

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CARLSBERG EXPEDITION TO PHOENICIA 4

HENNY HARALD HANSEN

AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL
COLLECTION FROM THE REGION
OF THE ALAWITES

With contributions

by

P. J. RIIS, J. ROHWEDER and S. M. SØNDERGAARD

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-Filosofiske Skrifter 7, 5



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Synopsis

On behalf of the Ethnographical Department of the Danish National Museum, the *Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia* collected a considerable number of *ethnographical items* from the *Alawites* and their neighbours during 1958–1963. A *description* and partial *analysis* of these objects, which are now in the *Danish National Museum*, are presented on the following pages. *Field observations* and other material gathered by the Expedition are presented in two appendices, which include *extracts from the reports of early travellers* and notes on *drawings, photographs* and *tape-recordings*.

Transliteration of Arabic Characters

ا	ʾ	eventually ā (long a-sound)
ب	b	
ت	t	
ث	ṭ	(in other systems rendered th)
ج	ǧ	(in other systems rendered j or dj)
ح	ḥ	
خ	ḫ	(in other systems rendered kh)
د	d	
ذ	ḏ	(in other systems rendered dh)
ر	r	
ز	z	
س	s	
ش	š	(in other systems rendered sh, sch or ch)
ص	ṣ	
ض	ḍ	
ط	ṭ	
ظ	ẓ	
ع	ʿ	
غ	ǧ	(in other systems rendered gh)
ف	f	
ق	q	(in other systems rendered ḳ)
ك	k	
ل	l	
م	m	
ن	n	
و	w,	eventually ū (long u-sound)
ه	h	
ي	y,	eventually ī (long i-sound)

Alif is only rendered by ʾ in medial or final positions, but not at the beginning of a word. The three short vowels are rendered by a, i and u. The assimilation of l is indicated in the article, the connection of article and noun being hyphened. If not audible, the t-sound of the ligature š is not rendered, as is the case when the following noun begins with a vowel.

Introduction

In north-western Syria, the ancient North Phoenicia, in an area which stretches from Tripolis in the Lebanon to the mouth of the river Orontes and includes the capital Al-Laḍiqiyya, an interesting people live partly in the mountains and partly on the coastal plains, e.g. around Ġabla (*fig. 1*). They are Arabic speaking and number c. 300.000 people living from agriculture and animal-breeding. These people are puzzling as regards their name, religion and cultural affiliations.

They have three different names, Anṣārīya, Nuṣairīya, and ‘Alawīyīn.¹ The terms Anṣārīya or Nuṣairīya have been given two different interpretations. About the time of the Crusades, roughly the year A.D. 1000, the name was explained as a derivation of the term “Nazarei” which means “small Christians”. However, this explanation seems little valid, since these people seem never to have been Christians, and no church or monastery seems to exist from the period of Primitive Christianity. Moreover it should not be overlooked that Pliny the Elder, who died in A.D. 79, called the inhabitants of the area Nazerini or Nazervi in his Natural History V 20 (17), 78 and 23 (19), 81.

The second explanation of the term² refers to the man said to have given the people their religion, namely Muḥammad Ibn Nuṣair, who is reputed to have come from al-Kūfa in Mesopotamia, the present ‘Irāq.

Ibn Nuṣair is said to have been the disciple of the eleventh imām, Ḥassan al-‘Askarī.³ In this case one would expect the religion of these people to be deeply rooted in the unorthodox branch of Islam, the Šī‘a, and inside this sect in the so-called Twelvers, *iṭnā ‘aṣarīya* or Imāmites.⁴ To adherents of Šī‘a, the rightful spiritual leaders of the community are the series of imāms beginning with ‘Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. The series continues with ‘Alī’s two sons, Ḥassan and Ḥussain, and continues further through a son of Ḥussain and thereafter from father to son up to a number of twelve, of which number the eleventh should have been the teacher of Muḥammad Ibn Nuṣair.

If it is accepted that Ibn Nuṣair is responsible not only for the name of these people but also for their religious affiliations, the supposition is untenable. Among

¹ Cf.: WEULERSSE 1940 I, 52–53 – ØSTRUP 1894, 214.

² Cf.: MASSIGNON 1961, 453.

³ HOLLISTER, 1953, 91.

⁴ Cf.: HUART, 1961, 188.

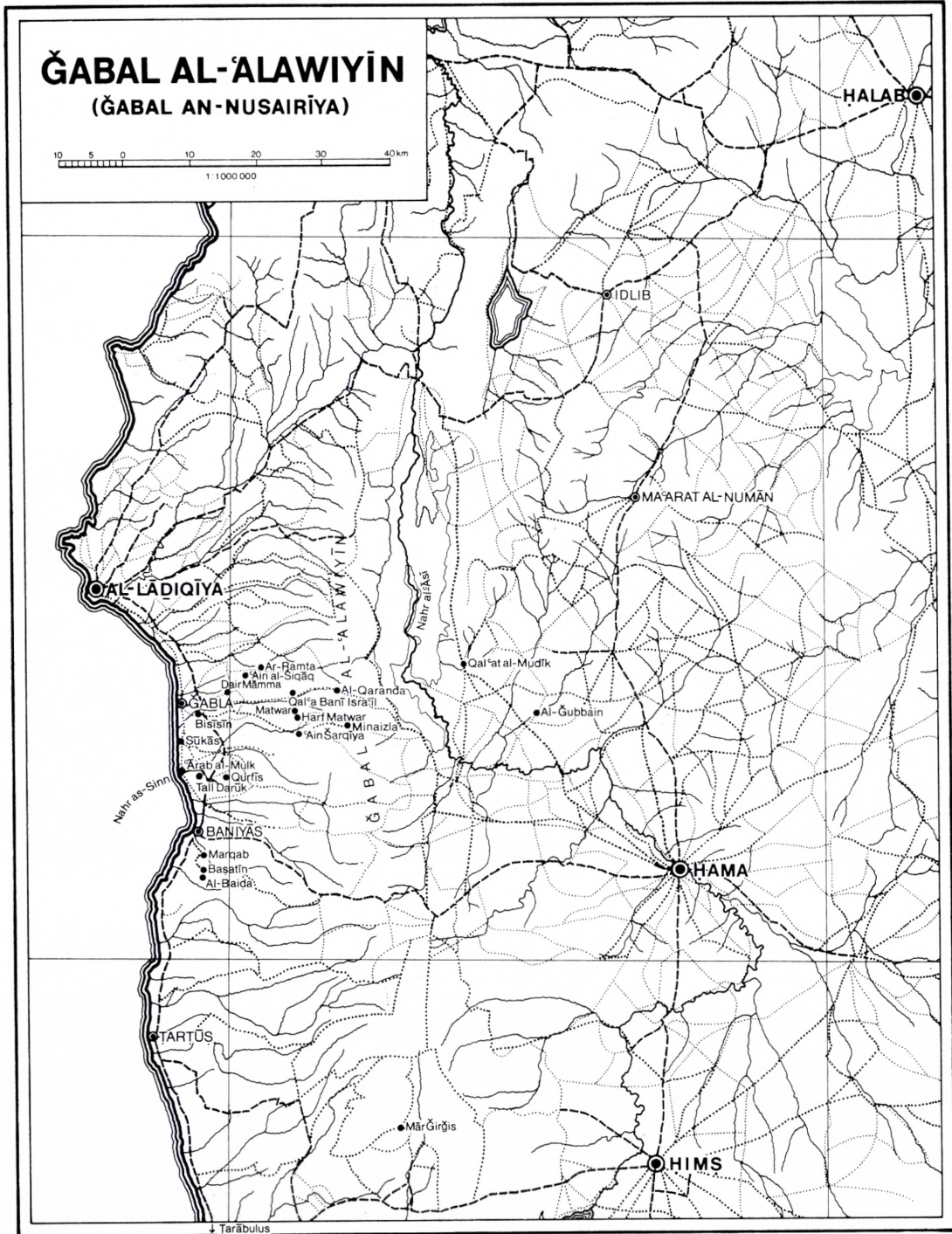


Fig. 1. Map of Ġabal al-'Alawiyyin, 1:1000000.

others, Dussaud⁵ maintained that their religion, although Šī'a, nevertheless, represented the second branch or sect, the Seveners, *sab'īya*, or Ismā'ilīs, which sect includes the Druzes. This sect acknowledges seven imāms only, of which the first six are common with the first six imāms of the Twelvers. However, for the Seveners or Ismā'ilīs, no eleventh imām exists who could have been the teacher of Ibn Nušair.

The third name for these people, who cannot be called a "people" in the Western sense of the word since they comprise different tribes united by a common religion inside a certain geographical area, is 'Alawīyīn, which only means "followers of 'Alī",⁶ who was, as mentioned, not only the first imām but also the fourth khalif (A.D. 656–661). This name was used for the state, "État des Alaouites" which came into being under the French mandate-government 1920–1945, and in its English form, Alawites, it will be used in the present publication.

It is a common conception, as mentioned, that the Alawites have never been Christians, and although today they live in the area of Primitive Christianity, there is no trace of Primitive Christianity to be found in their spiritual life.

The only acceptable explanation for these facts must be that before the arrival of Islam during the first ten years after the death of the Prophet (632), when this area was Christian and in some respects constituted a key area of Christianity, the Alawites were not found here. They only arrived later bringing with them their Šī'a version of Islam. Since the establishment of this second sect inside Islam, the main area of Šī'a has always been found to the East; at first in 'Irāq⁷ following upon the murder of Imām 'Alī, whose burial took place in Kūfa, and the death of Imām Ḥussain at Kerbela where his grave is found. Later the centre of Šī'a moved to Persia, where the most holy place after Mecca is found, the grave of the eighth imām in Meshed, and where Šī'a, in the form of Twelvers or *itnā 'ašariya*, became the state religion under the Safawid dynasty in 1502, and where even today the real ruler is the "hidden imām" represented visibly by the ruling shah.

The first description of the religion of the Alawites was made by the Frisian Carsten Niebuhr, who passed through their area in c. 1760 as the last survivor of the ill-fated Danish expedition to Fortunate Arabia (Arabia felix), which at that time constituted a part of the Ottoman Empire. On his return journey Carsten Niebuhr passed through Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. Five pages in his publication from 1778 are dedicated to the religion of the Alawites. Moreover, he refers to a manuscript concerning the religion of the Alawites written by an Alawite, which is now found in the museum at Kiel.⁸

According to Niebuhr's⁹ description the centre of the faith is the mystery, *sirr*, which consists of the male trinity, the Nušairī triad, consisting of 'Alī (the Lord,

⁵ DUSSAUD, 1900, 51.

⁶ WEULERSSE, 1940 I, 52.

⁷ Cf.: WEULERSSE, 1940 I, 53.

⁸ DUSSAUD, 1900 28, No. 20. Catéchisme des Nosairis, copié sur un manuscrit apporté du Levant par M. Niebuhr et par lui donné à la bibliothèque de Kiel. Bibl. Nat. Ms. arabe 5188.

⁹ NIEBUHR, 1778, 439ff. App. I. 1.

ma'nā, and the moon). Muḥammad (the veil, *ism*, and the sun), and Pāk or Salmān al-Fārsī (the gateway, *bāb*, and the heaven).¹⁰

The triad or trinity is indicated by means of the three letters *‘ain*, *mīm*, *sīn*, which are the initials of the three names, ‘Alī, Muḥammad and Salmān. These three letters seem to constitute the real mystery, the *sirr*. The existence of the Trinity among the Alawites as the foundation of their faith has been explained as a taking over of the pagan Syrian-Phoenician Triad.¹¹

Further characteristics of the Alawite religion are that they divide up the past into seven cycles each corresponding with a manifestation of the divine and combined with the following seven prophets, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad and ‘Alī.

The main celebration or festival of the Alawites is the *al-ġadīr* or *ġadīr ḥanum*, celebrated on the 18th of the *du al-ḥiġġa*, the month of pilgrimage and the twelfth month of the Muslim lunar year. The day commemorates the day upon which ‘Alī was installed by the prophet Muḥammad as his deputy in the Prophet’s mosque in Madīna (656).

Furthermore, the ‘*āšūrā*’, the tenth day of the first month of the year, the Muḥarram, is celebrated in memory of the murder of Imām Ḥussain, the greatest saint of the Šī‘a, at Kerbela (680). However, among the Alawites the ‘*āšūrā*’ is said to be celebrated quietly and discretely,¹² without the bloody processions of men who scourge themselves with iron chains and wound themselves with swords, and without the performance of *tazīya* or the passion play showing the sufferings of the imām Ḥussain and his family on the plain of Kerbela. This procession and passion play are well known from Baġdād, Persia and Baḥrain. However, the quietness and discretion of the Alawites are well in keeping with the fact that ‘Alī is the main figure in their faith and not Ḥussain.

Furthermore the following festivals are celebrated, *‘īd al-ḥiṭr*, which terminates the month of fast, Ramadān, and *‘īd al-aḍḍā*, the sacrificial feast which takes place on the tenth day of *dū al-ḥiġġa* in memory of Abraham’s compliance with God’s wishes when he prepared to sacrifice his son, Ismail, and God sent him a ram instead.¹³

In addition to these Muslim festivals the Alawites celebrate some Christian ones, of which the most important are Christmas, Easter and Epiphany.

Originally, no mosques existed in the area. The few which do exist today were built under compulsion by the Egyptian Mameluk sultan, Baibars, and by İbrāhīm Pasha, during the first half of the last century (c. 1840).

It was after Salāḥ ad-Dīn had conquered Al-Laḍīqīya and subdued the Alawites in the year 1188 that the area came under Egypt, whose people confessed and still confess the orthodox or Sūnni sect of Islam and recognize the row of khalifs from the

¹⁰ LEVI DELLA VIDA, 1961, 500 ff.

¹¹ DUSSAUD, 1900, 97.

¹² WEULERSSE, 1940, I, 259.

¹³ Cf.: MASSIGNON, 1961, 453.

first three, chosen among the nearest Arab adherents of the Prophet, and down to the Turkish sulṭān-ḫalīfa, “God’s Shadow on Earth”.

By massacres the Sūnni sect of Islam was introduced to the Alawites by ʾIbrāhīm Pasha in c. 1840. He seems to have had only insignificant success. In 1895 the Turkish Sūnni government requested the conversion of the Alawites to Islam. At that time the Šīʿa faith they retained was obviously not recognized as belonging to Islam proper. The Alawites were definitely acknowledged as orthodox Muslims in 1936 by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, even if they only place a symbolic value on the five religious duties and only accept the Qurʾan with an allegorical interpretation.^{13a}

Of sanctuaries inside the Alawite area, there are the so-called *wālīs*. These are white-washed, square, cubical, small buildings covered with a cupola or dome, erected as monuments for saints or for the burial of holy persons. These buildings are the holy places of the man in the street or of the ordinary peasants. Pilgrimages are made, the so-called *ziyārat*, therefore the buildings are often called *ziyāras*.¹⁴ These are the cult places of deceased holy men, and candles are placed on the grave or on the cenotaph erected above the grave.

Al-Ḥaḍīr or al-Ḥiḍr is considered to be a saint among the Alawites. “The green man”¹⁵ is reckoned to be the helper of the ordinary peasant and his family. In the Alawite area the worship of this variation of the Christian St. George is enhanced through the existence in the neighbourhood of the Greek orthodox monastery of Mār Ğirĝis, St. George.

While the common people worship al-Ḥaḍīr in their simple way, the šayḥs are initiated to different dignity through some very strongly kept secret ceremony, about which very little is known. Through this initiation custom the community is divided into two groups, the initiated and the non-initiated.

It is not the author’s intention to make a detailed investigation of what is known about the religion of the Alawites, but a few comments may be relevant here.

It has been pointed out that the Alawites show strong relations in their religion to the Persian sect Ahl al-Ḥaqq¹⁶ or the “men of truth”, where the idea of the seven cycles is accepted, and where Salmān is recognized as number one or the most important person of a male Trinity. In Persia these people are also called ‘Alī-ʾIllāhī, and among them Salmān al-Fārsī is termed “creator of the world”.¹⁷ The ‘Alī-ʾIllāhīs are Twelvers or Imāmites, and as a sect inside the Šīʿa Islam they are surrounded by much secrecy, but are said to comprise some of the rites of the sūfi dervishes¹⁸ in their religious ceremonies.

^{13a} See P. BONESCHI in *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* 122, Paris 1940, 42–54 and 134–152, and R. DUSSAUD in *Syria* 22, Paris 1941, 299.

¹⁴ Cf.: DUSSAUD, 1900 I, 19.

¹⁵ WENSINCK, 1961, 232ff.

¹⁶ Cf.: WEULERSSE, 1940 I, 61.

¹⁷ HOLLISTER, 1953, 31.

¹⁸ Cf.: MINORSKI, 1961, 17ff. – WEULERSSE, 1940 I, 61.

According to Edmonds, the village of Topzawa, where I had the opportunity in 1957 to make some investigations concerning the life of their women, was said to be an area¹⁹ of the *Kakai*, that is an Ahl al-Ḥaqq area.

In my opinion the Alawites, or the different tribes which today constitute the Alawites, must have arrived at their present area of residence in Syria relatively late, i. e. *after* Islam had spread to Syria and *after* Islam had divided into the two main sects, Sūnni and Šī'a. The religion of the Alawites shows a relationship with Mesopotamia and with Persia, especially with Luristān in Western Iran.

Salmān al-Fārsī is the third person in the male Triad or Trinity of the Alawites, a Triad in which there is no need to see an original pagan Syrian Triad consisting of Sun, Moon and Sky.²⁰ From Persia, Salmān is said to have gone to Arabia. Here he sought out the Prophet in Al-Madīna where he is reputed to have assisted with the construction of the trench before the battle which brought victory to the Prophet, the victory being called after this defence trench.

The typical Persian convert, Salmān al-Fārsī became an ardent Muslim and is said to have been the founder of Sūfism and the orders of dervishes.

During 1958–1963 the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia under the leadership of Professor P. J. Riis carried out excavations in the Alawite area of Syria. On behalf of the Ethnographical Department of the Danish National Museum, the Expedition also succeeded in collecting a considerable number of ethnographical items from the Alawites and their neighbours. The reason why so much material from the Ḥama region has been included is that the Alawites obtain quite a number of objects from this town, partly through ordinary trading, and partly through the presence of individual Alawites as hired workers in the region during harvest. The publication of the material collected by the Expedition, now in the Danish National Museum, was entrusted to the present author, who was formerly attached to the Ethnographical Department; a description and partial analysis are presented on the following pages. The information on the names and uses of the items is based on letters and lists sent by Professor Riis to the Department during the campaigns, as well as on later notes and oral communication with him and Mr. Jørgen Rohweder, architect of the Expedition. The Arabic words were transliterated according to the principles followed by Professor E. Hammershaimb in Hama IV 2, Copenhagen 1957, p. xi, 284–309 and H. Wehr, Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart, 3. Ausg. Leipzig 1958, with Supplement, Wiesbaden 1959. The Carlsberg Expedition also supplied additional material in the shape of drawings by Messrs. Rohweder and Poul T. Christensen, draughtsman of the Institute of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, University of Copenhagen, as well as photographs taken by the expedition members or by the photographers of the Danish National Museum. The typescript was made by Miss Toni Geertsen, B. A., and it was prepared for printing by Miss Gunhild Ploug, M. A. To all these I render my thanks.

¹⁹ EDMONDS, 1957, 182 ff.

²⁰ MASSIGNON, 1961, 455.

**Groups of Objects Incorporated into the Ethnographical Department
of the Danish National Museum**

SPECIMENS USED BY THE ALAWITES

F 122	double flute, <i>arǧūl</i>	183/39.	p. 56, fig. 18 c, pl. XLc
F 229 a–b	pointed shoes	105/41.	p. 32, pl. XXVII f
F 282–288	seven lithographs with inscriptions . .	174/44.	p. 58–61, pl. XLI–XLVII
F 500–503	four cake-baking moulds, <i>qawalib</i> . . .	393/58.	p. 26, pl. XII d, b, c, e
F 504	bath gown, <i>burnus ḥammām</i> , with hood, <i>ābūʿa</i>	393/58.	p. 40, fig. 9 e, pl. XXXII b
F 505 a–c	equipment for horseback riding	393/58.	p. 19, pl. II a
F 506	saddle-bag, <i>ḥirǧ l-al mʿaraka</i> or <i>ḥirǧ l-al ʿudda</i>	393/58.	p. 19, pl. II c
F 507	quiver of basketwork, <i>āndīl</i> , with bird-lime twigs, <i>ḥilf</i> or <i>ḥilf dibbiq</i> . . .	393/58.	p. 51, pl. XXXVIII f
F 649 a–g	dress for a man, <i>tūb ʿalawī</i>	215/60.	p. 28–46
a	trousers, <i>īlbās</i>		fig. 8 c, pl. XXVI c
b	blouse or shirt, <i>qamīš</i>		fig. 11 a, pl. XXXII a
c	caftan, <i>šūqa</i>		fig. 10 a, pl. XXX b
d	sash, <i>zinnār</i>		pl. XVI a
e	cap, <i>ṭaqīya</i>		pl. XIII b
f–g	pointed, red leather shoes, <i>īmdās</i> . . .		pl. XXVII b
F 650 a–m	dress for a man, <i>tūb ʿalawī</i>	215/60.	p. 28–47
a	under trousers, <i>īlbās</i>		fig. 8 d, pl. XXVI b
b	blouse or shirt, <i>qamīš</i>		fig. 11 b, pl. XXXIII a
c	trousers, <i>širwāl</i>		fig. 8 e, pl. XXVI d
d	sash, <i>šamla</i>		pl. XVI b
e	blouse or short gown, <i>marīūl</i>		fig. 11 c, pl. XXXIII b
f	jacket with short sleeves, <i>šudrīya</i> . . .		fig. 9 c, pl. XXV d
g	jacket, <i>sukāya</i>		pl. XXVIII a
h	overgarment of felt with hood, <i>qūbān</i> or <i>kūbān</i>		fig. 10 b, pl. XXXI a
i	cap of felt, <i>libāda</i>		pl. XIII c

	j	headcloth, <i>kūfīya</i>		pl. XV b
	k	head string, <i>brīm</i> or <i>‘aqāl</i>		pl. XV a
	l–m	a pair of long boots, <i>ğazma</i>		pl. XXVII h
F 651	a–s	dress for a woman, <i>tūb ‘alawīya</i>	215/60.	p. 29–50, colour plate
	a–b	two pairs of trousers, <i>sirwāl</i> or <i>īlbās</i>		fig. 8 f, 9 a, pl. XXV a, c
	c	slip or undergown, <i>qamīš</i>		pl. XXXII c
	d	separate pocket or bag of silk, <i>ğaība</i>		pl. XXII a
	e	handkerchief, <i>maḥramī</i>		pl. XXII b
	f	gown, <i>fustān</i>		pl. XXXIV a
	g–h	two waist sashes, <i>zinnār</i>		pl. XX b, a
	i	apron or open skirt, <i>maḥzam</i>		pl. XXIV a
	j	short jacket, <i>qaṭūša</i>		pl. XXVIII b
	k	jacket, <i>sukāya</i>		pl. XXIX a
	l	red cap with blue tassel, <i>ṭarbūš</i>		pl. XVII a
	m	kerchief, triangular, <i>ḥsanīya</i>		pl. XVII b
	n	kerchief, square, <i>mandīl</i>		pl. XIX a
	o	kerchief, oblong, <i>mandīl</i>		pl. XIX b
	p	two hair strings for plaits, <i>ḍafāyīr</i> or <i>ğdīla</i>		fig. 5
	q	forehead or breast ornament, <i>saffa</i> or <i>kurdān</i> , with crescent, <i>nāṭūr</i>		pl. XXI a
	r–s	pointed shoes of red leather, <i>īmdās</i>		pl. XXVII c
F 652		baking mould for cake or pastry, <i>qālīb</i>	215/60.	p. 26, pl. XII h
F 653		wooden rolling pin, <i>šūbak</i>	215/60.	p. 26, pl. XII f
F 654		lemon squeezer, <i>‘asāra līmūn</i>	215/60.	p. 26, pl. XII g
F 655		cradle pipe, <i>sībak</i> , for a boy	215/60.	p. 21, pl. IX o
F 656		flute, <i>nāī</i>	615/60.	p. 54, fig. 18 a, pl. XL a
F 657		a pair of scales, <i>mīzān</i> , with weights, <i>auzān</i> , sing. <i>wazn</i>	215/60.	p. 26, pl. XIII a
F 658		flute, <i>nāī</i>	215/60.	p. 54, fig. 18 b, pl. XL b
F 659		cradle pipe for a girl, <i>šībak</i>	215/60.	p. 21, pl. IX p
F 660		sash for a man, <i>šamla</i>	215/60.	p. 28, fig. 4
F 664		spade with foot rest, <i>marr</i>	215/60.	p. 17, fig. 2, pl. I h
F 665		towing-spade, <i>mišḥiya</i>	215/60.	p. 17–18, fig. 3, pl. I j
F 666		sickle, <i>qālūš</i>	215/60.	p. 18, pl. I b
F 667		pruning knife, <i>ḥanğar</i>	215/60.	p. 18, pl. XIV h
F 668		tobacco knife, <i>šafra duḥḥan</i>	215/60.	p. 26, pl. XIV d
F 669		headstall with bit and reins for mule, <i>liğām</i>	215/60.	p. 20, pl. III e
F 670		forehead ornament for mule	215/60.	p. 20, pl. III f
F 671		camel bell, <i>ğaras</i> , with collar, <i>ḥarṭāya</i>	215/60.	p. 20, pl. III c
F 672		camel bell with collar	215/60.	p. 20–21, pl. III d

F 673	a-g	equipment for hunting quails, <i>nufūġ</i> , sing. <i>nafġa</i>	215/60.	p. 51–52, figs. 13, 14
	a	net, <i>šabaka</i>	}	pl. XXXVIII a
	b-d	three sticks, <i>ħazūq</i>		
	e-g	trap, <i>qanāša</i> , two sticks and a pair of trousers, <i>šintiyān</i> or <i>širwāl</i>		
F 674	a-g	equipment for sparrow-hawk hunting	215/60.	p. 52–54, figs. 16, 17
	a-b	two strings, <i>išba</i> or <i>sibiq</i> , for holding the hawk, <i>bāšiq</i>		fig. 15 b
	c	leather protection for the hand, <i>kaff</i> .		fig. 15 a, pl. XXXVIII c
	d-e	bells, <i>ġaras</i> , for the back of the hawk		pl. XXXVIII b
	f	hunting bag, <i>šanġa</i>		pl. XXXVIII d
	g	stick, <i>dikkāša</i> , of mulberry wood, <i>tūt</i>		pl. XXXVIII e
F 675	a-b	one-stringed violin, <i>rabāba</i> , with bow, <i>ūd</i>	215/60.	p. 56, pl. XXXIX a
F 676		“double flutes”, <i>miġwiz</i> or <i>arġūl</i>	215/60.	p. 56, fig. 18 d, pl. XL d
F 677	a-d	pair of castanets, <i>sunūġ</i>	215/60.	p. 56, pl. XXXIX b
F 678		hand-drum, <i>darbakka</i>	215/60.	p. 56, pl. XLe
F 679	a-c	tinder box, <i>qaddāħa</i>	215/60.	p. 26–27
	a	steel, <i>būlād</i>	}	pl. XIV g
	b	flint, <i>šuwān</i>		
	c	tinder, <i>ftil</i>		
F 701		reed mat, <i>ħašir</i>	150/64.	p. 22, pl. V c
F 702		felt rug, <i>libād</i>	150/64.	p. 22, pl. V d
F 703		back cushion, <i>muħadda</i> , or back pillow	150/64.	p. 22
F 704	a-b	hammock cradle with wooden hook, <i>zanzūqa</i>	150/64.	p. 22, pl. IV a
F 705		pillow, <i>muħadda</i>	150/64.	p. 22, pl. IV b
F 706		plaited reed stool, <i>kursi</i>	150/64.	p. 22, pl. IV c
F 707		square cloth for wrapping of linen garments during transport, <i>buqġa</i>	150/64.	p. 31, pl. XXI b
F 708		straw basket used as a tray for serv- ing meals, <i>ħabaq</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. V a
F 709–712		four straw baskets, <i>iġmām</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. VI d, c, b, a
F 713		wooden plate, <i>ilqaina</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. VI e
F 714		copper basin for vegetables, <i>šaħn</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. IX f
F 715		copper bowl for curds, <i>kāsa laban</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. IX d
F 716–717		two old wooden table spoons, <i>m'ālaqa</i>	150/64.	p. 25, pl. XI a, b
F 718–723		six new wooden table spoons, <i>m'ālaqa</i>	150/64.	p. 25, pl. XI c–h

F 724	earthenware drinking jar for water, <i>ibrīq mā</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. VII e
F 725	earthenware jar used as savings box, <i>ʔamūra</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. VII g
F 726	broom, <i>mikinsa</i>	150/64.	p. 25, pl. IX r
F 727	earthenware brazier for boiling, <i>mūqda</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. VI g
F 728	earthenware brazier for roasting and keeping food warm, <i>kanūn</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. VI f
F 729	bellows, <i>munfaḥ</i>	150/64.	p. 25, pl. IX q
F 730	copper pot, <i>dissit</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. IX c
F 731	copper pot, <i>ʔunğara</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. IX a
F 732	earthenware pot for greasy food, <i>ʔunğara</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. VII a
F 733	earthenware pot for boiling water, <i>ʔunğara</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. VII b
F 734	basket for earthenware pot, <i>sānūna</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. VII c
F 735–741	seven iron spits for roasting meat, <i>sīḥ laḥm</i>	150/64.	p. 27, pl. IX g–m
F 742–744	three wooden spoons, <i>miğrafa</i> or <i>muğrafa</i>	150/64.	p. 25, pl. XI j–l
F 745	kitchen knife, <i>sikkīn</i>	150/64.	p. 27, pl. XIV c
F 746	copper bucket for curds, <i>ʔaḥl laban</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. IX b
F 747	earthenware jar for churning, <i>ḥaḍḍā zibda</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. VIII c
F 748	earthenware jar for fetching water, <i>būtīya</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. VII d
F 749	earthenware jar for olives, <i>tīğār zaitūn</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. VIII b
F 750	earthenware jar for olive oil, <i>bārš zait</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. VII f
F 751	earthenware jar for wheat, <i>ḥābiya ḥinḥa</i>	150/64.	p. 24, pl. VIII a
F 752	hand-mill or grinder of lava, <i>irḥaya ʔāḥūn</i>	150/64.	p. 25, pl. X a
F 753	sieve, <i>ğirbāl</i>	150/64.	p. 27, pl. XI m
F 754	stone mortar, <i>ğirn</i>	150/64.	p. 25, pl. X b
F 755	mousetrap, <i>muḥlaya fār</i>	150/64.	p. 27, pl. XII a
F 756	donkey saddle, <i>ğūlail</i>	150/64.	p. 19–20, pl. III b
F 757	headstall, <i>rasīya</i> , with reins, <i>ḥabl</i> , for donkey	150/64.	p. 20, pl. III a
F 758	pointed hoe, <i>bīk</i>	150/64.	p. 17, pl. I d
F 759	pointed transverse hoe, <i>quzma</i>	150/64.	p. 17, pl. I a

F 760	pointed broad hoe, <i>miğrafa</i>	150/64.	p. 17, pl. Ig
F 761	broad hoe, <i>fās</i>	150/64.	p. 17, pl. Ic
F 762	share, <i>šillif</i> , for plough, <i>šummud</i> <i>al-flāḥa</i>	150/64.	p. 18–19, fig. 41 b, pl. If
F 763	sickle, <i>miḡal</i>	150/64.	p. 18, pl. Ie
F 764 a–b	tobacco carving board with roll of tobacco	150/64.	p. 27
	a carving board, <i>daff</i>	}	pl. XIV a
	b roll of tobacco, <i>kata tūtūn</i>		
F 765	tobacco knife, <i>sikkīn tūtūn</i>	150/64.	p. 27, pl. XIV b
F 766 a–h	paper festoon, <i>waraka zīna</i>	150/64.	p. 57–58, pl. XLVIII
F 767	potholder made from an old cap, <i>tarbūš</i>	150/64.	p. 24–25, pl. IX e
F 769	circular dining mat, <i>ṭablīya</i>	150/64.	p. 23, pl. Vb
F 770 a–b	wooden sandals, <i>qabāqīb</i>	150/64.	p. 32–34, pl. XXVII e
F 771	rosary, <i>misbaḥa</i>	150/64.	p. 58, pl. XXXIX c
F 772 a–b	two leather figures for shadow play . .	150/64.	p. 57
	a Karakūz	}	pl. XXXIX d
	b Aywāz		
F 773	clasp knife, <i>sikkīn</i>	150/64.	p. 27, pl. XIV e
F 774	clasp knife, <i>sikkīn</i>	150/64.	p. 27, pl. XIV f

COMPARABLE, NON-ALAWITE SPECIMENS

F 453	undergown for woman, <i>ṭūb gāz</i> , from Ḥama	325/55.	p. 43, pl. XXXIV b
F 454	undergown for woman, <i>ṭūb</i> , from Ḥama	325/55.	p. 44, fig. 12 b, pl. XXXVI a
F 455	working gown for woman, <i>qaba'a</i> , from Ḥama	325/55.	p. 43–44, fig. 12 a, pl. XXXV b
F 456	kerchief for woman, <i>ʿašāba</i> , from Ḥama	325/55.	p. 31, pl. XXIII a
F 457	jacket for woman, <i>darrā'a</i> , from Ḥama	325/55.	p. 38, fig. 9 d, pl. XXIX b
F 458	belt for woman, <i>kamar</i> , from Ḥama .	325/55.	p. 32, fig. 6
F 459 a–b	boots for woman, <i>ḡizma</i> , from Ḥama	325/55.	p. 35, pl. XXVI a
F 460 a–h	dress for fellah woman, from Al- Ḡubbain near Qal'at al-Mudik	325/55.	p. 32–50
	a trousers, <i>sirwāl</i>		fig. 9 b, pl. XXV b
	b undergown, <i>ṭūb</i>		fig. 12 c, pl. XXXVI b
	c undergown, <i>ṭūb</i>		fig. 12 d, pl. XXXVII a
	d gown, <i>qub'a</i>		pl. XXXVII b

	e	turban, <i>šambar</i>		figs. 7 b, 8 a
	f	hood, <i>qaḥḥābīya</i>		figs. 7 a, 8 b
	g	shawl, <i>‘ašāba</i>		pl. XXIII b
	h	jacket, <i>darrā‘a</i>		pl. XXX a
F 661		gown for woman, <i>wurdain</i> , from the ‘Anaza Bedouins	215/60.	p. 43, fig. 11 d, pl. XXXVa
F 662		overgarment for both sexes, <i>‘abāya</i> , from Damascus	215/60.	p. 42, pl. XXXI c
F 663		shawl for Muslim woman, <i>milāya</i> , from Damascus	215/60.	p. 32, pl. XXIV b
F 680		overgarment for man, <i>‘abā</i> , <i>‘abāya</i> , inner Syria	215/60.	p. 40–42, fig. 10 d, pl. XXXI b
F 681		caftan, <i>qumbāz</i> , for man, inner Syria	215/60.	p. 40, fig. 10 c, pl. XXX c
F 682		cap, <i>taqīya</i> , for man, inner Syria . . .	215/60.	p. 28, pl. XIII d
F 683		sash, <i>zinnār</i> , for man, inner Syria . . .	215/60.	p. 29, pl. XVIII b
F 684	a–b	leather sandals, <i>na‘ūl</i> , for man, inner Syria	215/60.	p. 35, pl. XXVII a
F 685	a–b	leather sandals, <i>šarūḥ na‘ūl</i> , for man, inner Syria	215/60.	p. 35, pl. XXVII d
F 686		headcloth for man, <i>kuffīya</i> , inner Syria	215/60.	p. 29, pl. XVIII a
F 768		short pointed boots, <i>astīq</i> , old type, from Ğabla	150/64.	p. 32, pl. XXVII g
K 1156	a–b	Circassian sword with scabbard, <i>qāma</i> , from ‘Ārab al-Mulk	215/60.	p. 61, fig. 20
K 1157		Circassian cap, <i>qalbağ</i> , from ‘Ārab al-Mulk	215/60.	p. 61, fig. 21

I. Agricultural Equipment

Agriculture is the principal occupation, and the land is still feudally owned. The peasants must hand over some one- to two-thirds of their harvest to the landowner. During the union of Syria with Egypt in the years 1958–1961, a little parcelling out to the Alawite peasants was inspired by the land reforms of president Ğamal ‘Abd-an-Naṣr in Egypt.

The main crops are wheat, tobacco, olives, figs, tomatoes, vegetables and sugar-cane. During the French mandate after the First World War (1920–1946) the cultivation of cotton was introduced, as well as irrigation.

The field is ploughed with a plough without mould-board, a so-called bow-ard drawn by two oxen under a common yoke made of heavy wood. Corn is harvested by sickle. The grain is threshed on a special threshing place by means of a threshing board,

the underside of which is covered by bits of inserted flint. The threshed corn is stored in large earthenware jars, *ḥawābīʿ*.

Ten specimens of agricultural implements were acquired, representing four different types of hoe, two types of spade, one pruning knife, two types of sickle, and a share for a plough.^{20b}

Hoes

F 758. Pointed hoe, *bīk*. A head of iron 0.260 m long, pointed at both ends and with a ring-shaped central part, is placed horizontally on a roughly shaped, straight wooden handle, 0.450 m long. From Ğabla. Local work. *Pl. Id.*

F 759. Pointed transverse hoe, *quzma*. Gudme, op. cit. 109, maintains that this word is only used in the territory along the Turkish language border. The word *qadūm*, *ibid.*, is employed by the inhabitants of the Ğabla Plain for a smaller specimen of the same kind of pointed transverse hoe. A head of iron, 0.350 m long, pointed at one end, broad and provided with an edge at the other end and with a lightly curved, ring-shaped central part, is placed on a roughly shaped, straight wooden handle, 0.410 m long. From Ğabla. Local work. *Pl. Ia.*

F 760. Transverse pointed hoe, *miġrafa*.²¹ A heart-shaped blade with a ring, 0.270 m long, is placed on a coarse, straight wooden handle, 0.460 m long. From Ğabla. Local work. *Pl. Ig.*

F 761. Transverse hoe, *fās*. A transverse blade with a 0.090 m broad edge and a ring-shaped part, 0.270 m long, is placed on a coarse, roughly shaped wooden handle, 0.440 m long. From Ğabla. Local work. *Pl. Ic.*

Spades

F 664. Spade with foot-rest, *marr*.²² A triangular blade with neck is put on a smooth, wooden shaft, c. 1.00 m long. Above the blade, there is a torpedo-shaped wooden block with a hole in the middle, 0.300 m long. Full length of the implement, 1.63 m. This type of spade is especially useful for opening and closing the channels of the irrigation system. Made in Ğabla. The type is also known from the interior of the country, published by A. Steensberg, in *Berytus* 15 1964, 136 pl. 28 d. *Pl. Ih, fig. 2.*

F 665. Towing-spade, *miṣḥīya*. Gudme, op. cit. 111, maintains that the word *miṣḥā* for the long-handled digging "shovel" is unknown at Ḥama. In fact, the word used is *marr*, and *miṣḥīya* only signifies the towing-spade.^{22a} The blade is of iron, lightly curved, almost crescent-shaped, 0.610 m broad, 0.150 m long and provided with a neck. It is put on a shaft, 1.06 m long. On the blade are two eyes or lugs each carrying an iron ring. To the rings are tied two ropes, 1.250 m long, which at the other end are tied to a wooden handle shaped like a bar and 0.360 m long. Made in Ğabla. *Pl. Ij,*

^{20a} Compare P. DE HEMMER GUDME, Arabic Excavation Terminology in Iraq and Syria, in *Acta Orientalia* 16, Copenhagen 1938, 105–130.

²¹ *Acta Orientalia* 16, 1938, 110–111.

²² *Op. cit.*, 108 and 110.

^{22a} Cf. WEULERSSE 1946, 289 fig. 63, from the Damascus ġūṭa.



Fig. 2. Spade, F 664, from Ğabla.



Fig. 3. Towing-spade, F 665, from Ğabla.

fig. 3. This type of spade is operated by two men at a time and used to throw up the ramparts that are part of the irrigation system. As a type it belongs to the Ğama region, published by A. Steensberg, *op. cit.* 136 pl. 28c, cf. *Tools & Tillage II* 2, Copenhagen 1937, 110.

Knife

F 667. Pruning knife, *ħanĝar*. A lightly curved blade of iron, roughly forged at the point, is inserted into a smooth cylindrical wooden handle, 0.100 m long. Full length of the knife, 0.280 m. The knife was acquired in Sūkās. *Pl. XIVh.*

Sickles

F 666. Sickle used for cutting grass for fodder, *qālūš*. A small sickle-shaped blade is inserted into a smooth wooden handle, 0.090 m long. The full length of the implement is 0.200 m. Acquired in Sūkās. *Pl. Ib.*

F 763. Sickle used for collecting fuel, *minĝal*. A sickle-shaped knife with shaft made in one piece of iron is fastened to a short conical wooden handle by means of nails. Full length of the implement, 0.650 m. This type of sickle is used together with a hay fork, *šā'ūb*. From Ğabla. Local work. *Pl. Ie.*

Part of a plough

F 762. Coulter or share, *šillif*, for a "bow ard", *šummud al-flāħa*,²³ which is an old-fashioned type of plough without mould-board and which therefore only scratches the surface of the ground. The coulter or share, *šillif*, is pointed and provided with a solid ring for fastening it to the curved share bar, *saif*, which is provided with a handle,

²³ Cp. P. V. Glob, *Ard and Plough in Prehistoric Scandinavia*. Jutland Archaeological Publications. 1. Århus University Press, 1951, 113 fig. 36–43.

rikba, at the other end. From the middle of the share bar the tracting bar, *šummud*, branches off, carrying on the upper end a shorter transverse bar, *nīr*, to which the yoke of the oxen is fastened by ropes. The full length of the coultter or share is 0.495 m. From Ğabla. Local work. *Pl. If, cf. App. 1.4, fig. 41 a-c.*

II. Equipment for Domestic Animals

Besides poultry and ducks, the Alawites keep goats and fat-tailed sheep. Oxen are used for ploughing. Attached to a cart we find the mule, and the donkey is used both for riding and for the transport of goods, while the horse is kept not for work but for prestige. The camel is used for the transport of heavy burdens or loads over long distances, but this domestic animal must be regarded as a foreign element in the cultural pattern of the Alawites.

Riding equipment

F 505 a-c. Equipment for horseback riding, made in Ğabla. It consists of saddle, halter and bit. *Pl. IIa, b.* The saddle (a) *sarġ*, is of scarlet leather covering an ordinary riding saddle foundation. The saddle is provided with a girth, *ħizām*, fastened by a strap, *maġdab*. At both sides, hanging in a stirrup-leather, *zahma*, is a stirrup, *rikāb*. Fastened to the saddle at the back there is a double, plaited string, *simf*, ending in tassels. This is used for fastening luggage to the back of the horse behind the saddle. A chest strap, *salaband*, 0.150 m long, is fastened to the front edge of the saddle by means of brass rings.

The halter (b) *rišma*, consists of a headpiece, *rāsīya*, and the rein, *miqwad*, which is 2.260 m long, and held by the left hand passing round the back of the horse-man to be used as a whip in the right hand.

The bit (c) *liġām*, is a bar, a curb or a barrel-shaped bit of iron and provided with a headpiece decorated with tassels. It has double reins, which, like the rein of the halter, can be used as a whip and are termed *dizkīn*, a Turkish loan word.

F 506. Saddle-bag, termed *ħirġ l-al m'araka* in Ĥama and *ħirġ l-al 'udda* in Ğabla. It is made from a rectangular, sand-coloured, rug-like piece of material woven of wool in broad black and white stripes. In the middle is a split placed lengthwise, 0.350 m long. C. a fifth of the material is folded up from each side forming two large pockets decorated with three rows of tassels each; in all there are twenty-four tassels in red-brown, dark green and black. At each end the saddle-bag is decorated with five plaited cords ending in black woollen tassels. Without hanging tassels, the saddle bag measures 1.300 m × 0.500 m. A speciality of Ĥama, acquired in Ğabla, where such saddle-bags are not manufactured. *Pl. IIc.*

F 756. Donkey saddle, *ġilail*. Made in Ğabla. A cover of coarse white sackcloth is placed over a wooden skeleton provided with a thick padding of felt. At the front this is provided with an extra padding and a bordering of black leather decorated with small coloured woollen balls, at the back there is a bordering of coloured felt.

The saddle forms a flat seat for the rider who is placed sideways. It is fastened to the donkey by means of a girth, a chest strap and a "tail" strap. The length of the saddle is 1.050 m. *Pl. IIIb*.

F 757. Headgear, *rasīya*, with rein, *ḥabl*, for riding on a donkey. The headgear is a halter of the same type as the halter (F 505b) that was part of the equipment for horseback riding. It is decorated with cowries and tassels and provided with a 0.470 m long iron chain to which is tied the 2.500 m long strap forming the rein, the end of which is decorated with a tassel and can be used as a whip. From Ćabla, local work. *Pl. IIIa*.

F 669. Headgear with a bit and a rein, *liḡām*, for a mule. Decorated with forehead ornament. The headgear is of leather and consists of two leather straps one placed behind the ears of the mule, the other across the forehead. The last strap is decorated by an ornament. It is a six-sided piece of green felt material covered in front by a piece of scarlet velvet in which is inserted a small circular mirror, 0.060 m in diameter, and framed with scarlet leather. Blue beads and cowries are sewn around the mirror. Woollen balls and tassels frame the piece of felt. The largest dimensions of this forehead ornament are 0.160 × 0.160 m. The bit is of iron and is 0.130 m broad. The rein is of leather, 2.200 m long. Made in Ćabla. The inserted mirror, the cowries, and the blue beads are a well known method of protection against the evil eye. Typologically, the forehead ornament is related to those of Phoenicia.^{23a} *Pl. IIIe*.

F 670. Forehead ornament for mule headgear consisting of an oblong piece of greenish felt covered at the front by reddish cotton. The decoration consists of eight cowries placed in star formation around a small woollen ball. In addition there are blue beads but no mirror is inserted. Smaller and larger tassels decorate the border. Largest dimensions, 0.160 × 0.140 m. Made in Ćabla.

Equipment for camel. Pl. IIIf

F 671. Camel bell, tripartite, hanging in a collar, *ḡaras*. Made in Aleppo, acquired in Ćabla. Said to be of "Arab type".^{23b} The bells are made of hammered copper. The outer one is 0.140 m long, the middle one 0.080 m long, and the innermost 0.050 m long and provided with a crooked nail acting as a clapper. The combined length of the three bells is 0.270 m. The largest and outer bell is provided with a flat metal ring through which runs a 0.800 m long and 0.080 m broad collar of felt. It is lined with leather. On the outer side there is a decoration of cowries, red and blue beads, arranged in geometrical patterns. The collar is fastened by a large button at the one end and a loop at the other end. Its full length is 0.940 m. *Pl. IIIc*.

F 672. Camel-bell, *ḡaras*, of a type said to be Turkish that is the common one in the area of Ćabla. The bell is of turned brass and hemispherical in shape, 0.080 m in

^{23a} Cf. H. BOSSERT, *Altsyrien*, Tübingen 1951, pl. 94. 314–315. C. BLINKENBERG, *Lindos I*, Berlin 1933, pls. 24–25. 614–619 and pl. 88. 1979–1984. V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Salamis in Cyprus*, London 1969, 31 pl. 12, 87 pl. 3.

^{23b} Cf. SACHSSE in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Leipzig 1927, 24.

height and 0.140 m in diameter. The clapper consists of two small pieces of iron hanging in a coarse metal chain. The collar is a broad strap made of brown leather, 0.680 m long and 0.060 m broad, tied together at the ends by means of a piece of pack thread. *Pl. III d.*

III. Furniture and Kitchen Utensils

The houses are made of natural stones (limestone) held together by means of mortar made from a mixture of clay from the ground and water from the nearest stream or watercourse. Sometimes the walls are made "a secco" with the stone courses producing a sort of herringbone-pattern. The roof is flat and constructed from a layer of branches resting upon some few beams, tree trunks placed horizontally upon the walls or across the walls. The layer of branches is covered by a thick layer of clay that has been kneaded together with chaff and then rolled. The roof is so strong that it can be used as a sleeping place during the hot summer months.

There are few rooms in the house and, but for an iron bed in one room, a low table and some simple chairs, without "furniture" in the European or Western sense. Life is lived sitting on the floor and work, that is household work such as cooking etc., is done in a squatting position.

There are two sorts of cradles for the babies, the hammock and the transportable cradle with rockers. The rocking cradle has an ancient pedigree;^{23c} two types of cradle are recorded, the semi-cylindrical wooden rocking type and a shoe-shaped one of wickerwork. The most characteristic feature is that the rocking cradle is provided with a hole in the bottom corresponding to a hole in the mattress. Standing upright in the hole a wooden pipe is placed in such a way that it stands between the legs of the baby. All urine from the baby passes through the pipe, through the bottom of the cradle, and down on to the ground where there is generally a small jar. Two broad wadded bands are tied around the baby's body and across the legs and down under the bottom of the cradle. These bands keep the baby quiet and the pipe in place.

F 655. Wooden cradle pipe for a boy, *sībak*. The pipe is cut out of one piece of material. 0.193 m long. Bought in the Sūq-an-Nağğār, in Damascus. *Pl. IX o.*

F 659. Wooden cradle pipe for a girl, *sībak*. It is cut out of one piece of material. The "head" is larger than the head of the other pipe made for a boy. The head is more shaped like a spoon with a hole in the centre. 0.220 m long. Bought in the Sūq an-Nağğār in Damascus. *Pl. IX p.* The pipes are made by certain specialised old woodcutters. The use of the pipes is said to be unknown in Ġabla and Ḥama and very seldom in Damascus. It seems that the cradle pipe, and the use of a sort of cradle where these pipes are necessary, has disappeared except among the peasants.

The type of cradle to which the pipes belong is often called the "Armenian cradle". However, this type of cradle is of Central Asian origin, developed and improved by travelling people and therefore transportable; and developed in areas where

^{23c} See C. DAREMBERG & E. SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités I 2*, Paris 1887, 1588 s. v. *Cunae*.

water is scarce, hence the construction with the pipe that make superfluous the use of napkins.²⁴

The second type of cradle in use among the Alawites is the hammock that has the advantage of keeping the child cool in great heat when the hammock is kept swinging. The type is well known from Iran.²⁵

F 704a–b. Hammock cradle with wooden hook, *zanzūqa*. The hammock itself (a) consists of a rectangular wooden frame made from four flat wooden boards, 0.050 m broad and 0.020 m thick. The outer dimensions of the frame, 0.880 × 0.480 m. The frame is covered by a rectangular “bag”, *amʿāš*, which measures 0.950 × 0.570 m and which is made from hand-printed, black and white cotton, *ḥām maḥbūʿ*, a speciality of Ḥama.

Four ropes each ending in a loop, one from each corner of the hammock frame, meet each other in the groove of a coarse wooden hook (b) that is 0.250 m long. The hammock hangs at a distance of c. 1.00 m from the hook. The hammock cradle is from Minaizla, east of ʿAin Šarqīya. *Pl. IVa*.

F 705. Pillow, *muḥadda*, belonging to the hammock cradle. The square pillow is made from a cheap light blue and white checkered cotton cover filled with cotton. This pillow is put into an outer cover made from the same hand-printed black and white cotton material constituting the cover of the hammock cradle. The pillow’s outer cover is removable and tied together at one end with machine-made ribbons, 0.250 m long. The pillow measures 0.220 × 0.370 m. From Minaizla, east of ʿAin Šarqīya. *Pl. IVb*.

F 706. Chair or stool, *kursi*. Four wooden legs supported by four inserted round wooden sticks carry a seat consisting of a square wooden frame carrying a plaiting made of rush ropes. Outer dimensions of the almost cubic stool, 0.330 × 0.530 (seat) × 0.380 m (height). From Tall Darūk. Supposed to be locally made. *Pl. IVc*.

F 701. Rush mat for sleeping and sitting, *ḥašir*. Rectangular, made in Ḥama, from uncoloured rush from the Orontes. From Bait Yašūt east of ʿAin Šarqīya. 1.60 × 2.30 m. *Pl. Vc*.

F 702. Felt rug, *libād*. Intended to be placed on top of the rush mat (F 701). Made in Ḥama or Aleppo from naturally coloured felt decorated with a painted pattern made from aniline dyes in the colours scarlet, pink, lilac, reddish-brown, yellow, ochre and green. The decoration is an imitation of the original decoration on felt rugs in which felt dyed in different plant dyes was entangled in the naturally coloured material for the rug forming certain patterns after traditional design. The dimensions are 1.080 × 2.620 m. From Bait Yašūt, east of ʿAin Šarqīya. *Pl. Vd*.

F 703. Back cushion, *muḥadda*. Used together with the felt rug (F 702). Covered with hand-printed black and white cotton material from Ḥama, 0.280 × 0.880 m. From Minaizla, east of ʿAin Šarqīya.

²⁴ Cf. the transportable cradle, *byeska*, with urine discharge pipes. See: HANSEN, 1961, 100 ff. fig. 84–85. (cradle E. 2304) and fig. 86. (urine discharge pipes E. 2310–2311). From Kurdistan.

²⁵ HANSEN, 1961, 105. – Cf. specimen in the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum (E. 2402).

F 769. Dining mat, *ṭablīya*. The mat is circular in shape and made in the coiled basketry technique of bast in the colours yellow, orange, lilac and green and decorated with points along the rim. Diameter, 0.750 m. Made in Aleppo or Ḥama. Bought in Ćabla. *Pl. Vb*.

F 708. Flat straw basket used as eating tray, *ṭabaq*. Made in coiled basketry technique from straw. Largest diam., 0.680 m. From Matwar, east of ‘Ain Šarqīya. Locally made. *Pl. Va*.

F 709–712. Four examples of a straw basket used for bread, fruit and vegetables, *iḡmām*. Made in coiled basketry technique. The material is naturally coloured straw with straw of different colours interplaited. From Matwar, east of ‘Ain Šarqīya. Locally made.

F 709. Cup-shaped, green and lilac straw interplaited, 0.080 m high. *Pl. VI d*.

F 710. Flowerpot-shaped, flat bottom, green and lilac straw interplaited. 0.110 m high. *Pl. VI c*.

F 711. Cup-shaped, lilac straw interplaited, 0.110 m high. *Pl. VI b*.

F 712. Cup-shaped, red, green and lilac straw interplaited, 0.130 m high. *Pl. VI a*.

F 713. Deep wooden plate, *ilqaina*, used for soup, rice, and meat; circular, slightly oval with a flat bottom cut out of one piece of material. Outer diameter at the top, 0.380–0.400 m, at the bottom 0.190–0.220 m. Height, 0.140 m. From Minaizla, east of ‘Ain Šarqīya. Locally made. *Pl. VI e*.

F 728. Earthenware brazier, *kanūn*, transportable, used for roasting and for keeping food warm. The brazier is cup-shaped, circular and provided with a 0.040 m high foot and three “ears” distributed along the upper rim. Full height without ears, 0.150 m. Outer diam. at the edge, 0.270 m. From Al-Baiḏa near Marqab. Locally made. *Pl. VI f*.

F 727. Earthenware brazier, *mūqda*, transportable, used for boiling; made from unfired, sun-dried clay and provided with a slipper-shaped, low, circular foot. Outside, an ear of clay is used as a handle on each side. The bottom of the brazier is pear-shaped and the upper edge is divided into three parts. Greatest length outside, 0.350 m. Greatest breadth outside, 0.320 m. From Al-Baiḏa, near Marqab. Locally made. *Pl. VI g*.

F 732. Earthenware pot for dishes made with fat or oil, *ṭunḡara*. The pot is hemispherical with a thick upper edge where there are four small ears. 0.150 m high. From ‘Ain Šarqīya. Locally made. *Pl. VII a*.

F 733. Earthenware pot for boiling water, *ṭunḡara*, hemispherical, of the same type as F 732. 0.150 m high. From ‘Ain Šarqīya. Locally made. *Pl. VII b*.

F 734. Basket for holding earthenware pots, *sānūna*. The pattern of the plaiting of the basket is based upon sixteen curves emerging from a circular foot. 0.200 m high. From Ḥarf Matwar. Locally made. *Pl. VII c*.

F 748. Earthenware jar for fetching water, *būlīya*, shaped like a jug with only one handle. 0.300 m high. From Bisīsīn. Made in Al-Laḏīqīya. *Pl. VII d*.

F 724. Earthenware jar for drinking water, *ibrīq mā* (mā: water), provided with a spout on the shoulder and a handle opposite. 0.290 m high. From Bisīsīn. Made in Al-Laḍiqīya. *Pl. VIIe*.

F 749. Earthenware jar used for olives, *tīḡār zaitūn*, (zaitūn: olives), provided with two low-placed handles. 0.470 m high. From Bisīsīn. Made in Al-Laḍiqīya. *Pl. VIIIb*.

F 750. Earthenware jar used for olive oil, *bārš zait*, (zait: olive oil), provided with two high-placed handles. 0.255 m high. From Bisīsīn. Made in Al-Laḍiqīya. *Pl. VIIf*. Olive oil was produced locally, cf. *App. 1. 3, fig 23b*.

F 751. Earthenware jar for holding wheat, *ḡābiya ḡinḡa*, (ḡinḡa: wheat). The jar was originally provided with two handles placed upon the shoulder of the corpus, one is now broken off. 0.750 m high. From Bisīsīn. Made in Al-Laḍiqīya. *Pl. VIIIa*.

F 747. Earthenware jar for churning, *ḡaḡḡā zibda* (zibda: butter). The jar is pointed at the bottom and provided with three handles and a spout at the side of the corpus. 0.500 m high. During churning, the jar is laid on its side. The opening is closed by a piece of leather tied round the neck with string; the jar is regularly rolled from side to side, or rocked backwards and forwards, until the boiled and soured goat and sheep milk inside has separated its contents of butter.²⁶ From Bisīsīn. Made in Al-Laḍiqīya. *Pl. VIIIc*.

F 725. Earthenware jar used as savings box, *ḡamūra*. A pear-shaped closed bottle with a small longitudinal split cut out high up on the corpus. Made from reddish, lightly fired clay. 0.140 m high. From Bisīsīn. Made in Al-Laḍiqīya. *Pl. VIIg*.

The Alawites no longer practice professional pottery, but usually buy or barter earthenware in Ḥama, Al-Laḍiqīya or other towns.

F 714. Copper basin for vegetables, *ṣaḡn*, circular, largest diam. 0.210 m, 0.050 m high. From ḡabla. Made in Ḥimṣ or Ḥama. *Pl. IXf*.

F 715. Copper bowl for curds, *kāsa laban*, hemispherical, placed upon a low foot, 0.070 m high. Outside the upper edge the following inscription is incised: 'adar 'alaina ḡawḡa al-madām ṣāfīa ("passez-nous l'esprit du vin pur", translation by Mr. Sulaimān Muḡḡād, Inspector of Antiquities). *Pl. IXd*.

F 730. Copper cauldron with two movable handles near the upper rim, *dissit*. 0.220 m high. From Al-Qaranda, east of Qal'a Banī Isra'īl. Made in Ḥimṣ or Ḥama. *Pl. IXc*.

F 731. Copper pot without handles, *ḡunḡara*. 0.140 m. From Al-Qaranda, east of Qal 'a Banī Isra 'īl. Made in Ḥimṣ or Ḥama. *Pl. IXa*.

F 746. Copper bucket, with a movable handle, for curds, *ṣaḡl laban*, 0.160 m high. From Bisīsīn. Made in Ḥimṣ or Ḥama. *Pl. IXb*.

F 767. Kettle-holder of reddish-brown material, *ḡarbūš*. As the term shows, it was originally a felt cap or fez, but is now used in the kitchen as a kitchen utensil.

²⁶ Cf. earthenware jar for churning butter, *manḡada*, used by the villagers in Baḡrain. See HANSEN, 1968, figs. 46–47. (E. 586).

Dimensions of object when flattened out, 0.250×0.160 m. From Al-Qaranda, east of Qal 'a Banī Isra 'īl. Made in Aleppo. *Pl. IXc.*

F 752. Hand-mill or rotary quern, *irḥaya tāḥūn*, made from lava. The grinder consists of two mill-stones, the upper a little smaller than the lower, both provided with a hole in the centre through which a small, vertically placed axle tree conducts the movement of the runner stone. The runner is turned by means of a wooden handle located in a hole near the rim and kept in place by means of a small piece of cloth stuck in the hole beside the axle tree. Largest diameter, 0.380 m. From Baṣatīn, south of Marqab. Locally made. The village of Baṣatīn, which is in the volcanic zone, produces querns for a great part of the Alawite area. *Pl. Xa.*

F 754. Stone mortar, *ḡirn*. The mortar is made from a piece of an ancient column. Outside the mortar shows sixteen grooves which are the original fluting of the column. Inside, the column is hollowed out and shows a hole in the bottom. 0.120 m high. From Ğabla. Locally made. *Pl. Xb.*

F 726. Broom, *mikinsa*. Made from grass bound together by one sewing and three windings. Full length, 0.660 m. From Al-Baiḍa, south of Marqab. Local work. *Pl. IXr.*

F 729. A pair of bellows, *munfaḥ*. Consisting of two pieces of wood joined by a bag of leather provided with a mouthpiece of tin with three holes, and a leather strap for hanging. From Ğabla. Made in Aleppo. Full length 0.400 m. *Pl. IXq.*

F 742–744. Three large wooden spoons for cooking, singular: *miḡrafa*. They are each cut in one piece with a pointed, cup-shaped spoon blade. From Minaizla, east of 'Ain Šarqīya. Locally made.

F 742. Old, used or worn and coloured black, 0.470 m long. *Pl. XIj.*

F 743. Old, worn, coloured black. At the front, traces of a burned zigzag ornament. 0.550 m long. *Pl. XII.*

F 744. New, of yellowish material with burned zigzag ornamentation on the front of the handle. *Pl. XIk.*

F 716–717. Two old wooden table spoons, singular: *m'ālaqa*. Each cut out of one piece of material. From Dair Māmma. Locally made.

F 716. 0.195 m long. *Pl. XIa.*

F 717. 0.190 m long. *Pl. XIb.*

F 718–723. Six new wooden table spoons, singular: *m'ālaqa*. All of the same type and of almost the same size as F 716–717. 0.230 m long. From Dair Māmma. Locally made. All spoons decorated with a burned geometrical pattern. *Pl. XIc–h.*

The spoon is the only personal eating utensil. Everybody eats from the common dish but uses his personal spoon for liquid food, while rice and meat are eaten with the fingers. Only the fingers of the right hand are used, and only three of the five fingers.

F 500–503. Four wooden baking moulds, *qālīb*, plural: *qawālīb*. The moulds are shaped like spoons, the "bowl" of which is decorated inside with special, cut-out

geometrical patterns forming incisions. Bought in the Sūq an-Nağğār in Damascus and in Ğabla.

- F 500–501. Two baking moulds used for making *m‘amūl* pastry with a filling of ground walnuts, *ğauz*, and sugar, ground dates, *timr*, or Arab cheese, *ğibn*. The moulds are shaped like spoons with a short handle, round and smooth, and an almost spherical spoon “bowl” the inside of which is decorated with incisions. 0.230 m long. Made in Damascus from mulberry wood. *Pl. XII d, b.*
- F 502. Baking mould used for pastry with a filling made from ground dates or pistachios, *fustuq ħalabī*, 0.240 m long. Made in Damascus from mulberry wood. *Pl. XII c.*
- F 503. Baking mould the “bowl” of which is crescent-shaped and decorated inside with a pattern of simple cut-out parallel lines. The handle is slightly pointed. Used for pastry with a filling of either ground walnuts or ground dates. 0.320 m long. Made in Ğabla. *Pl. XII e.*

F 652. Wooden baking mould *qālīb*. Of the same type and shape as the foregoing, but with respect to the “bowl”, smaller moulds are used for the same sort of pastry. However, it is also used for a sort of pastry made from a dough of milk and butter, *iqrāṣ ħalīb wa zibda*. 0.294 m long. Purchased in the Sūq an-Nağğār, in Damascus. *Pl. XII h.*

F 653. Rolling pin, *šūbak*. The implement is of European type. Full length, 0.480 m. Purchased in the Sūq an-Nağğār in Damascus. *Pl. XII f.*

F 654. Lemon-squeezer, *‘aṣāra līmūn*. The implement is cut out of a single piece of white wood. The egg-shaped protuberance has nine deep longitudinal grooves. Full length, 0.163 m. Purchased in the Sūq an-Nağğār in Damascus. *Pl. XII g.*

F 657 a–g. A pair of scales, *mīzān*, with four weights, *auzān*. The pair of scales consists of a smooth round 0.530 m long stick (a), on which are suspended, by means of three 0.700 m long strings, two flat circular baskets (b–c), diam. 0.520 m, which act as scale pans. The scales are adjusted by attaching a bag filled more or less with stones or similar objects. Purchased in Ğabla. *Pl. XIII a.*

The weights (singular: *wazn*) are made of bronze and represent the following:

d: one pound, *raḥl* = 2 *ūqā* = 12 *ūqīya* (i. e. ounce) 0.130 m high.

e: $\frac{1}{4}$ pound = $\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqā* = 3 *ūqīya*, 0.078 m high.

f: $\frac{1}{8}$ pound = $\frac{1}{4}$ *ūqā* = $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqīya*, 0.059 m high.

g: $\frac{1}{36}$ pound = $\frac{1}{18}$ *ūqā* = $\frac{1}{3}$ *ūqīya*, 0.032 m high.

F 668. Tobacco knife, *ṣafra duḥḥān*. A broad flat blade, pointed at the top fastened by means of two metal rivets to a round handle decorated by three encircling parallel incisions. 0.263 m long. Acquired in Ğabla. *Pl. XIV d.*

F 679 a–c. Tinder box, *qaddāḥa*. The implement consists of three objects, the steel (a), *būlād*, which is a steel bar bent to a triangle, of which the outer dimensions are 0.050×0.024 m, the flint (b), *ṣuwān*, which is a trapezoid piece of pinkish flint

stone, 0.030×0.040 m, and the tinder (c), *ftīl*, a yellowish smooth piece of thick cord which has been rolled up and put into a bit of hollow bamboo cane, 0.150 m long. Purchased in Ğabla. *Pl. XIVg*.

F 735–741. Seven iron spits, *sīḥ laḥm*, for making *kibāb*, *lahm mišwī*, and other dishes made from pieces of meat roasted over an open charcoal fire. Two of the spits are provided with an eye carrying a ring for hanging. The rest have a flat spatula-shaped head. Length varies from 0.385–0.410 m. From Al-Laḏiqīya. Locally made. To clear up a general misunderstanding, the following information is necessary: *kibāb* means spit-roasted meat-balls, in Turkey called *kufta*, in Greece called *kephtedes*. Turkish and Greek *šīš kibāb*, on the other hand, means the Arab *laḥm mišwī*. *Pl. IXg–n*.

F 753. Sieve, *ġirbāl*. The sieve consists of a circular frame, 0.090 m high, inside which is a net made of gut strings. Outer diam., 0.0455 m. Purchased in Ğabla. *Pl. XI m*.

Sieves are not made by the peasants themselves but by travelling Bedouins, who pass the villages on their yearly migration. However, Bedouins only reach the coastal plains in years of drought.

F 745. Kitchen knife, *sikkīn*. The knife is straight with only one edge and is 0.251 m long. From Ar-Ramta north east of ‘Ain al-Šiqāq. Locally made. *Pl. XIVc*.

F 765. Tobacco knife with handle made of horn, *šafar duḥḥān* or *sikkīn tūtūn*. Full length, 0.240 m. Made in Ğabla, which is renowned for the work of its smiths. *Pl. XIVb*.

F 764a–b. Cutting stool for tobacco, *daff*, and accompanying tobacco coil, *kata tūtūn*. From Ğabla. Locally made. *Pl. XIVa*.

Cutting stool, *daff*, (a), made from a board, 0.260 m long and 0.100 m broad, nailed to two wooden blocks. The full height of the stool is 0.070 m.

Tobacco coil, *kata tūtūn*, cylindrical and made of twisted tobacco leaves with a winding of white thread. Outer dimension, 0.050 m. The so-called Latakia tobacco (*abū rā’ iḥa*), (i.e. “father of scent”), was formerly exported through Ğabla to Al-Laḏiqīya (see p. 74: 895–896).

F 755. Mousetrap, *mušlaya fār*. The trap is box-shaped and works according to the principle of a trap-door. Inside the box is a hook for attaching the bait. The box measures 0.300×0.120×0.100 m. From Al-Laḏiqīya. Local work. *Pl. XIIa*.

F 773–774. Two clasp knives, *sikkīn*, made in Ğabla.

F 773. 0.092 m long. *Pl. XIVe*.

F 774. 0.075 m long. *Pl. XIVf*.

IV. Dress and Accessories

Dress, costumes and garments can be investigated, analyzed and grouped according to different points of view. The Syrian garments here will first be grouped according to type (A), where we have the following six groups: 1. Headwear, sashes and belts. 2. Footwear. 3. Trousers. 4. Jackets. 5. Coats (Caftans, etc.). 6. Gowns and Shirts.

Thereafter the garments are grouped according to their affiliation to complete costumes (B), male and female, characteristic of the different tribes and areas.

The first examination (A) gives information on the cut of the garment and its relation to the cut of similar types of garments in the neighbouring areas.

The second examination gives information on which types and costumes are characteristic of certain tribes and areas and their relation to similar types of dress in the neighbouring countries. If not stated otherwise, the items were acquired in Ćabla.^{26a}

A few specimens are not from the Alawites and are therefore treated separately in both groups (A–B).

A. Types of Garment

1. Headwear and waistbands (sashes and belts)

a. Male

F 649e. Cap, *ṭaqīya*, made of cotton material and embroidered with yellow silk thread. It consists of a cylindrical side part, 0.120 m high sewn on to a circular top part, diam. 0.060 m. *Pl. XIIIb*.

F 650i. Cap, *libāda*, made from naturally coloured felt, conical, (it may, however, be yellow, white, black or red). 0.170 m high. Can be replaced by a fez, *ṭarbūš*. *Pl. XIIIc*.

F 650j. Headscarf or kerchief, *kuffīya*, square made of black silk with interwoven silver threads. Fourteen strings ending in tassels are found along the two opposite sides of the square. Used on top of the cap F 650i made of felt. 0.920 × 0.920 m. The Alawites usually obtain this type of kerchief from Ĥimş. *Pl. XVb*.

F 650k. Head string, *brīm* or *ʿaqāl*, more correctly *ʿiqāl*. Worn double and placed on top of the kerchief F 650j, it is made of black silk thread ending in four strings, 0.700 m long, carrying black tassels. *Pl. XVa*.

F 649d. Sash, *zinnār*, made of white artificial silk with fine black transverse stripes. Fringes at both ends. It is wound around the waist outside the gown, *şūqa* or *qumbāz*. F 649c. 1.800 m long, 0.500 m broad. *Pl. XVIa*.

F 650d. Sash, *şamla*, made from black artificial silk with fringes at both ends. It is wound around the waist outside the trousers F 650c, 3.350 m long, 0.300 m broad. *Pl. XVIb*.

F 660. Sash, *şamla*, made of light blue satin with an interwoven pattern of small blue flowers. Short white fringes at both ends 0.700 × 0.300 m folded to a breadth of 0.100 m. From Ĥama. *Fig. 4*.

Non-Alawite objects

F 682. Cap, *ṭaqīya*, made in crochet work of lilac, yellow, white and black glossy thread with a geometrical pattern of pink, verdigris green, and reddish-brown thread. 0.140 m high. Purchased in inner Syria. *Pl. XIIId*.

^{26a} Concerning the terms used for the garments, see: R. LEVY, Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1935, 319–338.

F 683. Belt, *zinnār*, made of a 0.095 m broad white girth. It may both be wrapped around the waist and fastened by means of the fringes or strapped around the waist and fastened by means of four leather straps and clasps placed on the middle of the belt and four buckles placed at one end. Full length with fringes 2.500 m long, 0.095 m broad. A Bedouin type. Purchased in Ḥama. *Pl. XVIII b*.

F 686. Headscarf or kerchief, *kuffīya*, square, made from red and white chequered cotton material and with fringes twisted from the thread used in the weaving, forming small tassels along the edges. 1.300×1.300 m. A typical Arab garment. From inner Syria. Purchased in Ġabla. *Pl. XVIII a*.

b. Female

F 651 l. Cap, *ḡarbūš*, made of scarlet felt and provided with a 0.250 m long tassel or tuft of blue silk thread. The fez-shaped cap is 0.190 m high and is also found in white, uncoloured felt. *Pl. XVII a*.

F 651 m. Kerchief, *ḡsanīya*, triangular, made of black silk material with interwoven silver threads. In reality it has been made from a man's square kerchief which has been cut through diagonally; therefore it shows strings with tassels on one side only. The two sides measure 0.900 m in length. The kerchief is placed diagonally on the head and tied with a double knot at the back of the head. *Pl. XVII b*.

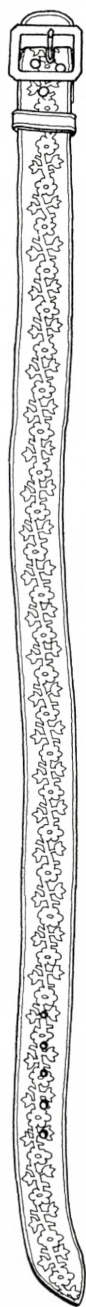
F 651 n. Kerchief, *mandīl*, made from white muslin, rectangular in shape but folded diagonally before being placed on top of the head and tied with a simple knot under the chin. Fourty-eight flowers in crochet work decorate the border. With flowers it measures 0.670×0.670 m. It is only used in the house as a substitute for the following kerchief (F 651 o). *Pl. XIX a*.

F 651 o. Kerchief, *mandīl*, made of white, loosely woven gauze material (raw silk) with a crocheted border along the edges. It is oblong in shape, 2.200×0.500 m. It can be wrapped around the head in different ways so that the head and neck are covered but the face itself is entirely or partly visible. *Pl. XIX b*.

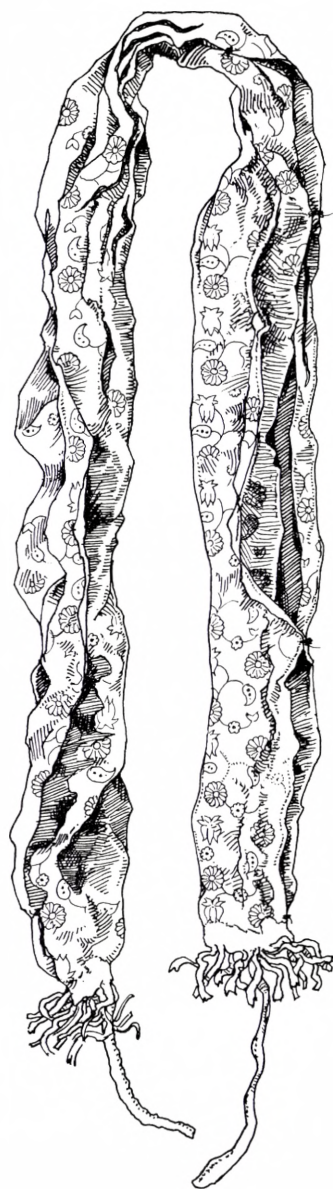
F 651 g. Sash, *zinnār*, triangular in shape with fringes plaited to strings ending in tassels along one side. The material is greyish-lilac cotton with interwoven silver threads. Made from a man's kerchief that has been cut diagonally. Worn tied around the waist with a simple knot to the left. 1.500×1.500 m. *Pl. XX b*.

F 651 h. Sash, *zinnār*, rectangular in shape and made of three joined 0.220 m broad, 1.00 m long pieces of tartan-patterned, thin silk material. On the two short sides the fringes are plaited to 0.170 m long strings ending in tassels in the colours ochre-green and black. 1.00×0.660 m measured without fringes. Used as F 651 g, but for festivals, and tied with a sort of loop. *Pl. XX a*.

F 651 d. Bag, *ḡaiba*, rectangular, made from light lilac atlas decorated with hand-made embroidery in cotton thread. The opening is round. Two 0.60 m long ribbons are sewn to the upper corners. The ribbons are tied around the waist so that the bag hangs in front of the lap. It measures 0.200×0.200 m. Worn under the shirt if no gown is used, otherwise over the shirt, but under the gown. *Pl. XXII a*.



6.



4.



5.

Fig. 4. Sash, F 660, from Ḥama. – Fig. 5. Pair of hair strings, F 651 p, from Ğabla.
Fig. 6. Leather belt, F 458, from Ḥama.

F 651 e. Handkerchief, *maḥramī*, square, made of white cotton. Decorated with coloured, hand-made embroidery at the four corners and along the borders, 0.300 × 0.300 m. Placed in the bag F 651 d. *Pl. XXIIb*.

F 651 p. A pair of hair strings, termed *dafāyir* in the country and *ǧdīla* in the town. Made of black silk lace, 1.120 m long, *fig. 5*. The hair strings are plaited into the natural plaits of the woman in order to lengthen them. They are tied together at the ends and carry a square amulet, *ḥiǧab*, covered in scarlet cloth. The length of the hair strings is 1.120 m. During the Turkish period this type of plaiting also occurred elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, e.g. in Greece, cf. Andrea Gasparini's engraving "Avanzi del tempio di Giove Olimpico", 1843. (Greek men and women visiting the ruins of the Olympeion in Athens).

F 651 q. Ornament of silver for the forehead, *ṣaffa*, with a crescent pendant called *nāṭūr*. It is hooked upon the black head cloth F 651 m or worn on the breast, in which case the ornament is termed *kurdān*. Full length, 0.25 m. *Pl. XXIa*. This type of ornament, which has counterparts elsewhere in the Near East,^{26b} recalls similar ones of Syria's Roman period.^{26c} The *nāṭūr*, in fact, derives from the ancient selenis or lunula.^{26d} The stamped letters on the round pendants are by Mr. Thomas Riis, M. A., taken to render the expression *yā ḥāfiṣ*, "O, thou who protect". Professor E. Hammershaimb admits the possibility of distinguishing the word *ḥāfiṣ*.

F 707. Cloth for transporting of linen garments, *buqǧa*. Almost square, made of pink atlas decorated with a machine-made embroidered flower pattern. The lining is pink cotton. 0.850 × 0.900 m. Used by villagers. When in use, the corners of the cloth are tied together two by two after it has been folded around the contents. From Ġabla, made for the peasants. *Pl. XXIb*.

F 651 i. Apron, open skirt or loincloth, *maḥzām*. The garment is rectangular in shape and sewn together from two horizontally placed lengths of yellow material made in Marqab. At each of the two upper corners of the square garment is attached a ribbon made from material, 0.500 m long. The apron or open skirt is worn around the waist by tying the two upper corners in one simple knot at the back and one simple knot in front. During work, the two lower corners of the square garment are lifted up and tucked in at the waist. The garment measures 0.940 m in length and 1.460 m in breadth. *Pl. XXIVa*.

Non-Alawite objects

F 456. Kerchief, *ʿaṣāba*, rectangular, made from coarse, black silk with a geometrical pattern made of interwoven silver threads. Along two opposite sides the fringes are plaited into thirteen, 0.300 m long strings ending in tassels wound with gold thread. Without fringes it measures 1.310 × 1.310 m. From Ḥama. Used by Bedouin or peasant women. *Pl. XXIIIa*.

^{26b} Cf. E. W. LANE, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1895, 563–564.

^{26c} Cf. e.g., a Palmyrene bust in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, inv. No. 2795, V. POULSEN, *A Guide to the Collections*, 5th ed. Copenhagen 1960, 65.

^{26d} Cf. H. INGHOLT, *Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur*, Copenhagen 1928, 79–80 and H. BOSSERT, *Altsyrien*, Tübingen 1951, pl. 342.1175 above left.

F 458. Belt, *kamar*, made of black leather and provided with a metal buckle at one end. 1.05 m long and 0.040 m broad. *Fig. 6*. From Ḥama, as F 456.

F 460e. Head cloth of special design, *šambar*. Sewn of three pieces of black material (see diagram) making a sort of wrapping, 0.150 m broad and 2.400 m long, which is wound around the head like a turban (see drawing). From Al-Ġubbain near Qal'at al-Mudik. *Figs. 7b, 8a*.

F 460f. Hood, *qaṭṭābīya*, made from a square of artificial black silk, the so-called "rayon". This kerchief measures 0.800 × 0.800 m and is first folded diagonally, thereafter it is folded across and sewn together from the tip and halfway up. When the hood is in use the seam reaches from under the chin and down to the bosom. From Al-Ġubbain near Qal'at al-Mudik. *Figs. 7a, 8b*.

F 460g. Kerchief, *ʿašāba*, a square of black silk material. On two opposite sides the fringes are plaited to 0.250 m long strings ending in tassels. Without fringes, it measures 1.200 × 1.200 m. *Pl. XXIIIb*.

F 663. Cape or shawl, *milāya*. Made of two lengths of printed cotton with dark and light lilac stripes, a pattern which is regarded as one of the oldest. The two lengths are joined at a seam running horizontally across the wearer when wrapped in the shawl. It is worn over the head, reaches the feet, has gathers in front, and covers the wearer in such a way that only the face is visible. It measures 2.00 × 2.00 m. Worn by women in the Ġūta, the oasis near Damascus, where the individual villages prefer special patterns and colours, particularly orange, red, brown, green or blue. Purchased in the sūq in Damascus.²⁷ *Pl. XXIVb*.

2. Footwear

a. Male

F 229. Shoes of red or yellow leather. No difference for right and left foot. It is customary to tramp down the back counter. Length, 0.280 m. From Ḥama, made in the sūq. *Pl. XXVII f*.

F 649f–g. Pointed shoes, *īmdās*, made of red leather and provided with a sole of black leather. No difference for right and left foot. Length of sole, 0.310 m. *Pl. XXVII b*.

F 650l–m. Pointed high boots, *ǧazma* (dual.: *ǧizam*). No difference for right and left foot. The legs are made of red leather and slope at the top. The uppers and counters are made of brownish-black leather. The soles are flat and made of brown leather. Greatest length, 0.500 m. *Pl. XXVII h*.

F 768a–b. Pointed half-boots, *āstīq*. Made of claret coloured leather with no difference for right and left foot. Made from sole, upper, and boot leg in two parts provided with eyelets and laces of leather. Length of sole, 0.310 m height 0.170 m. From Ġabla. Locally made, the older type of boot. *Pl. XXVII g*.

F 770a–b. Wooden sandals, *qabqāb* (plural: *qabāqīb*). Each sandal is cut in

²⁷ Cf. DALMAN, 1937, 322: *melaje* from Palestine.



Fig. 7. Female headgear from Al-Gubbain; a: hood, F 460 f, b: headcloth, F 460 e.

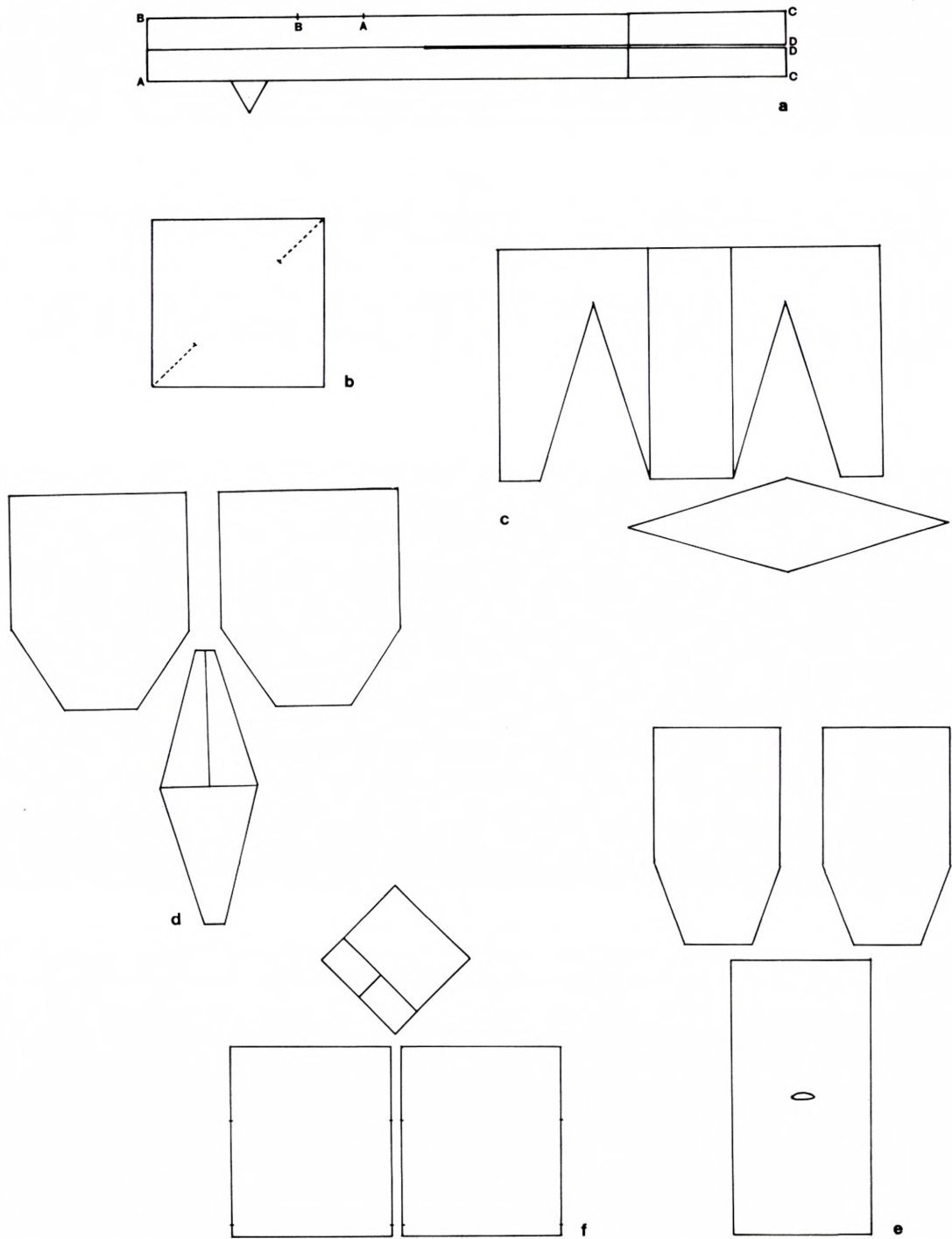


Fig. 8. Pattern diagrams; a: F 460 e, b: F 460 f, c: F 649 a, d: F 650 a, e: F 650 c, f: F 651 a.

one piece and provided with a leather strap across the foot. No difference for right and left foot. 0.300 m long. For use in the street, the yard, and the bath. From Ćabla. Locally made. *Pl. XXVIIe*.

Non-Alawite objects

F 684 a–b. Leather sandals, *šarūḥ* (*na'ūl*). Difference for right and left foot. Decorated with gazelle skin. Made from three straps made of white gazelle skin, one strap being placed across the instep, the second for insertion of the big toe, and the third passing along the outer side of the foot, joining the two others. The sole is made of five layers of leather and provided with an extra heel flap; it is 0.300 m long. Purchased in Damascus. Type used by the Bedouins. *Pl. XXVIIa*.

F 685 a–b. Leather sandals, *šaruḥ* (*na'ūl*). Same design with three joined straps as the foregoing sandals and decorated with insertions of red leather. 0.300 m long. Purchased in Al-Ladiqīya. Imitation of Bedouin type. *Pl. XXVII d*.

b. Female

F 651 r–s. Pointed shoes, *īmdās*. Made of red leather with a sole of brown leather, 0.250 m long. May be replaced by black leather shoes, *surmāya*, or red leather shoes without a point. *Pl. XXVIIc*.

Non-Alawite objects

F 459 a–b. Long pointed boots, *ḡazma* (plural: *ḡizam*). Made of lemon coloured leather bordered at the upper sloping edge by a verdigris green string of silk. The soles are made of thick brown leather. At the heel is a spur-like piece of iron. The soles are 0.300 m long. The boot legs are turned down and show a height of 0.250 m. From Ḥama. *Pl. XXVIa*.

3. Trousers

a. Male

F 649 a. Trousers, *īlbās*, from the verb *labisa*, which means “to dress up”, and which indicates that trousers are the most important garment and that the Alawites, like the Turks, are a trouser-wearing people. These trousers are made of coarse white and blue striped cotton material. The trousers are made of a breech cloth part shaped like a square folded to a triangular centre part inserted between two side parts. This design resembles that of the Kurdish male trousers (E 2316).²⁸ A casing is found at the top of the trousers. The length is 1.10 m. The width at the top is 1.80 m; the breadth of the trouser leg at the bottom is 0.200 m. *Pl. XXVIc, fig. 8c*.

F 650 a. Under-trousers, *īlbās*, made of unbleached cotton material. Made of two legging parts and a breech cloth part. 1.00 m long. Width at the top, 0.900 m, at the bottom of each trouser leg, 0.180 m. Casing at the top. *Pl. XXVIb, fig. 8d*.

²⁸ HANSEN, 1961, figs. 73, 77 – Cf. HANSEN 1950, 110: trousers with inserted central part.

F 650c. Outer or over-trousers, *širwāl*, used particularly outside the towns. Baggy and made of two side parts and a rectangular centre part. Width at the top, 1.200 m, at the bottom of each trouser leg, 0.170 m, 1.140 m long. There is a casing at the top of the trousers. The cord or string from the casing is not tied in front but turned back and tied behind the body. Cf. the trousers stuck on two bamboo sticks as part of the hunting equipment, F 673e. *Pl. XXVI d, fig. 8e.*

b. Female

F 651a. Trousers, *sirwāl*. This term, the ordinary one in the mountains, must not be confused with the term *širwāl*²⁹ used for the male trousers, F 650c. In the Ğabla plain the same type of trousers is termed *īlbās*. The trousers are made of dotted white or red cotton material with two rectangular side parts or legging parts and one square breech cloth part. The seams joining the different parts of the trousers are made by sewing machine. Casings are found both at the top and at the bottom of each trouser leg. Length, 0.900 m. Width at the top, 0.700 m, at the bottom of each trouser leg, 0.350 m. The trousers are worn low, i.e. not fastened around the waist, but resting with the upper casing at the trochanter or on the hips. *Pl. XXV a, fig. 8f.*

F 651b. Trousers, *sirwāl*, see preceding item, made of a yellow, brown cross-striped, coarse home-spun and -woven cotton material, a speciality of the village of Marqab. Casing at the top of the trousers and at the bottom of each trouser leg. The seams are hand sewn. Same design as F 651a. Width at the top, 0.700 m, at the bottom of each trouser leg, 0.350 m. *Pl. XXV c, fig. 9a.*

Non-Alawite objects

F 460a. Trousers for a Bedouin or peasant woman, *sirwāl*. Made of thick printed cotton, pink in colour and decorated with a pattern of small flowers. Casing at the top. A ruffle at the bottom of each trouser leg. Made of two side or legging parts and a square central or breech cloth part, cf. male trousers F 649a. Length, 0.880 m. Width at the top, 0.650 m, at the bottom of each trouser leg, 0.200 m. From Al-Ğubbain near Qal'at al-Mudik. *Pl. XXV b, fig. 9b.*

4. Jackets

a. Male

F 650f. Jacket with short sleeves, *šudrīya*, in the list termed "waistcoat", which indicates that it is some sort of an under-garment. The material is black cotton. The jacket is closed down the front opening by means of ten knot buttons and ten corresponding loops, the way in which most Asian garments are closed in contrast to the buttons and cut-out button holes used for Western garments. The garment is made of a central part or "body" made of one piece of material showing two shoulder seams and two

²⁹ This word is derived from Persian *sarāwīl*, HIRTH, 1957, 553 note 1, 617.

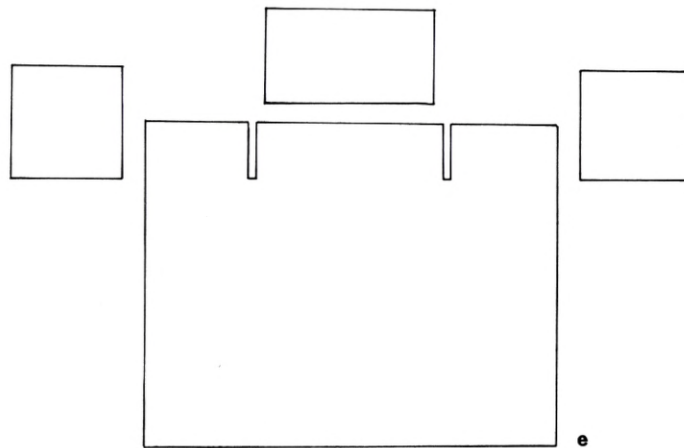
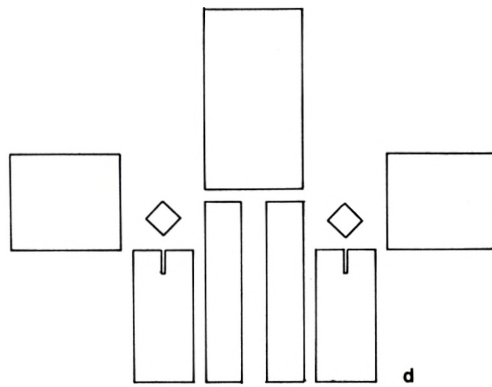
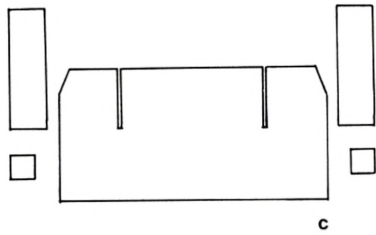
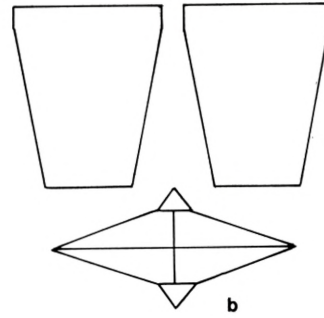
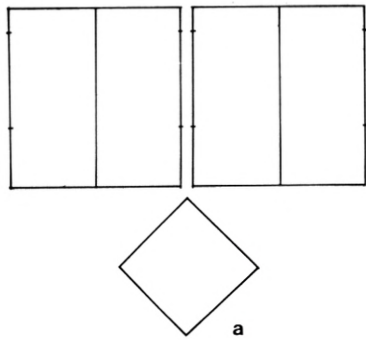


Fig. 9. Pattern diagrams; a: F 651 b, b: F 460 a, c: F 650 f, d: F 457, e: F 504.

slits forming the arm holes. The sleeves are attached at a right angle with two square gussets in the armpits. (Concerning the cut, cf. F 650h, 662, 680 and 504, which are all garments of ‘*abā*’ type). The length is 0.550 m. The width measured with the sleeves spread out is 0.900 m. *Pl. XXVd, fig. 9c.*

F 650g. Jacket, *sukāya*. Made of black cotton and lined with the same material. The jacket is of Western style and made with side seams, sloping shoulder seams, and sleeves attached at an acute angle. In addition, the jacket is provided with pockets with horizontal slit and flaps, with a collar and lapel, with a slit at the back, and is closed by means of two flat button holes. This jacket seems to be a local imitation made of local material of one of the Western second-hand jackets, which are imported from Europe and on sale all over the Middle East. Measured from the shoulder, the jacket is 0.670 m long. *Pl. XXVIIIa.*

b. Female

F 651j. Jacket, short with long sleeves and no collar, *qaṭūša*, in the list termed “waistcoat”. The material is scarlet velvet. The seams are machine-sewn. The sleeves put on at an acute angle in cut-out arm holes. This type of garment is Turkish. The jacket closes in front from right to left by means of six knot buttons and six corresponding loops. Measured from the shoulder, the jacket is 0.380 m long. *Pl. XXVIIIb.*

F 651k. Jacket in Western style, *sukāya*. Made from dark blue velvet lined with dark blue silk. The jacket is tailored, tight-fitting, provided with collar, lapel, sloping shoulder seams, and sleeves put on at an acute angle in cut-out arm holes. The closing is by means of two buttons and two cut-out button holes. The seams are machine-sewn. The length measured from the shoulder is 0.600 m. *Pl. XXIXa.*

Non-Alawite objects

F 457. Jacket from Damascus used by Bedouin or peasant women, *darrā‘a*. Made of violet-blue cloth and lined with shining black cotton. On the outside the jacket is richly decorated with black braiding and embroidery. Made of nine square pieces of material: one back, two front pieces, two side pieces, two sleeve pieces and two square gussets for the armholes. The sleeves are thus put on at a right angle, and all seams are straight. Length, 0.750 m. Width measured with outstretched sleeves, 1.300 m. *Pl. XXIXb, fig. 9d.*

F 460h. Jacket for Bedouin or peasant women, *darrā‘a*. From Al-Ğubbain near Qal‘at al-Mudik. Made of brown cloth lined with black cotton. On the outside it is richly decorated with black and brown braiding and embroidery. Made from nine square pieces of material (cf. F 457). Length, 0.780 m. Width measured with the sleeves spread out, 1.430 m. *Pl. XXXa.*

A jacket like F 457 and F 460h is sometimes termed *qudsīya*, i.e. from Al-Quds (Jerusalem), cf. the term *bağdādī* for the light brown camel hair cloak, ‘*abāya*’, imported from ‘Irāq.

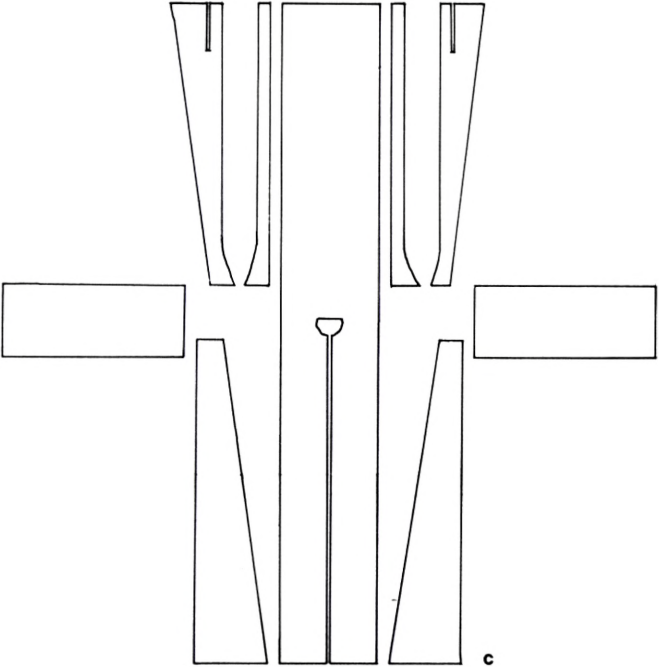
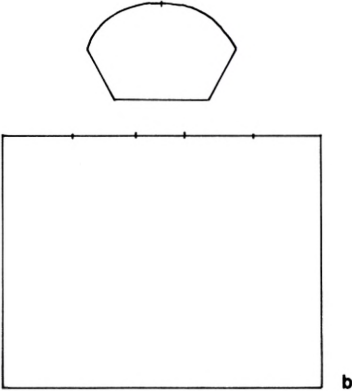
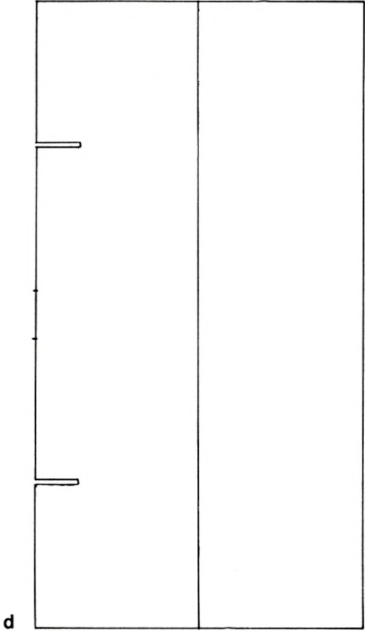
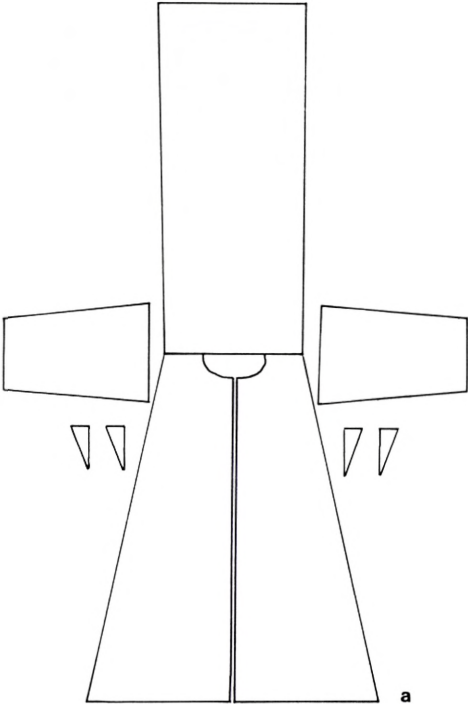


Fig. 10. Pattern diagrams; a: F 649 c, b: F 650 h, c: F 681, d: F 680 (top to the left).

5. *Garments open in front*

a. Male

F 504. Bath robe, *burnus ḥammām*, to be used after a “Turkish” bath. The ‘*abā* here termed *mašlah* is provided with long sleeves and with a hood, *ābū‘a* or *taqīya*, and tied together with a string, *band*, sewn on at the back of the garment. The material is coarse white cotton material with shining and dull stripes. The shining stripes are decorated with a pattern of birds embroidered in white and silver thread. The design is the same as that of F 662 and 680 below. Two rectangular sleeves and a square hood, 0.350×0.400 m, are added to the sack-shaped body. Length, 1.350 m. Width, 1.360 m. The garment is a speciality of Ḥama, where it was purchased. *Pl. XXXIIb, fig. 9e.*

F 649c. Caftan, *šuqa*, in the town termed *qumbāz*. Made of white and blue striped cotton material, lightly crimped. It is unlined. Made of a back and two front parts, the latter with sloping front edges. Back and front parts are joined in straight shoulder seams. The two sleeves are put on at a right angle and each provided with two gussets sewn together in the armpit. There are two buttons at the round neck-opening, and lower down at the middle of each front edge, a string, sewn of the material, for closing the garment. The length of the garment is 1.400 m. Width measured with outstretched sleeves is 1.660 m. *Pl. XXXb, fig. 10a.*

F 650h. Sack-shaped cloak of felt, *qūbān* or *kūbān*, with hood. The material is undyed felt decorated with a pattern of dyed felt, in the colours dark and light brown, which has been applied in the same way as the decoration of felt carpets. The design is the same as the design of the following ‘*abas*. However, this garment is made by felting and without sewing except on top of the hood, where there is a curved, sewn seam. The length of the garment is 1.050 m. The width of the garment is 0.750 m. The hood is 0.400 m high at the back. *Pl. XXXIa, fig. 10b.*

Non-Alawite garments

F 681. Caftan, *qumbāz*, from Inner Syria, purchased in Ḥama. Made of yellowish-white silk with light blue longitudinal stripes. The garment is lined with white cotton. The front and back are in one piece, and there are four side pieces placed two by two at each side. Two long sleeves put on at a right angle, two extra front pieces, one added to each side of the front. Length, 1.380 m. Width with outstretched sleeves, 1.700 m cf. F 649c. *Pl. XXXc, fig. 10c.*

F 680. Sack-shaped cloak or ‘*abāya*, from Inner Syria, purchased in Ḥama. Made from a square mantle, 2.600×1.350 m, sewn together of two lengths of brown and white cross-striped reps, a sort of woven woollen material, the loom width of which is 0.635 m. The two lengths are sewn together at a horizontally placed seam. The result, a square mantle, is provided with two 0.200 m deep, longitudinally placed slits at the upper edge. Thereafter the mantle is folded and sewn together so as to make two horizontally placed shoulder seams, while a 0.200 m wide space remains between the two front edges. Gold embroidery decorates the neck opening and stretches half-way

lining. The garment is made from a "body" consisting of a front and back in one piece of material and four triangular side-pieces, which only reach to the armpits where gussets are inserted. The sleeves are put on at a right angle. The neck opening is circular and continues into a breast slit. Length of garment, 1.410 m. Width with outstretched sleeves, 1.640 m. *Pl. XXXVb, fig. 12a.*

F 454. Undergown with long sleeves ending in narrow cuffs, *ṭūb*, for a peasant or Bedouin woman. Made in Aleppo from coarse, black and white spotted cotton material. The material is "fleecy" at the back. Same design as the foregoing (F 455). Length, 1.410 m. Width with outstretched sleeves, 1.760 m. *Pl. XXXVIa, fig. 12b.*

F 460b. Undergown with long sleeves ending in narrow cuffs, *ṭūb*, for a peasant woman from Al-Ġubbain near Qal'at al-Mudik. Made from yellow, green and reddish-brown printed cotton. Designed in the same way as the foregoing (F 455). The seams are machine-sewn. Length, 1.200 m. Width with outstretched, 1.360 m. *Pl. XXXVIb, fig. 12c.*

F 460c. Undergown with long sleeves ending in narrow cuffs, *ṭūb*, for a peasant woman from Al-Ġubbain near Qal'at al-Mudik. Handmade of white cotton decorated with a printed pattern of pink figures. At the bottom there is a 0.070 m broad transverse stripe of blue spotted cotton material. Design the same as the foregoing (F 455). The length of the garment is 1.300 m. Width measured with outstretched sleeves is 1.480 m. *Pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 12d.*

F 460d. Overgown with long sleeves each gathered into a narrow cuff, *qub'a* at the bottom. For a peasant woman from Al-Ġubbain near Qal'at al-Mudik. Made in Aleppo, machine-sewn, of heavy black artificial silk or rayon. At the top there is a lining in the shape of a square piece of striped and spotted cotton material placed diagonally. Design is the same as the foregoing (F 455). The length of the garment is 1.400 m. The width with outstretched sleeves is 1.500 m. *Pl. XXXVIIb.*

B. *Types of Costumes*

The individual garments have now been examined and grouped according to type. Now we will make complete costumes from individual garments. All garments in the collection which were acquired as single garments and not as part of complete costumes will be excluded. These garments were, nevertheless, of great value during the examination of the types of garment and types of cut of Syrian costumes. Complete costumes will be examined with regard to any conclusions that may be drawn concerning the different types of costume inside the area visited, and finally the relations of these costumes to costumes in neighbouring areas.

The following four complete costumes can be built up out of garments brought home to the Ethnographical Department of the Danish National Museum by the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia. Two male costumes and one female costume originate from the Alawites proper, while the fourth costume, a female costume, is from the Syrian Bedouins.

F 651 f. Gown, *fustān*, made of light blue-green patterned, printed cotton. The gown is made up of a tight-fitting bodice with long sleeves inserted in cut-out armholes and ending in ruffles. The neck-opening is circular, and the bodice is closed along the left shoulder by means of one knot button with corresponding loop. A floor-length skirt is gathered to the bodice and ends at the bottom in a 0.330 m broad ruffle.³¹ On the outside of the left side of the skirt is a pocket. The length of the gown is 1.400 m. Width with sleeves spread out c. 1.450 m. *Pl. XXXIVa*.

Non-Alawite garments

F 453. Undergown with funnel-shaped sleeves, *ṭūb gāz*, for a peasant or Bedouin woman.³² Made by hand in Ḥama as a speciality which is now dying out.

The material of the gown is a dark brown, loosely woven cotton decorated with yellow and red spots produced by the tie-and-dye or plangi technique, which, among other places, is well known in India.

The gown is a closed garment designed with a "body" consisting of a front and a back in one piece to which are added two shoulder-pieces and four sloping side-pieces inserted two by two in the side seams. The sleeves are long and funnel-shaped, and put on at a right angle with gussets made of black cotton material inserted in the armpits. The neck opening is rather small, circular and continues into a vertical breast slit. At the breast, in front, there is a lining of red, patterned cotton material. Along the neck opening and slit, a bordering of black satin is sewn on by machine. The slit closes by a push button. Length of the garment is 1.300 m. Width of the garment measured with outstretched sleeves, 1.300 m. *Pl. XXXIVb*.

F 661. Gown with funnel-shaped sleeves, *wurdain* or *ardān*, for a Bedouin woman. The garment is hand-made of black raw silk decorated with a geometrical pattern of yellow and reddish brown spots produced by tie-and-dye or plangi dyeing. Made of a front and back in one piece of material, four side-pieces joined two by two by straight shoulder-seams. The funnel-shaped sleeves are put on at a right angle with inserted gussets in the armpits. The shape of the neck opening seems not to be original; it is rather large and lined with grey silk. This gown is worn by married women of the 'Anaza tribe who make the gowns themselves. This specimen was acquired in the neighbourhood of Ḥama. It was purchased forty-five years ago, c. 1930, by a now retired justice of peace in Ġabla. The garment is 1.300 m long and is 1.350 m wide with outstretched sleeves. *Pl. XXXVa, fig. 11d*.

F 455. Work gown with long narrow sleeves, *qub'a*, for peasant or Bedouin woman. From Ma'arat an-Numān.

The garment is made of coarse ochre-coloured cotton material. At the breast and at the back a square piece of scarlet cotton with yellow spots is placed diagonally as a

³¹ JOUIN, 1934, 492: "volant au fostan" from the time of the existence of an "État des Alaouites".

³² Found among the Bedouin women's costumes only. Cf.: STEIN, 1964, 202 – JOUIN, 1934, 491 – DALMAN, 1937, from Palestine, figs. 42, 88, 89 – TILKE, 1923, fig. 35, who declares that funnel-shaped sleeves are found from the Southern Caucasus to Eastern Arabia – HANSEN, 1961, figs. 51, 66 woman's kirtle from Kurdistan.

down the front opening of this sack-shaped cloak-like garment. By men, it is worn resting upon the shoulders. The length is 1.350 m. The width is 1.400 m. *Pl. XXXIb, fig. 10d.*

F 662. Sack-shaped cloak or 'abāya. Made of black woollen material. Same design as the foregoing (F 680). Length, 1.400 m. Width 1.500 m. Gold embroidery around the neck opening, along the front edges, along the shoulder seams and around the arm slits. Purchased in Damascus, in the area of the sūq, where the Bedouins buy their garments. This cloak can be used by both men and women. While the man wears the 'abāya resting upon the shoulders, the woman wears it over the head.³⁰ *Pl. XXXIc.*

6. Garments to be pulled over the head: Shirts and gowns

a. Male

F 649b. Shirt, *qamīš*, worn over a pair of trousers, *īlbās*, of the same material. Of white striped cotton material, the garment is made of a front part and a back, both gathered into a yoke. The long sleeves are put on at right angles with gussets in the arm pits. A ribbon-shaped band of material is sewn along the neck opening. The garment closes along the right shoulder seam by means of two knot buttons and corresponding loops. The length is 0.850 m. The width is 1.660 m measured with outspread sleeves. *Pl. XXXIIa, fig. 11a.*

F 650b. Shirt, *qamīš*, worn over white under-trousers, *īlbās*. Made of indigo blue cotton. Shaped like a gown with long sleeves. Made from a front part gathered by smocking into a yoke, a back plaited to the yoke, two long sleeves put on at a right angle with gussets in the arm pits, and a ribbon-like band round the neck-opening. The garment is closed at the left shoulder by means of two black knot buttons with corresponding loops. Length, 0.750 m. Width with outstretched sleeves, 0.600 m. *Pl. XXXIIIa, fig. 11b.*

F 650e. Short blouse, *marīūl*, worn hanging loosely outside the trousers. Made from a front and a back cut out of one piece of material, thus without shoulder seams. The long sleeves are put on at a right angle and gussets are inserted in the arm pits. A square piece of material is sewn on in the shape of a diamond around the neck opening. The material is black cotton. Length, 0.900 m. Width measured with outstretched sleeves, 1.800 m. *Pl. XXXIIIb, fig. 11c.*

b. Female

F 651c. Undergown, slip or shift, *qamīš*, worn over the trousers. The gown is made of white cotton material decorated with hand-made embroidery, coloured along the borders and at the breast. It has short puffed sleeves inserted in cut-out armholes. Four vertical tucks in front shape the garment to the waist and make it fit. Length, 0.980 m. Width, 0.940 m. *Pl. XXXIIc.*

³⁰ Cf. JOUIN, 1934, 490 – STEIN, 1967, 43 – CHEHAB, 1942–43, 50 – HANSEN, 1961, figs. 59, 60, 61: Aba (E. 2331).

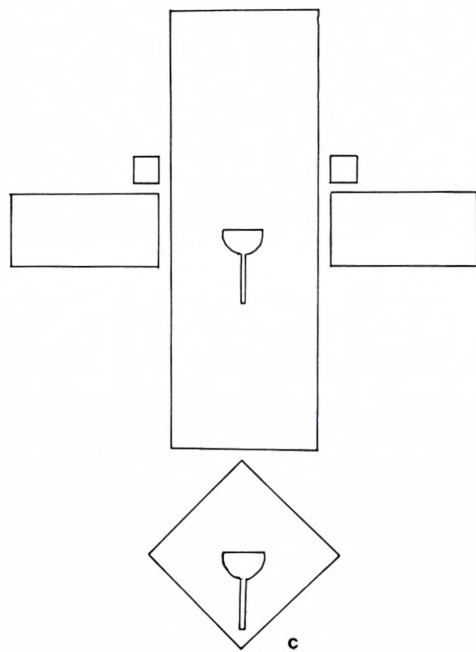
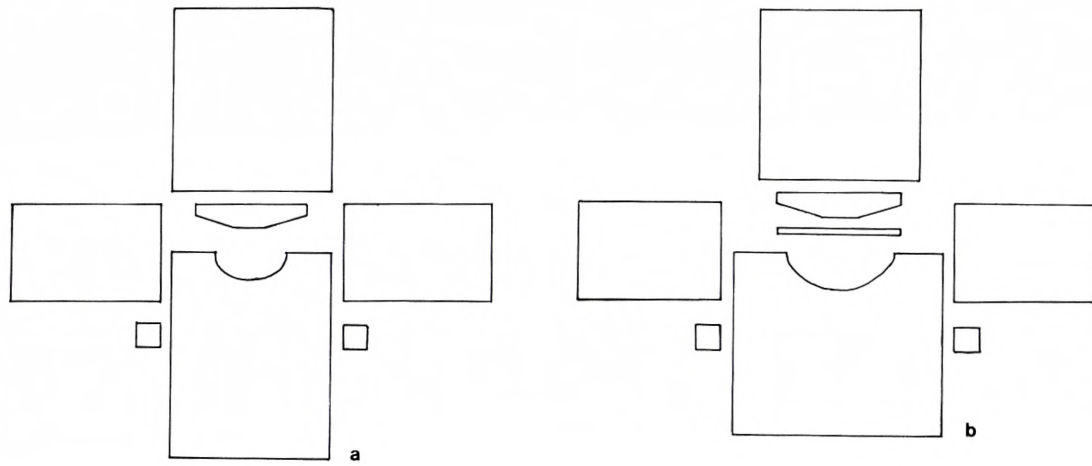


Fig. 11. Pattern diagrams; a: F 649 b, b: F 650 b, c: F 650 e, d: F 661.

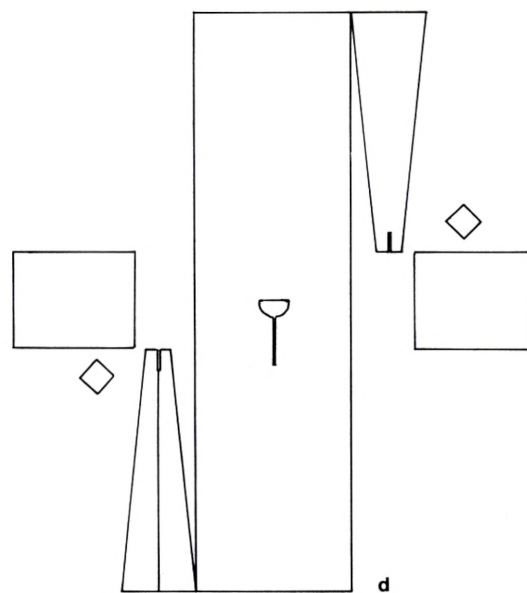
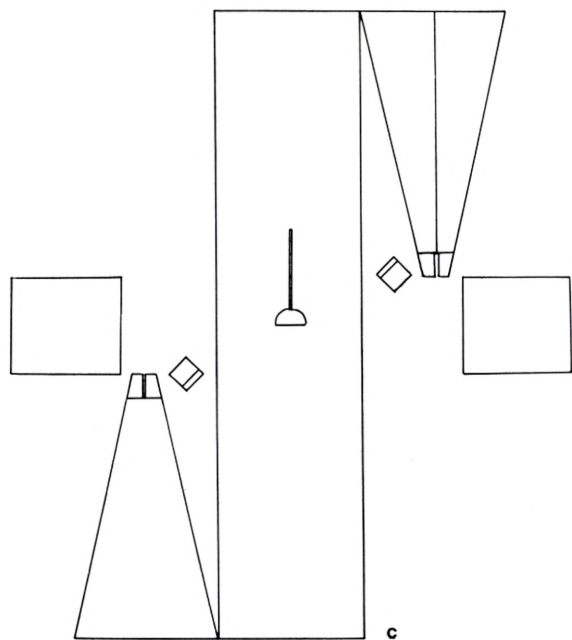
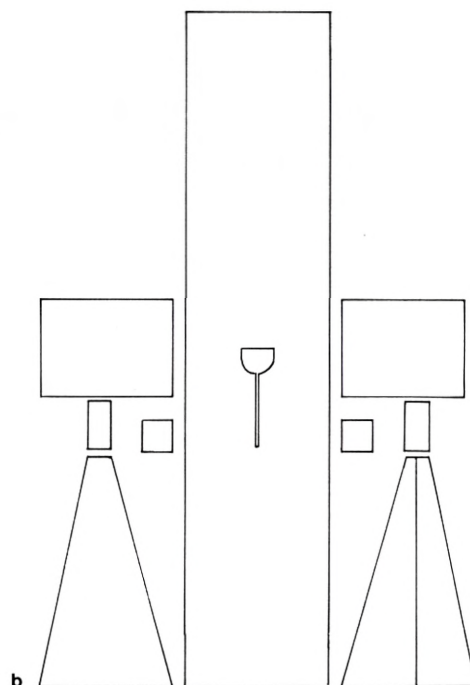
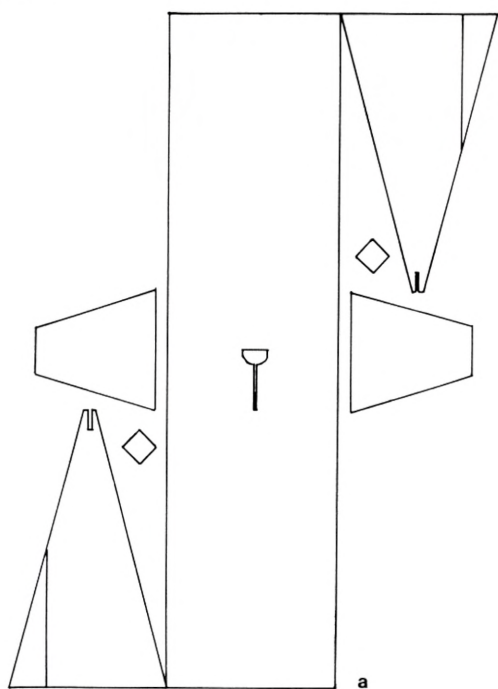


Fig. 12. Pattern diagrams; a: F 455, b: F 454, c: F 460 b, d: F 460 c.

Male Costumes from the Alawites Proper, *tīb* ‘*alawīyīn*’³³

F 649 a–g. *tīb* ‘*alawī*. This costume is mainly used during the summer in the town. However, it can also be used elsewhere at any time.³⁴

The costume consists of seven garments: a) a pair of trousers, *īlbās*, made of blue and white striped cotton material, *pl. XXVIc, fig. 8c*, b) shirt, *qamīs*, with long sleeves and made of white striped cotton material. It is an important feature of this costume that the shirt is worn hanging loosely outside the trousers, *pl. XXXIIa, fig. 11a*. The outer garment c) a gown, *šuqa*, made of white and blue striped material. In town this sort of caftan is termed *qumbāz*. It is closed to the left by means of a string, *pl. XXXb, fig. 10a*. Round the outside of the caftan is wrapped d) a sash, *zinnār*, made of greyish, artificial silk, *pl. XVIa*. In town, a jacket or a European, knee-length, old-fashioned, so-called “paletot” may be worn as an extra outer garment.

The headwear consists of e) a cap, *ṭaqīya*, made of white cotton material embroidered in yellow, *pl. XIIIb*. Sometimes this cap is supplemented by a square headscarf folded over and placed as a triangular headcover secured by a woollen head string, the characteristic Arab headwear.³⁵ The footwear consists of f–g) a pair of pointed shoes, *īmdās*, made of red leather, *pl. XXVIIb*, which can be replaced by a pair of black leather shoes without point *ṣurmāya*, or by a pair of long boots or half-boots.

F 650 a–m. *tīb* ‘*alawī*. This costume is regarded as the genuine male costume among the Alawites and is particularly used by the country people. The costume is built up of thirteen garments: a) under-trousers, *īlbās*, made of unbleached cotton material, *pl. XXVIb, fig. 8d*, b) shirt, *qamīš*, long-sleeved and made of blue cotton material, *pl. XXXIIIa, fig. 11b*. The shirt is worn hanging loosely outside the trousers. The third garment c) is a pair of very baggy outer-trousers, *širwāl*, made of black cotton material, *pl. XXVIId, fig. 8e*. Outside the trousers, in order to fasten them, there is d) a scarf, *šamla*, *pl. XVIb*. Outside the shirt, a short blouse e), *marīl*, is worn like the shirt hanging loosely outside the trousers. It is made of black cotton material, *pl. XXXIIIb, fig. 11c*.

This blouse can be replaced by a short-sleeved jacket f), *ṣuḍrīya*, *pl. XXVd, fig. 9c*, and it is emphasized that only one of these two garments, e–f) is worn at a time. Outside one of the garments is worn g) a jacket, *sukāya*, the type and cut of which are inspired by European fashion, *pl. XXVIIIa*.

In the country and in bad weather an extra outer garment is worn, h) a mantle with a hood, *qūbān* or *kūbān*, which is made of undyed felt, *pl. XXXIa, fig. 10b*. This garment is, of course, specially valuable for shepherds and mountain people, especially in winter.

The genuine Alawite male headdress consists of three parts: i) a cap of felt, *libāda*, *pl. XIIIc*, over which is worn j) a square head cloth folded to a triangular head cover, *kuffīya*, *pl. XVb*. The specimen in question is made of black silk material.

³³ Cf.: App. I No. 2 for the description by RITTER, *Die Erdkunde*, 986.

³⁴ Cf.: WEULERSSE, 1940, I, 250.

³⁵ WEULERSSE, 1940, I, 250 – Cf. STEIN, 1967, 43 – CHEHAB, 1942–43, 70.

However, other brighter colours may be worn, although black is the favorite, as in Arab headdresses. This scarf is secured on the head by means of k) the head cord, *brīm*, or *‘aqāl*, made of black silk, *pl. XVa*, resembling those of coarse brown wool among the Bedouins and the peasants of Inner Syria.

The footwear consists of l–m) a pair of long boots, *ğazma*, the upper part made of red leather, the rest of black leather, *pl. XXVIIh*. The boots may also be made entirely of either black or red leather. The footwear may also consist of short boots, *āstīq*, of European fashion.

Considering these two male Alawite costumes, it seems that no “caftan” belongs to the genuine Alawite costume. The outer garment appears to be a blouse, a shirt or a jacket, i. e. garments which only cover the hips and do not conceal the trousers. The “caftan” belonging to the costume first described F 649a–g is an Arab-Syrian element combined with the Turkish trouser costume.

The type of costume with the baggy trousers shows strong affinity with the Turkish male costume, that came into existence in the 19th century, c. 1832, when the long Turkish caftans reaching to the feet were replaced by short jackets and waistcoats, a type of male costume we find, for instance, well preserved in Serbia or Yugoslavia in the Balkans. In this connection it should be noticed that the military forces of Amīr Aḥmad al-Ğazzār in ‘Akkā, who from c. 1780 to 1804 dominated Syria, most of Lebanon and Palestine, included a cavalry corps of 800 Bosnians and Albanians.^{35a} The basis of the Alawite male costume must be said to be Turkish. Arab elements are found in the shape of the “caftan” mentioned above and in the headdress consisting of cap, headcloth and head cord.

The third influence that we must expect to find in the male costume of the Alawites is European. This is seen in the kind of footwear, which is always the first element of costume to be replaced by the stronger, more durable European shoes and boots.

European second-hand garments in the shape of jackets, coats, redingotes and other types of male sleeved garments have in the last century been exported to and sold in the Middle East as substitutes for the genuine Eastern types of jackets and caftans. In every *sūq* in the towns of the Middle East such garments have been on sale and are on sale to-day, while every pedlar, travelling with his donkey round the villages, is able to open his bundles and spread out a selection of such second-hand European jackets, sometimes even carrying labels from the best known shops in Savile Row in London.

In many cases these tailored European jackets are bought and worn as substitutes for the old-fashioned native jackets, or the cut of the European tailored garments exerts a certain influence upon the cut of the native jackets, etc.

In the genuine Alawite male costume examined some Central Asian elements are found too. The felt mantle (F 650h) has its parallel in the felt mantles worn by the men of Afghanistan and the pointed boots (F 650l–m) resemble the pointed boots, made without any difference for the right and left feet, within the Mongolian area of

^{35a} Cf. HIRTI, 1957, 689.

Central Asia. However, pointed shoes and boots are indigenous in the Alawite area, as shown e.g. in the so-called Late Hittite art.^{35b}

Female Costumes from the Alawites³⁶

F 651 a–s. *tūb* ‘*alawīya*. The costume may be worn both by an unmarried girl, *bint*, and by a married woman, *ḥirma*. In the latter case an amulet is added at the right side of the bosom.

The costume is built up from eleven different garments: a–b) two different specimens of trousers, both long, reaching to the ankles. The trouser legs are gathered round the ankles, *pl. XXV a, figs. 8 f, 9 a*. In the mountains, yellow material is generally used and trousers made of this material are called *sirwāl*. On the plain, red material is preferred and the term for the trousers is *īlbās*.

Hanging loosely over the trousers c) there is an undergown, slip or shift, a garment with short puffed sleeves, *qamīs*, *pl. XXXII c*. Hanging either under or tied over this slip is d) a small bag, *ḡaiba*, *pl. XXII a*, in which is placed e) a handkerchief, *maḥramī*, *pl. XXII b*.

The outer garment is f) the long, long-sleeved gown, *fustān*, made of light blue cotton material, *pl. XXXIV a*. However, other favorite colours for female gowns may be yellow, pink and scarlet. Often this gown is not worn at home or when doing the housework. At work, the ruffle at the bottom of the garment is tucked up and a bit of it fastened to the belt so as to expose the trousers underneath. It becomes obvious that the female Alawite costume is not a gown costume, but a trouser costume akin to the Turkish female costume.

The amulet that a married woman wears at the right side of the breast consists of an irregularly shaped, semi-transparent white stone, two round, milk-white beads, one blue bead, a jagged button of blue porcelain, and a small blue hand made of plastic. All these objects are threaded side by side on a common cotton string. The amulet is said to protect against the “evil eye”, and to improve the flow of milk if the woman in question is suckling a baby.

Around the waist g–h) a sash, *zinnār*, may be worn, *pl. XX b, a*. It is tied outside the *fustān*; if no *fustān* is worn then it is tied at the waist over the undergown or shift. There are two kinds of sash. One g) is triangular and made from half of a male headscarf. The other kind h) is quadrangular and of striped silk material.

Over the shift, if no gown is worn, or over both shift and gown, the apron or open skirt, i) *maḥzām*, is worn, *pl. XXIV a*. It is difficult to choose the right term for this square or rectangular piece of material which, by means of two strings sewn to the upper corners of the garment, is tied around the waist. During work, the two corners at the bottom of the garment are lifted up and tucked in at the waist.

Outside the gown, two jackets j–k) are worn, one above the other. Both have long

^{35b} Cf. E. AKURGAL, *Orient und Okzident*. Baden-Baden 1966, 91, 95 fig. 22a, 126 fig. 30.

³⁶ Cf. WEULERSSE, 1940, I, 250.

sleeves. The under jacket j) *qaṭūša*, is collarless and made of scarlet velvet and rather short, *pl. XXVIIIb*. This under jacket may, however, be made of black or blue material. If this jacket is worn outside the *fustān* or gown, the earlier mentioned married woman's amulet is worn on this jacket instead of on the gown.

The outer jacket, k) *sukāya*, is longer, provided with a collar and facing or lapel, and is tailored, which means that, similar to European or Western jackets, it is shaped after the human body, *pl. XXIXa*. The material is blue velvet: however, also black and scarlet may be used. Like the women of medieval Europe, the Alawite women pay great attention to which colours are put together in the same costume. The *sukāya* and the *qaṭūša* must be of different colours.

The most complicated part of the Alawite female costume is the headgear, which is built up from several different elements. The hair itself is plaited into two plaits lengthened by means of p) two hair strings, termed *ḍafāyir* in the country and *ǧdīla* in town, *fig. 5*. At the top, the two hair strings are divided into three strings plaited into the two plaits of hair. The other ends of the hair strings are combined and decorated by an amulet, *ḥiǧab*. The amulet itself consists of a piece of square paper upon which a few sentences from some sura in the Qur 'an, or some magic combination of numerals, have been written. Nobody knows the exact contents, because the paper has been carefully folded and covered with a pretty sewn-on cover resembling a tiny bag of scarlet material.

On the head the Alawite woman wears 1) a round cap of scarlet or white felt decorated with a blue silk tassel, *ṭarbūš*, *pl. XVIIa*. Around the cap is worn m) a triangular head cloth, *ḥsanīya*, *pl. XVIIIb*. Like the sash g), this head cloth is made from half a man's head cloth. The triangular cloth is tied with a double knot at the back of the head. The head cloth carries q) a forehead ornament of gold or silver, *ṣaffa*, consisting of a chain provided with fastening hooks at each end, *pl. XXIa*. The specimen acquired has a crescent-shaped silver object, *nāṭūr*, in the centre of the chain among silver coins hanging in loops. This ornament may also be worn at the breast, and in this case it is termed *kurdān*. Over this head cloth, tied with a double knot at the back, one of two different kerchiefs is worn, both termed *mandīl*. The first n) is square, folded diagonally, tied under the chin and made of white muslin, *pl. XIXa*. It is used for domestic activities and in the house. The second o) is oblong, and made of loosely woven, whitish, raw silk, *pl. XIXb*. This head cloth or kerchief may be wound round the head in the following way. From the left side of the head one end of the kerchief is carried under the chin, along the right side of the face and up over the head, down along the left side of the face, and then carried across the face in such a way that the mouth is hidden and for a second time up over the top of the head. The end of the kerchief hangs down in front of the left shoulder.

Like the Armenian women, it thus seems that the Alawite women sometimes cover the mouth. However, like the Bedouin women and some Syrian peasants, they are never veiled, i. e. cover the face up to the eyes, as did the Turkish muslim women of the upper class, or carry a black veil hiding the whole face like the Arab women in the

towns and villages of Inner Syria and ʿIrāq. This last type of veil was also found in villages in Turkey and had spread to the Balkans, where it is now abolished.

The footwear consists of r-s) a pair of pointed shoes, *īmdās*, made of leather, which may be replaced by shoes without point, *surmaya*, made of red or black leather, *pl. XXIIc*.

Non-Alawite Female Costumes³⁷

F 460 a-h. Fellah woman's costume from Al-Ġubbain near Qal'at al-Mudik. The name of the owner was Ḥilfa married to ʿAḥmad al-Ḥussain. The costume is complete with the exception of a belt (or sash) and footwear: as replacements a leather belt and a pair of leather boots were acquired according to the woman's own choice, (see below). The costume is made up of eight garments. As was the case for the other costumes examined, the trousers are regarded as the basis of the costume and will be dealt with first. The costume builds upon the following elements, a) a pair of trousers, *sirwāl*, made of flowered pink cotton material and characterized by the ruffle at the bottom of each trouser leg, *pl. XXVb, fig. 9b*. Over this pair of trousers, three long, long-sleeved gowns are worn, one over the other: b) undergown, *tūb*, made of yellow printed cotton material, *pl. XXXVIb, fig. 12c*, c) undergown, *tūb*, made of pink flowered cotton material, *pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 12d*, d) overgown or outer gown, *qub'a*, made of black artificial silk, generally termed rayon, *pl. XXXVIIb*. Above these three full-length gowns, a jacket h) *darrā'a* is worn, *pl. XXXa*. It is of an old untailed type made of brown wool on which black braid decorations are sewn. The jacket reaches to the hips and hangs rather loosely around the body.

As usual, the headgear constitutes the most complicated part of the female costume. In this case it is made up of three elements, a hood, a turban and a big kerchief. The hood f), *qaṭṭābīya*, covers the top of the head, the back of the head and frames the face, *figs. 7a, 8b*. The turban e), *šambar*, is placed over the hood and wound around the head, *figs. 7b, 8a*. The third element is a large square, black kerchief g) *ʿašāba*, *pl. XXIIIb*. This kerchief is worn over the head over the hood and the turban.

F 458. Leather belt, *kamar*, intended to be worn around the woman's waist over the three gowns and under the jacket, *fig. 6*.

F 459 a-b. A pair of yellow leather boots, *ḡizma*; originally a pair of long boots of which the upper part of the legs has been turned down to half the length. They seem to have been worn in this fashion. *Pl. XXVIa*.

These two specimens of female costume give us the opportunity of comparing the female Alawite costume with that worn by a genuine Arab woman.

What influence do we find in the Alawite female costume from the Arab, Turkish and European cultures? With respect to the genuine Alawite female costume, the trousers are Arab in cut,³⁸ but Turkish in their use as the main visible garment. The gown, the *fustān*, is Arab in use, worn over the trousers, but European in shape and

³⁷ Cf. MUSIL, 1928, 125: women's clothing among the Rwala Bedouins.

³⁸ HANSEN, 1968, woman's trousers fig. 27.

cut. The apron of the Alawite female costume, like the covering of the mouth, has its parallel among the Armenian women. The jackets are Turkish in type, and the use of jackets by the Arabs is due to influence from Turkish dress.

The garments open in front like jackets, and "caftans" belong to another dress family³⁹ than the closed gowns and shirts which originally characterized the Arab scheme of dress. The headwear must be called Turkish being based upon a cap, *tarbūš*, as compared to the typical Arab turban and other wrap-around types of headwear.

V. Hunting Equipment

Among the Alawites hunting may be called a sort of trade. The Arab term for hunting and fishing, *šaid*, is the same term. Rifles and guns are used for hunting besides the hunting equipment brought to the Museum, among which the presence of bird-lime twigs indicates the possibility that the old hunting equipment may have been bow and arrow. Small birds are captured by means of bird-lime twigs. This form of bird hunting has fallen out of use long ago in most parts of Syria, but it is still practised in the environs of Ġabla. The equipment, which was manufactured in Ġabla, consists of the twigs and a basket in which they are carried.

F 507 a–b. A quiver of wickerwork containing bird-lime twigs, *pl. XXXVIII f*. The quiver, *āndīl*, a) is torpodo-shaped, 0.680 m long, and made of light osiers. It is carried like an arrow quiver suspended from a shoulder strap, 0.740 m long, made of cotton tape. The bird-lime twigs b), *ħilf dibbiq*, are wooden sticks, *ħilf*, pointed at one end and the other made sticky by means of a glue, *dibbiq*, made from the pulp of the white, globular berries of a special sort of tree—a sort of snowberry?—mixed with honey, *ʿasal*, in the proportion of ten to two. Originally, arrows with the blunt end dipped into glue may have been shot into the branches and trunks of trees as a bird-catching device. The bird-lime twigs are 0.730 m long and fixed by means of the pointed end; they are attached to trees so that they look like growing twigs. Quails, *naŋġa*, plural *nufūġ*, are captured by means of a complicated set of implements that acts like a sort of trap. The specimen was acquired in Sūkās.

F 673 a–g. Component parts of a trap for hunting quails consisting of a net, two bamboo canes, a twig, a pair of male trousers, and an additional two bamboo canes, *pl. XXXVIII a, g, figs. 13, 14*. The net a), *šabaka*, is made of white cotton material, a square of 1.750 × 2.200 m. One of the longer sides is drawn together by a string and reduced to a length of 0.380 m. Two canes (b–c) are fastened to the two short sides of the net. The length of these two canes is 1.750 m, the same as the length of the two short sides of the net. The net is placed on the ground and the gathered long side and the two sides stiffened by canes are held in place by stones. The fourth side of the net is lifted at the middle by means of a twig (d) *ħazūq*, 0.600 m long. This stick is partially peeled, sharpened to a point at one end, and placed upright, thus forming an entrance to the net trap.

³⁹ HANSEN, 1950, 102–103.



Figs. 13, 14. Chasing quails into a trap, F 673 a–g, near Ćabla.

The quails are chased into the net trap by means of a stand, the so-called *qanāša*, made from old male trousers (e) carried spread out to their full breadth by the two bamboo canes (f–g). The male trousers (e), *šintiyān* or *širwāl*, are of black cloth and very worn. They are sewn together from a very large breech cloth part and two legging parts. A row of pleats or tucks gather the trousers at the waist. The trousers are 0.850 m long and 1.800 m in width, (cf. the male trousers F 650c, photograph and diagram). The two canes (f–g) are c. 1.300 m long and thrust into each leg of the trousers (e).

Using this *qanāša*, the hunter frightens the quails into the net trap, which falls down the moment the upright stick (d) falls over. The *qanāša* has an alarming effect upon the quails, because its shadow has a certain resemblance to the awe-inspiring shadow of an eagle. This set of implements for quail hunting is very much used in the plain of Ćabla, especially after the cotton harvest. Small birds may also be captured by means of a larger bird. This is a sort of falconry (cf. equipment for falconry in Baḥrain Ethn. Dept. F 643–647) which, however, is not practised with falcons but with hawks, *bāšiq*.⁴⁰

F 674 a–g. Equipment for bird hunting using a hawk. It consists of a set of strings for tying the hawk, a wrist protector for the hunter, two small bells, a bag and a walking stick. The equipment was acquired in Ćabla, *pl. XXXVIII b–e, figs. 15a, b, 16, 17*.

The strings (a–b), *sibiq* or *išbāʿ*, are made of yellow or red cotton thread and provided at each end with crocheted loops, *kundiyyāt*, which are placed around the legs of the hawk. Folded double, the strings measure 0.600 m in length.

⁴⁰ Cf. App. I No. 2, RITTER, Die Erdkunde, 891.

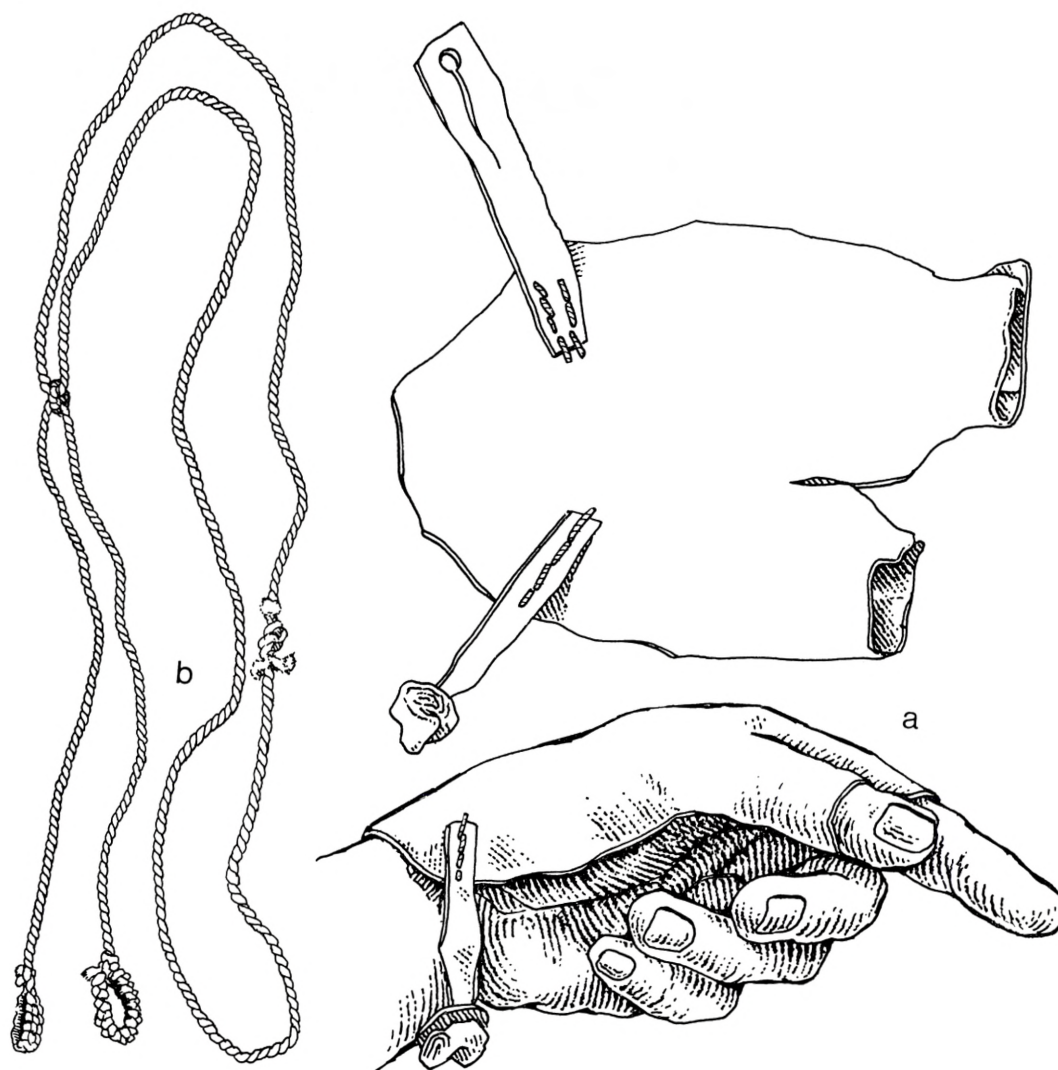
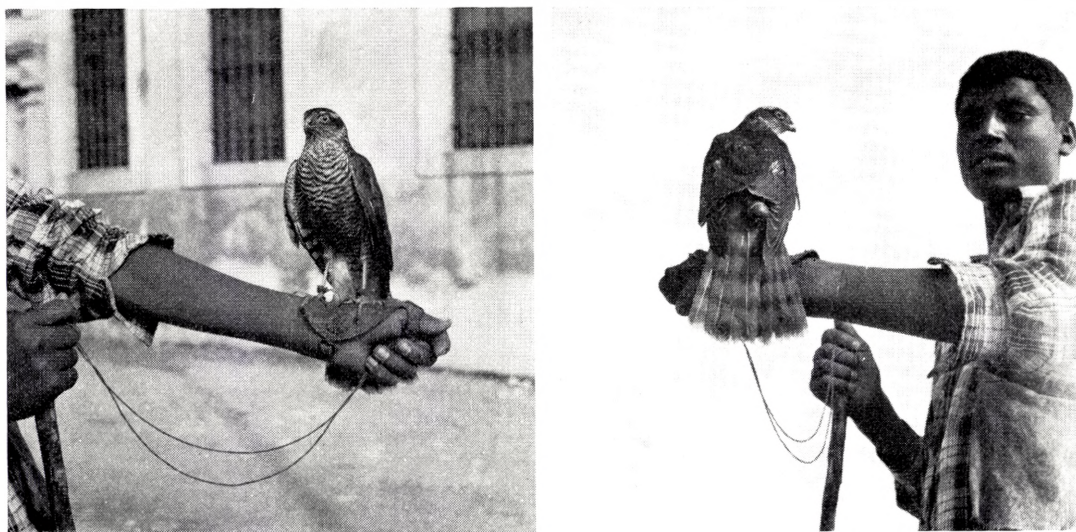


Fig. 15. Hawking equipment; a: glove, F 674 c, b: string for tying the hawk. From Ğabla.

Wrist protector or “glove” (c), *kaff*, is a heart-shaped piece of leather provided with a wrist strap and cuffs for the two fingers. 0.160 m long. This leather protector is worn on the left hand of the hunter, who carries the hawk on this hand.

Two small bells (d–e), *ğaras*, made of brass and each provided with a loop. Diameter of each bell, 0.020 m. One of the loops is wound around with white thread forming two strings, 0.110 m long, which are tied to the hawk so that it can be heard when away chasing the prey.

Game bag (f), *šanğa*. A square bag with a flap made of red-brown leather.



Figs. 16, 17. The hunter with hawk and equipment, F 674 a–g, at Ğabla.

Fringed along the edges, a net of strings at the front. It is carried by a 0.810 m long leather strap and measures 0.290×0.360 m without the fringes.

Walking stick (*g*) *dikkāša*. A simple peeled branch, slightly crooked, and 1.400 m long. It comes from a mulberry tree, *tūt*.

VI. Musical Instruments⁴¹

Musical instruments are used by shepherds watching their flocks, at weddings, and on occasions when people wish to dance. Six specimens of musical instruments were acquired by the Expedition. They are of four kinds; wind-instruments or flutes, both single and double instruments, string instruments namely violins, and percussion instruments such as drums and castanets.

Wind Instruments

F 658. Flute, *nāī*, purchased in Ğabla, but made in Baniyās. It is a straight, smooth, round bamboo pipe, decorated with a spot pattern burnt into the surface, and with a row of five holes. The mouthpiece is a truncated cone of metal, 0.045 m long, kept tilted against the lips during play. Full length, 0.540 m. *Pl. XLb, fig. 18b*.

F 656. Flute, *nāī*, purchased in Ğabla, but made in Baniyās. It is unfinished and consists of a straight, smooth, round bamboo pipe decorated with spots and lines burnt into the surface. It has six holes placed in a row and is provided with a conical mouthpiece 0.075 m long. Full length 0.640 m. *Pl. XLa, fig. 18a*.

⁴¹ See SACHSSE, Palästinensische Musikinstrumente, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins I, Leipzig 1927, 19–66, 117–172, and Bašīr Zuḥdī in AASyr. 22, 1972, 81–121.

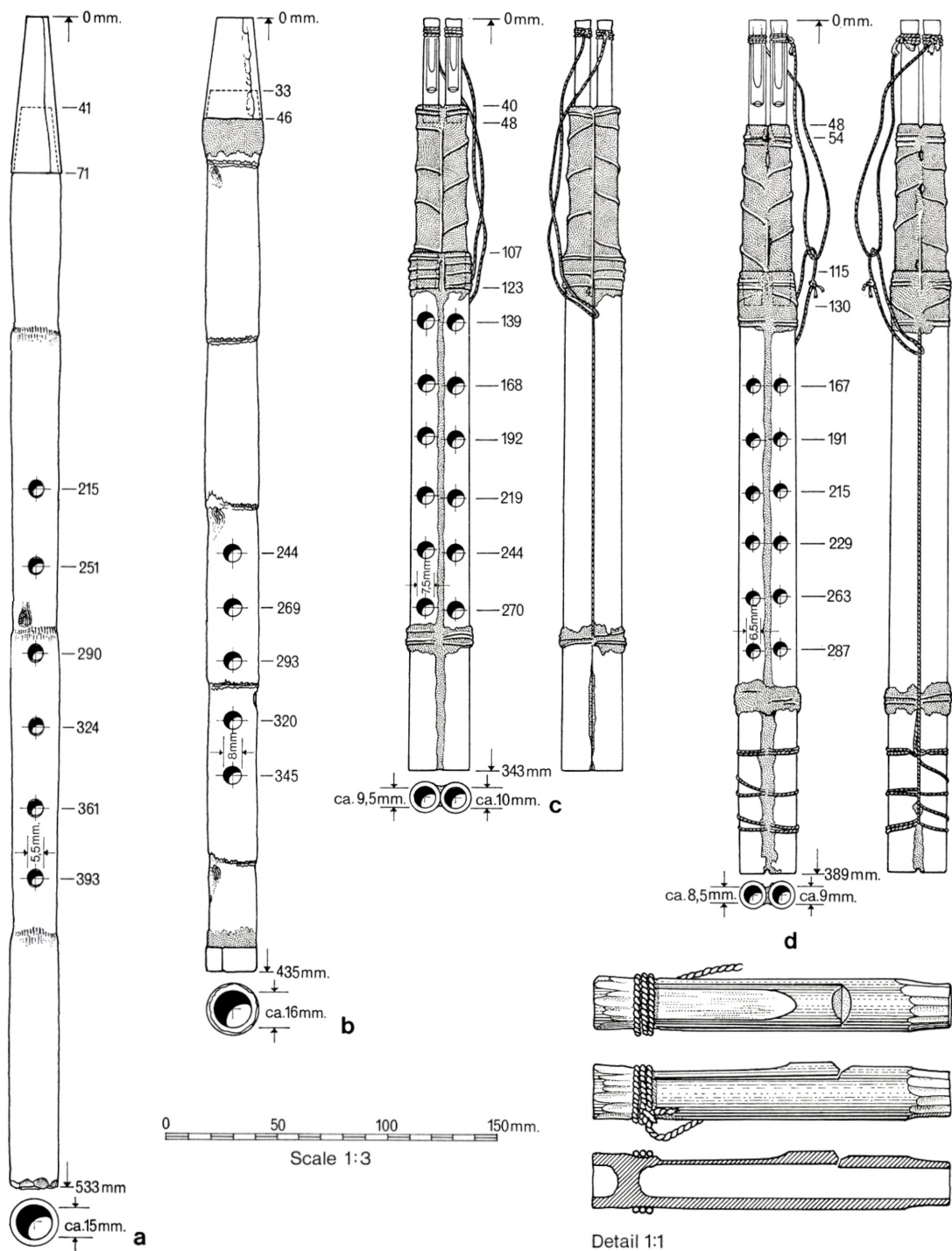


Fig. 18 a. Flute F 656, b: flute F 658, c: double flute F 122, d: double flute F 676, all made in Baniyās.

F 122. “Double flute”, *arǧūl* or *miǧwiz*, purchased in Ḥama. Said to be the typical Bedouin and peasant flute or instrument. Full length, 0.342 m. Same construction as the following. *Pl. XLc, fig. 18c*.

F 676. “Double flute”, as the preceding made in Baniyās. However, it is found in use all over Syria. It is constructed of two pipes of bamboo placed side by side, tied together at the lower end by fine strings and stuck together at the upper end by means of a layer of bitumen. It is provided with a separate mouthpiece of fine bamboo. Full length, 0.340 m, *pl. XLd, fig. 18d*. In fact, this type of instrument is a clarinet rather than a flute. It probably descends from the ancient “double flutes”, the auloi.^{41a}

String instruments

F 675a–b. One-stringed violin, *rabāba*,⁴² with bow, ‘*ūd*, both made in Ğabla, *pl. XXXIXa*. The violin⁴³ (a) is covered with gazelle leather and consists of an almost rectangular sounding board running into a straight neck. The violin’s single string is made of horse hair. The full length of the violin is 0.710 m. On the back of the sounding board, which measures 0.300 × 0.160 × 0.085 m, is fastened a piece of paper upon which is written a so-called “‘*ātāba* verse” which is a reproach to one’s beloved. In translation it runs as follows: “Oh Zainab, who flung me to the ground (and made me feel miserable)?... (and tied me) with bond, which drove away the pleasure and ... in my heart hit by grief ... and ... may misfortune and fortune reach you from all sides ... Aḥmad ‘Alī.”

The bow (b) is made of bamboo and provided with a string made of black horsehair lengthened with thread. Full length, 0.690 m. In a curved position, 0.580 m.^{43a}

Percussion instruments

F 678. Hand drum or tap, *darbakka*,⁴⁴ made in Idlib and used in Ğabla. Made of red-brown earthenware and provided with a drum skin or drum head of white skin which is fastened with strings at both ends of the drum. The drum has a broad carrying strap of woven material. The drum is 0.385 m high, the diameter at top and at bottom, 0.260 m. *Pl. XLe*.

F 677a–d. A pair of castanets⁴⁵ *ṣunūǧ*. Purchased in Ğabla. The set consists of four circular discs, each provided with a leather strap. The discs, which each have a bulge in the centre, are 0.045 m in diameter. *Pl. XXXIXb*.

^{41a} Cf. K. SCHLESINGER, *The Greek Aulos*, London 1939. H. HUSMANN, *Grundlagen der antiken und orientalischen Musikkultur*, Berlin 1961, 80, 85, 114. P. ROVSING OLSEN, *An Aulos in the Danish National Museum*, in *Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning* 1966–67, Copenhagen 1968, 3–9.

⁴² Cf. STEIN, 1964, 201, pl. 36.

⁴³ SACHSSE, 1927, 29 no. 14, 48–49, 52–62, 162 pl. 3.

^{43a} For this type of violin, which came to Europe from the Near East during the Middle Ages, see Husmann, *op. cit.*, 113–114.

⁴⁴ SACHSSE, 1927, 35–36 nos. 26, 31, 63–64, 159 pl. 8.

⁴⁵ SACHSSE, 1927, 36–37, no. 36, 66 pl. 8.

VII. Objects Connected with Entertainment

A pair of shadow play figures (F 772 a–b) represent entertainment, *pl. XXXIXd*. The figures are made and used in Ğabla. However, Țartūs is referred to as the only place inside the area of the Alawites where the play is seriously cultivated, and where members of the same family have carried out the performance throughout the last five hundred years, and continue to do so.

The two shadow play figures each represent one of the principal characters in the old—originally Turkish—shadow play *Qarakūz* (Turkish: Kara Göz).⁴⁶ The figures are cut out of brown leather, either in one piece or in several pieces which are afterwards put together. Two thin twigs, 0.310 and 0.230 m in length respectively, are used to make the two figures appear on the stage.

One figure (a) is the character who lends his name to the shadow play, namely *Qarakūz* or “Black Eye”. This figure is made up of five pieces, namely: head, body, two legs and a movable right arm. Height, 0.235 m. The other figure (b) represents *Aywāz* (Turkish: Hacıwad), which means Ḥāğğī ‘Aiwād, the title indicating that he has undertaken the pilgrimage, ḥağğ, to Mecca. He is a sort of harlequin or clown and carries a pointed turban typical of this character. The figure is made up of four pieces, namely: head with turban, body and two legs. Height 0.215 m.

VIII. Objects Connected with the Life-Cycle

A paper festoon used for decoration at a wedding festival is the only object connected with the important climaxes of human life, also known as “rites de passage”.

The paper festoon, F 766 a–h, *waraqa zīna*, is from Ğabla. Locally made. It consists of forty-seven figures, which with one exception are all cut out of paper. One figure is cut out of a piece of plastic material. Of the forty-seven figures, thirteen are cut out of orange-coloured tissue paper, thirteen of lilac paper, eleven of pink paper, nine of green paper, and one figure is cut out of scarlet plastic material. *Pl. XLVIII*.

All the figures represent patterns of different garments (a symbolic rendering of the bride’s trousseau?), and may be classified in the following eight groups (a–h):

- a female triangular sash, *zinnār*, 0.300 m long: eight specimens.
- b female under-trousers, *īlbās*, 0.250 m long: eight specimens.
- c female shift, *qamīs*, 0.300 m long: three specimens.
- d female trousers, *īlbās*, 0.250 m long: six specimens.
- e female trousers with ruffles, *qurbāt*, 0.280 m long: six specimens.
- f towel, *biškīr*, 0.560 m long: four specimens.
- g male trousers, *šīrwāl*, 0.600 m long: four specimens.
- h sack-shaped mantle for a man, *‘abāya*, 0.280 m long: eight specimens.

⁴⁶ Cf. SİYAVUŞGİL, 1955. LUSCHAN, Das Türkische Schattenspiel. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, 11, 1889, 1, 81, 125, pls. 1–4. – RITTER & THIETZE, 1924–1953, I, 7, III, 634.

The forty-seven figures are fastened to a common string. From one end of the string to the other, the eight groups of articles and the five different colours are combined and follow each other in the following way:

g (orange), h (lilac), h (orange), g (lilac), f (orange), h (pink), h (green), g (pink), f (lilac), h (green), h (pink), b (lilac), b (orange), b (lilac), b (green), h (lilac), h (orange), g (green), b (pink), b (orange), f (pink), f (green), c (orange), c (lilac), c (pink), c (pink), c (lilac), c (orange), d (orange), d (lilac), d (lilac), d (pink), d (pink), d (orange), c (green), c (lilac), c (orange), b (pink), b (green), a (lilac), a (green), a (orange), a (orange), a (green), a (lilac), a (pink) and a (scarlet plastic).

IX. Objects Connected with the Religion of Islam

A rosary and seven lithographs represent connection with the religion of Islam. However, none of these specimens shows any connection with the special variety of Islam, or secret and rather unknown and uninvestigated sect inside unorthodox Islam, the Ši'ism, which constitutes the religion of the Alawites.

F 773. Rosary, *misbaḥa* (from *sabaḥa*, to praise), *pl. XXXIXc*. The rosary consists of thirty-three beads, *subḥa*, each made in beadwork of small red and blue glass beads, and thread on a string of nylon fastened by a larger bead of oblong shape. The rosary is made by convicts in the prison at Ḥama where much beadwork is produced. It is used at prayers, when meditating, or simply rolled between the fingers to pass the time. During prayer the beads may serve to repeat certain sentences thirty-three times, or if used three times to enumerate the ninety-nine surnames of Allāh.^{46a}

Doubled up the rosary measures 0.260 m in length.

The seven lithographs were obtained in Ḥama, but they are said to have been made in Cairo, Egypt. Their motives are of two types. Four of the seven show incidents from common Arab legendary history, and are therefore of value or of interest for all Muslims. The remaining three show motives from the life of Imām 'Alī ibn Ṭālib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, married to Fatima, by whom he became father of Ḥassan and Ḥussain. These three lithographs may be regarded as being of chief interest to the adherents of the Ši'a sect, the unorthodox branch or sect of the religion of Islam. To the followers of this sect, Imām 'Alī is regarded as the first Imām, that is the leader of prayer and the only approved leader of the community, because he was selected by the Prophet personally and of the same family and blood as the Prophet.

These three lithographs are therefore of interest to all followers of the Ši'a sect. However, nothing in the motives shows any relation to the special sub-sect within the Ši'a sect to which the Alawites belong, and inside which 'Alī has been raised to an even higher position than in ordinary Ši'ism.

^{46a} Cf. E. W. LANE, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1895, 92.



Fig. 19. Circassian from Balda al-Mulk.

Lithographs showing incidents from Arab legendary history

F 282. *Ĝis'as kills Kulaib ibn Rabi'a and is attacked by Šālim Abu Laila Muḥalhal.*

In pre-Islamic times Kulaib ibn Rabi'a was the chief of the tribe Banu Taġlib. He had, however, killed some camels belonging to a certain Basūs, who had placed himself under the protection of Ĝis'as. Dressed in chain mail and riding a white horse, Ĝis'as now takes his revenge. After the manslaughter the victor is attacked by Šālim Abu Laila Muḥalhal, also riding a white horse. Two lions also form part of the picture, indicating the desert. 0.464×0.328 m. *Pl. XLI.*

F 283. *'Antara ibn Šaddād fights against Rabi'a ibn Zaid al-Mukaddam.*

'Antara was a pre-Islamic poet and son of a black slavewoman. He lived c. A.D. 590, that is about the time of the birth of the Prophet. He took part in the Dāḥis and Ĝabra wars and was killed as an old man in a fight against the tribe of Ṭaiġi. He became one of the most popular Arab heroes. His memory lives on in the 'Antara Novel of which several editions are well known. The picture shows two men in chain mail. To the left a warrior rides a red horse, to the right a blue man ('Antara) armed with a sword rides a black horse. 0.328×0.451 m. *Pl. XLII.*

F 284. *Sultan Šalāḥ ad-dīn al-'Ayyūbi fights against King Richard Lionheart.*

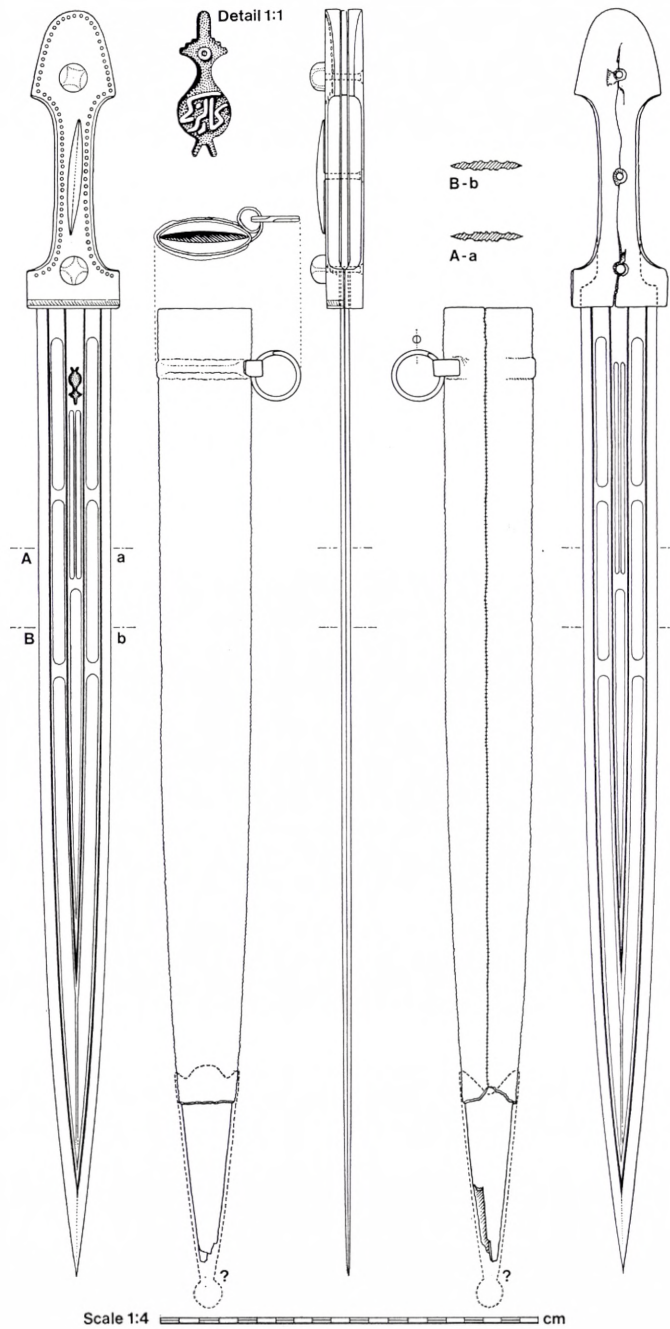


Fig. 20. Circassian sword, K 1156 a, b.

To the left a turban-clad warrior wearing a gold embroidered jacket and pointed shoes (Şalāḥ ad-dīn) fights against a knight wearing a plumed helmet and chain mail (Richard). 0.328×0.470 m. *Pl. XLIII*.

F 285. *Tārik fights against the King of Andalusia.*

A turban-clad Oriental (Tārik) riding upon a white horse cuts the throat of an iron-clad knight wearing a scarlet mantle and plumed helmet. 0.376×0.526 m. *Pl. XLIV*.

Lithographs showing motives from the life of Imām ‘Alī

F 286. *Imām ‘Alī kills the Jew Markab.*

Imām ‘Alī dressed in a white burnus, scarlet coat, yellow trousers, pointed boots, a white head scarf and ‘aqāl and riding a white horse at the head of a group of warriors dressed in gown and burnus, cleaves his enemy with his double-bladed sword, *du’ l-faqār*. Markab wears chain mail and rides a black horse as he leaves the Jewish fort Ḥaibar in Mecca (Madīna). 0.355×0.532 m. *Pl. XLV*.

F 287. *Imām ‘Alī killing ‘Amr ibn Wadamrī.*

Imām ‘Alī, wearing chain mail, a white mantle, a turban and riding a white horse, cuts off the left leg of his enemy ‘Amr with his double-bladed sword *du’ l-faqār*. ‘Amr wears chain mail and a green turban and rides a white horse. 0.381×0.532 m. *Pl. XLVI*.

F 288. *Imām ‘Alī kills Rās al-Ġūl, the chief of the demons.*

Imām ‘Alī, wearing chain mail, a yellow mantle, a helmet and green turban, cleaves with his double-bladed sword, *du’ l-faqār*, the body of his enemy, the chief of the desert demons, Rās al-Ġūl. The latter is depicted as a fabulous being with tusks in his mouth, horns upon his head, and barbs on his heels. 0.384×0.534 m. *Pl. XLVII*.

X. Objects Connected with Strangers

In the southern part of the Ğabla plain villages inhabited by Circassians existed during the late 19th and earlier 20th century. The last group of Circassians lived in the village of ‘Arāb al-Mulk, see *figs. 1, 19*, and below pp. 89, 92, App. 2.1 No. 15, App. 2.3. Two specimens relating to these Circassians were acquired together with the collection from the Alawites and their neighbours. The two specimens are a sword and a cap, both bought in Ğabla from Tawfiq Çarkass.

Sword, *qāma*, with sheath (K 1156 a–b). The sword (a) shows a stamped signature, “kārlikī”, engraved in Arabic. The total length is 0.674 m of which the hilt measures 0.160 m. The sheath (b) is made of wood covered in black leather and provided at the top with a flat ring of iron. *Fig. 20*.

Cap, *qalbaş*, (K 1157) is made from a stiffened side-part, 0.120 m high, and covered with a black curly pile fabric imitating lambs’ fleece. The crown is baggy and made of thin black cloth lined with brown silk material. Inside the cap is a sweat-band of leather. Measured flat, the cap is 0.170 m high and 0.290 m broad. *Fig. 21*.

When M. Hartmann visited the region in 1881, 'Arāb al-Mulk was a Circassian village.⁴⁷ In 1895 another village was noticed at Sūkās, *fig. 1*, 1 km east-south-east of the mound excavated in 1958–63 by the Carlsberg Expedition.⁴⁸ After the Turko-Russian war of 1877, Muslim Circassians from the frontier area came to Syria,⁴⁹ where they seem to have been rather favoured by the government, who could rely upon them, and many Circassians entered the police. For this reason they were not popular among the Alawites.

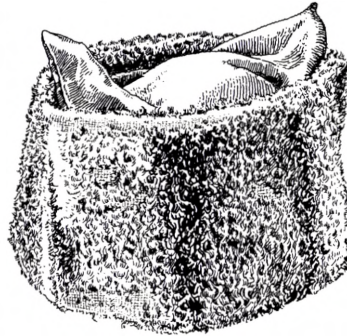


Fig. 21. Circassian cap, K 1157.

⁴⁷ Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins XIV, Leipzig 1891, 192.

⁴⁸ M. VAN BERCHEM & E. FATIO, Voyage en Syrie I, Le Caire 1913, 94.

⁴⁹ HITT, 1957, 671.

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Appendix 1

EXTRACTS FROM WRITTEN SOURCES (PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED)

1. FROM C. NIEBUHR, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* II. Kopenhagen 1778, 439–444.

(439). Die نصيريه Nassairier haben gleichfals eine besondere Religion, die sie vor Fremden verborgen halten. Indess nennen sich ihre Oberhäupter, welche oft Geschäfte bey den Türken haben, auch Sunniten. Ihr vornehmster Aufenthalt ist zwischen dem Berge Libanon und Antiochien. Einer von ihren M'kádém wohnt zu Bahlulie, nicht weit von Ladakia, und dieser ist von den Nassairiern der mächtigste... Alle bezahlen Tribut an den Pascha von Tripolis. Ihre Distrikte sind ziemlich einträglich, weil sie das meiste von dem vortreflichen Toback liefern, der von Ladakia ausgeführt wird. Allein diese Nation ist bey weitem nicht so zahlreich als die Drusen; sie bewohnt auch nicht so hohe Gebürge, und muss daher den Türken mehr unterwürfig seyn. Ein Maronit, der vielen Umgang mit ihnen gehabt hatte, rühmte sie als ehrliche Leute. Sie hatten ihn in einen ihrer Tempeln geführt, und diesen hatte er reinlich und mit Marmor belegt, aber darin sonst nichts merkwürdiges gefunden, *als eine brennende Lampe*. Von ihm hörte ich auch, dass die Nassairier jährlich drey grosse Festtage haben, an welchen sie, nach geendigtem Gottesdienst tanzen. Von der Religion der Nassairier habe ich weder von morgenländischen Christen, noch von Mohammedanern etwas erfahren können. Diese nennen sie Heiden, die Sonne und Sterne anbeten. Lezteres aber hat man vielleicht daraus geschlossen, weil sie der Sochra viele Ehrerbietung erweisen; und das Wort Sochra bedeutet in arabischen nicht nur den Planeten Venus, sondern auch Fatima, die Tochter Mohammeds. Aus dem folgenden wird erhellen, dass sie die Nassairians sind ... und dass sie also zu den Mohammedanern gerechnet werden können.

Der Verfasser des vorhererwähnten Büchleins von der Religion der Drusen, sagt: dass die Nassairier ehemals auch Drusen gewesen sind; dass aber ein gewisser Nassairi sie verführt habe, die Gottheit des Hákems zu läugnen, und an dessen Statt Ali ibn Abi Taleb (Mohammeds Schwiegersohn) als Gott anzubeten. Dieser habe sie ferner gelehrt: dass die Gottheit in den 12 Imams aus dem Hause Ali gewohnt habe, aber mit Mohammed el Möchi (dem letzten dieser Imáms (S. 272)) verschwunden



Fig. 22. Qurfis; a: The grove with the sanctuary and the cemetery, seen from the west; b: The sanctuary, seen from the south-east.

sey, und jezt in der Sonne wohne. Der Druse sagt auch: dass die Nassairier die Seelenwanderung glauben, und zwar, dass die (440) Seele eines Frommen von ihren Glaubensgenossen bey seinem Tode in einen andern Nassairier, und nach einer gewissen Zeit in einem Stern fahre. Wenn aber einer ungehorsam ist, und dem Befehl des Ali nicht gehorcht, so soll seine Seele in einen Juden, Sunniten oder Christen fahren, und sich so oft verwandeln, bis sie gereinigt ist, und endlich in einen Stern erheben könne. Die Seelen der Ungläubigen, welche Ali ibn Abi Taleb nicht anbeten, sollen in Kameele, Maulesel, Esel, Hunde, Schaafte und andere Thiere fahren.

Diese Nachrichten stimmen ziemlich mit denen überein, die ich in einem kleinen Büchlein von der Religion der Nassairier angetroffen habe, welches *Antùn Beitâr* mir gleichfals verschafte. Türkische Gerichtsbediente, die einen Nassairier des Nachts überfielen, und ins Gefängniss schlepten, sollen es in seinem Hause gefunden haben. Es war das Original selbst, aber unvollständig, darzu schlecht geschrieben und mit so vielen dunkeln Redesarten angefüllt, dass der Verfasser selbst an einer Stelle sagt: dass die Nassairier eine Mauer vor dem Lande Gog und Magog gezogen hätten, oder dass sie sich in ihren Büchern dunkler Redesarten bedienten, um ihre Geheimnisse vor den Ungläubigen zu verbergen. Niemand, der nicht ein Nassairier ist, wird es auch verstehen wenn der Verfasser z. B. Gabriel, die Krähe, die Arche, den Ring, die Belkis, den Stab Moses, den Dromedar des Salech, die Kuh der Israeliten u. s. f. verborgene Apostel nennt. Solche Redesarten findet man auf jeder Seite, und es wird nicht erklärt was selbige bedeuten. Indess will ich folgendes daraus bemerken.

Die Nassairier nennen sich Mümem. Sie reden von der Einheit Gottes, nemlich *Ali*, der aus dem Auge der Sonne hervortreten und die Welt richten wird; und von 5



Fig. 23. Qurfis; a: The part of the cemetery south of the sanctuary, seen from the south-west. In the foreground, remains of stone-lined and stone-covered graves, in the background, monumental built tombs; b: Oil-press outside the village seen from the south-east.

Personen in derselben. Dieser heissen: 1) *Maána* (der Verstand) 2) *Ism* (der Name). In diesem ist allezeit die wahre Weisheit, und er wird immer von *Maána* begleitet. 3) *Băb* (das Tor), 4) *Ităm* (die Waisen) und 5) *Hössein*. Von dieser Fünfeinigkeit verstehe ich, der ich in den Geheimnissen dieser Religion nicht unterrichtet bin, gar nichts. Das folgende kann ich eben so wenig begreifen; indess habe ich es mit anführen wollen, da es Hauptlehrsätze der Nassairier sind. Wer nicht Lust hat alles zu lesen, mag es überschlagen.

(441) Gott ist siebenmal in der Welt erschienen. Zum erstenmal war: 1) *Maána*, Abel. 2) *Ism*, Adam. 3) *Băb*, Gabriel. 4) *Ităm*, waren wiederum 5 Personen, als a) Michael (vielleicht der Erzengel) b) Israfil (vielleicht der Engel von dem die Mohammedaner sagen, dass er zum jüngsten Gericht blasen werde) c) Asraël (vielleicht der Engel des Todes) d) Malek (vielleicht der Thürhüter der Hölle bey den Mohammedanern) e) Ridduän (vielleicht der Thürhüter des Himmels). – 5) *Hössein* erschien das erstemal unter dem Namen *Käsch ibn Mefluch*. Die Feinde der Gottheit bey der ersten Menschwerdung waren: 1) *Kabil* (Kain) 2) *Anak* (Cains schwester) 3) *Báhlü* (Cains Wesir) 4) die Schlange. 5) der Pfau.

Zum zweytenmal war: 1) *Maána*, Schid (Seth) 2) *Ism*, Noah. 3) *Băb*, Jael ibn Fatim. 4) *Ităm* waren: a) *Ankil*, b) *Essrakün*, c) *Kinăn*, d) *Essrikakil*, e) *Essrikäu*. – 5) *Hössein* erschien in der Person *Hausch*. Diesmal waren die Feinde der Gottheit: 1) *Ham ibn Noah*. 2) *Schech Hasa*. 3) *Jaück*. 4) *Jafüt*. 5) *Nisser*.

Zum drittenmal war: 1) *Maána*, Joseph. 2) *Ism*, Jacob. 3) *Băb*, Ham ibn Kusch. 4) *Ităm* waren: a) *Jahüd*, b) *Häschur*, c) *Malek*, d) *Mämlek*, e) *Ankil*. – 5) *Hössein* erschien in der Person *Mämbe ibn Mansür*. Die Feinde, die sich diessmal der Gottheit

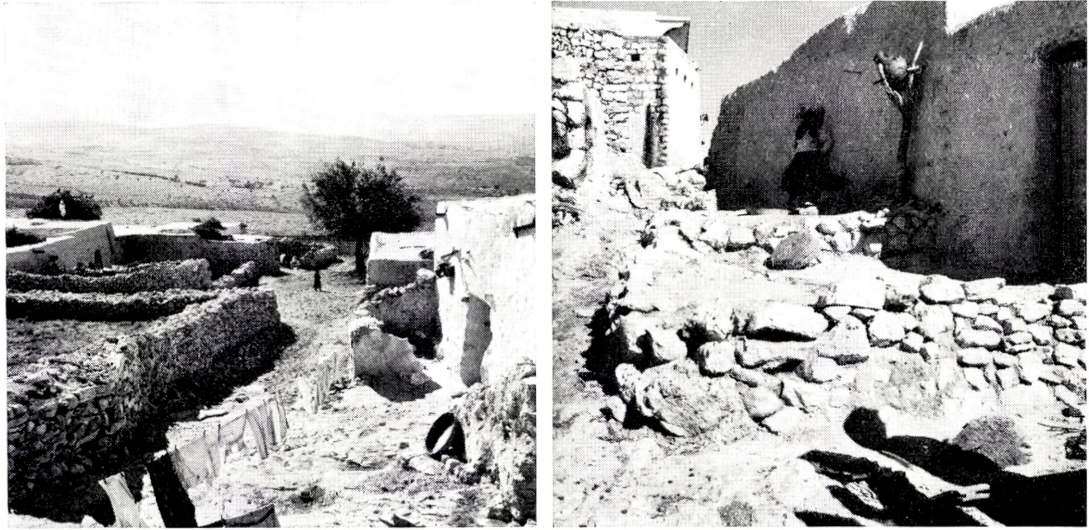


Fig. 24. Qurfis; a: Houses in the highest part of the village, seen from the north. At the wall to the right, a flat basin, *ṭunġara*, used for washing the linen that is hanging out to dry; b: An alley in the highest part of the village, seen from the south. In the central enclosure a handmill of the same type as *pl. X a*. At the house wall to the right, a tree trunk with parts of branches acting as a stand for a three-handled pottery jar, cf. the one-handed water jar, *ibrīq mā*, *pl. VII e* and the three-handled jar for churning, *ħaḏḏā zibda*, *pl. VIII c*. On the ground in front, a flat basin, *ṭunġara*, cf. *fig. 24 a*.

widersetzen waren: 1) Chadsjeldul, 2) Sima, 3) der König von Indien, 4) Habtar und 5) Naatel.

Zum viertenmal war: 1) *Maána*, Josua. 2) *Ism*, Moses. 3) *Băb*, Dan ibn Sabacht. 4) *Ităm*, waren: a) Jahudan. b) Harūk. c) Abdulla. d) Israel. e) Omrăn. – 5) *Hössein* war Rubil ibn Salech. Die gegenseitige Parthey war: 1) Pharao, 2) Hamam, 3) Karүн.

Zum fünftenmal war: 1) *Maána*, Asaff (Wezır des Königs Salomon). 2) *Ism*, Salomon. 3) *Băb*, Abdulla ibn Schamáan. 4) *Ităm*, waren: a) Schaeira, b) Schădláh, c) Harnasch, d) Maskul, e) Assir. – 5) *Hössein* erschien unter dem Namen Jantores Dekne. Diesmal waren die Feinde der Gottheit: 1) Nimrod, 2) Aád, 3) Samūd.

Zum sechstenmal war: 1) *Maána*, Schemmaun (Petrus) 2) *Ism*, Jesus 3) *Băb*, Rizoba ibn Merzaban. 4) *Ităm*: a) Johannes süm essáhab, b) Johannes Delami, c) Paulus, d) Petrus, e) Matthäus. – 5) *Hössein* war Aijüşch ibn Mankidsja. Die Gegenparthey war: 1) Herodes, 2) Jöbs, 3) Taüş.

Zum siebentenmal war: 1) *Maána*, Ali. 2) *Ism*, Mohammed el hämbd (der gelobte) 3) *Băb*, Soleiman ibn Buheire el Chiddre. 4) *Ităm* waren: a) Măkdad ibn el aswad el kendi. b) Abudur Jendab ibn Junăda el ghafari. c) Abdulla ibn Rúha el Nassari. d) Otman ibn Madun Nadsjeschi. e) Kambar ibn Kaden Dusi. – 5) *Hössein* hiess diessmal Hamdăn. Die Gegenparthey der Gottheit war: 1) Abu sämmel. 2) Segdu. 3) Sedsjkük.

(443) (Religion der Nassairier). An einer andern Stelle sagt der Verfasser: ein

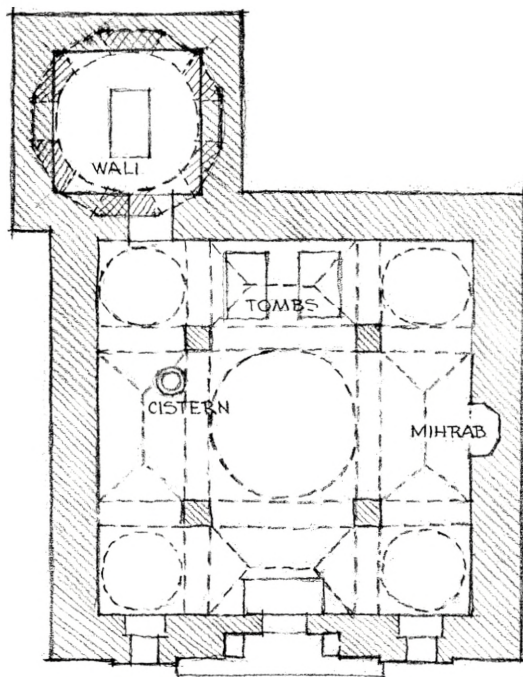
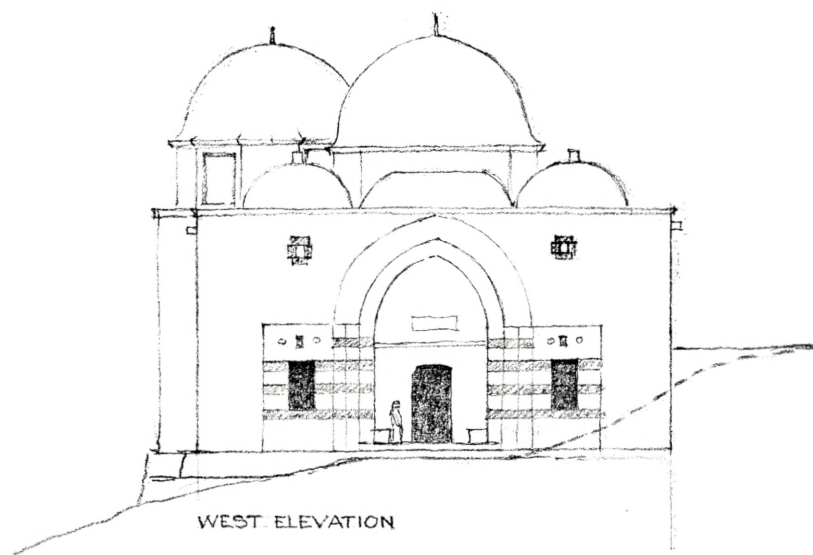


Fig. 25. Qurfis; Mosque and Waliy. Sketch by J. Rohweder.



Fig. 26. Aerial photograph of Tall Darūk seen from the east with the River Sinn in the upper right corner, April 1963. Courtesy of the Syrian Directorate-General of Antiquities.

Nassairier soll glauben, dass Mohammed, Fatir (Fatima), Hassan, Hössein und Möchsen eine Einheit sey, und Ali bedeute.

Ferner muss ein Mümen glauben, dass allezeit 5 Itām (Wäisen) 12 Núkkaba (Häupter von der Familie Mohammeds) 28 Nüdsjaba (auserlesene), Muchtassîn (besondere) Muchlassîn (andächtige), Muntachabîn (auserwählte) gewesen sind. Er muss Gleichfals die 4 Sittār für wahr halten. Nemlich 1) Sitter el Imām, oder die Reihe

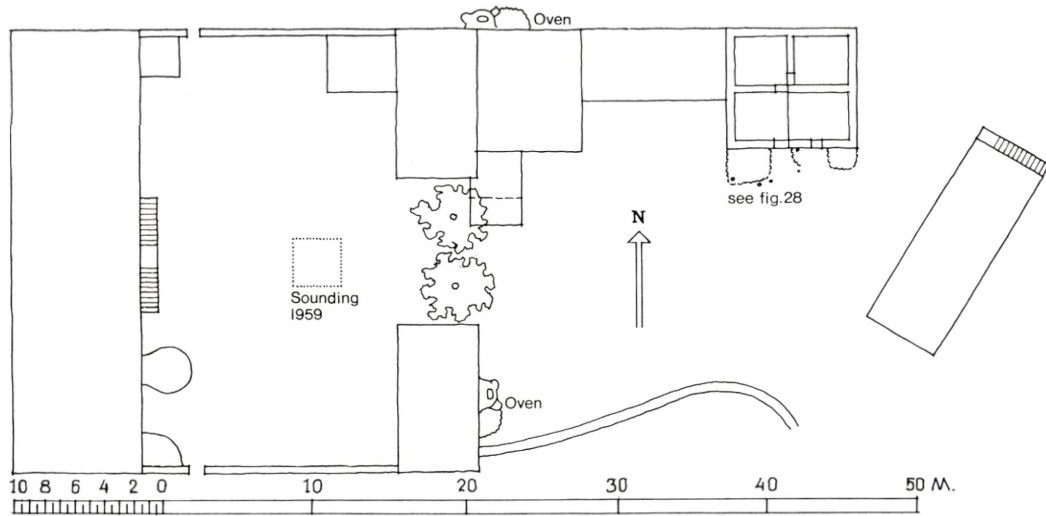


Fig. 27. Tall Darūk; plan of the village. Measured by J. Rohweder.

der Imams von Abel bis Ali. 2) Sitter El imma, d. i. die Altväter von dem ersten Hassan bis den letzten Hassan. 3) Sitter Rassala oder die Reihe der Apostel, als: Eddris, Noah, Hud, u. s. f. 4) Sitter Ribbua, die Reihe der Poeten oder ehrwürdigen Männer Anusch, Ishak, Jacob u. s. f. Adam, Abraham, Moses, Jesus und Mohammed nennt unser Verfasser Propheten; und Jaël, Hamrudan, Abdulla, Salman, Abulchatil, Mohammad, Mufdil und Abu schaiib, Apostel. Einen Ishak nennt er den größten Feind der Nassairier, weil er Seid Abu schaiib habe Tödteten wollen.

Die Seele eines sehr frommen Nassairier kann schon ins Paradies kommen, nachdem sie nur in wenigen Hembden (Körpern) gewesen ist. Aber die Seele eines andern muss 80 Hembde annehmen. Letzteres nennen sie Hölle. Die Seelen der Ungläubigen sollen durch 5 hessliche Stufen (Fesgh, Nesgh, Mesgh, Wesgh und Resgh) passieren; und nachher sollen sie in der Welt als Schafe bleiben, bis Sóchre (Farima) wieder kommen wird. (Wer sollte es glauben, dass Stifter von solchen Religionen, Anhänger finden können).

Auch habe ich in dem erwähnten Büchlein der Nassairier gefunden, dass Maána ihnen verboten habe, Kameele, Hasen und Aal zu essen. Ism habe ihnen keinen Schweinfleisch, Blut und überhaupt Fleisch von Thieren erlaubt, die nicht ordentlich geschlachtet worden sind; und Báb verbiete ihnen den Zellör (einen gewissen schwarzen Fisch aus dem Orontes) und alles was verbrannt worden, zu essen.

Sonst verlangt der Verfasser noch von dem Nassairien: dass sie Fremden nichts von ihrer Religion entdecken; dass sie ihre Brüder lieben; dass sie freygebig seyn; dass sie nicht stehlen; dass sie nicht fluchen und schwören; dass sie die Armuth gedultig ertragen, und dass sie sich auch von ihren Weibern übel sollen begegnen lassen können.

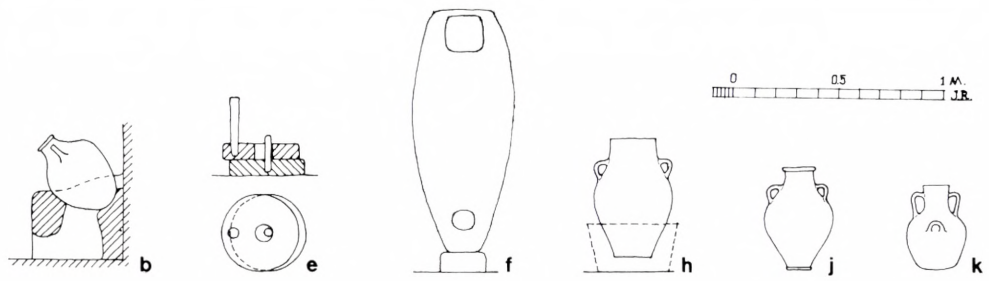
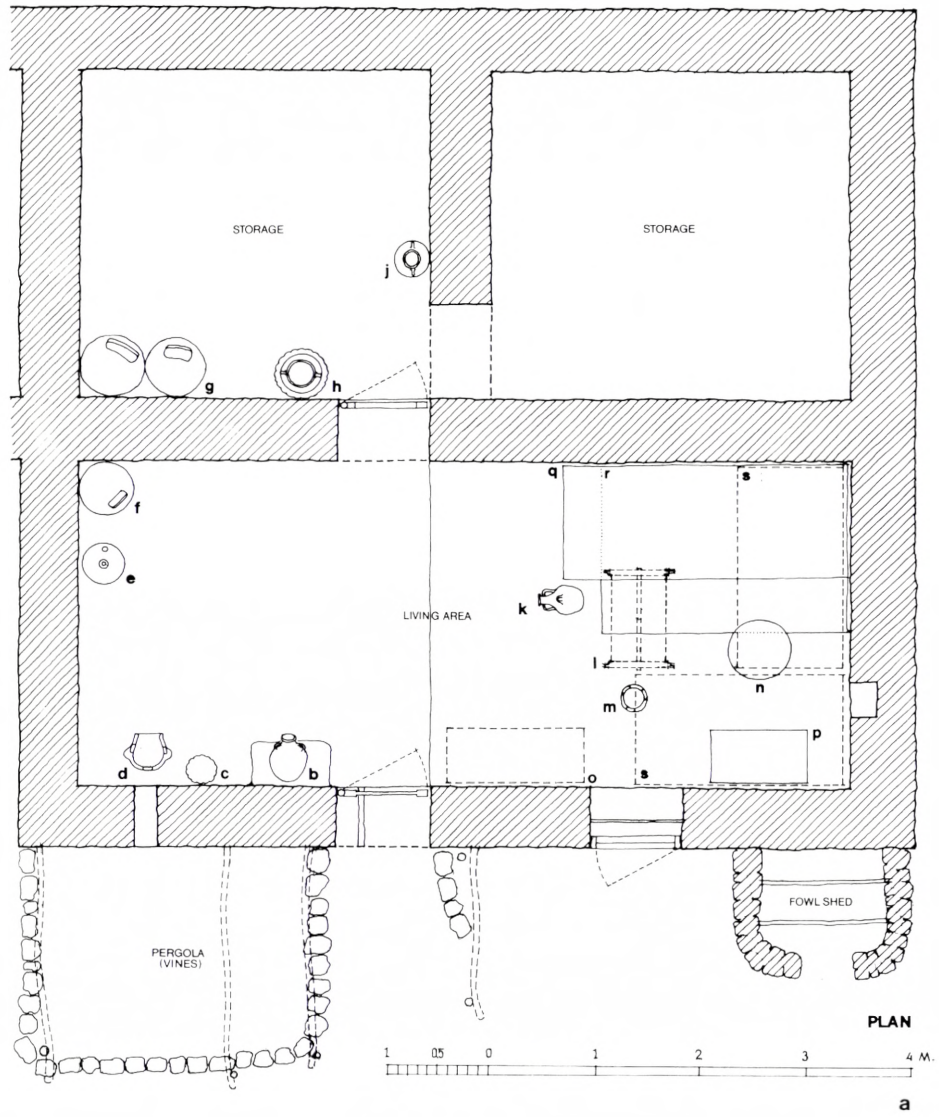


Fig. 28.



Fig. 29. Tall Darük; a: Seen from the south-west. In the foreground a woman gathering cotton stalks for fuel; b: Woman washing, note fireplace used for cooking in the background to the right.

Von der Religion der Ismaeliten habe ich nichts mit Gewissheit gehört, und auch keins von ihren Büchern gesehen...

2. From C. RITTER, *Die Erdkunde*, 2. Ausg., XVII 3, v 2.2. Berlin 1854, 891, 895–896 und 986:

(891) Die hiesigen arabischen Stämme am Nahr el-Mulk (Nahr es-Sin)... beschäftigen sich mit der Falkenjagd auf antike Weise: nur auf kleinere Vögel, wie Wachteln, fällt der Falke, so bald der Jäger in den Busch klopft, und so wie der Vogel auffliegt, ist er auch schon gepackt; in den Klanen seinem Herrn, überbracht, dreht dieser dem kleinen Vogel den Hals um, giebt das Blut dem Fänger, und dieser lässt sogleich seine Beute fahren und fliegt auf den zweiten Fang fort. Es ist dieselbe Lieblingsjagd, welche Abulfeda bei den ägyptischen Khalifen beschreibt, die er auf ihren Wallfahrten nach Mekka begleitete, wo die Falken jedoch auf grössere Thiere abgerichtet waren.

Fig. 28. Tall Darük; a: Plan of the measured house, b: Water jar, *būtiya mā*. H. c. 0.45 m, w. c. 0.35 m, resting in a cradle of stones and clay, whitewashed, cf. fig. 38 a, c: Basket with ashes in which to place a cooking pot, d: Fireplace for cooking, made of clay, cf. the *mūqda*, p. 23, pl. VI g, e: Handmill for grinding flour, *irḥaya faḥūn*. Diam. 0.38 m, h. 0.18 m. Basalt. Cf. p. 25, pl. X a; f, g: Flour container, *ḥābiya faḥūn*, containers for chick-peas, *ḥābiya ḥummuṣ*, and wheat, *ḥābiya ḥinṭa*. H. c. 1.20 m, w. c. 0.50 m. Not made on a wheel, unbaked clay mixed with straw, cf. figs. 39 a, b. In the measured house similar containers were made of wood covered by flattened-out tins; h: Jug for olive oil, *bārš zait*. H. 0.60 m, w. 0.35 m. Placed in basket with ashes, cf. fig. 39 a; j: Jar for olives, *tiḡār zaitūn*. H. 0.50 m, w. 0.35 m. Imported from Ḥama. Red and white slip; k: Jar for churning butter, *ḥaḏḏā zibda*. H. 0.42 m, w. 0.30 m. Used by rocking sideways on the floor, note small handle on shoulder, cf. fig. 36 b; l: Cradle, cf. fig. 40 b; m: Brazier made of clay, not made on a wheel, *kanūn*, cf. p. 26, pl. VI f; n: Tray of coilwork, *ṭabaq*. Placed against wall to the left; o: Cupboard, cf. fig 40 a; p: chest; q: felt mat; r: rush mat; s: bedsteads. Measured by J. Rohweder.



Fig. 30. Tall Darūk; a: Oven for baking bread, *tannūr*. Built against the outer side of the north-wall, cf. figs. 27, 41 d; b: Baking bread in oven, *tannūr*, at the south-eastern wall, cf. fig. 27. When the oven has been fired, the balls of dough are placed on a white cloth on the platform to the left of the oven, and two helpers beat them into flat, circular "pancakes", which are placed one by one on a cushion on the raised, flat stone to the left of the oven.

(895) (on Ġabla) ein liebliches, stilles Hafenbecken voll Barken und Schiffe..., die vorzüglich den trefflichsten Taback, der hier gebaut wird, in weite Fernen verführen. Es ist der feinste, mit dem aromatischen Geschmack,

(896) Abu Reah, d.i. Vater der Essenzen, genannte, der durch die eigenthümliche Durchräucherung seiner Blätter gesteigert wird, und der beliebteste, zumal für den ägyptischen Markt, ist. Dem Ziegendünger und der reichlichen Bewässerung soll er seine vorzügliche Güte verdanken. Seine gut getrocknete Ballen gehen meist nach Ladikieh, von wo sie durch die Kaufleute weiter versendet werden. Bei gutem Wetter schwärmt die Küste von Dschebleh bis Ladikieh von Feluken, die diesen Transport in Menge besorgen.

(986) Ihre Kleidung unterscheidet sie wenig von den Türken; weiss ist ihre heilige Farbe, sagen sie, mit der sie bekleidet sein müssen; ihr Kopf trägt den weissen Turban, oder wird mit einem weissen Tuche um den Tarbusch gewickelt, den sie Alle tragen; ihr weisses Baumwollenhemd mit langen herabhängenden Aermeln ist mit Roth und Schwarz umgürtet, doch bleibt das Hemd auf der Brust offen, weil Zuknöpfen, wie sie sagen, eine Sünde gegen Gott sei, da der Schöpfer zu allen Zeiten das Recht habe, in das Herz zu schauen. Eine syrische Jacke und weite kurze Hosen von Baumwollenzeug vollendet den Anzug. Die Weiber sind ähnlich gekleidet, tragen aber Pantalons und keine Schleier, obwol sie im Hause sich stets zurückgezogen halten, doch die Unterhaltung mit Männern nicht scheuen.



Fig. 31. Tall Darūk; a: Bread baking continued. The slightly moistened cushion is made like a mitten so that it may be handled with one hand. It is used for slapping the “pancakes” on to the rough inside of the oven above the embers, where they stick; b: Using a small broom *mikinsa*, the “pancake” is sprinkled with water from a jar placed on a raised platform to the right of the oven. When baked, the “pancakes” are taken out and put on a tray, *tabaq*, made of coiled basketwork, seen at the right. The oven can hold three “pancakes” at a time.

3. From the *Diary of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia* kept in Danish by its director, P. J. Rns, xxii 1963, 49–50, and xxiii 1963, 1–7 (on the village of *Qurfīs*):

Friday, September 27th, 1963, the following members of the staff—Riis, Buhl, Muqḏād, J. & G. Rohweder, Bayer and Holton—made an excursion to Ġabal Qurfīs*. On the road (i.e. above the source of the Sinn River), now practicable by jeeps and similar vehicles, we met several ascending Alawites, some were accompanied by asses carrying pea-nut plants (fodder), others were pilgrims on their way to the sanctuary of the walīy (saint) on the mountain ridge. Several carried objects wrapped in a cloth or the like, others a couple of hens. It was pointed out that these objects were offerings. In the village Qurfīs, *figs. 22a, b, 23a*, on the mountain top many people had gathered in and at the sanctuary, which, encircled by tombs, lies between the built-up area on the very summit and the eastern and southern part of the village. Towards the north the slope is steep, and here, from the sanctuary and cemetery, there is a magnificent wide view over the Ġabla Plain to distant Mount Casius. Between the tombs there are large old evergreen oaks: also the sanctuary is surrounded by trees. The house on the summit is the residence of the son of the šayḥ (the šayḥ himself is said to live in Beirut). The houses are mainly built of cloven limestone, the outer walls being laid in herring-bone courses without clay or mortar. The roofs are flat. Ovens are sometimes con-

* 319 metres above sea level. Also called Sinn ad-Darb or Rās Balda al-Mulk, *fig. 1*. Qurfīs is the Corveils of the Crusaders, see R. DUSSAUD, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 130 note 4.



Fig. 32. Tall Darūk; a: Western courtyard seen from the north-east. West wing built about 1954; b: Eastern courtyard looking west. The trees are figs. The building to the right was built between 1959 and 1963.

structed outside the houses, and exterior terraces are similarly used for domestic purposes. Each house has its own cistern, *figs. 24 a, b*.

The sanctuary is an almost square building with a nave and two aisles divided by four pillars supporting vaults, and with a prayer niche (*mihrāb*) in the central bay towards the south. In addition the building has a square sepulchral chapel attached to

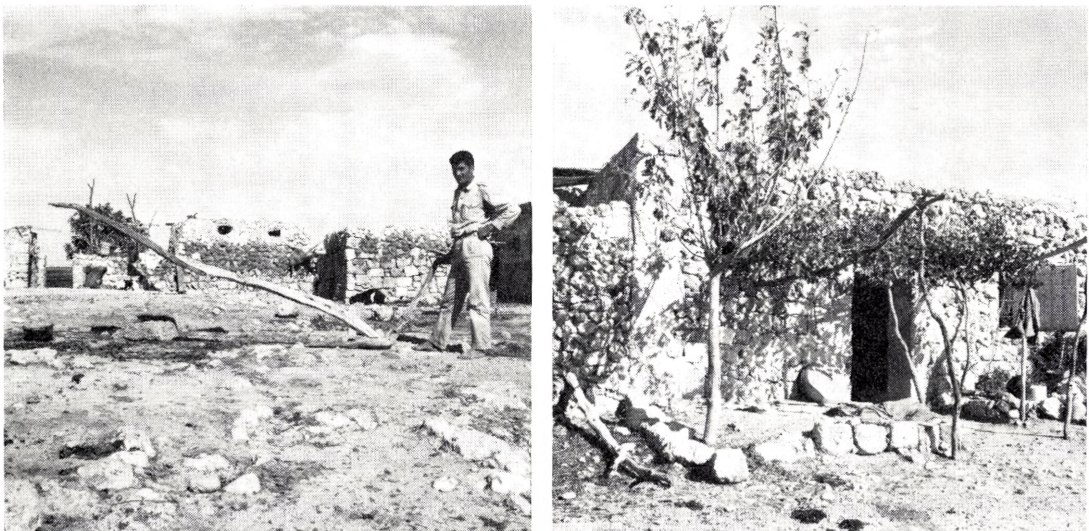


Fig. 33. Tall Darūk; a: Western courtyard looking north. The house with the two windows was built between 1959 and 1963. Note fuel dung-cakes drying on walls. The plough is not the one that was measured; b: The measured house seen from the south-west. Pergola with grapevine. The tree in the foreground is an orange.

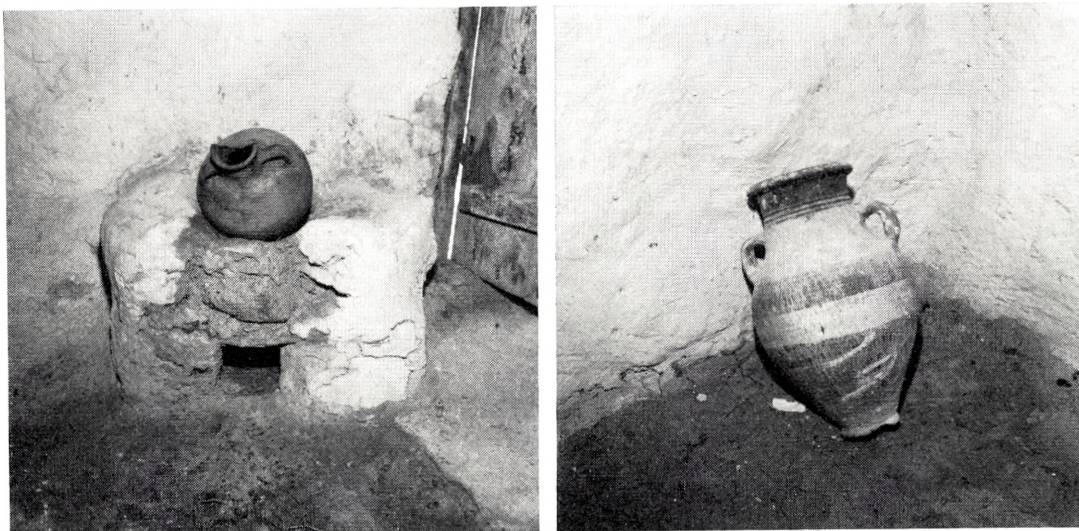


Fig. 38. Tall Darūk; a: Northern house in west wing. Water jar, *būtiya mā*, in main room, cf. fig. 28 b; b: Northern house in west wing. Jar for olives, *tiġār zaitūn*, placed in storeroom, cf. fig. 28 j.

and the domestic utensils were also measured, and most of the photographs were taken, figs. 28 a–s, 29 a–40 b.

In 1958 the *šayḥ* of the village related that the houses had been built four years earlier, i. e. in 1954, and that before that time the site was under the plough. However,

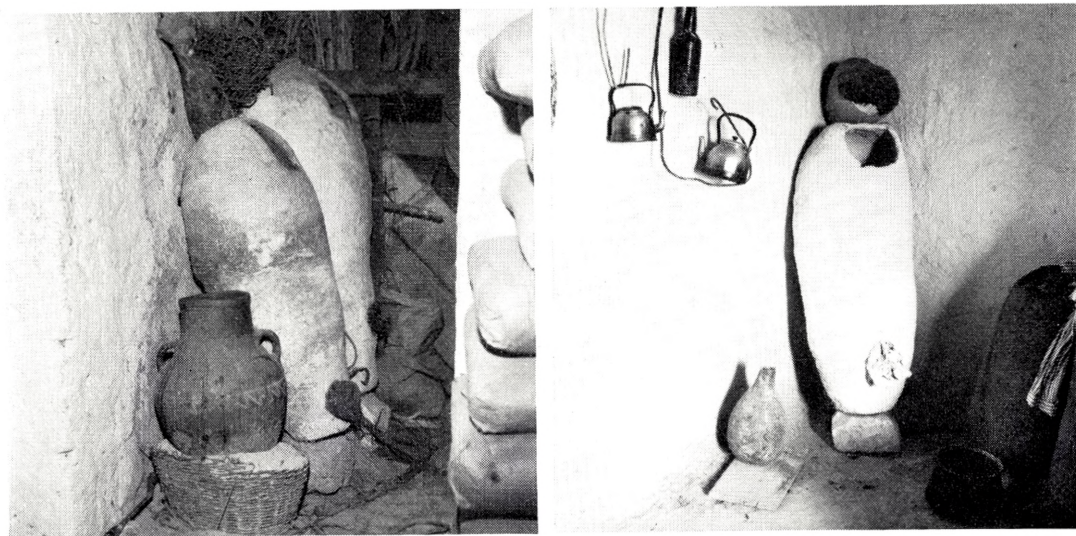


Fig. 39. Tall Darūk; a: Northern house in west wing, store room. In foreground: jug for olive oil, *bārš zait*, cf. fig. 28 h, placed in basket with ashes, behind it two containers with wheat, *ḥābiya ḥinṭa*, and chick-peas, *ḥābiya ḥummuš*, cf. fig. 28 g; b: Northern house in west wing. North-west corner of main room. Container for flour, *ḥābiya ṭāḥūn*, cf. fig. 28 f.

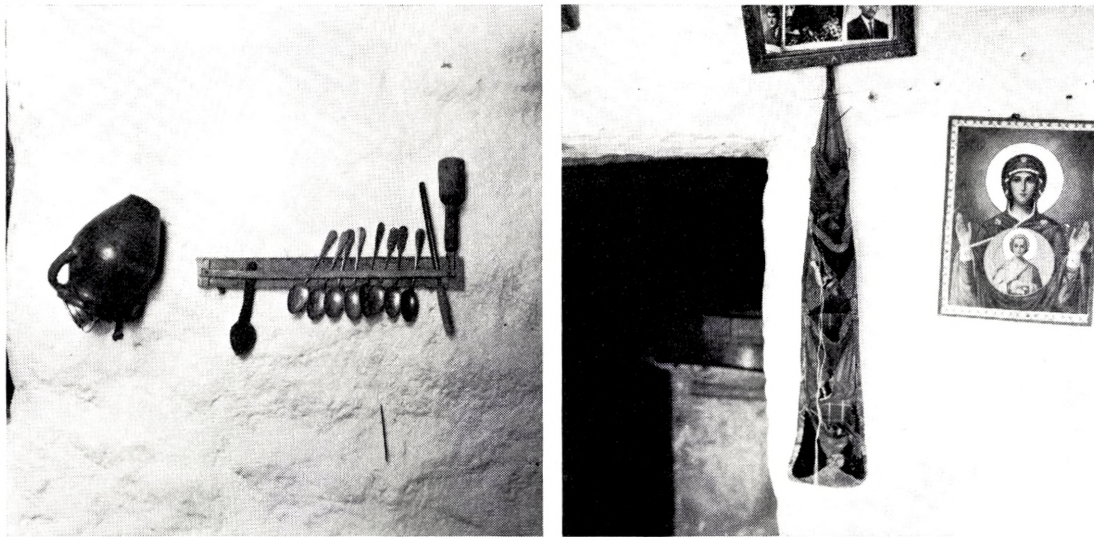


Fig. 37. Tall Darūk; a: Measured house. Rack for household utensils on wall of main room, jug for olive oil, *bārš zait*; b: Measured house, north wall of main room. Suspended strip of cloth with four pockets contains sowing materials. Colour print showing orthodox Panagia with inscriptions (ligatures) in upper left corners: *μηθήρ θεοῦ*. The inhabitants, however, are Alawites.

child was touched with water from the well. Hens, sweets and other objects were sold outside the sanctuary. It is said that sheep are also sacrificed as offerings.

In the cemetery even the recent tombs were of medieval Ayyubid form, like a block with a minor ridge-roof-shaped elevation above and a niche on the south side. In some cases the niche contained a primitive, round stone lamp and an incense-burner of stone. On one tomb, which had a double elevation above, a cup-shaped incense-burner stood at the eastern end between the two elevations. Occasionally the tomb had no superstructure. Most of the people present were pilgrims from the villages of the Ğabla Plain and the Alawite quarter of Ğabla. The local population and the visitors were all very kind and open. No woman concealed her face with her headcloth and all entered easily into conversation. There was nothing to prevent Sunnites, and even members of the Expedition, from entering the sanctuary, but only the males were allowed to go into the sepulchral chapel.

4. *Notes on the village of Tall Darūk* by J. ROHWEDER, Architect of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia, in charge of the excavation at Tall Daruk 1959.

Tall Darūk, *figs. 1, 26*, is situated on the coastal plain on the southern bank of the River Sinn, i.e. two km upstream from the mouth of the river at 'Arab al Mūlk, about halfway between the sea and the mountain range Ğabal al-'Alawiyyīn, about nine km north of Banyās and ten km south of Ğabla. The survey of the village, *fig. 27*, was made during the archaeological excavation in October 1959, and it was supplemented by the measuring of a house in October 1963, on which occasion the furniture

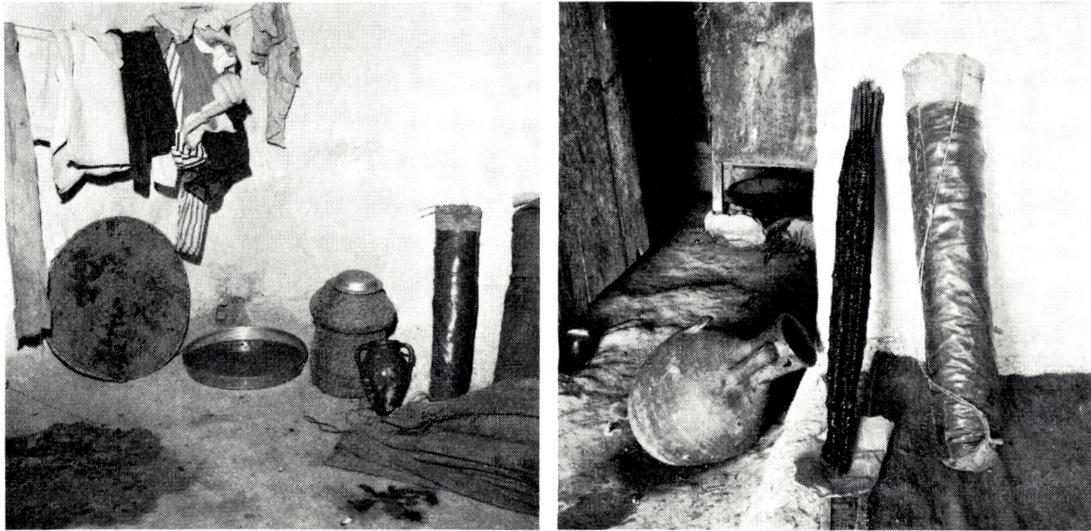


Fig. 36. Tall Darūk; a: Measured house, north-west corner of main room. From left: tray, *ṭabaq*, cf. pl. V a, for serving meals, made of coiled basketwork, tin-plated tray, basket with lid in coiled basketwork, jar for olive oil, *bārš zait*, quiver, *āndil*, for lime-twigs, *ḥilf* or *ḥilf dibbiq*; b: Measured house, door from main room to storeroom. In the doorway, jar for churning butter, *ḥaḏḏa zibda*, cf. fig. 28 k. Edge of raised floor of “dwelling”-room. Carpet with underlying mat of plaited rush. Lime-twigs, *ḥilf* or *ḥilf dibbiq*, and quiver, *āndil*, for the latter.

the floor. They are orientated east-west and situated in the eastern bay of the nave. In the central bay of the northern aisle there is the mouth of a well or cistern, in the east wall a niche with a closed cabinet, and south of the latter a large closed case, cupboard or wardrobe. On the wall between this cabinet niche and the entrance to the sepulchral chapel is a framed Arabic print with some lines bolder than others. The boldest one read: “Ana al-ḥaqq” (I am the truth)**. Between the print and the niche, a *ṭabliya* of multi-coloured straw stood on the floor, leaning against the wall. Originally, the *miḥrāb* had had columns, and there was a bracket on either side of it. Some folded clothes or fabric lay in and near the prayer niche. Both men and women went into the sanctuary as a matter of course, and without removing their footwear. Only those who entered the chapel took off their shoes. Women were allowed to go as far as just inside the door of the chapel, but the men went right through and touched the tomb of the saint, a large rectangular shrine covered by a red cloth. Two banners were leaning against the north wall, the easternmost one being green and white. Offerings were placed on the shrine: small baskets, ribbons, pieces of cloth and open books. A man with a *ṭarbūš* on his head, and a white cloth covering both the *ṭarbūš* and his nape, received offerings, also money. He was said to be the local “Imām”. A woman was handed a piece of cloth that had been lying on the shrine. She pressed it against her forehead, mouth and bosom and then returned it. In the same way a

** According to Professor JOHANNES PEDERSEN, this is a common sentence in Sufism, the Islamic mysticism.



Fig. 34. Tall Darūk; a: Eastern courtyard looking north-west. Washing place, *cf. fig. 29 b*; b: Ploughing with oxen on field east of Tall Darūk. For a plough, *cf. fig. 41 a-c*.

the northern bay of the east side, *fig. 25*. The chapel contains the tomb of the saint, *šayḥ Aḥmād Qurfīs*.

The building seems to have had its origins in the Ayyubid period, but was apparently restored or rebuilt several times, at least during the Ottoman occupation. In the principal room of the sanctuary there are two tombs marked by simple elevations of

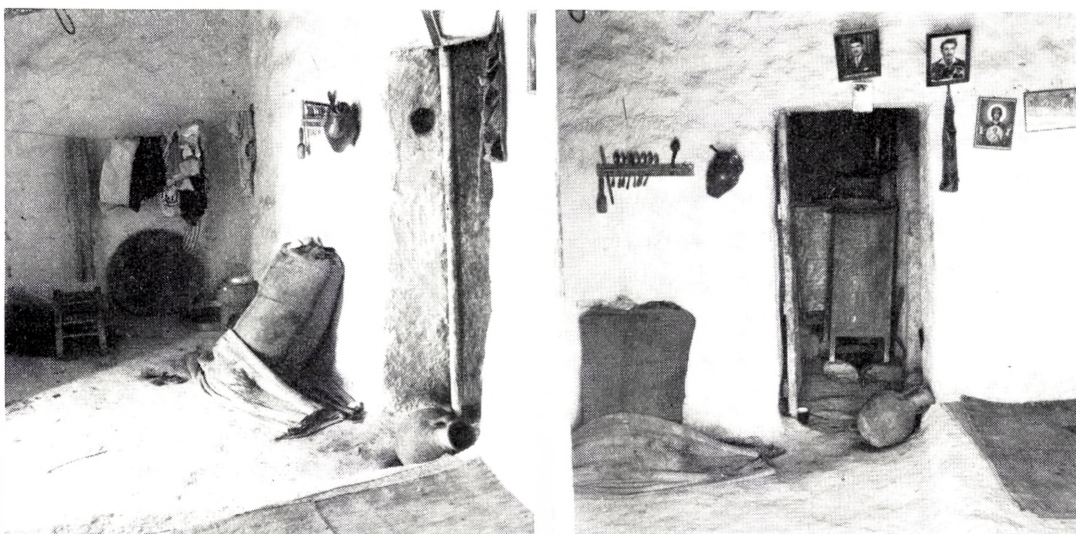


Fig. 35. Tall Darūk; a: Measured house, north-west corner of main room. On the right, door to storeroom; b: Measured house with main room opening into storeroom. Note raised floor of "dwelling"-room on the right. In the storeroom, container for flour, *ḥābiya šāḥūn*, etc., made of wood and tin-plated, standing on legs.

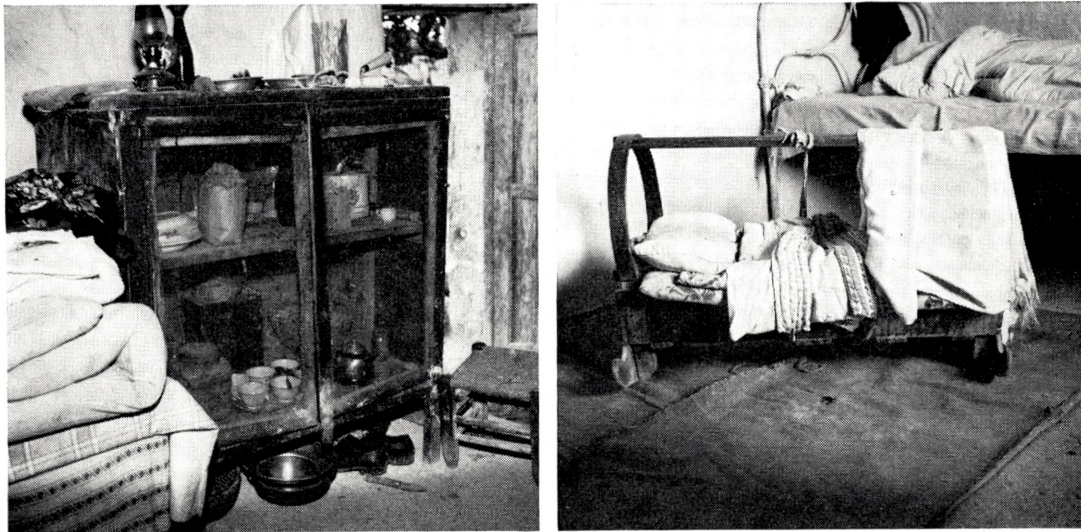


Fig. 40. Tall Darūk; a: Measured house. Cupboard in main room used for tableware, etc., not measured, cf. fig. 28 o; b: Measured house. Cradle, *zanzūqa*, in mainroom, cf. fig. 28 l, made for hanging from a hook in the ceiling, but also provided with rockers, not measured, see p. 83.

his statement can only apply to the westernmost wing and the outhouses appertaining to it, seen in the background on fig. 26, because Tall Darūk is shown with buildings and the designation “hameau” on the French map “État des Alouites, Rivière du Nahr Sène”, 1:20.000, made under the supervision of C. Duraffourd probably about the year 1930. This “hameau” must be the easternmost part of the northern wing comprising the measured house, which is the one farthest to the east. The obliquely placed house, foremost on figs. 26, 27 was built between 1959 and 1963.

The measured house, figs. 27, 28a, is constructed of undressed limestones in chalk mortar. The roof is of reinforced concrete and nearly horizontal without a parapet. The inside walls and ceiling are whitewashed. The inside height is 3.15 m at the door. There are earthen floors (*pisé* floors). In the main room the floor of the eastern part is raised about 0.18 m above the floor level just inside the door. The threshold is a little lower than the floor inside and has a groove for rainwater. The 1.80 m high doors are of wood in a frame-construction moving on pivots. The window is a shutter without glass hung in a frame. The window opening is 1.00 m high by 0.85 m broad, the sill is 0.9 m above the floor, and there are three horizontal iron bars.

The main room is divided into two by the step in the floor mentioned above. The western part is used for domestic work, cf. Weulersse 1946, 234–235 fig. 44. Cooking may be done in this part, but is generally carried out on primitive fireplaces out of doors, fig. 29b. Primus stoves are now widely used indoors. The eastern part of the room functions as a “living”- and sleeping-room. Here the bedding and articles of clothing are stored in chests, and the floor is partly covered by a felt mat laid on a plaited rush mat used as a sleeping-place.

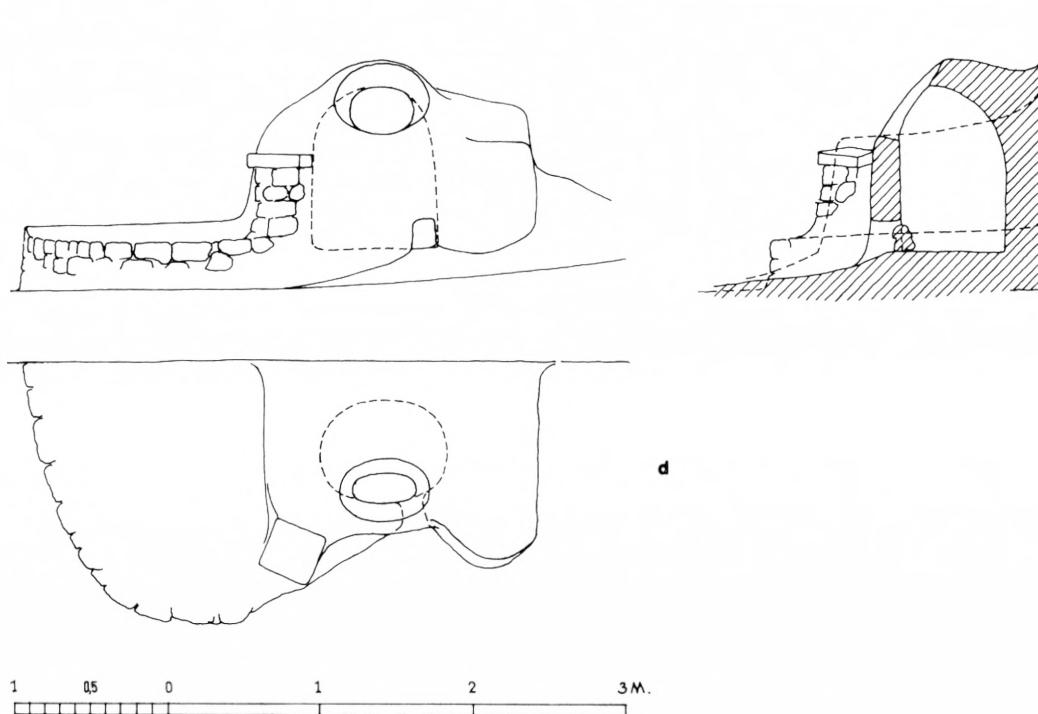
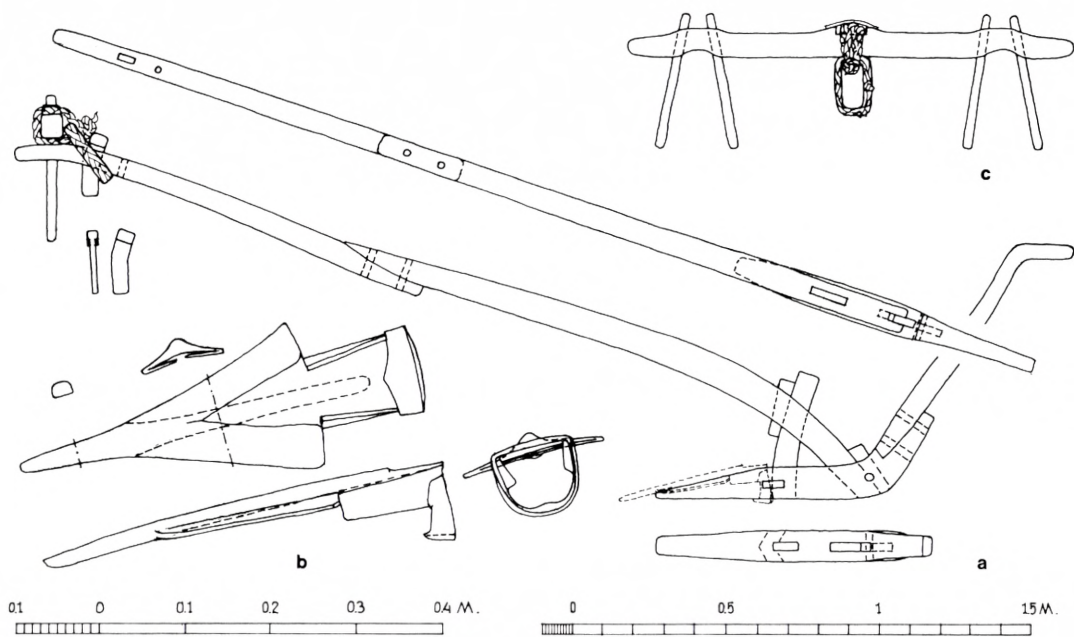


Fig. 41.

The two rooms on the north side house the store of crops in sacks. In addition, the room to the left is used for storing grain, oil, and olives, etc., for domestic use.

The household utensils shown on the plan⁴ are placed in their proper positions as indicated by the inhabitants of the measured house and of the northernmost house in the western wing where the items, *fig. 28 b, f, g, h, j*, were located and the photographs, *figs. 38 a, 39 b, 39 a, 38 b*, were taken. The latter house belonged to the šayḥ of the village and contained the only old-fashioned utensils. In the measured house the modern beds, cupboard with tableware, etc., *figs. 28 o, 40 a*, and cradle, *figs. 28 l, 40 b*, were not measured. Their positions are indicated on the plan with hatched lines. The cradle, it was explained, might be used hanging from an iron hook in the ceiling, with the child strapped down, or resting on its rockers on the floor.

5. *Notes on objects seen at Al-Laḏiqīya and Ġabla* by P. J. RUS, Director of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia.

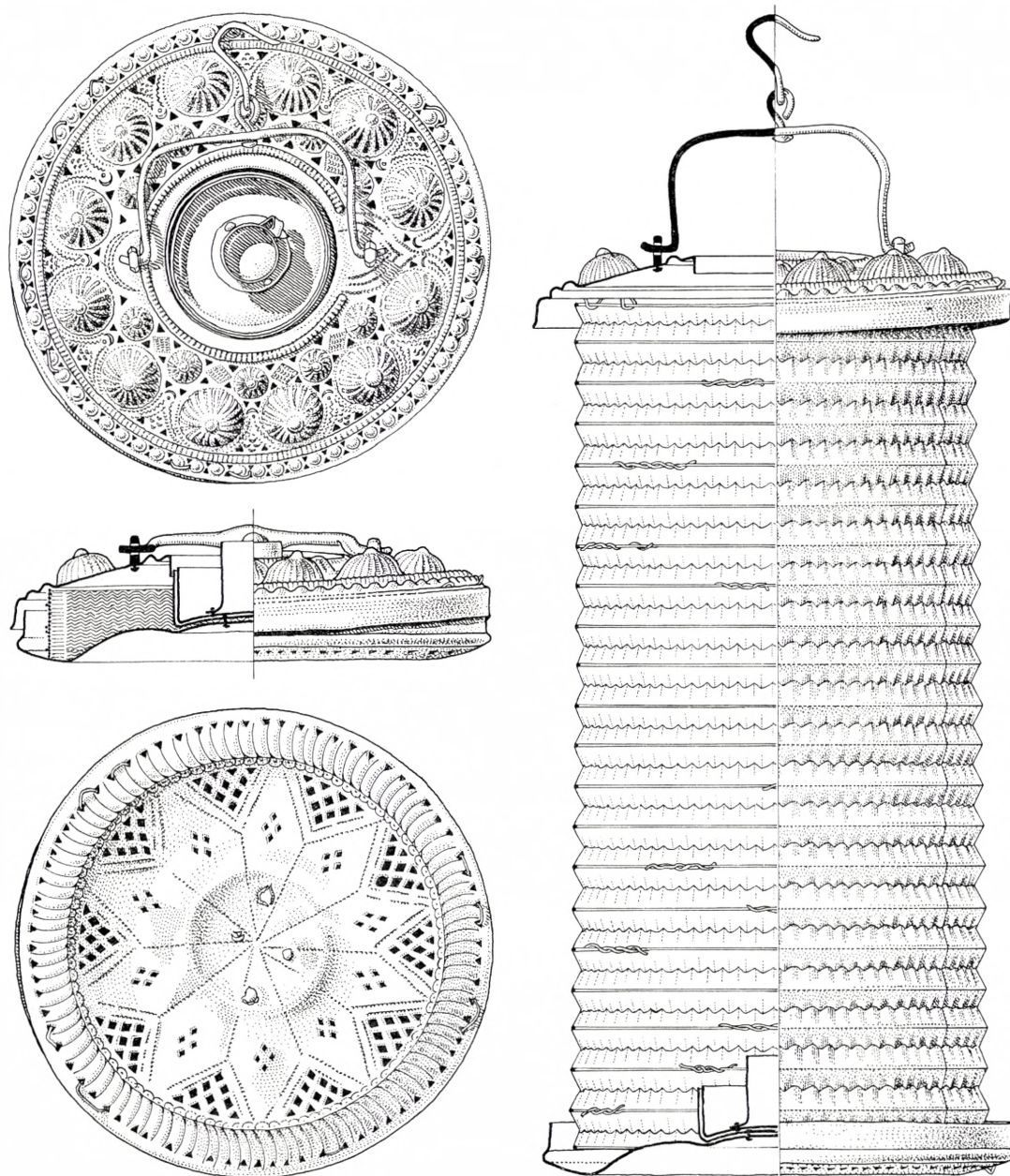
In the office of a merchant trading with Alawite tobacco growers:

Fig. 42: Cylindrical folding lantern, *fānūs*. The folded cylinder consists of a specially preserved linen cloth stretched over a series of rings of very thin iron wire and sown together, fastened to the top and the bottom by means of somewhat thicker brass wire. Both top and bottom are made of gilded copper with ornaments in repoussé, punched and open work; only the latter two techniques are used on the bottom. The upper surface of the bottom has, at the centre a small, low cylindrical copper bowl fixed to it by means of rivets. This bowl functions as a holder for a candlestick, likewise of copper, consisting of a similar bowl with a central cylinder for the candle, a little handle is attached to this cylinder. The top has a movable bucket-handle with a revolving eye-bolt holding the eye of a suspension hook. Height when hanging, 0.480 m. Diameter, 0.205 m. This type of lantern is also known elsewhere in the Near East, cf. E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1895, 165.

At goldsmiths' frequented by Alawites:

Fig. 43 a: Bracelet, *ḥab bizra*, of gold, consisting of six chains between two transversal bars that fit together as a lock.

Fig. 41 a: Plough, *šummud al-flāḥa*, measured at Tall Darūk, cf. WEULERSSE 1946, 145–146 fig. 27, pl. 4.2. Made entirely of hard wood (olive?). The joints in the beam and between the plough tail and the sole have, in some cases, been observed to be covered with lashings. Ploughshare, in position indicated by hatched line. The leather hoop of the yoke is attached by a peg to the beam; *b*: Ploughshare, *šillif*, made of wrought iron, cf. p. 18, pl. 1 f. Does not belong to the measured plough; *c*: Yoke for pair of oxen, cf. *fig. 34 b*. The yoke is attached to the bar of the plough by a hoop of plaited leather connected to the yoke by a plaited-leather strap ending in a knot and passing three times around the yoke, kept in place by a piece of rubber tyre nailed over it. The yoke is kept in place by a rope tied beneath the neck of the oxen. No rein is used – the oxen are guided by use of a stick. The yoke does not belong to the plough *fig. 41 a*, but was measured at 'Arab al Mülk. – *Fig. 41 d*. Oven for baking bread built against the north wall at Tall Darūk. Plan, front elevation and section. Cf. further *fig. 30 a*. The oven is built of clay and stones and whitewashed. The inside of the oven, the cupola, on which the "pancakes" are placed, is roughened by adding small pottery sherds to the last layer of "plaster". The oven is fired by wood, stalks of cotton and corn, and cakes of cow dung mixed with straw and dried on the walls. During baking the bottom of the oven is covered in glowing ashes. The draught is regulated by a stone in a hole at the bottom. Measured by J. Rohweder.



0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20cm
SCALE 1:3

Fig. 42. Cylindrical folding lantern, *fānūs*. Measured by Poul T. Christensen.

The chains are composed of small, plain rings and small elements in the shape of flat, six-pointed stars with their backs formed as a tabloid and surrounded by four loops of twisted wire. Two transversal series of plain, small rings keep the chains together. One bar is plain and provided with two distal, transversally-grooved tubes, in each of which there is a movable double pin with a transversally grooved head. The other bar has an ornamental part in filigree work soldered onto the plain part, which is provided with one medial, transversally-grooved tube; the aforementioned pins fit into the latter, thus working as a locking mechanism. There are two stamps on the back of the plain bar with the pins: one shows the Arabic figures 21, the other some partly illegible Arabic letters, probably 'iyār, i. e. carat (certain are the 'ain and the alif). Full length, 0.180 m.

Fig. 43b: Ear ornament, *ḥalqa*, of gold, consisting of a hook and an eight-petalled rosette having a flat six-pointed star in the centre, and three pendants.

The central pendant is a Turkish coin (a half-pound struck in Constantinople in 1327 H, i. e. A. D. 1909/10) suspended by means of two short chains, each made of plain, small rings and two six-pointed stars, and with seven small balls attached to the lower edge of the coin by means of small rings. The two flanking pendants consist of a six-pointed star and a ball attached to a thin wire. Length, 0.064 m.

Fig. 43c: Ring bracelet, *saḥaba*, of gold-wire decorated with fine transversal "incisions" on the inner and outer sides (the wire originally twisted?) and with two and three broad incisions alternating on the outer side.

Diameter, 0.064 m. Several rings of this type are usually worn together.

Fig. 43d: Ornament of gold, cf. p. 36, 54, *pl. XXIa*, to be worn on the forehead as a *kirdānī* hooked and pinned to the head cloth, or, with the ends connected, as a necklace, 'iqd.

The ornament itself consists of chains arranged in six sections separated by transversal bars or spacers, the three middle ones in filigree work with a solid frame, the outer ones plain and solid. There are four chains in each of the central compartments and three in each of the two compartments flanking them; all these chains are composed of small, plain rings and small elements in the shape of flat six-pointed stars with their backs formed as a tabloid and surrounded by four loops of twisted wire. Each of the ends of the ornament is a plain Y-shaped chain, the right one provided with a hook and a small ring for closing the hook, the left one with three similar rings for fastening the hooks at different places. On the back of the left, plain spacer there is a stamp with the Arabic figures 21, i. e. twenty-one carat. A large heart- or leaf-shaped pendant, *nāḫūr*, i. e. guardian, is suspended from the central spacer; it is decorated in openwork with incisions on the front and surrounded by a filigree frame. The decoration comprises an inscription in Arabic letters over a leaf ornament: *mā šā 'a Allāh*, i. e. "what God willeth". There are three stamps in the back of the pendant: the Arabic figure 18, i. e. eighteen carat, an anchor and a stylized human figure. On either side of the pendant there is a series of smaller pendants made in repoussé technique and rendering the so-called "hand of Fāṭima" (Muhammad's daughter and

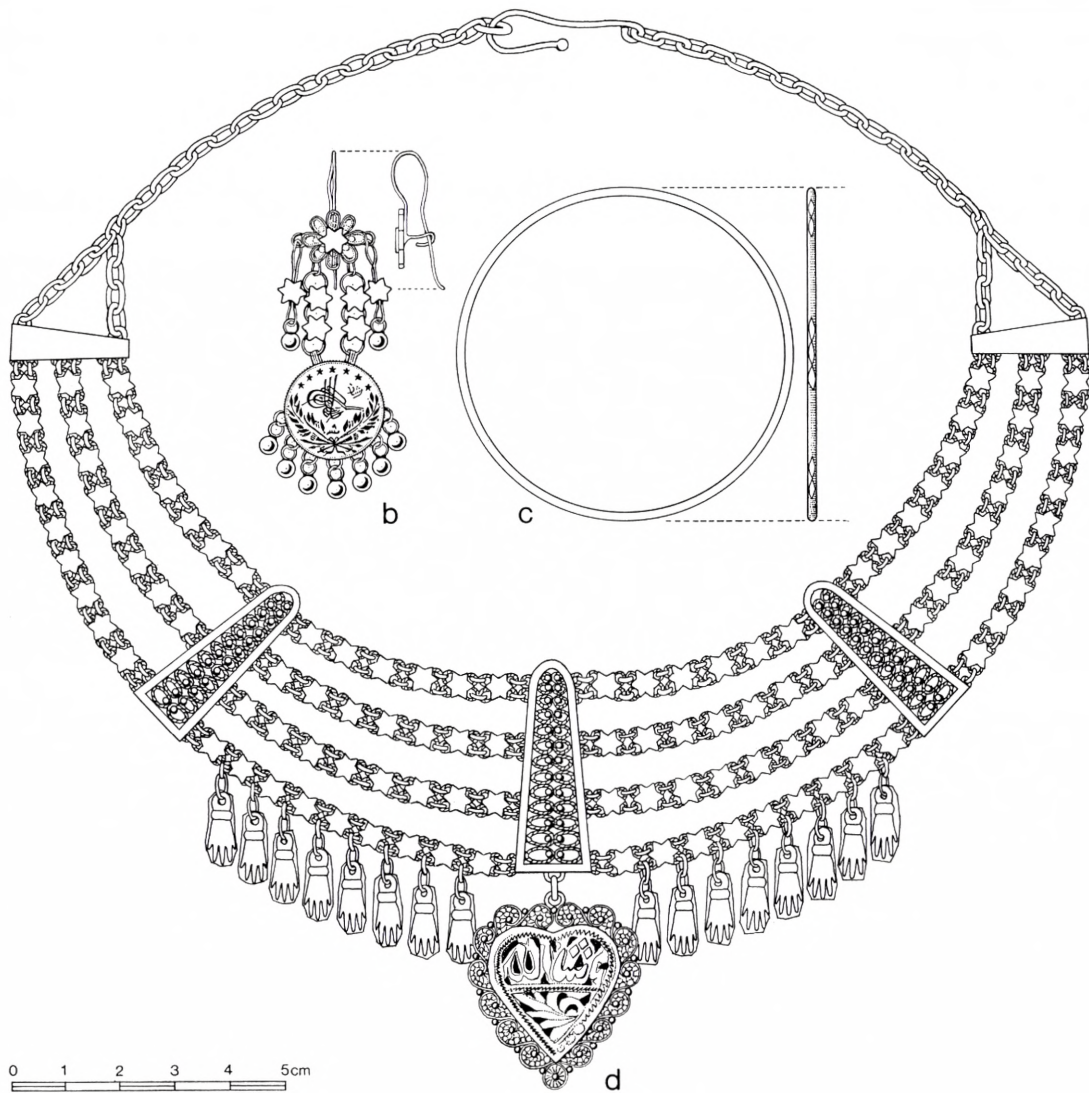
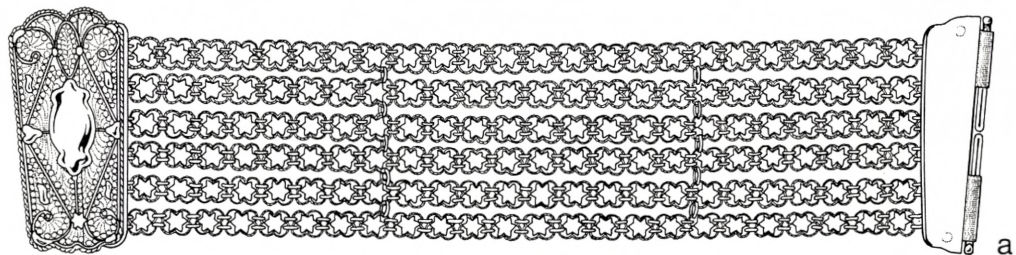


Fig. 43.

‘Alī’s wife). The fingers symbolize Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥassan and Ḥussain (‘Alī’s and Fāṭima’s sons). The hand amulet has a long history, reaching back to Antiquity, cf. H. Møller, *Syriske Amuletter*, Odense 1942, 44–47. Full length of the ornament, 0.435 m.

6. On the town of Ğabla from the manuscript of a lecture in Danish on “*The Alawites and their Clothing*”, given on May 2nd, 1961, by P. J. Riis in the Ethnographical Society of Copenhagen:

In 1832, under the revolt of the Egyptian viceroy Muḥammad ‘Alī against the Turkish Sultan, Muḥammad ‘Alī’s son Ibrāhīm Pacha invaded Syria, and in the following years there were sanguinary fights both between the Egyptians and the Alawites, and between the latter themselves. The Ğabla region was unusually badly ravaged and depopulated, and even as late as in 1870 and 1877 the Turks had to resort to drastic military action to maintain order in the country. Again in 1918 after the Turkish defeat war broke out between the Alawites and the Sunnite Arabs on the coast. Once more the Alawites wished to regain control of Ğabla, and possibly their claim on this town is mirrored by an animal fable which explains why the jackals (*al-wāwiyāt*, as they are onomatopoeically called in Arabic), when they descend from the mountains in the autumn, sneak in under the walls of the town and howl: “Originally the jackals lived in Ğabla; but then the dogs came and said: ‘We have among us a sick bitch who needs care; may we leave her with you?’ The jackals gave her a good reception, but in the night she let the dogs into the town, and they ousted the jackals, who now every evening come to Ğabla to ask for their town”.

7. *Note on cries and other sounds used to direct domestic animals* in Syria (both the Interior and the Coastal Region), recorded in Ğabla, December 1959, by P. J. Riis with the assistance of MUHAMMAD SAQQA, foreman of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia.

Sheep (fat-tailed sheep: ġannam).

‘īya = go.

ḍa^c = come.

diriq = drink.

‘aw = run (when in danger).

‘ai ‘ū-ū-ū-ū (vibrated) = wake up.

‘arri (to sheep and goats together) = go to your own group (sheep and goats apart).

Fig. 43 a. Bracelet, *ḥab bizra*, of gold, consisting of six chains between two transversal bars that fit together as a lock; b: Ear ornament, *ḥalqa*, of gold, consisting of a hook and an eight-petalled rosette having a flat six-pointed star in the centre, and three pendants; c: Ring bracelet, *saḥaba*, of gold-wire decorated with fine transversal “incisions” on the inner and outer sides (the wire originally twisted?) and with two and three broad incisions alternating on the outer side; d: Ornament of gold, cf. p. 36, 54, pl. XXI a, to be worn on the forehead as a *kirdānī* hooked and pinned to the head cloth, or, with the ends connected, as a necklace, ‘iqd.

Measured by Poul T. Christensen.

Goat (ma 'iz).

ḡ'ā = run.

'awū = come.

'arri = as above.

Ass (ḡaḥaš).

ḥiṣ = stop.

tšū = go.

Horse (ḥail).

ḥuṣṣ = stop.

ḍi = go.

Camel (ḡamal).

ḥā' = drink.

otherwise as to goat.

Appendix 2

TAPE-RECORDED MUSIC AND SPEECH

1. *List of tape-recordings made at Ġabla* in November 1960 for the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia, by S. SØNDERGAARD, Member of the Expedition and now Lecturer in Semitic Philology at the University of Copenhagen.

1. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad, 22 years old, born and grown up in Ġabla, plays on a rabāba, which he has himself constructed, accompanied by improvised song.
2. The same continued.
3. Ḥalīl ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī Kurdī, 12–13 years old, from Ḥaurān, living in tent near Ġabla, sings a Bedouin song learnt from the radio.
Muḥammad al-Baḥr, 36 years old, fisherman, born and grown up in Ġabla, plays the nāī (‘aṣba).
4. al-Baḥr continued.
5. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Šuḥaida, about 45 years old, born at Marqab (moved to Djebble when he was about 20 years old), and his son Fu’ād, 20 years old. They sing accompanied by Muḥammad al-Baḥr playing the nāī.
6. Fu’ād Šuḥaida sings.
Yūsuf Aḥmad ‘Alī Kurdī, 16 years old, cousin (?) of Ḥalīl (see no. 3) plays the rabāba and sings, later accompanied by Ḥalīl beating the darbakka.
7. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Šuḥaida explains how to catch quails (nufūġ) with the qanāša. Later, ‘Adnān Marrūn, 18 years old, Muḥammad Marrūn, 39 years old, and Aḥmad Faraġ, 30 years old, all from Ġabla, take part in a conversation.
8. Ḥasan Ḥafyān, 76 years old, from Ġabla, tells of his adventures during the First World War.
9. Ḥasan Ḥafyān continues.
10. Muḥammad Marrūn (see no. 7) talks about his journey to Egypt in 1947.
11. Muḥ. Marrūn continues.
12. Dirwiš Šāliḥ Ḥafyān, about 50 years old, from Ġabla, tells about Ramaḍān. The same and Muḥ. Marrūn talk about preparations for a wedding.
13. Muḥammad Dīb Qāḍūn, about 50 years old, from Ġabla, relates the adventures of his youth in Beirut.

14. Muḥammad ‘Abbūd, about 60 years old, muḥtār at Siānū, tells of the revolt against the French in the 1920’s.
15. Muḥammad Mir‘ī Sārūt, about 60 years old, muḥtār al-‘arab at ‘Arab al-Mulk, talks about the Circassians.
16. Muḥ. Mir‘ī Sārūt continues.
‘Alī Šāfi ‘Amrān from Bsisīn, about 50 years old, talks about agriculture.
17. ‘Alī Šāfi ‘Amrān continues.
18. Muḥ. Dīb Qāḍūn and Aḥmad Farağ present scenes from the shadow play Qarakūz, cf. above, p. 57, *pl. XXXIXd*.
19. Ibrāhīm ‘Alī Muḥammad ‘Ālūš, from Baḥdarmo at-Taḥta, and Aḥmad Ḥammūd, from al-Burğān, talk about personal adventures.
20. The same continue.
21. Muḥ. Dīb Qāḍūn and Aḥmad Farağ present scenes from Qarakūz.

Each tape runs for about 9 minutes. Tape-recordings Nos. 1–7 are kept in the Ethnographical Department of the Danish National Museum, Nos. 8–21 in the Institute of Semitic Philology, University of Copenhagen.

2. Transliteration of the speech on tape-recording No. 15 showing the peculiarities of the dialect (contrast p. 5).

Šu ismak? Mḥammad Mar‘ī Sārūt

šu mhimmtak fi ḍ-ḍe‘a? mhimmti məḥtār ... məḥtār ‘arab l-məlk el-bedw

hade s-senet elli ġet l-mhāğrin et-tjerākez ‘al-bilād hādi ma kanet ‘ala dōri ‘ala dōr abuye iğet ḥukunt-t-turkiye qasmet ‘arab l-məlk bin-nuṣṣ bēnne ubēn et-tjerākez et-tjerākez eğu ‘alal-belād hādi šār el-‘arab eḍ‘āf elli byuq‘ud ‘ando mrābi‘ aw rā‘i biḥallu mā byuq‘ud byimsku qatlu ‘alē ... kirbāğ ra’san qatal rāḥat l-iḥkāye kāro ḥawālay es-safar barlak ba’d es-safar ana bḥidd ‘alēhe ḍarabhom huw ašfar et-tjerkez maḍall minhum belmiyye tnēn ma ḍall mātu kullhum ... ašfar el-laṭif wela ḥallafu šē wela ‘ašet la ḥallafu wala šē abadan ‘ala kull tjerkez hal-blād ma fi ġēr šalāḥ w ‘abdallah melaḥ et-tjerkez aq‘aduhum šāṭi ‘ala l-baḥr ... fi qisme b-sūkās wqism ‘anna hōn kull ma tum‘ud honēk sūkās ḍall fiha tnēn abu l‘ali šāliḥ šēḥ šāliḥ safar wibrāhīm šidid wkalāmāt tlāte ... ba’dēn eğu lahōne bsafar barlak awwel sene tāni sene eğāna wāḥid tjerkezi maḥad tjerkezziyye mušarrif ‘ala ġeble dāyman fi mšākil iğl l‘arab qawiyet...

tjerkez mawğūdīn hōne w‘ammarna fi š-šlayyib ġibāl tjerkez weflaḥna l-arḍ iğbārī eğe mšarrif maḥed wāḥad tjerkezziyye weširt et-tjerkez bḥibbo ba’d iḍa kān wāḥad men kafkāz wāḥad men eš-šarq kān ibn ‘ammo lazam hal-mšarrif aḥad waḥde tjerkezziyye qaddamu lo šakwa wismo mḥammad bēbi ġalāl qaddamu lit-tjerkez šakwa ‘ala anna fi ġimā‘a hōne widayman ‘ām bišir mšākil bēnne wbēnhum whumme aqwa menne lāzim ennu tunṣuf el-ḥukūme bēnātne qām el-mšarrif ‘amal istad‘a wiba‘ate l-ištambul hāde dōr mḥammad rašād ennu fi ‘anna qism ‘arab wiqism tjerkez wit-tjerkez ‘azizīn ‘al-ḥukūme ḥayezanne mhāğrin el-ḥukūme ġofe qālat fi

‘anna maħall ħarāb bi-blād el-armal ġebel aqra‘ nāħod qism winħoṭṭo fī aħdu qism el-‘arab ħaṭṭune honīk b-aġġerāz aq‘adne awwal sene aw tāni sene b-aġġerāz sentēn niħna l-‘arab q‘adna sentēn b-aġġerāz wi-blād al-armal kasab qaradu ra‘na hādik en-nawāħi ana b’asnahā kan šir šilfōn mitl ibni aħmal l-barūde wil-fard ... ba‘d sentēn inkesret ħukomt et-turkiye šār inqilāb el-armal eġa ... qal ħudhum ‘ala blādhum wi-niħna eġina ‘ala betna kullu yšayyar ‘ala waṭanu irġi‘na šwayy irġi‘ne saħħarne ġimāl wista’ġirne ġimāl wirħalne iġina wēn fi bēt meskūne msakkar la-tjerkez aw la-ġeru msakkar men dūnne ... ġina niftaħ hal-byūt iġbārī mnuq‘ud kəllma šəfna l-bēt ... bqīna byiṭla‘ arba‘ snīn aw ħamse snīn ħalaš šafar barlak weġet el-franse ‘ala blādne

3. Translation of the speech on tape-recording No. 15.

What is your name? Mħammad Mir‘i Sārūt.

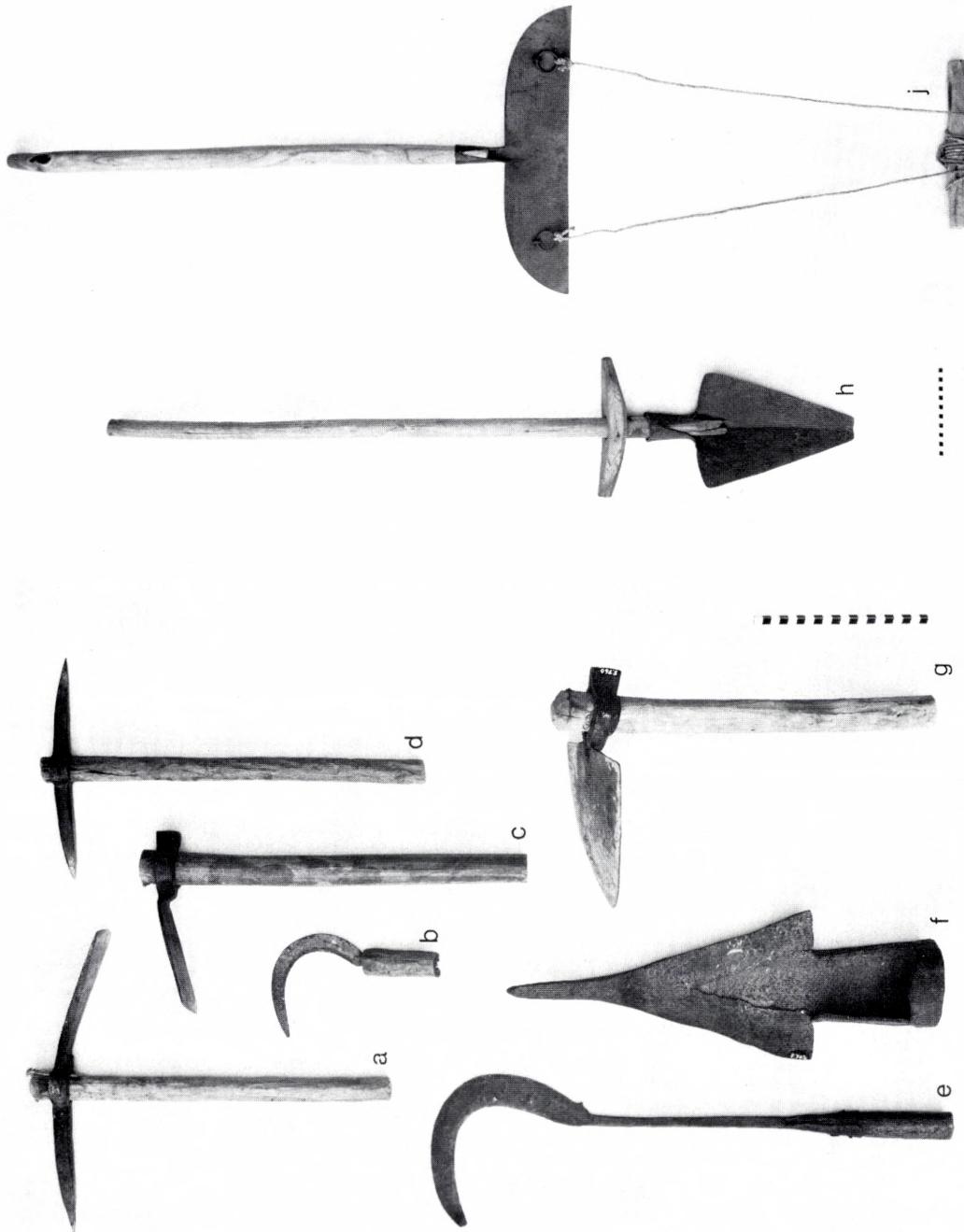
What is your business in the village? I am məħtār of the Bedouins of ‘Arab el-məlk.

That year when the Circassian refugees came to this country—it was not in my time but in my father’s time—the Turkish government came and divided Arab el-məlk in two halves between us and the Circassians. The Circassians came to this country, the Arabs were weak, the person who stayed with him (the Circassian?) as day-labourer or shepherd was left alone; if he did not stay they took hold of him and beat him—whip on the spot, killed! The story (had its course?)— — —This Ašfar beat the Circassians, not even two out of a hundred were left, they all died—it was Ašfar el-Laṭīf—they left behind them nothing at all. Of all the Circassians of this country only Šalāħ and ‘Abdallah Melaħ are still there. They let the Circassians stay on the shore— — —some are at Sukas and some are with us here.— — —At Sukas two remained: Abu l-‘Ali Šālīħ, Sheik Šālīħ departed, and Ibrāhīm Šidīd and Kalāmāt—three—Afterwards they came here with Safar Barlak first year, second year. There came to us one of the Circassians, married to a Circassian girl, as sheriff over Geble. There were always troubles because the Arabs became strong while the Circassians were here, and we were living at š-Šlayīb, in the Circassian mountains, and we cultivated the land under compulsion. Then came a sheriff married to a Circassian girl—and the Circassians kept together, if there was one from Caucasus and one from the East then they were cousins, necessarily! This sheriff who was married to a Circassian girl, they complained to him—his name was Mħammad Bēbi Ġalāl—they complained to the Circassian that there was a group here and there was always trouble between us and them, and they were stronger than us, the government must do justice to all of us. The sheriff composed a petition and sent it to Istanbul—this was in the time of Mħammad Rašād—that there were with us some Arabs and some Circassians—and the Circassians were in great favour with the government— — —The government (...?) said: We have a ruined place in the Armenian country, Ġebel Aqra‘, let us take a group and settle them there. They took the Arab group and settled us there at Aġġerāz. We stayed one

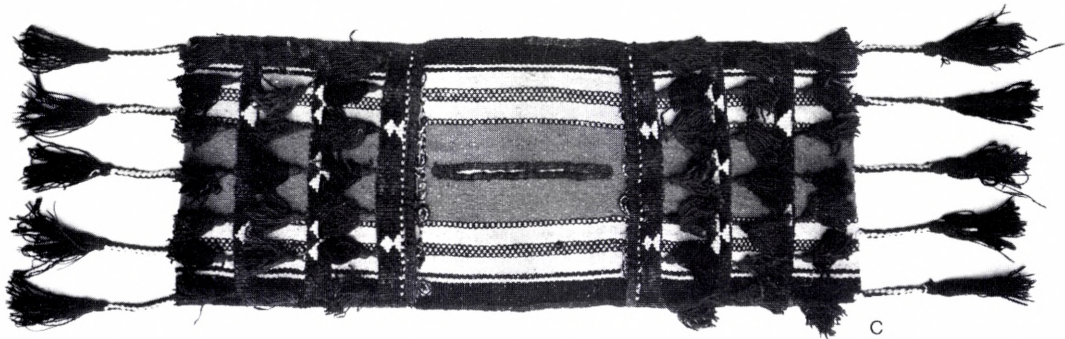
year or two years at Ağğērāz—two years—we Arabs stayed two years at Ağğērāz, and the Armenian country profited, they levied on our herds in these regions. At that time I was a young man—like my son—carrying a gun and a pistol— —After two years the Turkish government broke down, a revolution started, the Armenians came— —he (they?) said: Take them to their country! So we came to our home, everybody went to his birthplace. We went back a little, we went back, loaded camels for we had hired camels. And we departed, where did we go? To a habitable house, closed—neither Circassians nor others—closed to us. Then we came and opened these houses by force and settled as soon as we saw the house— —we stayed, 4 or 5 years passed, Safar Barlak was finished and the French came to our country.



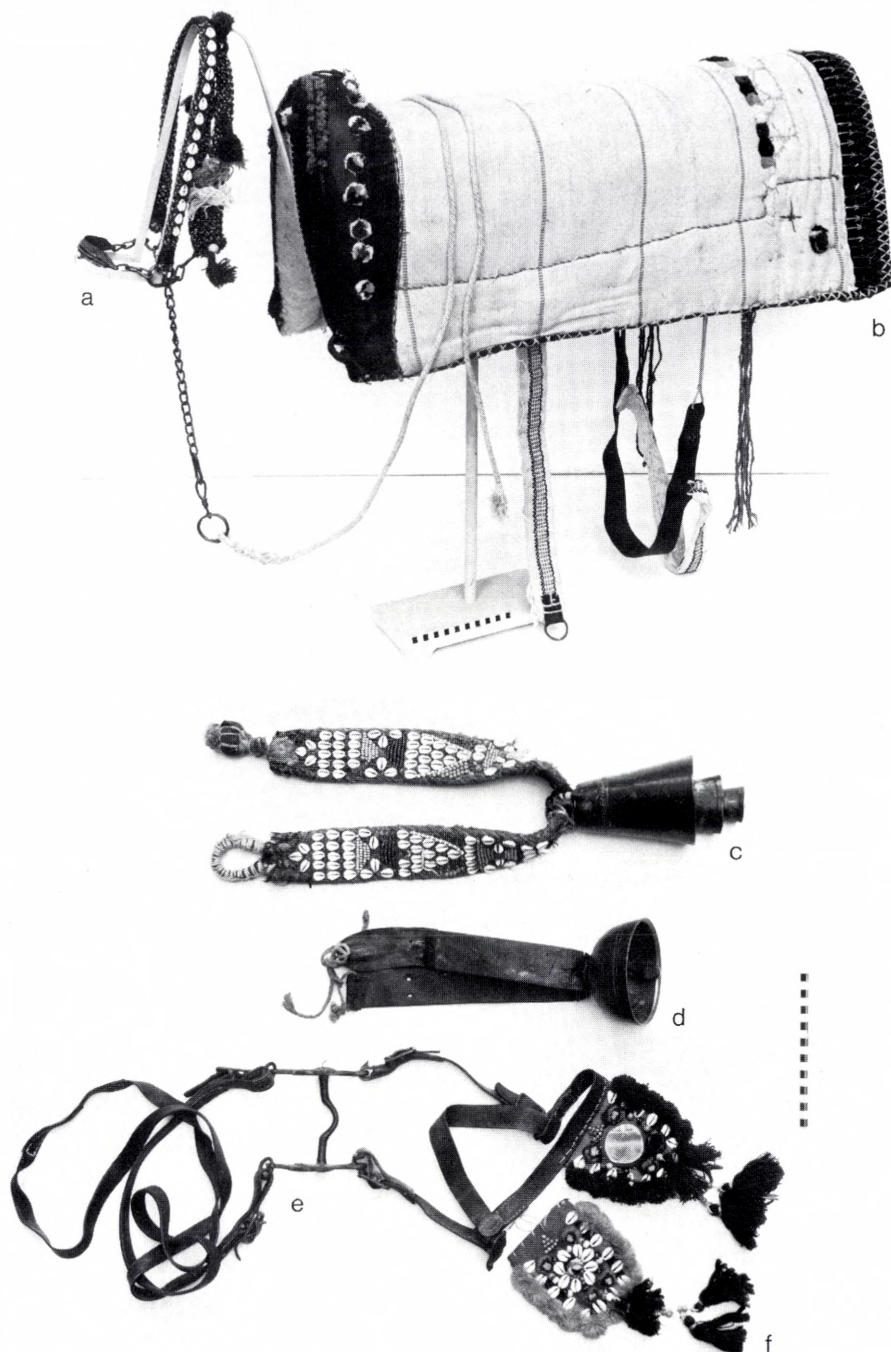
A member of the Expedition wearing dress No. F 651 a-s.



a: F 759, b: F 666, c: F 761, d: F 758, e: F 763, f: F 762, g: F 760, h: F 664, i: F 665.



a: F 505a-c, b: F 505b, c: F 506.



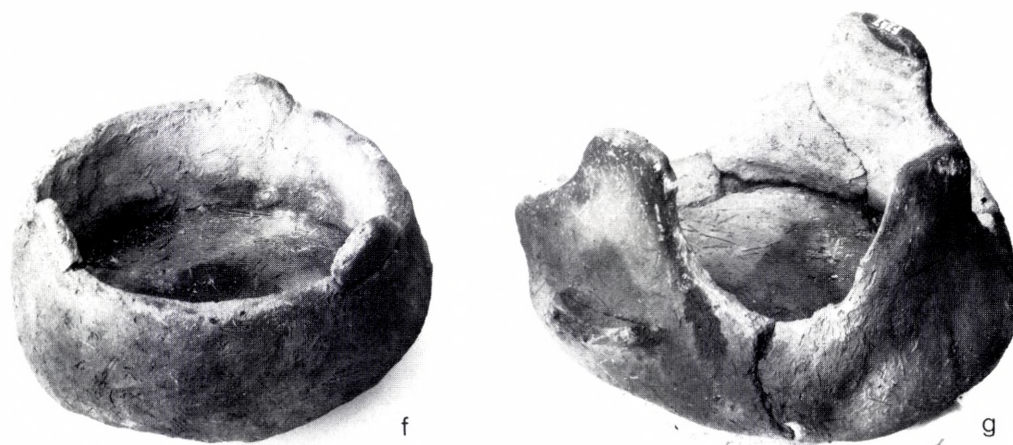
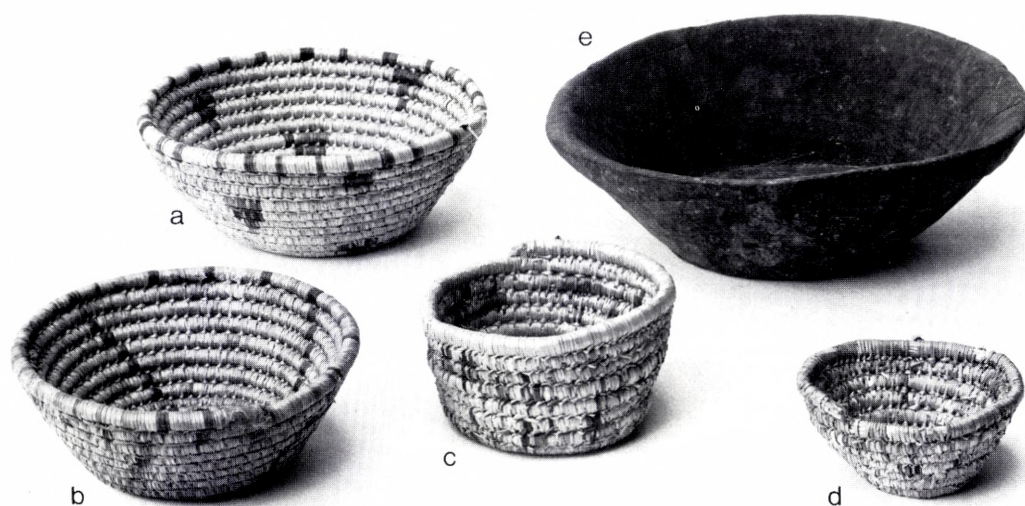
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a: F 704 a,b, b: F 705, c: F 706.



a: F 708, b: F 769, c: F 701, d: F 702.



a: F 712, b: F 711, c: F 710, d: F 709, e: F 713, f: F 728, g: F 727.



a: F 732, b: F 733, c: F 734, d: F 748, e: F 724, f: F 750, g: F 725.



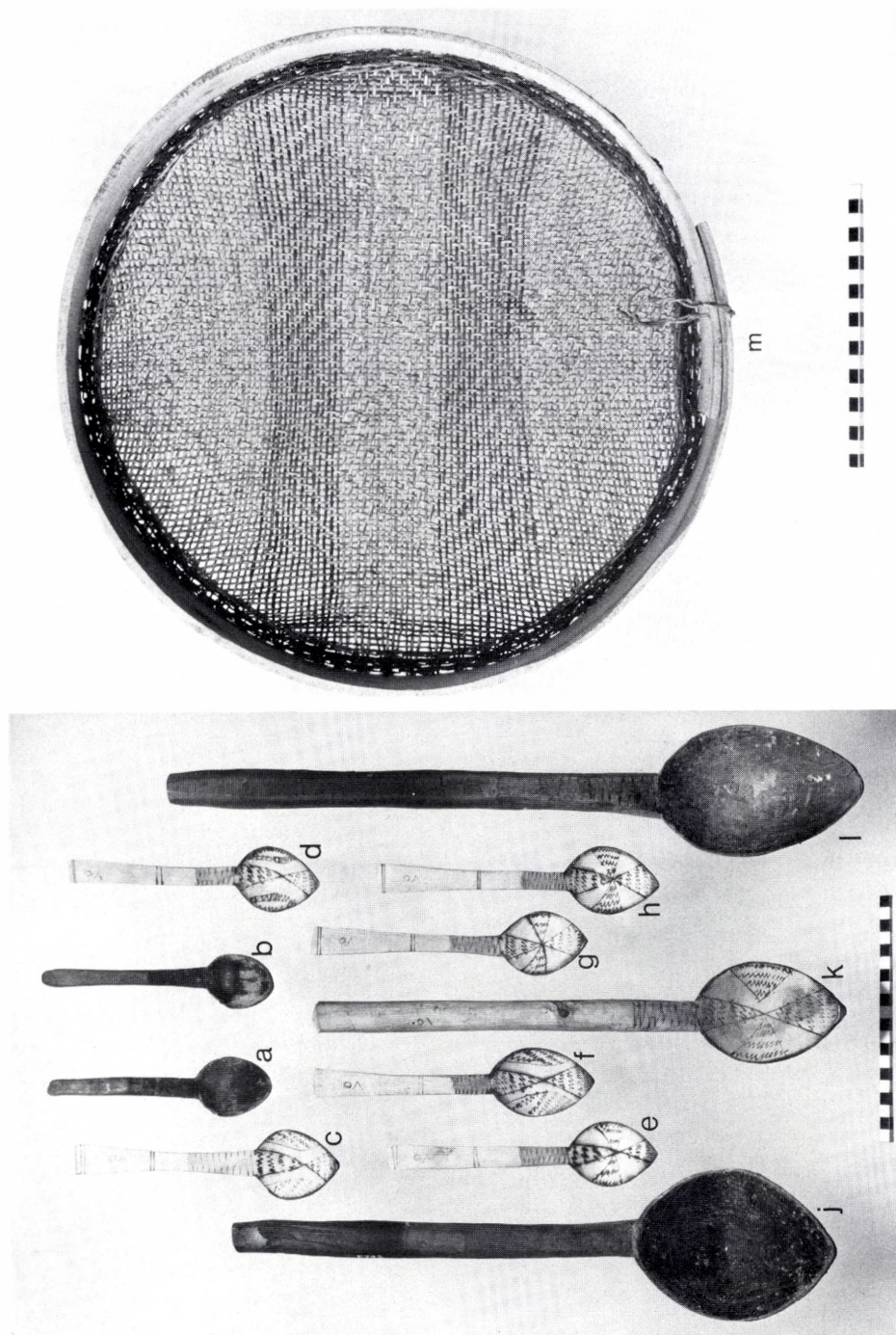
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a: F 731, b: F 746, c: F 730, d: F 715, e: F 767, f: F 714, g-n: F 735-41, o: F 655, p: F 659, q: F 729, r: F 726.



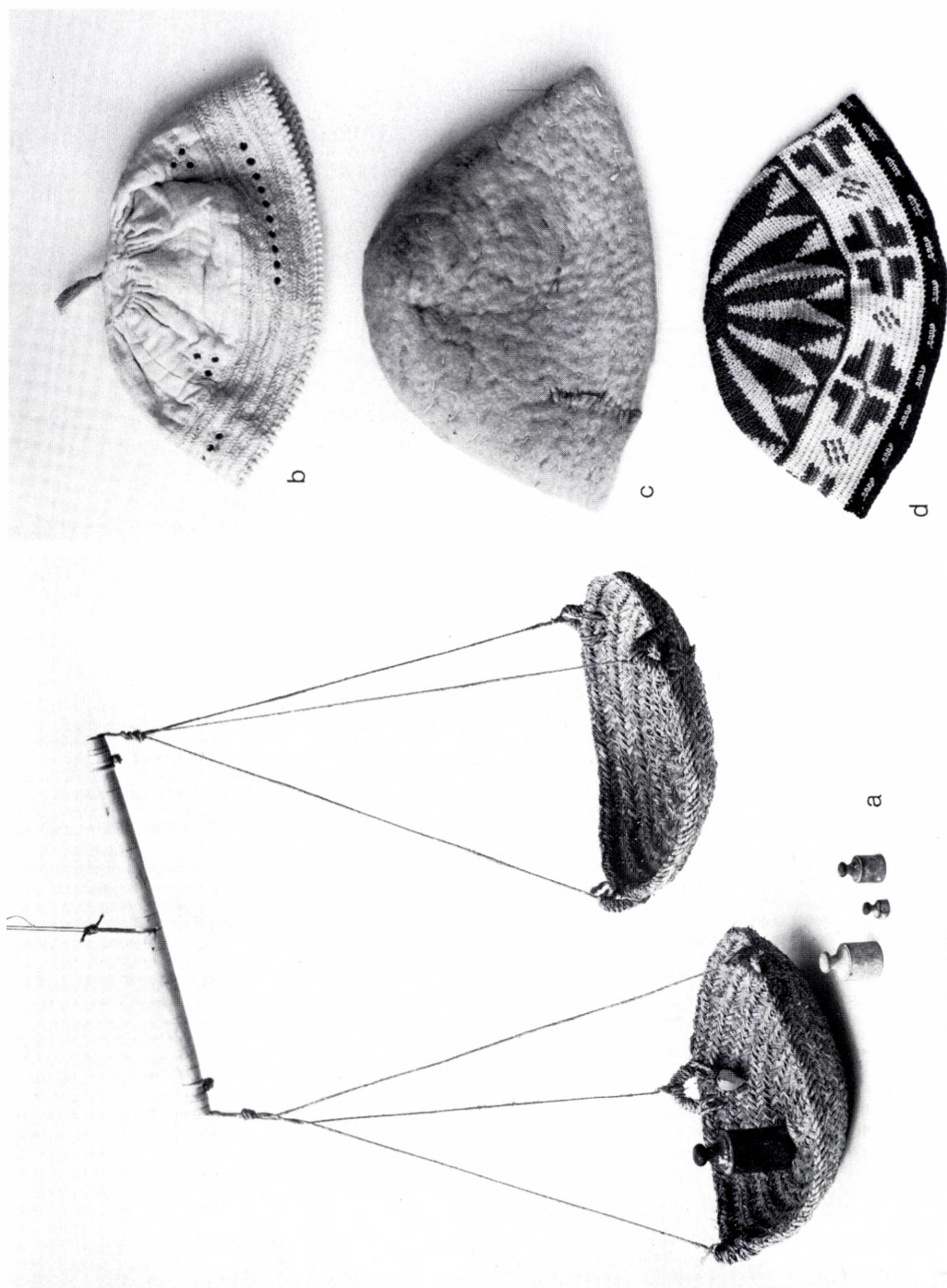
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a: F 716, b: F 717, c: F 718, d: F 719, e: F 720, f: F 721, g: F 722, h: F 723, j: F 742, k: F 744, l: F 743, m: F 753.



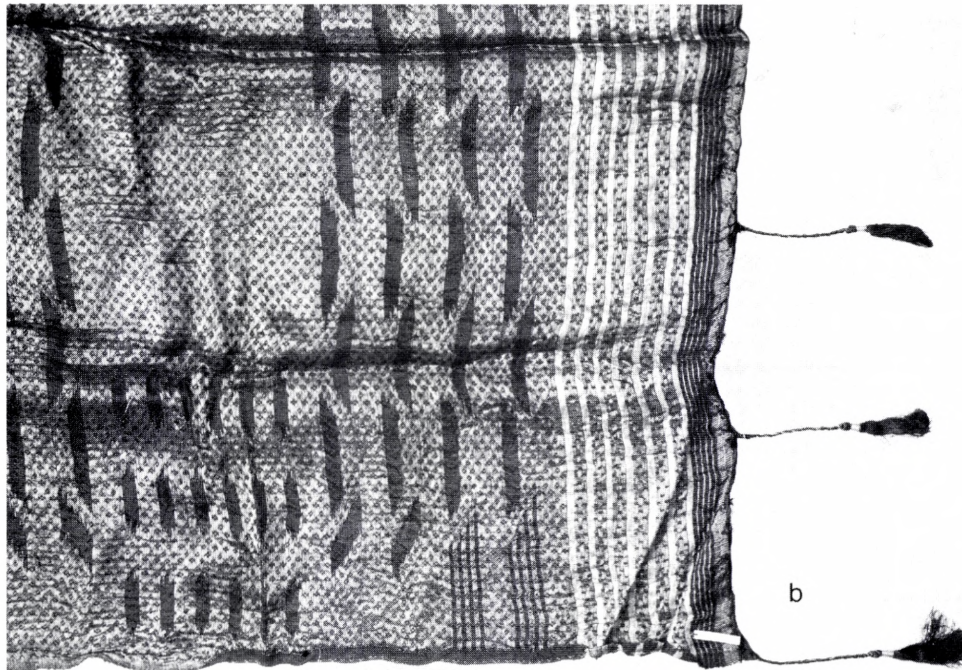
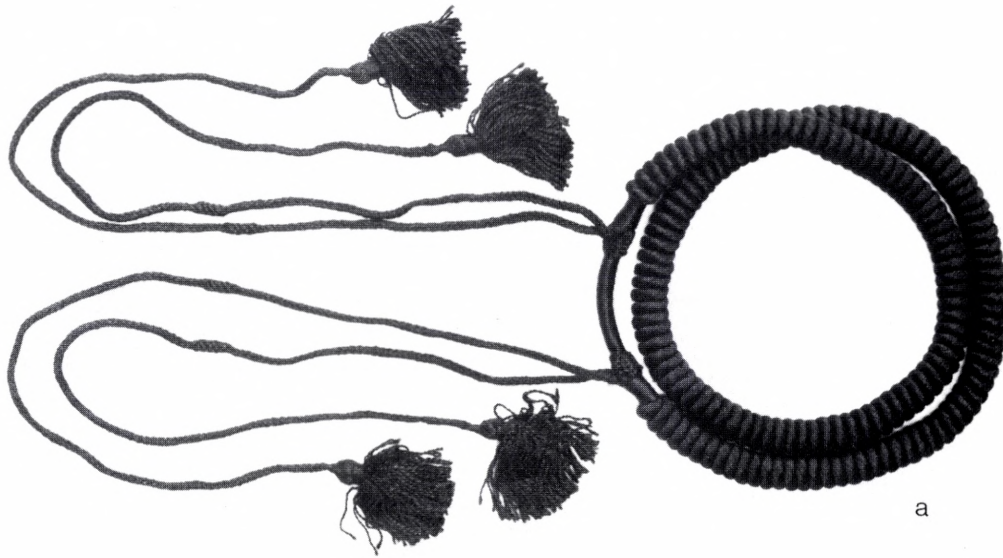
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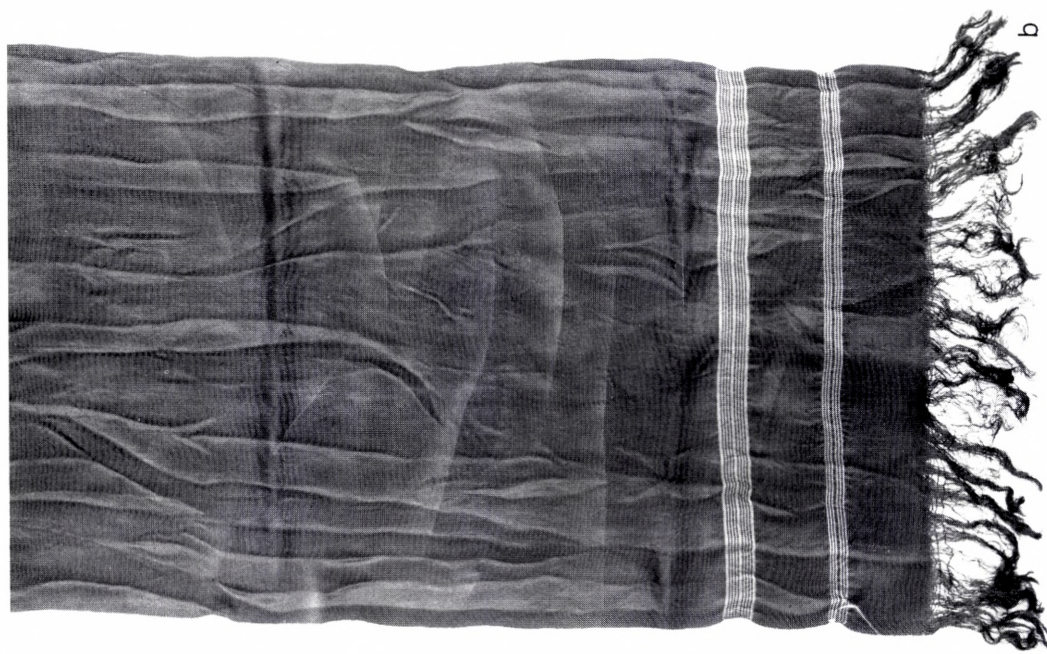
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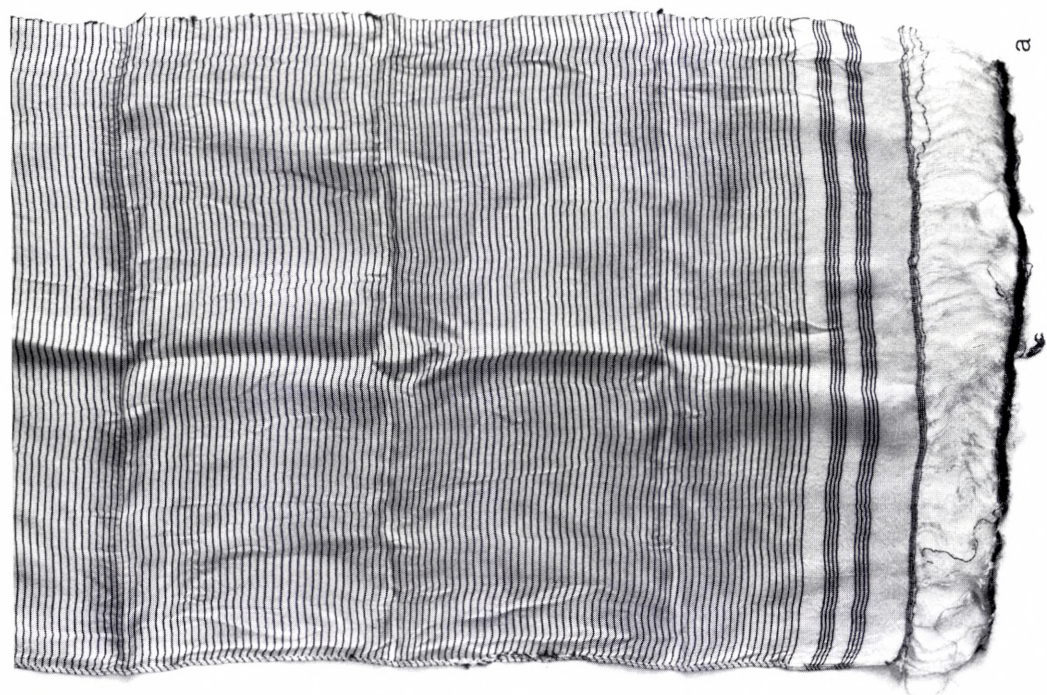
a: F 764 a,b, b: F 765, c: F 745, d: F 668, e: F 773, f: F 774, g: F 679 a-c, h: F 667.



a: F 650k, b: F 650j.

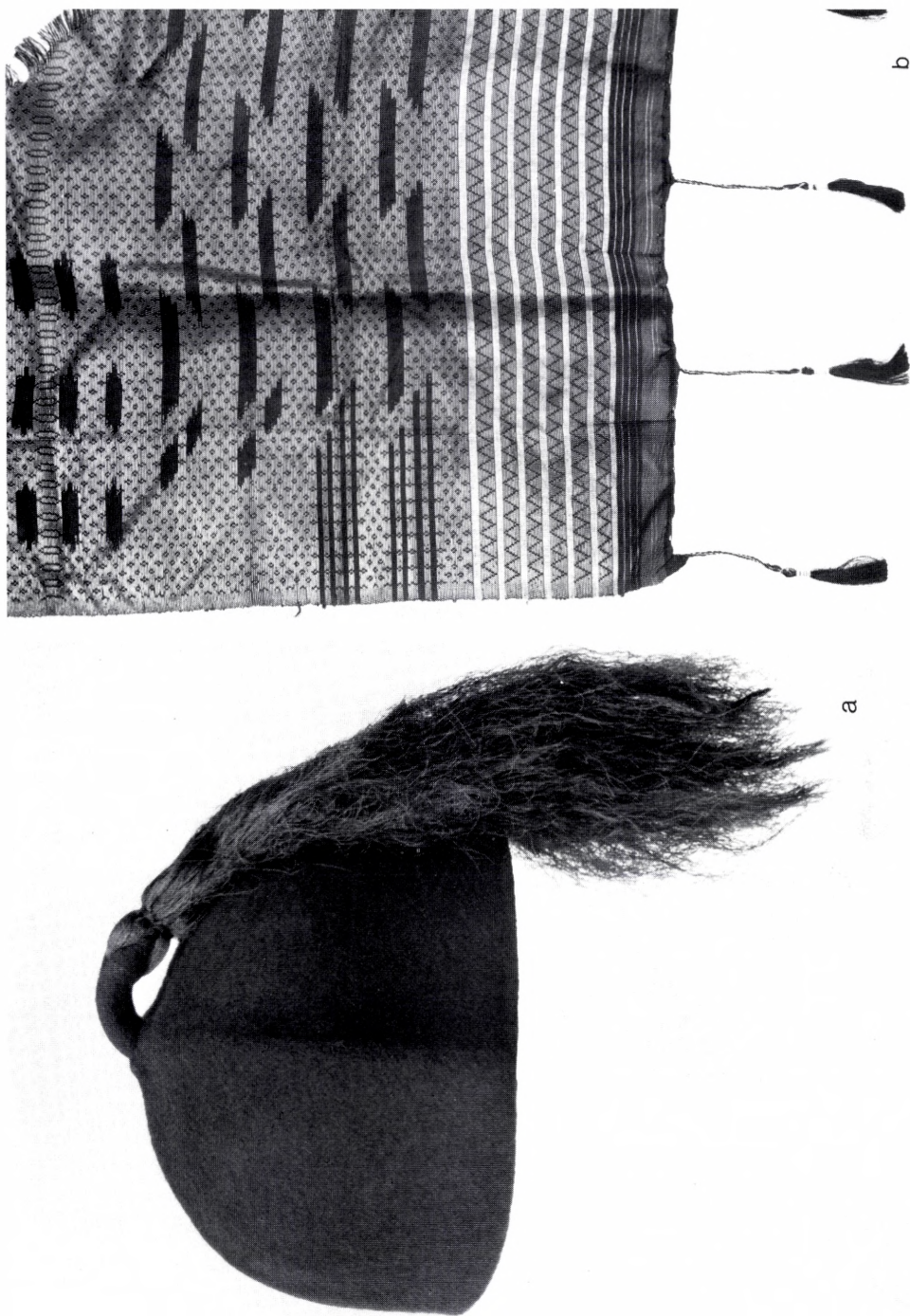


b

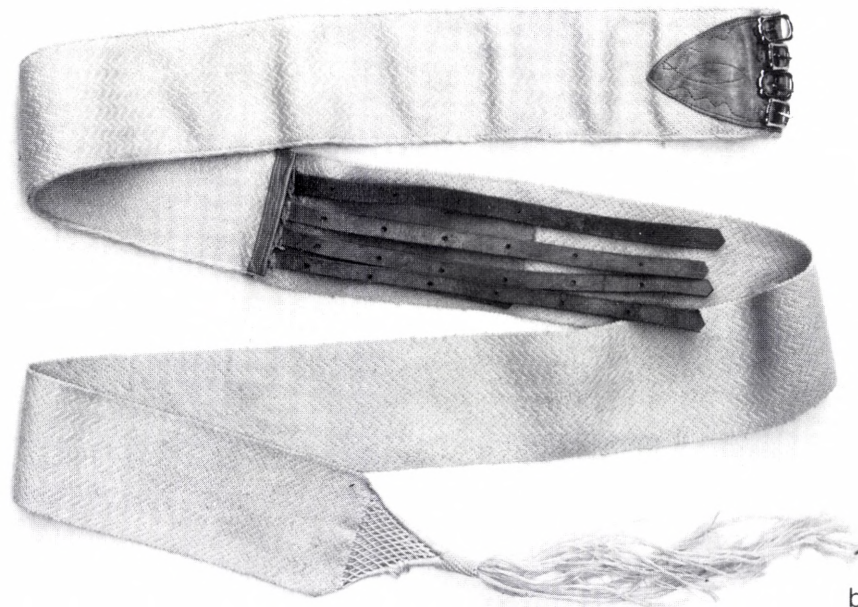
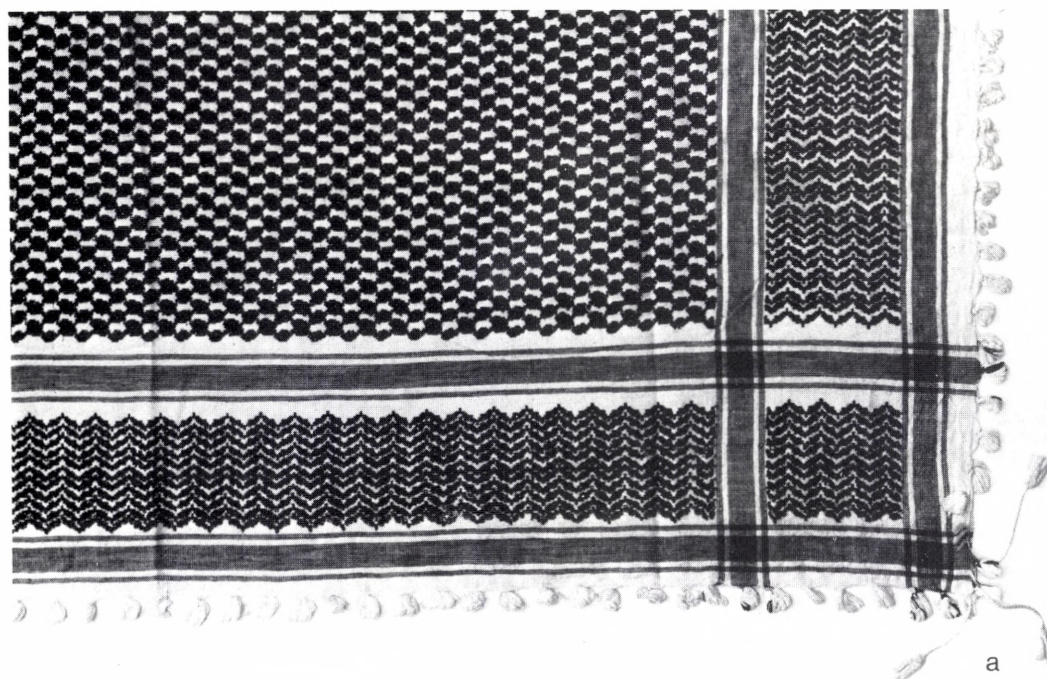


a

a: F 649d, b: F 650d.



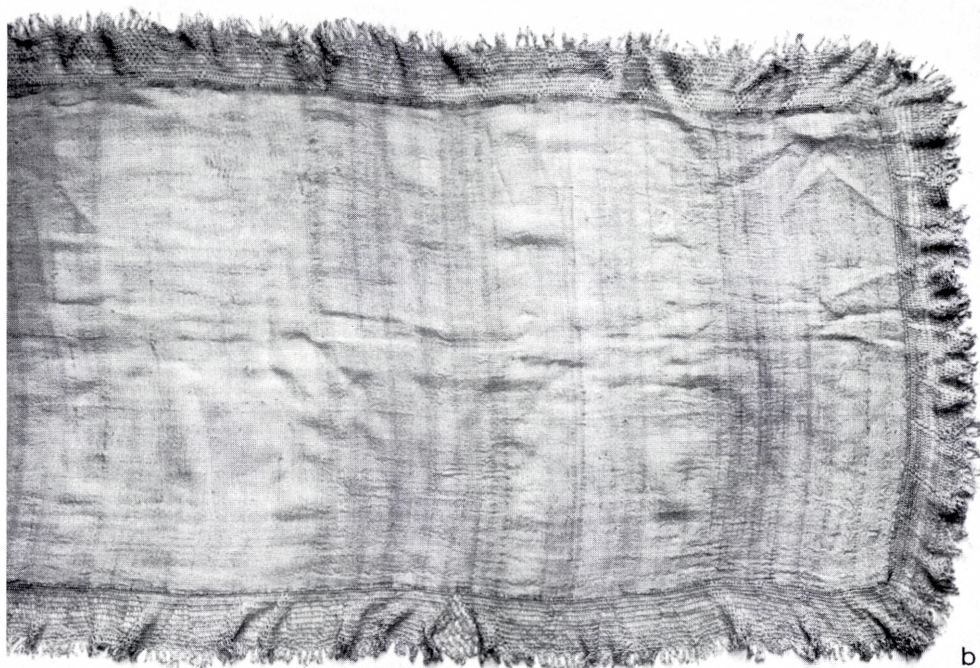
a: F 651 I, b: F 651 m.



a: F 686, b: F 683.

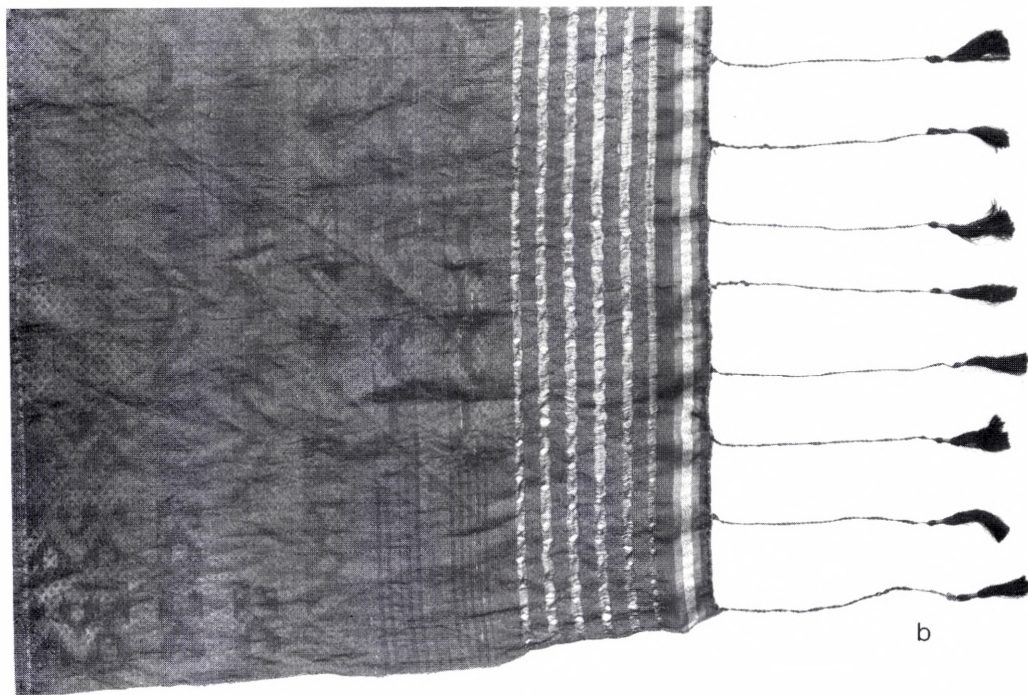
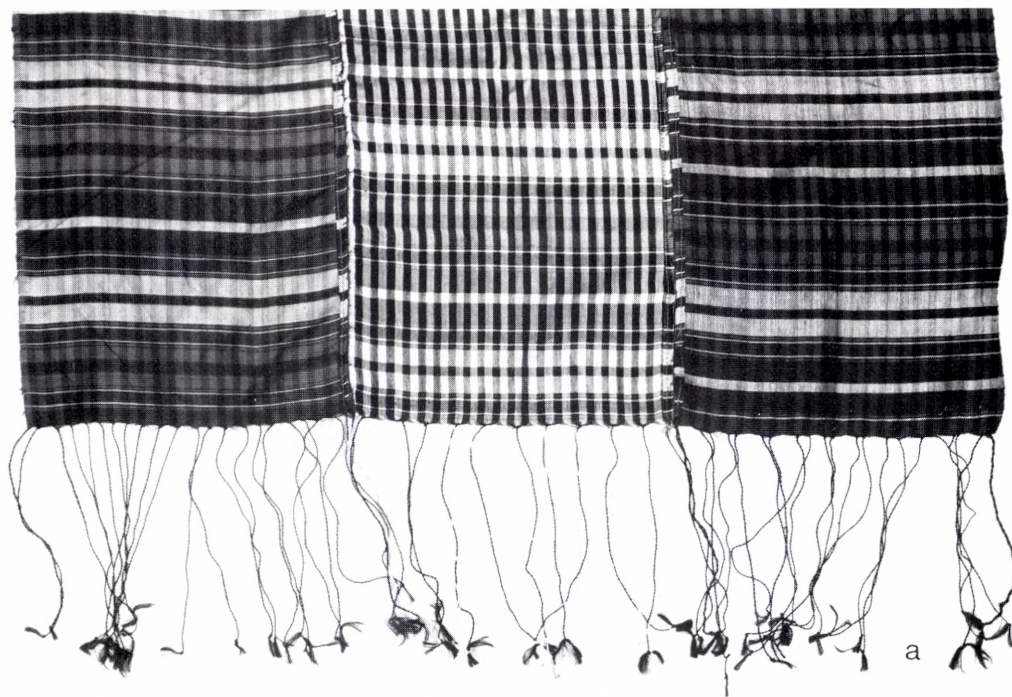


a



b

a: F 651 n, b: F 651 o.



a: F 651 h, b: F 651 g.

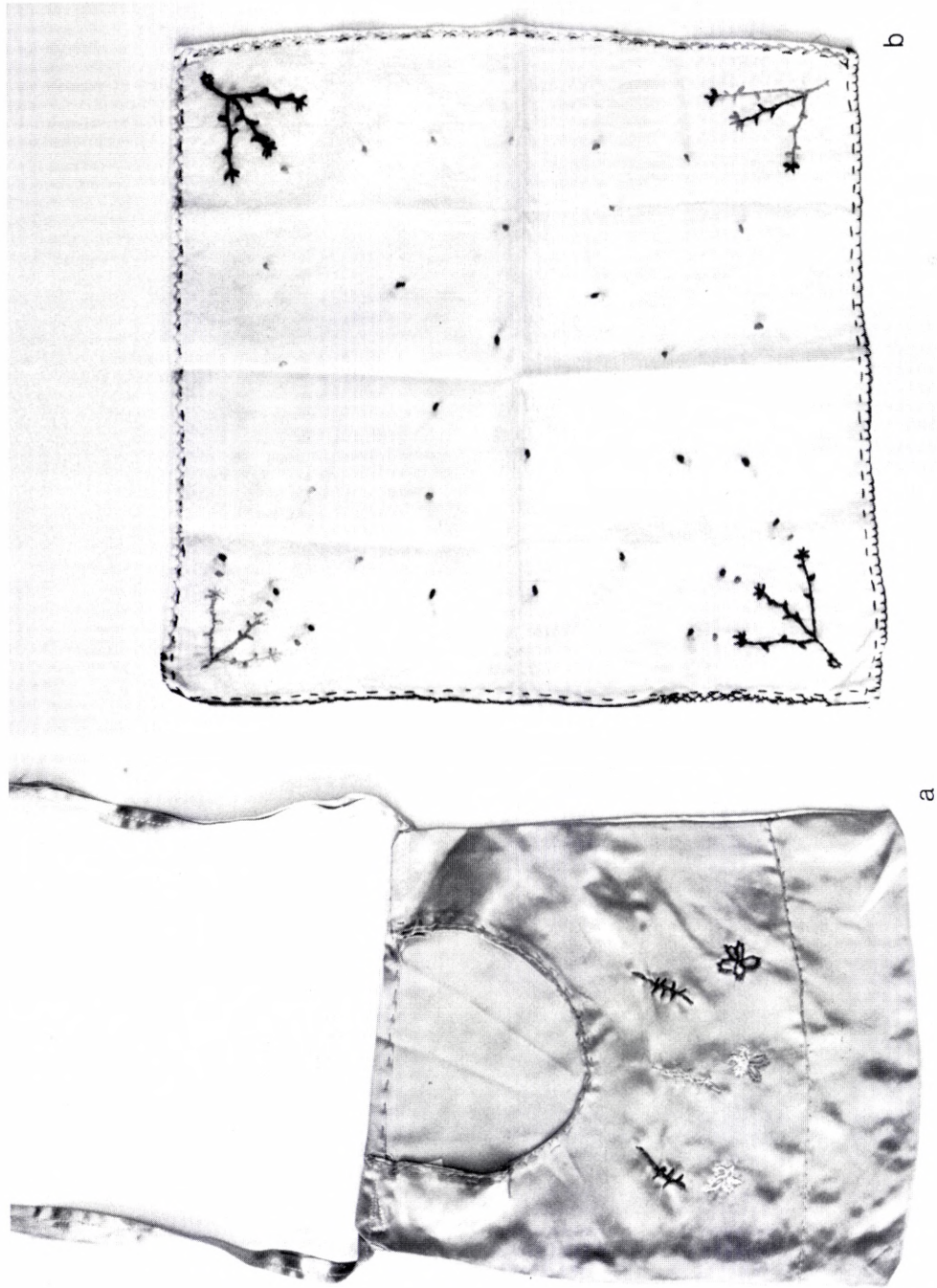


a

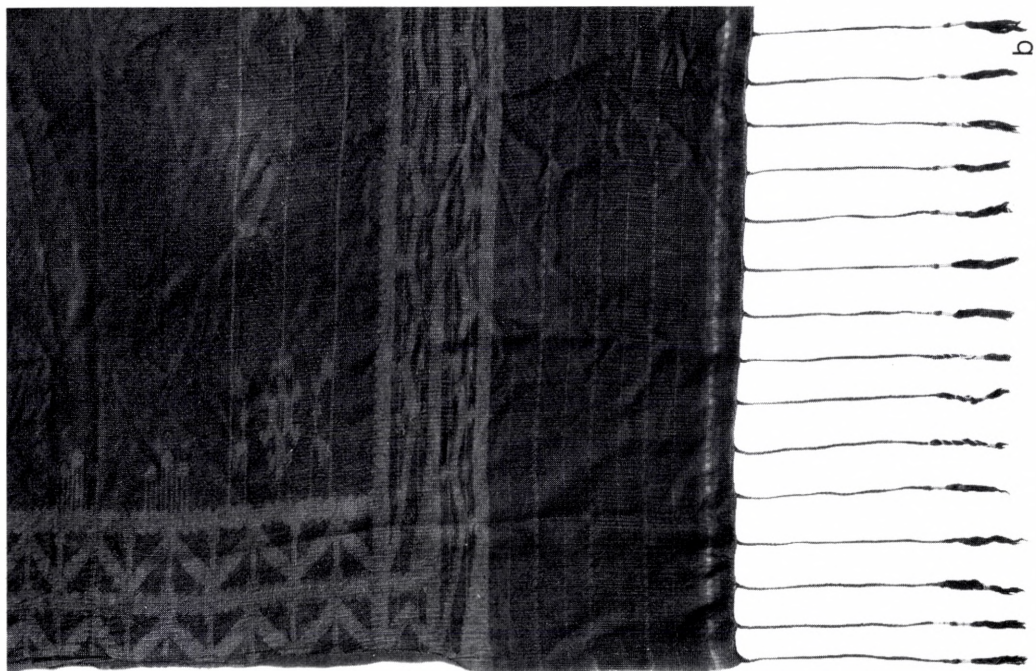


b

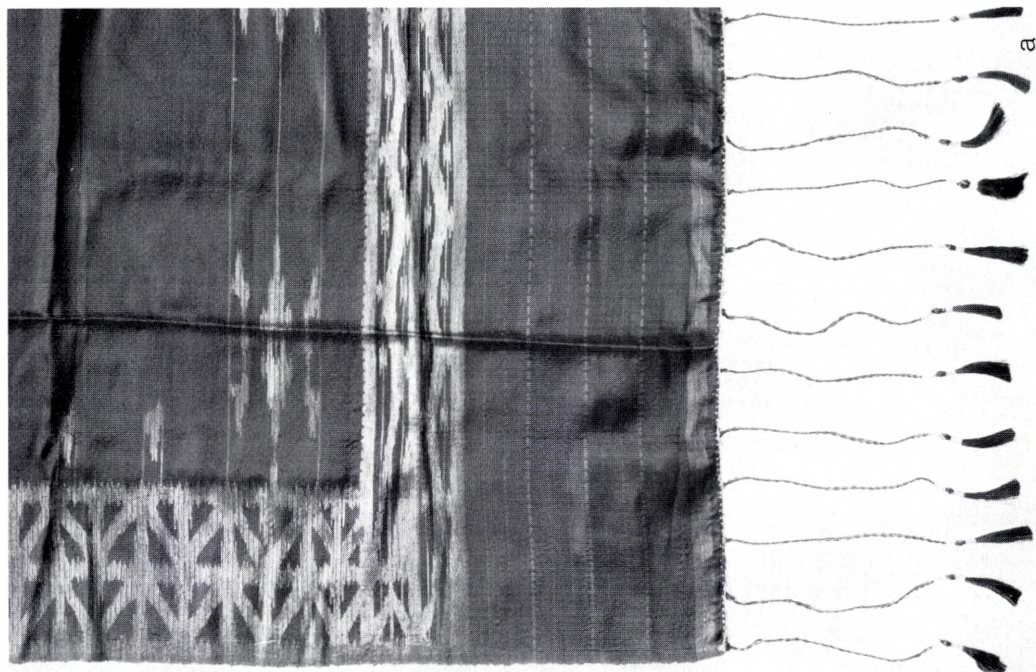
a: F 651 q, b: F 707.



a: F 651 d, b: F 651 e.

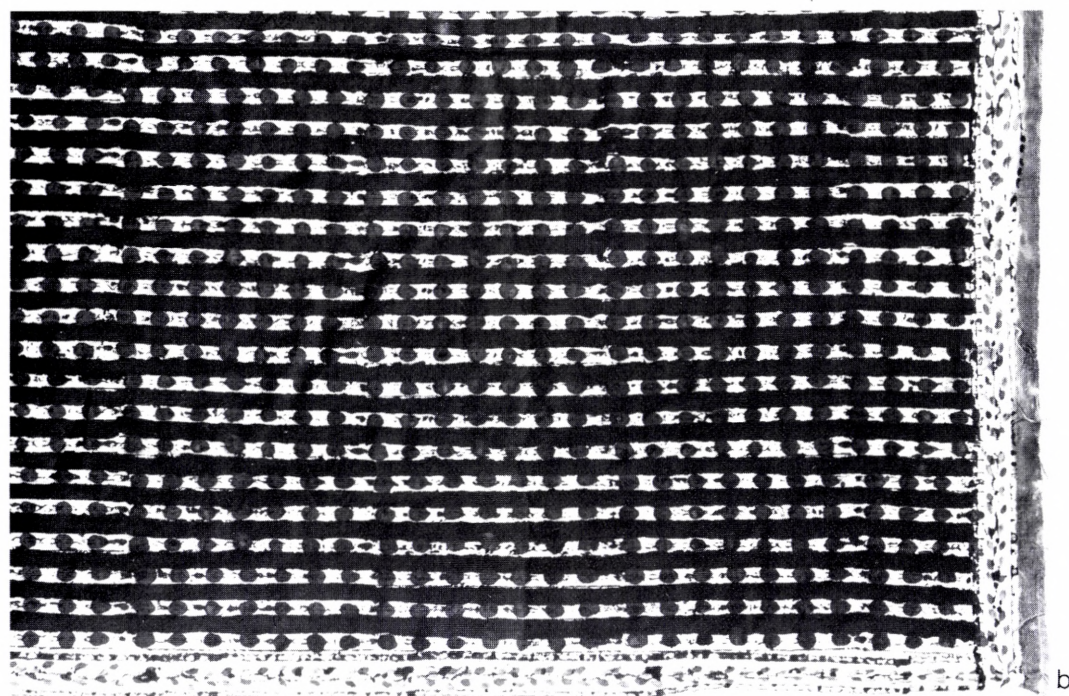
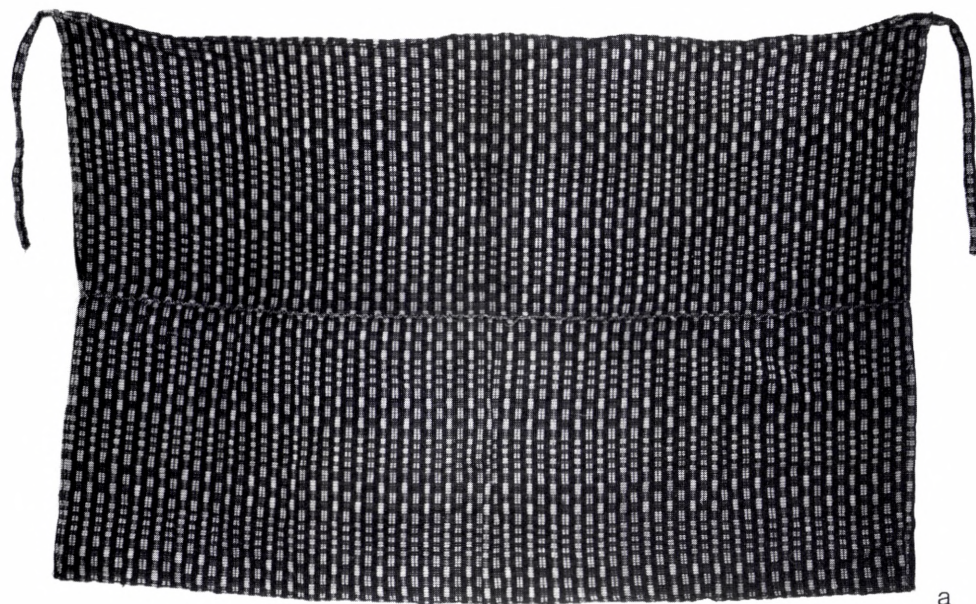


b



a

a: F 456, b: F 460 g.



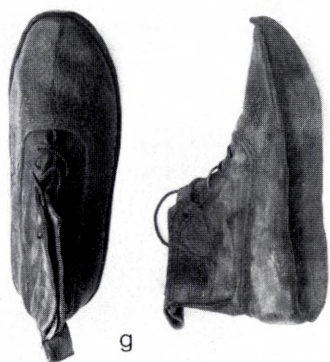
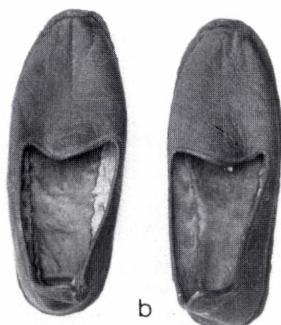
a: F 651 i, b: F 663.



a: F 651 a, b: F 460 a, c: F 651 b, d: F 650 f.



a: F 459 a-b, b: F 650 a, c: 649 a, d: F 650 c.



a: F 684, b: F 649f-g, c: F 651r-s, d: F 685, e: F 770, f: F 229, g: F 768, h: F 650l,m.



a: F 650g, b: F 651 j.



a

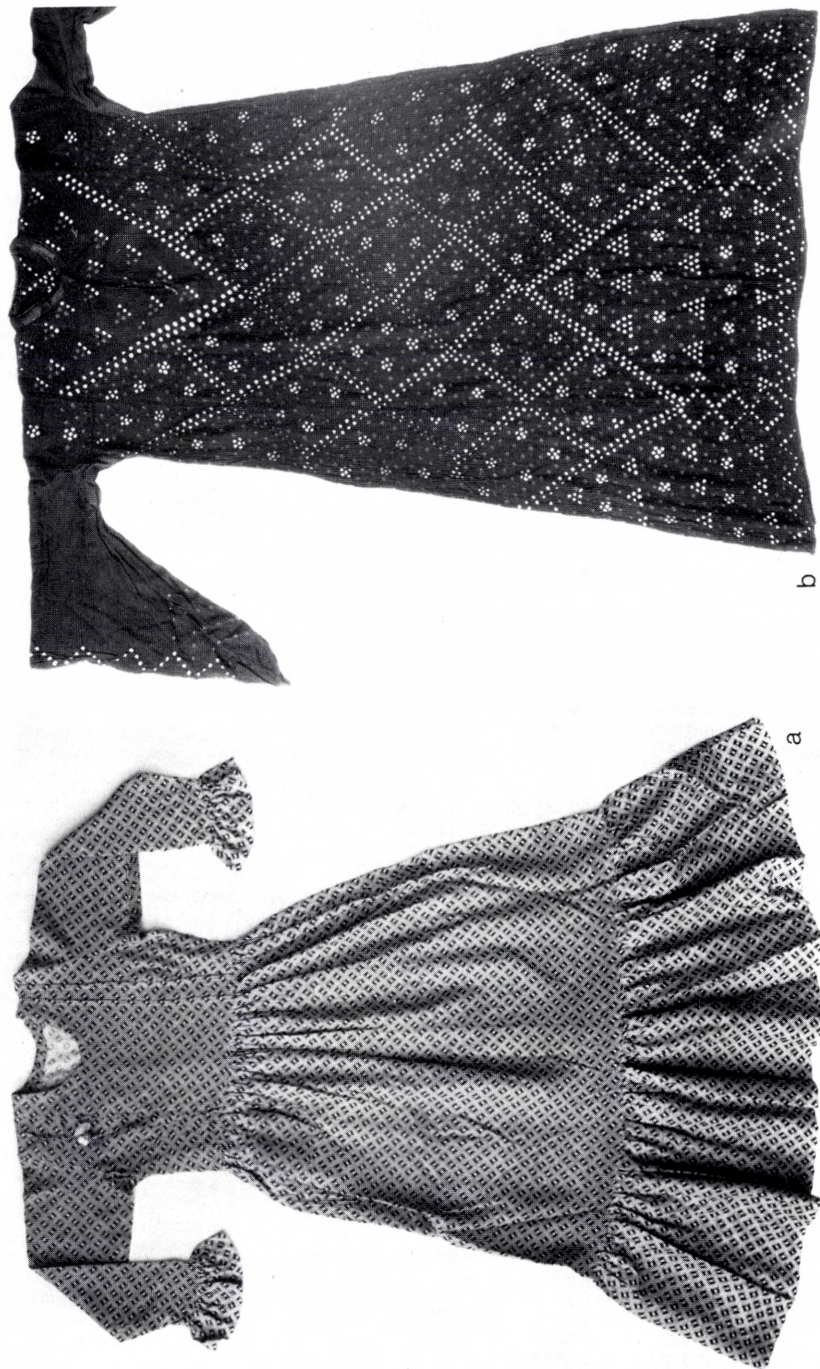


b

a: F 651 k, b: F 457.



a: F 460h, b: F 649c, c: F 681.



a: F 651 f, b: F 453.

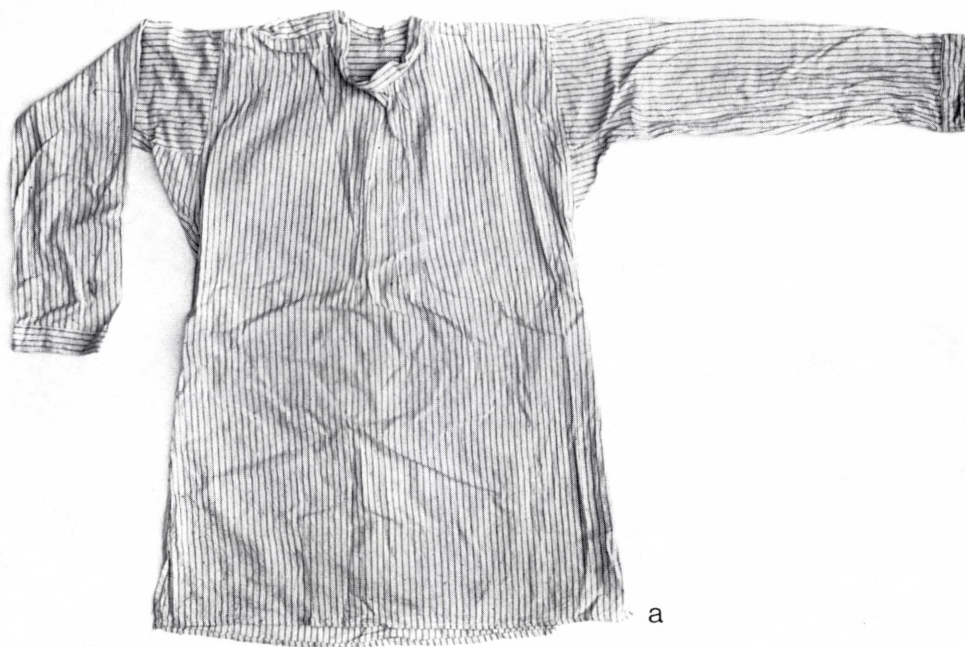


a



b

a: F 650b, b: F 650e.



a



b

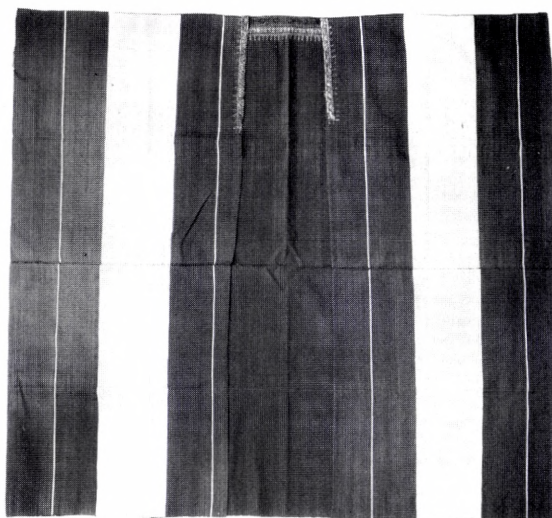


c

a: F 649b, b: F 504, c: F 651 c.



a



b



c

a: F 650 h, b: F 680, c: F 662.



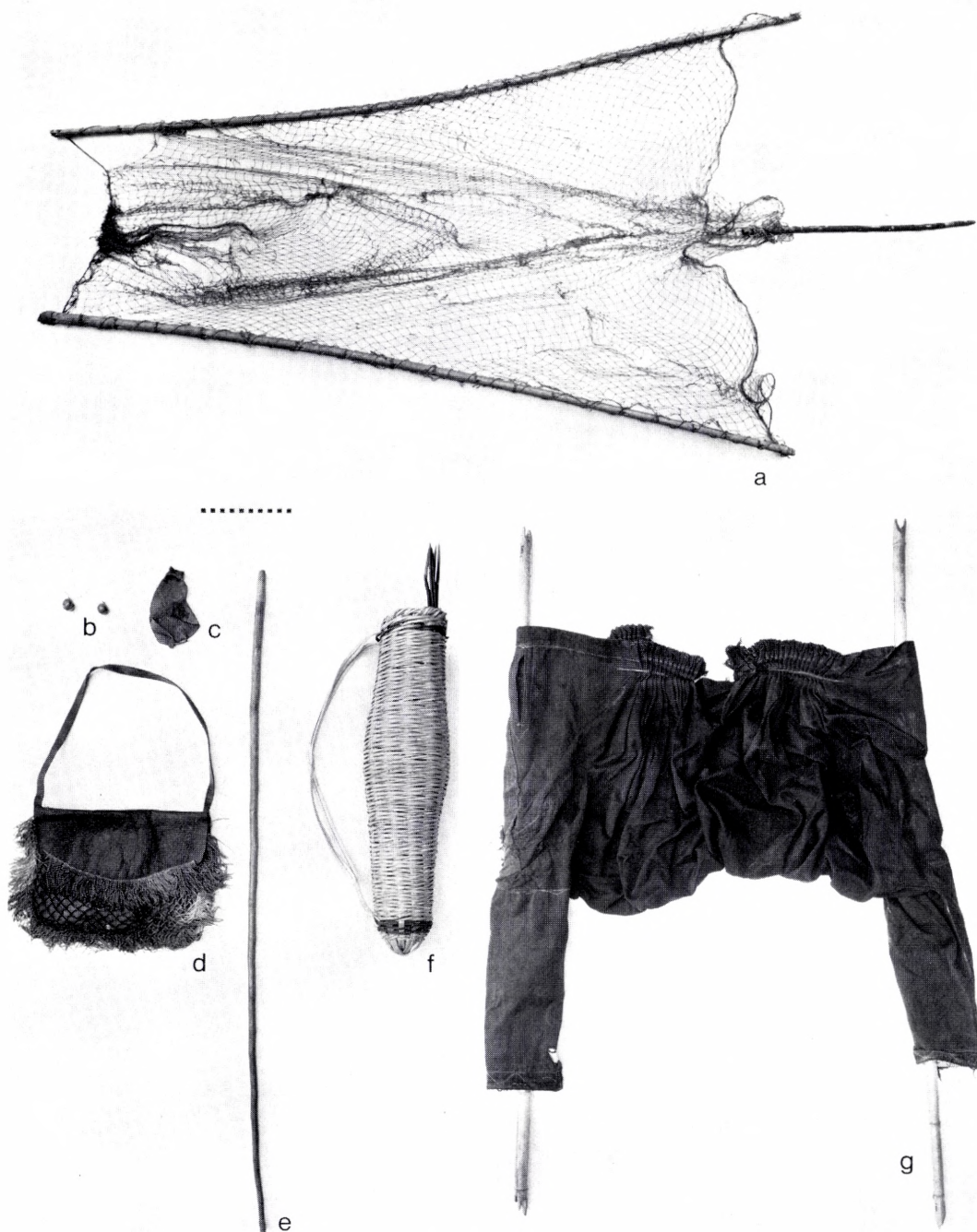
a: F 661, b: F 455.



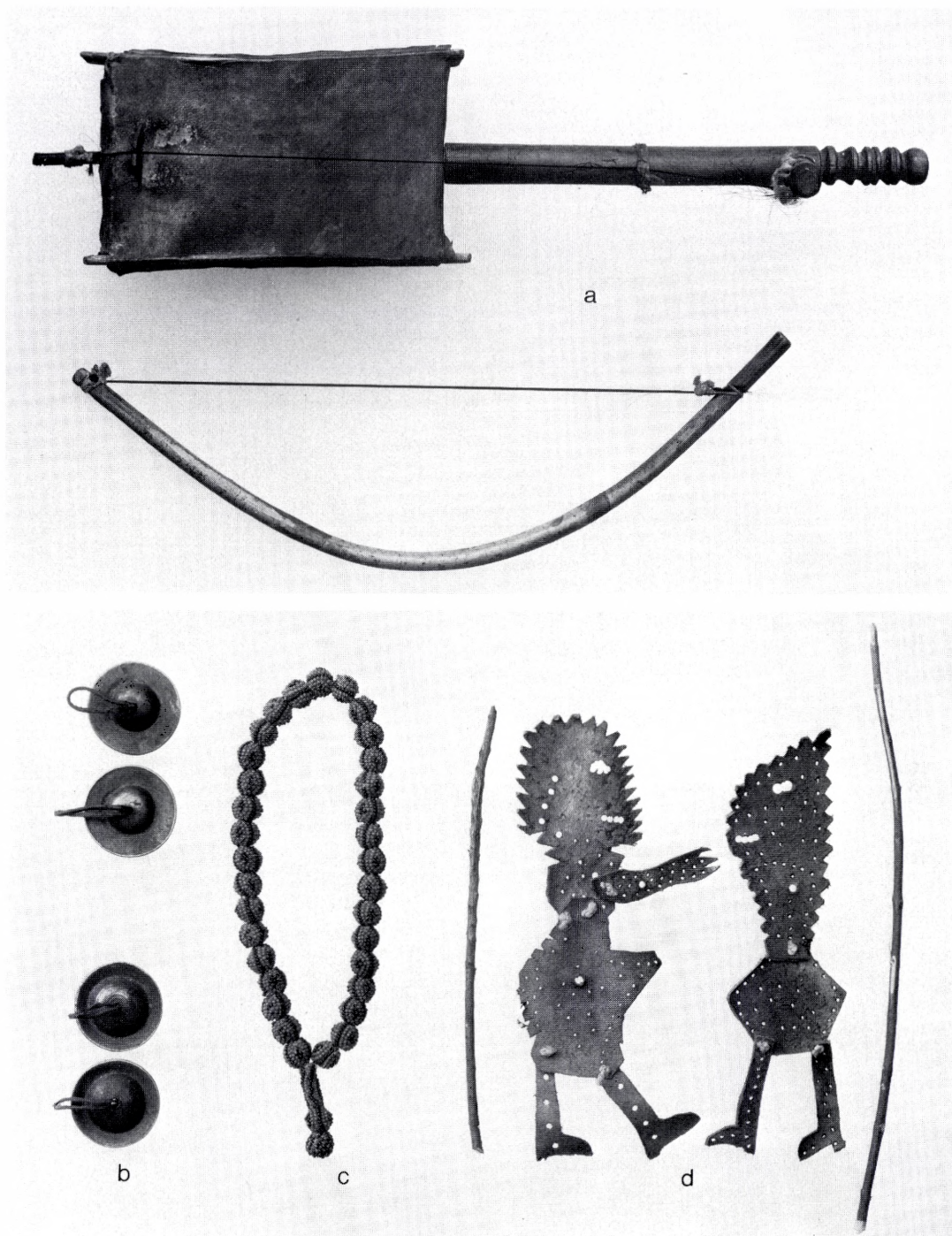
a: F 454, b: F 460b.



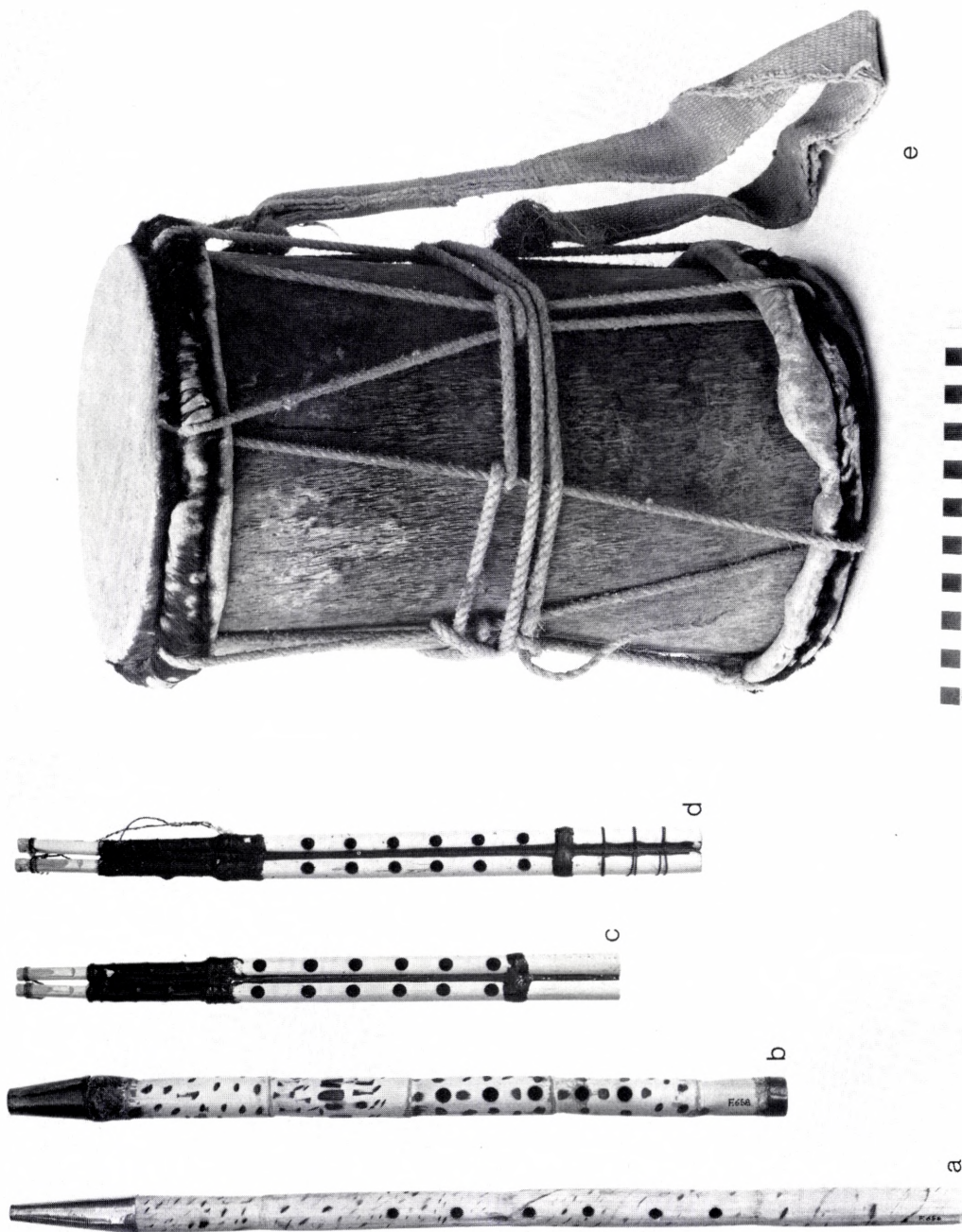
a : F 460 c, b : F 460 d.



a: F 673a-d, b: F 674d,e, c: F 674c, d: F 674f, e: F 674g, f: F 507, g: F 673e-g.



a: F 675a,b, b: F 677, c: F 771, d: F 772a,b.



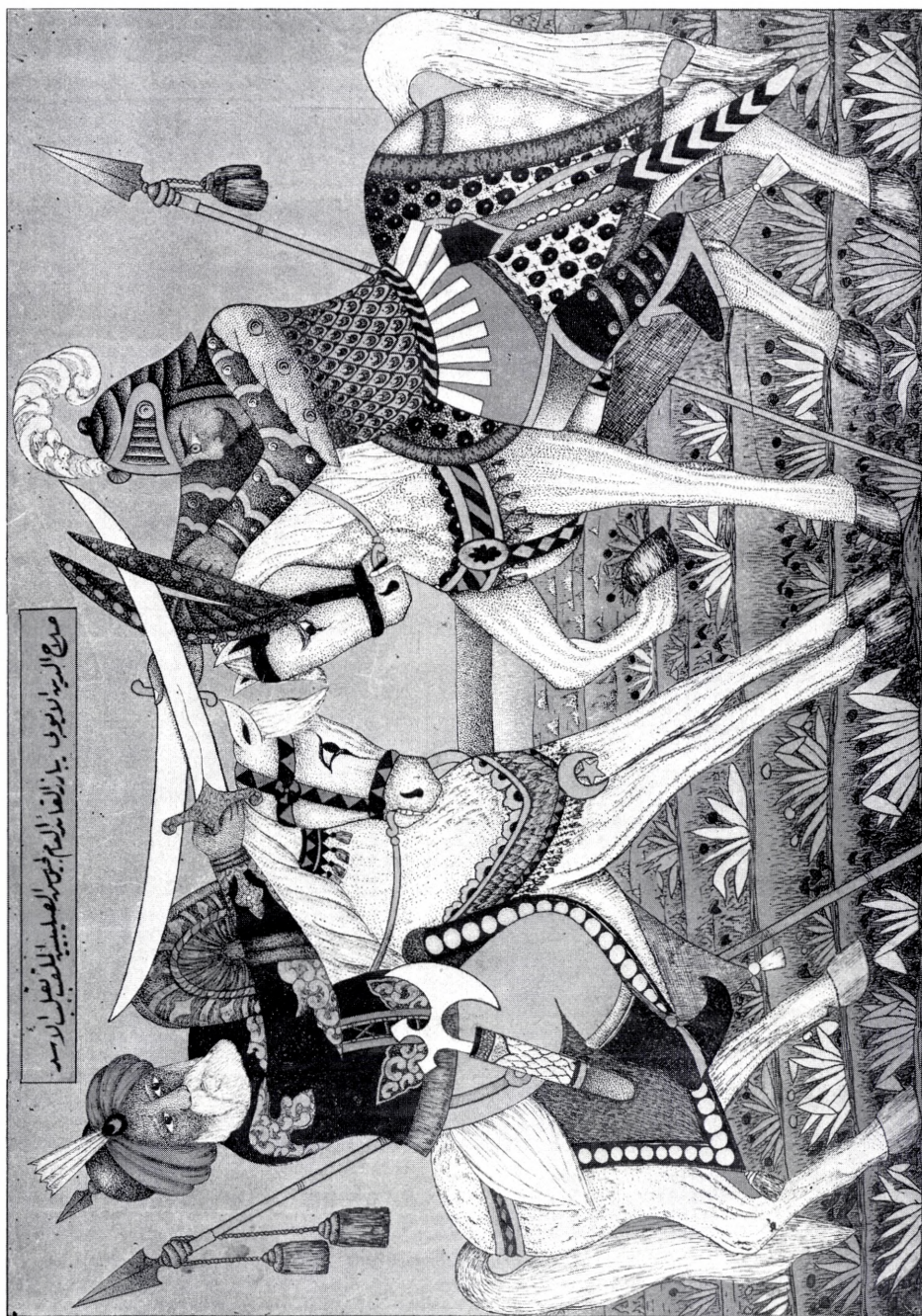
a: F 656, b: F 658, c: F 122, d: F 676, e: F 678.



F 282.

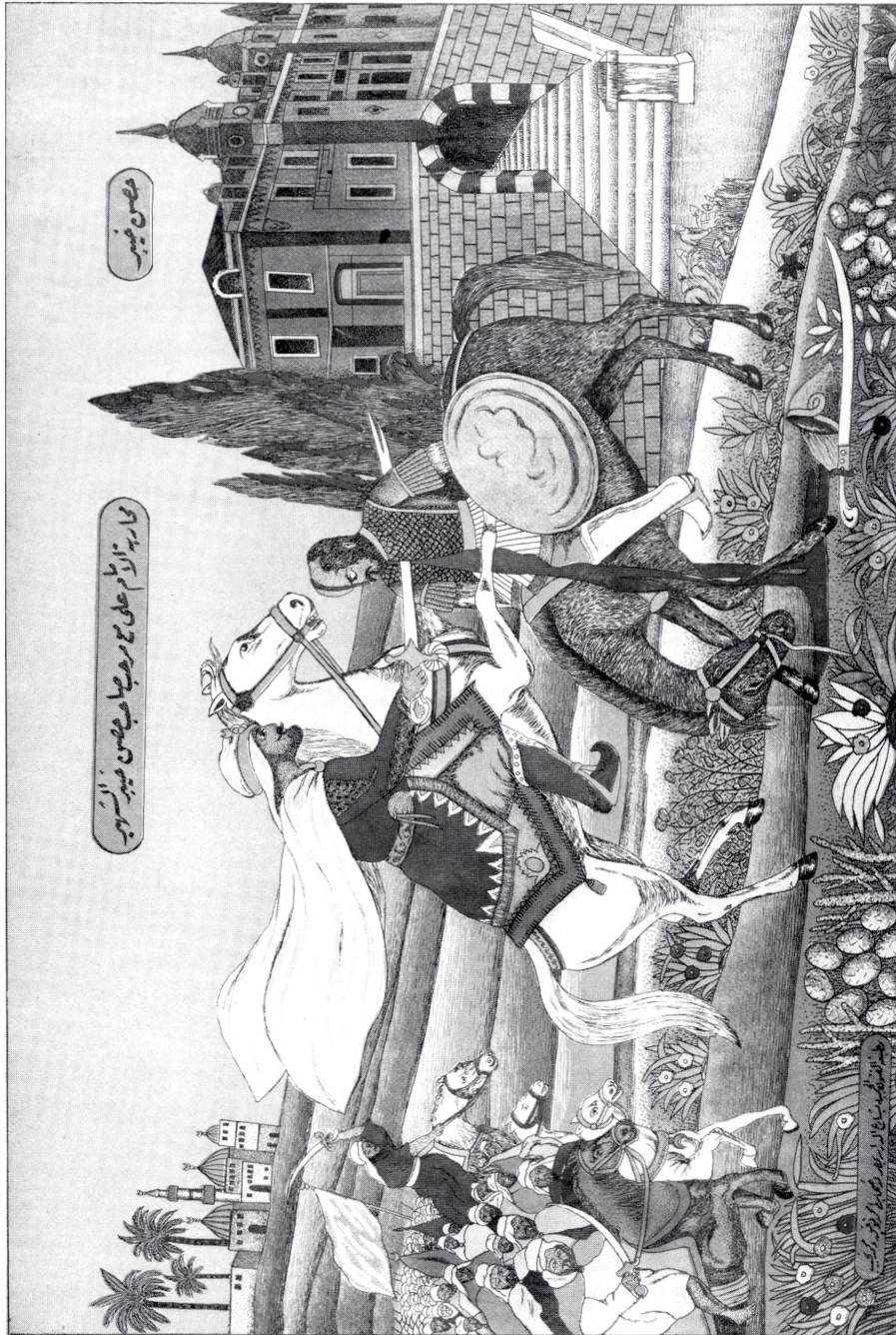


F 283.

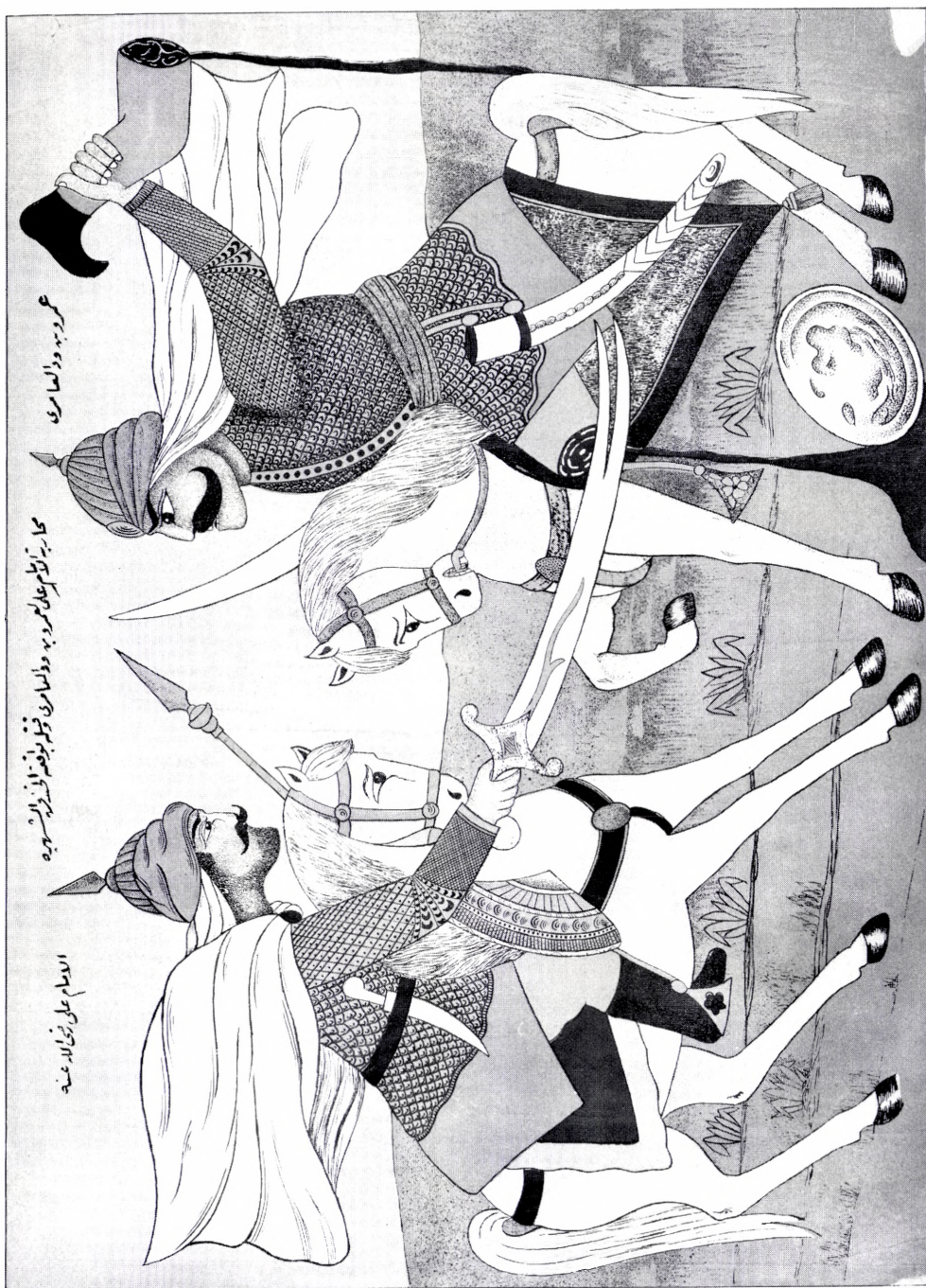


F 284.





F 286.



F 287.



F 288.



F 766 a-h.

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