʾ. From Castel it is fifteen and a half hours to Ḳalʿat al-Aznam; fourteen hours to Iṣṭabel ʿAntar; and a further thirteen and a half hours to Ḳalʿat al-Weġh.

In 1694 ʿAbdalṛani an-Nâbulusi (*Ḥaḳîḳa*, Codex Vindobonensis, 1269 [Mxt. 712], Vol. 2, fol. 11 r. — 16 v.) rode with his guides from the halting place of al-ʿAḳaba southward along the shore, so that he had the sea on his right hand and the mountains on his left as far as the palms and fresh-water springs of al-Ḥaḳl, where they arrived only just before noon. After a short rest, they ascended the slope of Ẓahr al-Ḥmâr and before sunset were in the *šeʿîb* of Umm al-Ǧurfejn, where there was no water and where they spent the night. Before noon on the next day they reached al-Ǧurfejn; whereupon they journeyed between high rocks of porphyry and marble as far as the halting place of aš-Šaraf, or as it is also called, Šarafe Beni ʿAṭijje. They found no water there. In the morning they proceeded as far as the last spurs of aš-Šaraf, where they had luncheon. At four oʿclock they again set out on the march, passing by the halting place of ar-Riǧm and encamping before sunset at ʿEfâl. On the afternoon of the following day they reached the halting place of Moṛâjer Šuʿejb, which the Bedouins call al-Bedʿ and where from numerous fresh-water springs rises a stream which forms several ponds. On the next day ʿAbdalṛani's party rode till sunset and encamped in the *šeʿîb* of aṣ-Ṣwêr until sunrise. Shortly before noon they were at the wells of al-Ḳaṣab, which unite to form a large stream, by the side of which many reeds grow. They rested there till nearly the middle of the afternoon. Late in the evening they found themselves in a trackless region, where they lost the way and remained till daybreak. Thereupon they rested in the valley of al-ʿOḍejb until the middle of the afternoon and at evening reached the fortress of al-Mwêleḥ, where they were again within sight of the sea. They found fresh-water springs there, and the fortress was permanently inhabited. Leaving the sea once again, by the middle of the afternoon they were at al-Muḳâwel, where they spent the night. They then passed through al-Ṛâl and Šuḳḳ al-ʿAǧûz, reaching the halting place of Ẓbeʾ, where there were springs of pure fresh water. In the morning

they rode out of Ẓbe' and after an hour passed by the grave of a virtuous merchant from northern Africa, whose name was Marzûḳ al-Kefâfi. He had fallen ill on his pilgrimage, had remained at Ẓbe', where at his own expense he had ordered a well to be dug, and after a short while had died. About an hour after noon ʿAbdalṛani rested for a short time with his guides in the valley of al-Baḥara, and after sunset they encamped in the valley to the south of the stronghold of al-Azlam. At this, the sixteenth halting place on the Egyptian Pilgrim Route, about five Arabs were living. In the morning the pilgrims started off afresh, rested at noon in the mountain defile of ad-Duḫḫân near a fresh-water spring, and encamped for the night shortly before sunset by the river bed of aš-Šaʿaf. —

Ẓahr al-Ḥmâr must be identified with the spurs of aṭ-Ṭabaḳ and at-Tnejnîr, which extend southward as far as the *šeʿîb* of Umm Ğurfejn. Ar-Riğm is near the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥṣâne. ʿEfâl is the name of the lower half of Wâdi al-Abjaẓ. The pilgrims' night quarters were at Samra' Tûmân. Al-Bedʿ is the present name of the ancient Madian, or Moṛâjer Šuʿejb. They crossed the *šeʿîb* of aṣ-Ṣwêr about forty kilometers southwest of al-Bedʿ and passed along the al-Mellâḥ road to the oasis of Šarma, which is identical with ʿUjûn al-Ḳaṣab. I locate al-ʿOḍejb in the vicinity of Umm Ğejhîle. Al-Muḳâwel is situated somewhere on the northern border of Ḥmejra' Ḳrajḳer on the Darb (road) al-Falak. Al-Ṛâl winds southward from Ḥmejra' Ḳrajḳer. Šuḳḳ al-ʿAğûz is the *šeʿîb* of aš-Šḳîḳ. The merchant Marzûḳ al-Kefâfi is forgotten. The people call his grave Ḳabr aṭ-Ṭwâši. Al-Baḥara extends about fifteen kilometers to the southeast of Ẓbe'.

APPENDIX XV

THE PILGRIM ROUTE FROM DAMASCUS

The Syrian pilgrims' highroad follows the old transport route of at-Tebûkijje, which is referred to by Ibn Isḥâḳ (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḫ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 2078 f.). This is clear from Jâḳût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 336; Vol. 2, p. 135, according to whom Muḥammed ibn Saʿdûn al-ʿAbdari relates that Abu ʿObejda marched from al-Medîna through the valleys of al-Ḳura', al-Aḳraʿ, al-Ğunejne, and Tebûk to Sorṛ, whereupon he entered Syria. Al-ʿAbdari copies the record drawn up by Abu Ḥuḍejfa Isḥâḳ ibn Bišr in his book about the conquest of Syria. The headquarters of Wâdi al-Ḳura' were formed by the modern oasis of al-ʿEla'. Al-Aḳraʿ is situated to the north of al-ʿEla', while al-Ğunejne is identical with Ğenâjen al-Ḳâẓi between al-Aḳraʿ and Tebûk. Sorṛ, which must be read in place of the erroneous Sorûʿ of the text, denotes the oasis and stronghold of Soraṛ to the north of Tebûk.

After the conquest of Syria, many pilgrims and even caliphs and members of the ruling house of the Omayyads (Beni Umejja) journeyed every year along this road to the Holy Cities. Ibn al-Faḳîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 106, states concerning the Caliph al-Walîd, the son of ʿAbdal-

malek, that at the various halting places on this Pilgrim Route he had reservoirs built and at some of them infirmaries for pilgrims who were sick.

No author mentions that the Omayyads had this highroad surveyed and furnished with milestones. Only in the holy bounds at Mecca did the Caliph Merwân ibn al-Ḥakam have milestones set up (Ibn Roste, *Aʿlâḳ* [De Goeje], p. 56). If this highroad had been furnished with milestones, the geographers would certainly have told us the distances of the various halting places in miles, as they do in the case of the highroad from al-Kûfa to al-Medîna. The older authors do not even record all the halting places from Damascus to Mecca and refer to them only in a general way without stating the distances.

Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 150, calls the first and second halting places beyond Damascus by the general name of *manzal* (inn), while the third he calls Ḏât al-Manâzel (the place with several inns). The first *manzal* certainly denotes al-Kiswe, while Ḏât al-Manâzel is Ḏerʿât, situated about 105 kilometers to the south of Damascus. Beyond this halting place the first name mentioned by him is that of Soraṛ (330 km.), this being the correct reading rather than the erroneous Soraʿ of the text. Thence, according to Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh, the road leads to Tebûk, al-Muḥdaṭa, and al-Aḳraʿ. The name of this latter halting place has been preserved in the reservoir of al-Aḳraʿ, about two hundred kilometers south-southeast of Tebûk and not far from the railway station of al-Muṭallaʿ. The halting place of al-Muḥdaṭa is unknown to me, but it may be identical with the modern station of al-Muʿaẓẓam. The ancient halting place of al-Aḫẓar between al-Muʿaẓẓam and Tebûk is still remembered under this name, but there is no reference to al-Muḥdaṭa after the time of Sultan al-Malek al-Muʿaẓẓam, who had the reservoir of al-Muʿaẓẓam constructed. It is therefore probable that the old name al-Muḥdaṭa was replaced by the more modern al-Muʿaẓẓam. After al-Aḳraʿ the next halting place mentioned by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh is al-Ǧunejne; this, however, should have come before al-Aḳraʿ and even before al-Muḥdaṭa. Al-Aḳraʿ is only forty kilometers away from the next halting place of al-Ḥeǧr, so that it is scarcely likely that there was still another halting place between them. About halfway between al-Aḫẓar and al-Muʿaẓẓam (al-Muḥdaṭa) is a place known as Ǧenâjen al-Ḳâẓi with scanty remains of the fortified building and reservoir with which all the pilgrims' stations were provided. It is there that we may locate the ancient al-Ǧunejne. From al-Ḥeǧr the highroad proceeded to Wâdi al-Ḳura', or the modern al-'Ela'.

Ibn Roste, *op. cit.*, p. 183, and Ḳodâma, *Ḫarâǧ* (De Goeje), p. 191, omit the first two halting places and mention the following ones in the same order as that recorded by Ibn Ḫordâḏbeh.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), pp. 249 f., states that the road leading to Tebûk begins at 'Ammân. After two night halts it reaches Maʿân; after the same space, Tebûk; and after a further four nights it arrives at Tejma. Al-Muḳaddasi thus gives the distance from 'Ammân to Maʿân as three days' march, thence to Tebûk as likewise three, and from Tebûk to Tejma as five. From 'Ammân to Maʿân is more than one hundred and ninety kilometers, so that one day's march would work out at nearly sixty-three kilometers. The length of the daily march between Maʿân and Tebûk would be still greater, amounting to nearly

one hundred kilometers, if between these two places there were two and not (as given by Codex Constantinopolitanus; *ibid.*, p. 250, note b) three night halts (*manâhel*). As, however, a day's march on the Pilgrim Route always amounts to about sixty kilometers, we must agree with the Constantinople codex and assign, not two, but three *manâhel* between Ma'ân and Tebûk. If the author reckons four halting places from Tebûk to Tejma, he fixes a day's march at about fifty-five kilometers and the same also for the march from Tejma to the valley of al-Ḳura'.

Al-Idrîsi, *Nuzha* (Brandel), p. 28, records more place names than his predecessors. These names, however, are recorded so incorrectly that it is difficult to locate the places. He asserts that the road from Damascus leads to the first halting place of al-Kiswe, which is situated on a hill on the western bank of the river al-A'waǧ, which flows into a lake. To the east of al-Kiswe there stood a large khan in which travelers put up for the night. From al-Kiswe it is a day's march to Zer'a (Ezra', see below; in the text erroneously spelled Da'a), and after a farther march the inhabited settlement of Ḏât al-Manâzel, which I identify with Ḏer'ât, is reached. From there onward the location of the various names occasions great difficulties. The name of the next halting place, Janû' or Banû', is the usual erroneous transcription of the accurate Soraṛ, which halting place is mentioned by all the early geographers. But from Ḏer'ât to Soraṛ is more than three hundred kilometers, and al-Idrîsi does not refer to any halting places situated between them. From Soraṛ it is a day's march to al-Baṭanijje, but al-Idrîsi writes (Brandel, *op. cit.*, p. 30) that Baṭanijje is identical with Ḏer'ât. After al-Baṭanijje follows the inhabited settlement of Damma (Dimne). We might locate this at the halting place of Ḏât al-Ḥâǧǧ, about forty kilometers south of Soraṛ, near which terminates the *še'îb* of Dimne coming from the spring of the same name. Soraṛ and Dimne in this order would agree with the next halting place, Tebûk. The farther halting places are the same as those given by the older authors, except that the name al-Ǧunejne is erroneously transcribed as al-Ḥanîfijje.

In the year 1313 A. D. Abu-l-Feda' (*Muḫtaṣar* [Adler], Vol. 5, pp. 280 f.) made the journey on a camel from Mecca to Ḥama' in twenty-five days. He estimated the time occupied by his stay at al-Medîna, al-'Ela', Birke Zîza, and Damascus as three days, so that he traversed the whole distance in twenty-two days but changed his animal on the journey. From Mecca to Ḥama' is more than nine hundred kilometers, so that Abu-l-Feda' must have traveled forty-five kilometers a day. As is clear from the halting stations mentioned by him, he also proceeded on the highroad of at-Tebûkijje.

When Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, pp. 254 f.) set out on his pilgrimage in September, 1326 A. D., he proceeded with the pilgrims' escort from Damascus to al-Kiswe, aṣ-Ṣanamejn, Zer'a, Boṣra', and thence by way of Zîza, al-Laǧǧûn, and al-Kerak to Ma'ân. — Defrémery and Sanguinetti (*loc. cit.*) identify Zer'a with Eḏra'ât. This, however, is not correct, for Zer'a corresponds to the settlement of Ezra' situated on the direct road from aṣ-Ṣanamejn to Boṣra', while Eḏra'ât is to the west of it.

According to Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, Ma'ân is situated on the border of Syria. To the south of Ma'ân, beyond the halting place of 'Aḳabat aṣ-Ṣawwân

(the modern ʿAḳabat al-Ḥeğâzijje) the escort proceeded through a bare, rocky plain, of which it is said: "He who enters it is as if lost, he who departs from it is as if new-born." After two days the escort encamped at the halting place of Dât Ḥağğ, where there were two shallow wells with water from below but no building. Ibn Baṭṭûṭa locates the next halting place in the waterless valley of Baldaḥ. This name is not familiar to me. The valley itself must be identical with al-Bezwa, which crosses the Pilgrim Route about fifty kilometers to the south of Dât al-Ḥâğğ. The next halting place is situated nearly forty kilometers to the south of it. Beyond Tebûk the escort reached a region even more waste than the former one and therefore marched more quickly in order to get away from it as soon as possible. The halting place of al-Uḫajḍer (al-Aḫẓar) lies in a deep valley enclosed by high slopes in places covered with lava. Ibn Baṭṭûṭa rightly compares this to a valley of hell. Through this valley the escort made its way to the large reservoir of al-Muʿaẓẓam named after a sultan of the Ayyubite family. On the fifth day after leaving Tebûk the escort reached the halting place of al-Ḥeğr. The data given indicate that the daily marches were fifty kilometers long.

Ḥağği Ḫalfa (*Ǧihân numa'*, Constantinople, 1145 A. H., pp. 531, 539 f.; *Musawwada*, Codex Vindobonensis, 1282 [Mxt. 389], fol. 187 v.) also describes this journey. Beyond Maʿân comes the waterless halting place of Ẓahr al-ʿAḳaba, which is said also to be known as ʿAbâdân. Then come the date palms of Ṭubejlijjât not far from the settlement of Lîs; the next place reached is Dât Ḥağğ, or Ḥağar, where Sultan Suleiman built a stronghold and where numerous wild palms grow in small gardens irrigated from springs. There follows the halting place of Ḳâʿ al-Busajṭ, or ʿArâ'id, situated in a sandy region not far from Mount Šarawra'. Thence Tebûk is reached. Farther south are the halting places of Moṛârat al-Ḳalenderijje near a small hill without water, Uḫajḍer, Birket al-Muʿaẓẓame, and Maṛâreš az-Zîr, or Aḳraḥ. A half day's journey still farther to the south from the last-named rises Mount aṭ-Ṭâf, where at Mazḥam the camel of the Prophet Ṣâleḥ was killed. Thence the road leads east to Mabrak an-Nâḳa and via the halting place of al-Ḥeğr to the settlements of the Prophet Ṣâleḥ, where there are rock dwellings and numerous springs, from which, however, no water should be drunk. The halting place of al-ʿEla' is a half day's journey distant from al-Ḥeğr and is situated below Mount Anân. —

The halting place of Ẓahr al-ʿAḳaba is identical with the small stronghold of Faṣôʿa, near the slope of ʿAḳabat al-Ḥeğâzijje. The name of ʿAbâdân is not used by the old writers for this halting place. The oasis of Ṭubejlijjât must be located at Soraṛ. What Ḥağği Ḫalfa means by the village of Lîs and where he locates it is not clear to me. In his *Musawwada*, or preliminary sketch of the *Ǧihân numa'* (Codex Vindobonensis, *loc. cit.*) he notes Lîs in the margin and does not include it at the right place. It is possible that Lîs stands for Dîs or ad-Dîse, the name of a valley terminating near Soraṛ. The basin near Soraṛ could be transformed into a large oasis. Meḥmed Edîb, *Menâzil* (Constantinople, 1232 A. H.), p. 71, connects Lîs with Ẓahr al-ʿAḳaba and says that it is situated beyond ʿAbâdân and resembles a village. The halting place of Dât Ḥağğ has preserved its name. Ḳâʿ al-Busajṭ, or ʿArâ'id, is identical with the halting place of al-Ḥazm, located in the flat, extensive plain of

al-ʿArâjed and to the west of Mount Šarawra'. Moṛârat al-Ḳalenderijje must be sought where the route leaves the plain and enters among rugged crags near Ẓahr al-Ḥâğğ. The names Uḫajḍer and Birket al-Muʿaẓẓame have been preserved as al-Aḫẓar and al-Muʿaẓẓam respectively. In place of Maṛâreš az-Zîr should be read Mafâreš ar-Ruzz (rice carpets), as the plain is called near the halting place of Dâr al-Ḥamra' because the pilgrims declare that this plain is covered by petrified rice. Aḳraḥ is erroneously transcribed instead of Aḳraʿ. In place of aṭ-Ṭâf should be read aṭ-Ṭâḳ, which is the modern Abu Ṭâḳa. The name al-Mazḥam today belongs to a small railway station.

ʿAbdalṛani an-Nâbulusi (*Ḥaḳîḳa*, Codex Vindobonensis, 1269 [Mxt. 712], Vol. 2, fol. 170 r. — 172 v.) on his return from al-Medîna in the year 1694 A. D. spent the night at al-ʿEla' and rode between sand drifts and rugged mountains as far as a place called the Wells of the Tamûd, which was also known as Medâjen Ṣâleḥ, or al-Ḥeğr. The pilgrims' escort stayed there all night and until the noon of the following day; at midnight it reached the defile of Šuḳḳ al-ʿAğûz, which I identify with the gully of Šoḳb al-ʿAğûz, about forty kilometers distant from al-Ḥeğr. The pilgrims then proceeded through the plain of az-Zelâḳât, which is covered with sand and soft stones and where the riding and draft animals frequently stumbled, and at daybreak were at al-Eḳêrʿ or Mafâreš ar-Ruzz. The author here is connecting two places which in reality are at some distance apart. Al-Eḳêrʿ, the name of which is the diminutive form of al-Aḳraʿ, lies to the southwest of Šoḳb al-ʿAğûz, while Mafâreš ar-Ruzz extend more than twenty kilometers farther to the north. About an hour after sunrise the pilgrims reached Dâr al-Ḥamra', where they found no water. Here they stayed until one o'clock in the afternoon and then continued their journey all night as far as the stronghold of al-Muʿaẓẓam, which they reached an hour after sunrise. This they found half-ruined and uninhabited. Formerly it had been guarded by a company of Syrian soldiers, but the Bedouins had broken through the walls and murdered the soldiers; whereupon the stronghold had been deserted. To the east of it ʿAbdalṛani inspected a square reservoir, each side of which was two hundred cubits long. The wall, one cubit thick, was built of the same material as the stronghold. The latter contained a well with an abundance of water.

Setting out in the afternoon, they rode through a narrow, rough valley covered with stones, which valley the author calls aṣ-Ṣâfi. It seems to me that this is an incorrect transcription of the name Luṣṣân, which he hastily noted down while riding on his camel; for Luṣṣân is the most difficult section of the Pilgrim Route between al-ʿEla' and Tebûk and the one with the worst reputation. That ʿAbdalṛani actually means Luṣṣân is clear from his further statements. They rode for three hours through the rough valley, whereupon they arrived at the basin of Ğenâjen al-Ḳâẓi. This basin lies fifteen kilometers northwest of the beginning of Luṣṣân, which would entirely agree with the three hours' ride. At Ğenâjen al-Ḳâẓi they found much sand and rugged soil covered with prickly plants which tore pieces from their clothing. After sunrise they again entered the valley and in three hours were at the halting place of al-Aḫẓar. ʿAbdalṛani refers to this well-constructed stronghold also as al-Uḫajḍer and explains that every year soldiers arrive there from Damascus to guard the reservoir against the Bedouins who would like to water their

flocks in it. Near the reservoir he saw a deep well containing good, fresh water, which was said to have been dug for the pilgrims by the Prophet al-Ḫaḍr, who was honored in the stronghold.

To the northwest of al-Uḫajḍer the pilgrims left the inhospitable valley, and it seemed to them as if they had departed from the lower world. From the valley they passed through the gap Naḳb al-Uḫajḍer, covered with stones and bordered by rugged crags. Here both the people and the animals were filled with fear and weariness. At the first gleam of daybreak they reached an extensive plain and an hour later arrived at the halting place of Moṛâjer Šu'ejb, where there was no water. They remained there until four o'clock in the afternoon. This halting place is certainly identical with the modern Ẓahr al-Ḥâğğ, situated about thirty-five kilometers to the northwest of al-Aḫẓar. Towards midnight they proceeded through the sandy valley of al-Eṭel and at sunrise had before them the stronghold of Tebûk, where they encamped. They thought that they would meet there with various traders and people dispatched toward them from Damascus, but these people were late and had not yet arrived. In the powerful stronghold of Tebûk there was a well containing good water drawn up by a pump which was set in motion by animals. The water thus obtained flowed into a spacious reservoir in the new fortress.

Having completed their afternoon prayers — that is, toward four o'clock — the pilgrims left Tebûk and throughout the night traveled along a plain covered with *ṛaẓa* until they reached the halting place of al-Ḳâ', or Ḳâ' al-Bazwa, which name has been preserved in the modern Še'îb al-Bezwa south of the railway station of al-Ḥazm. Soon after noon they rode on, crossed a narrow but slippery plain at midnight, and encamped by the large stronghold of Dât Ḥağğ, where a company of Syrian soldiers was guarding the reservoir. They remained there all night, watered their animals, provided themselves with water for three days, and at four o'clock in the afternoon continued the march. After midnight they again traversed a slippery soil, that of Zelâḳât 'Ammâr near the modern station of Ḥâlât 'Ammâr, and an hour after sunrise stopped at the waterless halting place of Ǧurajmân situated among the hills. This is probably another name for the site of the modern railway station of al-Mdawwara in the immediate vicinity of the ancient pilgrims' halting place of Soraṛ; it is remarkable that 'Abdalṛani makes no reference to this old stronghold. After the midday prayer the pilgrims rode on through almost impassable territory until daybreak, when they ascended the slope of 'Aḳabat al-Ḥalâwa, or the slope of sweetness — so called, 'Abdalṛani says, because it brought the pilgrims the joyful news that they would meet with their friends. After a short rest they started off again at noon and did not encamp until they reached Ma'ân.

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The letters NA refer to the author's map of Northern Arabia which will accompany forthcoming volumes of the present series.

The most important page references are given in italics.

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Ğ. *Abbreviation for* Ğebel. *See* proper name.
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Ḫ. *Abbreviation for* Ḫabra, Ḫabâri. *See* proper name.
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