BAYTÎN, A JORDANIAN VILLAGE
A STUDY OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A FOLK SOCIETY

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Abdulla M. Lutfiyya

1961

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

Baytin: A Jordanian Village

A Study of Social Institutions and Social Change in a Folk Community

presented by

Abdulla M. Lutfiyya

has been accepted towards fulfillment of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Social Science

Major professor

Date 13 November, 1961

O-169

Abstract Abdulla M. Lutfiyya

BAYTĪN, A JORDANIAN VILLAGE

A STUDY OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A FOLK SOCIETY

The villages of Jordan may be divided into three types based on differences in social structure and on the experienced degree of cultural change. These three types are the Transjordanian village, the Palestinian village, and the Frontier type village. This study deals with Baytīn, a village of the Palestinian type located about thirteen miles northeast of Jerusalem, in the administrative subdistrict of Ramallah.

In the beginning an attempt was made to examine the village culture from a distance. This method proved unsatisfactory for several reasons including the tendency of the student to resort to stereotypes and other oversimplifications. For the student who is writing about an area with which he was once familiar, there is a possibility of overlooking how much has been forgotten or how much things have changed. For the one who has moved into a new culture, there is an additional danger. He must be aware of how his sense of values has changed, and that he is looking at his native culture with a bi-cultural focus. To minimize the effectivness of these obstacles a field trip was undertaken in the summer of 1960 before the writing of this study was completed. Thus, the findings incorporated here are, to a large degree, based upon information gathered from informal conversations with the villagers, and from direct observation and participation in the village culture.

Abstract Abdulla M. Lutfiyya

The village community under study is small with a population of fewer than one thousand. Many of the inhabitants are culturally isolated and nonliterate. They are homogeneous in race and custom, ethnocentric, and possess a high degree of group solidarity. Group relationships among them are mainly primary, and the patterns of conduct form a single web of interrelated meanings. Behavior is traditional and uncritical.

Familial and religious sanctions firmly govern behavior. The family plays an important role in social instiutions and in conditioning one's outlook and conduct. Piety is strongly emphasized and religious rituals and ceremonies are highly developed. The villagers possess simple technology and utilize simple tools. There is little specialization of labor among them, and any division of labor which does exist is based largely upon the different roles played by the sexes within the social structure of the community. The institution of government found in the village is oligarchal and authority is superimposed.

In recent years however, this village community has begun to experience a considerable degree of cultural change. This has been the result of contact with the outside Western world achieved through emigration and secular education. "Westerners," or those villagers who have come under the spell of Western culture, have been largely responsible for the socio-economic changes in the village. As a result of their actions a money economy replaced the barter system

Abstract Abdulla M. Lutfiyya

used previously, a secular system of education for boys--and to a lesser degree for girls-- has been developed, a modified dating system has evolved among the young people of the village, and women slowly but surely are emerging from their traditional subservient position as equals of men. Finally, familial dependency is being replaced by individualism, the conjugal family unit is receiving its independence from the extended kin group, and religious conditioning is giving way to newly developing secular and wordly attitudes.

Professor Robert Redfield developed a conceptual framework of reference in which he defines all societies and cultures in terms of certain ideal polar types--urban and nonurban or folk societies. By applying this device to the village under study it was found that Baytīn belongs closer to the nonurban end of the scale and may be characterized as a folk society.

BAYTĪN, A JORDANIAN VILLAGE

A STUDY OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A FOLK SOCIETY

by

ABDULLA M. LUTFIYYA

A THESIS

Submitted to

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

1961

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude to his guidance committee for their continued interest, provocative commentary and constructive criticism through the months of research to the completion of this thesis. These members were Drs. Arthur E. Adams, Harry H. Kimber, Bruce Smith and John Useem, Chairman.

Also an acknowledgement of indebtedness is due my generous friend and colleague Professor George A. Billias of the University of Maine who read the entire manuscript and was especially helpful in matters of literary style.

To my family I owe a great deal. My children have endured much. My wife has been a major source of encouragement and devotion. She created a cheerful environment to make my task lighter, and made sacrifices above and beyond those required in most marriages so that this work might be completed.

Baytin: A Jordanian Village

A Study of Social Institutions and Social Change in a Folk Community

Table of Contents

Note on Transliteration

The following system has been followed in transliterating all the Arabic words used in this work.

b	ب	As in English.
t	ت	As in English.
th	ث	As "th" in three.
j	ج	As English "j" in "jam".
ḥ	ح	Like a strongly whispered "h".
kh	خ	A scraped guttural "h".
d	د	As in English.
th	ذ	As "th" in "there".
r	ر	As in English.
z	ز	As in English.
s	س	As in English.
sh	ش	As English "sh".
ṣ	ص	A thickened "s".
ḍ	ض	A thickened "d".
ṭ	ط	A thickened "t", as in English "tar".
ẓ	ظ	A thickened "th" as in "there".
ʒ	ع	A harsh guttural intonation.
gh	غ	Like the rolled "r" in French, but deeper.
f	ف	As in English.
q	ق	A thickened "k".
k	ك	As in English.

l	ل	As in English.
m	م	As in English.
n	ن	As in English.
h	ه	As in English but never silent.

Vowels and Diphthongs

1. short vowels

a	ـَ	(fathah)	As in English.
i	ـِ	(kasrah)	As in English.
u	ـُ	(dammah)	As in English.

2. long vowels

ā	ا	Long "a".
ī	ي	Long "i".
ū	و	Long "u".

3. diphthongs

aw	وَ	Pronounced as "ow" in "how".
ay	يَ	As English "y" in "why".

The definite article is rendered by "al-". The assimilation of the "l" to a following "d", "n", "r", "s", "t", or "z" has been neglected.

The shaddah (ّ) is indicated by a double consonant, e.g., "iyya".

Proper names are spelled according to Jordanian Arabic pronunciation. Standardized English spellings are retained for well-known place names, e.g., Jerusalem and Amman.

Sayings are quoted in the colloquial Arabic used in the village.

Chapter I

The Nature of This Study

The study of village life in various parts of the world has aroused great interest in the last few decades. (This is particularly true of the underdeveloped areas of the world where the majority of the people live in village communities.) The Arabic Middle East, being one of these regions, has not escaped the attention of researchers. There are a number of recent studies dealing with one phase or another of village life in this area.[1]

Increased interest in Arabic village life has been motivated by a number of the following factors: (1) greater interest on the part of the world's leading nations in the economics, politics, social life and welfare of the peoples of the Middle East; (2) a growing awareness among many observers that the villagers--who constitute from two-thirds to three-fourths of the total population--are a potent political and social force to be reckoned with

[1]Though this is by no means an all-inclusive list, the following studies published recently show the increased interest in the village life in the Middle East: Hamed Ammar, Growing up in an Egyptian Village: Silwa, Province of Aswan (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954); Henry Habib Ayrout, The Fellaheen trans. by Hilary Wayment (Cairo: R. Shindler, 1945); Hilma Granqvist, Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs: Studies in a Muhammedan Village in Palestine (Helsingfers: Sederstrom, 1947); John Gulick, "Conservatism and Change in a Lebanese Village", The Middle East Journal, VIII (1954), no. 3, 295-307; Mahmut Makal, A Village in Anatolia, trans. from Turkish by Sir Wyndham Deeds, and ed. by Paul Stirling (London: Valentine, 1954); Afif Tannous, "The Village in the National Life of Lebanon", The Middle East Journal, III (1949), no. 2, 151-163. See also Lyman H. Coult, Jr., An Annotated Bibliography of the Egyptian Fellah (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1958).

in the future; (3) the desire of many scholars to study the impact of Western thought and technology on the region; (4) the creation of educational programs to help Western students study various aspects of Middle East society and culture; and (5) the recent development of graduate programs and research centers in Middle East universities and colleges.

The studies published thus far about the Middle East village life fall into one of two general categories. One set of studies deals in very general terms with the socio-economic aspect of village life in this area and provides little in the way of specific information. Other studies go to the opposite extreme and devote all their attention to particular topics without relating their subjects to Arabic village life in general. Few Arabic villages have been studied on an individual basis; less than ten such studies have been published thus far.[2]

The Jordanian village: An area for research

Of the few studies in print, only few deal in part or in whole with village life in Jordan. These include the volume by E. Grand entitled The Peasantry of Palestine (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1907); the two-volume study by Hilma Granqvist on Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village, 2 vols. (Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1931); and Marian Zarour's article, "Ramallah:

[2] Raphael Patai, ed., Jordan (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 1957), p. 234.

My Home Town," in the Middle East Journal (Winter, 1953), VII, 430-39. Finally, there is the highly interpretive work by Dr. Afif Tannous, "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," published in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1943 (Washington, D.C., 1944). The last author, as the title implies, tries to find what the Arab village communities in the area have in common--especially those villages located in Lebanon, Syria (U.A.R.), and Palestine (Western Jordan).

The brevity of this bibliography suggests that considerable study of Jordanian village life remains to be done. Indeed, after examining the literature available on Jordan as a whole, a group of American scholars headed by Professor Raphael Patai, an authority on Jordan, were forced to conclude:

> Sources on Jordan include a number of generalized economic and demographic surveys. These contain indispensable information, yet for the most part, it is necessary to extrapolate from them to reach any conclusions regarding village organization. There is also a very sizeable body of literature, extending back into the nineteenth century, which is concerned with what might be labeled "manners and customs of the unchanged and unchanging Holy Land". There is much detailed descriptive material here, but very little of it is of any use in a study of village organization. The scholars involved were almost invariably interested in discovering contemporary evidence of Biblical behavior, and they concentrated their efforts on describing rituals, festivals, and occasionally, economic activities. Analysis rarely goes beyound citing apparent Biblical parallels. It is worthy of note, however, that one intensive village monograph from Jordan (West Jordan) was an outgrowth of the original interest of the author (Granqvist) in searching for Biblical parallels.[3]

[3] Patai, Jordan, pp. 242-43.

The village continues to play a dominant role in the national life of Jordan. Half of the country's total population lives in villages of less than 3,000 inhabitants.[4] The growth in Jordan's urban population in recent years has been caused by the migration of villagers to cities and towns. The village contributes the greatest portion of the nation's labor force and a very high percentage of the country's armed forces. The nation's economy rests to a large degree upon the village; it is here that the population produces those crops upon which Jordan depends.

From a sociological point of view, Jordanian villages can be divided primarily into three types: the Trans-Jordanian village; the Palestinian village; and the Front-Line village.

The Trans-Jordanian villages include the great majority of the communities located in that part of the nation east of the Jordan Valley. This area was formerly known as Trans-Jordan, and is now commonly called "al-Diffah al-Sharqiyyah," or "The East Bank". The villages in this region probably did not begin to take their present form until after the Arab conquest in the seventh century. Most, if not all, of the inhabitants believe that they can still trace their ancestry back to the nomadic tribes that once roamed or are still roaming the area. The village organization in these communities is by and large, a tribal organization.

[4] Paul G. Phillips, The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Prolegomena to a Technical Assistance Program (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1954), p. 71.

Many of the people are still seminomadic and leadership is acquired on a tribal basis.

The Palestinian villages encompass those communities located west of the Jordan Valley--the area of former Palestine which was annexed to Trans-Jordan in April 1950. This area is generally called "al-Diffah al-Gha-rbiyyah," or "The Western Bank". The Palestinian villages have been in existence for much longer than the Trans-Jordanian villages. The inhabitants of Palestinian villages have divorced themselves, to a large degree, from tribalism and nomadic life. They have been permanently settled in their villages for some time and their primary occupation is land cultivation. They have been in contact with and influenced by Western culture and technology.

The Front-Line village, or "Qurā al-hudūd", is composed of Palestinian villages situated along the Armistice Line separating Israel from Jordan. Most of the land owned by the inhabitants of these villages has been occupied and claimed by the Israeli. Dispossessed of their lands, most of these villagers have suffered extreme poverty and have not received any aid from the United Nations as refugees. Located close to an area where fighting erupts on occasions, these villagers have found it necessary to make certain cultural changes and to reorganize the structure of community life.[5]

[5]Cf. Phillips, pp. 80-83.

Each of these three village types has its own peculiar characteristics, and each, therefore, should be studied separately. Accordingly, this present work will be devoted to the study of a particular village only--one which is of the "Palestinian" type.

Methodology

The author began this study in the summer of 1956 by reviewing the literature available on the Arabic culture, Arabic village life and the peasantry of the Middle East. Using the methods of the social sciences, the author developed a conceptual scheme to examine Baytīn, the Jordanian village in which he was born and spent the first twenty years of his life. He began to gather and arrange the data acquired from recollections based on personal observations, contact with fellow villagers in the United States, and letters received over a period of eleven years from persons in the village under study.

Examining a culture from a distance is a device used by many social science students. Such a device has its pitfalls, however. The student is apt to resort to stereotypes and other oversimplifications. For those who have written about regions with which they were once familiar, there is a tendency to overlook how much has been forgotten or how things have changed. For the student who has moved into a new culture, there is an additional danger. He must be aware of how his sense of values has changed, and that he is looking at his native culture with a bi-cultural focus.

Realizing many of these factors, the author decided to return to Jordan on a field trip before completing the writing of this study. Three months were spent in Baytin, the village under study, during the summer of 1960.

Arriving in his native village, the author prepared to make informal inquiries of the Baytīn inhabitants regarding their attitudes toward religious, economic, political and social institutions. First it was necessary to regain the confidence of the villagers. This proved difficult for a number of reasons. Some of the questions asked were of a personal nature, and many villagers declined to answer because they considered the queries a violation of their privacy. But a more fundamental reason for the reticence of the residents stemmed from the fact that present-day Jordan is a police state. Suspicious villagers were reluctant to place their trust and confidence in one who was only visiting. "There are many spies," said one man to the author, "and who can tell who is a spy and who is not?" He went on to add, "One has to be very careful these days. Even some members of one's family cannot be trusted." The fact that the author was a naturalized American citizen compounded the difficulty. Americans are especially mistrusted by the Jordanians because of the support the United States has given the regime of King Husain and are held responsible, in part, for the continued existence of the government in power.

To overcome these fears the author spent many hours in close association with the villagers. He visited the local coffee houses

to converse frequently with the residents. A special effort was made to renew old friendships and to add new ones. In addition, many gifts were given to groups and individuals in order to get back into the good graces of the villagers.

Despite these efforts some villagers remained wary and shied away from any questions put to them. They appeared more willing to provide information about others than to talk about themselves. Quite often they evaded questions by answering in very general terms.

But in the main, many villagers were cooperative and willingly answered questions put to them. They provided valuable and detailed information relating to politics, economics, religion and social behavior. To a large degree, this study is based upon information gathered in such fashion, and from direct observation and participation in the village culture.

Because this field trip was of short duration, only tentative conclusions can be drawn. Given a longer period of time in the field, and a greater investigation in depth, these conclusions might be reinforced or changed to some degree.

It should be noted that this is a specialized study pertaining to a specific Jordanian village of the "Palestinian type". The choice of this community was an arbitrary one, motivated only by the author's familiarity with the place and its people.

It should be emphasized that the village under study is a typical community of its type. The organizational structure and culture does not differ substantially from other Palestinian villages.

Many of the generalizations made here could apply as well to some degree to other Arab village communities in the Middle East. Villages, however, like people, possess their own peculiar characteristics, so some allowances should be made for Baytīn's idiosyncrasies.

Village culture in Baytīn has been conditioned to a large degree by religion. It will be demonstrated in this study that Islam--the religion of all the people in Baytīn--was the major underlying ideological force that shaped the form and the character of the basic institutions of the community. One should, however, remember that in a folk community, such as the one under study, the fundamental teachings of the faith are often mixed with, and influenced by, local myths, customs, emotional experiences and misinterpretations. In this manner a formal religion was reshaped as a popular religion. In the eyes of the folk group this popular religion is the true religion and it plays a substantial role in conditioning the behavior patterns of the villagers.

The village community of Baytīn is also conditioned by the kinship patterns of its members, strong family ties, and a sense of continuity gained from the respect accorded to ancestors and to the elderly members of the community. The villagers are tradition-oriented and shame-oriented. They are the carriers of a local culture that maintains its continuity through folklore and folkways.

In organizing his research, the author used a topical approach. From the mass of information gathered through informal interviews,

direct observation, and residence in the village, the various aspects of the community life have been reconstructed under the following headings: the community; Islam and the village culture; popular religion and rituals; government and politics; settlement of disputes; making a living; marriage customs; and family structure.

An attempt has been made to present the existing patterns of behavior and thought in regard to the major social institutions prevalent in the community under study. Two social modalities--those that deviate extremely or that meet a minimum degree of acceptance, and those behavior patterns that are idealized--have been excluded from this study unless otherwise indicated. The study is descriptive as well as analytical in nature.

Chapter II

THE COMMUNITY

About four miles northeast of the town of Ramallah, the seat of Ramallah Sub-District in central Palestine, lies the small village of Baytīn. The old village is located on the slope of a hill overlooking a relatively fertile valley planted with fig trees. On the slopes opposite the village, one can see the terraced orchards of apricots, apples, plums and grapes scattered in every direction. Beyond the orchards stretch the open fields which are used as grazing and farming lands. On top of a hill situated to the east of the village stands the white stone schoolhouse which has been there for about forty years. The school is somewhat isolated, being located about a mile from the center of the village, which makes it a little more than two miles from the house lying farthest out on the west side of Baytīn.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Two paved highways pass through the village. The first runs from south to north and passes through the western fringes of the village, connecting the district seat with the northern villages. The second highway branches off the first at the entrance to the village and runs eastward through the southern fringes, leading to the villages of Dair Dibwān and Burqa, which are located in the

easternmost reaches of Ramallah District.

Two local bus lines connect the village with Ramallah as well as with the city of Jerusalem (al-Quds). One line originates in the Christian village of Tayba, some twenty miles to the north, and ends in Jerusalem. This line runs two buses daily. The first bus passes by Baytīn around seven o'clock in the morning and is followed by a second half an hour to an hour later. The first bus normally returns around noon; the second does not make a return trip until much later in the afternoon. The other bus line runs a single bus, between Dair Dibwān and Ramallah, and it passes through Baytīn around 7:30 in the morning and again on its way back to Dair Dibwān about noon time. This bus makes additional trips if additional passangers are available.

Other means of transportation are also available. Taxi cabs from the town of Ramallah are always ready to convey people back and forth for a reasonable fare. Several villagers, with the permission and aid of the taxi driver, often get together and share in paying a single fare, thereby reducing the amount each has to pay to a sum comparable to that charged by buses. Some villagers still walk the distance or ride horses or donkeys.

Concerning communication with the outside world, Baytīn has no telephone service and no electricity; nevertheless, several battery radios are available. Two such radios have been placed in coffee shops and are accessible to the patrons of these establishments. The two national newspapers, Falastīn and al-Difā3, are brought

daily to the village by individuals who have travelled to Ramallah or Jerusalem. Groups of men gather around those who are literate, and the news is read and discussed. Newspapers change hands many times in the course of a day. Anyone who buys a newspaper is expected to pass it on to someone else after he has finished reading it. In this way the villagers are able to keep in touch with the affairs of the world.

PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

Baytīn is split into two distinctly different sections. Anyone approaching the village from the west is amazed by the fine, modern houses he encounters along the highways. The yards and flower beds around the houses are well kept. The doors and windows of the stone homes are neatly painted and this section of the village in general looks clean and inviting.

Many of the inhabitants, especially the men, are dressed in western clothing. Indeed, if one converses with the inhabitants of this sector of the village he quickly discovers that most of the men can speak English. This part of Baytīn is called Hayy al-Amirkān, or the American quarter. Almost every house in this area is owned by a family which has at least one member living in the United States, a member who has been successful in business and has sent money for the building of a family home or one who has himself returned to build a home.

The rest of the village is located to the east and northeast of Hayy al-Amirkān, and most of its inhabitants have had little contact with Western culture. Here the houses are older and lack the architectural touches seen in the Americanized sector. Many of the houses are built of mud or made of rough stones. Windows in these homes are few and normally are very small in size, so that the light and ventilation are poor. Most of the houses have not been painted for years. The streets are mostly muddy and dirty and none are paved. Western attire is less in use here, and the same holds true for the English language.

One of the striking characteristics of the eastern sector of the village is the large number of domesticated animals. They roam in the walled courtyards or wander along the crooked and narrow alleys. These animals normally occupy the unfinished basement or the lower story of the house called qāʒ al-bayt, while the people live and sleep in the area above. The two stories are connected by an open stairway. Villagers prefer to have their animals share the same house because they can thus watch their beasts and because the animals provide much warmth during the cold winters. When the weather becomes warm, the beasts are turned loose and are allowed to sleep outside in the courtyard, and one or more men sleep outside to protect them.

In the center of this older sector of the village lies the saha, or what amounts to the town square in many American communities. The saha is a wide empty area with rocks and stones scattered

in every direction. This is a market place of the village and, to a degree, the center of many other activities. Here, on a rough stone in the shade of one of the walls bordering on the saha, one may find an old peddler sitting with his merchandise in front of him, or it could be a cobbler mending some shoes. Either man is apt to be surrounded by villagers who have come to the saha to trade or to socialize. Subjects for discussion in such social gatherings vary from the prices of radishes to the success of some villager who has gone to America or even to what is taking place in the United Nations that week.

Around the saha one finds the three dukkāns (miniature general stores) of the village. Each is composed of a small room filled with shelves, cupboards and drawers packed with merchandise ranging from razor blades and needles to wheat, barley seeds and cotton cloth. Between the counter and the front door one is apt to see a scene familiar to the rural general stores found in America. In each dukkān, sitting on sacks full of seeds or empty wooden boxes, or perhaps standing in a corner, are groups of men who may be engaged in conversation or looking over the shoulders of some card players. In the afternoon when the sun is not so hot, if there is some shade and a cool breeze blowing outside, the crowd moves to the street in front of the store. Only when the dukkān is closed do the men finally go home to eat supper.

Three of the six madāfas (hospitality houses) were once located in this sector of the village. Such madāfas were used in

the past as public clubs. Here the villagers met to drink coffee, to socialize, and to entertain guests or strangers passing through the community. Strangers were offered food and shelter free of charge. The members of the madafa took turns in providing food and bedding for guests, and each contributed his share to provide free coffee three times a day for all present. Club members also hired someone to prepare the coffee, clean the madafa and attend to the needs of the guests.

All the six madāfas in Baytīn have been closed since 1949 and have been replaced by coffee shops run as regular business establishments. The disappearance of the madāfas was caused by two factors. The flood of refugees from the western part of Palestine made such an open-handed policy of hospitality impossible. Moreover, many of the refugees came from areas which were more urbanized, so they were less accustomed to free hospitality and expected to pay for services they received. Also because their social and economic background was different, they were unwilling to contribute toward the maintenance of the madāfas.

There are two coffee shops in Baytīn. Both are operated as partnerships and owned by men from the village. One was built along the paved highway which connects the eastern villages of Dair Dibwān and Burqa with the district seat. It has a shady yard which is popular during the sunny days of spring, summer, and fall. It also has an inside hall which may be used year round. There is a partition separating the hall from the little corner where coffee

and other drinks are prepared. The second shop is located inside the village. An addition was made to one of the dukkāns especially for the purpose of accommodating the shop.

The coffee shop is a most significant institution; it was responsible for the breakdown of two major social traditions. In the first place it reduced to some degree the feeling of solidarity among the members of particular hamūlas (clans) or 3ā'ilas (sub-clans). In the shop men from different hamūlas came to socialize on equal footing, whereas in the madāfas only the members of certain kinships met together, all others being looked upon as strangers or treated as guests. Secondly, the coffee shop helped to personalize hospitality. No longer does the community recognize all outsiders as guests to be provided for at the expense of those who belong to the madāfa. Outsiders now are looked upon either as guests of a specific person or as guests of no one at all. In the coffee shop everyone is experted to pay for the drink he orders, regardless of whether he is a native of the village or a stranger travelling through the area.

The disappearance of the madāfa has created a problem for strangers visiting the community. Unless such visitors know someone in the village it is impossible for them to get food and shelter. The villagers have not yet adopted the practice of selling meals to strangers or of offering lodging for a fee. A hungry stranger stopping at a house and offering to pay for a meal or a room would be treated with contempt and looked upon as a beggar. It is possible,

however, that in the near future restaurants and inns may be set up to meet these needs.

The mosque is located across the street from the first coffee shop. From its appearance one can readily guess that is is seldom used. Both the interior and the exterior of the mosque are sadly in need of repair. The deterioration of the Baytīn mosque is symbolic of the decline of formalized religion in this village.

The mosque consists of but one large, empty room and has no religious ornaments or decorations. The villagers use it for prayer only twice a year instead of five times a day as do devout Muslims. The two days when the mosque in Baytīn is used are Īd al-Fitr, the day succeeding the fast month of Ramadān, and Īd al-Adha, the holiday of sacrifice, commemorating the day in which Abraham was about to sacrifice his son Ismael in accordance with a heavenly command.[1] Once in a great while the spirit of revivalism strikes the villagers. Then they clean the mosque and use it for prayers more frequently, but such an episode lasts only for a few weeks, after which it fades away and the mosque is left in its usual unkempt condition.

During the hot summer months, the well-shaded yard outside the mosque is a favorite spot for scores of villagers who gather to play cards, checkers, and sīja, a native game similar to checkers. Although poor strangers passing through the village often seek shelter

[1]Note the Muslim belief that Abraham was asked to sacrifice his son Ishmael, whom Muslims consider to be the ultimate ancestor of all Arabs, while in the Judaeo-Christian tradition it is believed that Isaac was the son about to be sacrificed.

inside the mosque for a night or two, especially during the winter, villagers stay away from it at night because it is rumored that the building is inhabited by spirits (jinn).[2]

If the inhabitants of Baytīn pay little attention to their mosque, they pay a great deal of attention to their school. The villagers are proud of their school and eagerly volunteer the information that it is one of the oldest government schools in the area. How Baytīn came to have such a school, years sooner than some of the larger neighboring villages, was told to the author by a man who was himself instrumental in the development:

> One summer afternoon the District Governor who was an Englishman and who spoke no Arabic, came to visit the village and brought an interpreter with him. We all met him at Dār 3Abdulhāfiz's madāfa. He asked many questions and we answered them. The interpreter was not very careful when translating our answers into English. This made me shake my head in disagreement constantly, and at one time I was not able to check myself, but told the interpreter in Arabic that he was not conveying our wishes to the governor correctly. The governor noticed my unhappiness and asked the interpreter what was bothering me. The interpreter replied that I was unhappy with the way he translated our thoughts into English. The governor then told the interpreter to ask me how I knew his was an incompetent translation when I did not even understand the language. When I heard his comment I did not wait for the interpreter to ask me but answered the governor directly by saying, "But I do speak English, Your Honor! I lived in the United States for more than ten years." The governor was delighted to discover this, and from that point on he began addressing his questions to me directly. When we had concluded our interview the governor asked me what the village would like the government to do for it. I answered without any hesitation: "To open a government school (madrasat maȝārif amīriyya) for the children." The governor replied, "If the village will

[2]See the story of the mosque's jinn under chapter IV, p. 88 , of this study.

> furnish a school building, the government will appoint a regular teacher and pay his salary."
>
> When I told the villagers about this, some of them were unhappy with the idea because they thought it was going to cost a great deal of money. Although I had no children of my own at that time, I was very interested in seeing a new school started in our village; yet, some of the villagers who had sons of school age were reluctant to back the project. I had been to America, and I knew the value of education. Education is what we need in this country. It is the thing that helps nations and people to become great.

He went on to say that a friend of his who was illiterate, but who had the good fortune to spend a few years in the United States, had come forward and contributed the piece of land upon which the school now stands. Money was then collected from the villagers, and a three room school house was built that summer. The following year a teacher, the first appointee to the Government Elementary School at Baytīn, arrived and presented his credentials to the village fathers.

The school gradually developed into a four-grade school. All the students met in one room and were taught by the same teacher. Upon graduation from the fourth grade many of the youngsters went to work to help their parents. Only a very fortunate few were sent on to larger schools in the area for further study. The situation has changed considerably during the last seven years. Since then two additional class rooms have been added to the structure, the number of grades has been increased to six, and the staff has grown to three teachers and one principal.

Pupils in the school are taught the usual three "R's"--reading, writing, and arithemetic. No effort has been made to change this curriculum which is traditional in this area. None of the students

are taught agricultural techniques or craft skills which might be of value to them in later life.

Discipline in the school is harsh. This is in keeping with the local concept that the fear of punishment will motivate the child to learn. Teachers have been known to slap and kick students or to punish them by keeping them at school during lunch time, thus causing them to miss a meal. Such punishment is meted out to students who did not read their lessons correctly or who misbehaved in class. It is little wonder that many youngsters grow up hating the idea of going to school.

About a hundred yards to the south of the mosque lies the 3ayn, or the public spring, from which all the villagers obtain their drinking water. This spring is located somewhere in the center of a vast area which at one time appears to have been surrounded by a massive stone wall. No doubt the enclosed area was once a great pool of water preserved for the purposes of irrigation. The original wall has been all but destroyed, and only a small section of its eastern side is still standing. The size of the stones used in building such a wall is so great that one is led to conclude that Baytīn was at one time a very prosperous community. The small spring which still exists pours its water into a hole with two openings which are covered by doors. The water is drawn from the hole into cans or rubber containers and then is transported homeward in pottery jars or empty kerosene cans balanced on the heads of women. There are two cement tubs attached to the covered hole into which the spring flows. These are filled

with water every now and then so that cattle, sheep, and other animals may be brought down to drink. Actually none of this water is clean and as a result it is the source of much disease.

The area around the 3ayn is now known as al-bayādir(threshing place). It is covered with a hard crust of dirt, but if one digs down about three feet one encounters a stony surface. Almost every family in the village claims a portion of the bayādir and uses it when separating the grain from the chaff to make the cereals they consume. The methods used in this process are very primitive. The harvested grain is brought on the backs of donkeys and horses. It is allowed to dry and then is thrown on the hard ground and threshed by the feet of animals. A boy, with a stick in one hand and a tin can in the other, follows the beasts around and around keeping them in motion. The tin can is used by the boy to collect the animals' dung before it falls on the threshed grain. In certain cases, a threshing board, made of three or four sticks of lumber is constructed. The under surface of this board is studded with filed stones or with pieces of metal cut in such a fashion as to have a sharp, saw-like edge. Such a threshing board is normally pulled by a horse or occasionally by a team of oxen. The boy who operates such a board can rest himself by sitting or standing on the board, in this way adding to the board's weight and making it more effective. A man with a fork in hand stands by to push back sheaves of grain that have worked out to where they are untouched by the board or the animals.

Once the threshing is done, the men, with the aid of an instrument

called mithrāh (a wooden fork with four wide fingers), separate the seeds from the softly crushed chaff which they call tibin. This is done by throwing the grain up on the air. The chaff, which is lighter, is carried by air currents and forms a pile some distance from the men. The seeds and the hard knotty pieces of chaff fall into a heap near them. Once this is done the farmer, with the help of a sieve, can separate the seeds from the other elements still mixed with it. (These other elements are called qaṣwal.) The tibin is used in winter to feed the animals, while the qaṣwal is used as fuel to heat the ṭabūn, or family bakery.

While they work on the bayādir, the villagers always find time to visit with one another. A group of them, resting, will sit in the shade of a tree and talk and joke about someone or some subject that comes to mind. Other men of the village who have nothing to do at the moment often join these groups. Thus the bayādir becomes another place for play as well as a place for work.

SECTIONAL CHARACTERIZATION

After being in the village for a time, one begins to notice that the community is divided physically into sections, each harboring a group of people who tend to be related and are generally in the same social and economic class. The village under study is divided basically into three sections, called ḥaras.

The first of these, which has already been mentioned, is Hayy al-Amirkān. It is also called al-Hara al-Gharbiyya (the western ḥara)

because it is located in the western part of the village. The common denominator in this sector is based upon economic and social factors rather than on family relationships. Almost all who inhabit this area are relatively well-to-do individuals. Many of them have had some kind of connection with the United States, as has been noted. There is a tendency among this group to educate their children, both boys and girls, at least through the high school level and, if possible, through college. The two American schools, run by the Friends Society, in neighboring Ramallah are the two high schools most attended by the youngsters from this hara. American colleges and universities are attended by the young men more often than are institutions of higher learning in other countries.[3]

Most of the families in this hara moved to this section of the village as soon as one of their members had emigrated to the United States, proved himself successful in business, and sent money home for the family to build a house in al-Hara al Gharbiyya. The people of this hara are respected and looked up to by the rest of the villagers. They are the ones who have money to lend and the ones who buy land. They are also the ones who hire others to work. Their daughters are considered prize prospects for marriage. This is especially true because the parents are not known to keep any part of

[3]Only one out of the nine students who went to college from this hara attended school in England. The student who was the sole exception prepared for his English schooling at the American University in Beirut. Later, he emigrated to the United States, married an American girl, and settled there for a while before returning to the village.

the dowry for themselves but give it all to the bride, even adding to it a handsome gift.

The other two haras are fundamentally based on family relationships. Each is divided into several sub-haras, the latter being the habitats of kinship groups.

One of these two haras is known as al-Hara al-Sharquiyya (the Eastern Hara), or Harit Dar Abu 3Allān (the Hara of the House of 3Allān), the second name being derived from that of the dominant kinship group living in the area. This is by far the dirtiest section of the village. Shepherds who tend the village herds of sheep and goats (a job which is considered the lowest and most degrading of occupations) come from this hara. It is in this section that men with criminal records live. The percentage of children from this sector who graduate from the village elementary school is very low.

Another hara of the village is al-Hara al-Shamāliyya (the Northern Hara), or Harit Dar Nabhān (the Hara of the House of Nabhān). This section is not much more prosperous than the one noted above. The people here are mostly sharecroppers who cultivate the land of other villagers for a specified portion of the produce. In talking to the inhabitants of this hara, one can observe that Turkish words have been incorporated into the speech of the older people and that some old men speak Turkish fluently. This could be because the dominant sub-clan in this hara reached the peak of its power during the last days of the Ottoman Empire.

There is a great deal of hara-conciousness among the people of

Baytīn. The people in each ḥara are well aware that they belong within the confines of their own sector, and even children at play are known to band together according to ḥara and invade the domains of other children. The boys from the Eastern Ḫara are noted among the villagers for being the toughest, and it is in this area that the greatest number of juvenile delinquents are found. Each ḥara has its own speech patterns.

Living conditions in the respective ḥaras tend to differ. In al-Hara al-Gharbiyya alone, this author was able to observe a new trend among the nuclear families to separate and to live in private dwellings, independently from their extended kin group. In the other two ḥaras, the situation is completely reversed. Each dwelling is inhabited by a kinship group composed of several nuclear family units. When these units want to separate, instead of building new dwellings they add rooms to the existing house or partition the old living quarters. Finally, although the inhabitants of the Western Ḫara are the wealthiest, they do not tend to marry more than one wife. This is not true of the men from the other two ḥaras, who practice polygamy as a matter of prestige.

THE LAND AND THE ANIMALS

Baytīn is situated in the center of an arable tract of land. The lots between the houses and those adjacent to the village are commonly called ḥawākīr, and are used for growing vegetable gardens and assorted fruit trees. Beyond this area, one finds the orchards

of figs, grapes, apricots, almonds, peaches and apples. The villagers call this area al-kurūm. The open land used for grazing and growing grain stretches between the orchards and open lands of other neighboring villages. Only the olive orchards break this pattern; they are located beyond the open fields of Baytīn, around the neighboring village of Burqa.

Each area of the village land is identified by a special name. At times the name may be a descriptive one. For example, one area is called al-Bayūdh (the whitish), due to its white clay soil. Other names reveal the identities of earlier holders, such as Khallit al-Muštān (the land of Muštān). Still others depict the demographic features of the land, as al-Sahl (the plain) or al-Wād (the valley).

The villagers work their land during the day and retire to their homes in the village at night; none of them live on the land they cultivate. Almost every villager owns several acres of land which is divided into small lots of approximately one to two acres and scattered in many directions. This is a result of the system of inheritance practiced among the Arabs of the Middle East. In addition to cultivating their own land, some farmers, in an effort to increase their income, lease fields from other land owners and cultivate them for a share of the crops.[4]

Besides growing grains, fruits and vegetables, almost every villager

[4]For a more detailed discussion of land practices see the chapter on economics.

owns a few head of sheep or goats from which he obtains milk and other dairy products. Instead of tending his own sheep, each farmer entrusts them to a professional herdsman called rāʒī, who with the aid of a faithful dog drives his flock to graze every morning in the open fields. These fields are the ones that are not under cultivation that year or the fields from which the crops have already been harvested. In the evening the herdsman returns the sheep and/or goats to the village, where they spend the night in the courtyard of his own house.

During the winter season and through the early spring, the rāʒī takes the sheep in his care to warmer regions in the Jordan valley. He moves back westward to the village during the spring, a time which coincides with the milking season.

Because these herdsmen spend most of their time in isolation and away from group life, they develop personality traits which are seldom understood or appreciated by the villagers. Thus they are ridiculed and laughed at whenever they come in contact with the more sophisticated villagers and no respectable girl would marry a rāʒī unless she has given up all hope of marring anyone else.

"SOCIALIZING" IN THE VILLAGE

Social life and work always seem to go hand in hand among the people of this village. The men visit each other while they work on the bayādir, while they watch others work in the saha, and while they are in the coffee shops or the madāfas. Even in the latter places

the villagers mix work with pleasure, for here over cups of coffee the most important decisions, decisions affecting the life of the entire village, are made. The dukkāns and the mosque courtyard are also places where only the men congregate to socialize.

In much the same fashion women participate in social activities while working. They spend hours, especially during the cold winter days, in the warm ṯābūn, gossiping while they bake their bread. The ṯābūn is the place where the family baking is done, and it is usually found beside the main house. The ṯābūn is heated with qaṣwal and dried animal dung (ṣibil) which is placed around the outside of the baking place and left to burn. Inside the ṯābūn house one finds that the women have built themselves benches of mud and stone where they sit and talk. It is the custom for two or three families to share such a baking place and take turns heating it. A certain amount of time is alloted for each family to bake its daily quota of bread. The families sharing a ṯābūn are not necessarily from the same neighborhood, though quite often they do come from the same area.

Women also find time to chat when they travel in groups to collect natish, a thorny bush which grows uncultivated in the open fields outside the village. They gather such bushes in bundles, which they call hamla, and carry them into the village on their heads. The natish are left to dry on the stone walls around the courtyards of the houses or the adjacent gardens and are used later to start fires in the fireplaces. The women also travel in pairs or in small groups while fetching water in jars from the village spring. Frequently they visit each other during

the day while the men are away working in the fields or relaxing in the coffee shops. It is during such visits that the news in the village is circulated.

On numerous occasions men and women gather in mixed groups. This is true, for example, when they get together to harvest the grain (hasīda), or to pick fruits and vegetables. At such times they talk and laugh together, and secret romances have been known to develop from meetings of this kind. The sexes also get together after working hours in what is called a sahra. Such meetings consist of groups of relatives and friends who meet periodically at different houses. They drink tea and coffee provided by the host, play games or just talk for hours. During the warm weather the sahras are transferred from inside the house to the balcony, the courtyard, or the flat roof where it is cooler and more pleasant.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

All inhabitants of the community regard one another as fallāhīn, or farmers.[5] Nevertheless, the author was able to distinguish four major social classes. The first class, composed of a small wealthy group, includes the returning emigrants, those who are college-educated,

[5]Translating the term fallahin to mean farmers is justified here because most of them are landed. This is not true, however, of the Egyptian peasant to whom the same term is applied.

and those who have held important governmental positions.[6] Most of the members of this class reside in al-Hara al-Gharbiyya, as has already been indicated. The rest of the villagers are respectful toward and envious of this class, and they invite its members to occupy first place in almost every village function.

Although the main occupation of the villagers is farming, members of this class feel that such work would be below their dignity and do not till the land they own. Instead they practice sharecropping, allowing other villagers to cultivate their fields for half of the produce.[7] Members of this upper class are constantly adding to their holdings by buying up available lands, and the competition among them over choice lots has been a major factor in maintaining land values.

The second social class is also composed almost wholly of people who are not directly engaged in agriculture. Included in this class are the school teachers, the village store keepers, and successful craftsmen such as stone masons and house builders. One should also include in this class the few farmers who own and cultivate enough land so that they have become relatively wealthy. An analysis of this

[6]One young man with no more than high school education was elected to the Lower House of the Jordanian Parliament on a leftist ticket. Another young man with similar qualifications, after occupying several relatively important posts with private firms and with the government, opened a travel agency in the nearby town of Ramallah.

[7]Half of the produce is given to the sharecropper only if he supplies half of the seeds, otherwise he receives a third of the produce. See further details in the chapter on economics.

social class reveals some interesting comparisons.

Between fifteen and twenty young men in the village are engaged as teachers in elementary schools.[8] Only two of these teachers have received formal education beyond the secondary school level. Some however have studied on their own and passed certain national examinations in education and psychology. The majority of these teachers are employed by the Jordanian Ministry of Education, and with the exception of five, all teach in government schools in or outside the village.[9] Although such young men visit the village only during vacations and on week ends, they are considered by all the villagers as residents of the home community.[10] The young men also consider Baytīn to be their home and every investment they make in real property is made there.

Compared to the villagers around them the teachers are quite well off economically.[11] They have a steady income and a secure job. In addition to enjoying economic security, teachers travel more and have

[8] The number of young men from Baytin who are employed as teachers is never stable and changes from one year to another. Some of them quit to come to the United States to work or to further their education. By the same token, other young men of the village graduate each year from high school and go directly into teaching on the elementary school level.

[9] The five indicated above have left the village to go and teach in neighboring Arab countries. Two of them went to Saudi Arabia, and the others to Kuwait.

[10] For example, they are assessed for taxes in their native village and never in the village where they are employed.

[11] Teachers' pay ranges between 180-300 Jordanian dinars a year, or between $504-840 at 1960 exchange rates.

more contact with the government and the outside world. Thus, they are better informed and more influential. The villagers for the most part respect teachers and call them 'ustāth, or professor.

The store keepers also make a relatively good living. More than half of their trade is based on credit. Thus a significant number of the villagers are constantly in debt to them. Villagers who need credit or who cannot pay their debts learn to fear the store keepers. This situation gives these businessmen power and social prestige. Stone cutters who own and operate establishments, and successful stone masons who hire themselves out, are also able to command a reasonable income.

There are only a few well-to-do farmers in Baytīn. Members of this group occupy a very critical position because any change for the worse in their economic position is sufficient to ruin their prestige and to cause their fall into a lower class. Many of these farmers deprecate farming, and, instead of cultivating the few acres they own, rent them out to sharecroppers. However, the hunger for land prevailing among the villagers is shared by the members of this group, and they invest in land and houses when they have capital available.

The third of the village social classes, and by far the largest, is composed of small farmers who own and cultivate their own land. Few of these farmers earn enough from their own land to satisfy their simple needs, therefore they often work the land of others for a share in the crops or hire themselves out for very modest wages to

to interested people in the village or outside it.[12] The members of this class are constantly in debt to others and from time to time, especially when faced with a drought or when the family has a son who is to be married, find themselves forced to sell a few acres of the little land they own. By doing this they are forced to rely more and more upon working for others and thus lose prestige and self-respect.

The fourth and the last social class in this community consists of the landless, the aged who have no one to care for them, the handicapped, the shiftless, and those who work as shepherds. With the exception of the latter, members of this class are likely to engage in no regular work of any kind and almost all of them depend upon charity for their existence.

None of these four social classes is closed or rigid; it is possible to pass from one class to another. Upon acquiring some wealth or education, a member of the third class, for instance, may rise on the social ladder without much difficulty. The marriage of a young man with a humble background to a girl from an upper class, though unlikely, could also lead to improvement of status. She might be the daughter of a naturalized American citizen and in this case the couple would be able to emigrate to the United States. Upon their return to the village with newly acquired wealth from America, they will be

[12] In 1960 a man could be hired to do a full day's work for the equivalent of $.70 to 1.10, and a man with a team of oxen might be hired for $2.40 to 3.00 per day.

accepted as members of the elite.[13] Or with the help of his father-in-law, the young bridegroom might be able to secure a steady and relatively well paid job or even go into business for himself. Thus his economic and social status in the community would improve.

By the same token individuals can go down the social ladder under certain circumstances. For instance, if a man loses his wealth or behaves in a socially unacceptable manner, he loses social standing. A man who at one time was rich and generous but due to misfortune has lost his wealth is apt to suffer economically but could continue to enjoy the respect of the villagers throughout his life.[14] His children would be the ones to suffer most. They would find it impossible to live on the good reputation of their father for very long, and they would be reduced to a lower social status unless they could regain the family prestige through deeds of their own. As regards behavioral deviation, one young teacher from the village had been highly respected, but when he violated the mores of the culture by attacking a married woman he not only lost the respect of the villagers, but was shamed and forced to resign his position and flee from the village.

Although the members of one class tend to befriend and interact with each other freely, they are also apt to oppose and fight each other as, for instance, when embracing the cause of relatives from a

[13] Due to this fact, the daughters of a naturalized American citizen are most coveted for marriage.

[14] If such a man were stingy with his money, the treatment given him would be completely different and he would not receive the sympathy and help accorded a generous man.

different social stratum. A man cannot remain neutral in this community; he has to take sides, and in most cases he chooses to stand with his relatives against the members of his social class.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

The population of Baytīn, according to the latest census (1959), numbered 853. This figure includes 113 who have left the village and emigrated to other areas of the world to work and live. This group is included because the villagers still count such persons as citizens, taxing them and hoping that one day they will return to the home community with money to retire.[15]

The population is homogeneous and the popular belief is that all the villagers have descended from a common ancestry. According to legends told by the old men of the community those who first arrived in the area came from the region around Mount Jalbūʒ in the northern region of Trans-Jordan proper, and settled in the village of Burqa. No one knows at what time they came or for what reason. It is possible that these early settlers were nomads seeking water and better pastures for their animals. For a time they may have lived a semi-nomadic life

[15] No villager is known to have emigrated with the understanding that he would not return to the village. In fact, the tendency is for the men to emigrate leaving their wives and children behind with the expectation that they will acquire some wealth and quickly return to the village.

in Burqa and eventually settled down to tilling the land for a living.[16] At any rate, the first settlers from the east were named after Mount Jalbū3, the area from which they were supposed to have come. Thus they were called al-Jalāb3a. This name, which is still held by one of the two hamūlas (clans) that live in Baytin, was later corrupted into al-Jarāb3a.

About the middle of the 19th century the village of Burqa, which was divided between the two tribal political factions of the time--the Qaysites and the Yamanites, was invaded by some Yamanites of the neighboring village of Dair Dibwān. The invaders, aided by the Yamanites of Burqa, were able to sack and burn the houses of the Jarāb3a, forcing them to flee to the ruins of the Biblical town of Bethel located four miles to the west of Burqa.

The ruins of Bethel, or Khirbit Baytīn as it was then called, belonged to the Qaysites of neighboring Birah. They welcomed the Qaysites from Burqa and offered them protection against any Yamanite attack. When the Dibwāni Yamanites attacked Baytīn in about 1880 the newly-settled Qaysites hoped to avenge themselves. They waited until the attackers were below them in an open valley and opened fire, killing and wounding many of the enemy, including one chieftain. The Yamanites quickly acknowledged defeat and returned to their village. The Yamanite Dibwani never dared attack the Qaysites of Baytīn after

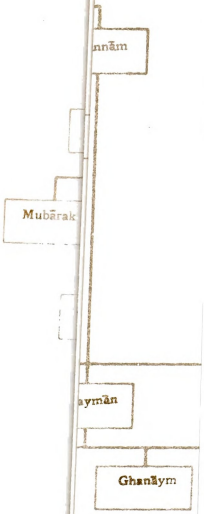
[16]Some support for this theory may be found in the fact that the people of Burqa until recently placed more emphasis on sheep herding as the basis of their economy than upon farming.

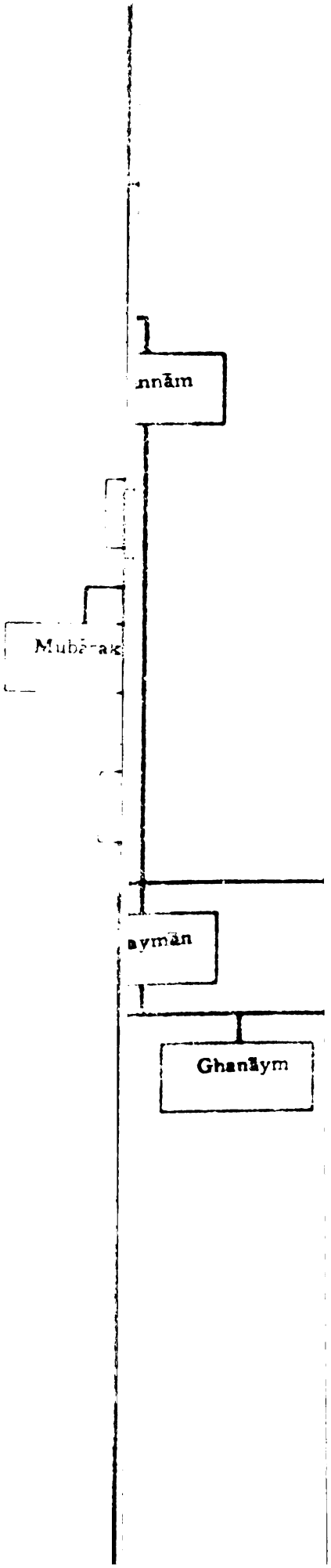
this incident, and to this day the people of Baytīn like to recall that victory over their enemies.

Just when the Jarāb3a clan split into the Jarāb3a and Dār Hamid is not clear. But it is certain that the split took place before the arrival at Baytīn. In the beginning the two clans must have remained fairly close to one another for purposes of security because they were both threatened by a common enemy, the Yamanites. But as time went on the two groups grew apart.

The number of original settlers at Baytīn cannot be ascertained. Judging from the best estimates available the total number must have been somewhere between fifty and seventy-five persons. In the second battle with the Dibwani, which occurred several years after the move to Baytīn, no more than twenty males participated, this number including some youths no older than fourteen or fifteen years. Since that time the population has increased rapidly; today it is nearly ten times greater than it was then. The following diagram shows the way in which the village population has branched out into clans and kinships.

The new inhabitants of Baytīn used the ruins of Bethel as the site of their village, rebuilding missing walls and doors of the ancient Judaic buildings. In fact, if one studies the structure of the homes in the older section of the village he finds the architectural design of the anterior part of each house to be similar to that used during the Roman period.


nnām
Mubārak
aymān
Ghanāym


nnām
Mubārak
aymān
Ghanāym

All inha

of the Islami

contains the

angel Gabriel

vision.

The Islam

and the summa

Ahl or deeds,

a strict way o

of the village

with a complete

demands a close

and punishment

between the sa

believer, no ma

[1]Short

A. E. Kramers (

[2]Cf. H

H. Denison Ross

MacDonald, Musl

(New York: Cha

Modern Trends I

1936), pp. 86-8

(New York: Bool

Chapter III

Islam and Village Culture

All inhabitants of Baytīn belong to the Sunni (Orthodox) branch of the Islamic faith. Their fundamental belief is that the Qur'ān contains the very words of God as revealed to Muḥammad through the angel Gabriel, and that only through Islam can one hope to gain salvation.

The Islamic tradition which stems from the teachings of the Qur'ān and the sunnah (the 'way' pointed out by the Prophet's ḥadith or sayings, fi3l or deeds, and taqrīr or silent approval)[1] imposes on the community a strict way of life that tends to govern the thoughts and the actions of the villagers. Islam, it should be noted, provides its followers with a complete system of social conduct based on divine sanction. It demands a close adherence to divine law, promising reward for practicing and punishment for neglecting it. Islam, further makes no distinction between the sacred and the secular. It demands that all actions of the believer, no matter how trivial, meet prescribed religious standards.[2]

[1] Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. by H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers (London: Luzac, 1953), pp. 552-53.

[2] Cf. Henri Lammens, Islam: Beliefs and Institutions, trans. E. Denison Ross (London: Methuen & Co., Litd., 1929), P. 43; D. B. MacDonald, Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), p. 107; H. A. R. Gibb, Modern Trends In Islam (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 85-87; Ilse Lichtenstadter, Islam and the Modern Age (New York: Bookman Associates, 1958), pp. 85-86.

That, "where the Qur'ān did not fully and clearly provide direction, the inquirer should seek trustworthy information as to what Muḥammad had said on the subject, what his actions had been with relation to it, or what he had approved in others."[3]

In describing this totalitarian aspect of Islam, Professor Grunebaum very ably puts it in the following words:

> Islam aims at comprehending life in its totality. It posits the ideal of a life in which, from the cradle to the grave, not a single moment is spent out of tune with or merely unprovided for by religious ruling. The distinction between important detail of daily routine loses much of its meaning when every step is thought of as prescribed by divine ordinance. Profane and sacred no longer denote the area withdrawn from, and the area subject to, religious supervision. No sphere is left in which our doings are inconsequential for our fate in the hereafter. The relevancy of our failings will vary according to their moral and social significance, but nowhere shall we find a no-man's land to which religion does not lay claim. The Prophet had been charged with revealing not merely the great metaphysical truths but the rules of daily conduct as well. The Lord wanted the faithful to organize their commonwealth in a certain manner, he enjoined them to follow a certain code of law, and he selected for them a certain way of life. Thus, by accepting Islam, the believer accepted a ready-made set of mandatory answers to any question of conduct that could possibly arise. As long as he obeyed sacred custom the Muslim's life was hallowed down to its irksome and repulsive episodes, and he would be fortified by the assurance of his righteousness.[4]

The general teachings of Islam have been fully analyzed in many impressive scholarly works in the English language. Any attempt to discuss these teachings here would be repetitious. But a summary of

[3]Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), XII, 114.

[4]Gustav E. Von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 108.

certain aspects of the faith is necessary here for a clear comprehension of how Islam has come to affect the outlook on life and the everyday behavior of the villager.

Allah, according to Islamic tradition, is the creator (Khāliq) of all that was or is. He has complete control over the universe and what is in it. Nothing has happened or shall happen without his knowledge or will. He is the only eternal and unique reality. At the end, "every thing shall perish except His face".[5]

Man is God's creature and slave (3abd). Man was created for the sole purpose of worshiping and praising God.[6] God does not need man for anything, for He is "a Being which suffices unto itself, all powerful, omniscient, and containing all things in itself...."[7] God is "closer to him [man] than [his] jugular vein."[8] He keeps a constant watch over man, and He "misleads whom He will and guides whom He will."[9] Thus, "man must live in constant fear and awe of Him."[10]

Islam divides all human acts into five general categories: (1) Halāl or lawful acts. These are the actions in harmony with the

[5]Qur'ān, v: 26-27.

[6]Qur'ān.

[7]As quoted in Henri Masse, Islam, trans. by Halide Edib (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938), p. 129.

[8]Qur'ān, L:16.

[9]Qur'ān, Lxxiv:31.

[10]H. A. R. Gibb, Muhammedanism: An Historical Survey (New York: The New American Library, 1955), P. 50.

teachings of the Qur'ān and the Prophetical tradition. They can earn the doer ḥasanāt or good marks. (2) Ḥarām or forbidden acts. These are the actions in which the doer violates the teachings if Islam. They result in sayi'āt or bad marks. (3) Mandūb or commendable acts, whose accomplishment is reqarded, but whose omission is not punished. (4) Mubāḥ or permissible acts; and (5) Makrūh or reprehensible acts, which are not punishable.[11]

Every person is assigned two guardian angels at birth who are charged with keeping a thorough account of one's behavior on earth. The first angel sits on the right shoulder of man and records the ḥasanāt. The second sits on the left shoulder and records only the sayi'āt. "Not a word does he [man] utter but there is a sentinel (raqīb) ready [to note it]."[12]

Islam teaches that man receives punishment for ḥarām acts both on earth and in the hereafter. Punishment on earth comes from two sources. The wrongdoer is punished by the theocratic authority ruling in the Islamic state or community in which he lives. The sinner is also subject to loss of wealth and to personal suffering through the will of God. In the words of the Qur'ān: "whatever misfortune happens to you, is because of the things your hands have wrought."[13]

In the hereafter, all persons will be separated into three classes.

[11] Masse, pp. 141-42.

[12] Qur'ān, L:17.

[13] Qur'ān, xLii:30.

First, the Maqarrabūn or "the nearest to God". This group includes the prophets, the most righteous, and the most blessed among men.[14] Secondly, Ashābu al-Maymana, or "companions of the right".[15] These are the righteous people who have obeyed God's words and behaved according to his teachings. They are "the godfearing men and women, humble and charitable, the forgiving, whose who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake [and] those who have fought in the way of God."[16] Thirdly, there are Ashābu al-Mash'ama, or "companions of agony". These are often called Ashābu al-Shamāl, or the "companions of the left".[17] This group includes the unbelievers, the wicked, and the wrongdoers whose say'āt are outweighed by their hasanāt.

The first two groups, the Muqarrabūn and Ashābu al-Maymana, are promised rewards in the Garden of Paradise. Here they shall recline on thrones encrusted with gold and precious stones and be served by "youth of perpetual freshness." They shall be offered heavenly foods and drinks under shady trees that have no thorns. In addition, they shall enjoy the company of heavenly maidens who are pure, graceful and beautiful, and who will never grow old.[18]

[14] Qur'ān, lvi:10-26.

[15] Qur'ān, lvi:8; 27-40.

[16] Gibb, Mohammedanism, p. 54.

[17] Qur'ān, lvi:9; 41-65.

[18] Qur'ān, lvi:10-40; Gibb, Mohammedanism, p. 54.

The third group, Ashābu al-Shamāl, are condemned to the fire of Hell. Here they shall abide forever, with no release from their torment. The sinners shall feed on the fruits of the cursed zaqqūm tree which will boil in their insides like molten brass. When thirsting they shall be offered boiling water which they shall drink "like sick camels raging with thirst."[19]

Islam enjoined the believers with five fundamental obligations (farā'id). These are commonly known as arkānu al-Islām (sometimes arkānu al-dīn), or the "Five Pillars" upon which Islam is built. The fulfillment of these obligations is essential for salvation. The "Five Pillars" are: (1) Al-tashahhud, or the profession of faith according to the well-known formula of al-shahādah (the testimonial creed): "lā ilaha illa Allāh wa Muhamadun rasula Allāh", or "there is no god but Allāh and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allāh". (2) Al-salāt, or the traditional canonical prayer of worship,[20] in which the Muslim is supposed to indulge five times a day at certain fixed hours.[21] This prayer is preceded by ablution (wudū') and the Muslim prays while facing Mecca.

[19] Qur'ān, lvi:41-44; xxxvii:62-68; and xliv:43-46.

[20] This prayer is not to be confused with the nāfilah, or the supererogatory prayer; the tahajjud, or nocturnal prayer; the du3ā', or prayer to ask fulfillment of one's desires; and salāt al-janāzah, or the prayer of the dead.

[21] The five prayer times are: (1) salāt al-subh, or the morning prayer, which is held at dawn before sunrise; (2) salāt al-zuhr, or noon prayer; (3) salāt al-3asr, or afternoon prayer, held about 4 p.m.; (4) salāt al-maghrib, or the evening prayer, just after sunset; and (5) salāt al-3ishā', or the night prayer, which is held between the evening prayer and mid-night.

(3) Al-ṣawm, or the fast during the month of Ramaḍān.[22] During this religious period, the faithful are supposed to abstain from all eating, drinking, smoking and sexual intercourse from sunrise (buzūgh al-shams) to the appearance of the cresent moon (ru'yatu al-hilāl) at evening. (4) Al-zakāt, or payment of the tithe;[23] and (5) al-ḥajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

In practicing their religion, the villagers at Baytīn tend to ignore most of the more demanding religious practices and to pay attention only to those traditional Islamic teachings that have been fully incorporated in the culture as a part of everyday behavior. Very few of the villagers pay zakat faithfully. During the month of Ramaḍān, only a small number, about five percent of the total population, fast for an entire month. Only rarely do more than two dozens of people pray regularly during this period. So far as making pilgrimage to Mecca is concerned, only two couples have ever made the journey in the past half century--and even they made the trip for

[22]Good behavior is also demanded and expected from the faithful during this month. The Prophet is quoted as having said: "If any one does not give up speaking lies and practising deception, God is not concerned with his abstaining from drinking and eating." See Emile Dermenghem, Muhammad and the Islamic Tradition, trans. Jean M. Watt (London: Harbor and Brethers, 1958), p.117.

[23]It is not to be confused with al-ṣadaqah or voluntary contributions that may be given at any time.

[24]Cf. Raphael Patai, "The Middle East as a Culture Area", The Middle East Journal, VI, (Winter, 1952), 19.

reasons that were not wholly religious.[25]

Contrary to their covert behavior, all the villagers attempt to convey the impression that they are practicing their religious duties assiduously. Although the majority do not fast during Ramaḍān, most villagers refrain from eating, drinking or smoking publicly during that month. While pilgrimages to Mecca have been very rare, almost all inhabitants have talked about making such a trip one day. If caught in a violation of any of the religious rites, villagers feel compelled to provide some excuse for their behavior. For example, they will claim sickness or ill-health has required them to break the fast if they are found eating or drinking in the day during Ramaḍān.

The reasons for this behavior are not hard to discover. Social ostracism awaits anyone who openly ignores the religious rituals or speaks lightly of Islam. The degrading title of kafir, or unbeliever, is difficult to shed once it is acquired.

For the few who do keep the faith devoutly, there are social rewards. Persons noted for their piety are highly respected. Greater trust is placed in them and their opinions are more highly regarded. For this reason, local politicians and leaders strive to convince the

[25]The first couple had a son, who, while working in Saudi Arabia, invited his parents to come visit him. He paid for their trip and made it possible for them to make the journey at the right time of the year to fulfill the obligation. The second couple were well-to-do, and the husband was an active local politician. They went to Saud Arabia as tourists during the pilgrimage season and fulfilled the rite while there.

people of their religious sincerity.[26]

Although the official rites of Islam are largely ignored, the villagers have developed a philosophy of life that includes the following religious traditions: (1) a feeling of dependency on God; (2) the fear of God's punishment on earth as well as in the hereafter; (3) a deep-seated respect for tradition and for the past; (4) politeness to all and generosity.

In the pages that follow an attempt will be made to analyze the behavior of the people at Baytīn in the light of these religious attitudes.

Dependency on God

"In shā'a Allāh," or the phrase "if God wills it," looms large in the thinking of the average inhabitant of Baytīn. Implicit in this saying is the fatalism which is characteristic of most villagers. One hears this phrase repeated constantly. A visitor may ask a villager: "Are you going to send your son to school next year?" The inevitable answer is, "in shā'a Allāh." No further explanation is added or needed. One is apt to hear a mother telling her son who is on his way to school; "in shā'a Allāh you succeed in passing your examination today." His reply then would be: "in shā'a Allāh."

If a villager loses something of value, he does not stop to examine

[26]Cf. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 3rd ed. (E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1908), p. 285.

the causes for the loss, but merely sighs philosophically "hathihī mashī'atu Allāh," or "this is the will of God." Friends who come around to offer sympathy merely reinforce this belief by repeating the same saying. The author recalls once listening to an old man telling another villager who had just lost his sick cow, the only property he had, "this is the will of Allāh. By taking your cow, Allah has tested your faith. Be thankful to Allāh and you may be rewarded a better cow." "You are right," replied the second villager, "this is mashī'atu Allāh, there is no god but He, and let Him be praised in all circumstances."

The villager exhibits a similar fatalism in his farming. He sows during the early spring repeating with every handful of seeds he throws in the ground the formula: "I am throwing [the seeds in the ground] with my right hand. My dependence is on Allāh alone [to let them grow]." He then lets nature take its course. If sufficient rain falls, and a good crop is harvested, then Allāh must have answered his prayers. If the results are not good, the outcome is taken as a sign that God is unhappy with the behavior of his 3abd, or servent.

During one long drought, farmers sought out the aid of a pious layman to pray for rain. He ordered many of the men and boys to gather in the saha in the center of the village with some tin cans and sticks. Together, they marched through the narrow and dusty streets beating the cans and calling upon God to send rain. This noisy demonstration was repeated for four successive afternoons. Finally, "God heard and answered the request," and rain came pouring down "from heaven".

The same philosophy was evident in a discussion on "poverty and

birth control" that took place in one of the coffee shops in the village. The consensus of those present was that all children were born simply because God willed it. No child is ever born without his ruzq (livelihood) being sent down from heaven with him. Hence, the child is never a burden to his family. It is God who decides how much property and wealth anyone should have. How unwise and foolish then, of anyone to try and limit his offspring, hoping that this might increase his wealth. Indeed, to practice birth control is to oppose the will of God.[27]

This dependency on God is so strong that it tends to manifest itself in almost every phase of the villager's behavior. Every villager utters certain traditional sayings several times each day to invoke the blessing of God. When he begins a task, he says aloud that he is doing it "in the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate."[28] When he has finished, he offeres his "thanks to God the Lord of all people" for enabling him to complete the job.[29]

If a villager receives some aid in accomplishing a certain task, he thanks his helper by telling him "may God pay you /ḥasanāt/ for the work you have done for me." The helper then answers: "sāmaḥak Allāh," or "may the Lord forgive you /for me/." If the villager simply uses the phrase "thank you" to his helper, the helper reminds him, "let your thanks be to God (al-shakru li-Allāh) /for He is the one who caused

[27]Cf. Qur'ān, Xvii: 31.

[28]This is the phrase with which every surā (Qur'ānic chapter) begins.

[29]Excluded from this is the ḥarām or unlawful act, where the doer refrains from invoking the name of God.

me to help you]".

At the completion of a meal, the guest looks at the host and says: "May God will that your tables continue [to be loaded with food so that you may always be able to entertain your guests]," or "In shā'a Allāh al-ṣufra dāyma." The guest might also say: "Allāh yikhlif 3alayk wa ykathir khayrak," meaning "may God compensate you [for what you have given me to eat], and heap his abundance upon you." The inevitable rejoinder is "3alaynā wa 3alayk", or "may he do that for both of us."

Despite all that has been said to demonstrate the dependency the villager places on God, it is pertinent to note that he recognizes he must work in order to provide for himself. He must depend upon man as well as God and during the late summer and fall seasons he gathers food in his house to see him through the winter months.

The fear of God's punishment

The Muslim villager, as noted above, feels that God keeps a very close watch over him. God is interested in his everyday behavior; he will be punished for his "bad" acts, and rewarded for his "good". Consequently before the villager will commit a sin or undertake a move which might be construed as sinful, he asks himself the question: "Would God be pleased or displeased with my behavior?" If he proceeds to commit the sin, he lives in fear of God's punishment and hopes that he might appease Allāh by repentance and doing good deeds in the future.

Laboring under this sense of guilt, the villager is apt to interpret any ill-fortune that befalls him as God's retribution for the wrong he

has committed. For example, one villager reported that two days after he had committed adultery, one of his children drowned. In another case where a family lost its wealth, villagers were quick to point out that the family fortune had been acquired in a dishonest way in the first place.

A sinner who is in doubt may often interpret his dreams in terms of divine guidance. After a bad dream, he may seek repentence by performing "good" deeds to make up for his sins. Such repentance might include the giving of gifts to the poor, bringing gifts to religious shrines, or fasting an extra number of days in addition to the general fast during the month of Ramaḍān.

If a villager suffers misfortune but cannot attribute it to any sin or wrong doing, he is apt to ask: "God what have I done wrong that you should punish me?" Such an attitude is evident in the remarks made by parents who are mistreated by their offspring. Mothers are often heard to remark in the presence of their friends and disobedient children: "I have never committed the sin of adultery. Why, then, should God punish me by giving me such a disobedient son!!"

Swearing by God, the prophet Muḥammad, and the Qur'ān is a normal habit with most villagers. It is not considered an act of disrespect, provided that the villager does not perjure himself.[30] Such expressions

[30]The Qur'ān prohibits the use of oaths in ordinary talk and suggests that they should be reserved for serious matters. See Qur'ān, II: 224. Further, oaths and vows, according to Islam, should be made in the name of God alone and not in the name of the Prophet, the Qur'ān, the Ka3ba (Black stone) or a saint, as is now customary at Bāytin. See Tritton, p. 146.

are so sommon that a simple conversation between two friends might run as follows:

- "Have you seen my son Aḥmad today?"
- "Wa-Allāhi (by God) no."
- "We have been looking for him all day. Wa-Allāhi we do not know where he has gone."
- "What seems to be wrong with him? Wa-Allāhi he strikes me as a good boy."
- "Wa-Allāhi we do not know. He asked us to buy him a bicycle last night, and we said no. This morning he disappeared. Wa-Allāhi we do not know where he has gone."
- "That's it. If you don't get them what they want they get angry with you. Wa-n-Nabi (by the Prophet), children these days need a big stick to be broken on their backs. Wa-Allāhi al-Ṣaẓīm (by God the greatest) if I were in your place I wouldn't look for him. When he gets hungry, he'll go home. Come, let me buy you a cup of coffee."
- "May God heap his abundance upon you. Wa-Allāhi one's heart does not leave him [from worrying in such a case]. I'd better look for him."
- "May the Lord accompany you [in your search]."
- "And [may he be] with you."

Despite the frequent use of such oaths, they hold a special significance in certain instances. An oath by God given by an accused person is often accepted as a sufficient proof of his innocence. It is believed that whosoever swears intentionally and falsely by God, His Prophet, or by the Qur'ān shall suffer on earth as well as in the hereafter. The story is told of a villager who died within a week after he had sworn falsely on the Qur'ān that he did not move the stones marking the boundary between his land and that of his cousin.

The villagers believe further that it is worse sin to swear by God falsely while facing southward toward the Prophet's tomb in Medina,

or while at the shrine of a saint. By swearing falsely at a saint's shrine, the perjurer antagonizes the saint in addition to God. Numerous stories are told by the villagers of saints appearing to them in their dreams after they had sworn a false oath, and threatening to punish them if they did not confess to their crimes and repent to God by paying a kaffāra (atonement).[31] One tale told by a villager in this regard was that of a man who agreed to swear by God on the shrine of a local saint called Shayban, that he did not steal his neighbor's lamb. On their way to the shrine, a cobra suddenly appeared before the men and would not allow the accused person to pass. This was accepted by the accused as ample warning that he should tell the truth. He than confessed and returned to the village to pay for his crime.

In addition to punishing him for his own "bad" thoughts, the villager fears God might also punish him for keeping company with anyone who has "bad" thoughts, or who makes blasphemous remarks. Hence, if someone utters in his presence a wicked statement, the villager automatically tries to disassociate himself from his companion by shaking his head in disapproval and by invoking the repentance formula: "Astaghfuru Allāh al-3aẓīm", or "I beg forgiveness of God the Greatest". Then, he turns to the sinner and declares: "La ḥna bi-hthāk wala ismi3nāk", or "we are not near you and we have not heard [what] you [have just uttered]."

[31] In its original form the kaffāra consisted of feeding or clothing ten poor men, the freeing of a slave, or fasting for three consecutive days. See Tritton, p. 146.

The villager often tries to appease God and to avoid His punishment by vowing to offer Him a dahiyya, or a sacrifice.[32] Sacrifices are also offered on behalf of a dead relative. This is done with the hope that the sacrifice will please God so that He may add hasanāt to the record of the deceased to help out-weigh the say'āt the dead person acquired during his life time.[33]

In summary, the fear of God's punishment tends to direct the villager to take a course of action in his daily behavior that is in keeping with Islamic ethics. On the other hand, the idea that God can be appeased and that His forgiveness can be obtained by repentance and the offer of sacrifices leads many a villager to deviate from Islamic teachings and to commit criminal acts.

A deep-seated respect for tradition and the past

Muslims are taught to look to the Qur'ān for inspiration and guidance in whatever they do. This holy book is said to be the most complete source of truth and wisdom. But Islam also sanctions traditional behavior and gives it precedence over innovations.[34] This view finds a legal support in the sharīʿa doctrine that declares, "al-qadīm yabqā

[32] Sacrifices of this kind involve the killing of sheep or oxen and the distribution of meat as well as the hides among the needy or to persons outside of the immediate family.

[33] Cf. Tritton, p. 147.

[34] Cf. H. A. R. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West: Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), I, Part I, p. 214.

3ala qidamih," i.e., "anything of the past has precedence [over innovations]." Hence, Islam provides its followers with a tradition that is deeply entrenched in the religion and hardened by past usage.

The rural folk at Baytīn, like most Muslims, are tradition-oriented. "Good" and "bad" acts are so defined in the light of the traditional norm. Thus, if an act is in accord with custom, it is good; if not, it is bad. In the absence of a specific traditional norm, one's behavior is expected to be guided by the spirit of tradition in general.[35]

In view of this orientation, the observer can, without much difficulty, explain the reasons behind certain practices found in this society. There is a constant yearning to get back to "the good old days." Innovators are always the objects of shame and ridicule. Invariably there is an outright rejection of anything new that appears to conflict with tradition. There is always a deep respect reserved for the aged, and a heavy reliance upon sayings and proverbs in every-day conversation.

The average villager is strongly influenced by respect for his ancestors. When faced with a problem, he will often pause for a while to ask how his father or some other person whom he idealizes would have reacted in a similar situation. There is a strong feeling that the problems of the present could be better handled by people who lived in the past. Those of past generations are invariably found to be wiser, more generous, and more courageous, whether they were local men of a

[35] Cf. Sania Hamady, Temperament and Character of the Arabs (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960), p. 152.

relatively recent history, such as, Mūsa Liḥmad,[36] or famous men of distant Arab communities, such as Ḥātin Ṭayy, Aby Zayd, or 3Antara ibin Shaddād.[37] When the sīrah, or biography, of these men is read in public, the listeners are often heard to say, with a sense of sincerity and certainty, that "never will the womb of a woman carry another like him."[38]

The average villager resents social change and rejects anything new that conflicts with tradition. Old men often express unhappiness because they have survived their mates and friends of the past and have lived to see customs change. They seem to think that this is part of God's punishment for wrong-doings they have committed. Older persons are often heard to exclaim: "God! what have I done to cause you to lengthen my age so that I may live to witness the strange and shameful practices of the new generation?" One mother compared the differences

[36] Mūsa Liḥmad is a local figure from a near-by village who gained a great deal of reputation early in this century as a generous and an outspoken shaykh.

[37] Ḥātim Ṭayy, Abu Zayd, and 3Antara ibin Shaddād date back to pre-Islamic times. The first, a poet of some repute, gained his fame from the fact that he personified the Arab ideal of generosity and hospitality. Abu Zayd, a legendary figure of the past, was noted for his valor and courage in the battlefield. The third, 3Antara of the tribe of 3Abs, was the son of a slave mother. He was acknowledged by his father only after he had distinguished himself in the battlefield. 3Antara is also a poet of renown, and the hero of a celebrated romance with a cousin named 3Abla. See Hazim Zaki Nuseibeh, The Ideas of Arab Nationalism (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959), pp. 14-15f.

[38] The sīrahs of such celebrated heroes were often read at homes and in public places, especially during the long nights of the winter season. Villagers have shown less interest in such biographies in recent years. This is due in part to the use of radios in coffee shops and in the homes.

in courtship during her youth and today and said to the author that she would rather have died than to have lived to see her daughter accompany her fiance to the cinema. She added, "People today have no shame. They have lost the virtues of the past. They are no longer Muslims."

Villagers in general display resentment toward any who reject the customs of the past. School boys who dared twenty years ago to walk in the streets without wearing the traditional headgear were ridiculed and nicknamed limfarōīn, or "those with uncovered heads"--a term indicating that they were shameless, deviators and irreligious. Villagers who acquire alien habits, meaningful though they may be, are held in contempt. Hence any villager from a lower social class who uses silverware when eating will be confronted by the comment: "What did the good God give you a hand with five fingers for?" Villagers seem to think that whoever acquires strange habits is a deviator, rebelling against the ways of his people and against Islam.

The villagers are taught from childhood to show great respect for their elders. Children are often instructed to kiss the hands of older people when they are introduced to them, to be polite in the presence of elders, and to stand up and offer them their seats. They are to remain standing until the older folks are all seated. Young people are encouraged to listen to and to learn from their elders. Only from older people who have lived in the past can one learn anything of value, they are told. The wisdom of the elders is seldom questioned. If one deviates from this norm and dares to challenge the ideas of an older person, he is put in his place immediately, by the latter who would tell him:

"How would you know that? You were only born yesterday." If a younger person shows impoliteness in the presence of someone older than himself, he is rebuked for his behavior: "Haven't you a shame! I am older than your father."

Respect for elders also stems from the belief that the prayers, vows, and curses of the elder folks are always answered.[39] Young people are often reminded that an "elder's blessing is [part] of the [greater] blessing of God." And that "the blessings of [one's] parents are better than any thing [in the whole world]" in helping to achieve one's goal in life. By the same token, it is believed that whoever causes his parents to be angry with him arouses the anger of God, and hence earns His punishment.[40]

Respect for the past is also demonstrated in the way the villager expresses himself in everyday speech. Few villagers ever come up with an original expression. For the most part, the average villager relies upon traditional sayings and proverbs to convey his thoughts. Indeed, this is so much the case that the expression of ideas is often limited and restricted by reliance upon such folk sayings.[41]

Any speaker shunning such speech forms is immediately suspect. The

[39] Cf. Hamady, p. 154.

[40] Qur'ān, XVII: 23-24; XXIX: 8; XXXI: 14; and XLVI: 15-18.

[41] Cf. Eli Shouby, "The Influence of the Arabic Language on the Psychology of the Arabs," Middle East Journal (Summer, 1951), V, 93; H. H. Ayrout, The Fellaheen, trans. by Hilary Wayment (Cairo: R. Shindler, 1945), p. 132.

wisdom of his statements is doubted unless they are heavily larded with proverbs. On the other hand, the villagers listen attentively to anyone who "documents" his conversation with sayings and popular expressions. This, in part, explains the extreme popularity and great enthusiasm in Baytīn for the radio program called "Maḍāfit Abū Maḥmūd" or the "Guest house of the father of Maḥmūd". The characters on this program employ colloquial language with humerous proverbs.[42]

The villagers also enjoy listening to classical Arabic, which differs considerably from colloquial language used in the village. This is not because they understand it at all, but because of the association with the glorious Arab past, and because it is the "sacred" language of the Holy Qur'ān.[43]

Politeness and Generosity

Islam, it has been noted, provides its followers with a code of ethics that is designed to govern the behavior of the villagers at all times. The Muslim villager is required to observe a large number of obligatory forms of politeness. These are so rigid that they leave the

[42]"Maḍāfit Abū Maḥmūd" is a daily radio program in which the two main characters try to depict the conversation of two elderly gentlmen, al-Hajj Māzin and Abū Maḥmūd, who meet every afternoon to discuss the affairs of the day. The discussion may touch on a political or social problem. The characters criticize the problem and offer a solution. Mr. Sami Judah, a member of the Jordanian House of Representatives, and a former Minister of Communication, informed the author, that, in his opinion, "Maḍāfit Abū Maḥmūd" is the favorite program of all villagers in Jordan. City dwellers listen to it also, but for a different reason: To mock the fallāḥīn and the way they express themselves.

[43]Shouby, pp. 288-89.

individual very little room to adopt or to develop his own expressions of courtesy or etiquette. The average villager conforms to these traditional forms of etiquette, and because they are accepted so generally he is able to do so in an atmosphere of ease and seeming informality.

The filial piety demanded and expected of all Muslims has already been noted. Such behavior is considered a religious duty. Ill-treatment of parents or disobedience to them constitutes a sin. The child is considered to owe his parents a great debt for bringing him up.

Every Muslim child is trained to behave in accordance with an intricate system of etiquette in the presence of his parents. He is to kiss their hands--especially the father's--every morning, or at least on special occasions, such as religious holidays. He is to seek their du3ā (prayer to ask fulfillment of one's desires). He is to avoid their anger at any cost. He is to respond to their wishes--regardless of how foolish these wishes may be. He is to refrain from doing any thing that might displease his parents or cause them to suffer.[44] It is his sacred obligation to remember them in his prayers, even after their death, and to ask for God's forgiveness and mercy for them.[45]

Children on the whole, are very obedient to their parents. Only the most impolite child dares to cross his legs, smoke, or utter profanity in the presence of his parents. No child dares to sit down while

[44] The Qur'ān, XVII: 23 instructs: "Thy Lord hath decreed that you worship none but Him, and that ye be kind to parents. Whether one or both of them attain old age in thy life, say not to them a word of contempt, nor repel them, but address them in terms of honor." See also XXIX: 8; XXXI: 14; XLVI: 15-18.

[45] Qur'ān, XVII: 24.

his father is still standing, or to start eating before his father. The polite child faces his parents with utter humility. He does not talk back if rebuked, or raise his hand in retaliation if struck. If his parents confiscate his personal belongings, the polite child is not expected to object to such an action.[46]

This complete obedience to parents does not end at an early age. It continues even after the child is married and lives away from his father and mother. In fact, a married man's first loyalty is to his parents; his loyalty to his wife comes second. If his wife does not honor and obey his parents, it is the husband's duty to rebuke her, beat her, and even divorce her.

Tradition and religion combine to instruct the villager on how to be a good relative and neighbor. Every one is expected to visit his neighbors and relatives at their homes on religious holidays. A gift, usually in cash, for every close married female relative (waliyyah) is expected on religious holidays from every close male relative who can afford such a gift. No such visits or gifts are demanded or expected on national holidays.

Relatives (aqribā') and neighbors (jirān) are also visited and helped, if help is needed, on other occasions. This is especially true at the arrival of a new baby or in the event of a death in the family. Similar visits are paid whenever a relative or neighbor goes or returns

[46]The villagers claim that when a young man complained to the Prophet that his father had confiscated his personal wealth, the Prophet told him: "You and your wealth are [the rightful] property of your father."

from a long trip, as well as in case of wedding and sickness.

Parents often instruct their children that it is a sin to forsake a waliyyah. They remind them also that the Prophet has specifically instructed his followers to look into the needs of their neighbors before they should look into the needs of their own homes.[47]

The etiquette of greetings and salutations is also highly formalized. When villagers meet in the street, the young must invariably greet the old first out of respect.[48] Upon entering a house, the guest is required to give it his blessing.[49] Salutation is regarded a religious obligation (wājib), for the Qur'ān commands "...when ye enter houses, salute one another with a greeting from Allah, blessed and sweet."[50] The person greeted is expected to respond with a better greeting than the one he was saluted with. Thus, if one should salute another by using the traditional phrase "al-salāmu 3alaykum," or "peace be upon thee," the reply of the latter most often would be: "Wa 3alaykumu al-salām wa rahmatu Allāhi wa barakātuh," or "and let the peace, the

[47] The Arabic saying in this connection is "3alayk biljār qabl al-dār". The Prophet is also quoted to have said: "None of you really has faith unless he desires for his neighbor what he desires for himself."

[48] It has been noticed that in certain instances, such as when the younger person is of a higher station in life, the elder person would initiate the greeting.

[49] A greeting is offered even when one enters an empty house, for fear that what might appear to be an empty house is inhabited by spirits.

[50] Qur'ān, XXIV: 61.

mercy and the blessings of God be upon thee".[51]

The villagers often quote a saying that runs: "If guests do not enter a house, angels do not enter it." This is their way of indicating that such a house is not blessed by God. In view of this traditional understanding, the villager usually puts aside any work that he might be doing for the moment, regardless of how pressing the work might be, in order to welcome any guests. Once the host sees his guest approaching, he puts on his best smile, regardless of his mood, and declares in a loud voice "ahlan wa sahlan", or "[you are visiting] your own people, and [treading upon] plain grounds." He then shakes hands with each guest, repeating the traditional phrase "ahlan wa sahlan" several times. The guests are then led into the house, offered the best seats, and every effort is made to provide for their comfort. A cool reception in eyes of the villagers is considered bad taste and reflects bad manners.

The host feels it his duty to make the guest feel welcome. He will say that he is delighted and honored by the visit and inquire why his guest has not visited more often. The host will do everything in his power to give the impression that he has no work to do, so as to spare his guest the feeling that he may be imposing. For fear that his guest might feel lonely, the host will not leave him alone except under very unusual circumstances.

[51] A tradition maintains that the Prophet has said: "To him who says al-salāmu 3alaykum, Allah would record ten good deeds (hasanāt), twenty for wa-rahmatu Allāhi (and God's mercy), and thirty for wa barakātuh (and his blessings)."

The ritual of hospitality commences by offering coffee to the guest immediately after his arrival. The guest accepts the coffee readily because it would be an insult to his host to reject it. However, upon being offered the cup of coffee, the guest murmurs the traditional phrase: "laysh ha al-ghalaba", or "Why did you bother yourself so much?"

This first tender of hospitality is followed by offering food to the guest. The guest shows more restraint when food is brought. He politely tells his host that he is full and at the moment has no desire to eat. He further volunteers the information, whether or not it be true, that he has eaten very recently. The host, at the other hand, will appear very apologetic for the simplicity of the food he has to offer. But he will insist that his guest partake of all the food he desires.

The guest will be served the very best of food as long as he remains. It is not rare to find a sheep is killed to prepare one meal for a single guest. Indeed, the poor host may go into debt simply to entertain his guest in the proper style. In view of this custom, the women in poorer families who cannot afford meat in their diet have developed an expression that runs: "May the Lord bring us some guests, so that we may have meat broth to eat".

The host also has the responsibility of clothing his guest if the visit coincides with religious holidays. When the visit is over, the host will make every effort to delay the departure of his guest. If the guest admires any item in the house during his stay, the host

will offer it to him as a gift. The guest, of course, is expected to decline the offer.

The guest has certain responsibilities toward his host. He is expected to be polite and to show his appreciation for everything done for him. He is also expected to leave a sizeable portion of the food offered to him so that the women and children of the household may have something left to eat.

Generosity or karam is another old Arab virtue sanctioned by Islam. One of the ninty-nine names (or attributes) of God in the Arabic language is "al-Karīm" or "the /most/ generous." The Qur'ān is also called "al-Qur'ān al-Karīm" or "the Generous Qur'ān". These are but some of the indications of the high value placed on the act of generosity in Islām. Within the village, the person who develops a reputation for being generous and hospitable finds that his friends increase, his word is respected, and that he is admired by all. On the other hand, if one gains the reputation of being stingy, he loses freinds and his prestige in the community drops.

Generosity is not to be saved for special occasions or only for those close to the family. Villagers expect acts of generosity to be continuel and to cover all occasions and individuals. Thus, if anyone drops into a household while the family is eating, the host will insist that the newcomer share the food. One is not expected to smoke a cigarette without offering all the people around him a smoke. In the coffee house, the person entering rarely pays for his own coffee. However, he is expected to pay for the coffee of those who come after him.

The villager returning from a successful business trip is expected to distribute part of his profit among the members of his hamūla by bringing them gifts and buying them food and clothing. One villager retruning to his community after a long and successful business career in the United States was reported to have purchased gifts and clothing for as many as sixty-five relatives.

From a religious point of view, the most appreciated and highly rewarded form of giving, is the sadaqah. This consists of gifts to those in need, whether they are related to the family or not. Such gifts given out of piety to please God are rewarded by promises of heaven and of even greater wealth.[52]

[52]Cf. Qur'ān, II: 177; 195; 215; 254; 261-274; III: 134; XXX: 39; LVII: 18; LVIII: 10; LXIV: 16-17. The prophet is reported to have answered a man who asked him: "What is the best thing in Islām?" by saying: "It is to feed [the hungry] and to give the greeting [of peace] both to those one knows and to those one does not know."

Chapter IV

Popular Religion and Rituals

The religious beliefs of the villagers contain many elements that are not Islamic in character. These are often the product of local myths or customs or reinterpretations of religious doctrine. In the minds of the villagers, such elements become associated with Islamic doctrine though they are not part of the dogma at all. An attempt will be made in the following pages to discuss the most important religious beliefs and rituals which are a blend of the Islamic faith and local folkways and to show how they influence the villager's behavior.

Religious Festivals

Only two religious festivals are celebrated at Baytīn. The first is called al-Īd al-Ṣaghīr (the Little Festival) or Īd al-Fiṭr (the festival celebrating the breaking of the fast). It occurs on the day succeeding the great fast at Ramadān. The second is called al-Īd al-Kabīr (the Great Festival) or Īd al-Aḍḥā (the Sacrificial Feast). It takes place seventy days after al-Īd al-Ṣaghīr, on the day the pilgrims decend from the mount of Ṣarafa in Saud Arabia to offer their animal sacrifices to Allah at Mina, fulfilling the final ritual of the pilgimage.

During the early morning hours of the festival, a pious layman, whom the villagers respectfully call "al-shaykh", mounts the roof of the village mosque, and chants thanks to Allah on this occasion. Later

on, he is joined by some boys who gather around him to repeat after him the same chant. This serves as a reminder to the villagers that the day has been officially proclaimed a religious holiday.

All villagers put their work aside for the day, don their best clothes--their dress is often new and specially prepared for the occasion--and get ready to celebrate the 3īd. The men gather in the sāḥa and in coffee shops. The women prepare special food and sweets for the 3īd and carry some to the tombs of their dead relatives in commemoration.

Around nine o'clock, a short 3īd prayer is offered by some of the men in the mosque. At the end of the prayer the imām (prayer leader) offers an appropiate sermon (khuṭba).[1] Once the sermon is completed, the men shake hands with one another and exchange greetings by saying "kul 3ām wa-antum bi-khayr", or "may each and every coming year find you enjoying the best [of life]." The response to this greeting is

[1]The imām at Baytīn, who can hardly read or write, was believed to have prepared the same two sermons, one for each 3īd, for the last thirty years. Actually he has written neither. He has only memorized them from a book of sermons published in Egypt. In the sermon pertaining to al-3īd al-Ṣaghīr, the imām congratulated all those who have just completed the fast at Ramaḍān. He reminded them that they should have given away their zakāt. He informed them what awaits the faithful in the hereafter, and what punishment awaits the sinner. He went on to declare that the 3īd was not for those who had been able to buy new garments for themselves, but for those who had been able, due to their good works, to earn the true blessings of God.

In the sermon pertaining to 3īd al-Aḍḥa, the imām reminded the faithful that this was the day on which the pilgrimage to Mecca ended. He suggested that all in the audience should make the journey some time in the future. He went on to explain the nature and the function of animal sacrifices on that day.

"the same to you".

The men then form lines across the road leading to the village cemetery and take up a chant as they proceed to the burial ground. Upon their arrival at the cemetery, they read the fātiḥa (the first chapter in the Qur'ān) collectively and offer a blessing to all those buried at the spot and to "the souls of all dead Muslims". Then, each person moves to the graves of his ancestors and friends. He reaches into the container of food placed on the grave and takes a bite. He then recites the fātiḥa, and offers it in behalf of the grave's occupant. The rest of the food is given away to the poor or to others who visit the grave. It is believed that the food given on such a day earns the dead person ḥasanāt that will help to lighten his burden for the say'āt he acquired during his lifetime. Once a food container becomes empty, it is quickly removed from the grave. The tradition among the villagers is that if any angel visits the area on such a day and discovers an empty container, the dead person on whose grave it was found suffers a curse.

Following the visit to the cemetery, the men return to their homes to exchange the ʿīd greetings with their families. Wives and children greet their husbands and parents by wishing them well and by kissing their hands. Members of the upper class stay at home to receive visiters. After such visits they drop in at the homes of their neighbors to extend greetings. They then proceed to bring gifts to their married female relatives, such as daughters, grand-daughters and cousins. Completing their visits, they return home to enjoy a hearty meal.

On the day before and the morning of al-Ṣīd al-Ṣaghīr, the zakāt (tithes) are given out. These tithes are given out in kind or in cash by the villagers with means to those who are in need. At the sacrificial feast, all those possessing the means sacrifice a sheep or a goat. The meat is normally consumed by the family offering the sacrifice and very little, if any is given away to poor relatives. By such sacrifices, the villagers seek to commemorate Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son Ismael in accordance with a divine order he is said to have received in a dream.[2] The poorer families of the village satisfy themselves, on such a day, by sharing an animal sacrifice, or by buying meat to feast on. Although the celebration of this Ṣīd lasts officially for three days, nothing special is usually scheduled for the last two days.

Two decades ago the villagers used to celebrate a third holiday called al-Ziyāra (the Visit), or Ziyārit al-Nabi Mūsa "the visit /to the shrine/ of the Prophet Moses". Although this was not wholly a religious holiday, it received the sanction of popular religion and was considered by many villagers at Baytin to be as important as the celebration of the two Ṣīds.

Historically speaking, this holiday, was believed to have been instituted by the celebrated Muslim warier Saladin. The time of this holiday was selected to coincide with the Christian and Jewish holidays

[2]According to Muslim tradition, Abraham was asked to sacrifice his son Ismael, instead of Isaac, as is stated in the Bible.

of Easter and Passover. Because there were always huge Christian and Jewish congregations in Jerusalem during this period, Saladin felt that a large gathering of Muslims at the same time and in the same place was necessary to guard against any attempt by either of the two minorities to rebel against Muslim rule. Thus, the Thursday before Easter was proclaimed Khamīs al-Amwāt or "the dead /remembrance/ Thursday".

This was to be a day for visits to the cemetery and colored eggs were to be distributed among the children; much in the same manner that the Christians of the area make visits to their cemeteries and distribute eggs on Easter. On Wednesday and Thursday of that same week, Muslims from all over the area journey to the shrine of Prophet Moses situated in the desert south-west of the town of Arīḥa (Jericho). To this place, many bring sheep or goats to be sacrificed in fulfillment of a nathr (a promise to sacrifice an animal in behalf of God or a special saint, if one's wish is fulfilled). The meat from such sacrifices is cooked and those present have a feast.

On the Friday before Easter Sunday, "the visitors" of the shrine ascend to Jerusalem, and villagers from all over the adjacent area meet them there to continue the celebration. During the morning hours of that day, "al-Zuwār" or "the visitors" go to two holy shrines in Jerusalem; al-Masjid al-Aqṣā or al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (Omer Mosque), and al-Sakhra al-Sharīfa (the Dome of the Rock Mosque). More sacrifices are offered here. Many of the Zuwār attend the noon prayer in one of the two holy shrines. In the afternoon, they gather along the Jericho road to watch the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem--the then spiritual and political leader of

Palestinian Muslims--ride his horse from the eastern edge of the city to Bāb al-Šāmūd (Damascus Gate). During the entire day, the Zuwār dance and sing in the streets of the Old City. In the evening or the day following, "the visitors" return to their villages loaded with stories and gifts to surprise those who have stayed home.

Al-Ziyāra was first discontinued at the outset of World War II, when the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was forced to flee the country. The Jordanian authorities who annexed the Arabic part of Palestine after the Palestinian war did nothing to revive this holiday. Perhaps this was because they wanted to abolish any memory the Palestinians had of the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem who was an avowed enemy of the Hashemite rulers of Jordan.

Very few villagers from Baytin still make the ziyāra yearly. They visit the religious shrines in Jerusalem, offer their prayers there, and return in the afternoon to their village. But generally speaking, the ziyāra is a dying holiday, if it is not already dead. Khamīs al-Amwāt (the Dead [remembrance] Thursday), however lingers on.

Attitudes Toward the Dead and the Other World

The loud cry of a female (walwala or ṣiyāḥ), usually serves notice that someone has died. If the deceased is one of high station, there is a great public display of emotion. Female relatives weep and wail, tear their clothes, or beat themselves about the face and the breast. If, on the other hand, the deceased is an infant girl, old woman, or one of a humble background, the news of death is received with much more calm

and less display of emotions.

Just prior to and after death, a male relative or friend would remain in the room with the dying or dead person reading from the Qur'ān. Once the news of death has spread through the village, relatives, neighbors, and friends put aside their work for that day and proceed to the home of the deceased.

The first thing done to the corpse is to make certain that the dead person is laid on his right side with his face turned toward Mecca. The hands are placed on the waist with the right hand atop the left one as if it is standing in prayer. The eyes are closed. The face of the dead person is left uncovered for all to see. The villagers believe that dying on Friday (the Muslim's Sabbath) and having a white shiny face are sure signs that the deceased is heaven-bound.[3]

In case of the death to an important villager, messages are sent immediately to the people of the neighboring villages, to others who are related through blood or marriage, and to friends of the deceased, to inform them of the death and of the burial time. All those attending the funeral services from outside the village are normally invited to a dinner prepared in their honor by members of the hamula other than that of the deceased.

In preparing the corpse for burial, it is first washed seven times with soap and water by a member of the same sex who knows the ghusl rites.

[3] This concept is probably borrowed from the Qur'ānic verse, III: 102, stating that on Judgement Day the faces of the faithful will be white; those who have denied the faith will have black faces.

Then a pious layman performs the ritual of ablution so that the deceased may face God and the angels in a state of purity on Judgement Day. The body is then perfumed and the orifices are closed with perfumed cotton plugs. The seamless grave clothes (kafan) are then put on.

Ordinarily the burial takes place on the day of death.[4] But if a person dies in late afternoon or at night, burial is delayed until the second day. At no time, day or night, is the deceased left alone for fear that a mischievous spirit may carry the corpse away. The few persons who stay with the corpse at night refrain from sleeping so that they will not be mistaken for the dead by the spirits.

Around noon time, the body is placed in a wooden container (sahliyya) and changing relays of four men carry it on their shoulders. For the pallbearers this is considered a pious act which will be rewarded in the next life. The pallbearers move slowly chanting: "Allāh is greatest. There is no god but Allāh, and thanks be to Allāh." The men are followed by wailing and crying women. Upon arrival at the cemetery, the corpse is placed on the ground near the grave, and the men alone line up behind it to perform salāt al-janāza (the prayer for the dead). This is a short prayer differing from regular prayer in that it does not include bowing or prostration. The corpse is then taken out of the sahliyya and laid gently on its right side with the face towards Mecca in a rectanglar trench (lahd) lined with flat stones. The trench is then covered tightly

[4]Tradition maintains that the Prophet has urged the faithful to hasten the burial of the dead.

with some more flat stones, and then covered over with dirt. The grave is marked on the outside with two lines of flat stones, each line curving a little toward both ends to meet with two relatively high stones placed there to indicate the head and the feet of the grave.

This is normally followed by the talqīn ritual. A pious layman recites instructions to the dead person informing him that that day was his last worldly day, and that he is entering upon his first day in the other world. The deceased is told not to be afraid when the two grave angels, Mankar and Nakīr visit him, and to "tell them in pure, straight Arabic" that "Allah is my God. Muḥammad is my Prophet. The Qur'ān is my Book, and Islām is my religion. I have died while professing Islām, and I bare witness that there is no god except Allāh, and that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger." The dead person is further told to remember that death (al-mawt), the questioning by Munkar and Nakīr (su'āl Munkar wa Nakīr), the Resurrection (al-nushūr), the Judgement (al-ḥisāb), the Garden of Paradise (al-Jannah), and the Fire of Hell (al-Nār) are all true (ḥaqq), and that he should not doubt their existance.

Once the talqīn rite is completed, the men read the fātiḥa and offer it as a blessing to the soul of the deceased. They then leave without looking backward at the grave. Tradition maintains that whosoever looks backward at the grave dies within the year. The villagers further believe that when the men start to leave, the corpse of a sinful person starts to rise to go with them. However the corpse is hit hard by the flat stone placed over its head, and the deceased then knows that he is dead and cannot possibly escape judgement, come what may.

In the days that follow the burial, several rites are observed. The male relatives of the deceased are invariably invited to a ʒasha or supper prepared for them by a member of a hamula other than their own. On the morning succeeding the day of burial, the womenfolks bring food to the grave. The men come later, read the fātiḥa in behalf of the dead, chant the testimonial creed, and proceed afterwards to eat the food. Once through they depart, and the women carry the empty food containers and follow them. This particular ritual is called fakkit al-ḥanak (loosening the jaw).

On each Friday for the three weeks after the burial, the female relatives of the deceased bring food at noon and place it on the grave. This action is called raḥmah or blessing. The village men come along shortly afterwards, chant the testimonial creed, eat from the food, and read the fātiḥa in behalf of the deceased. The rest of the food is given to children and to poor people who frequent the cemetery on such occasions.

On the Friday which falls forty or so days after the funeral, an animal sacrifice is offered in behalf of the deceased. The cooked meat is placed atop plates full of boiled rice and hot cream of wheat (ʒaṣīda) and distributed all over the village. Some of the food is also taken to the grave and served to all those who pay a visit. The dead are also remembered, as it has been already noted, on the two ʒīds and on Khamīs al-amwāt (the Dead [remembrance] Thursday).

A person, who is held in high esteem by his fellow villagers, is normally mourned publically for a long period of time. It is ironical,

however, that only women go through the motions of such mourning while almost all of those who are mourned in this manner are men. The women of the village gather in the courtyard of the deceased to lament, wail, tear their clothes and to praise the dead person.[5] At times they may be joined by women from neighboring villages, who come to participate in this melancholy task. Such lamentations (nuwāḥ) last for several days and may sometimes run into weeks. The female relatives of the dead person often declare a period of ḥidād or mourning, during which they refrain from wearing colorful or white clothes. They stain their bright clothes with blue or black dye, abstain from singing or attending gay parties, and refrain from changing clothes for a certain period of time. The ḥidād period may be short or long, lasting from few weeks to several years. The men, generally speaking, do nothing of this sort to demonstrate their sorrow. But the villagers as a whole refrain, at least for a week, from engaging in any gay public activities that may indicate happiness at such a time.

Tombs, for the most part, have a crude appearance, with no writing to indicate who is buried at the spot. A few people, however, do build a small monument to mark the grave of a dear, dead relative. The inscription on such headstones usually start with the traditional phrase, "In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful." Sometimes the word

[5]No professional mourners are used in Baytīn to lead the womenfolk in their melancholy task, as has been observed in case of other Muslim village communities in the Arabic Middle East. Cf. Maurice Gaudefery-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, trans. John P. McGregor (London: George Allen & Unwin, Litd., 1950), p. 171; Ayrout, p. 102.

"al-fātiḥa", is inscribed in the middle of the top line, serving as an indirect suggestion to the viewer that he read the first chapter in the Qur'ān in behalf of the deceased. In the lines that follow, there is usually indicated the name of the deceased and the date of his death. The cemetery is not kept with care and weeds and bushes grew everywhere. There is no cemetery custodian and animals in the village frequently graze in the graveyard.

In rare cases a grave may be reopened in order that two close relatives may be buried together. But under no circumstances are a male and a female ever put together in the same grave.

The villagers believe that two grave angels, Munkar and Nakīr, visit the grave on the night of the burial. They question the deceased: "Who is your God, Prophet, Book? What is your religion? Etc." If the dead person answers these questions the way he was instructed during the talqīn ceremony, and remembers to profess the Islamic confession of faith (al-shahāda), the two angels open for him a window (ṭāqa) overlooking Paradise, and leave him to lie there in peace. If, on the other hand, the deceased fails to answer, or answers incorrectly, the angels beat him with iron clubs (mirzabbah) and open a window in the tomb through which the horrors of Hell can be observed.

There is much uncertainty concerning the abode of the dead between death and Judgment Day. But the most accepted theory among the Baytīn villagers is that the body of the deceased will finally turn to dust and that his soul will join other souls located in mysterious places on this earth. One such place is the Cave of Souls located under the Dome of the

Rock mosque in Jerusalem, where souls are said to travel and hum like bees.[6] The soul of the sinner continues to live in pain and agony, while the soul of the righteous person will experience blessed harmony.

The souls of the dead always maintain some interest in the affairs of their living relatives. Thus, from time to time, a soul may make visits to living relatives in their dreams, to inform them of the location of a hidden object, to offer an explanation or advice on certain matters, or to complain about certain practices of the living.[7] If the visiting soul appears wearing white or green garments or carrying a masbaḥa (rosary), then it is believed to be in heaven. If the soul appears unhappy, disturbed, or dressed in black, it is believed to be destined to hell. The villagers also maintain that when a new soul arrives other souls gather around the newcomer to ask the latest news of their friends and relatives.

The Day of Judgment (Yawm al-Nushūr, or Yawm al-Qiyāmah), when the angel Israfil blasts the trumpet (al-Ṣūr), the soul returns to the same body it occupied during lifetime. The grave opens by itself, and everyone emerges alive on the surface of the earth. All beings, then are gathered together on a huge plain, prepared by Allah for the occasion, to await the hour of judgment.. At last, each person receives a book in which his good (ḥasanāt) as well as evil (sayi'āt) deeds are recorded.

[6]Cf. Tritton, Islam, pp. 150-51.

[7]An invitation by the dead to a living person in a dream is accepted as a sign that the invited person will die within the year.

The faithful carry their books in their right hands, while the unfaithful carry them in the left hands. When the turn of each person comes, he appears in front of Allah, who causes his acts to be weighed in accurate scales (mawāzīn). The faces of the faithful (al-Mu'minīn) will be white, while the unfaithful sinners (al-Kafirīn) will have black faces.[8] The Prophet Muḥammad then intervenes (yatashafa3) in behalf of the Muslim community. This intercession is accepted by Allah. The people are then divided into two groups, one bound for Heaven and the other for Hell.

al-Najāsah or Uncleanness

Najāsah denotes a state of uncleanliness resulting from the sex act. Two other terms are used by the villagers in this same connection. The first, is "janābah", or "sidedness"; the second, is "Iblīs rākibni", or "I am ridden by the devil". The latter term is used only in case of men, and never with reference to women. A woman is considered najisah when she is having her menstrual period.

While in this unclean state, men and women are expected to refrain from all religious activities. They avoid entering holy places or coming into contact with anyone or anything sacred. Intentional violation of this law constitutes a sin so far as the villagers are concerned.

Women feel obligated to break the fast during Ramadān if they are having their menstrual period. Under these circumstances they abstain from entering mosques, religious shrines, or cemeteries. During this

[8] Qur'ān, III: 102.

time, they refrain also from touching the Qur'ān. Once the menstrual period is past, the women are expected to make up all the obligatory religious activities (farā'iḍ) that they had missed.

If the state of najāsah is acquired through sexual intercourse, or even by dreaming about sexual intercourse, then the persons involved are expected to cleanse themselves before performing any religious rituals. Otherwise, they stand to suffer the burden of a penalty.[9]

To regain a state of ṭahārah, or cleanliness, one has to undergo the tashṭīf rite. This involves washing one's body seven times with water, repeating with each time the testimonial creed.

Certain objects are unclean in themselves. Any direct contact with such objects results in transferring the quality of uncleanliness to that portion of the body, place, or object touched. Included among such unclean objects are dogs, pigs, intoxicants, blood, and waste matter.[10] Upon coming into contact with any of these animals or objects, persons must cleanse themselves in accordance with accepted rites. If a spot is fouled by waste matter, urine or blood it is considered unfit as place for prayer. By breaking wind or urinating, persons who prepared themselves for prayer, become unclean and can cleanse themselves only by ablution rites.

Foods are also divided into clean and unclean catagories. Snails,[11]

[9]This might include offering longer and additional prayers, fasting two days for each day the fast was broken in Ramaḍān, or feeding or clothing a number of poor persons.

[10]The single exception to this is the urine of a suckling infant.

[11]Although the Qur'ān is silent about snails, the villagers at Baytīn consider them unclean and abstain from eating them.

pork, carrion,[12] blood, and flesh of any animal that has been immolated in the name of one other than Allāh are considered unclean. Such foods are to be avoided. Foods acquired through sinful means such as cheating, stealing or gambling are unclean. The flesh of all animals which have not been slaughtered in accord with the religious laws are considered unclean. Religious laws require that three conditions be met: First, the person slaying the animal must himself be in a state of tahārah; secondly, he must invoke the basmala formula--indicating that the slaughtering is done in the name of Allāh; and finally, the throat of the animal must be cut in such a manner that the blood drains from the body instantly.

Although foods prepared by Christians and Jews are accepted as clean and lawful to eat, foods prepared by members of other religious sects, especially idolaters, are to be shunned and avoided. Those compelled by necessity to partake of unclean foods are forgiven by Allāh.[13]

Spirits

Baytīn villagers believe in the existance of spirits. They believe that such spirits are invisible, dwell among people, inhabit certain places, and have the power to assume the image of an animal or human. Most spirits are considered harmful and dangerous. They may be kept away by invoking the name of God, as in the basmala formula, or by carrying about a slip of paper on

[12] Carrion is defined as any animal which has been killed by another, strangled, or killed by beating or falling from a height. Qur'an, V: 4.

[13] Cf. Qur'ān, VI: 145; V: 4.

which verses from the Qur'ān are written. To keep one's home permanently free from evil spirits, one need only have a copy of the Qur'ān in the house.

These mysterious spirits are divided into two major groups. The first are al-Malā'ika or al-Malāycha (angels), the singular of which respectively is malak or malach. The second group are called al-jān or al-jinn, the singular of which is jinni. The jān are also called by the following names: Safārīt, singular Sifrīt; Maradah, singular Mārid; Abālisah, singular Iblīs; and Shayāṭīn, singular Shayṭān.

Al-Malā'ika are regarded as heavenly spirits, invisible, and made of light (nūr). The few that are on earth, are here to perform a specific mission. Once a malak's mission on earth is finished, it ascends to heaven, where the malā'ika normally dwell.

Four outstanding archangels play an important role in relationship to man. Jibrīl (Gabriel), is the messanger of God, through whom the Qur'ān was revealed to Muḥammad. Mikā'īl (Michael), watches over the order and life of nature. Izrā'īl, is the angel of death, who draws away the spirit of the dying person. And finally there is Isrāfīl who will sound the trumpet on the last Day of Judgment.

A malak is supposed to be stationed at any spot where a man was killed. Such a spirit appears only at night, and, from time to time, makes loud and weird sounds. It may also repeat the last phrase uttered by the person who was killed. One night, a group of villagers with whom the author was spending an evening, heard a strange sound. It was said to be the malak of a Turkish soldier who was killed in the area during

World War I. After investigating the source of the sound, the author found it was nothing more than a neighbor's dog. However, such a simple explanation was unacceptable to the group. A blind person from the village has also reported to the author, that he heard the voice of what he assumed to be a malak coming from the spot on which a villager was killed. According to this informant, the malak was calling for help, apparently in the same manner the dying person had.

Angels visit the earth on two occasions during the month of Ramadan. On the night of the tenth of that month, an angel, commonly called 'imfattish liqdūr (the Inspector of Pots) visits the different homes and peeks into the pots used for cooking the evening meal. Then the Inspector makes a wish that food of the same kind be made available for that family during the succeeding year. In view of this belief, the greater majority of the villagers cook meat that night and leave the pots unwashed until the second morning.

The night of the twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān is known as Laylat al-Qadr. This is the holy night of power on which the Qur'ān was sent down. During this night, for just a short period of time, the gates of heaven are opened. The angels come down to visit earth and to bless it. Then, they ascend again to heaven on ladders of light. If someone awakens during that night at the right moment and makes a wish, the request, be it good or bad, is for sure granted. Thus many persons, especially the women in the village, spend much of that night wishing for wealth and an increase in the number of men in their families.

There are also two angels, Raqīb and 3atīd, as it has been already

noted, that accompany every living person at all times to record his good and bad deeds on earth. The two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, who appear in order to question every dead person shortly after the burial ceremony have also been discussed.

Although their abode is underground, the Jān are believed to be found in more numerous places and on more frequent occasions on the surface of the earth than the Malā'ĪKa. The villagers believe that many specific places within the village are ma3mūra or haunted by the Jān. Such places include, the cemetery, the village watering place, caves, dark places, deserted houses and the area beneath the doorsill of each home. In protecting themselves from such spirits, the villagers invoke the name of God when passing or entering such places.

The Jān are made on fire (nār), and it is believed that they are capable of doing great harm to human beings. They are vindictive and mischievous. Therefore, one should be very careful not to give them an opportunity to strike at him or his loved ones. The villagers, expecially women, hardly ever pass or enter a place that is believed to be haunted without seeking protection from these spirits by invoking the formula: "dastūr ya 'shāb al-maṭārih wa al-mastūr", followed by the basmala phrase. They also try to avoid all situations in which they may become vulnerable to attack by the Jān. These spirits are believed to attack the human being with a greater force when he is experiencing a high degree of joy or sorrow, as during one's wedding,[14] or at the death of a close and dear

[14]The insanity of a person from a neighboring village was attributed to his excessive joy at the sight of his bride on the night of the wedding.

relative. The Jān are also reported to attack the egotistical persons who admire their images in the mirror or in water, especially at night.

It is possible for a jinni to enter the body of a human. When this happens, the person loses control of his faculties and becomes the servant of the jinni. Such an individual is called majnūn (possessed by a jinni). The majnūn in the eyes of the villagers, is considered a hopeless case. Nothing can be done to cure him. Thus, he is a prisoner within his own home.[15] Epilepsy (waqʒah or falling) is also believed to be caused by the act of a jinni who gains control over its victim only temporarily. This is why the victim acts queerly only on occasions.

The epileptic, the villagers believe, can be cured. The services of a man who can communicate with the spirits is sought. Such a mystic beats and humiliates the epileptic. Using an old shoe, he strikes the sick man in the face several times. Every time he strikes a blow, the mystic orders the evil spirit to leave the body of the one possessed. If the mystic fails to get any results, he invariably claims that the jinni has a stronger grip on the victim than was first thought. The mystic than writes a ḥijāb and tells a member of the family to keep the charm hidden in the clothing worn by the sick person with the hope of protecting him from further harm by the jinni.

al-Jān are also thought to be teasing spirits. They cause, for example, articles to disappear. In order to retrieve the lost item,

[15] Only one villager during the last fifty years was announced to be majnūn. He was tied up with chains around his feet and confined to his home until the day he died.

the victim is supposed to look in places where the article is least likely to be found and to call on Allāh for help.

Baytīn villagers believe it is possible for certain persons to gain control over a jinni. The name given to such a person is hashshār. The hashshār may gain control of the jinni and make it work for him. The jinni can be used to predict information about the future, give news about absent friends or relatives, to declare the meaning of good or bad omens, or even to solve crimes.

One hashshār was brought to the village by a woman whose jewelry had been stolen. He was charged with the duty of giving the name or description of the thief. The hashshār asked for a bowl full of water and placed a drop of olive oil in its center. A young boy of seven was chosen from the audience by the hashshār to be the "wasīt" or the "medium". The bowl was placed in front of the boy, and he was asked to concentrate on the drop of oil. Both the boy and the bowl were covered with a white sheet. The hashshār then began to call upon the jinni to communicate with the boy and to point out the thief. The "medium" said that he saw a picture form in the drop of oil and the description fit that of a man who had already been accused of the crime.

Though few villagers can testify that they have ever seen anything resembling a jinni, almost the entire community is convinced that such creatures do exist. No experience is sufficient to convince the villagers otherwise. The following episode related to the author by a villager will serve to illustrate this belief.

> Once, while passing by the mosque around mid-night on a stormy night, I heard some strange voices. The sounds resembled those of a group of people talking in anger. I thought that there were some jān in the mosque, and I decided to leave as fast as I could before any of them saw me.

The villager was asked at this point what he thought would have happened to him had he been seen by the Jān? His answer was, "I do not know. But they might burn me. They are made of fire, you know, and we humans are made of clay. That is what the Holy Qur'ān says. Or, I might have become spirited (majnūn). Only God knows what the outcome could have been." He continued with his tale.

> After I left the mosque area I could hear the noises no more. I began to think, that I had behaved like a coward. I said to myself that if I were a brave man I would go back to have a look at these jān. I had a flashlight in my hand, and the light, I thought, might scare them away from me. I went back to the mosque. To tell you the truth, I was trembling of fear for the sounds were still there. I began to recite verses from the Qur'ān quietly. I opened the unlocked door of the mosque with much care so I wouldn't disturb them. To my surprise I found no one inside. I discovered, however, that the noise was caused by the wind blowing through the broken glass of the windows. When I told the people in the village of my experience the next morning they all told me I was a fool to take such a chance. Everyone also interpreted my illness the next day as a result of the experience.

When the villager was asked whether he still believed in the existence of the jān or not, his answer was: "Sure, I believe in them. The Qur'ān says they exist. I was just lucky that none of the jān was in the mosque that night."

Saints and Shrines

Although the doctrine of saintheod is completely alien to the spirit

of Islām,[16] the Baytīn villagers--not unlike Muslims everywhere else--have developed a saint-cult.[17] The saints are all male.[18] They possess the magical powers of baraka (sacred emanation), and can perform miracles and bestow gifts upon those who worship them. Saints are subservient to the diety, but they do have the power to intercede on behalf of humans with Allāh. Their wishes are always granted. Although the saints are humans who died a long time ago, their souls are still alive and they watch over their fellow men.

The saints (al-awliyā', singular wali) can be divided into two major categories. First, the local saints, whose shrines are located near the village and are accessible to the villagers at all times. Secondly, the universal saints who are shared by Muslims everywhere. Those in the latter category may have many shrines scattered through the Islamic world; have only one shrine; or no shrine at all.

In the area adjacent to Baytīn, there are two shrines housing the tomb of a local saint. The first, is the shrine (maqām) of Sīdna or Sayidna /our Master/ Shayban; the second is the shrine of al-Shaykh 3Ammar. The villagers often come to these shrines to seek favors, to swear oaths to prove their innocence of any crime of which they are

[16] Alfred Guillaume, Islam (Edinburgh: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 196; Levy, P. 258.

[17] Cf. Gibb, Mohammedanism; p. 122; Gaudefroy-Demenbyness, pp. 56-58; Masse, p. 214.

[18] An exception to this is Fāṭima the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad. She is revered as a saint and often called upon, expecially by the women of the village, to perform miracles.

accused, or to bring their gifts of coins, olive oil and wax candles to gain the saint's baraka (blessings).

Young women from the village faced with possibility of becoming spinsters visit the shrine of Sīdna Shaybān to ask his assistance in getting husbands. Married women who want children may vow a nathr, or sacrifice, in the saint's honor if he will help them to become pregnant. Others seek the saint's aid to heal their own ills or those of their sick relatives. Some villagers turn to the saint to gain revenge; they pray that their enemies suffer misfortune.

A third saint is believed to make his residence in a thorny bush located along an abandoned road connecting Baytīn with Arīḥa (Jericho). This saint is called Shaykh Zaɜrūr. Few villagers travel this road, but those that do always stop at the bush, cut a piece of cloth from their underwear, and tie it to one of the branches. The villagers believe that all who take such steps acquire the saint's blessing and will be given a new kiswa (wardrobe) within a year.

There are three universal saints, known all through Islam, who are highly revered and venerated by the Baytīn villagers. These are: al-Khaḍir Likhḍar, or al-Khaḍr Abu al-ɜAbbās; Aḥmad al-Badawī; and al-Nabi Shuɜayb.

The first two, al-Khaḍr and al-Badawī, are often called upon, along with Allāh, to protect children. Thus, when a child falls down, the mother may shout "Ya Allāh, ya Aḥmad al-Badawī", or "O God, O Aḥmad al-Badawi [come to his aid]." A woman may also look at her growing son and say lovingly: "al-Khaḍir yiɜnāk", or "May al-Khaḍir take you into

his protection". These two saints also are often called upon to help one against his enemies by bringing hardships upon them.

al-Khaḍir, who enjoys many shrines through out the world of Islam, has a shrine in a small town named after him located several miles to the city of Jerusalem. Hardly a year goes by without one or more villagers bringing a sheep or a goat to be sacrificed in the honor of this saint. al-Badawī, on the other hand, has no known shrine in the area.

Shu3ayb, who is recognized as a prophet in Islam, is believed to be buried in the Jordan Valley, somewhere between Jericho and al-Salṭ. In this general area there is a shrine housing his tomb. Like the rest of the saints, Shu3ayb is often called upon for help. He is best known for his outstanding ability to help the villagers discover and punish criminals. Thus, no guilty man ever accepts to swear a false oath inside the shrine of al-Nabi Shu3ayb. It is believed whoever swears falsely within the shrine stands to suffer great punishment.

In the shrine of Shu3ayb, the bash3a oath is administered. Here, after an accused person had sworn his innocence, is asked to lick a piece of iron that has been heated until it glows red. The guilty person, it is believed, will suffer a burn and great pain. An innocent person will not be affected by the heat.

The villagers do not seem to know much about the past history of their saints. All they know is that such saints have been revered for as long as they can remember, and their fame handed down from generation to generation. Thus in religion as in other areas, one can see the importance of oral tradition.

Chapter V

Government and Politics

The administrative system that prevails in Jordan today is one with a long tradition. It was derived directly from the administrative organization of the Ottoman Empire. This system was preserved to a large degree by the British Mandate authorities and has been continued under the Hashemite regime.[1]

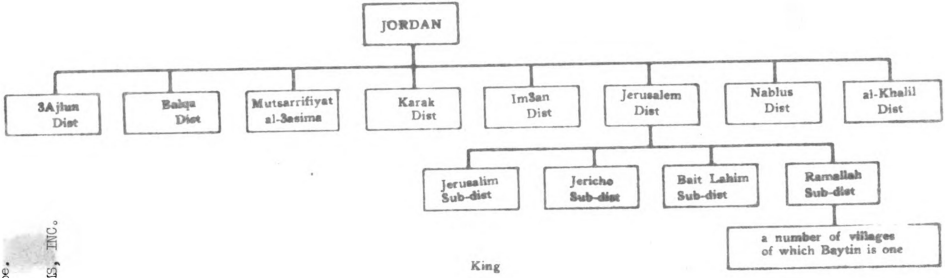
This administrative system is highly centralized. It is headed and controlled, by and large, by the monarch himself. Under the constitution, the king has been vested with wide powers over the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government. He may appoint and dismiss the Prime Minister and cabinet members at will.[2] The Council of Ministers, in turn, appoint the mutaṣarrifs (governors), one for each of the eight alwiya, or districts, which comprise the organized portions of the kingdom.[3] The Council of Ministers also appoints the qā'immaqāms,

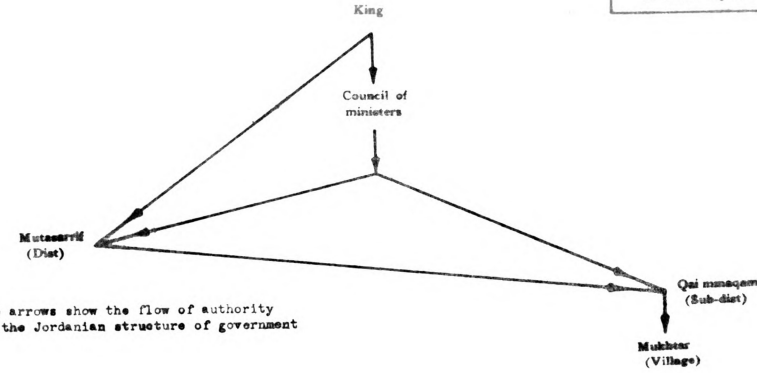
[1]See Omar Bey Salih al-Barghuthi, "Local Self-Government [in Palestine]--Past and Present", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 164 (November, 1932), pp. 34-38.

[2]Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1952. Art. 35.

[3]Less than 10 per cent of the entire area of Jordan is organized under this administrative system. This is the north-west portion of the kingdom. The rest of the country is a barren desert where a few nomadic tribes roam. The eight alwiya are: 3Ajlūn, with its capital at Irbid; Balqa, with its capital at Salt; Mutaṣarrifiyat al-3Asima (in some respects a sort of Jordanian District of Columbia), with its capital at 3Ammān; Karak, with its capital at Karak; 'M3ān with its capital at 'M3ān; Nablus, with its capital at Nablus; Jerusalem, with its capital at Jerusalem; and al-Khalīl (Hebron), with its capital at al-Khalīl.

PLEASE





The arrows show the flow of authority in the Jordanian structure of government

the administrative officers who manage the affairs of the different sub-districts of the alwiya called aqdiya, or qadā' in the singular. The qadā' or sub-district is normally composed of a small city which serves as the seat of government, and two to four scores of villages and small municipalities scattered around the urban center.[4]

From an administrative point of view, villages in Jordan are not officially recognized as political subdivisions. Instead, they are viewed as building blocks out of which the larger political units are created. Thus, government in Jordan is "a superimposed structure placed on top of the collection of villages that happen to fall within the political limits."[5]

The village is run by a number of Mukhtārs or selectmen and a Village Council (Majlis Qarawi) composed of the heads of the several kinships of the village. The ultimate authority, however, is superimposed from above and rests in the hands of the sub-district qā-mmaqām. An attempt will be made in this chapter to discuss, in some detail, the structure and the function of the village government in Baytīn.

The Mukhtārs

Baytīn, as has been noted in Chapter II of this study, is a small village of two major hamūlas. Each of these has its mukhtār or selectman, an officer of the lowest political echelon.

[4]Qadā' literally means "judgeship" and is so called perhaps because each sub-district has its court (Mahkamat Sulh) and judge (Hākim sulh) to decide disputes arising within the sub-district.

[5]Phillips, p. 8.

In theory, the mukhtār, is to be chosen by the members of one's hamūla. The choice is subject to approval of the qā'immaqām of the sub-district. In reality, however, the mukhtār is often appointed by the qā'immaqām without any regard for the wishes of the hamūla. The popular vote has not been officially accepted as the way in which such matters are to be decided, and the vote is employed to select a mukhtār only at the discretion of the qā'immaqām.

The mukhtār therefor, receives his mandate, not from the people he rules but from the central government through the qā'immaqām. The mukhtār's symbol of authority is khitm al-makhtara (the official seal). The mukhtār is accountable to the qā'immaqām, and all the latter has to do to deprive the former of his authority is simply to withdraw the khitm al-makhtara.

If the villagers are outraged by the actions of a certain mukhtār, they may petition the qā'immaqām to dismiss him. Such a petition must be in writing and signed by a large number of male villagers. The qā'immaqām then studies the situation to decide whether the mukhtār is to be retained or dismissed.

Under normal circumstances, the mukhtār holds his office for life, subject to good behavior. He may resign his office because of old age or ill-health. His successor is chosen by the qā'immaqām after consultation with the outgoing mukhtār and the leading members of his hamūla.

A mukhtār receives no salary.[6] The position he occupies, however,

[6] During the period of the British Mandate over Palestine (Western Jordan), the mukhtār was paid a token salary depending on the

gives him prestige and power within the village. He is frequently called upon to perform certain tasks which provide an opportunity to earn money. He may play the role of a marriage broker, judge or surveyor. Moreover, mukhtārs have been known to endorse or to legalize irregular documents for a price.

The mukhtār's prestige outside the village depends to a large degree on his personality and his ability to befriend and gain the support of the sub-district and district officials. Generally speaking, however, the mukhtār ranks far below those in the lowest echelons of the sub-district government. The difference in status between the qā'immaqām and the village mukhtār is very great, and the relationship between the two is that of one between a lord and his servant. As a matter of fact, a mukhtār always addresses the qā'immaqām by calling him "yā sīdi", or "my master".

A mukhtār fears his superior and does his best to appease him. He offers feasts in honor of the qā'immaqām and brings him expensive gifts from time to time. The mukhtār also travels to the sub-district seat on religious and national holidays to bring greetings and good wishes to his superior. Whenever there is a major function in the village, the mukhtār makes certain that he invites the qā'immaqām.

The official responsibilities of a mukhtār are numerous and demanding. It is his duty to receive and play host to all visiting government officials. He assists the sub-district tax collector in the performance of

---

size of his village. This practice was discontinued after the annexation of Arabic Palestine to Jordan on April 24, 1950.

his duty. The mukhtār also helps the sub-district police force to apprehend criminals in the village. It is his duty to see that new deaths and births in the village are duly recorded in the register, and, at the same time, reported to the official at the sub-district health center. The mukhtār is in charge of registering and checking all eligible voters in the village before a national election. He also possesses the power of a notary public and is responsible in addition for the dissemination and execution of all official orders within the village.

The Village Council

In addition to the two mukhtārs, there exists a Village Council (Majlis Qarawi) at Baytīn. The Council is composed of seven members representing the seven largest kinships in the village. The two mukhtārs are ex officio members of the Council. At the same time they are considered representatives of their respective kinships. In theory, the mukhtārs carry no more weight in decision-making than other Councilmen. In reality, however, a mukhtār's influence on the Council is heavily felt because of his government connections.

The Village Council is an informal body. The members are not elected to their posts. They assume leadership by consent of their kinsmen and recognition by other village leaders. Once accepted as a spokesman of his kinship group, the member continues to play a role on the Council until his authority is challenged by his relatives, or he becomes inactive because of old age or illness. If the authority of a Council member is challenged by a substantial number of his male kin,

this is construed to be a vote of no confidence by the Council members and they ignore his presence at their meetings.

If, on the other hand, a councilman resigns his Council duties on his own accord, then he may delegate the authority to someone else, after consultation with the leading members of the kinship. He may also leave the post vacant and let various leaders of the kinship argue who his successor will be. Such steps often lead to friction and political splits within the kinship.

Community leaders are picked because they possess certain qualities and characteristics such as: wisdom (hilm); maturity (nudūj), gained through age and native intelligence (3aql); a degree of wealth (sa3ah), measured through land ownership; courage (shajā3āh); generosity (karam); good moral character; a thorough training in the folkways and the mores of the community; piety (tadayun); and a generally conservative outlook on life.[7]

A Councilman receives no salary for his work on the Village Council. But the nature of his status as community leader puts him in a position where he is often called upon to perform certain services which bring remuneration. Like the mukhtār, the Council member may become a marriage broker, negotiator of loans or surveyor of lands. For every one of these tasks, he is able to charge a fee.

So far as the function of the Village Council is concerned, the body serves in an administrative-legislative-judicial capacity on the

[7]Afif Tannous, "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," p. 542.

local level. It may also be called upon by the qā'immaqām of the sub-district to advise him on specific matters pertaining to the village.

The duties of the Council include supervision of public lands and buildings, street cleaning and repair, maintenance and care of the village school, public morality, water distribution, protection of crops, regulation of crop harvesting, and the settlement of disputes in accordance with Surf and Sadah, or common sense and custom. The Council also appoints all village employees and raises the money necessary to meet all the responsibilities listed above.

A meeting of the Council is called any time one of its members feels that there is some question worthy of consideration. A quorum consists of all members of the Council or their representatives. In most instances meetings are held in public places, such as a coffee house, and may be attended by any village resident interested in the issue being discussed. Every citizen has the right to speak and to declare his views publicly. The problem at hand is discussed and debated until a final agreement by the Council is reached. A vote is never taken, and until there is unanimous consent to the solution a problem is not considered solved. In case of a deadlock among the Council members on an important issue, the matter is referred to the sub-district qā'immaqām, whose decision is accepted as final.

Village Employees

One of the major responsibilities of the village Council is to appoint five employees to carry out certain civic functions. These are:

a mail man (bostaji); a school janitor (ʿāthin); a crops guard (nāṭūr); a water distributor (nāṭūr al-ʿayn); and a street cleaner (kannās).

The first two employees, the mail man and the school janitor, are appointed annually. The crops guard and the water distributor occupy their posts during appropriate seasons of the year. The fifth, the street cleaner, is employed only when the two mukhtārs are pressured by the sub-district health inspector to do something about the sanitary conditions in the village or if the Council members decide the services of such an individual are needed.

The mail man is responsible for fetching the village mail each day from the sub-district post office at Ramallah and distributing it to the villagers. He is neither paid a salary nor guaranteed a specific income. Instead, the mail man charges ten fulūs (singular fils), or about three cents for every local letter he delivers, twenty fulūs for every letter from abroad, and fifty fulūs for each registered letter (msūkar) or check.[8] Because letters containing money or other valuable have been stolen from the mails in the past many villagers who receive a considerable amount of mail during the year have found it safer to rent a mail box in the sub-district post office at Ramallah. This has reduced the income of the mail man considerably in the last few years.

[8]According to the villagers, these charges on incoming mail are exorbitant when compared with the value of stamps necessary for posting such letters. It costs 15 fulūs to mail a letter within the country, 25 fulūs of postage value on letters mailed to neighboring countries and 75 fulūs on air mail letters sent to distant countries such as the United States. But because the letters delivered in the village are few in number, the income of the village mail man remains quite small.

In addition to cleaning and guarding the village school day and night, the janitor serves also as a messenger boy for school officials. He is paid a monthly salary of seven and a half dinārs. This amount is appropriated by the Village Council, but paid out to the janitor by the Officer of Accounts (Muḥāsib) at the Qā'mmaqām's Department at Ramallah.

The nāṭūr, or the crops guard is normally hired by the village Council in early summer and kept on the job through the fall season. He is put in charge of protecting property rights as well as enforcing all laws enacted by the Council regarding the crops. It is also his duty to announce to all villagers the laws pertaining to harvesting crops, trespassing on property, and rights to the grazing areas. He makes his announcements in the early hours of the evening when almost everyone is at home. He mounts the top of the highest building in the center of the village and declares in a loud voice the laws regarding such matters and the penalties carried if the laws are broken. He repeats such announcements three times.

The crops guard is armed with a club and expected to ream the village lands during the day, seven days a week. If anyone is found violating any of the crop or grazing laws, the nāṭūr seizes some property of the offender--clothing, equipment or an animal--until the taḥrīr or fine is paid.[9] Fines are paid either to the nāṭūr or to a member of the village Council. At any rate, the crops guard is entitled to one half of

[9]The word "taḥrīr" literally means "to set free". Perhaps this is to indicate that a fine has to be paid before the confiscated article or animal is set free by the nāṭūr.

all the fines paid for such violations.[10] In addition, the nāṭūr is paid thirty to forty Jordanian dīnārs for his services.

The water distributer is hired by the Council during the summer season when water at the village spring becomes scarce. His duty consists of enforcing the laws passed by the Village Council regarding the distribution of water during the period that there is a shortage. Because the water distributer has to deal only with women in the performance of his duties, his job is not held in high repute. But the task is a difficult one to carry out. The water distributer is always under fire from the villagers who accuse him of bias and who are quick to report their accusations to the Council members. This often results in one of the two mukhtārs joining the water distributer to see that he performs his task fairly.

The water distributer is hired by the Council for a salary of about thirty dīnārs. He charges each family getting water from the village spring a monthly fee. This is based upon the number of persons in the family, and the amount is turned over to the Council. It is from this money that the water distributer's salary is paid. Many village women have developed the habit of tipping the water distributer at each time they pay him the monthly fee. As a result, his actual income from this job is much in excess of the agreed salary.

[10]Half of all fines are given to the nāṭūr in addition to his regular salary as an incentive to increase his activities and firmness in locating and punishing the violaters of the law.

The village fiscal policy

In dealing with financial matters, the Council is guided to a large degree by three factors: the innate conservatism of most villagers; the somewhat pessimistic attitude most villagers take toward the future; and the cultural point of view of the village that places much greater stress upon the male members than on the female.

In regard to all its financial obligations, the Council adopts a "pay-as-you-go" policy. Such a policy leaves little room for experimentation and limits the number of projects that may be undertaken at any one time. Only the village projects which are sorely needed and for which the community may pay cash are undertaken. This line of thought has been reinforced by a folk saying that runs: "Stretch your legs only to the limits of your bedding".

The Council is limited neither by an annual budget nor by a predetermined tax policy. Money is raised by the Council as many times during the year as there are projects to be paid for. Only native male residents and native absentee landlords are required to contribute to such projects. The type of revenue collected by the village Council may then be described as a multi-project head tax.[11]

If the Council decides to undertake a project, plans are laid to raise

[11]The word "darîbah", or "tax" is never used by villagers in this regard. Instead, they use the word "lammah", or "collection" to denote the process by which money is raised by the Council. The term "darîbah" however, is applied by the villagers only to taxes collected by the central government.

the necessary funds. First, the cost of the entire project is estimated. Then, this amount is divided by the total number of the males in the population.[12] Each Council member is promptly designated to collect the tax from the males of his kinship.[13] If more funds are needed to pay for the same project, then additional sums are collected on the same basis.

In some instances, too much money has been collected and a surplus has resulted. In this case, the Council sometimes deposits the money with the Officer of Accounts (Muḥāsib) at the Qā'immaqām's Department. He, in turn, keeps such monies in a special fund known as sandūq al-balad or "the village trust". Before any monies may be withdrawn from the trust for future projects, the two mukhtārs have to petition the qā'immaqām and receive his approval. This is not always easy, for the qā'immaqām may not approve of the project or he may think that other projects in the village should be given a higher priority. Consequently, the Councilmen are usually reluctant to deposit monies in "the village trust" at the Qā'immaqām's Department. As a result, surpluses are frequently kept in trust by one or more of the Council members until a need rises for more money. Needless to say, such a situation often leads to graft and the loss of funds.

It is of importance to note here that this tax structure is accepted

[12]Included here are absentee landlords, who may own even less than one acre of land. Excluded from such payments are all non-native residents who may own property in the village, unless by choice, such members decide to pay their share. But once they declare their readiness to pay, they cannot change their minds.

[13]Every Council member is held responsible for the males in his kinship. If any male fails to meet his obligation, the Council member is expected to make good for him.

without question by all villagers. No one--not even the poverty-stricken residents who have large families with many sons--advocates a change or suggests a different tax base. The acceptance of such a tax base stems, no doubt, from the great value placed upon male children in the village. Not taxing outsiders who have moved in and settled in the community is a clear indication that social status within the village is dependent to a large degree upon membership within a specific kinship.[14]

The Villagers and National Politics

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was constituted in June, 1949. It resulted from the annexation (formalized in 1950) of a larger portion of Arab Palestine, west of the Jordan River, to the kingdom of Transjordan. This was accomplished during the reign of King Abdullah.

The assimilation of Palestinians in the state of Jordan has never really taken place on the grass-root level. Even after ten years of official annexation to Trans-Jordan, these people still refer to themselves as Palestinians or Arabs--they identify themselves very rarely as Jordanians.[15] Indeed, the Jordanians proper, whom we shall call Transjordanians, are often held in contempt by the Palestinians, They are, in the words of one Palestinian school teacher, "uneducated nomads".[16]

[14] Raphael Patai, "The Middle East as a Culture Area," The Middle East Journal, vol. VI, no. 1 (1952), p. 11.

[15] Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), p. 304.

[16] Since 1948 many stories originating among the Palestinians have pictured the average Transjordanian as a naive, ignorant nomad. The term

The Palestinians take an equally scornful view toward the central government of Jordan. The Palestinians seem to feel that the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the annexation of Arabic Palestine to Transjordan in 1950 were the result of a shameful conspiracy between the late king Abdullah of Jordan and the Jewish leaders to divide Palestine between them.

Annexation to Jordan is also resented on the grounds that the Palestinians feel superior in every respect to their Transjordanian brothers. The Hashemite kings of Jordan are generally regarded as being British puppets. Moreover, the policy followed by young King Ḥusain since 1956--which aims at maintaining Jordan as an independent entity, instead of accepting a union with the United Arab Republic under the leadership of President Nāṣir--is viewed as a policy of treason toward the Arab cause.

In view of these attitudes, the Palestinians have rejected anything that smacks at Jordanian nationalism. They prefer to listen to radio broadcasts from Cairo and Damascus, rather than to those from Amman or

---

used by the Palestinians to refer to Transjordanian irregulars who entered the country before, and along with, the Arab Legion (now the Arab Army) to fight against the Israeli was al-ḥuffa or the bare-feet. This deregatory term has become the label for all Transjordanians ever since. Some of the stories told about the Transjordanians in Palestine run as follows: A Transjordanian, being unable to read the menu in a Palestinian restaurant, asked the waiter to tell him what was on the menu for the day. The waiter named various dishes, and the Transjordanian, hearing of salad (salaṭa) for the first time, decided to try it. When it was brought to him, the Transjordanian was outraged because the salad was raw and insisted that the vegetables be cooked before he would eat them. Another story concerns a Transjordanian soldier who stopped a Palestinian civilian to examine his identity card. When the civilian handed the soldier his identity card, the soldier held it upside down and then complained that the picture did not correspond with that of the bearer.

Jerusalem.[17] They prefer Egyptian and Syrian newspapers and periodicals--when they can get them--to those printed in Jordan. Whatever the Jordanian radio says is automatically regarded as propaganda and held in contempt. Even music and cultural programs offered by radio Amman are laughed at and scorned by the Palestinians.[18]

> "Ṣawt al-3Arab (the Voice of the Arabs) broadcasts only truths (ḥaqa'iq). It gives only the true news of Jordan, the United Arab Republic, and other parts of the world. Aḥmad Sa3īd (19) is a good speaker. I like to listen to him and find him very interesting. He is the best political commentator I have ever heard. But radio Amman deals only with propaganda. It never carries the speeches of President Nāṣir, and it is always trying to discredit the United Arab Republic. Radio Amman never reveals the shameful news of the king, his family, or those of his ministers. It hides all of that. The Voice of the Arabs broadcasts such news. Radio Amman is no good."

Thus testified one Jordanian villager to this author.

The villagers at Baytīn share the same attitudes as the rest of the Palestinian Arabs. They regard the central government with resentment and fear. The central government to them is symbolized by the tax collector (muḥaṣṣil al-ḍarībah), the sub-district policeman (al-shurṭī), the conscription officer, and members of the secret police (mabāḥith) who visit the village only when they want some one or something from the villagers.

Because they resent the central government, Baytīn villagers seldom

[17] Listening to broadcasts originating in the United Arab Republic is officially prohibited in Jordan. Jordanians, however, tune to such stations in secret. Quite often they post a man outside the place where they are listening to give them warning in case some one is approaching.

[18] Cf. Lerner, p. 344.

[19] Aḥmad Sa3īd is a popular propagandist and news commentator attached to the Voice of the Arabs program which originates in Cairo.

give accurate information to government officials. This, in part, is the reason why government agents are unable to collect accurate statistical data. "The peasant cannot comprehend a census, for example, purely for its own sake. An ulterior motive must lie behind it. If taxation is suspected, the enumeration is ridiculously low; but if there is a rumor of rationing, it is just as ridiculously high."[20]

Still another attitude towards the government stems from the belief that all government officials must be corrupt and accept bribes. There are many stories circulating among the villagers to reinforce this stereotype. For example, there is the story of the Minister of Education who is reported to have clapped his hands several times when approached by an applicant for a teaching position in the government school system. He is reported to have done so in order to indicate to the prospective employee how many dīnārs he--the Minister--expects to get as a bribe for the post. Each hand clap was supposed to represent ten Jordanian dīnārs.

Another story concerns an officer who was in charge of selecting potential army cadets. Presumably this officer interviewed only those young men who bore a letter of recommendation from one of the officer's henchmen. The letter, in effect, indicated that the bearer had already paid the bribe for the position.

A third story circulating in the village pointed out that one high government official in Amman bargained with those who sought jobs through

[20] Douglas D. Crary, "The Villager," in Social Forces in the Middle East, ed. by Sydney Nettleton Fisher (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955), p. 54.

him. According to reports, this official would look the candidate in the eye and shout that he had already interviewed one hundred candidates but had yet to find the suitable man for the job. He would add that he intended to interview fifty more applicants if necessary to find the right man for the job. This statement was taken to mean that the amount the official wanted as a bribe was one hundred and fifty Jordanian dīnārs. The applicant, if willing to pay the quoted price, would then remark: "Let me be your one hundred and fiftieth candidate. Examine my qualifications and you need look no further." If on the other hand, the applicant felt that the job was worth less, he might reply: "Don't count on fifty more applicants. Twenty more is probably all you will be able to get." This was interpreted as meaning the applicant was willing to pay only one hundred and twenty dīnārs for the post. The two might argue in such terms until they reached an agreement.

The belief that most government officials are corrupt had led the villagers to offer bribes whenever they ask for a favor. Their willingness to offer bribes has encouraged even the most insignificant officials, including door keepers in government buildings, to ask for bribes openly. The villagers tolerate such corruption, and, indeed, seem to envy those who are in position to receive these bribes. They speak in open envy of the wealth acquired by bribery and even encourage their children and friends to enter government service because they believe it is one way to get rich quickly.

Because of this cynical attitude toward government, Baytin villagers frequently rally around any "native son" running for office, irrespective

of what his politics or party affiliation might be. It is reported, for example, that every villager in 1956 cast his vote in favor of Fā'iq Warrād, a native of Baytīn and leading member of the Communist Party of Jordan. This was not because the people of Baytīn favored the policies of the Communist Party at this time, but rather because many of them hoped that the election of Mr. Warrād would enable them to get some governmental positions.

Because political parties in Jordan are officially outlawed, none of the inhabitants of Baytin today claim membership in any of the seven political parties publicly active in 1956.[21] However, two self-confessed members of the Communist Party of Jordan, Fā'iq Warrād and 3Abdulfattāḥ Faris, are serving jail sentences in a political prison located in the desert called al-Jafr. Jābir Ḥusayn Jābir, a notorious political propagandist for the Communist Party of Jordan, has spent a considerable part of his life in jail for political activities but is now at large and said to be residing in some unknown place in the country.

The vast majority of the residents of Baytīn, like most Palestinians, are sympathetic with the ideas of Arab nationalism, and regard President Gamāl 3Abdul-Nāṣir as their undisputed leader.

[21]Three out of the seven political parties active in 1956 in Jordan were legal. These were: the National Socialist Party, the Arab Resurection Party (al-Ba3th al-3Arabi), and the Arab Constitutional Party. The other four were considered officially illegal, but were active nonetheless and participated in the 1956 election unmolested. These were: the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Liberation Movement, the Arab Nationalist Party, and the National Front, which was a front organization for the Communist Party.

Chapter VI

Settlement of Disputes

Disputes of a civil nature that arise among the villagers are referred to a Magistrate's Court (Mahkamat Sulh) at the sub-district seat, or to a higher court in the district or in the country's capital.[1] If the dispute involves a question regarding a religious or personal matter--marriage, divorce, guardianship, inheritance, desertion, and the like--it is referred to a Mahkama Shar3iyyah, or a Muslim religious court.

The inhabitants of Baytin, however, like many Jordanian villagers, quite often by-pass these official courts of justice and settle their disputes under tribal law (hukum 3ashā'irī). The tribal law is based, in part, upon the Sharī3a, or Islamic law, and upon common sense and tradition (3urf and 3ādah). In the following pages, an attempt shall be made to present the magnitude and function of the tribal law as it is known and used at Baytīn.

[1]The Magistrate's courts may handle civil cases where the amount in contention does not exceed 150 Jordanian dinārs. Higher courts of justice (each comprizing three judges) are to be found in every district. They may deal with all cases not referred to the magistrate's courts or reserved to al-Mahkama al-Shar3iyyah, or to the Higher Court of Justice (Mahkamat al-3adl al-3ulyā). There are two courts of appeal (each consisting of three or more judges), one on the West Bank and the other on the East. These courts hear appeals from the lower courts. Finally, there is the Court of Cassation, located in Amman, and listens to appeals from the two lower courts of appeal in all civil cases in which the amount in dispute exceeds 500 Jordanian dinārs, as well as appeals of major criminal offenses and any judgment involving an important legal point of general interest. See George L. Harris, et. al., Jordan: Its people, Its society, Its culture (New Haven, Conn.: HRAF Press, 1958), pp. 91-92.

Under tribal law, there are several procedures through which it may be possible to iron out differences between two conflicting parties. The simplest procedure is one in which the parties concerned meet in public and agree, with the help of others present, upon a settlement on the basis of precedents and custom. If the guilty party refuses to admit his guilt or accept the penalty imposed, the parties concerned seek out other procedures to settle their dispute.

Tahkīm, or arbitration,[2] is another method through which disputes are settled under tribal law. In this case, the two sides agree upon a hakam, or an arbitrator.[3] Both parties agree to submit their disputes to him and to abide by his decision. The hakam is normally chosen by the defendant, and subject to acceptance by the plaintiff. The hakam may be a resident of the village or from some other place. He is usually a person who has a wide reputation for being fair and just.

Normally when a dispute is to be settled in this fashion, the two

[2]Arbitration as a means to settle disputes has been suggested and sanctioned by Islam. The Qur'ān, IV: 35 states: "And if ye fear a breach between them twain [the man and wife], appoint an arbiter from his folk and an arbiter from her folk. If they desire amendment Allah will make them of one mind, lo! Allah is ever knower, Aware." The Qur'ān further instructs the faithful who may be called upon to serve as an arbitratior, a judge or a witness to stand out firmly for justice, even though the application of justice may be harmful to themselves or to their relatives. "O ye who believe! Be ye staunch in justice, even though it be against yourselves or [your] parents or [your] kindred, whether [the case be of] a rich man or a poor man, for Allah is nearer unto both [than ye are]. So follow not passion lest ye lapse [from truth] and if ye lapse or fall away, then lo! Allah is ever Informed of what ye do." Qur'an, IV: 135. See also IV: 58; XVI: 90.

[3]This is not to be confused with the hākim or the magistrate of the civil court, or the qādī or a Mahkama Shar3iyyah, who both are government appointees.

parties concerned are accompanied by other men from their own kinship. The number of men accompanying each litigant depends upon the seriousness of the case. One member from each group--usually the eldest or most wise--is selected as a spokesman. The spokesman is charged with presenting and arguing the case infront of the ḥakam.

At the place of arbitration, the two groups usually are seated opposite each other in the room. If the numbers are large, or if the situation is so strained that the litigants are not talking to one another, the two parties may meet in separate places.

The ḥakam listens to the spokesmen of both sides. The spokesman for the plaintiff begins first. After both speakers have presented their cases, the ḥakam proceeds to lecture both groups on the value of charity and tolerance. He invariably suggests that they should attempt to reach an amicable settlement before a definite ḥukm (ruling) is handed down by him. His statements are usually larded heavily with traditional sayings and with quotations from the Qur'ān. He insists that "a settlement based on mutual understanding is [justly] the master of all judgements," or, "al-ṣulḥ sayyid al-aḥkām".

If one or both of the litigants refuses to negotiate a settlement and insists upon a definite ruling by the ḥakam, the arbitrator has no choice but to heed to their demands. In this case, the ḥakam requests the spokesman of each group for the rizqa, or money for the ḥakam's fee.[4]

[4]The rizqa varies from time to time depending on the nature of the case, the reputation of the ḥakam, and the social and economic position of the two litigants.

Once paid, the ḥakam questions the two parties further. He asks for the testimony of witnesses and weighs it carefully. After he has heard the arguments from both sides, the ḥakam hands down his decision. He also defines the terms of the settlement. The group that has won the case gets back the rizqa money it paid to the ḥakam at the outset of the case. The looser's money is retained by the arbitrator as his fee for the services rendered.

Social pressure and custom usually result in the acceptance of the ḥakam's ruling in the case. If the members of one group refuse to accept the terms of the settlement, they are accused by the villagers of trying to evade justice. Such accusations are damaging and usually shame the reluctant group into acceptance of the ḥakam's ruling. Moreover, the winning party, acquires under tribal law a right (ḥaqq), to avenge itself in any way it sees fit against any losing party that fails to abide by a ḥakam's ruling.

The litigants may also resort to tribal law to reconcile their differences. In this case, each of the litigants elects a disinterested person to be its munāwib, or representative. The munāwibs meet and listen to both sides present their cases. The conciliators (muṣlihūn) try to identify the source of disagreement, and on this basis offer proposals for a compromise. In most cases, such compromise proposals are accepted as rulings for the case. This is true especially when the litigants realize there must be some compromise eventually, and the use of outsiders to settle the dispute results in their accepting the ruling more gracefully. The conciliators may or may not be paid for their

services. If they are paid, each litigant pays the fee of his munāwib.

It is important to note here that decisions by civil and religious courts are not always regarded as conclusive by the villagers. In specific cases, such as homicide and rape, tribal law must be applied before the case is considered closed. For example, a person tried and convicted for homicide and then released after serving his sentence in prison for many years, would be tried again by tribal law and forced to abide by the consequences. If the murderer were executed by the authorities for his crime, his living relatives are expected to seek a settlement of his case under tribal law or else they would feel the wrath of the victim's family. To justify this attitude, the villagers often quote a traditional saying that runs: "hukm al-sarāya ma bimshi fi al-qarāya," or, "the ruling of a government court is not /always/ binding in villages".

If the family of a murdered person or raped woman fails to get satisfaction under tribal law from the family of the guilty person, then they are expected to resort to threats or violence to secure their rights. If they do not, such families suffer shame or 3ār for their complacency. If the family of the victim is weak or unable to exert pressure on the family of the guilty person, then they must flee to a new village. Here they will seek to establish new neighborhood associations (jīrah) and search out the tanab, or help of a powerful family to help them gain revenge, secure their rights (haqq), and erase their shame.[5]

[5]Tanab in reality is a moral obligation to protect and help

There are specific procedures for settling accounts under tribal law. In the case of rape, the woman must prove that she cried out for help and demonstrate that she tried to resist the advances of her attacker. The guilty man must usually flee from the village or go into hiding for fear of assualt by the relatives of his victim. He usually remains in hiding until his victim's family consent to talk about settlement under tribal law. In theory, the settlement of such a case calls for payment to the victim's family of a number of animals. The number of animals is supposed to be determined by forming a line of animals from the spot where the girl was attacked to her father's house. In reality however, most rape cases are settled by the payment of al-tisā3 (the nines), or the nine hundred and ninty-nine piasters (about $28.00) to the family of the abused girl.

If a rape case is referred to a hakam or a group of conciliators, several points are taken into consideration before a decision is reached. The hakam or conciliators ascertain whether the victim was a married woman or a virgin, whether she directly or indirectly encouraged her attacker, and to what degree the defendant was successful in his attempt to rape her. On the basis of this information, the hakam or conciliators, rule that the defendant should pay a fine ranging between one third of al-tisa3, or three hundred and thirty-three piasters, or three times

---

an individual who has requested aid. The person requesting ṯanab indicates that he desires help by a number of symbolical acts: (1) he may refuse to accept a cup of coffee from his host until a promise of help has been given; (2) he may tie the head gear (yu3qud al-hattah) of his host to indicate he desires help; or (3) he may clasp the belt of his host (yahut 'īdah taht ishdādah).

al-tisa3 about two thousands and nine hundred and ninty seven piasters.

In addition to paying the fine, it may be ruled that the offender must offer a jāha wa wajāhah and rāya baydā. This means that the offender must bring a number of goods to the victim's father including a sheep, some rice, coffee, sugar, samin or purified butter, and tobacco. He must invite all the village notables to accompany him to the victim's house. The offender carries a white banner (rāya baydā) in his hand to indicate his peaceful intentions and his willingness to abide by the ruling handed down. Upon arriving at the victim's home, the offender makes his peace with the girl's father and relatives by kissing their heads and asking their forgiveness.

The girl's father prepares a feast for his guests with the food brought by the offender. The two groups--the friends of the offender and those of the victim--eat and smoke together to indicate that their differences have been settled once and for all.

The procedure in settling a homicide case is much more complicated. As soon as the killer is identified, the victim's family invariably attempts to avenge itself by attacking men from the kinship of the guilty person. They may also attack and sack the homes and property of the enemies.[6]

[6]Retaliation in case of homicide is sanctioned by Islam. The Qur'ān, V: 45, states, "and we prescribed for them therein: The life for the life, and the eye for the eye, and the nose for the nose, and the ear for the ear, and the tooth for the tooth, and for wounds retaliation. But whose forgeth it [in the way of charity] it shall be expiation for him. Whose judgeth not by that which Allah hath revealed: such are wrong-doers." See also Qur'ān, II: 178-179. Islam, however, insists that retaliation should be directed only against the person of

To remain secure, the murderer's family may migrate to another village and seek refuge. Here they would establish associations in the new neighborhood (jīrah) and seek out tanab, or protection of a powerful family. The new "neighbors" automatically contact the victim's family and try to arrange for a truce. The relatives of the murdered may live in their new village until an agreement is reached.

A truce may be reached if the family of the murdered will pay the required price known as 3atwah to the family of the victim. The 3atwah varies in size depending on the social position and the power of the families concerned. The normal duration for a truce period is ninety days and it may be renewed three times in succession. During the truce period, negotiations between the two families are carried on through special conciliators who attempt to bring about a peaceful settlement.

The conciliators may be elected by the two families concerned or appointed by the qā'immaqām of the sub-district. The qā'immaqām may also appoint himself as a mumayiz. The mumayiz is a coordinator appointed along with the conciliators to help evaluate and judge the case. In case of a deadlock, it is the mumayiz who casts the deciding vote.

The conciliators and mumayiz attempt to arrange a settlement that will be acceptable to both sides. They try to determine the amount of the diyyah, or the blood money, to be paid as compensation by the one who has committed the murder to the family of the victim. They specify

---

the criminal. In the words of the Qur'ān, XVII: 33, "and slay not the life which Allah had forbidden save with right. Whose is slain wrongfully, we have given power unto his heir, but let him not commit excess in slaying. Lo! he will be helped."

and define the items that must be given by the murderer's kinship to that of the victim. The conciliators also arrange for the day on which the sulhah, or peace ceremony, is to take place.

At the time of its origin, the diyyah is said to have been fixed by the Prophet Muhammad at one hundred camels, or their equivalent.[7] Today, the diyyah is paid in cash and varies from as little as 100 Jordanian dīnārs to as much as 2,000 Jordanian dīnārs, depending on the circumstances under which the murder had occurred and the social and economic status of the families involved.[8] In one case, a man was killed and robbed by a travelling companion, and the murderer was required to pay three diyyahs amounting to about 1,000 dīnārs. In another case, a man was killed by another accidentally, and only 100 dīnārs was paid. The ʒatwa money paid earlier to secure a truce may or may not be considered a part of the diyyah. Whether it did or not would depend upon the kind of agreement made by the conciliators.

On the day before the sulhah, the sheep, rice, flour, sugar, coffee, purified butter (samin), salt and tobacco in quantities specified by the conciliators are delivered by the representatives of the murderer's kinship to that of the victim. On the following day, the sub-district officials and delegations from all neighboring towns and villages come to the village to witness the peace ceremony that takes place. At the

[7]Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 151.

[8]The diyyah for a crime committed against a woman is normally half that given for a man.

set hour, the murderer, with his head uncovered as sign of humiliation, surrounded by members of his kinship is brought forth to be turned over to the victim's family. The elder of the murderer's kinship addresses the victim's family and pushes the offender toward them with the words, "here he is. Do what ever you wish with him. Kill him, if you so choose. He is sorry for what he has done and he is prepared to pay for his crime. But remember, only those who forgive their enemies and make peace are rewarded by Allah".

The murdered stands still until some one from the victim's kinship walks up to him, unties the head gear tied around the murderer's waist and chest, and places it on his head. This act symbolises forgiveness. The murderer then kisses the heads of the relatives of his victim to show his appreciation for their forgiveness. Once these ceremonies are concluded, the visiting delegations from neighboring villages, government officials, and members of the two kinships are treated to a big feast prepared by the family of the victim at the expense of the murderer. From this point on, relations between the two kinships are supposed to return to normal.

If, after the diyyah is paid and the sulhah is concluded, an unsatisfied member of the victim's family tries to seek revenge, a stiff penalty is imposed. The offender is considered doubly guilty under tribal law and he is required to pay double the amount of the diyyah his kinship received in the first place.

The diyyah money normally is raised by the whole kinship of which the murderer is a member. It is also customary for the kinship that

receives a diyyah to divide the amount among its members with a greater share going to the immediate relatives of the victim such as the parents, wife, or children.

If a given kinship fails to avenge itself (ta'khuth bi al-tha'r), or to force the criminal's kinship to pay a diyyah and conclude a sulhah, the former group is put to shame by other members of the village. The offending kinship is accused of being cowardly and without honor. If the offending kinship still does not take steps to avenge itself, its members may be shamed into migrating to another village where they are not known and therefore can escape criticism.

In addition to rape and homicide, tribal law encompasses many legal aspects that are not normally handled by civil or religious courts. Tribal law is the protector of customs and mores that are not covered by civil or religious law. For example, it is not officially considered a criminal act to uncover the head of another person in public or to call him by an undesirable nickname, but under tribal law such behavior may earn the doer a great punishment.

Under tribal law, if a guest leaves the house of his host without eating the meal prepared for him, he must pay for the cost of the unconsumed meal. If a person reveals some information about another which causes the latter to suffer, the breach of confidence is considered a crime by tribal law and subject to punishment. To accuse anyone of a crime unjustly, is a violation of tribal law and also subject to penalties.

It is the duty of the plaintiff, under tribal law, to supply ample

evidence to prove the guilt of the defendant. If the plaintiff cannot produce such evidence, he looses his case completely if the defendant testifies under oath that he is innocent of the misdemeanor with which he is charged.[9]

The tribal law applied in the village, is rather arbitrary. No record is kept of the cases and there are no precedents set for cases of new type. Tribal law is therefore usually subject to varying interpretations. However, the Jordanian government tolerates and recognizes tribal law as a means through which certain disputes between villagers and nomads may be settled amicably.

Another important role which tribal law performs is that it helps to maintain local customs and traditions. In effect, tribal law is tantamount to formalize social pressure that stiffens the social attitudes of the villagers so that their behavior conforms with the accepted traditions and customs of the culture.

[9]This concept is based upon the Sharīʒa doctrine that states: "al-bayinatu ʒalā man iddaʒā wa al-yamīnu ʒalā man ankar," or "evidence is to be supplied by the plaintiff, and an oath is acceptable from a defendent testifying in his own behalf".

Chapter VII

Making a Living

The basis of the Baytīn economy is agriculture. The villagers for the most part carry on subsistence farming and consume almost all the crops they grew. The economy as a whole is not self-sufficient and the villagers find it necessary to import food stuffs from outside the village. To make up its unfavorable balance of trade, so to speak, Baytīn depends to a large degree upon cash gifts from native villagers who have migrated to more affluent places in the world such as the United States and Brazil.

The farmers are the poorest segment of the village population. To make ends meet, they find it necessary to get additional income; they frequently hire themselves out as workers during their off season to various members of the village community or to business establishments in the near-by town of Ramallah. Without this extra income, the agrarian villagers find it impossible to obtain the barest necessities of life.

Baytīn's peasant economy has many traits that are readily recognizable to the student of Western rural societies. The important characteristics of its peasant economy include: the concept of private property; the definition of wealth primarily in terms of land; the operation of a money economy; the utilization of a limited credit system; the granting of interest on loans; the functioning of a wage system; and the renting of land and sharecropping. Side by side with these

functions one finds such other characteristics as communal land-ownership; real estate investment and speculation; and a limited barter system.

There is, of course, a close connection between this economy system and the social behavior of the villagers. In the follwoing pages, an attempt shall be made to provide an analytical description of the various phases of the economy and to trace the relationship of this economy to social behavior.

The Villager and the Land

As in all landed societies, there is a strong attachment between the villager and the land he owns. The land is much more than just a source of income: it is a status symbol. The land is also a sacred bond that links the villager with the past and the future. He inherits the land from his ancestors and expects to pass it to his own children. Land ownership signifys a mystical relationship connecting the individual with the nation state. From this new interpretation has sprung the widely quoted saying "man lā arḍa lah, lā watana lah," or "he who possesses no land, has no fatherland".

Land is the most coveted kind of property in the community. The villager, regardless of his occupation or station in life, seldom hesitates to invest any money he has or gets in a few more acres of land. "Money can be easily and foolishly spent," testifies one villager to this author, "but this is not true of land. Land is always there when you need it. He who possesses land is never poor".

This same attitude is held even by those villagers who emigrate to

foreign lands. Since 1903 scores of villagers sought greener pastures in the United States and in the countries of South America. Many of them had to sell or mortgage portions of the land they had inherited from their parents to pay for the trip overseas. Disposing of these lands was considered a great sacrifice and the emigrants had to promise their relatives that they would work hard, save and send money back quickly so that the land may be repurchased or the mortgages repaid.

The greater majority among the emigrants have kept their promises. They have sent back money to pay off mortgages, to buy more land and to build homes. Many of these emigrants decided to settle permanently in the lands where they have gone, but they retain their lands in the village and do not sever their ties with the community.[1] In fact, the emigrants success is frequently measured in terms of the real estate he buys in the village with the money he has sent back. The villagers care little about his accomplishments or career in the country where he has gone. They ask only how much land he has purchased with the money sent back "home."

In a society where land is a status symbol, the transfer of land carries social implications. Those buying land gain respect and prestige among the villagers. On the other hand, villagers selling land feel a sense of shame and disgrace. Social controls are so powerful on this point that many a villager would rather starve then sell any part of his

[1]Afif Tannous, "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," p. 530.

land.[2] Villagers prefer to mortgage their property even at disadvantageous terms rather than sell it at good price. The mortgage always leaves open the possibility of regaining clear title to the land in the future.

Land Tenure

Five kinds of land ownership may be recognized at Baytīn.[3] Those are: (1) the mulk land, or land owned in fee simple; (2) the waqf land, or permanent endowments of land to religious institutions or for religious purposes; (3) the mashā3, or communal land; (4) the sabīl, or orchards available to passers-by; and (5) the miri, or state-owned lands.

The mulk land, or private property held in fee simple by the villagers, accounts for over 90 percent of the landholdings in the village. The owners of such land are free to do with it what they see fit. They may cultivate it or not, sell or keep it, rent or mortgage it, or bequeath it. This land is taxed annually by the central government.

The mulk type of land ownership in the general area of the Arabic Middle East, may be traced to two major sources. The first is the mulk land that was already in existence when the Arabs conquered the region around the seventh century A. D. By and large, such land was left in the hands of its native owners. Owners who never became Muslims were

[2] "Bā3 illi khallafla iyāh abūh," or "he sold what his father had bequeathed him" is one of the insulting and humiliating phrases used by the villagers to characterize an individual who has disposed of land he has inherited.

[3] Cf. Afif Tannous, "Land Tenure in the Middle East," Foreign Agriculture, Vol. 7, No. 8 (August, 1943), p. 173.

made to pay a certain tax in kind called kharāj.[4] The second source stems from the custom that was followed by both Arab and Turkish rulers of granting land from the public domain to politicians, soldiers, and tribal chiefs, in order to pacify them or to reward them for their services.[5] This practice of land grants gave rise to a feudal system in certain parts of the region.

There is no evidence that any one had gained mulk rights through this second means in the village of Baytīn. Many villagers can trace the ownership of their land within their families for generations past. Some have expanded their landholdings by buying land from the original owners who live in near-by villages.

The waqf land, or land donated to a religious institution, or for a religious reason, represents a very small segment of the total land in the village. It scarcely exceeds a total of twenty acres and this land is administered by the Awqāf department of the Jordanian government, and leased in perpetuity to villagers who cultivate it as if it were their own. The proceeds from such land are not used to support any specific institution or charity in the village itself. The Awqāf department, however, once in a great while contributes either money or equipment to the village mosque.

[4]The tax paid by non-Muslims, called kharāj, is either: (1) a proportion of the produce, or a fixed amount, but in either event never less than one-tenth of the total produce. The tax paid by Muslims is called 3ushr, and represents one-tenth of the yeild from the land. This discrominating practice has been discontinued in recent years.

[5]Tanneus, "Land Tenure," p. 174.

Generally speaking, the waqf property has been the result of donations by sovereigns, groups, or individuals. The waqf land at Baytīn, however, has been contributed solely by individual villagers who sought to please God and invoke His blessings. In recent years, however, no dedications of any kind have been made by Baytīn villagers.

The mashā3, or lands held in common constitute the third form of ownership in the village. Such areas as the threshing ground, the sāha, or village square, the grave yard, and the village spring are owned by the community and used by all the villagers. The threshing ground and grave yard are divided into several general areas (with no specific boundaries) among the different kinship of the village. The threshing ground is further subdivided among the various members of the same kinship. Although each kinship regards a certain area in the cemetry as its own, the kinship in no way possesses the right to prevent any other villager from using parts of this area. In general, however, the villagers prefer to bury relatives in adjacent graves. As a result, this practice leads to the preservation of kinship areas within the cemetry.

Afif Tannous suggests that the mashā3 system of ownership is "a carryover from the Bedouin tribal organization."[6] This theory does not seem to extend to any other than those areas in which community ownership is an absolute necessity. Moreover, the mashā3 system came into existence at Baytīn after the founding fathers of the modern village, who had been engaged in agriculture for many years, settled down in

[6]Tannous, "Land Tenure," p. 174.

Baytīn after fleeing from the near-by billage of Burqa.[7]

The fourth form of tenure, the "sabīl," or "way" property results from the action of a villager who designates a portion or all of his orchard land as a garden free to all. Such property is normally located along a highway or a well-travelled road, so that hungry travelers may stop at the orchard, eat the fruits, and rest in the shade. By designating a piece of property a sabīl, the grantor hopes to please God and to invoke His blessings.[8]

From a legal point of view, the original doner of the sabīl continues to hold a mulk right to the property. He or his heirs may reclaim full rights to the property at any time. Such a step is considered sinful by most villagers, and therefore is generally avoided at all costs.

There is one piece of property in the village that does not fit under any of the first four tenure systems mentioned thus far. This is the school building and the school grounds. This type of tenure is known as miri or amīri, which literally speaking means "property owned by a ruler."[9] The Jordanian government at the present time claims ownership

[7]See below Chapter II, p.37 of this study.

[8]Islam urges its followers to be kind and helpful to abnā' al-sabīl, or travellers, as one of its main teachings.

[9]There are two types of miri: (1) pure miri, or property that is absolutely owned outright by the state, as in the case of the village school; and (2) Ṭābū miri, or state property that is leased out indefinitely to an individual. The cultivator of the ṭābū miri is virtually the owner and has the right to cultivate the land which passes automatically to his heirs upon his death. The cultivator of such land, however, is not allowed to change it to mulk, donate it for religious or charitable purposes, or bequeath it through a will, without the consent of the state. Ṭābū miri may revert to the state if the land is left uncultivated for three consecutive years. See Tanneus, "Land Tenure," p. 174.

of such lands and buildings. Thus, before any major change can be introduced in the school by the Village Council, written permission must be secured from the Qā'immaqām and from the Inspector of Education in the sub-district.

Problems in Land Cultivation

Paradoxically, even though there is prestige associated with the ownership of land, the cultivation of land is regarded as a degrading occupation. Consequently, many villagers abandon farming and seek other occupations. The other factor that discourages the cultivation of one's own land is that the average villager does not own a plot large enough to grow crops sufficient to satisfy his basic needs.

As a result of these small land holdings among the villagers, two systems have developed within Baytīn to provide farmers with additional lands for cultivation--murāba3a, or sharecropping, and mushāraka or the partnership. These terms are used synonymously by the Baytin villagers and will be so used in this study.

Under the murāba3a system, the sharecropper (al-murābi3) provides his labor and the labor of his animals while the landlord offers his land. If the two parties agree, the landlord may also provide the seeds (bithār). If this be the case, the landlord is entitled to two-thirds of the crops, and the sharecropper receives the remaining third. If, on the other hand, the sharecropper pays half the cost of the seeds as well as keeping the rest of his part of the bargain, then the crops are divided equally.

The landlord is responsible for certain obligations under this arrangement. He is responsible for paying all property taxes. He is also responsible for the cost of any improvements made on the land.

The sharecropper has specific responsibilities for working on the crops. He is under no obligation to do any extra work for the landlord, and expects to be paid for any other services he may perform. The sharecropper frequently, however, volunteers to do favors for the landlord, such as ploughing part of the latter's land or helping harvest his crops.[10] Such work is called "3awnah", or "free help", and is usually rewarded by the landlord when he offers the sharecropper fruits and vegetables free of charge at harvest time.

The arrangement between the landlord and the sharecropper may be dissolved upon the request of either party. In the event of a dispute, the two may resort to arbitration. The arbitrators must be acceptable to both parties and so they may or may not be landlords themsleves. On the whole, the rights of the sharecropper are respected and protected.

There is one fundamental drawback to this system of murāba3a. The sharecropper is always fearful that the landlord may decide to take the land away from him to give it to another farmer to cultivate. As a result, the sharecropper does not bother to introduce improvements on the land lest it become more desirable to other farmers. Furthermore, the sharecropper seldom wastes time on the less productive portions of

[10]See 3Isām 3Āshūr, "Nizām al-Murāba3ah fī Sūriyyā wa Lubnān wa Falastīn" (Metayage in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine), al-Abhāth, yr. 1. vol. 4 (December 1948), 47-62.

his plot and often allows it to lie fallow. The result has been that the size of cultivated lands has shrunk every year.

Sharecropping is always in a state of flux in Baytin with landlords and sharecroppers both attempting to improve their situation. The average landlord who does not cultivate his own land may have as many as a half-dozen sharecroppers working his land for him during his lifetime.

The crops normally produced by Baytīn farmers are cereals such as wheat and barley.[11] In addition, various members of the pea family are grown--lentils, chickpeas, and a type of pea called fūūl, or a local variety of the fava beans. These are the foods that form a large part of the basic diet of the villagers.

Most landlords also own orchards and small vegetable gardens. These are not given over to the sharecroppers to cultivate. Instead, the landlord hires some one to work these lands for a daily wage rather than on a sharecropping basis. Usually he turns to one of his sharecroppers to do this work for him.

In cultivating the land, the Baytīn farmer uses primitive methods some of which date back to Biblical days. The village farmer still depends upon oxen,donkeys or mules to plow his land. The plow itself (mihrāth) is usually made of wood except for the sikkah, or share, which is made of iron. The plow is connected to a wooden yoke by a wooden beam called yāqūl. The farmer carries a massās, or long goad, in one

[11]Barley is basically used for feeding farm animals, expecially horses, donkeys and mules. The poorer villagers, however, mix it with wheat--two portions of wheat flour to one portion of barley--in making their daily bread.

hand, and directs the plow with the other. From time to time, he throws his weight on the moldboard so that it will plow deeper into the ground. A farmer and a good team of oxen can plow about one acre in a day.[12] The hand sickle, or qālūsh, is still used as is the studded threshing board.

The Baytīn farmer follows the rotation system in cultivating his land. Thus, a given piece of land is cultivated only every other year. During the year the land lies fallow, the farmer does nothing to it except to clear any bushes that may have grown. The farmers know very little about chemical fertilizers and therefore do not use them. As a result, the land has lost its fertility and therefore yields poor crops. The lack of water in the area forces the farmer to depend on rain for little has been done in the way of irrigation. Such primitive farming methods often result in crop failures and cause famine and suffering among the villagers.

The system of land inheritance as well as poor agricultural methods leads to inefficiency in farming. Upon the death of the father, the family's property is divided among the survivors--mainly the male children--in accordance with the Islamic law of inheritance.[13] The mystic attachment the villager has to land causes the survivors to divide each piece of land equally among themselves, regardless of their numbers or the size of the tract. The result is a fragmentation in landholding so

[12] From this situation has resulted the so-called "faddān" unit of measurement which is the amount of land that a team of oxen, or faddān can plow in one day. Today, it is fixed at about 1.038 acres or 2,201 sq. meters.

[13] For a discussion on this subject see below chapter VIII, pp. 188-89 of this study.

that the average villager winds up owning a number of small plots, often only one-half acre in size. These plots are typically widely separated and the farmer wastes a great deal of time going from one of his plots to another in order to carry on his chores. Moreover, the spliting up of lands in this manner makes it almost impossible to employ mechanized farming methods.

Another factor that hinders the improvement of farming methods is the fact that farmers frequently are forced to work part-time at other occupations to make ends meet. Although it is estimated that over 95 percent of the villagers are dependent in whole or in part upon agriculture, only 30 percent of the total income of the village comes from farming. Only during the best of years when crops are good can the farmer eke out a living on the land. The majority of the time, however, he finds it necessary to supplement his income by doing other kinds of work. The result is that he has neither the money nor the inclination to introduce scientific techniques in his farming methods.

Over-population in the village likewise retards the application of science to agriculture. There are so many inhabitants in the village that every available acre of land must be intensly cultivated. So little land is available, however, that the ratio of land under cultivation never exceeds one-half acre per person. This ratio falls far below the two and a half acres experts have estimated as required to feed and clothe one individual.[14]

[14]See C. Lester Walker, "Too Many People," Harper, vol. 196, no. 1173 (February 1948).

The general state of poverty among the villagers causes them to adept a conservative attitude toward experimentation in agriculture. Most farmers are unwilling to invest either their time or money in any experiment unless it has been tried in the village and has produced good results. Thus, investment in fertilizers and more modern equipment is considered a risk even by those landlords who have the money to employ such techniques and they are reluctant to take such steps. The same negative attitude is taken toward any changes proposed to shift the emphasis in Baytīn's agriculture from the growing of cereals to the production of poultry or resort to dairy farming which do not require as much space or as fertile land.

The Credit System in Baytīn

Living the marginal existence that they do, the Baytīn villagers frequently are obliged to borrow money. With a scarcity of capital available, money is hard to come by. Those villagers who are good credit risks may borrow money from either of two banks in the near-by town of Ramallah. But the majority of the villagers cannot qualify for such loans and they are forced to depend upon local money lenders.

The money lenders in the village are few in number. This is due, in part, to the lack of capital. Moreover, some of those who have the necessary capital prefer to heard their money or buy gold coins or jewelry with it.[15] Some of those who are wealthy avoid lending money because

[15] Hoarding is supposedly forbidden in Islam. The Qur'ān, III: 180 states, "And let not those who hoard up that which Allah hath bestowed upon

of religious reasons for usury is regarded a major sin in Islam.[16]

Much of the capital used by the money lenders in Baytīn comes from outside the village. All but one of the local money lenders has either lived or worked in the United States, or has a close relative who is currently in the Americas and sends back sums of money to the village.

Although the village money lender expects and obtains a high interest on his money, he is most careful in selecting his customers. He often deals with them only through a go-between or a wasīt. The go-between usually is a relative of the lender and charges the person seeking the loan a fee for his services ranging from five to ten percent.

The borrower has many other obligations. He must pay back his loan with interest varying from between ten percent to forty percent for the first year. He must also put up collateral for the loan and in many cases the collateral is land. If he does not repay the debt in time, of course, he is obliged to give up the collateral.

Limited credit is also available for most villagers at the village stores and some of the larger stores in near-by Ramallah. To repay these debts, the villager is expected to make a reasonable monthly payment or to pay the whole amount within a specific period of time. When the villager does not meet his obligations, the merchant issues him a warning demanding that payment be made within a given period of time. If the warning is ignored, or if no suitable

---

them of His bounty think that it is better for them. Nay, it is worse for them. That which they heard will be their collar on the Day of Resurrection. Allah's is the heritage of the heavens and the earth, and Allah is informed of what ye do." See also, Qur'ān, IV: 37; IX: 34; and XLVII: 38.

[16]See Qur'ān, IV: 161; II: 275-280; III: 130 and XXX: 39.

arrangement can be made between the debtor and creditor, the case may be taken to the Magistrate Court.

The credit available for one family at any store is generally quite small and varies between a half a dinār and ten dinārs, or about one dollar and a half to twenty-eight dollars in terms of American money. The amount of credit permitted to each villager varies with his ability to pay his debt as well as the reputation he enjoys as a credit risk.

Customers are never told how much of a carrying charge or a handling fee is added to the original price when they are given credit. In most cases, however, anyone buying on credit pays a higher price than the one who pays cash for the same commodities. This is especially true in this area since the prices of comodities are not fixed and the buyer is expected to bargain until he obtains the most favorable price possible.

The Diet

One of the factors conditioning the ability of the villagers to work as farmers and also to earn money to repay their debts is the state of their health. The villagers' health, in turn, depends upon their diet. Most Baytīn villagers live on a very poor and unbalanced diet.

The villager's food is limited for the most part to what he grows on his land. The common base for this diet is wheat which is used for bread making. Although this cereal is the main crop, the villagers never seem to be able to produce enough to cover their needs.

Bread is literally the staff of life in Baytīn. Wheat bread is consumed with every meal. In some cases, bread is the entire meal. The average

villager consumes from one to two pounds of bread daily.[17]

Bread itself is considered sacred and any improper handling of it is considered a sinful act. If a piece of bread is dropped on the floor, it is picked up, embraced, and raised to the forehead, as a sign of respect. The offender must also offer an apology to Allah indicating that he did not drop the bread out of disrespect and that he does not wish to be denied God's blessings (yukfur bi al-ni3mah).[18]

Because so much wheat is used by each household, the security of each family depends in large measure upon its wheat supply. It is a frightening prospect for a family to exhaust its supply of wheat before the new harvest. On the other hand, the family that has some wheat still available when the new harvest rolls around is considered affluent.

Olive oil ranks next to bread on the farmer's list of food necessities. Bread and olive oil are the two fundamental dietary items in the village. This fact is aptly illustrated by the common saying "al-khubz wa al-zayt 3imarit al-bayt," or " bread and olive oil are the two necessary items for the maintainence of a home." Olive oil enters into the preparation of almost every meal. It is even an essential part of every villager's breakfast. In this meal, the farmer dips each mouthful of bread first into olive oil and then into a dish of powdered wild thyme (za3tar or

[17]See Tanneus, "The Arab Village Community", p. 534.

[18]The traditional Arabic phrase used in this apology runs as follows, "Hāsha al-3aysh yā Mishaf Allāh," or "Sacred is the bread, O! Book (Qur'ān) of Allah."

daqqah).[19]

Olive oil is used also for hygenic and beautification purposes. Some villagers drink a cup of it every morning. They believe that olive oil gives them an added strength and an immunity against many diseases. An ear ache, for example, is treated with a drop of warm olive oil. The bodies of babies are still rubbed with some of this oil. Olive oil is also used as hair tonic, expecially by women. Villagers believe that the olive oil aged for a hundred years, called tiryāq, can cure all diseases including poisoning.

Pickeled olives called rasīs or zaytūn are also consumed in large quantities. They are eaten with almost every meal. Indeed, in the case of families which are very poor, olives, bread, and raw onions are all one eats for lunch and supper each day. Only the largest and best olives are selected for pickling purposes. The women sort out such olives and preserve them in pottery or glass jars, pickling enough to last the family an entire year. The rest of the olives are left to mellow under the hot sun for a few days, and then are carted to an oil press located in one of the near-by villages.[20]

The olive tree is held in high regard by the villagers. It is, without doubt, the most valuable tree a villager can own. Moreover,

[19]Wild thyme is used in huge quantities by all villagers and they believe very strongly in its dietary value as a health food. But no attempt has been made to domesticate this herb. The villagers gather the thyme leaves from bushes which grew wild in the open fields around the village.

[20]The only olive press in Baytīn has been out of commission since the death of its owner over forty years ago.

this tree has some religious significance because it receives a special mention in the Qur'ān.[21]

The villager's diet also includes many kinds of peas. Several types of peas are consumed fresh while they are in season. Two varieties, lentils, or 3adas and chickpeas, or hummus, are cooked after they have been dried. Lentiels are consumed in especially large quantities, and lentil soup is probably served more than any other hot meal in the village. Chickpeas are also used in the preparation of several dishes--especially for making a popular appetizer called mudammas.

Fruits are consumed in large quantities but only when they are in season because refrigeration is lacking to keep them fresh. Grapes, pears, apricots, apples, plums and melons are the leading fruits eaten.[22] The women, preserve many fruits in jams which are used especially during the winter season. Dried figs and raisins also figure largely in the diet of the villagers.

So far as vegetables are concerned, the villagers eat tomatoes, beans, okra, onions, garlic, squash, cucumbers, eggplant and spinach during the winter and spring seasons.[23] The women also dry and preserve

[21] See e. g. Qur'ān, XCV.

[22] Citrus fruits at one time played an important part in every villagers diet, but since the partition of Palestine in 1948 such fruits have become very scarce and costly.

[23] Dandelions (3ilch) and buqqaylah are both leafy plants of the spinach family. Although these two plants are consumed heavily when in season, no attempt has been made to domesticate them. The villagers, instead, gather the leaves from these plants which grow wild.

many of the summer vegetables for winter consumption.

Dairy products play an important role in the village diet. Few villagers drink fresh milk, but those who do boil and sweeten it first. Most of the milk consumed comes from sheep and goats. Rather than drinking milk, most villagers make butter from it. This butter is made by placing cultured milk or, rāyib, in a tanned sheepskin container called a saka. The saka is hung from three wooden posts grouped together in a pyramidical fashion. A woman sets on a stool pushing and pulling the saka until the butter rises to the surface. The butter is taken out, salted, and kept in a pottery jar to be processed in the future.

The residue butter-free sour milk, called laban, is mixed with olive oil and eaten with bread. Laban is also used in many forms of cooking. The sour milk is sometimes dried and made into a hard oval cake called kishk, and may be used when fresh laban becomes unavailable.

The butter is processed by boiling it at a high temperature and extracting the water and salt from it. The purified butter called samin is preserved in glass jars and used the year round. It is eaten with bread, used for frying eggs or meat, and also is an ingredient in the making of certain fancy dishes.

Meats in general, including poultry, are very expensive and eaten only on special occasions. Religious holidays or the entertainment of guests calls for a meat dish. But the diet of the villagers is by and large a meatless one; only the well-to-do can afford to eat meat once or twice a week.

There is only one butcher in the entire village and he kills about

twenty to thirty sheep a year. Even for this man, butchering is only a side occupation. He is employed at the same time as a shop keeper and a mason. Villagers who use meat in their diet more often purchase it from meat shops in the near-by town of Ramallah.

The villagers prefer lamb or mutton to any other kind of meat. Goat's meat and chicken are next in preference. They eat very little beef because cattle are essentially regarded as work animals. Pigs are neither raised nor eaten by the villagers because of religious reasons.[24] Meats are usually prepared in dishes which call for boiled meat and boiled rice.

Eggs are rarely consumed. The villagers use eggs as a medium of exchange because storekeepers accept them in lieu of money. The storekeeper exports the eggs he has accumulated to the city where they are sold.

The villagers frequently supplement their diet by gathering certain plants that grew wild. Three such plants, wild thyme, dandelions and a leafy plant called buqqaylah, have already been mentioned. To this list must be added a number of herbs such as qray3a, a tiny plant that grows abundantly in the area. The yellow flowers and tiny green leaves of this plant when boiled produce a spicy beverage which the villagers consume in great quantities. Shūmar is another spicy undomesticated herb that is used in making certain dishes and also for preparing the

[24] Pork eating is considered a sinful act in Islam. See below Chapter IV, p.82 of this study.

breakfast meal called duqqah mentioned earlier. During the spring season, the leaves of several plants such as those of cyclamen are gathered, stuffed with rice or crushed wheat, rolled and boiled.[25]

Several other commodities that enter into the villager's diet are imported into Baytīn from near and far away places. These include salt, which is produced domestically, black pepper from India, sugar and rice from Egypt, coffee from Aden and Brazil, and tea from South East Asia.

Tea is consumed in large quantities and is the basic breakfast drink. It is also, however, served as a refreshment around which a great body of traditions has grown. It is the symbol of hospitality throughout the Arabic Middle East, and is without doubt the most important beverage among the Baytīn villagers.

Local Industry and Occupational Groups

Although the major occupation of most villagers is farming, a small percentage of the people in Baytīn make a living by other means. The occupations held by these people may be broken down into two general catagories: the first group includes industrial workers, agricultural workers, and skilled craftsmen; the second group includes white collar workers and semiprofessional persons.\

Baytīn's major industry is located in its stone quarries. Building stones are in great demand in the area, and Baytīn is fortunate

[25]In this manner also, the villagers stuff many kinds of leaves, domesticated or otherwise. These include cabbage and tender grape leaves.

enough to have some quarries located within the town limits. The industry is owned and operated by two business firms: The first belongs to a native villager; while the second is run as a family enterprise by two brothers who migrated to Baytīn.[26]

To work the quarries, the two firms employ about a dozen men between them for the better part of the year. The workers are not professional stone cutters but instead are farmers who are using what free time they have to supplement their income. They come and go on the job without any set schedule. The farmers may spend a day on the job any time they like and may take off any day thay like. Sometimes the business firms let them go when there is no demand for building stones. They are paid a daily wage for whatever services they do perform.

Primitive operating methods are used in the Baytīn quarries. Power is used to blast away any boulders that cover the stones that will make good building materials. There is a great deal of hand labor and the basic tools used by the workers include shovels, picks, metal levers, wheel barrows and rubber baskets.

Excavations for building stones are carried on several areas around the village. Quite often, the open fields alloted for the growing of crops contain such stones. Business firms ask permission of the owner to use his land as a quarry and pay him rent for this purpose. When they have taken out all the stones they can find, the workers are

[26] The owners of both quarries are prosperous and live in fine modern homes in the section of the village called ḥayy al-Amarkan, or the American Quarter. For a description of this area see below Chapter II, p. 13, 24 of this study.

instructed to fill the pits they have opened and the land is smoothed over and made available for farming once again.

Building stones from Baytin are used throughout Jordan. In recent years, the bulk of stones quarried in Baytin have been sent to Amman, the capital of the country. Amman has experienced a polulation explosion and this resulted in a tremendous building program.

The finish work done on building stones also provides work for some villagers. This work is called diqāqah and consists of chipping the stones into specific sizes and shapes for building purposes. Only skilled workmen called daqqāq can perform such work and intensive training is required under the expert eye of a master craftsman. These master craftsmen make no attempt to hide the secrets of their trade and they teach and encourage young apprentices.

No formal examination, certification, or licensing is required for an individual to begin work as a daqqāq. They are paid by piece work rather than by a daily wage. Whether a daqqāq is offered enough work to keep him busy the year round or not depends upon the quality of his work and the reputation he acquires as a craftsman in his field. A good daqqāq can earn a decent living and can earn as much as a Jordanian dinār, or about $2.80 per day. These are top wages compared to what other Jordanian workmen earn.

There are some twenty-seven daqqāqs at Baytin. They are not organized into any kind of professional organization and each of them operates independently. Sometimes these daqqāqs seek work outside of the village. In this event they return home every evening if their work

is nearby, or once a week if they are employed some distance from home. Despite the fact they are skilled workers, the majority of the daqqāqs devote at least part of their time to farming.

Needlework, or titrīz, is a household industry for which the whole sub-district of Ramallah is famous. The women of the village, in their free time, engage themselves in the making of colorful scarfs, table clothes, vanity sets, hand bags, and native costumes. Many of these products are used locally by those who produce them. But a large amount of these handicraft items are sold to tourists, mostly Americans, for what are considered to be very high prices. Many of Baytīn's young women produce such fine needlework.

During the winter season, many of the women in the village spend their spare time knitting woolen clothing for the members of their families. Many knit such clothes for others who will pay for such services. The yarn used in knitting clothes may be imported from outside the country--mostly from England--or produced domestically.

The local yarn is made from the wool of the village sheep which is spun by the men of Baytīn during their free hours. To spin the yarn, the villagers use a wooden instrument called a ghazzāla. This instrument is made of two flattened and smooth pieces of wood called jinhān, or wings. The wings are broader at the middle than at either end. Each is about ten inches in length and about an inch and a quarter wide at the center. They are made to cross each other at the center where they are held together by a wooden rod that runs through a hole in each wing at the crossing point. This rod is called ʿāmūd. It is normally about

twelve inches and thicker at the base then at the notched top. The free end of the thread is tied to the ghazzāla at the center where the ʒāmūd connects the jinḥān. It is then looped around the notch at the upper end of the ʒāmūd. The thread is then connected to the wool which is looped around the left wrist of the person doing the spinning. The spinner lets the wool threads gather in a small but even line between the fingers of his left hand while he uses his right hand to spin the ghazzāla and to smooth the line he is spinning. Whenever a yard of yarn has been spun, the spinner rolls it around the center of the ghazzāla and continues this process until all the yarn has been spun. It is then that the ʒāmūd is pushed out and the jinḥān are released so that they may be taken out easily, leaving a roll of yarn, or ḉhibba, ready for use.

Basket weaving is another household industry performed by the women of Baytīn. During the summer when the wheat is harvested, thay gather the straws for the baskets they will weave. The process of gathering the straws is called tiqshīsh, and the women interact a great deal as they carry on this function on the threshing grounds. The straws are gathered while they are still moist and will not break easily and then are left to dry until they are used for weaving.

Besides weaving baskets of different sizes and shapes, the women weave fancy trays of colored straws. These trays are called ṣawāni or aṭbāq. They are used for decorative as well as functional purposes. No bride's trousseau is complete without at least half a dozen trays of this sort.

Each woman weaves enough baskets and trays to satisfy the needs of her family. Some villagers, however, sell some of the articles they produce to women who live in the city and who do not do such handicraft work. The task of basket weaving normally is given to old women.

Yellow clay mixed with qaṣwal, or the harsh fragments of wheat straws, is used by some women in the village in the making of moveable clay stoves, or mawāqid, fire containers used for heating purposes, or kawānīn, baking places, or ṭawābīn, and beehives, or ajrān naḥil. One Baytīn family specializes in producing such commodities for sale in the village as well as to urban dwellers in neighboring towns and cities.

The raising and care of livestock also provide work for a few of Baytīn villagers. Cattle raising however, has never been an important industry in the village for a number of reasons. Most of the cattle are regarded as draft animals rather than being raised for eating. Moreover, the typography of the village is not conducive to large-scale cattle raising. The land is mountainous and rocky and what little land there is in the valleys is used for farming. The dry climate during the long summer and fall months causes the grass to dry up and reduces the food supply available for cattle. During the summer months also there is such a shortage of water to satisfy human wants that little is left to water the stock that there is.[27]

Sheep and goats, on the other hand, are raised in greater number

[27]The lack of rain between 1957 and 1960 resulted in the loss of many animals in the village and in keeping their numbers to a minimum.

in the village. The sheep are of the fat-tailed variety. The fat tail, or liyyah being analagous to the camel's hump because it enables the sheep to go without food for long periods of time. Such sheep are especially well suited for the village habitat. Black goats are also well adapted to the terrain and climate of the area. They are hardy animals and can easily withstand the rigors of great heat and droughts. The goats feed on almost anything they can find in the area including weeds, bushes, and sticks.

Sheep and goats seem essential for human life in the village. They supply the villager with almost all the meat and dairy products he uses. Wool from the sheep enters in the making of clothing and is used as stuffing for making mattresses and quilts. Goat's hair is made into ropes, floor mats, and cushions. The hides of both sheep and goats are used locally as floor rugs (jawāʒid, sing. jāʒid), or sold in the cities where they serve other purposes. Lambskins are made into fur coats called firā', which are worn by both men and women in the village.

The care given to these animals is minimal. Grazing is carried on in the communal lands and in wheat and barley fields after harvest. Cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys and mules, however, are given fodder during the black winter months. This fodder consists of dry grass, tree leaves, fragments of wheat straws or tibin,[28] crushed kirsannah, barley and garbage. Sheep, goats and cattle are sometimes sent to warmer places in the Jordan

[28] This is a grain of the legume family, similar to milo maize in the United States.

Valley for grazing purposes.

The care of these animals in Baytīn also requires that they be guarded night and day lest they be stolen or wander into the cultivated areas and damage the crops. Sheep and goats are watched constantly by shepherds who drive them to open fields to pasture during the day and bring them back to the village at night. To guard their animals at night, the shepherds drive them into a walled yard at home called a sīrah. The three shepherds in Baytin care for about 250 head of sheep and goats. With the exception of one family that owns about 60 head of sheep, no other villager owns more than a half dozen sheep or goats.

Meat animals are driven to market in ones and twos as well as in small groups. The drivers are the owners of such animals and they sell them directly to butcher shops in neighboring cities and towns.

There are, however, some villagers who serve the role of the middle-man (iallāb) between farmer and butcher. A jallāb roams the villages buying and selling sheep and goats. When he has purchased a small herd, he drives it to a nearby city and sells his animals to local butchers. The number of villagers so engaged vary from time to time depending upon the seasoon and availability of capital. None of the jallābs works at trading animals as a full time job because it is almost impossible to make a living this way.

In the village itself, there is only one part time butcher. The operation of killing and skinning the animals takes place in the street in front of the general store, or dukkān which the butcher owns and operates as a partner with another villager. Most of the meat is sold

to subscribers in advance of the killing. The rest of the carcass hangs on the wall outside the front door until it is sold.

In addition to the people involved in the crafts and trades mentioned above, there are a variety of villagers who earn a living by running small businesses or providing certain services. Two men operate a taxi service that runs between Baytīn and Ramallah. Three other men manage two general stores and three others operate the two coffee shops in the village. There is one local police officer who is attached to the central police force at Ramallah. Eight villagers are professional soldiers, two of whom are second lieutenants. There are a handful of men engaged in exporting and selling olive oil to other communities in the country and to Syria (U. A. R.) and Lebanon. There are two stone masons, a part time brick mason and five mason aids. Two men, a photographer and a carpenter, work in establishments at Ramallah but live with their families at Baytīn. The village itself, however, has neither a blacksmith shop, barber shop, or carpenter's shop. For these services a villager must go to Ramallah.

There are also a few white-collar workers in Baytīn; a half dozen teachers who serve in the elementary schools in neighboring villages but live at Baytīn; a surveyor and a telephone operator, both of whom are government employees.

Emigration: A Historical Sketch

Surprisingly enough, the first villager to emigrate to the Americas did not do so until 1903: his destination was the United States. This

emigre came from one of the poorest families of the village and had to borrow and pawn almost all the mulk property his family possessed in order to raise enough money to make the trip. His success soon stimulated more migration to the Americas.[29] Within a decade after 1903, fifty three young men left for the New World.

The factors that led to this migration were typical of those that motivated most people to leave the Old World to come to the New World. First of all, the grinding poverty in the village led many of the inhabitants to leave so that they might try to earn money else where. Many left to escape the obligation of compulsory military training. Still others left for social reasons to escape the cultural controls imposed within the village.[30]

The economic situation in Baytīn was particularly poor because control of the land was not in the hands of the villagers. As was previously noted, the village inhabitants had originally migrated to Baytīn after being driven from the village of Burqa in 1841 by the yamanites of Dair Dibwān. The lands they settled upon were owned by landlords in the neighboring town of Birah.[31] The people of Baytīn were

[29] The first emigre returned to the village in 1910. He married an attractive young girl, who was the daughter of probably the wealthiest man in the village at that time. The bridegroom was much older than his young bride. He paid a dowery of 1,000 Turkish golden pounds, and gave the bride's uncle fifty golden pounds for "hidm al-khāl", or the "uncle's suit". The dowery this returning emigre paid was many times greater than that which was paid normally.

[30] Cf. Afif Tannous, "Emigration, a force of social change in an Arab Village," Rural Sociology, vol. 7, no. 1 (March 1942), pp. 63-66.

[31] See below Chapter II, p. 37 of this study.

poverty-stricken because their lands were marginal farming areas in which it was difficult to make a living and what little they did make had to be paid out in the form of rent to their Birah landlords.

The second factor that influenced migration at that time was the compulsory military service required of the villagers. In theory, every male in the village was subject to the draft and had to serve in the Turkish army unless he could prove that he was needed at home to provide for his family. In reality, however, the poor were drafted while the wealthy males were exempted because they bribed the authorities in charge of the draft. This injustice based upon economic class distinctions motivated many villagers to emigrate to America. By the time many of them had returned, they were no longer subject to the draft for many reasons. Some were too old to qualify for military training, and those who returned after World War I no longer worried about being drafted in the Turkish army because the village was now a part of Palestine which was a mandate under the control of the British Government.

Finally, some frustrated villagers emigrated in order to escape the cultural control imposed upon them in Baytīn. In this group could be found social deviants who resented the village mores or resisted the rules of religion.

The early migration from the village followed a distinct pattern for in every case the men departed alone. Wives and children were left behind in the village. (Most of the emigrants looked upon their trip to the New World as a lengthy business venture.) They hoped to get rich

quickly and to return to the village as soon as possible to live a life of ease with their earnings.

Arrangements for the trip to the Americas were made in behalf of most villagers by an agent from Ramallah who was referred to simply as the "Masihi," or the "Christian". The only guarantee this agent gave was that the emigrant will be placed aboard a ship that would carry him somewhere in the New World. The exact destination was not always specified. The fact that their final destination was unknown did not seem to trouble the villagers. Many of them landed in different ports in North, Central and South America. But in some cases, the villagers wound up in some area of the world other than the Americas. Out of the fifty three emigrants who left the village prior to World War I, thirty seven went to the United States, nine to Mexico, one to Canada, three to Brazil, two to Spain and one to the Philippines.

The fact that many of the emigrants were able to establish themselves in the New World and to send money back to the village stimulated even more emmigration. The status of those who were related to the immigrants rose as their economic position improved as a result of the money that was sent to them from the Americas. They were able to pay their debts, reclaim the lands they had mortgaged in order to raise money for the fares of the emigrants they had helped to send abroad, and to build new homes.

When the early emigrants returned home after a few years in the New World with large sums of money, they were, in effect, the wealthiest individuals in the village. They were able to pay the highest dowories

and therefore married the most attractive women. Because of their affluence they held a high social standing within the community. They were the envy of every villager and more and more of the young men began to dream of going to the Americas, earning their fortunes, and returning to the village to bask in the admiration that was accorded to the emigrants who had returned.

In the period between World War I and World War II, however, emigration from the village to the New World dropped drastically. Only eight left the village during this period: six went to the United States, and the two others to Mexico. Interestingly enough, the number of emigrants who returned to the village during this period exceeds the number of those who left Baytin. The lack of emigration during this time may be attributed to several factors. The immigration laws written by the United States in 1921, 1924 and 1927 severely restricted the number of immigrants who could enter that country. The great depression of the 1930's discouraged emigration into the United States because the chances of economic success were reduced sharply. Central and South America failed to attract many emigrants from the village during this time because the early emigres to these areas had not been as successful as those who had gone to the United States.

Following World War II, many of the old emigrants to the United States returned to the village. All who returned at this time had prospered as a result of the war. This set off another wave of emigration from the village. But the new emigration was stimulated even more by political developments in the region during this time. The

partition of Palestine into the new state of Israel and the Arabic section annexed later by Jordan resulted in the less of the traditional market to which the Baytīn villagers had exported their produce. The Palestinian War of 1948 created new political tensions in the area because Baytīn was located only about twenty-three miles from the Jordanian-Israeli boundry line. Moreover, the war resulted in tremendous refugee problems because many Arabs lost their homes in the area in which the new state if Israel was established. Having nowhere else to turn, many of these refugees flooded numerous of small villages in Jordan, including Baytīn. The arrival of these new refugees in the village that was already overpopulated and existing under a marginal economy depressed wages and raised prices. These new economic hardships caused the Baytīn villagers to think once more in terms of emigration.

Since the close of World War II, 129 persons have left the village. Twenty-two of these people have migrated to other areas in Jordan. The remainder have emigrated to six different countries throughout the world. The following table shows the geographical distribution of the Baytīn emigrants during the postwar period.

Country	Number of emigrants
U. S. A.	49
Brazil	28
Kuwait	13
Saudi Arabia	10
Lebanon	5
Venzuela	2
Total	107

One new factor in this postwar migration has been the emigration of wives and children. Of the 107 emigrants from Baytīn since 1947, there were thirteen female emigrés who went to the United States, five to Kuwait and two to Saudi Arabia.

Emigration and Change in the Economic Structure of the Village

Emigration probably has been the most significant force in reshaping the socio-economic structure of the village since the inception of modern Baytīn in 1841. Emigration has made it possible for the villagers to increase their landholdings, to develop a money economy, to "discover" banking, and even to invest in economic projects of a local and national nature.

A considerable part of the money sent by emigrants to their relatives in Baytīn has been used to purchase more land in the area of the village as has been noted previously. Indeed, many of the sums sent by the emigrants were earmarked for purchases of land. The interest demonstrated by the emigrants in the acquisition of new property in Baytīn led the native villagers to use the promise of more land purchases to secure additional sums of money from their emigrant relatives. The net result of this land-buying has enabled the villagers to triple their land holdings since the turn of the century. This has led to a significant increase in the annual incomes for Baytīn villagers.

Another result of the flow of funds into the village has been the growth of a money economy to replace the barter system used previously. In recent years those who resort to barter are looked down upon and

there is almost a social stigma attached to those who continue to trade in goods because they have no cash. The number of commodities that are acceptable at the village store in lieu of cash has been reduced to only one item--eggs. In the past, eggs, wheat, barley, olive oil, and dried figs were all accepted in such trade. Stores and other establishments in near-by towns with which the villagers deal will no longer take agricultural commodities in payment for the manufactured goods they sell or services they render.

Most of the money sent by the emigrants has arrived in the form of checks and this has made it necessary for the villagers to use local banks available in larger towns and cities in the area such as Ramallah and Jerusalem. The result has been that the villagers have discovered and now make use of the various functions of the bank. Instead of investing their surplus cash in gold coins and jewwlry as in the past, many have opened savings and checking accounts.

The returning emigrants who learned to deal with banks while abroad, also have dealt with local banks when they have returned to the village. The bank has begun to play a more important role in the life of many villagers. Many from time to time have turned to the bank for loans as well as for advice on financial matters.

Right after World War II, the demand for dollars all over the Middle East grew high. Many merchants who were engaged in importing goods from the United States and needed dollars to pay for such goods began to offer a higher price for the dollar than the bank price which was set by the government. This resulted in the creation of black market for dollars.

A middle man, known as sarrāf, or money exchanger purchased the dollars from those who had some and sold these dollars to merchants who needed them. To make it possible for him to get negotiable funds, the sarrāf instructed the villagers to ask their emigrant relatives to send their sums in cashier checks, or "chaik banki," because these checks sold at a higher price among the merchants. Four young men from Batyīn were engaged as money exchangers at one time.

Some of the emigrants who returned to the village from abroad with large sums of money during the last decade began to search for industrial and commercial firms in which to invest. These emigrants were motivated by several factors. First there was the promise of dividends and the possibilities of the increase in the value of stocks. Secondly, these corporations made personal contact with the returning emigrants and have appealed to their patriotism. These corporations have succeeded in capitalizing upon the desire of the returning emigrant to make Baytīn and Jordan a better place in which to live because many promise to produce goods and services which will better the lives of the villagers.

Four returning Baytīn emigrants, three from the United States of America and one from Saudi Arabia are reported to have purchased a sizable amount of stock in two new corporations that will indirectly serve Baytīn. The first is a government-controlled corporation that intends to supply a large portion of the Ramallah sub-district with water, including the village of Baytīn. The second is a privately-owned power and light company. From its base in Baytin, it hopes to be able to provide the village as well as an area of twenty miles radius

with electricity within a year's time.

Investment in such corporations is only the beginning of a new trend in business. Land and houses are no longer the only two areas of investment for the villagers. More and more, villagers are expected to follow the lead of these business pioneers and invest money in projects that will produce income but at the same time bring beneficial results to Baytīn.

Chapter VIII

Marriage Customs

Marriage customs among the villagers around Palestine have many interesting aspects. The selection of a suitable mate is conditioned by the fact that boys and girls stop associating with one another after about the age of ten. It is customary for the young man to initiate the steps that lead to marriage. When a youth wants to get married, he usually makes a direct request to his father to procure him a bride. He may, of course, ask indirectly through his mother or through some other person close to his father. In certain instances, however, the father of an eligible young man might raise the subject of marriage to his son. In any event, once the son has indicated some interest in the idea, and the parents have consented, the search for a wife formally begins.

Both father and son have clear-cut responsibilities in the search for a mate. It is the duty of the father to suggest any number of prospective brides to his son, and it is the son's duty to accept or reject each of his father's suggestions. Although parents look forward to the day when their sons will get married -- referring to it as yūm al-afrāh, or the day of joys -- they are often hesitant to consent to the demands of the son because of the mahr or dowry which must be paid to the bride.

The choice of brides suggested might be wide or narrow in scope, but in almost every case the first name proposed is that of bint al-3amm

(daughter of the father's brother).[1] Paternal cousins are preferred in marriage for two reasons: first, the dowry paid would remain in the family; secondly, it is believed that cousins would be more understanding as future mates than would total strangers. Theoretically, the potential bridegroom can claim any one of his paternal cousins as his bride, and, if he chooses to do so, can prevent their marriage to any one outside the family.

The parents of bint al-3amm might raise objections to such a match, in which event a feud probably would develop between the two families. Three courses of action would then be open to the bint al-3amm. She might disregard her first cousin's prior claim and marry someone else in defiance of the long standing tradition. She might remain single for the rest of her life or wait until all of her cousins are married before accepting any marriage proposals. Or, herfather might be tactful enough to avoid the marriage by demanding an excessively high dowry in order to discourage the interested cousin from pursuing the match.

If bint al-3amm were rejected for one reason or another, the search would continue, and other girls from the 3āl'ila (joint family), or al-hāmūla (the clan), or al-qarya (the village) might be suggested. The

[1] Bint al-3amma (daughter of the father's sister), bint al-khāl (daughter of the mother's brother) and bint al-khāla (daughter of the mother's sister) rank below bint al-3amm in that order. The reason the former have lower priority is that they also might have paternal first cousins. Thus endogamy is the rule rather than the exception. The only women a man might not marry are his mother, daughter, sister, aunt, niece, foster mother, milk sister, mother-in-law, step-daughter, daughter-in-law, or wife's sister as long as his wife is still living. See Qur'ān, IV: 22-24.

search might even transcend the village boundary and be extended to other nearby villages.[2] At any rate, it would continue until a preliminary agreement was reached between father and son as to who the future wife should be.

The next step is that of al-naqda, or bridal inspection. It is possible that the groom has seen his prospective bride in the village many times, for girls do not wear veils in Baytīn. But he has had no opportunity to associate with her since childhood, and an examination of her background, character, and abilities is warranted. An inspection team composed of some of his female relatives (e. g., his sister, aunt, or mother) is formed and sent to meet the proposed bride and to report their findings to the future groom and to his father. In the event that the girl comes from an area outside the village, such an examination takes on an increased importance.

Women performing this function usually try to keep their mission a secret. If the report were a favorable one and the girl is from another village, she might be pointed out from a distance to the interested young man. At times, al-naqda, as well as the distance examination, might be conducted with the knowledge of the girl and her family, although such contacts would be made to appear accidental.[3]

[2]Only girls from poor families, or girls attracted by the prestige of the bridegroom would agree to marry any man from outside the village, for this would mean accepting the degrading classification of gharība, or stranger.

[3]Cf. Arthur Jeffery, "The Family in Islam," in Ruth Nanda Anshen, The Family: Its Function and Destiny (New York, revised ed., 1959), pp. 210-11.

If all has gone well up to this point, the groom's father and the groom arrange a meeting with the father and male relatives of the future bride. Once again, this might be done directly, or indirectly, through a wasīt or a go-between.[4] The wasīt, sometimes wāsita, is normally an influential person in the village whom the father of the bride regards highly.[5] The wasīt can be either a man or a woman. The role of the go-between is usually regarded as an honor and carries no pay. Normally, the wasīt is satisfied with the rewards expressed in the old folk saying: "Happy is the man who brings two heads together on a pillow /in marriage/." Sometimes, however, the wasīt demands a special fee for the services rendered.[6]

If, after consultation with other male relatives, the parent or guardian of the future bride has indicated an interest in the marriage, the next step is to agree on the amount of the dowry. A number of factors determine the sum finally paid: the attractiveness of the girl, the number of suitors for her hand, and the social positions of the parties involved.[7] If the terms of the dowry seem reasonable to the

[4]The practice of employing go-betweens for arranging marriage is not peculiar to this culture. Professor Edward Westermark reports that such a custom is "extremely widespread both among savages and among more civilized nations." The History of Human Marriage, 3 vols. (New York, 5th ed., 1922), I, p. 426.

[5]In choosing a wasīt, the young man's family is guided by a folk saying: "To every key hole there is a /right/ key /that will unlock the door/."

[6]Five to ten dinārs or $14-28 is about an average fee for a wasīt.

[7]Dowries vary between 100 and 500 dinārs or from $280-1,400.

bridegroom's family, they proceed with further arrangements. Otherwise, they would try to haggle with the bride's father to reduce the dowry demanded, often through the go-between. If a satisfactory settlement cannot be made, the entire matter is dropped and the search for another prospective bride is undertaken.

There is one way in which the payment of a dowry is sometimes eliminated--that is by an interfamiliar exchange marriage, or what is known as the badīla arrangement. If the young man seeking marriage has a sister of marriageable age he might try to locate another man who also has a sister of marrying age, and the two men might agree to marry each other's sister and to cancel the dowry payment. The badīla arrangement is commonly found among the poorer villagers to whom the raising of a dowry is a major problem.

There is yet another way in which a young man might acquire a wife, and that is by al-khaṭīfa, or elopement. A youth attracted to a certain girl but unable to marry her because of his poverty or low social station might woo her secretly and persuade her to elope with him. The couple might seek refuge at the house of a powerful gentlemen in a neighboring village. In such cases the bride's family might reconcile themselves to the inevitable and cooperate with the couple to legalize the marriage.

Cases are known where the dowry has ranged as high as 1,000 dinārs. Realizing that the average annual income per capita in the area does not exceed $75-100, the problem posed by high dowries readily becomes apparent. The law books of Islam name no sum as a maximum or a minimum for a dowry with the exception of the Hanafites who insist upon a minimum of one dinar. See Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam (Cambridge, being 2nd ed. of The Sociology of Islam, 1969), pp. 113-114.

If not, the father, brother, or paternal cousin of the bride might seek out the couple and kill them. Elopement is considered a disgrace, and even forgiveness by the family does not completely erase the social stigma associated with this shamful act. For this reason the khaṭīfa is not a common method for acquiring a wife.

If arrangements have gone smoothly and the dowry is agreed upon, an open khuṭba, or engagement ceremony, is held. The groom and his father invite friends and relatives to attend the ceremony at the prospective bride's house or in the home of one of her relatives. In addition to bringing handsome gifts to his bride-to-be, the groom must provide all the food and sweets needed for refreshments. After dining, the eldest and most respected member of the groom's party rises to address the father of the bride and his male relatives, asking for the hand of the girl. The girl's father, or the eldest of his group, answers in a solemn tone, announcing that he is greatly honored by the request and that his daughter is offered to the groom without any dowry and without any obligations (balā jazā walā wafā). This generous offer is accepted with thanks, but the speaker of the groom's party will "insist" upon paying a dowry--an amount already agreed upon secretly.[8] In fact, the money is counted in public, probably so that every one present may witness the transaction. Once this has been accomplished, the Fātiḥa, or the opening chapter of the Qur'ān is recited. Only a down payment is necessary at this stage;

[8]Some cases are known where the amount of the dowry announced in public is much greater than the amount agreed upon and actually paid to the bride's father. Such falsification is done for the sake of prestige.

the rest of the dowry may be paid in installments. However, the marriage can take place only after the dowry has been paid in full.[9] The dowry is not always paid in cash; sometimes a piece of land or certain services are rendered to the bride's father in lieu of money.

Part of the dowry is used to buy the bride jewelry and a new wardrobe. The rest may be pocketed by her father, perhaps as a compensation for his loss of a daughter.[10] Only in a very few cases does the bride ever have the opportunity to retain her dowry money.[11] The jewelry is retained by the bride as a form of insurance, something of value which can be used in times of economic distress. Her jewelry is her property, and even her husband has no right to exchange it or use it without the wife's consent. This point is of particular importance because it shows that women may own property independently of their husbands.

The khutba and the payment of the dowry is followed by al-imlāk, the legal binding of the marriage. A shaykh or some other person authorized by al-mahkama al-sharʿiyya or the Muslim Canon Court, performs this function.[12] This official insists upon interviewing the girl about to be

[9] Levy, p. 114.

[10] The religion of Islam provides that the dowry should be paid to the wife as a free gift, and not to her father, and grants the husband full enjoyment of any portion that the wife may remit. See Qur'ān, IV: 4; Levy, p. 95.

[11] It has been noted already that the well-to-do and Western-oriented group at Baytīn has been following the practice of giving the whole dowry plus a handsome gift to the bride.

[12] Marriage is viewed here as a secular rather than a religious rite.

married to satisfy himself of two facts: first, that she is not a child (perhaps less than sixteen years old);[13] and secondly, that she is entering upon the marriage of her own free will. He also tries to get her to name one of her male relatives as her wāli, or legal representative, who would be authorized to sign the marriage contract in her behalf.

There then follows the imlāk, or the legal part of the marriage ceremony. The groom and the bride's wāli sit opposite one another, holding hands as if they are about to make a hand shake. Each in turn answers the questions of the shaykh and consents to the marriage. Once this is completed, the Fātiḥa is again recited by all the people present. While this ceremony is going on some of the groom's relatives will keep an eye on all present to make certain that no one is casting a spell over the entire affair. Custom states that if any one in the group ties seven knots with some thread and blows his breath on each knot, he can place a curse on the marriage.[14]

The shaykh then writes 3iqd al-nikāḥ, or the marriage contract. This document is duly signed by the groom, by the wāli in behalf of the bride, and by two male witnesses. The contract indicates that each party is of marriageable age and of sound mind (bāligh wa rāshid), and that each has

[13] It is not the birth certificate which determines the age of the girl, but rather her size and physical maturity. In certain cases, especially when the bride-to-be is small in size, a girl other than the future bride might be produced to trick the shaykh. At other times, a few dinārs might persuade an unwilling shaykh to give his consent.

[14] This custom stems from pre-Islamic days. The Qur'ān makes mention of it and does not deny it. See CXII: 4.

married through his own desire and choice. It further specifies the amount of al-mahr al-mu3ajjal, or the advanced dowry paid before marriage was contracted, and stipulates that al-mahr al-mu'ajjal, or delayed dowry, be paid by the husband to his wife in the event he should divorce her without legal cause. The contract also indicates whether the bride is a virgin, a divorcee, or a widow.

Marriage ceremonies in the Arabic Middle East tend to be elaborate and costly affairs. The people in Baytīn have been known to celebrate for an entire week. A few days before the marriage takes place men and women gather in separate groups in the saḥa (village square) each night to dance and sing around a campfire.

The men engage in the saḥja dance, lining up in two opposite rows facing one another. The men in one line chant a single line of verse, and this refrain is picked up and repeated by the opposite group. The singing is accompanied by a rhythmic clapping of hands and a few dance steps. So it goes for hours, introducing a new line of verse once the first one has been repeated twice by each line of the singing dancers. Between the two lines stand a man or two with swords in hand, moving from one end of the line to the other, dancing and singing and whipping up enthusiasm.

The dance is finally interrupted by men from the groom's family who move in with refreshments and cigarettes to entertain the dancers. During this intermission a group of amateur male entertainers, disguised as animals or foolish and fat men and women take the floor and commence clowning. The saḥja is resumed once more after the intermission and continues for a spell of time. When this dance is over, the men form a

circle and a group of dancers appears in the middle, lining up for the dabka dance. In addition to the dancers, there are usually a flute player and a singer in the center. Each of the dancers places his hands on the shoulders of the dancers on either side. The leader stands at the head of the line of dancers and carries a handkerchief to signal the movements that should be made by the group. The singer sings one verse at a time, usually making up original lines on the spot, and is accompanied by the flute player. While this singing is going on, the dancers are standing making very slow and noiseless movement with their feet. Once the singer is done, the leader gives orders and the dancers begin moving in a circle, jumping up and down, and kicking the ground in a rhythmic fashion to the tune of the flute player. The dabka dance continues for about half an hour, and then the dancers quit and every one goes home.

While the men are dancing, the women will gather in a circle in a corner of the saha. Some of the younger ones dance, while the rest sing. The main theme of their songs deals with men of the village--each identified by his name indicating how handsome, learned, wise, brave and generous he is. Once in a while, a woman will raise her voice above the others and sing a quaternate. When she has finished, the rest of the women join her in a zaghrūt (a woman cry of joy). When the women are tired of singing, they find themselves a high place where they can sit and watch the men dancing from a distance and listen to their singing.

The night preceding the wedding day is called laylat al-hinna, or

the henna night. A deputation of women from the groom's family comes to the bride's house to bathe her and to stain the palms of her hands, the soles of her feet, and her arms, legs, and thighs with henna. The belief is that if an unmarried girl stains her palms with the same henna, it will help her get married within a year. The result is that many of the single girls stain themselves with the same henna.

During the same night, other activities are taking place at the house of the groom. Several sheep are slaughtered and prepared for cooking. Those involved in food preparation continue their work throughout the night and into the next day until they have all the bread, meat, and rice they need.

Around noon time, the bride is bathed and adorned with ornaments once more, but this time by her friends and associates. She then sits at her father's home awaiting the hour when she will be brought to her bridal chamber.

The groom is also bathed at his home by his associates and friends. Many of them also take a bath in the same tub after him, because of the widely accepted fable that whosoever bathes in the same tub after the groom shall also be married within the year.

After the groom is bathed and adorned he is prepared for the zaffa or the wedding procession.[15] The young man will be mounted on a horse.

[15] In other Muslim countries the girl rather than the boy goes on the wedding procession. See Arthur Jeffery in Ruth N. Anshen, p. 217; Mahmut Makal, A Village in Anatolia, trans. Sir Wyndham Deeds (Longon, 1954), p. 129.

He is preceded by a line of men. They walk and sing, but stop every once in a while for a short dance. The ladies line up behind him. The procession starts at the father of the groom's house and ends at a designated place outside the village. There the men and women continue to sing and dance in separate groups for the best part of the afternoon. A horse race might also take place. The horsemen engage in fencing and demonstrate their skill in manipulating their swords. The bride all this time stays home attended by some of her close friends who spend their time teasing her and passing on last minute instructions on sex relations and the role she is supposed to play on her first night as a bride.[16]

Upon their return from the zaffa, the men go to the madāfa or the hospitality house, while the women go to the groom's house to eat. The food consists of thin layers of unleavened bread soaked in rich broth and topped with boiled rice and meat. Sometimes, a thick cream of crushed wheat called 3aṣīda also topped with meat is offered. Such food is served in big open trays called karāmi--each of which is large enough to allow five to ten men to sit around it and eat from it with ease. No utensils are used. These dining use their hands, dipping into the plate and taking a fistful of food and tossing it into their mouths.

The food is brought to the madāfa by a procession of young ladies which is led by the groom, or by the groom's father, or one of his relatives. While the men are feasting the young ladies sit about

[16] At Baytīn these activities normally occur on Sunday so that the wedding may take place on Monday night, which is regarded as a blessed night (layla mubāraka). Cf. Jeffery in Anshen, p. 217.

singing about the generosity of the groom and his father. Once the food has been consumed, the ladies carry the empty trays away. In the meantime, the women and the children are entertained in a less ceremonious fashion in the courtyard of the groom's father.

After everyone has eaten, the men gather to bring forth gifts to the groom. Such gifts are called nuqūṭ and are always in the form of cash and cash only. Each doner in turn calls upon the announcer, hands him a certain amount of money, and supplies him with the name of the person in whose honor the gift is given. In a loud and clear voice the amount of each gift is announced, the doner is thanked, and the honored man is asked to stand up and take a bow.

Before the bride is escorted to the house of her husband that evening, she is visited by her male relatives who give her cash gifts also. Each of her male relatives asks if she has any wish he may answer and at the same time informs her that his house will always be open to her if she is not kindly treated by her husband. A 3amm (brother of the bride's father) or a khāl (brother of the bride's mother) might refuse to visit the bride to give her his blessing. Since it is customary for the bride to refuse to leave her quarters until she has their consent to marry, this might cause some delay. In all probability her reluctance arises from the fact that she may be forced to seek the assistance of these relatives after marriage, and unless they have given their consent they would not be obligated to help her. The men usually persuade the unwilling relative to consent, while the women chant verses in front of the bride's home honoring those brides who refuse to marry

until they have received the blessings of such relatives. In almost every case, the unwilling relative withholds his consent until he obtains a few dinārs from the poor groom.

Custom dictates that the groom make three gifts to various relatives. A suit is purchased for the eldest brother of the groom's father (hidm al-3amm). Another suit is purchased for the brother of the groom's mother (hidm al-khāl); and a dress is purchased for the groom's mother (thaūb al-imm). If the bride is a gharĭba, or taken from outside the village, two additional gifts are required, shat al-shabāb, or a goat must be given to the young men of the bride's village. Secondly, jahsh al-kilāb, or a donkey, must be given to the dogs of the bride's village. With the exception of the last, all gifts are settled in cash payment paid to the designated parties. Such payments are relatively small and not fixed.[17] In case the bride has no living 3amm or khāl, the closest of her kin on that side of the family such as son of the 3amm or the khāl is awarded the gift. The amount paid for shāt al-shabāb is normally added to the general fund of the village and quite often is collected only after some fighting takes place. Jahsh al-kilāb is not always collected, but sometimes the groom's party is forced to kill a donkey in a designated place outside of the village, so that the dogs may have a feast. In certain cases instead of doing this a dinār or two is added to the amount paid to the general fund of the village.

[17] Five to ten dinārs is about what would be paid in each of these cases.

Once the bride is visited by all her male relatives and assured of their consent, a shawl of red or white is thrown over her head and shoulders and made to cover her face.[18] She is then mounted on a horse and sent on her way to bayt al-dakhla (the entrance house). This house is so called perhaps because it is the first time since the khutba that the groom enters a house where the bride is stationed without her trying to run away from him.

The horse which the bride rides is led by her brother or by another close relative. The animal is surrounded by a procession of girl friends and other female associates who will sing songs in praise of the father of the bride and her family for their generosity and for the way they have reared their daughter. In these songs they also assure the bride and everyone listening that she is being transfered to the house of a man who is no less generous and noble than her father. In their own words, she is leaving the "house of a generous /man/ to go to the house of a prince /of a man/." Upon arriving at bayt al-dakhla, she dismounts and is ushered into a large hall where she is seated on soft cushions or upon a chair placed on a relatively high platform. Next to her is an empty seat reserved for the groom,

[18]The colors white and red indicate whether the girl is marrying a Yamanite or a Qaysite respectively. In case of a ghariba bride, where the people of her village might use a different color than that of the groom's people, a fight might break out between the two parties in their effort to determine what the color of the shawl should be. Often, to avoid violence, a compromise is worked out thus: she will be covered by a shawl of a color acceptable to the people of her village, and mid-way to her husband's village her shawl is exchanged for another which is more to the liking of her husband's people.

who is expected to make his entrance shortly afterwards.

Although no other man is allowed in bayt al-dakhla, several young men will await the groom's arrival in the courtyard. On his way in, the groom is pummeled by his friends who strike him with their fists or beat him with sticks about the shoulders and back. There is no explanation for such behavior except that some believe that this treatment is necessary to wake the groom up from the daze of the occasion.

The groom enters bayt al-dakhla alone with a sword in his hand. He walks up to his bride and places the sword horizonally over her head. She then reaches up to the sword and holds it in both of her hands. At that moment, the husband uncovers her face and places the shawl over the sword.

Once this ritual is over he proceeds to offer his bride her nugūt. This usually consists of silver coins and occasionally some old gold pieces. The groom attempts to stick the coins to her face. It is obvious that such coins will not remain on the bride's face for long, and as they fall down, they are collected by one of her attendants and given to her. The sword is then removed, and the groom takes his place next to his bride for the samda, where more dancing and singing is done in honor of the occasion.

This ceremony is followed by one in which women offer their nugūt to the bride in the same manner the men had offered theirs to the groom. They play many tricks on the newlyweds. For example, the lights are blown out from time to time in efforts to create chaos, or else the

clothes of the couple are tied to the furniture or sewed to the cushions upon which they are sitting, so that, when they are asked to stand up, they fall down instead.

Once the nuqūt is offered the women stay around for a short time entertaining the tired young couple with more songs and more dancing. This lasts until the groom stands up and asks the women to leave. If he does not do so, one of his relatives is apt to interfere by asking the women present to leave the couple alone. The women will try to ignore the request, but finally they are forced to yield under the threat of being thrown out by force.

The groom and the bride are finally left alone to eat supper. It is the groom who normally does most of the eating, for the girl is expected to show bashfulness by declining to eat anything. At this point the newlyweds might be interrupted by the friends of the groom, who stand around the house making noises and disturbing the couple inside. They refuse to depart until the groom comes out and gives them meat and sweets to eat.

The bride is expected not only to ignore the advances of the husband on the first night, but even to resist them. The groom on the other hand attempts to entice her into undressing by paying her a few coins for each particle of clothing she takes off. Almost always the groom has to resort to force using a whip which he has brought along with him earlier in the evening for such an occasion.

Some of the associates of the groom will hide in strategic places around the house in which the newlyweds are spending their first night.

Such young fellows try to listen and peek through windows and keyholes in an effort to discover what the couple inside are saying and doing. They continue to spy in such a fashion until the couple has had intercourse, and then they leave and go home. In the morning such spectators will amuse themselves by telling others what they had witnessed the night before.

Once the groom succeeds in having intercourse with his wife, he rushes outside and fires a couple of shots in the air to indicate that he has accomplished the deed. He then strolls out to where the men are gathered and receives congratulations. If the groom is unsuccessful in having intercourse with his wife on the first night, he is ridiculed and laughed at by his associates. In fact, to avoid such a situation, the unsuccessful groom might stay in the house all day until he has accomplished his purpose. Young men who are accused unjustly of their inability to have intercourse with their brides are apt to present the public with a white sheet stained with blood to testify to their success and to the fact that the bride was a virgin.

On the morning after the marriage, the bride appears to be more bashful than ever before, an indication of the fact that she had lost her virginity.[19] From this day on she is referred to as _'mra'a_ or _mara_ (a woman). This, of course, is in comparison with the term _bint_ (girl) which was applied to her before marriage.

[19] See Edward Westermarck, _The History of Human Marriage_, 3vols., 5th ed., (New York, 1922), I, 434-36.

Chapter IX

The Family

Three types of family units are found in the rural areas of the Arabic Middle East.[1] The first, and also the most simple, is the nuclear unit which consists of the father, mother and offspring. The main purpose of this elementary unit is the fulfillment of the biological function, and it seldom, if ever, is independent economically or socially. (This type of family is the least significant in the culture of the Arab village.) Except in the case of the Westernized families in the community under study,[2] this unit is always subordinated to a larger and more important kinship unit which will be discussed later.

The second type is the 3ā'ila, or what Tannous calls the "joint family." It consists of the father, mother, and unwed children as well as the wedded sons and their wives and children, unwed paternal aunts, and sometimes even unwed paternal uncles. In short, this unit is composed of blood relatives plus women who were brought into the kinship through marriage.[3] Large as it may be, this unit tends to occupy one dwelling or a compound of dwellings built close together or often attached to one another. It is an economic as well as a social

[1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," p. 537.

[2] See Chapter II of this work.

[3] As a matter of fact, once a girl gets married, she refers to her husband's family as 3ā'ilatī or "my family," and to her father's family as ahlī or 3ā'ilat ahlī, "The family of my close relatives".

unit and is governed by the grandfather or the eldest male.[4] The joint family normally dissloves upon the death of the grandfather. The land which until then had been held by the grandfather is divided among the heirs, and the male children separate, each to become the nucleus of a new 3ā'ila.

The third type of blood kinship unit is the ḫamūla or clan. It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor regardless of whether they live in the same village. The village community is normally composed of two ḫamūlas, and each ḫamūla of several joint families.

Identification and Loyalty

From birth until death, the Arab villager is always identified with other members of the joint family through the composition of his name. Once a child is born to a young couple, the people of the village stop referring to the parents by their first names as is customary and begin calling them after the name of their child. For example, Abū 3Alī (father of 3Alī) and Umm 3Alī (mother of 3Alī) are the names given to the parents of a newly born child called 3Alī. Such is the case even if the first child is a female.[5] But, if a son is born after the first daughter, there is a change. The parents are then called after the first son and drop

[4]This is not true in case of an old, unmarried uncle staying with his brother's family.

[5]Tanneus "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," p. 538, who erroneously notes that "parents are named after the first son, but never after the first daughter."

the identification with their first daughter. Thus a man might be called Abū 3Azīza, if the first child happened to be a daughter named 3Azīza, but he assumes the name of Abū Ḥusayn as soon as he has a son is born by that name. In the event the first boy dies during his father's lifetime, the father is named after the second son. However, if no second son is born the father retains the name of his deceased son for the rest of his life.

A child adds the name of his father to his own name automatically and often precedes it with the word "ibn" which means "son of." Thus Ḥusayn's name becomes "Ḥusayn Khālid" or "Ḥusain ibn Khālid," and Ḥusayn's brother--Manṣūr becomes "Manṣūr (ibn) Khālid" or "Manṣur ibn abī (sometimes Abū) Ḥusayn" (e. g., Manṣūr the son of, the father of Ḥusayn).

In selecting names for their children, fathers are inclined to call them after the paternal grandparents. But the belief that grandparents will die if a newly born child is named after them restricts this practice until the grandparents have died. The only difference between the names of many a father and his son is that the two names in each case have been reversed. For example, a boy's name might be Ḥasan Aḥmad, while the father's name is Aḥmad Ḥassan. A family name is rarely used; the individual is normally identified only by his first name added to that of his father.

If asked for a more thorough identification, the individual villager is apt to give in addition to his own name and that of his father the name of his grandfather, great grandfather, and keeps on adding the names

of his ancestors until he finally comes to the name of the founder of the hamūla to which he belongs. Then he might add the name of the village in which he and his relatives live.

Girls are also related in the same fashion through the patrilineal line, and they maintain such identification even after marriage; a girl never adds her husband's name to her own.

All the members of a hamūla identify and relate themselves to one another in a very systematic way. One finds that a young man, for example, refers to every one of the young men of the hamūla as ibn 3amm, or paternal first cousin, and to every one of the young ladies as bint 3amm, or paternal female first cousin. By the same token, the elder men are all regarded as a3mām (paternal uncles), and all the ladies are referred to as 3ammāt (paternal aunts).

Such a system of identification shows that the Arab villager is a family-oriented individual, and that he is always considered as an integral part of a much larger family unit than the biological one. His loyalty is always greatest to those closest in kin, but it transcends even these individuals to include the hamūla (clan) and the village to which he belongs, rather than the place in which he might be living.[6] The following folk sayings illustrate this point: "I [shall side] with my brother against my paternal cousin, and with my paternal cousin against [any]

[6]This apparently is true of all rural areas in this region. Efforts in recent years to remove the poverty-stricken Egyptian Fallāhin from their villages, and to resettle them in more fertile areas have failed because of this close relationship within the hamūla and the strong attachment to the village.

stranger." And "Help your brother to win victory [against others] regardless whether he is right or wrong [in his claim]." The feeling of kinship is so strong that the easiest way to insult an Arab is to ask God to curse one of his living relatives. It is even worse to curse relatives who are deceased.

(In an Arab's eyes, the hamūla rather than the individual is held liable in the event of a feud or a serious conflict. Thus, if one man kills another, the relatives of the murdered man seek to avenge themselves on the hamūla of the murderer rather than upon the individual.) As a matter of fact, if the murderer is a person with little standing in the community, others in the hamūla are singled out for purposes of revenge. By the same token no feuds are settled by individuals. The whole hamūla has to agree to some kind of settlement. In the event that a monetary settlement, which is often the case, is made with the family of the murdered man, the entire hamūla contributes to such a fund.[7]

Al-Akhwāl, or maternal relatives, are also recognized, but to a lesser degree than al-a3mām or paternal relatives. This is especially true if the maternal relatives are of a different hamūla or from a different village. An individual might favor a khāl (maternal uncle) over a 3amm (paternal uncle), but this only on the basis of a personal relationship. If a feud develops between two such hamūlas, the individual in point has no choice but to side

[7]Islam, which is basically an urban phenomenon, tried to discourage and, in fact, forbade loyalty to the clan or the tribe. Apparently such efforts were not successful in Baytīn or in most of the rural and nomadic areas of this region.

with his paternal relatives. "The khāl is left out [declares the folk saying], and the 3amm is given authority." The wife may try her best to remain neutral in such feuds, but in the final analysis she has to declare her loyalty to her husband's people.[8]

Male and Female

In a patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal society, such as the one under study, it is quite clear that the social position of women is expected to be inferior to that of men. This is generally true, although, as we shall see, women in this society are endowed with certain rights that assure them of some protection against the tyranny of men.

Preference toward males and discrimination against females in this culture starts even before birth. The best blessing one can give, is to wish for another that Allah fill his house with sibyān (boys). In fact, when a newlywed couple are congratulated by friends and relatives, they are wished a future full of "rafāh wa banīn," or happiness and male children. To wish than anyone have a baby girl--even if the individual has a number of sons at home--can only be considered as an insult.

Such is the emphasis on males that a woman considers her life a complete failure if she does not succeed in bearing a male child for

[8]One folk saying declares in this respect that "the woman's goodness is due her husband, and her mistakes reflect only the faults of her parents."

her husband. Women finding themselves unable to give birth to a boy spend tremendous amounts of money on doctors of magic who promise to help them. The husband, on the other hand, is socially justified in divorcing his first wife and marrying a second time if his first wife fails to bear him a son. In fact cases are known where women who have failed to give birth to male children or who have lost boys in infancy have encouraged their husbands to marry another woman who is younger. Some of these wives have even contributed part of their jewelry in order to help the husband pay the dowry of the new bride. The husband is never accused of being the one who might be responsible for the lack of heirs.

No special attention is given to girls in childhood. The boys are always kept in the foreground of social activities. The name of the boy, rather than that of the girl, is linked to the parents' name, as has been indicated. Circumcision of baby boys is always a festive occasion celebrated by all relatives and friends. In many cases such celebrations are as elaborate and expensive as marriage. Parents are always wished good luck on the day that their sons will be married (in shā' Allāh bi farḥitkum bi al-awlād). Such references are never made to girls.

The girls also learn in early childhood to reconcile themselves to the fact that boys are much more important. Everything around them reminds them of this fact. When she grows up, a girl must always carry packages or other bundles if she is with her brother or a male relative. She must also walk several paces behind any male accompanying her. It

is a common sight to see a strong, healthy man resting on the back of a donkey or a horse, while his sister, wife, or daughter walks behind him carrying heavy loads. There has been a tremendous amount of change among the Western-oriented groups in Baytīn affecting such behavior. Women in Western clothes carry nothing on their heads and walk side by side when they walk with men. The use of animals to ride on has been eliminated and replaced by buses and taxis.

(While the men are eating, the women folk who prepare the meal withdraw to another part of the house and wait for them to finish eating before eating themselves. This is not true of boys, for example, who eat with the men regardless of how young they might be.)

The father is generally recognized as the master of the family as well as the sole owner of its property (rub al-ʿāʾila wa ṣāḥib al-mulk). He is free to give away any part of the family's property to whomever he chooses, often at the expense of causing wife and children to go hungry for days, without expecting the slightest interference from the "good" wife. It is the man who makes all the important decisions affecting the family. (He has what amounts to a veto power over all family decisions made by other members.) This is not to say that in certain cases, a man does not talk matters over with his wife and older children before arriving at a decision. The general practice in the community, however, is expressed in a saying which the villagers attribute to the prophet Muhammad, "Ask [the women] for their opinion and then go against it."

It is not unusual for a man to beat his wife.[9] He may remain out all night and in no way be accountable to his wife for his absence. On the other hand, women are held strictly accountable to their husbands for their behavior. In the event of a quarrel, the wife instead of the husband is thrown out of the house. After all, the house is the property of the husband as long as he lives.

There is also a double standard of morality in this society. (Girls are expected to be virgins until marriage, but there are no mores stipulating that men remain chaste.) If a man has an affair with other women, no harm or shame touches him. But if it is rumored that a certain woman is seeing a man other than her husband, she and her paternal relatives are shamed and ostracized by the community, and, in most cases, she is divorced by her husband.[10]

[9]The position of Islamic tradition on this point is not at all clear. The Prophet Muhammad is reported to have ordered his followers: "Do not beat the female servants of Allah." When 3Umar, later on, the second Caliph, complained that women had become unruly and were acting with a great deal of independence after hearing of the Prophet's orders, Muhammad was said to have then changed his orders and to have given permission for the husbands to beat their wives. A deputation of women then gathered around the prophet's family and complained about the bad treatment shown them by their husbands. This motivated Muhammad finally to declare to his followers "Those of you who beat their wives are no good." See Jeffery in Anshen, The Family, p. 219.

[10]Customs among the villagers and the teachings of Islam seem to differ sharply on this subject. Islam suggests a severe penalty for both men and women if either has been convicted of adultery. In Sura XXIV, Verse 2, of the Qur'ān the punishment for such an offense is one hundred lashes for each. In another place, the Qur'ān teaches: If any of your women are guilty of lewdness, take the evidence of four witnesses and then confine them [the women] to houses until death do claim them." IV: 15. Note that in this verse no mention is made of men.

Although women have a subservient position in this society, they also have many rights. Contrary to popular belief, no girl can be forced into marrying a man for whom she does not have any liking. She might be tricked or lured into such a marriage, but the fact still remains that no marriage contract is legal and binding unless it is signed by the wāli of the girl--the person to whom she has given power of attorney, in front of witnesses, to represent her in marital matters.[11] Once married, a woman can hold her husband responsible for providing for her in an adequate manner. This is true regardless of how much money she might have or how vast a property she may own.[12] If the husband fails to fulfill such an obligation, the wife can leave her husband until he meets her demands. In case he refuses to yeild, the wife can sue for a divorce on the grounds that the husband is not providing her with bayt sharʒī, or a home in specification of the Sharīʒa law.[13] Thus, if the husband wants to avoid divorce, he will

[11] Islamic tradition insists that no woman should be married unless she consents to such marriage. The Prophet of Islam is reported by Abu Hurairah to have said: "The widow shall not be married until she is consulted, and the virgin shall not be married until her consent is obtained." Maulana Muhammad Ali, A Manual of Haidth (Lahore, n.d.), p. 271.

[12] This concept seems to be borrowed from Islamic law which according to Professor Levy provides that "...a wife is entitled to be fed and clothed at her husband's expense. She is never asked to earn for him, nor to spin or weave for the household. If she has been accustomed to the help of a servant and her husband is able to afford one, he is required to provide such help for his wife as is necessary. No one wife is to be favored at the expense of another." Levy, p. 99.

[13] Such specifications call for a livable house or apartment, separate from that occupied by a father, brother or other relative or individual. The household must also contain enough of the staples (wheat, olive oil, beans, etc.) to last the family for a year.

find himself obligated to rent an apartment or house, to furnish it adequately, and to demonstrate to the satisfaction of his estranged wife and that of the inspector appointed by al-Maḥkama al-Shar3iyya that he is able and willing to provide for her and for her children. As a matter of fact, many women these days who are not on good terms with their mothers-in-law resort to such tactics in order to gain separate living quarters.

Women are also entitled to inherit property from their husbands, children, parents, or brothers, Legally speaking, such transfer of property is supposed to follow a complicated formula stated in the Qur'ān. A girl, for example, is entitled to share from her father's estate equal to half of what her brothers receive. If the deceased father had more than one daughter, and no sons, then the daughters have the right to divide among themselves two-thirds of the inheritance. If only one daughter survives her father, she inherits half of what he leaves.[14]

In case the deceased was survived by his parents in addition to his children, then each of the parents receives a sixth of any inheritance left. But if the parents were the only survivers, the mother becomes entitled to a third of the estate, while the father receives the rest. In the event the deceased had brothers and sisters surviving him in addition to his parents, then his mother's share of the inheritance is reduced to a sixth of the estate.[15]

[14] Qur'ān, IV: 11.

[15] Qur'ān, IV: 11.

A wife may inherit one-fourth of her husband's property upon his death if he leaves no children; otherwise, she is entitled to only one-eighth. To reverse the situation, a husband is entitled to half of what his wife leaves, unless she has one or more children; then his share is limited to one-fourth of the estate. If a man or a woman dies leaving no ascendants or descendants, the surviving brothers and sisters are entitled to divide among themselves one-third of the estate. The distribution of the shares in all cases specified above can take place only after all legacies and debts are paid off.[16]

In reality, very few villagers follow this system in settling inheritance cases. Instead, the estate of the deceased is divided among his male relatives. If a female claims her share she is given few dinārs, or a small piece of land hardly equal to the share she is entitled to under the law. This practice is followed for three basic reasons. First, because women do not know their legal rights and tend to accept whatever is given them without question. Secondly, women in this culture are uneasy about resorting to litigation, especially against their own relatives. Many will submissively accept an unequal share rather than resort to the courts. Finally, the mores of this society do not encourage unmarried women to seek an inheritance because this will deprive their male kin of a larger share of property. In fact unmarried women are often shamed into giving up their legitimate claims to property by being reminded that "they are taking from their

[16] Qur'ān, IV: 12.

brothers to give to strangers (i.e., the families of any husband they might marry)".

Another fact that has some bearing on the rights of women and is worthy of mention is that women in this society, unlike their sisters in the Western world, keep their maiden names after marriage. They never add to their names the names of their husbands. This practice serves as a constant reminder to the husband that his wife's family or clan are always there to give their daughter protection and assurance against his tyranny.[17]

Contrary to the practice in the city, and in defiance of Islamic tradition, the women in the village are free to see the world directly and not through a veil.[18] They also may wear any colors that they choose in their dresses and decorate themselves with ornaments of their own choosing. There is no custom that dictates that the village women must wear dark dresses (milāya) whenever they go out. Nor are they prohibited from speaking to any of their acquaintances and relatives

[17] This protection is real and not imagined. Many a man finds himself in a dilemma with his wife's parents if he mistreats their daughter. In fact, a man often feels obligated to seek the consent of his wife's parents to marry a second time or to emigrate to a foreign land.

[18] The Qur'ānic verse on this subject (XXXIII: 59) reads as follows: "O Prophet! Tell Thy wives and daughters, and the believing women, that they should cast their outer garments over their persons [when abroad]; that is most convenient, that they should be known [as such] and not molested. And God is oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." The interpreters, however, differ on the meaning of "they should cast their outer garments over their persons". Some suggest that it means they should cover the whole body including face and hands, others argue that only the forehead need be covered. For more details on this point, see Levy, pp. 124-29.

in public, as is the case with veiled women in the cities of the Arabic Middle East.[19] The only age at which the village girls are expected to appear bashful and reserved is when they have reached the marrying age. Then they must stop speaking to all eligible men.[20]

Children

In Baytīn as in many other parts of the Middle East, the motivations for marriage may be narrowed down to two basic causes: to fulfill the sex drive and to produce heirs. Since it is only through marriage that most men and women can satisfy their sexual needs, there is little need to discuss this point further.[21] The second and more important motive, that of producing children, is exclusively realized through a legal union between a man and a woman.[22] The birth and the care of children--

[19] The unveiling of women in defiance to the teaching of Islam might be due to the fact that peoples with a nomadic background have not been as strongly affected by Islam as those in urban areas. Or it could be for economic reasons that the villagers do not veil their women who from necessity have to do hard manual work in the house as well as in the fields.

[20] There has been a change in this behavior among the Western oriented group in Baytīn. In recent days, it has been observed that once a couple get engaged they start seeing each other more freely and take walks to points outside of the village in the cool afternoons. Nevertheless, such behavior has not been fully accepted by the villagers, and those who violate the standing traditions of women's seclusion are talked about and ridiculed.

[21] Men in this community tend to seek other outlets for their sexual desires. Some, for example, do frequent houses of ill-fame located in urban communities, and almost all experience relationships with female animals, especially female donkeys.

[22] The idea of adopting a son has never been accepted in Baytīn and no trace of it exists. A man might marry more than one woman, as

especially males, plays a very important role in this culture and deserves a detailed treatment in this chapter.

As a general principle, all children born in wedlock are regarded as legitimate. They are also viewed as being gifts from God. That marriage is blessed best which produces the most children--especially if these children are boys. Consequently, most villagers knew little or nothing about birth control devices.[23] They show no interest in them and despite severe poverty welcome the addition of more children to the family.

One of the first tasks confronting expectant parents is that they have to select a name for their child. As noted earlier in the chapter, there is a tendency to name the children after their paternal grandparents in the event the latter are deceased. If the grandparents are still alive then the parents are apt to select a popular name. They might, if they are very cautious, decide to seek the help of a "specialist". A mystic religious shaykh, sometimes referred to as

---

has already been indicated, hoping that one of them might bear him an heir, and it seems unthinkable for one to give up hope along these lines and adopt someone else's child. Further, no one hears in this society of any children available for adoption.

[23] Islam is not clear on whether it is permissible to use birth control devices. A man called Jabir was reported by al-Bukhāri to have said: "We used to resort to ʿazl /a birth control device. Paule ante emissionem (penem suum) extraxit, et extra vulvam semen emisit./ in the time of the Prophet, and the Qur'ān was then being revealed." Since there is no revelation in the Qur'ān prohibiting such practice, this might be interpreted to mean that there is no religious objection. Al-Bukhāri quotes a man named Abū Saʿīd who said: "...We resorted to ʿazl, then we asked the messenger of Allāh, and he said: "What! Do you do it? /He said this thrice/ There is no soul that is to be till the day of the Resurection but it will come into life." See: Ali, pp. 279-280.

a darwīsh, is consulted to determine what the name should be.[24] Such a mystic, after inquiring into the family names, sits down with a paper and a pen in his hand and draws certain figures and calculates certain numbers and finally comes up with a name for the expected child. As a matter of fact, he might suggest two boys' names, leaving the final choice to the parents.[25] In addition, he writes a charm, called a ḥijāb upon a piece of paper which he folds in a triangular shape and suggests that the expectant mother carry it with her all the time to protect her and her unborn baby from evil spirits.[26] The darwīsh charges a handsome fee for his services.

[24] There are no such shaykhs found in Baytīn. Therefore, a woman interested in such services has to journey a few miles to a nearby village. The shaykh most consulted along these lines is named 3Abdulqadir and is said to have inherited the power of communicating with the spirits from his father.

[25] As a general rule, names suggested for boys have some religious significance, and are of two kinds: names linked to one of the ninety-nine names of God in Arabic, such as 3Abd-Allah (the servant of Allah), 3Abd-al-Naṣir (the servant of the Victorious); or one of the several names of Prophet Muḥammad, such as Taḥa, Aḥmad, and Muḥammad. Girls' names are not of interest to either the parents or the shaykh, and normally they worry about naming girls only after they are born. But a mother consulting with the darwīsh might try to get more for her money and ask for a girl's name in the event the baby born is a female. In such cases the darwīsh might suggest that a baby girl be named after one of the women that had some connection with the Prophet, such as, Faṭima (the Prophet's daughter) or 3Ā'isha (one of the Prophet's wives).

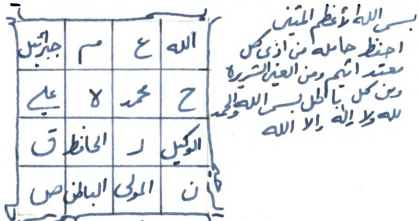
[26] The following diagram shows a typical picture of a ḥijāb. It consists of a square, the sides of which are made of Arabic words that read: "In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the Most Merciful." The area of the square is divided into 16 smaller squares with each containing a letter, a number, or a word. The statement

Children are born without the aid of professional medical attention,[27] and normally a mid-wife, called daya, skilled in parturition techniques is in attendance.[28] She washes and wraps the baby in warm clothes after birth and places the infant next to its mother. Once this is done, the daya walks out and discloses to the awaiting father the news of the child's birth and its sex. If the baby is a boy, the daya expects the father to buy her a new dress in addition to the small fee she normally charges for such service. If the father happens to be away during the birth of a son, the the first one to come to him with the news expects to be rewarded with a new suit of clothes.

The daya's work does not end with the delivery. She continues

---

above the outer square is an order directed to the spirit protecting the hijab ordering it to guard its carrier from bad spirits and evil eyes.



For another variation of the hijab, see Appendix IV.

[27]Only two women in the history of the village have ever been admitted to a hospital to give birth.

[28]There are two dayas at Baytīn. Both of them have had a little training along these lines, and they are equipped and licensed by the District government to practice midwifery. Each of the two dayas comes from a different hamula and tends only the children born to the people of her own hamula.

to visit the child daily for a period of about two months. The daya cleans the infant with a cotton ball dipped in olive oil, exercises it by stretching its arms and legs, and continues to watch for any irregular developments that might affect the child's growth. She also helps the mother in giving her baby its weekly bath. The child's diapers are changed regularly by the mother and a highly absorbent soft, red dirt called samaka (silica), obtained from the open fields is used as a powder between the infant legs. The child is always wrapped tightly, its hands, legs, and body, except when changed or cleaned.

Because of the high mortality rate among infants, culturally prescribed precautions are taken to protect the very young. Thus, the darwīsh is revisited from time to time and asked to write more hijābs to protect the infant from bad spirits and evil eyes. These charms are normally enveloped in a black cloth and attached to the child's head gear or directly to his hair and kept there until the baby matures and passes the danger of dying in infancy.

If the child becomes sick, it is sometimes assumed that it has been given the evil eye by a jealous neighbor or a stranger. The evil eye must be cast out before the child can get well again. To exercise the evil eye, a fire is built, and the child is placed close by. A piece of alum is then thrown into the flames by the mother or the woman who is working to destroy the evil eye. She repeats certain phrases in a low voice while the alum burns, and the child is supposed to inhale the fumes. When the burnt alum has cooled into solid substance

it is dug out of the ashes and examined. From the shape of the alum, the woman pretends that she can reveal the identity of the person with the evil eye.[29] The alum is then crushed under the feet of the child, and a trace of it is smeared on the baby's forehead. To guard against the recurrence of such an incident, a piece of alum and a blue bead are wrapped in a small piece of black cloth and placed in the child's clothing.

In these cases where the parents have lost other children in infancy, one finds them even more eager to try anything that will help their children to live and reach maturity. Two stories concerning two different sets of parents give some indication of what measures have been adopted presumably to protect children. The first concerns the story of a man who had a daughter, but whose two male children died in infancy. He was told that if he would get his newly-born children baptized they would live. Although he was a Muslim, and Muslims do not believe in baptism, he was willing to resort to this ceremony if it would protect his newborn. When a baby boy was born, the infant was duly baptized in a Catholic Church in nearby Ramallah. Paradoxically, this boy survived and grew to manhood. The parents, who were happy with the results, often prescribed the same treatment to their freinds and acquaintances.[30]

[29] Usually, one or two persons in the village are "known" to possess the evil eye. One of them is invariably accused of being the cause behind the child's sickness.

[30] More recently, this author was informed that a relative of the man who had this experience also baptized two of his children. However, they were baptized in a Protestant church in this case.

The second story concerns a young couple who also had lost their first two children in infancy. They were told that if they allowed their next child to go without a bath for seven years, he would live. Their next child was a boy, and, miraculously enough, he survived though he did not bathe for seven years.[31]

A more common method practice in this community to help keep infants alive and well is the nathr. An eager father or mother makes a promise to sacrifice a calf or a sheep in behalf of God or in behalf of a special saint, if their child lives. In the event the child does live, the promised animal, which is called simāṭ, is taken to the saint's shrine, or slaughtered in front of the house of the person who made the promise. The meat of the simāṭ, cooked or otherwise, is distributed among all of the villagers.[32]

Although there has been a tendency recently to seek the aid of medical doctors in treating diseases, the villagers solve many of the health problems locally, relying on magic and native remedies. This situation is due to three basic factors. There are no doctors stationed in Baytīn, and so medical assistance is not readily available. The

[31]Cf. Lady Ann Blunt, Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates, ed. Wilfrid Scwan Blunt (London, 1879), p. 223, who reports that the Bedouins of the Euphrates dress "their children in black, and keep them unwashed for fear, they say, of the evil eye."

[32]Islam encourages animal sacrifices along these lines. The Prophet was reported to have said: "In the case of the boy who is Saqīqah (born ill), so pour blood for him and remove from him the uncleanness," and to have suggested that "in the case of a boy, two goats, and in the case of a girl, one goat (should be sacrificed)." He himself was reported to have set the tradition by sacrificing "a ram each in the case of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn," his grandchildren. Ali, p. 281.

poverty of most of the villagers makes it impossible for them to pay the fees charged by the doctors, and so they do not call them except in critical cases. Finally, the superstition and ignorance of many of the villagers causes them to rely more upon local remedies than on professional medical advice. The use of herbs to combat some diseases is widespread. Ailing organs are frequently massaged and in some cases, especially to cure sick infants, treatment by fire is prescribed. A sick child is often treated by heating the bread end of a spike until it is red-hot and then the spike is applied to one of several places on the child's body.[33] It is small wonder, then, that many a child dies in infancy after having been treated in this manner.

No hard work is expected from a woman who has just given birth. She is normally allowed to spend the first forty days resting. Moreover, she is placed on a diet rich with proteins in order that she may produce enough milk to feed her child and to help her regain her strength.[34]

Two basic generalizations may be made in connection with child feeding in this culture: all children are breast fed, and they are fed on demand. Only in rare cases such as illness or death of the mother is resort made to the bottle. Even then it is preferred that a wet nurse be found to breast feed the child. This practice is followed

[33]The most common places of the infant's body to which the heated spike is applied are: the summit of the head, the nape, and the abdomen around the navel.

[34]Female relatives and friends normally take turns preparing the mother's dinner in their homes at their own expense. In most cases, this dinner consists of boiled chicken, a leg of lamb, and broth.

because of the popular belief that children fed on animals' milk do not grow up to respect and to love their parents. Moreover, fresh milk is often unobtainable in this community.[35]

Whenever an infant cries it is offered the breast. In case the mother is busy at the time or is away for the time being, a rubber pacifier or a piece of soft candy called halqūm, wrapped in a cloth is placed in the baby's mouth, and the child is rocked until it goes to sleep or until the mother arrives to nurse it. During feeding hours, the mother holds the child between her arms or in her lap. She may also lie on the bed with her child next to her. The child is gradually introduced to solid foods, but only after it is about six months old. About the same time, mothers stop wrapping their children tightly, except when they prepare them for bed.

The period of breast feeding might be shortened or prolonged depending upon many factors, including the pregnancy of the mother and the type and amount of work demanded of her. But generally speaking, infants are given the breast for a period of two years. When a mother decides to wean her child she places a bitter-tasting liquid, obtained from a local wild plant, around the breast. The child is then given solid, sweet-tasting food to eat. Gradually, the infant forgets about suckling and turns to a solid diet.

The care of children is totally entrusted to women. Fathers and male relatives usually have nothing to do with child care. From

[35] As a matter of fact, fresh milk from goats and sheep is generally available only during late spring and early summer.

time to time, though, the men bounce the children on their knees, play with them, caress and praise them.

In early childhood, the infant is trained and disciplined by the mother, who scolds and spanks it for misbehavior. Threats instill a fear into the child which is counted upon to keep a youngster from crying or wandering away from the home. Mythical characters such as al-Hummāmi and al-Ghūl and the wicked dabiʒ (hyena) are presented as dangers. Mothers do not usually tolerate, and rebel against, the interference of other women in the disciplining of their children.

The child receives all kinds of encouragement from mother and other relatives to walk and talk. If a youngster happens to mature more slowly than is expected, the mother might consult the darwīsh and ask him to write a hijāh. At the age of three, children are expected to stop wetting their pants, and they are promised gifts if they will cooperate in this matter. If such a promise fails to produce results, the child is scolded continuously. The mother might resort to threats, telling the infant that she will apply fire to its sex organ if such behavior is not stopped. Boys are put to shame if they cry for any reason after about the age of seven. They are told that crying befits only girls, not growing young men.

At the age of three, fathers are brought more intimately into the picture. The mother begins to threaten the disobedient child, telling it that she will inform the father about its misconduct. The authority of the father begins to manifest itself more strongly as the youngster grows older. Once the child is about seven years old, it is the father who becomes the important disciplinarian in its life. As a matter of

fact, the child begins to look to its mother for help against an angry father, and mothers begin to assume the role of mediator between father and son.

The love for and the fear of the father becomes mixed together in the child's self. The youngster learns early in life to obey the father's orders without questioning them, and looks at his father as the mighty giant who rules unchallenged in the family's world. The mother, in the eyes of the growing youngster, becomes less important--her authority is very limited, she is physically weak, and cannot respond to the child's special desires. Nevertheless, she is all heart and is easily moved to intervene with the father and use her influence to obtain for the child what it wants from the father. Thus, the youngster learns to seek her help and to make use of her good offices in many of its dealings with the father. It is at this early stage, then, that children come to recognize that their world is a man's world and that they have to respect and obey authority. They are also introduced to the important role played by the go-between in this culture.

The children are taught a system of etiquette called adab. This involves the type of behavior expected from a well-behaved child (adīb). Under this system children are taught to obey their parents and respect their elders and always to be polite in their presence. The child is expected to rise and to offer its seat to an elder, to talk in a respectful manner, and to kiss the hand of the elder when introduced to him. Kissing the hand of an elder may be dropped by boys in their

mid-teens, but the practice is continued by young girls for a much longer period of time. The young are taught to assume a subservient attitude when in the presence of elders. Thus a young man must decline a cup of coffee until every one present who is older or has higher prestige has been served. Young men are also expected to enter a door behind older men. Young women, on the other hand, have an even lower social standing and can be served only after all men and older women are served.

Male children are taught to be generous and to invite others to share their food with them. This is demonstrated to them by the practice of their elders who insist that road companions, acquaintances and others drop in for "something to eat." An adīb is not expected to accept such an invitation until he has been asked several times. Even then he is expected to accept reluctantly and to insist that the meal be a simple one. The guest is never supposed to eat all the food offered to him by the host. Politeness dictates that some of the food served be left untouched. This is to indicate that the host was generous beyond the needs of his guest, and perhaps to show some consideration to the women and other members of the household who normally eat after guests and the men have finished.

The host serves his guests the best food he can afford, and in great quantity.[36] The guest, in turn, regardless of the nature of the

[36] Generosity is such an important custom that a villager may go in debt in order that he may entertain his guests in style. This might be a carry over from the desert culture where hospitality is the product of necessity. To treat a guest well assures the host of a decent treatment in the future. See Westermarck, History of Marriage, 1, 228.

feed, is expected to praise it. It is considered in bad taste to brag about one's own generosity in the matter of providing hospitality to guests.

In the village, an adīb is expected to salute courteously everyone that he meets regardless of whether he knows him or not. The phrase used in this respect is "al-salāmu ʒalaykum", or "peace be upon thee." The answer to this greeting is "wa ʒalaykum al-salām wa rahmatu Allahi wa barakātuh," or "and /may/ the peace, the mercy and the blessings of Allah be upon thee." Males salute males, old women and their acquaintances among younger females. Females salute females, elder men, and their acquaintances among younger males.

An adīb is expected to cover his head at all times and in all places.[37] He is expected to mind his business and to be cooperative, humble, and helpful at all times. He is expected to demonstrate a high regard for the village culture and traditions. He must learn all of the traditional phrases, and use them to indicate his good will and appreciation of individuals and circumstances.

Children, male and female, receive no sex education at home. They acquire such knowledge from their playmates, from elder children, and by direct experience. Boys learn to masturbate in groups, but in seclusion from other people. Although the mores of this culture call

[37] When Western-educated men and women began to appear in the streets of the village with their heads uncovered, they encountered a stubborn opposition from the rest of the villagers who nicknamed them "limfarʒīn" or "the head coverless," a deregatory term that carries a connotation of queerness.

for chastity, such group practices often lead some young men to practice homosexuality in early life. Such behavior is normally abandoned after marriage. Any male who plays the role of a female in such a relationship is usually ostracized, and he and his relatives are put to shame. Such an individual receives no sympathy, and often is mistreated by his own kin. Adolescent boys are frequently tempted to have sex relations with female animals--expecially female donkeys and horses.

The sex impulse in women is strictly suppressed before marriage. Only a very few aggressive and bold women resort to lesbian practices. Some women have sex relations explained to them shortly before marriage. The majority, however, get married without any instruction in the fundamentals of sex relations.

Polygyny

Although Islam, the established religion of the community under study, allows a man to marry as many as four wives at a time,[38] only a very few practice plurality in marriage. Polygyny is the exception,

[38]This is the generally accepted interpretation in the eyes of most Muslims. Modern doctors of Islam, however, such as the famed reformer Muhammad 3Abdu (ca. 1849-1905) preach monogamy. The Qur'ān, IV: 3 reads: "If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly [with them], then only one, or [a captive] that your right hands possess. That will be more suitable to prevent you from doing injustice." In another place, the Qur'ān, IV: 129, declares: "Ye are never able to be fair and just as between women, even if it is your ardent desire." Thus, in spite of tradition, it seems obvious that Islam teaches monogamy rather than polygyny.

not the rule, in the village.[39]

There are five basic causes that motivate a man to take on a second wife during the lifetime of his first mate. The first, and probably the most important cause, is the inability of the first wife to produce male children. As indicated previously, such a situation justifies a man, socially, if not morally, in seeking a second wife. Another reason is prestige. It is usually assumed that only a well-to-do man can afford to pay a dowry for a second wife and to support two women at the same time. Levirate marriage also often leads to plurality. A man is encouraged to marry the widow of his brother--especially if she is the mother of male youngsters--in order that she might stay in the family and care for the children she acquired during her primary marriage. A man with means who has married his cousin or other acquaintance early in life, either due to family pressure or for any other reasons might develop an interest in some other woman later in life and marry her for love. Finally, a man whose first wife contracts a disease that incapacitates her for some time is apt to marry another woman.

[39]Only two men, during the last ten years at Baytīn, have married two wives. The first, who is the recognized headman of a relatively large sub-hamūla, married his second wife apparently for purposes of prestige. He paid a very small dowry, if any at all, to the bride's father, who is a refugee at the village from the portion of Palestine occupied by Israel. The second is a well-to-do oil technician who emigrated to the U.S.A. in early life but returned to the village in mid-thirties. He married his second wife only after he was advised by medical doctors that his first wife who had borne two daughters previously was not fertile any longer. His motive, in marriage, then, was a desire to have a male heir.

There are three obstacles, however, that deter plurality. The first consists of stubborn opposition from the first wife. The family of the wife's father might try to persuade the husband to change his mind by arguments or they might resort to threats or violence. The second stems from the economic inability of most villagers to raise a dowry to pay for a second wife. The third obstacle arises if the husband has male children who are of marriageable age. The young sons might oppose their father's wishes on three grounds: they dislike seeing their mother mistreated in this manner; they fear that the new marriage might produce new children who would share in the family property; and they recognize the fact that if the father has to raise money to pay for his own bride, they will not have money to get married themselves. In addition to these obstacles, one whould bear in mind that only very few girls in the village will accept a man who is already married.

Islam specifies that no man should marry a second time unless he is able to maintain a state of impartiality toward his wives.[40] This religious commandment has been ignored by most polygamists in the village of Baytīn. They are usually partial not only to the new wife but also toward her offspring. This is specially true if the sons of the former marriage oppose the father's second marriage. There have been some cases in Baytīn where the first wife and children have suffered tremendously because of the second marriage. The first wife has been

[40] Qur'ān, IV: 3.

forced to live in a shack outside the main house and her children have been denied their share of the father's property.

In other instances polygyny works out very well. Many polygamists try their best to deal justly with their wives and children, and because of their wisdom and ability, the wives and children are able to learn to live together peacefully. In such cases the wives normally develop a system whereby they keep house together and divide the household chores among them. The husband is shared equally and spends a night with each wife in her private chamber. As a matter of fact, an emotional attachment among the members of such a family often develops to a point where the wives start addressing each other by the word "sister," and the children call each of their father's wives "mother." The wives also might continue to keep house together even after the death of the husband.

Jealousy among the wives of one man is commonplace. The husband almost never escapes the accusation of being partial and unjust. The half brothers of such marriages are known to fight with each other so frequently that there is a folk saying which declares "the fight [as bitterly] as if they were awlād darā'ir (half brothers)."

Divorce

Two fundamental generalizations may be made about divorce. First, obtaining a divorce is primarily the man's privilege. Secondly, the problem of divorce has never been as great as it is in many other parts of the world. According to Islamic tradition, a man may divorce his

wife at his own free will and no justification for his action is required.[41] All that is required is that the husband pronounce the talaq (divorce) formula: "Go, you are divorced thrice," and the wife is automatically considered divorced.[42] In a heated argument, a man may swear: "I am divorced from my wife thrice if what I say is not the truth." If it happens that such a man knows that the truth is different from his testimony then his wife is considered divorced under Islamic law. He has no right to resume marital relationships with her until she has first been taken in marriage by another man, divorced by him, and then married to her first husband a second time.[43] On the other hand, a fatwa (dispensation) may be obtained from a qadi shar3i (a judge in the Islamic Canon Court), freeing the husband from the effect of his oath on the ground that he did not know the truth of

[41] Levy, p. 121.

[42] A man may divorce his wife for a first and a second time and still take her back without any formality and without her permission if he so wishes, providing that he does so within the four months waiting period (3idda) required by Islamic law. See Qur'an, II: 226. At the end of this waiting period, if the divorced wife is not reclaimed by her husband she becomes free to marry another man. If, however, the husband pronounces the formula of divorce three times, either at one and the same time, or at intervals, the wife becomes absolutely divorced. She is then expected to wait only three menstrual months (quru') before marrying another man. This waiting period is made mandatory so that the woman can learn if she is pregnant or not, and to give the couple a chance to reconcile and remarry, especially in the case of pregnancy. Qur'an, II: 228.

[43] In this case it might be arranged for a divorced woman to be married to an elder man. She spends only one night with him and the couple enjoy no marital relationships. On the morning of the second day of the marriage, the old man divorces his wife of one night and collects a fee for his role in the case. The woman then is remarried to her first husband. The name for this process is tahlil, or "making lawful."

what he had sworn to.[44] In any event, many a man in Batyin has been known to make such an oath frequently, while testifying to falsehood, but without expecting to suffer the penalty of divorce.

Women face great diffiuclties in their attempts to obtain a divorce from their husbands under Islamic law. A woman can obtain divorce only if the husband agrees to grant it to her. Otherwise, she has to bring a suit against him in frontof a Mahkama Shar3iyya and advance acceptable reasons for divorce. A common case in which a woman may be granted a divorce is when the husband after the imlāk ceremony and before the dakhla night has not been able to fulfill certain requirements specified in 3iqd al-nikāh, such as paying al-mahr al-mu3ajjal in full.[45] The marriage might also be dissolved upon the wife's request if she is able to demonstrate before a qādī that her husband is unable to provide for her adequately. Annulment of marriage on the grounds of physical imperfections and misrepresentation in either the husband or wife is

[44] Granting a fatwa in this case is based on Qur'ān, II: 225, which states: " God will not call you to account for thoughtlessness in your oaths, but for the intention in your hearts; and He is Oft-forgiving, Most Forbearing." The strict Hanafi doctrine, however, does not allow for mistakes and thoughlessness along these lines. It dictates, as the Alamgiri puts it, "a ṭalāq pronounced by any husband who is of mature age and possessed of understanding is effective, whether he be free or in sport or jest, or inadvertently by mere slip of the tongue." As quoted in Westermarck, History of Marriage, III, 310.

[45] In case of such a divorce there would be no waiting period (3idda), and the divorced woman is free to marry another man right away. The Qur'ān teaches in this respect: "O you who believe! When you marry the believing women, then divorce them before you touch them, you have in their case no term /3idda/ which you should reckon." XXXIII: 49.

provided for in the law books of Islam.. Thus a woman is granted a divorce if she can prove that her husband is sexually incapacitated. By the same token, a husband is allowed to divorce and regain the dowry he has paid if after marriage he discovers that her claim to virginity is not true.

Because of such complications, a woman in this community rarely seeks a divorce from her husband, and the few divorce cases reported are almost invariably instigated by the husbands.

In spite of the ease with which the man may obtain a divorce, very few husbands resort to divorce. This is so for a number of reasons. The religion of Islam, although permitting divorce, discourages it, and teaches that "reconciliation is better."[46] Islam recommends to its followers that if they fear a breach between a couple they "appoint a judge from his people and a judge from her people; [and] if the two desire agreement, Allāh will effect harmony between them."[47] The Prophet was reported to have said once: "With Allāh, the most detestable of all things permitted is divorce,"[48] and "Whatever woman asks for divorce from her husband without any harm, the sweet odour of paradise shall be forbidden to her."[49]

Non-religious factors also discourage divorce. Important among

[46] Qur'ān, IV: 128.

[47] Qur'ān, IV: 35.

[48] Ali, p. 284.

[49] Ali, p. 284.

these is the economic loss involved in a divorce case. If a man divorces his wife without a legal justification he has to pay her al-mahr al-mu'ajjal, specified for in the marriage contract (3iqd al-nikāh).[50] This amount is in addition to any dowry he may have to pay for a new wife. The low economic status of the village prohibits most men from taking on such a burden. Since polygyny is permitted in Islam, a revengeful husband who desires to mistreat the wife who had given him a hard time may marry again and keep his first wife in contempt. Although such practice is prohibited and condemned in Islam,[51] it is still done.

Many a man who regards his wife as his own private property is reluctant to see her slip from between his fingers because of divorce to marry another man. Thus, for emotional reasons some men in this society prefer to remain married to the same woman rather than to divorce her and allow another man to marry her.

Women avoid divorce because it is generally regarded as a shameful act. They realize that, once divorced, a woman has a very slim chance of remarrying within her own class.. The attitude of the society toward

[50] In most cases in the past, the marriage contract specified that the husband may pay his wife only a nominal amount, normally not exceeding five dinārs, when divorcing her. This has been considerably changed in recent years, especially among the educated and Western oriented groups in the village, who began to emphasize al-mahr al-mu'ajjal much more than al-mahr al-mu3ajjal (advanced dowry). Cases have been reported where the marriage contract included a clause that obliges the husband seeking a divorce to pay his wife the sum of 1000.00 Jordanian dinārs or approximately $2,800 dollars, a very large amount by Jordanian standards.

[51] See Qur'ān, LXV: 1-2.

a divorced woman is reflected in an oft-quoted folk saying that denounces such a woman: "If she were any good, her husband would not have divorced her." A woman also recognizes the bitter fact that in the event of divorce she is apt to lose her children.

Despite these obstacles, divorce and separation do take place from time to time in this community. Adultery by the wife, though rare, may be considered the greatest cause for divorce. If the husband learns about adulterous acts by his wife and does not divorce her, he must accept the shame and disgrace that normally befalls the cuckold. In the event of a quarrel with his in-laws, the husband might send his wife back in anger to her father's family. In case of the badīla, a man might send his wife back to her folks to avert his sister's divorce or dismissal by her husband.

To conclude, divorces are rare in Baytīn. This should not lead one to believe that family relations in the community are always harmonious. In fact, it is much closer to the truth to say that the absence of divorce has created many unhappy family situations.

In case of divorce, the family's property and children go to the father. The divorced woman is entitled only to her private belongings and to the delayed dowry (al-mahr al-mu'ajjal), which is specified and provided for in the marriage contract (ʿiqd al-nikāh). She may receive no alimony unless the divorce is the first or a second divorce but not a third and final one. In case of the former, the wife may sue her husband for support and she is normally granted the right to collect from him an amount that coincides with his means. The woman

who has received a final divorce is entitled to support by the former husband if she is made to care for one of the infants as a result of a ruling by al-Maḥkama al-shar3iyya that the baby is too young to be separated from its mother.

Chapter X

Conclusion

Perhaps better than any other modern scholar, Professor Robert Redfield has succeeded in presenting the students of social anthropology with a fresh definition and a workable framework of reference for the study of "folk society" and "folk culture". In a series of monographs published since 1930 dealing with different cultures, Redfield gradually groped his way to new working definitions of these two terms.[1] By using Redfield's definitions, the study of folk society and culture may be approached in terms of a coherent set of concepts, which can be "researched" and tested from an empirical point of view.[2] This chapter will apply Redfield's concepts to our data concerning Baytīn.

In terms of theory, Redfield defines all societies and cultures in terms of certain ideal polar types--urban and nonurban or folk societies. The ideal folk society in Redfield's words, is "a mental construction," and "no known society precisely corresponds with it." Primitive societies studeid by anthropologists, however, "most closely approximate it." The ideal folk society may be visualized by "assembling, in the imagination, the characters which are logically opposite those which are to be found in the modern city." This becomes possible, however,

[1]See bibliography under Redfield.

[2]See George M. Foster, "What is Folk Culture?" American Anthropologist, 55, No. 2, part 1 (April-June, 1953), p. 159.

only when we first have "some knowledge of nonurban peoples to permit us to determine what, indeed, are the characteristic features of modern city living."[3]

The continuum resulting from this urban-nonurban polar concept provides a scale along which existing societies may be arranged in an order based upon the relative proportion of urban or folk characteristics which they possess.

The ideal nonurban society is characterized by Redfield as being "small, isolated, nonliterate, and homogeneous [culturally as well as biologically], with a strong sense of group solidarity."[4] The folk society, generally speaking, remains in one place. Where this is not true, as in the case of nomadic tribes, there is normally little or no communication between the folk society and the people with whom they come into contact.

Group relationships in a folk society are mainly primary, according to Redfield, and conventional behavior conforms closely to one type or norm. The patterns of conduct form a single web of interrelated meanings. Broadly speaking, behavior may be described as "traditional, spontaneous, and uncritical." The knowledge derived from the past is not examined scientifically and it appears that "what one man does [in such a society] is much the same as what another man does, and the patterns of conduct are clear and remain constant throughout the generations." The member of the folk society, however, is not "strongly aware that he is constrained

[3]Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," The American Journal of Sociology, LII, No. 4 (January, 1947), 294.

[4]Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 297.

by custom."[5]

Familial and religious sanctions firmly govern behavior in folk societies. The family plays an important role in social institutions and in conditioning one's outlook and conduct. Piety also is strongly emphasized and religious rituals and ceremonies are highly developed. From an economic point of view, the folk society is nearly always self-sufficient. It usually possesses simple technology and utilizes simple tools. There is little specialization of labor. Any division of labor which does exist is based largely upon the different roles played by the sexes within the social structure of the community. In folk societies change is slow and strongly resisted.[6]

The ideal urban society, on the other hand, has the following characteristics: "Social heterogeneity, personal individuality, secular rather than familial and religious institutions of control, division of labor, a money economy, and a general impersonality in interpersonal relationships."[7]

Using Redfield's conceptual framework of reference, it has been demonstrated that Baytīn belongs closer to the nonurban end of the scale and may be categorized as a folk society. It has been shown, however, that Baytīn today is vulnerable to new ideas that are causing great social changes in this traditional society. The old ways are gradually, but

[5]Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 297.

[6]Redfield, "The Folk Society," pp. 297-98.

[7]See Foster, p. 160. The characteristics here listed are based upon Redfield's Yucatecan field data.

resentfully, being replaced by the new ways. This situation calls for adjustments on the part of the village inhabitants. If these adjustments are not made, new social problems will arise and cultural lag will develop.

Until recently, the Baytīn villagers, who number less than one thousand persons, have isolated themselves physically as well as culturally from the outside world. This isolation, however, was never complete at any time. For as Redfield remarks "probably there is no real society whose members are in complete ignorance of people other than themselves."[8]

Prior to the turn of this century, most villagers were born, brought up, married, worked and died within the confines of the village. A trip to Jerusalem, only thirteen miles from the community, was considered a novelty. Today, the automobile, airplane, newspaper and radio have helped to reduce the physical and cultural isolation of most, but not all, of the Baytīn villagers.

Despite these modern means of transportation and communication, however, many villagers still experience a high degree of isolation. Poverty prevents the very poor from utilizing such means of travel as the car or the airplane. Illiteracy makes it difficult for many to enjoy the use of a radio or newspaper. Although most villagers have a chance to listen to the radio or hear a newspaper read in a local coffee shop, they comprehend little of what is said unless it is interpreted for them by a literate person.[9] Even under these circumstances, there is a basic problem

[8]Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 296.

[9]The language employed in the newspapers and by radio broadcasters is a semi-classical form of Arabic and is far different from the everyday language of the villagers.

of comprehension because they tend to picture situations in terms of stereotypes they have created within their limited environment. In some cases, there is simply no interest in the outside world and cultural isolation is self-imposed.

There are two additional factors that increase the intensity of cultural isolation. The first is segregation. The villager, when he goes to the city or to places away from Baytīn, feels insecure, and tends to shy away from other people. His timidity and awkward behavior makes other look down upon him and he finds it difficult to mingle.[10] The second factor is ethnocentrism. The villagers believe deeply that their ways of doing things are the best. They often amuse themselves by mocking the peculiar habits of people who are more urban than they.

These villagers who break through the barriers of isolation may be identified in two major categories--students and emigres. Students whose education exposes them to new ideas and to persons from outside the village sometimes make a sharp break with their culture. Emigres who leave Baytīn for a relatively long period of time to live and work in a more urbanized community also change their mode of living. These people, whom we shall call "westerners", have been one major social force in bringing cultural changes in Baytīn in recent years.

The relative isolation experienced by the Baytīn villagers is, as in all folk societies, only "one half of a whole of which the other half

[10] See Raphail Patai, "The Dynamics of Westernization in the Middle East," The Middle East Journal, IX, No. 1 (Winter, 1955), 8; hereinafter referred to as Patai, "The Dynamics of Westernization".

is intimate communication among the members of the society."[11] Every person in Baytīn knows every other villager at sight, and each individual in the village is known as a whole person.

Redfield conceives of the ideal folk society as being nonliterate. The absence of books and other reading material, he suggests, is just another aspect of the isolation of the folk society.[12] This is true of Baytīn. The great majority of the villagers cannot read or write to any great degree. Many of the men have had a chance to finish the fourth grade in the village school. But most of them have long since abandoned reading and writing either because of a lack of interest or the scarcity of reading material. The number of villagers who can read fluently is relatively small, about ten to fifteen percent of the total population, and most of them are young men who have attended schools in recent years.

Illiteracy and the lack of written records in the village cause the inhabitants to rely almost entirely upon oral communication. The thoughts and experiences of previous generations, as well as those of other societies, are conveyed by the older people to younger generations by word of mouth. As has been observed, in Baytīn most knowledge of the past has been reduced to a series of sayings or proverbs in order that they might be transmitted orally with greater ease.[13] These sayings are accepted uncritically as

[11] Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 296.

[12] Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 296.

[13] Most of the sayings and proverbs used by the villagers are not often spontaneous or the product of the immediate environment as Redfield ("The Folk Society," pp. 299-300) and Afif Tannous ("Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII

absolute truths and little effort is made to test their validity. As a result, the behavior patterns of most villagers are conditioned to a large degree by these proverbs. These sayings therefore tend to reflect the "fundamental attitudes" of the villagers.[14] In addition to these sayings, myths and legends tend to develop from this use of oral communication.[15]

Within the existing folk society of Baytīn, old men hold the highest positions of social prestige and authority.[16] It is assumed that the longer one lives, the more experience he accumulates and the wiser he becomes. "Wisdom" here is defined in terms of cognizance of past experiences and the implementation of knowledge gained from these experiences in judgement-making and in general behavior. Since this is basically a nonliterate society, knowledge gained from books is not highly regarded and, indeed, subjected to ridicule.

The rule of the village elders has been challenged recently by those whom we have previously referred to as "westerners." These include the students in Baytīn who "have learned the tricks of the intrusive civilization," i.e. western civilization.[17] Such students depend basically on the

---

(1942), 232; hereinafter referred to as Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village". Tannous would assert that the proverbs in the region are spontaneous, but as has been previously noted in this study these sayings to a large degree are handed down from generation to generation.

[14] Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village," p. 232.

[15] See Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 296.

[16] Men are considered to be wiser than women because they play a more important and diversified role in society and therefore their judgements are considered to be more valid.

[17] Arnold Toynbee has used the term "intelligentsia" in identifying

written word for their appreciation and understanding of the past. In addition, there are emigres who were born in the village but who have had some contact with the outside world--e.g., returning emigrants from the United States. These emigres have gained a new outlook on life which is different from the tradition-directed orientation of the rest of the villagers.

A serious struggle has broken out between the older members of the community and the "westerners." The "westerners" are beginning to undermine and weaken the social structure of Baytīn as it has existed. To defend their social position, the tradition-oriented leaders in the community have developed a nativist spirit and have denounced the "westerners" as irreligious, queer, and lacking in the right moral values.

In this war between the old and the new, the traditionalist leaders have been forced to make some concessions and to adopt some of the views and behavior patterns of the "westerners." The change has resulted largely from two factors: the growing economic power of the "westerners," who have been able to gain control over much of the land;[18] and the recognition that has been accorded to the "westerners" outside the village, especially in official circles.

One of the most recent striking concessions that the traditionalist leaders have made is to agree to more education for the boys in the community. Almost every villager sends his boys to the village school for

---

these who "have learned the tricks of the intrusive civilization." See his work: A Study of History (Abridged ed., New York & London, Oxford, 1947), p. 377.

[18] See Patai, "The Dynamics of Westernization," p. 12.

elementary education, which now goes through the sixth grade. A small number of villagers even go so far as to send their children to schools in nearby towns for secondary education. The traditionalists are hoping that, even though their youngsters are educated in secular schools, these young people will continue to follow the old patterns of thought and behavior.

Although they have been willing to concede to the idea of secular education for the boys, the traditionalists have resisted any efforts to extend similar educational opportunities for girls. Women, they feel, must continue in the traditional, religious-oriented roles played by their mothers. (Secular education is apt to change the values of the girls to the point where they might rebel against the subservient position they occupy in the social structure.) They might begin to demand equality with males or a greater degree of independence. Thus far, despite pressure from the Central Government of Jordan and from the "westerners" in the community, the traditionalists have been able to prevent the building of a girls' school in Baytīn.[19]

Redfield remarks that "the people who make up a folk society are much alike. ...They...form a single biological type."[20] This is certainly

[19] In the summer of 1960, the Ministry of Education in Jordan appointed two women teachers to run a school for girls in Baytīn. At the same time, immigrants in the United States from the village got together and raised a sum of money for building a girls' school in the village. In the summer of 1961, another immigrant contributed to the village a piece of land to be used as a site for the proposed girls' school. But so far, the village elders have not agreed to build a permanent school building. They have rented two rooms in one of the village dwellings to house the new girls' school that was forced upon them.

[20] Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 297.

very true of the inhabitants of Baytīn. The preference of these villagers to endogamous rather than exogamous marriages has helped to preserve their biological homogeneity.[21] This is true to the point where if a woman gives birth to a blue-eyed child, the whole village questions the fidelity of the mother.[22] Two families with physical characteristics that vary from the norm have been singled out and their individual differences labeled: one small family in the village whose members have blond hair have been nicknamed "the fair family," another family with members having red hair is commonly known as "the red family."

(The villagers are also homogeneous from a cultural point of view. To be sure, there are some deviants among them, such as the "westerners." But for the most part the villagers are very much alike in their ways of behavior and thought.)

The proverbs and sayings used by the villagers reflect their awarness of this homogeneity. Among these sayings are the following: "Thulthayn al-walad lakhālah," or "The boy is two-thirds his maternal uncle." This is said to indicate that children look like and behave like their uncles. Another such saying is "Al-3irq dassās," meaning, "Roots travel," indicating that both physical and behavioral characteristics of ancestors are to be found in their off-spring. Also, "Ithā biddak ti3rif al-shajarah ibhath 3an shrūshha," or "If you want to know a tree search for its roots," and

[21] The biological homogenity of such groups in similar areas of the Islamic Middle East are apparent even to the most casual observer. e.g. see Ann Sinclair Mehdevi, Persian Adventure (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 1953), pp. 28-29.

[22] This was actually the case in a recent episode in the village.

"Al-nāqah bint immha," meaning, "The she camel is the daughter of her mother."

(As in all folk societies, the villagers at Baytīn have a strong feeling of belonging to each other, as well as to their village. They all claim the same ancestral origin and in their daily interaction they tend to relate themselves to one another. "We are all cousins," is a remark often made to a stranger who may ask a villager if he were related to someone in the village who is not a close relative. The villagers refer to themselves as "we," as against all others, who are "they." This community feeling stems from the biological as well as cultural resemblance that the villagers bear to one another.[23])

Identification with the village community is likewise reflected in the sayings of the Baytīn villagers. These sayings include, "Lakul balad sibirha," or "Every village has its own customs." This is the usual when a villager discovers for the first time that people outside his community do things in a way different from those he has known. Another such saying is "3abāt al-3īrah mā bitdaffi," or "The borrowed cloak is never warm." This saying is used to point out that alien customs are never suitable. A third saying is "Ḥasak iblādak aḥsanlak min qamḥ al-ghurba," or "The tare of your community are better for you than foreign wheat." and "Khuth min ṭīn iblādak wulṭum 3ala khdādak." meaning "Take from the mud [scum] of your community and smear your cheeks [because ultimately this will prove to be more suitable]." This last proverb is used to discourage anyone who might be interested in marrying a person from outside the village community.

[23]Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 297.

(With the feeling of belonging, there comes a feeling of pride in the village.) Thus, when someone from Baytīn commits a misdemeanor or minor crime in the presence of outsiders, he is apt to be rebuked by his fellow villagers thus: ("By your behavior you have blackened the reputation of the village.") When a villager misbehaves himself, or ignores the customs and traditions of the village he may be asked "Are we stooping to the level of other villages?" or "Are we becoming like the people of such and such a village?" (It is assumed in these remarks that Baytīn enjoys a better reputation and is on a higher moral level than other villages.[24])

In discussing the family in folk society, Redfield observes that "...where a somewhat large [folk] group remains together, either in a village or in a migratory band, there often, although by no means always, is found an emphasis upon one line of consanguine connection rather than the other, with subordination of the conjugal connection. There results a segmentation of the society into equivalent kinship units. These may take the form of extended domestic groups or joint families (as in China) or may include many households of persons related in part through recognized genealogical connection and in part through the sharing of the same name or other symbolic designation; in the latter case we speak of the groups as clans."[25] In the case of Baytīn, the nuclear family unit is the least significant. It is subordinated to

[24] See Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village," p. 239.

[25] Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 302. See also Ralph Linton, The Study of Society (New York: Century Co., 1936), p. 159.

the 3ā'ila, the joint family which is the basic socio-economic unit in the village. Family life is largely patriarchal. The grandfather, or, in some cases, the eldest male, rules over the 3ā'ila. The joint family, in turn, is part of a larger blood kinship unit called ḥamūla or clan. This larger unit consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor.

The ḥamūla unit plays an important role in the life of the village. The individual learns to identify himself with this large kinship group from birth and his behavior is patterned accordingly. This cultural phenomenon is represented in many of the proverbs and folk sayings. For example: "3umr al-dam mā biṣīr mayya." or "Blood can never turn into water." This proverb is usually employed in situations where one abandons his friends to support his relatives. Another saying runs "Illi mala ẓahir mala ṣhir," or "He who has no backing has no backbone." The Arabic word for "backing," as used here, means "kin." A third saying that stresses family loyalty is "Anā wa akhūya 3alā ibin 3ammi wa ana wa ibin 3ammi 3ala al-gharīb," meaning, "I [shall side] with my brother against my paternal cousin, and with my paternal cousin against the stranger." This proverb not only emphasizes the family group but shows precisely the order of loyalty or allegiance within the clan and family.[26]

Loyalty to relatives is expected at all times and under all circumstances. This philosophy is aptly stated in the saying that runs "Unṣur

[26]Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village," p. 232.

akhāka ẓāliman kana aw maẓlūma," or "Help your brother to win a victory [against others] regardless whether he is right or wrong [in his claim]." This saying is attributed by the villagers to the Prophet Muhammad. The Arabic word for brother "akh" in this case meant any one of the Muslim faith. But to the villagers at Baytīn, the word "akh" denotes " a close relative."

Loyalty to one's kin is stressed especially in matters dealing with matrimony. When a girl is told that her paternal cousin is asking for her hand in marriage, she normally responds with the traditional saying, "Ṣurmāyit ibin 3ammi ahsanli min rās al-gharīb," which means "The shoes of my paternal cousin are better for me than the head of the stranger." Another saying which reflects family loyalty and is often quoted to encourage boys to pay attention to their marriageable female cousins is "3alayk ibbint 3ammak walau 3ūrah," or "Pay attention to your paternal female cousin even though she has only one eye."

Another example of kinship loyalty is to be found in the expressions of profanity used by the villagers. Swearing among the inhabitants of Baytīn, as is true of villagers throughout the Arabic Middle East, is an indication of a "conflict situation." The villager resorts to profanity when frustrated or emotionally upset, and short of physical attack this is this is the worse thing he can do to hurt the feelings of another.[27]

In mild conflict situations, a person may call another such names

[27]Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village," p. 233.

as "You dog," "You donkey," "You pig," and "You idiot." He also may use the following expressions, "May God curse you," "Get lost," "Go to hell," and "Go bury yourself." It should be noted that in all of these phrases the insult is directed against the individual himself and not against those things or persons he holds "sacred."

In a conflict situation of a more serious nature, terms which are far more violent may be used, such as "You son of a donkey," "You son of a harlot," or "May God curse your grandfather," and "May God curse the fathers of your grandparents." In contrast to the more mild conflict situation, where the individual was subjected to abuse, the emphasis has shifted to his ancestors. This demonstrates clearly the point that the status and reputation of one's kin group is viewed as more important than the individual himself.[28]

The loyalty to the kinship unit is further demonstrated by the structure of one's name. Children are named after their parents and grandparents. Parents, on the other hand, change their names to incorporate the name of their first child.[29]

The relationship between the individual and the extended kinship might be compared to the relationship of the human body to its various limbs. They function together, suffer together, and exist for the benefit of one another. "The clan," remark Edwin W. Smith and Andrew Murray Dale in their analysis of the Ila-speaking peoples of Northern

[28]For detailed analysis of this point see Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village," pp. 232-33.

[29]See under chapter VIII(Ths Family) of this study.

Rhodesia, "is a natural mutual aid society. . . . A member belongs to the clan, he is not his own; if he is wrong, they will right him; if he does wrong the responsibility is shared by them."[30] What is true of those people in Northern Rhodesia applies equally in Baytīn.

Within the village, responsibility for wrongs committed and for claims arising from wrongs suffered, is the concern of the entire hamūla. Inidividuality plays a small role in the village scene. The social position of the villager is largely dependent upon the status of the larger kinship to which he belongs.[31]

Villagers who are not related to a specific kinship are always regarded as guests or aliens. Normally they are not taxed by the Village Council or asked to perform any services for the community. They are not represented on the Village Council and have no voice in village affairs.[32] They are constantly reminded that they do not "belong" by the folk saying "al-gharīb lāzim yibqā adīb," or "the stranger must behave himself."

Penalties for crimes committed by non-native residents are far more harsh than that for members of the clan. One person who had lived in the village for twenty-five years but who had not been born there

[30] Edwin W. Smith and Andrew Murray Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), I, 296. As quoted in Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 303.

[31] Raphael Patai, "The Middle East as a Culture Area," The Middle East Journal, VI, No. 1 (Winter, 1952), p. 11; Bernard D. Weinryb, "The Arab Village in Palestine," Palestine Affairs, I, No. 10 (November 1946), p. 3. This is a publication of the American Zionist Council.

[32] See under Chapter V(Government and Politics) of this study.

was caught stealing from the crops of another villager. The Village Council ruled that the thief must leave Baytin forever. Such a harsh judgement would never have been imposed upon a native villager.[33]

In recent years, however, the conjugal unit rather than the clan membership has been increasingly emphasized by the "westerners." Conjugal families are beginning to separate themselves from the extended kin group.[34] Many of them are living in homes far removed from other members of the clan. Many have shown a reluctance to share their fortunes with their lineage--even brothers and sister, and have spent their money instead upon their own wives and children. Moreover, the "westerners" are no longer conforming to the custom of endogamous marriages.

Among the "westerners," women are beginning to achieve a greater degree of freedom. The wife of an emigre, for example, manages family affairs by herself. During the prolonged absence of her husband, the wife manages her own home and family property instead of leaving this to be done by the father-in-law or some other male relative as is the custom of the clan. She may hire and fire workers, sign contracts, and buy or sell property. Because she acquires experience in such matters, it is not unusual for the husband upon his return home to ask her to share in the making of decisions. Because of this situation, independent,

[33] Indeed, if any villager threatens to drive another villager from Baytin, this is considered to be a violation of tribal law and the offender's family would be called upon to appear before the Village Council or an impartial referee to answer for his threat.

[34] Patai, "The Middle East As a Culture Area," p. 6.

egalitarian type of family is beginning to emerge among the western-oriented villagers in Baytīn.

Another facet of family life evolving among the "westerners" is the dating system. A boy now may call on the girl he is engaged to marry, and take her out for a walk, a picnic, or to see a movie. Although in theory the couple may be alone and unchaperoned, the eyes of the entire village are usually focused upon the courting couple and they are expected to be home before dark on all occasions.

Such behavior in courting, of course, has been strongly condemned by the traditionalists as shameful and immoral. They feel that any boy who showers his attention on a single girl and spends all of his time with her instead of with the older men of his kinship--the source of all wisdom and learning--is not only going to grow up lacking in wisdom, but that his behavior proves that he cares more about his girl friend than his relationship with the men in his kinship.

This breakdown in tradition, which is leading the nuclear family unit to emancipate itself from the tradition bound hamūla, has brought about a number of significant socio-economic changes that are listed below:

1. THE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF THE "WESTERN" NUCLEAR FAMILY UNIT: Most of the "westerners" have earned a major portion of their incomes in the more urbanized areas of the world where they have been paid in cash. Consequently they tend to control the money economy in Baytīn. Their income is normally larger than that of the average villager who is dependent upon his share of the crops from the ʒā'ila-held land.

Thus, the "westerner" finds it to his advantage to retain his personal income instead of sharing it with the extended kinship and receiving in turn only his share from the family-produced crops.

2. THE DESIRE FOR A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING: Because the husband has had contact with the western world, the westernized nuclear family unit becomes accustomed to many of the modern appliances.[35] These goods can be acquired only by cash purchases normally and therefore the "westerner" keeps his cash income to provide for the needs of his own family rather than sharing his capital with the clan.

3. THE IMPACT OF CASH ECONOMY ON ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE IN THE KINSHIP: The existence of the joint family relationship was based from the beginning upon the social and economic dependency of the members of the kinship upon one another. Since none of the members individually could produce all the economic commodities he needed to satisfy his wants, all the clan members worked collectivly, each contributing his talent and effort, to achieve the commonly desired goals. But with the development of cash economy, the villagers discovered they can buy any goods or services they need to satisfy their wants as long as they have the money.

4. PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND PROPERTY BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: In the 1920's, the British authorities in Palestine began organizing an effective police system which would maintain law and order throughout the area. Police stations were erected in the larger towns

[35] Patai, "The Dynamics of Westernization," p. 5.

and cities--e.g. district and sub-district seats--and police officers were made available to all the villages located within the sub-districts.

This police system, at first, was ineffective for many reasons. The villagers distrusted the police officials and preferred to settle their disputes according to the traditional ways under tribal law. Because of the lack of transportation and communication, the police were slow in taking action or in apprehending criminals. Moreover, the size of the police force was too small for the task at hand.

In recent years, however, expecially after the annexation of Arabic Palestine to Jordan, the situation has changed drastically. For political reasons the police force throughout the country has been strengthened considerably. The number of policemen as well as the number of police stations has increased. Road conditions during the last three decades have improved tremendously. Cars have replaced horses as the means of transportation, permitting the wheels of justice to move more swiftly.

The development of a strong police force in the country has weakened the function of the hamūla as an agency of security. The individual villager, more and more, is beginning to look to the central government for the protection of his rights and property.) The "westerners" whose ties to the larger kinship are already looser tend to rely more heavily upon the police and legal systems for protection and justice.

5. SELF VALIDATION THROUGH PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENTS: Since the "westerners" are persons who have validated themselves in the community through their personal achievements and without any direct support from the blood kinship to which they belong, their attachment to the kinship

unit is much weaker than that of the villagers whose social status depends upon the rise or decline of the kinship as a whole.

6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A "CLASS"-CONSCIOUSNESS ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN-ORIENTED GROUP: The "westerners" are emerging in the village as the new economic and social elite. Members of this group have larger cash incomes than the rest of the village inhabitants and are able to increase their landholdings. They live in better and more modern homes, and they enjoy a higher standard of living. They are the ones who have money to lend. Nor do they labor in the fields--the kind of work that is considered degrading in this culture. Because of the "westerners'" advantageous positions, the villagers look up to them with envy. By the same token, the "westerners" have begun to look down upon all those who are not like them and have developed a "class"-consciousness.

This "class" feeling is accentuated by the fact that most "westerners" live apart in the Western Ḥāra, or American Quarter. They tend to associate with each other more than with any other group in the village. Although they may from time to time still side in a major dispute with the members of their kinship against others--including members of their own "class" and neighborhood--the "westerners" are becoming more indifferent in such matters. More and more they are adopting the policy of remaining neutral in village disputes.

7. THE IMPACT OF WESTERN THOUGHT UPON SOCIAL BEHAVIOR IN THE VILLAGE: Since the "westerners" regard western culture as superior to their own, they have tended to subscribe to some degree to its ideology. They emphasize "individualism" more and take great pride in being

"self-made men." They stress their own achievements and place less reliance upon their kinship relationships.

Along with the familial sanctions, religion in Baytīn, as in all folk societies, plays an important role in conditioning behavior and developing attitudes. It has been shown in chapters III and IV of this study that religious sanctions tend to govern conduct in this folk community. Piety is strongly emphasized and those who enjoy a reputation for being religious are highly respected. As has been pointed out, religion and tradition are in many ways analogous and complement each other. Religious rituals and ceremonies play a major role in the village life and express vividly the wishes and fears of the inhabitants.[36]

The prevailing religious complex in the village, however, is not the product of the "folk mind" as Redfield seems to imply in his sketch of an "ideal" folk society.[37] By the same token, one cannot say that the religious complex is absolutely Islamic. It is more correct to say that the existing religion is a combination of both folk and Islamic interpretations of life. The teachings of Islam have modified in many instances to conform with pre-existing patterns in this village.[38]

For example, the doctrine of sainthood is completely alien to the teachings of Islam. Yet, the folk mentality of the villagers has

[36] See Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 303; and Foster, p. 160.

[37] See Redfield, "The Folk Society," pp. 299-300.

[38] See Foster, p. 166.

developed a saint cult. Such saints are men whose human qualities have enabled them to understand the needs and sufferings of man on earth perhaps far better than a distant and remote deity. Although the Qur'ān specifically emphasizes the fact that knowledge about the future is solely an attribute of God, the folk mentality has been willing to develop and to accept the idea that certain men do possess supernatural powers that enable them to foresee into the future, to communicate with spirits and to perform supernatural miracles.[39]

Many of the religious patterns in Baytīn, on the other hand, are firmly rooted in the past and owe their existence "to the theological and philosophical reflections of many of the best minds of history over a period of centuries."[40] Some of the taboos, rituals, and religious holidays observed by the villagers at Baytīn are the result of direct prescriptions by church and state. Such activities have been reorganized through the centuries as essential for the maintenance of an Islamic community and a distinct Islamic way of life. The daily prayers held five times a day, the observance of the fast during the month of Ramadan, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and the holding of two religious Īds (festivals) were deliberately designed by the founder of the faith to instill in the members of the Islamic community a sense of solidarity and identity.[41]

[39] See under chapter IV (Popular Religion and Rituals) of this study.

[40] See Foster, p. 166.

[41] Such feeling is to be experienced on the local as well as on the Islamic supranational level.

Khamīs al-Amwāt (the dead /remembrance/ Thursday) and al-Ziyārah (the Visit) festivals, though commonly regarded as religious holidays, were actually the creation of the celebrated Muslim fighter--Saladin. As it has been explained, the timing of these holidays coincides with the Christian and Jewish holidays of Easter and Passover. The original purpose of these festivals was to enable Muslims to congregate in the area of Jerusalem in order to guard against any attempt by either of these two religious minorities to rebel against Muslim rule. Then the Mufti of Jerusalem began using these religious holidays for political purposes to strengthen his own cause. In recent years, the Hashemite family now ruling in Jordan has discontinued this holiday in an effort to reduce the influence of the deposed Mufti which still persists.[42]

In characterizing the economy of the folk society, Redfield writes: "We may conceive . . . of the ideal folk society as a group economically independent of all others: the people produce what they consume and consume what they produce.[43] This is not true of the village under study, for in Baytīn a completely self-sufficient economy does not exist.

As has been already pointed out, Baytīn is an agricultural community and all its inhabitants are engaged, directly or indirectly, in farming. The agricultural surplus--which normally amounts to very little after the villagers have taken out their food supply--is sold on the open market for cash. The money received is then used by the villagers to

[42] See under chapter IV (Popular Religion and Rituals), of this study.

[43] Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 298.

purchase agricultural and manufactured goods which are not produced in the village.

The agrarian economy prevalent in Baytīn is supplemented by incomes from three other sources: (1) money that comes into Baytīn from villagers who have emigrated to more urbanized and industrialized parts of the world; (2) villagers who supplement their income from farming by seeking temporary employment outside Baytīn, engaging themselves in special services, or by producing nonagricultural artifacts such as building stones for sale; (3) and by gathering certain food crops from plants which are neither domesticated nor cultivated.

As in the case of many folk societies existing under similar circumstances, the scarcity of land available for cultivation has affected the familial and social institutions. (Endogamous marriages are inspired, partially at least, by the desire to keep landholdings within the same family.) (Social status and political position within the community are also affected to a large degree by the amount of land an individual owns.)

As had been noted, there is not much division of labor in Baytīn. According to Redfield, this seems to be a characteristic common to most folk societies.[44] The majority of the Baytīn inhabitants are agrarians

[44] Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 297; See also Alfred R. Radcliffe-Browne, The Andaman Islanders (Cambridge: The University Press, 1936), p. 43. Radcliffe-Brown says of the Islanders: "Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle and to catch fis, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most advantage."

and they are still using farming methods and primitive tools that date back to the time before the birth of Christ. There has been almost no trend to a division of labor or specialization. What division of labor does exist seems to depend, as Redfield says, upon "the differences between what men do and know and what women do and know. These differences are clear and unexceptional (as compared with our modern urban society where they are less so)."[45]

In conclusion, therefore, it appears that, in general, Baytīn fits Redfields ideal model of a village close to the "folk" end of the folk-urban continuum. We may add that, while it is true that this study is concerned with one agricultural village in Jordan, the fact remains that what has been said of Baytīn would apply to a large degree to most villages in the Arabic Middle East. The introduction of western ideas and techniques, the decline of the larger kinship and the concomitant rise of the nuclear family unit, the gradual emancipation of women, the growing acceptance of endogamous marriages as contrasted with exegamous marriages, the change in courting behavior, the replacement of barter economy by a money economy, the increasing secularization of education for both boys and girls, and the declining influence of religion upon the lives of the villagers are affecting the entire Middle East. Indeed, these revolutionary and dynamic changes are perhaps even more significant than the political forces that are shaping the future destiny of the area.

[45] Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 297.

Glossary

3abd	slave, servant.
abnā' al-sabīl	lit. "children of the road"; travellers.
abu	father
3ada, 3adah, 3adat	tradition, custom.
adab	a system of etiquette; literature.
3adas	lentils.
adīb	polite, well-behaved; a writer.
aḥkam	pl. of hukm; collectively, judgements.
ahl	one's immediate family.
3ā'ila	subclan, an extended family group.
ajrān naḥl	bee hives.
alwiya	pl. of liwā'; collectively, administrative districts.
3amm	uncle on the father's side.
3ammāt	pl. of 3amma; collectively, paternal aunts.
3āmūd	rode, post, column.
aqḍiya	pl. of qaḍā'; an administrative subdistrict in Jordan.
3aqīqah	one who is born ill.
3aql	native intelligence; brain.
aqribā'	relatives; those who are near.
3ār	shame.
arḍ	land.
aṣḥābu al-mash'ama	companions of agony, sinners.

aṣḥābu al-maymana	companions of the right, the righteous.
aṣḥābu al-shamāl	companions of the left.
3aṣīda	cream of crushed wheat.
aṭbāq	pl. of tabaq; collectively, trays.
'āthin	janitor.
3aṭwah	a fee paid by the family of a killer to the survivors of the one he had killed in order that a period of truce may be declared between the two concerned families.
awlād	pl. of walad; collectively, boys.
awlād ḍarā'ir	sometimes awlād darāyir; pl. of ibin durra; collectively, half brothers, children of contemporary wives.
awliyā'	pl. of walī; collectively, saints.
3awnah	free help.
awqāf	the department in charge of the waqf lands.
3aysh	bread.
badīla	exchange of sisters in marriage to a avoid payment of dowery; also the girl who was exchanged.
balā jaza wala wafa	a phrase that means "with no obligation".
bāligh	of age, mature.
banīn	male children.
bank	bank
barakāt	pl. of baraka; collectively, blessings.

bash3a	lit. "ugly"; an ordeal where an accused person is asked to lick a piece of heated iron to prove his innocence.
bayadir	pl. of baydar; collectively, threshing grounds.
baydha	white; egg.
bayinah, bayinat	evidence.
bayt	house.
bayūdh	lit. "whitish"; a name given to white clay soil and to white animals.
bint	girl, virgin.
bithār	seeds.
bostaji	mail man.
buqaylah	a leafy plant of the spinach family.
buzūgh al-shams	sunrise.
chibba	a roll of yarn.
ḍabi3	hyena.
dabka	a native dance.
ḍaḥiyya	sacrifice, an animal killed as a sacrifice.
dakhla, dakhlah	lit. "entrance"; the first night on which the newly wed meet.
daqqāq	a skilled workman who prepares building stones.
dār	house.
ḍarā'ir, ḍarāyir	contemporary wives of one man.
darībah	all taxes collected by the central government.

darwīsh	darvish; a mystic religious man.
daya	mid-wife.
al-Diffah al-Gharbiyyah	lit. "The West Bank"; The Arabic part of Palestine annexed to Jordan in 1950.
al-Diffah al-Sharqiyyah	lit. "The East Bank"; Transjordan proper.
dinār	Jordanian pound, about $2.8.
diqāqah	the art of cutting and building stones into specific shapes and sizes.
diyyah	blood money.
duʒā'	prayer to ask fulfillment of one's desires.
duqqah	powdered wild thyme.
faddān	a team of oxen; the land that a team of oxen may plow in one day now fixed at about 1.038 acres or 2,210 sq. meters.
fallāḥīn	farmers.
faraḥ	joy.
farā'iḍ	pl. of farīḍa; collectively, fundamental obligations in Islam.
fātiḥa	the opening chapter of the Qur'ān.
fatwa	dispensation.
fiʒl	deed.
firā'	pl. of farwa; collectively, coats made of lamb skins.
fūūl	a local variety of fava beans.
gharība	a woman married outside of her native village; a stranger.

ghazzāla	a spinning instrument made of wood.
ghūl	a mythical character that eats human beings.
ghusl	the rite of washing the dead in preparation for burial.
ḥadīth	lit. "talk"; sayings attributed to Prophet Muhammad.
ḥajj	pilgrimage.
ḥakam	arbitrator, referee.
ḥākim	majistrate.
ḥamla	a load; a bundle.
ḥamūla	clan.
ḥaqq	right, just.
ḥāra	street, quarter.
ḥarām	forbidden, sinful.
ḥasanāt	good deeds, good works.
ḥashshār	a person who gains control over a jinni and uses him for his own purposes.
ḥaṣīda	grain harvest.
ḥaṭṭah	a scarf, normally white, worn by men on their heads and fastened by a rope-like band called <u>ʿiqāl</u>.
ḥawākīr	pl. of <u>ḥākūra</u>; collectively, vegetable gardens.
ḥayy	a quarter; living.
ḥidād	mourning.
hidm	a suit of clothes for men.
ḥijāb	lit. "a veil"; a charm written on a piece of paper to protect barer from evil.

ḥilm	wisdom.
ḥinna	henna.
ḥisāb	lit. "arithmatic"; the Day of Judgement.
ḥuffa	pl. of ḥāfī; barefooted.
ḥukum, ḥukm	a legal decision.
ḥukm 3ashā'iri	tribal law.
hummāmi	a mythical character that is supposed to eat human beings.
ḥummus	chickpeas.
iblīs	the devil.
3īd	holiday; feast.
3īd al-Aḍḥā	the festival of sacrifice commemorating the day on which Abraham was about to sacrifice his son in accordance with a devine command according to Islamic tradition.
3īd al-Fiṭr	the holiday following the last day of the month of Ramadan.
3idda	a three months waiting period before divorce is considered final in Islam. The party seeking divorce may change his mind during this period and reconcile with his wife.
3iloh	dandelions.
imām	leader; prayer leader.
Imlāk	the writing of the marriage contract.
3iqd nikāḥ	marriage contract.
3irq dassās	roots travel.
jaḥsh	donkey.

jallāb	a sheep tradesman.
jannah	lit. "garden", paradise.
jawā3id	pl. of jā3id; collectively, sheep skins made into floor rugs.
jiḥān	pl. of janāḥ; collectively, wings.
Jinn, Jān	pl. of jinni; collectively, underground spirits.
jīrah	neighborhood; a neighborhood association.
jirān	pl. of jār; collectively, neighbors.
kabīr	large, great.
kafan	grave clothes.
kaffāra	atonement.
kāfir	unbeliever.
karam	generosity.
karāmi	pl. of karmiyya; collectively, big open trays.
karīm	generous.
kawānīn	pl. of kānūn; fire containers made of clay.
khāl	maternal uncle.
khāliq	creator
khallaf	lit. "left"; bequeathed.
khamīs al-amwāt	the dead rememberance Thursday.
kharāj	a tax in kind collected by a Muslim government from Christian subjects.
khaṭīfa	elopment; also the girl who elopes.
khirba, khirbat	old ruines.

khubz	bread.
khuṭba	engagement ceremony; a speech.
kilāb	pl. of kalb; collectively, dogs.
kishk	hard oval cakes of dried sour milk.
kiswa	wardrobe.
khitm	seal.
laban	butter-free sour milk.
laḥd	a rectangular trench used for burial purposes.
lammah	lit. "a collection"; any tax levied by village government.
layla, laylat	evening.
laysh ha al-ghalaba	an idiom means: why bother, or don't bother.
limfar3īn	those with uncovered heads.
liyyah	the fat tail of a sheep.
mabāḥith	lit. "research"; the secret police in Jordan.
maḍāfa	a hospitality house in the village.
madrasa	school.
maḥkama	court.
maḥkama shar3iyya	a Muslim canon court.
maḥkamat ṣulḥ	Magistrate's court.
mahr mu'ajjal	delayed dowery payable only in case of divorce by a husband to his divorced wife.
mahr mu3ajjal	advanced dowery payable to the bride before marriage could take place.

majlis qarawi	a village council in Jordan.
majnūn	one who is possessed by a jinni.
makrūh	lit. "hated"; reprehensible actions.
mala'ika, malaych	angels.
ma3mūr, ma3mūra	a haunted place.
maqām	shrine.
mara, 'mra'a	a woman, normally a married woman.
masbaḥa	rosary.
mashā3	a communal land.
masīhi	Christian.
massās	a long goad used in plowing.
mawāqid	pl. of mawqida; movable stoves made of clay.
mawāzīn	pl. of mīzan; collectively scales.
mawt	death.
milāya	a dark outer garment worn by some Muslim women (city dwellers) before they go outside their homes.
miri, amiri	lit. "the property of the prince"; government owned land.
mirzabbah	a heavy club made of iron or wood.
miṣḥaf	lit. "book"; the Qur'ān.
miḥrāth	a wooden plow.
mithrāh	a wooden fork with four wide fingers used to separate wheat from softly crushed chaft.
mūskar	insured; registered mail.
mubāḥ	permissible behavior.

mubāraka	blessed, holy.
mudammas	an appetizer made of chickpeas.
mudda3i	plaintiff.
muḥāsib	officer of accounts, an accountant.
munāwib	representative.
muhaṣṣil al-ḍarībah	tax collector.
mukhtār	a village selectman in Jordan.
mulk	private property held in fee simple.
mumayiz	an aribtrator appointed to cast the deciding vote in case of a deadlock.
mu'minīn, mu'minūn	believers.
murāba3a	sharecropping.
murābi3	sharecropper.
muṣlihūn, muṣlihīn	pl. of muṣlih; collectively conciliators.
muqarrabūn	lit. "the nearest"; those who are favored by God.
mutaṣarrif	a district governor in Jordan.
najāsah	a state of uncleanness.
nāqah	she camel.
naqda	bridal inspection.
nār	lit. "fire"; fire of hell.
nathr	a promise to sacrifice an animal in behalf of God or a saint if a certain wish is fulfilled.
natish	thorny bushes that grow uncultivated in the open fields. It is gathered by women and used as fuel.

nāṭūr	crops guard.
nāṭūr al-3ayn	a water distributor.
ni3mah	blessing.
niẓām	system.
nuḍūj	maturity.
nuqūṭ	wedding gift, often given in cash.
nūr	light; guidance.
nushūr	lit. "spreading"; resurrection.
nuwāḥ	lamentations.
qā3 al-bayt	a lower story of a house where animals are normally kept.
qāḍi	a judge at an Islamic canon court.
qā'immaqām	a subdistrict administrative official.
qālūsh	a hand sickle.
qarya	village.
qaṣwal	the harsh fragments of chaft. It is used as fuel in the backing place.
qray3a	a wild plant. The yellow flowers and tiny green leaves of this plant are boiled and sweetened and used as a refreshing drink.
quds	the Arabic name for Jerusalem.
quru'	menstural months.
rafāh	happiness.
raḥma	mercy.
rā3i	a shepherd, a professional herdman.
raqīb	lit. "watcher"; one of two guardian angels assigned every man to record both good and bad deeds.

rāshid	a sound mind, sane.
raṣīṣ	pickled olives.
raya	flag, banner.
rāyib	cultured milk.
rizqa	lit. "livelyhood"; the amount paid to a judge under tribal law by the party found in wrong.
rub	owner; master; God.
sabīl	lit. "way"; orchards available for passers-by.
ṣadaqah, ṣadaqa	a voluntary contribution to the poor.
sāḥa	town square.
ṣāḥib	owner; friend.
sahja	a native dance accompanied by singing.
shajāʒa	courage.
sahl	plain, easy.
sahliyya	a wooden container used to carry the dead to the grave yard.
sahra	a night gathering.
saka	a tanned sheepskin container used to shake cultured milk to separate butter from milk.
ṣalāh, ṣalāt	prayer.
salām	peace.
al-salāmu ʒalaykum	lit. "peace be upon thee"; a greeting.
salat al-janaza	prayer for the dead.
ṣamda	a dance in the presence of the newly-wed.
samin	purified butter.

ṣandūq	box.
ṣarraf	money exchanger.
samaka	silica; a highly absorbent soft red dirt.
ṣawm	fasting.
ṣawāni	pl. of siniyah; straw trays.
sayi'āt	bad deeds, bad marks.
sayyid	master
shabāb	pl. of shāb; collectively, young men.
shāh, shāt	a female goat.
shahādah	lit. "testimony"; the testimonial creed.
sharī3a	lit. "a straight path"; Muslim canon law.
shaykh	an old man; a chief.
shūmar	a spicy wild herb.
sibr, sibir	custom.
ṣibyān	pl. of Sabi; collectively, boys.
sīja	a game similar to checkers.
sikkah	a plow share, sometimes the whole plow.
ṣimāṭ	an animal sacrificed.
sīrah	biography.
ṣīrah	a walled yard around a house.
ṣiyah	a cry.
su'āl	question.

ṣulh	a settlement based on mutual understanding.
ṣulḥah	a peace ceremony.
sunnah	the way pointed out by the prophet Muhammad in his sayings, deeds and silent approval.
ṣūr	trumpet.
ṭābūn	a family bakery in Jordan.
tadayun	piety.
ṭahārah	a state of cleanliness.
taḥkīm	arbitration.
taḥlīl	making lawful.
taḥrīr	lit. "to set free"; a fine; a letter.
ta'khuth bi al-tha'r	to avenge one's self.
ṭalāq	divorce.
talqīn	the ritual of instructing the dead on how to behave in the other world.
ṭanab	a moral obligation to protect and help an individual who has requested aid.
ṭāqa	small window; energy.
taqrīr	silent approval.
tha'r	revenge.
tashṭīf	the ritual of washing the body after a sexual intercourse in order to regain a state of cleanliness.
thaūb	native dress for women.
tibin	the softly crushed chaft used as fodder for animals.

tiqshīsh	the process of gathering wheat straws for the purpose of basket weaving.
tiryāq	a miraculous drug obtained from olive oil aged for one hundred years.
al-tisa3	lit. "the nines"; the 999 piasters paid as a fine by the defendant who attempted rape.
tiṭrīz	the art of needlework.
umm	mother.
3urf	common sense; custom.
3ushr	lit. "one tenth"; tithe.
'ustāth	professor, school teacher.
wād	valley.
wājib	obligation.
wāli	a guardian; ruler.
waliyyah	a close female relative.
walwala	a cry indicating death or great loss.
waqf	permanent endowment to a religious institution or for a religious cause.
waṣīṭ	a go-between.
wāṣiṭa	a go-between.
waṭan	father land.
wuḍū'	ablution.
Yakfur, yukfur	to deny God.
yamīn	right; oath.

yāṣūl	a wooden beam used to connect the plow with the yoke.
yawm, yum	day.
zaffa	a wedding procession.
zakah, zakat	payment of the tithe.
zaghrūt	a womans cry of joy.
zaqqūm	a cursed tree in the Qur'an.
za3tar	wild thyme.
zayt	oil; olive oil.
zaytūn	pl. of zaytūnah; collectively, olive tree; pickeled olives.
zibil	dried animal dung used as fuel.
ziyārah	lit. "visit"; a special festival.
zuwār	pl. zā'ir, collectively, visitors.

Selected Bibliography

Ahmad, Shaikh Mahmud. Economic of Islam: A Comparative Study. Lahor, Pakistan: Ashraf Press, 1947.

Ali, Maulana Muhammad. A Manual of Hadith. Lahor, Pakistan: Ashraf Press, n.d.

Ammar, Hamed. Growing up in an Egyptian Village: Silwa, Province of Aswan. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1954.

3Āshūr, 3Iṣām. "Niẓām al-Murāba3a fī Sūriyyā wa Lubnān wa Falasṭīn," (Metayage in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine), Al-Abḥāth, yr. I, vol. 4 Beirout, Lebanon: December, 1948.

Ayrout, Hanry Habib. The Fellaheen. Trans. by Hilary Wayment. Cairo, Egypt: R. Shindler, 1945.

Barghuthi, Omar Salih al-. "Local Self-Government [in Palestine] -- Past and Present," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. vol. 164 (November, 1932), 34-38.

_____, "Judicial Courts Among the Bedouins of Palestine," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, II, (Jerusalem: 1922), 34-65.

Bell, Gertude. Syria: The Desert and the Sown. London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1905.

Benedict, Ruth. Patterns of Culture. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

Blunt, Lady Anne. Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates. ed. Wilfred S. Blunt. London: 1879.

Brewe, W. D. "Patterns of Gesture Among the Levantine Arabs," American Anthropologist. LIII, (Spring, 1951), 232-238.

Burchardt, J. L. (trans.) Arabic Proverbs. 2nd. ed. Edited by William Ouseley. London: Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 1975.

Burton, Isabel. The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine and the Holy Land. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1884.

Canaan, Tawfik. Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine. London: Luzac & Co., 1927.

Coon, Carleton S. The Impact of the West on Middle Eastern Social Institutions. New York, 1952.

Coon, Carlton Stevens . Caravan: The Story of the Middle East. Rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1958.

Coult, Lyman H. An Annotated Bibliography of the Egyptian Fellah. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1958.

Daghestani, Karem el-. "The Evolution of the Moslem Family in the Middle Eastern Countries," International Social Science Bulletin. V, no. 4, (1953), 681-91.

Davis, Rodger P. "Syrian Arabic Kinship Terms," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. V, (1949), 244-52.

Dermenghem, Emile. Muhammad and Islamic Tradition. Trans. Jean M. Watt. New York: Harper, 1958.

Dodd, Stuart Carter. "The Village Welfare Service in Lebanon, Syria and Palestine," Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society. XXV, 1938, 228-36.

Donaldon, Dwight M. Studies in Muslim Ethics. London: S.P.C.K., 1953.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922.

Fisher, Sydny N., ed. Social Forces in the Middle East. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955.

Foster, George. "What is Folk Culture?" American Anthropologist, LV, No. 2 (April-June, 1953), 159-73.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Murice. Muslim Institutions. Trans. from French by John P. Macgregor. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1954 (second Impression).

Gibb, H. A. R. Modern Trends in Islam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

_____. Mohammedanism. New York: The New American Library (a Mentor Book), 1955.

_____. "The Structure of Religious Thought in Islam," The Moslem World, XXXVIII (January, 1948), 17-28.

Gibb, H. A. R. and Bowen, Harold. Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East. I, parts I & II, London: Oxford University Press, 1960 and 1957.

Grant, Elihu. The Peasantry of Palestine: The Life, Manners and Customs of the Village. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1907.

Granqvist, Hilma. Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village. 2 vols. Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1931.

_____. Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs: Studies in a Muhammedan Village in Palestine. Helsingfors: Soderstrom, 1947.

Granqvist, Hilma. Child Problems Among the Arabs. Helsingfors: Soderstrom, 1950. 336.

Grunebaum, Gustave E. von. Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

_____. Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition. Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilization, No. 4. The American Anthropological Association Memoir No. 81. 1955. 260.

_____. Muhammedan Festivals. New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1951.

Guillaume, Alfred. Islam. Edinburgh, U. K.: Penguin Books, 1954.

Gulick, John. "Conservatism and Change in a Lebanese Village," The Middle East Journal, VIII, No. 3 (1954), 295-307.

_____. Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Lebanese Village. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1955.

Haddad, E. N. "Political Parties in Syria and Palestine--Qaisi and Yemeni," The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society. I (Jerusalem, 1920-21), 209-14.

Halpern, Joel Martin. A Serbian Village. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. 325.

Hamady, Sania. Temperament and Character of the Arabs. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960.

Harris, George L. and et. al. Jordan: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF Press, 1958.

Hourani, C. "Experimental Village in the Jordan Valley," Middle East Journal, V (1951), 497-501.

Husseini, Ishaq, "Islam Past and Present," Atlantic Monthly (Special Supplement), CXCVIII (October 1956), 169-72.

Huxley, H. M. "Syrian Songs, Proverbs and Stories," Journal of the American Oriental Society, XXVIII (1902), 175-288.

Jeffery, Arthur. "The Family in Islam," The Family Its Function and Destiny. Ruth Nanda Anshen, ed. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949. 39-72.

Jewet, J. R. "Arabic Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases," Journal of the American Oriental Society, XV (1893), 28-120.

Khadduri, Majid. "Human Rights in Islam," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXLIII (January, 1946), 77-82.

Kirkbride, Alec. S. "Changes in Tribal Life in Transjordan," Man, XLV, No. 23 (1945), 40-41.

Kluckhchn, Clyde. "Personality in Culture," Mirror for Man. New York: Whittlesey House, 1949, 196-227.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, "The Study of Culture," The Policy Sciences. Edited by Danial Lerner and H. De Lasswell. Stanford: Stanford University Press, (1951) 86-101.

Lammens, Henri. Islam, Beliefs and Institutions. Translated from the French by T. Denison Ross. London: Methuer & Co., 1929.

Lane, Edward William. The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 3rd ed., New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1929.

Lerner, Daniel. "Jordan: One State with two peoples," in The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing The Middle East. Glenco, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958.

Levy, Reuben. The Social Structure of Islam. A second edition of The Sociology of Islam. Cambridge: The University Press, 1957.

Lewis, Oscar. Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1951. 512.

Lichtenstadter, Ilse. Islam and the Modern Age: An Analysis and an Appraisal. New York: Bookman Associates, 1958.

Linton, Ralph. The Study of Society. New York: Century Co., 1936.

MacDonald, D. B. The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909.

MacDonald, D. B. Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.

Makal, Mahmut. A Village in Anatolia. Trans. from Turkish by Sir Wyndham Deedes and edited by Paul Stirling. London, 1954.

Masse, Henri. Islam. Trans. by Halide Edib. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938.

Matthews, Roderic D., and Akrawi, Matta. Education In Arab Countries of the Near East. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1949.

Mead, Margaret, and Metraux, R. B. (eds). Study of Culture at a Distance. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

Mead, Margaret, and Wolfenstein, Martha (eds.). Childhood in Contemporary Cultures. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Mehdevi, Ann Sinclair. Persian Adventure. New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 1953.

Merchant, Muhammad Valibhai. A Book of Quranic Laws. Lahore, Pakistan: Ashraf Press, 1947. 233.

Moghannam, E. Theodore. "Developments in the legal system of Jordan," Middle East Journal, VI No. 2. (1952), 194-206.

Murdock, George Peter. Social Structure. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1949. 387.

Musil, Alois. The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins. New York: American Geographical Society, 1928. 712.

Museibeh, Hazem Zaki. The ideas of Arab Nationalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956.

Patai, Raphael, ed. Jordan. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 1957.

Patai, Raphael. The Kingdom of Jordan. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958.

Patai, Raphael. "The Middle East as a Culture Area," The Middle East Journal, VI, No. 1. (1952), 1-21.

Patai, Raphael. "The Dynamics of Westernization in the Middle East," The Middle East Journal, IX, No. 1. (1955), 1-16.

Patai, Raphael. "Relationship Patterns Among the Arabs," Middle Eastern Affairs, II, No. 5. (1951), 180-85.

Patai, Raphael. "Nomadism: Eastern and Central Asian," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, VII, No. 4. (1951), 401-14.

Patai, Raphael. "Musha'a Tenure and Cooperation in Palestine," American Anthropologist, LI (1949), 436-45.

Phillips, Paul Grounds. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Prolegomena to a Technical Assistance Program. The University of Chicago, Department of Geography. Research Paper No. 34. Chicago, 1954.

Pickthall, Marmaduke, trans. The Meaning of the Glorious Koran: An Explanatory Translation. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1952 (third Impression).

Prothro, E. T. and Melikian, L. "Social Distance and Change in the Near East," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVII (1952), 3-11.

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R., The Andaman Islanders. Cambridge: The University Press, 1933.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. "Social Sanction," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XIII, 531-34.

Redfield, Robert. Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

_____. "Culture Changes in Yucatan," American Anthropologist. Vol. 36 (1934), 57-69.

_____. "Introduction" to St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish, by Horace Mitchell Miner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

_____. The Folk Culture of Yukatan. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941.

_____. "The Folk Society," The American Journal of Sociology. LII, No. 4. (January 1947), 293-308.

_____. The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Redfield, Robert, and Alfonso, Villa R. Chan Kom: A Maya Village. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1943. (Publication No. 448).

Salem, Jamil. "Mother and Child Welfare in Syrian Nomadic Tribes," in Second United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States (Cairo, 1950), 354-48.

Shanklin, W. M. "Anthropometry of Transjordan Bedouin with a discussion of their racial affinities," American Journal of Physical Anthropology. IV (1946), 323-76.

_____. "The Anthropology of the Rwala Bedouins," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. LWV (1955), 375-90.

Shouby, E. "The Influence of the Arabic Language on the Psychology of the Arabs." The Middle East Journal, V. No. 3. (1951), 284-302.

Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam. ed. by H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers. London: Luzac, 1953.

Smith, Edwin W. and Dale, Andrew M. The Ila-Speaking People of Northern Rhodesia, London: Macmillan, 1920.

Al-Tahir, Abdul Jalil. "The Arab Community in the Chicago Area." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1950.

Tannous, AffifI., "Emigration, a Force of Social Change in an Arab Village," Rural Sociology, VII (1942), 62-74.

_____. "Land Tenure in the Middle East," Foreign Agriculture, Office of Agricultural Relations. VII, No. 8. (August, 1943), 170-77.

_____. "Food Production and Consumption in the Middle East," Foreign Agriculture. VII, No. 11. (November 1943), 243-255.

_____. "The Arab Village Community in the Middle East," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1943. Washington: U. S. Government Press, 1944.

Tannous, Afif. "Land Reform: Key to the Development and Stability of the Arab World," Middle East Journal, V. (1951), 1-20.

_____. "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII (1942), 231-39.

Tannous, Afif Ibrahim. "The Village in the National Life of Lebanon," Middle East Journal, II (Spring, 1949), 151-64.

Tritton, A. S. Islam: Belief and Practices. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1951.

_____. "Muslim Funeral Customs," Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, IX (1938), 653-61.

Toynbee, Arnold. A Study of History. Abridged ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.

Walker, C. Lester. "Too Many People," Harper, Vol. 196, No. 1173 (February, 1948).

Weinryb, E. E. "The Arab Village in Palestine," Palestine Affairs, I, No. 10 (1946), 1-4.

Westermark, Edward. The History of Human Marriage. 3 vols. New York: 5th ed., (This is a publication of the American Zionist Council), 1922.

Wilson, Rev. C. T. Peasant Life in the Holy Land. London: Putnam, 1906.

Woodsmall, Ruth F. (director). Study of the Role of Women; Their Activities and Organization in Lebanon, Egypt, Iran, Jordan and Syria, October 1954-August 1955. New York: The International Federation of Business and Professional Women, 1956.

Zarour, Miriam. "Ramallah: My Home Town," The Middle East Journal, VII, No. 4 (1953), 430-39.

Zwemer, S. M. The Influence of Animism on Islam. London: Central Board of Missions, 1920.