Note on the Graffiti of the Cistern at Wady El-Jōz

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The sacerdotal authorities may have hesitated to countenance the shekel of the "Canaanites" for religious reasons, and they may have preferred the Aeginetan because it was somewhat heavier than the Persic silver stater; but it is to be observed that the Greek conquest of Asia, and the establishment of the Seleucid monarchy placed the Aeginetan standard upon an entirely different footing. Instead of being a respectable ancient system of weight of mysterious origin, it suddenly became vulgar and familiar as the ordinary avoirdupois market weight of the Gentiles; and it is quite out of the question to suppose that when this was recognized the intolerant and exclusive Jewish people would long continue to accept the vulgar standard of Gentile hucksters and fishwives as representing the sacred Shekel of the Sanctuary. They were thus thrown back on the Tyrian shekel, whose autochthonous antiquity was indisputable, and the Phoenician standard again became the shekel of Israel.

If we admit that the division of the shekel into 20 gerahs only applies to the Shekel of the Sanctuary, it is evident, as Prof. Kennedy has already pointed out, that we must change the place of the interesting little weight described in *Quarterly Statement*, 1912, p. 182. This is in Mr. Clark's collection: it is in the form of a tortoise, the badge of Aegina; it bears the Old Hebrew inscription חמש, and it weighs 38·58 grains. Prof. Kennedy proposes to read חמש as "a fifth," and to consider it as a fifth part of the Aeginetan stater; or, as we now have it, the fifth part of the Shekel of the Sanctuary.

NOTE ON THE GRAFFITI OF THE CISTERN AT WADY EL-JŌZ.¹

(Concluded from *Q.S.*, p. 90.)

By DR. MAX VAN BERCHEM.

So far as their meaning is concerned, these little texts only include pious formulas; but among these formulas there are two whose frequent recurrence deserves our attention.

¹ By an oversight no reference to the continuation of Dr. van Berchem's notes was made in the April issue.

In the first the scribe testifies that Allah is his "friend" (*waliyy*). The word which I thus read is written in a rather curious way: the *w* is followed by a hook at right angles, the vertical branch of which represents an *l*, and the horizontal branch a final *y*, turning back to the right and upon the line. But the reading is assured by the great number of repetitions. The word itself, derived from a root denoting proximity, signifies "neighbour, parent," and, in a religious sense, "friend." In numerous passages the Coran expresses the idea that the true believer is the *waliyy* of Allah, and that Allah is the *waliyy* of the believer.¹ The relation of the *wilāya* is reciprocal: if man is near to Allah, it necessarily follows that Allah is near to man. Here it is Allah who is the *waliyy*; but Arabic epigraphy also furnishes examples of the inverse relationship.²

As we can see, this idea of an intimate *rapprochement* between man and God goes back at least to the beginning of Islam, and when we recollect that we are in Palestine, and that Hebron, a few hours from Jerusalem, is, for the Moslem, the city of *al-Khalil*, that is to say, the city of Abraham, *Khalil Allah*, "the friend of God,"³ it is tempting to discover in the *wilāya* a memory of Biblical times.⁴ But for man, Allah cannot be a comrade. He is an august friend who is of the nature of a protector. When the writers of the graffiti in the cistern at Wady el-Jōz testify that Allah is their patron, I believe that they do not merely express an opinion; they implore His protection, or they thank Him for having bestowed it upon them.

Elsewhere I have shown that Arab epigraphy betrays its magical origin by some curious survivals, notably by formulas which still recall, unknown to those who employ them, certain rites of sympathetic magic. If this interpretation may find a place here, these

¹ See the passages in Flügel's *Concordance* on the evolution of this word; see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, pp. 285 seq.

² Thus, in an inedited epitaph of the fourth century after the Hegira, at Jerusalem, the writer, foreseeing that the tomb may be violated, warns the violator that he will not be Allah's *waliyy*. So also the inscriptions of the Fatimid Caliphs in Egypt and in Syria give these Caliphs the title '*Abd Allāh wa-waliyyuhu*', "the servant of Allah and his *waliyy*." The Caliph 'Alī was considered to be the *waliyy* of Allah, *par excellence*, and the title is intended to proclaim the fact that the Fatimid Caliphs were descended from 'Alī.

³ After the Coran iv, 124, cf. Genesis xii sqq.; Ep. Hebrews xi, 8 sqq.

⁴ Cf. Exod. xxxiii, 11; Job. xxix, 4; Ps. xxv, 14; Prov. iii, 32; Jer. iii, 4; and, in the Gospels, the "friends" of Jesus, of the Bridegroom, etc.

graffiti will come into the category of ex-votos, and the cistern will present itself as a kind of secret sanctuary, preserved in the midst of Islam, by the side of the places of the official cult, and frequented by the faithful, who, though Mohammedans, belonged, doubtless, to the lower classes of society.

As a matter of fact, these small texts do not make any allusion to the Coran, or to the religious formulas employed by the educated classes. Moreover, when we recall that in No. XXXVIII the cistern is styled a place of refuge (*ma'ādha*), one will be tempted to see there a trace of those ancient asylums where the criminals and outcasts of society sought safety under the protection of a complaisant divinity. The question whether mosques have served as an asylum, in the judicial sense of this term, can hardly be discussed here. If such has been the case, it will be natural that, when public sentiment repudiated the too archaic conception of a religious sanctuary serving to protect the guilty, the fugitives should have localized this right of asylum in lonely caves, in the same way that the visitors of the *weli*, or sacred tomb, throughout Syria, have preserved, unknown to them, the ancient cult of the High-places.¹

The other formula is that wherein the witness beseeches Allah to grant him the *shahāda fī sabilihi*, "in his way," that is to say, for the love of him, or for the advancement of his rule. In the Coran the *shahīd* is the witness who pronounces the confession of faith, and his testimony is called the *shahāda*. Later, under the influence of Christian ideas, *shahīd* comes to denote the martyr who has died for his faith, and *shahāda* then means "martyrdom." On the other hand, in the Coran and in the ancient literature, the phrase "in the way of Allah," is everywhere used of the holy war, *al-jihād fī sabīl Allah*. Thus, the authors of these graffiti pray to Allah to bestow upon them the privilege of dying as martyrs, fighting for their faith; and it may be concluded, therefore, that they lived during the most troubled periods of the Middle Ages—for example, at the time of the first Mohammedan conquest, or at the epoch of the Crusades. This indication, however, is too vague for us to fix the dates of these little texts. Besides, Mohammedan tradition speedily strove to make a reaction against the excesses of martyrdom by enlarging the idea of the *shahāda*. And it succeeded to the extent that the origin of the word was soon forgotten. The

¹ See Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 305 *seq.*; Clermont-Ganneau, *La Palestine Inconnue*, pp. 50 *seq.*

phrase, *fī sabīl Allāh*, became applied to other pious achievements than the sacred war—to pious foundations, alms-giving, and to every activity that is good in the eyes of God.¹

Thus, to resume, the authors of our graffiti are Mohammedans, but poor people whose religious knowledge seems to be limited to fundamental notions on the relations between God and man: the *wilāya* for this life, and the *shahāda* for the other world.² Apparently they are fugitives seeking an asylum and the protection of Allāh; but perhaps they may be simple wayfarers who have inscribed their names upon the moist plaster of the cistern. At what period did they live? Neither the palaeography of the characters nor the tenor of the texts furnishes any precise information on the subject.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

I. *A New Inscription from Marissa.*

IN the April number of the *Quarterly Statement*, a summary was given of a new Painted Tomb in Palestine which had been discovered and described by Mr. Warren J. Moulton. The same traveller has, in the March number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, given an account of another tomb found by him at the same site, which is that of the ancient Marissa, where were situated the sepulchres so fully reported upon by Dr. John P. Peters and Dr. H. Thiersch in *The Painted Tombs at Marissa*. The only matters of interest in the last one uncovered are the inscriptions, which are as follows:—

1. In the year 117. (The grave) of Sabo daughter of Apollo-dorus.
2. In the year 115. The grave of Antiphilus the son of Dionysius.

¹ On the evolution and the different meanings of the words *shahīd*, *shahāda*, and *fī sabīl Allāh*, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 *seq.*, and the sources there cited.

² Hence one can see more clearly why, in Palestine and in Syria in general, every isolated and deserted building, tomb, ruin, or subterranean remains tends to become a *weli* or a *mashhad*, that is to say, a place inhabited by a *waliyy*, or by a *shahīd*.