

THE IDEAS OF THE WESTERN SEMITES CONCERNING
THE NAVEL OF THE EARTH

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- L'abrégé des merveilles = L'abrégé des merveilles traduit de l'Arabe par Carra de Vaux (Paris 1898).
- Abū Zaid = Abū Zaid Aḥmed ben Sahl al-Balkhī, Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rikh, trad. et éd. par C. Huart (Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes, Série IV, t. XVI—XVIII, XXI; Paris 1899—1904).
- Adamsbuch = Der Kampf Adam's oder das christliche Adamsbuch des Morgenlandes, ed. Trumpp (Abh. der bayr. Akad. der Wissensch., I. Classe, XV. Band; München 1881).
- Agapius = La chronique d'Agapius ed. Cheikhō (Corpus Scriptorum Christ. Orient. N°. 65, Scriptorum Arabicorum, Textus, Series III, T. V; 1912).
- Azrakī = Wüstenfeld, Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka, vol. I (Leipzig 1858).
- Batanūnī = al-Batanūnī, al-Rihla al-Ḥidjāziya, 2nd ed. (Kairo 1329).
- Ber. Rabba = ed. of Amsterdam (1641—42).
- Bibl. Geogr. Arab. = Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1870—1906).
- Book of the Bee = Solomon of Basra's Ketaba de Debborita ed. Budge (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series, vol. I, part 2).
- Brandt, Mandäer = W. Brandt, Die Mandäer, ihre Religion und ihre Geschichte (Verh. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. Amsterdam, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XVI, n°. 3).
- Burton = R. F. Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah, 2nd ed. (London 1857).
- Dalman = G. Dalman, Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer (Leipzig 1908).
- Ephraim Opp. = Si. Ephraim Syri opera edd. Benedictus et Assemani, syriace et latine (Rome 1732—46).

- Feuchtwang = D. Feuchtwang, Das Wassero-
pfer und die damit verbundenen Zeremonien (Monatsschrift f.
Gesch. und Wiss. des Judentums, Neue Folge, Jahrg. XVIII,
p. 535—552, 713—729 and Jahrg. XIX, pp. 43—63).
- Ḥaḍrāwī = Muḥammed al-Ḥaḍrāwī, al-ʿIkd
al-Thamīn (Mekka 1314).
- Ḥalabī = Ḥalabī's Sira (Kairo 1292),
3 vols.
- Hexahemeron = Das Hexahemeron des Pseudo-
Epiphanius ed. Trumpp (Abh. der bayr. Ak. der Wissensch. I.
Classe, XVI. Band; München 1880).
- Ibn al-Athīr = Ibn al-Athīr's chronicon ed.
Tornberg (Leiden 1867—76).
- Ibn al-Wardī = Fragmentum libri Margarita
mirabilium ed. Tornberg (Upsala 1835—1839), 2 vols.
- Ibn Džubair = The Travels of Ibn Jubayr
(Wright's Text) ed. de Goeje (Leiden and London 1907).
- Ins = Mudjir al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī,
Kitāb al-Ins al-Djalil (Kairo 1283), 2 vols.
- Jellinek = Bet ha-Midrash ed. A. Jellinek
(Leipzig 1853—73), 5 vols.
- Jensen = P. Jensen, Die Kosmologie der
Babylonier (Strassburg 1890).
- Jeremias = A. Jeremias, Handbuch der
altorientalischen Geisteskultur (Leipzig 1913).
- Ḳazwīnī I = Ḳazwīnī's Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-
Makhlūkāt ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen 1849).
- Ḳazwīnī II = Ḳazwīnī's Kitāb Āthār al-Bilād
ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen 1848).
- Ḳhamīs = Dyārbekrī's Ta'riḳh al-Ḳhamīs
(Kairo 1283) 2 vols.
- Kisā'ī = Kisā'ī's 'Adjā'ib al-Malakūt,
Leiden Ms. Warner 538.
- Ḳuṭb al-Dīn = Wüstenfeld, Die Chroniken
der Stadt Mekka, vol. III (Leipzig 1857).
- Lagarde = Materialien zur Kritik und
Geschichte des Pentateuchs ed. P. de Lagarde, vol. II (Leipzig
1867).
- Mas'ūdi = Les prairies d'or éd. et trad.
par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille (Paris 1861—77)
9 vols.
- Midrašh Ḳohelet = ed. of Lemberg (1861) 5 vols.

- Midrašh Šohet Tōb = ed. of Warsaw 1875.
- Nuwairī = Nuwairī's Nihāyat al-Arab,
Leiden Ms. Orient. 273, vol. I.
- Odes of Solomon = The Odes and Psalms of Solo-
mon ed. and transl. J. Rendel Harris, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1911).
- Rhodokanakis = N. Rhodokanakis, Omphalos
und Eben Shetija (Wörter und Sachen V, p. 198 sqq.).
- Romance of Alexander = The Life and Exploits of
Alexander the Great being a series of Ethiopic texts ed. Budge
(London 1896) 2 vols.
- Roscher, Neue Studien = W. H. Roscher, Neue Ompha-
losstudien (Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d.
Wissensch. XXXI, 1).
- Roscher, Omphalos = W. H. Roscher, Omphalos
(Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.
XXIX, 9).
- Schatzhöhle = Die Schatzhöhle ed. Bezold
(Leipzig 1883—88) 2 vols.
- Ṭabarī = Annales at-Ṭabarī cum
aliis ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1879—1901).
- Ṭabarī Tafsīr = Ṭabarī's Commentary on the
Ḳor'ān (Kairo 1901—03).
- Targum Ester = Hagiographa chaldaice ed. P. de
Lagarde (Leipzig 1873).
- Ṭha'labī = Ṭha'labī's Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'
(Kairo 1290).
- Tirmidhī = Tirmidhī's Ṣaḥīḥ (Kairo 1292)
2 vols.
- Wellhausen, Reste = Reste Arabischen Heidentums,
2nd ed. (Berlin 1897).
- Zamakhsharī = Zamakhsharī's Commentary on
the Ḳor'ān, ed. Nassau Lees, Khadim Hosain and Abd al Ḥayī
(Calcutta 1856—59) 2 vols.

INTRODUCTION

As far as I know it was Roscher who for the first time drew the attention of Semitic scholars to the navel of the earth in his well known monograph called *Omphalos*, in which several pages are given to the ideas of the Semitic peoples on this subject.

In a remarkable article entitled *Das Wasserofer und die damit verbundenen Zeremonien*, Feuchtwang produced incidentally a great deal of very valuable material referring to the Holy Rock in Jerusalem as a navel stone.

This article led Professor Rhodokanakis to a discussion of the philological side of the question in „*Wörter und Sachen*”.

In 1914 Dr. G. Klameth published a book on Palestinian traditions (*Die neutestamentlichen Lokaltraditionen Palästina's*). On pp. 88 sqq. several Jewish and Christian traditions concerning Jerusalem as the navel are given.

In a new treatise entitled *Neue Omphalosstudien* Roscher completed his previous study; this treatise contains also many data on the Semitic conception, partly based on Feuchtwang's article.

But a systematic investigation of the extension of the subject among the Semites and its significance has, as far as I know, never appeared. The present treatise is not an endeavour to fill up the whole of this lacuna, as the literature of the Babylonians has not been consulted. This would have been a difficult task for me and one not promising many results; for Jeremias who has tried to find the name and the characteristics of the navel of the earth among the Eastern Semites, has only found a few examples which seem to show signs of similar ideas having been current in Babylonia. Possibly the present investigations may stimulate a renewed research in this domain of literature. Nor in regard of the literature of the Hebrews, the Syrians and the Arabic writing Muslims do my investigations aim at completeness. I am convinced that continued research will produce a great many more examples. But it would take a whole lifetime to consult all the Oriental books which might

contain material for our subject and even then completeness would be very problematic. The reason why I feel justified in publishing my material lies in the fact that it seems to be of a nature capable of being worked into a systematic synopsis.

Readers will perhaps be surprised to find that the copious data gathered by Roscher have only very seldom been quoted in this treatise. It is therefore necessary to explain why I thought it better not to do so. To use foreign material for an investigation of the significance of the navel of the earth for the Western Semites, is only safe for him who is able to estimate it at the value it has in its own domain and this would be a task above my powers. On the other hand the present material is qualified to show what the thoughts of a limited group of peoples on the subject were without any foreign elements having been mixed with the investigation.

The characteristics of the navel which may be expected and, as we shall see, really occur in the literature of the Western Semites, are the following.

1. That of being exalted above the territories surrounding it. This characteristic appears in the form of the navel as it is commonly represented among the Greeks.

2. That of being the origin of the earth, as the navel is the origin of the embryo. This characteristic of the navel was so prominent in the Semitic notion of the navel, that Arabic lexicographers mention it as a common metaphorical significance of the word for navel. Rhodokanakis has already observed this.

3. That of being the centre of the earth. This is also a common characteristic of the navel of the earth in the conceptions of the Greeks.

4. That of being the place of communication with the nether and upper world. This characteristic is founded on simple observations of the navel and the function of the navelcord. It is to be noted that the primeval Semitic word for navel, Hebrew נֶזֶר, Syriac ܢܝܪ, has in Arabic (سُرّ) the meaning of navelcord. The navel itself is called in Arabic سُرّة.

That this characteristic of the navel was also known to the Greeks is proved by the fact that the *Omphalos* is often represented as a grave, the type of the nether world and that it was localised in a sanctuary, the place of communication with the nether and upper world.

5. That of being the medium by which food is distributed over the earth. Feuchtwang has already touched upon this characteristic.

It is in harmony with a well known function of the navel of the embryo.

In the present treatise two other facts will appear, which are of importance as signs of the relation between Jewish and Muslim lore. In the first place we shall see that traditions concerning the character of Jerusalem as the navel of the earth, and cosmogonic traditions in general, have been transferred by the Muslims to Mekka. This treatise may thus also be considered as a contribution to the problem of the origin of Muslim tradition.

The other fact to be noted is this: the main part of the traditions on our subject will appear to have been handed down by a class of traditionalists well known to students of Islām. It is that class of persons who, before Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje had made a clear insight in the genesis of Muslim tradition possible, were styled impostors by such orientalists as Sprenger: Ibn 'Abbās, Wahb ibn Munabbih, Ka'b al-Ahbar.

That these persons are mentioned as the transmitters of this special class of traditions, proves that they have been accessible to foreign, especially North-Semitic, influence and so have become the chief intermediaries between the North-Semitic and the Islāmic world for cosmogonic and cosmologic lore.

For this reason Ka'b has always been suspect. Tabarī tells a curious story on this subject (I, 62, 14 sqq.): „Ikrima said: one day a man came to Ibn 'Abbās and said to him: I have heard a wonderful story from Ka'b about the sun and the moon. Hearing this, Ibn 'Abbās who had been reclining, sat upright and said: what is it? The man answered: he maintains that on the day of Resurrection the sun and the moon will be dragged as if they were two bulls whose sinews have been cut through and so they will be thrown into Hell.

When Ibn 'Abbās heard this, his lips were parted through anger and he said: Ka'b has lied, Ka'b has lied, Ka'b has lied, three times. This is a Jewish story which he is trying to introduce into Islām."

What makes this little anecdote still more curious is the scarcely concealed *jalousie de métier* of Ibn 'Abbās against his rival.

Lastly I have to remark that wherever in this treatise the navel is spoken of, the navel of the earth is meant; and that the system of transcription is that which is used in the Encyclopaedia of Islām.

CHAPTER I

THE NAVEL AND MOUNTAINS

The earliest place in the literature of the Semitic peoples where the navel of the earth occurs, is perhaps Judges IX, 37. What the expression denotes here is made clear by the parallel verse 36, in which Ga'al, the usurper of Shekem, catches sight of the men of Abimelek, his rival, descending from the tops of the mountains, מראשי ההרים. The same fact is expressed in vs. 37 by the words מעם טבור הארץ „from the navel of the land". The navel of the land accordingly denotes in the mouths of the inhabitants of Shekem, no further commentary being needed, a high place in their country.

We will begin our investigation by asking the question: are there other examples in West-Semitic literatures of mountains being called „the navel of the land?" or „the navel of the earth?" Or do the mountains possess one or more of the characteristics of the navel, as we have enumerated them in the Introduction? We shall try to answer this question by inquiring into the place the mountains occupy in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature.

At the outset we can state, that the first two chapters of Genesis do not mention the mountains at all. It is however well known, especially since the appearance of Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, that Gen. I and II were far from being the only cosmogonic stories current among the early Israelites. The first has however at least one feature in common with nearly all Semitic stories of the creation: the pre-existence of Tehom, primeval Ocean.

In Proverbs VIII a description of Wisdom is given as a divine Hypostasis, which existed even before Tehom. This fact gives the author the opportunity of enumerating, one after another, the different stages of the creation. Vs. 24 sqq.: „When there were no Oceans, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water. Before the mountains had been immersed

occur in Arabic literature. At the outset we may state that if so, it will be in defiance of the Kor'an which does not favour such a view. Sura XVI, 15 (cf. XXI, 32; XXXI, 9) Muḥammed says: „He (viz. Allāh) hath placed upon the earth (mountains) firmly rooted, lest it should move you, and also rivers and paths”¹.

This passage supposes the earth to have been created before the mountains; this was also Jacob of Edessa's view, as we have seen. But Muḥammed apparently knows nothing about the mountains as the first parts of the earth emerging from Tehom. The commentators do not appear to be acquainted with such ideas either. They generally commentate on the places mentioned in this way: When Allāh had created the earth, it began to totter; then he created the mountains and placed them upon it; then it stood firmly (Tabarī and Baiḍāwī ad Sūra XVI, 15; Tha'labī, p. 5, 8 sqq.; Nuwairī, p. 54, 8 sqq.). There are however some cosmogonic views in Arabic literature known which are cognate to Jacob of Edessa's view. Kaẓwīnī I, 150, 7 infra: „But for the mountains the surface of the earth would be round and smooth and the water of the seas would cover it on all sides and surround it as the globe of air surrounds the water”². (Cf. Baiḍāwī ad Sūra XVI, 15).

But generally tradition mentions the second or the third day of the Hexahemeron as that on which the mountains were created (Tabarī Tafsīr XII, 3, 27; Tabarī I, 20, 16; 42, 11; 52, 5; 19, 18; 44, 18). But the first occurs also: Tab. I, 52, 9. Further there are, as far as I know, only very few features in Arabic literature which contain reminiscences of the North-Semitic theory of the mountains. In Abū Zaid II, 2, 5; Ins I, 11, 7 sqq.; Kisā'ī, fol. 6 vo. 4 infra they are regarded as coagulated billows of Tehom. Consequently they, and with them the earth, are considered as a prey wrested from Tehom. Here is a reminiscence of the old mythological strife between the gods and Tehom.

Reviewing the facts we have mentioned, we may state that in Hebrew literature the conception of the mountains as being the first born parts of the earth is living, in the Old Testament as well as in Jewish literature. That among the Syrians, as far as we are able to discern, this view is only known in a modified form, thus, that the mountains are those parts of the earth which first

¹ وانقى فى الارض رواسى ان تبيد بكم وانبارا وسبلا

² لو لم تكن الجبال لكان وجه الارض مستديرا ملمس وكانت عياد البحار تغطيها من جميع جهاتها وتحيط بها احاطة كرة الهواء بالهواء

have emerged from Tehom; that Arabic literature is turned in quite a different direction by the Kor'an, and that reminiscences only of the North-Semitic views occur.

We have further to ask: do the mountains possess another characteristic of the navel, viz. that of forming the place of communication with the upper and the nether world?

In the above mentioned traditions this question has been already partially answered in so far as, according to a Hebrew cosmologic system they are considered as reaching down to Tehom and as being placed in it. And in some Arabic traditions they are called coagulated billows of Tehom. The denomination عباد الارض „pillars of the earth” occurs also in Arabic traditions (Ins I, 11, 7; Kisā'ī fol. 16, ro., 16). It looks like a foreign expression, borrowed from the Northern neighbours. The connection of the mountains with the upper world has not yet been mentioned. As is only natural we find it too. In Job XXVI, 11 there occurs incidentally the expression עמודי שמים „the pillars of heaven” which are made to totter by Yahwe's voice. It is scarcely possible to take this expression in any other sense than as denoting the mountains which seem to support the sky. This explanation is corroborated by two other facts: 1. by the term עמודי הארץ which we have found as an appellation of the mountains; 2. by the fact that according to the Oriental conception the sky is a stratum רקיע. Moreover we shall find the same conception in Arabic literature. The fiftieth Sūra of the Kor'an bears one of the enigmatic initials which open some Sūra's viz. the letter ك. Of course this letter has no other significance than the other initials have; but the Muslim commentators take it as the name, Kāf, of the circle of mountains which surrounds the earth. As Windischmann, Zoroastrische Studien, p. 73, has already observed, Kaf is the name which the Zoroastrians gave one of their mythical mountains; this fact explains the Arabic name.

In several Muslim traditions the appearance of this circle of mountains is described. According to Tha'labī for instance (p. 5, 10 sqq.) God made the earth immoveable by the creation of mountains: „and Allāh created a large mountain of green emerald, from which the green colour of the sky is derived; it is called mount Kāf and it surrounds the whole of the earth”¹ (cf. Abū Zaid II, 6, 7; Ibn al-Wardī I, proemium 7, 6, sqq.).

¹ وخلق الله تعالى جبلا عظيما من زبرجدة خضراء خضرة السماء منه يقال له

جبل كاف واحاط بها كلها

tops of the mountains touch the firmament and upper Tehom is situated above the firmament.

In Arabic literature too there are found expositions of the significance of the mountains for the distribution of rain and water over the earth. Kisā'i, fol. 16 ro. infra: „Mountains gather snow and water. For God created hard stones of a nature to be more susceptible to cold, that the snow falling upon them should remain longer, and that part of it which melts should not flow away. And before every stony mountain God created small soft mountains of sand or clay which should drink the water flowing down the stony mountains; thereupon this water should flow over the face of the earth according to the needs of mankind, when it should be necessary, little by little”¹⁾.

More remarkable however is the passage in Kazwīnī on this subject (I, 150, 3 infra sqq.): „Some scholars maintain the mountains to be the cause of the presence of sweet flowing water on the earth, water, the necessary element for vegetable and animal life. This has the following reason: this water has its origin in the condensation of vapour in the air, viz. into clouds. Now the high mountains which are extended on the surface of the earth East-, West-, South- and Northward, hinder the winds from driving the vapour away; so the mountains cause the clouds to be shut up between them, till the cold changes them into rain and snow. Consequently, if the mountains were caused to disappear from the surface of the earth, the latter would be a globe without basins or elevations and the ascending vapour would not remain shut up in the air until the cold would reach it, but it would be dissolved and become air; consequently there would be no streaming water on the surface of the earth, except for so far as rain should descend; and this water would be absorbed by the earth, so that during the time they want it especially, in summer, plants and animals would be destitute of it as if living in far deserts.

So Providence destined the mountains to shut up between their ravines, the vapour ascending from the earth and to hinder it from dispersing and to restrain the winds from driving the clouds away,

والجبال مجهزة للثلوج واليهاء وانما خلق الله تعالى اجارا صلبة¹⁾ تكون اقبل للبرد وليكون الثلج الواقع عليها ابقا فلا يسرب ما يذوب منه لصلابتها وخلق دبر كل جبل حجري جبلا صناعا رخوة بملية او طينية لتشرب المياه التي تسيل على تلك الجبال الحجرية ثم ينفجر منها على البسيط على قدر حاجات الناس في اوقاتها شي بعد شي

just as a dike retains the water. So the vapour remains preserved in the ravines until in winter the cold reaches it and condenses it and compresses it into water; this descends in the form of rain and snow. Now the mountains have within their bulk grotto's and caverns and pools and cavities; rain and snow, falling upon the tops of the mountains are poured out into these grotto's and pools and remain preserved in them, then the water leaves the lower parts through narrow passages and these are the springs. Then it flows over the surface of the earth where plants and animals profit by it and the rest is poured out into the seas. And when that part, which they have profited by, has disappeared (by evaporation), the rain and the snow are again reached by the return of winter and they return to what they were; this state of things lasts till „the prescribed time be accomplished”¹⁾.

Here a remarkable difference with the North-Semitic ideas is to be observed: the springs do not rise from subterranean Tehom, but they are produced by the clouds. This conception is free of all mythological or semi-mythological reminiscences; it is in its way

وقال بعضهم ان الجبال سبب لوجود المياه العذبة السابحة على وجه¹⁾ الارض الذي هو مادة حياة النبات والحيوان وذلك لان سبب هذا الماء انها هو انحدار البخار في الجو اعني السحاب والجبال الشامخة الطوال على بسيط الارض شرقا وغربا وجنوبا وشمالا تمنع الرياح ان تسوق البخار بل تجعلها مذبذبة بينها حتى يلحقها البرد فتصير مطرا وتلجا فلو فرغت الجبال مرتفعة عن وجه الارض لكانت الارض كوة لا غور فيها ولا تدوم فالبخار المرتفع لا يبقى في الجو مذبذبا الى وقت يضره انبرد بل يتحلل ويستحيل دواء فلا يجرى الماء على وجه الارض الا قدر ما ينزل من المطر ثم تنشفه الارض فكان يعرض من ذلك ان يكون النبات والحيوان يعدم الماء في الصيف عند شدة الحاجة اليه كما في البوادي البعيدة فانتهى التدبير الالهي وجود الجبال لتتصرف البخار المرتفع عن الارض بين اغوارها وتمنعا من السيلان وتمنع الرياح ان تسوقها كما يمنع السكر الماء فيبقى قريبا فيها read محفوظ الى ان يلحقها البرد زمان الماء فيجهد ويصير فيصير ماء ثم ينزل مطرا وتلجا والجبال في اجراءها عشارا والهبة واوشان وكبوف فتقع على قلوبها الامطار والثلوج وتصب الى تلك الهفارات والوشان وتبقى فيها مخزونة وتخرج من اسافلها من موائد ضيقة وهي النيون فساح منها الماء على وجه الارض فينتفع به النبات والحيوان وما فضل ينتصب الى البحار فاذا فنى ما استغذته من الامطار والثلوج لحقتها نوبة الشتاء فماتت الى ما كانت ولا يزال هذا دأبيا الى ان يبلغ الكتاب اجله

a learned theory. Further, it is to be observed in this theory that it seems to suppose that, even if no vapours were condensed in the air into clouds, it would still be natural if rain descended; so it does not ascribe the origin of rain to the same process as that which causes the mountains to be watered. This view has not been generally accepted among Muslim scholars; *Kazwīnī* himself gives a rational theory about rain and snow being formed from the vapours rising from the earth (I, 93 sqq.).

Such theories are however not the popular old views. In books containing the old mythological traditions we find upper *Tehom*, the upper half of *Tiamat*, indicated as the element which provides the clouds with rain. It is not our aim to describe these conceptions, attractive though they may be; we must content ourselves with referring to *Ber. Rabba*, VIII ro. b, 15; *Midrash Kohelet*, VII ro., 17 sqq.; *Midrash Shohar Tōb*, p. 151, 24 sqq.; *Tha'labī*, p. 10, ult.; *Tabarī*, *Tafsīr*, VIII, 138 infra.

The fact is of importance for the present discussion that, as well among the Northern as among the Southern Semites, the mountains are considered as spreading the nutritive element over the earth, because of their communication either with the clouds or with the nether world.

So we have found three characteristics of the navel united in the mountains:

- I. Their being the origin of the earth.
- II. Their being the place of communication with the upper and with the nether world.
- III. Their being the medium through which food is spread over the earth.

CHAPTER II

THE NAVEL AND THE SANCTUARY

The transition from the mountains to the sanctuary is a natural one, it is only the transition from the general subject to a special side of it; for among the Northern Semites it was essential that the sanctuary should be a high place or still better a mountain. We have only to remember the *במִתָּה* and their position to realize the significance of this necessity. The Samaritans had the centre of their worship on mount *Gerizim* which, together with mount 'Ebal, formed from of old a pair of sacred mountains, as is well known from the *Hexateuch*, where they have the closest connection with the *Tora* and so are made the counterparts of the sacred mountain *Sinai*, the cradle of *Yahwism*, whereas *Ṣion* does not play a part in this series of ideas (cf. *Deut.* XXVII passim; *Joshua* VIII, 30—35). But *Ṣion* is also by predilection represented as a mountain.

It is perhaps not easy to answer the question whether in the mind of the Southern Semites the idea of a sanctuary was inseparable from that of a mountain; nor do we know whether their thoughts on this subject have undergone any change. *Medina*, which was only made a sanctuary because *Muhammed* desired it for various reasons, was not situated upon or at the foot of a mountain.

Turning to the holy places of an older date we find quite an other state of things. In 'Arafāt and in *Muzdalifa* the two mountains which are usually called after the names of the places, are the only objects of the religious rites which are performed there to this day. In *Muzdalifa* the god *Ḳuṣaḥ*, like *Yahwe* on the *Sinai*, revealed himself in a fire burning on the top of the mountain. And in 'Arafāt the *Wuḳūf*, the most important part of the *Ḥadjdj*, takes place at the foot of the mountain, just as the Israelites made their *Wuḳūf* at the foot of the *Sinai*.

As to *Mekka*, what we observe in the first place, is the fact that the town and the sanctuary are situated between two mountains, *Abū Ḳubais* and *al-Djebel al-Aḥmar*, just as *Shekem* between 'Ebal and *Gerizim*, save only that the Mekkan mountains are steeper

which explains their appellation *الأخشبان* „the two steep ones” (Azraqī, p. 43, 4; 198, 7; 478, 5; Ibn Džubair p. 108, 7). What we observe next is the fact that these mountains are of no great importance in the present Muslim worship at Mekka. The title of *Ḥaǧǧidjī* may be gained without ever having ascended one of these mountains. This phenomenon is perhaps due to the same tendency as that which Professor Snouck Hurgronje has pointed out in some traditions which declare the whole territory of ‘Arafāt and Muzdalifa qualified for the *Wuḳūf*: the tendency to efface the pagan reminiscences connected with these places.

Nevertheless Muslim tradition has preserved utterances which point to the high value which in certain circles was attached to the mountains, or some mountains, of Mekka. There can even be adduced a place in the *Ins* (I, 7, 6 infra) where the whole scenery of Mekka is called *جبل مكة* „the mountain of Mekka”. Remembering the fact that the author of the *Ins* was intimately acquainted with the Jewish views concerning Jerusalem, we can scarcely doubt that the expression is due to the feeling, that the sanctuary ought to be a mountain and that Mekka should be called the mountain of Mekka like Jerusalem is called mount Sion.

We have seen above that according to the common Muslim opinion the mountains have been created after the heavens and the earth, on the second or the third day of creation. There is however a widely spread tradition maintaining Abū Ḳubais to have been the first mountain Allāh set upon the earth, when it was still tottering (Azraqī, p. 478, 5; *Ḳuṭb al-Dīn*, p. 443, 9; Nuwairī, p. 72, 12; *Ḥaḍrāwī*, p. 4, 16). *Ḥalabī* gives it the title of „the father of mountains” (I, 195). And it is said of al-*Ḥīrā* that its foundations are situated in the seventh earth (*Ḥaḍrāwī* p. 14, 6).

There are however some traditions which go so far as to contradict the opinion that all mountains have been created on the second or the third day of the *Hexahemeron* and to maintain that the creation of Mekka coincides with that of its two mountains. Azraqī, p. 42, 5 infra, relates how a document was found in the foundations of the *Ka’ba*, on which these words were written: „I am Allāh the lord of Bakka; I made it a sanctuary on the day when I created heaven and earth, sun and moon; on the day when I made these two mountains” ¹⁾ (cf. p. 353, 8; Nuwairī, p. 75, 11). Here

أنا الله ذو بكة حرمتها يوم خلقت السموات والأرض والشمس والقمر ويوم صنعت هذين الجبلين

an intimate connection is assumed between the holy city and its two mountains. It naturally occurs to us to find an analogy here with ideas and facts occurring in other parts of the Semitic world. The holy place *Shekem* lies also between two sacred mountains; and Assyriologists have laid emphasis on the fact that the mountain of the earth, which is represented by the sanctuary of the Eastern Semites, is provided with two tops (cf. *Jeremias* p. 54 sqq.). It must also be remembered that the mountain of paradise is a double one (*Adamsbuch*, p. 117, 3 sq.).

Ḥalabī who also mentions the last quoted tradition about Mekka in a slightly different form, adds the words: „its two steep mountains will never give way” ¹⁾ (I, 191; 3 sqq.). These words remind us of what is said of Sion (*Ps.* CXXV, 1): „It will never give way, it will stay on its place for ever” ²⁾.

These materials show sufficiently, that not only ‘Arafāt and Muzdalifa owe a great deal of their significance to their holy mountains, but that also Mekka as a sanctuary is considered in some traditions as being intrinsically connected with its mountains. It is also probable that this view rests on the one hand on an old-semitic conception of the nature of the sanctuary, and on the other hand has been renewed and corroborated by post-islamic influxes from the Northern parts of the Semitic world.

In the following pages we shall see that the sanctuary, being conceived as a mountain of a special significance, does not only possess the characteristics of the navel, but is really considered as the navel of the earth. After our investigations of the mountains in general we can best begin this new subject by showing that the sanctuary has been considered as the highest mountain or the highest territory of the earth; or, in other words, that it possesses the first characteristic of the navel in an absolute form. As to mount Sion, this theory is, in its general form, not yet applied to it in the Old Testament; but is here limited to eschatological times; *Isaiah* II, 1: „And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of Yahwe’s House shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills” ³⁾.

It is clear why it is said here that this state of things will begin in the coming era: for at that time the earth and especially

لا يزول أخشباها ¹⁾

לא ימוט לעולם ישב ²⁾

יהיה באחרית הימים נכון יהיה הר בית יהוה בראש ההרים ונשא מנכעיות ³⁾

The poet is evidently combating a movement to cut off the ties with the Jerusalem temple: he seeks to frustrate these endeavours by reminding of the well known theory.

This theory has been taken over from the Jews by the Muslims. Zamakhsharī, p. 67, 13 (ad Sūra II, 37) and Dyārbekrī (Khamīs, I 31, 1) have a tradition which opens with the words: „The earth was created by Allāh on the place of Jerusalem”¹⁾, a sentence taken almost literally from Yoma 54 b. as quoted above.

But the Muslim theological conscience could not allow this prerogative of Jerusalem. Consequently we find the Jewish traditional lore about the beginnings of creation taken over in Muslim tradition and transferred to Mekka. According to a tradition told by Azrakī, p. 301, 3 infra, Abū Dharr asked the Prophet: „Which of the mosques on the face of the earth has been founded first?” He answered: „The sacred mosque”. I said: „Which next?” He answered: „The farthest mosque”. I said: „How great a space of time lies between them?” He said: „Forty years”²⁾. (Cf. Azrakī, p. 302, 1 sqq. and Zamakhsharī, p. 219, 16 ad Sūra III, 90). In other traditions the preexistence of the Mekkan sanctuary is taught in plain words: „Forty years before Allāh created the heavens and earth the Ka’ba was a dry spot floating on the water and from it the world has been spread out”³⁾. (Azrakī, p. 1, 6 infra; cf. Kutb al-Dīn, p. 25, 5 infra). It should be noted that this tradition is given on the authority of Ka’b al-Aḥbār.

The opinion that the Ka’ba was created two thousand years before the rest of the world has however had a much wider circulation. Tabarī I, 47, 6: „‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Omar said: „The House was created two thousand years before the earth and from it the earth was spread forth”⁴⁾. Tabarī, Tafsīr I, 409, 9 infra: „Mudjahid said: „Allāh created the spot of this House two thou-

¹⁾ خلق الله الأرض في موضع بيت المقدس

²⁾ عن أبي ذر قال سألت رسول الله فقلت يرسل الله أي المسجد على وجه الأرض وضع أولاً قال المسجد الحرام قال قلت ثم أي قال المسجد الأقصى قال قلت كم بينهما قال أربعون سنة

³⁾ قال كعب الأحبار كانت الكعبة غداة على الماء قبل أن يخلق الله السموات والأرض أربعين سنة وميزها حديث الأرض

⁴⁾ عن عبد الله بن عمر قال خلق البيت قبل الأرض بألفي سنة ومئة حديث الأرض

sand years before he created an atom of the earth”¹⁾. This tradition occurs in various forms, e.g. in Tabarī’s Tafsīr IV, 6, 23 sqq.; Tabarī I, 124, 17; Kutb al-Dīn p. 25, 5 infra; p. 26, 3, 9; Ibn al-Athār I, 14 19 sqq. The origin of the number two thousand is still to be discovered in Jewish tradition where one of the pre-existent entities, the Tora, is said to have been created two thousand years before the creation of the earth (Bereshit Rabba, fol. IX vo., b. ult.). All these traditions show sufficiently that the quality of having been the beginning of creation is inherent to the sanctuary in Semitic tradition. That this quality is really taken in connection with the sanctuary as the navel is proved by a tradition like this: „The Holy one created the world like an embryo. Like the embryo proceeds from the navel onwards, so God began to create the world proceeding from its navel onwards and from there it was spread out in different directions” (Jellinek V, 63, 1 sqq.)²⁾.

Now it is highly instructive to observe how this view is paralleled by another set of traditions where the same thought is expressed in a different form.

On p. 6 we have found a tradition, preserved in Bereshit Rabba fol. VI ro, a. 11 sq., in which Rabbi Tanhūm says: „on it (viz. the first day) have been created four things: the mountains, heaven, earth, and light”. Here a difference is made between the creation of the mountains and that of the earth. Now the mountains are generally considered as the substantial part of the earth, and the Sanctuary is a mountain of a peculiar nature, considered as having been created before the earth; from this we can draw a natural conclusion as to the nature of the navel viz. its representing the substance or its being an image of the earth. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the nucleus of the earth is represented in Semitic literature as being pre-existent. The Syriac cosmogony has been led into this direction by the ambiguity of Gen. I, 1 in the Syriac Bible: **ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܬܪ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ**. Now **ܐܠܐ** can take the place of the Hebrew **אֵת** but it means also „essence” and so Ephraim in his commentary explains **ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ** by **ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ** probably in the sense of heaven itself and earth itself, for in the following passages he

عن مجاهد قال خلق الله موضع هذا البيت قبل أن يخلق شيئا من الأرض بألفي سنة

ברא הקיבה את העולם כילוד אישה מה הילוד הזה בתהילה³⁾ מטבירו ומשם הוא מתחיל והולך כך העולם התחילו הקיבה מטבירו ומשם נמתה לכאן ולכאן

opposes the view of those who take these expressions allegorically. But the word **صَوْنًا** is nearly as ambiguous as **Δ**, it means „self” and „essence”.

It is not clear therefore, whether Ephraim is in favour of the view that the nucleus of the earth has been created before its mass. Jacob of Edessa (Ephr. Opp. I 116 D) evidently opposes it: he shows some heat in affirming that **Δ** is nothing but the Hebrew **אֶרֶץ** and like this a sign of the accusative. This zeal on the part of Jacob shows that there were people who interpreted **Δ** in a different way, probably as having the meaning of substance.

Arabic literature contains more on this subject. Zamakhsharī ad Sūra II, 27, p. 67, 12 of his commentary, says: „the creation of the substance of the earth is anterior to the creation of heaven; but the spreading out of the earth is posterior to it”¹⁾.

Here the very remarkable sequence of things is this:

1. the substance of the earth.
2. heaven.
3. the mass of the earth.

Apparently this is a different form of the traditions quoted about the pre-existence of the Sanctuary and of the mountains, for, as we shall see, the term **دَحْر** is always used for the spreading out of the earth around or under the navel.

Zamakhsharī's tradition is given by al-Dyārbekrī in a slightly different way: „When God began to create things, he created the **تربة** before heaven; when he had created the heavens and divided them into seven stages, he spread out the earth” (Khamīs I, 92, 15 sq.)²⁾. The meaning of **تربة** is explained in Lisān I, 221, 4 sq.: „People say: A land of a good **تربة**; this means the substance of its ground”³⁾.

Another tradition, perhaps the most popular on this subject in Arabic literature, relates that Allāh created a **جوهرة**, a substance; thereupon he contemplated it with a majestic gaze, so that it melted; then a vapour rose from it, which gave origin to the sky; thereupon the earth was created from the remainder of the **جوهرة** (e. g. Kāzwinī I, 9, 11 sqq.).

¹⁾ جرم الارض تقدم خلقه خلق السماء وأما دحرجها فتأخر

²⁾ فلما بدأ الله خلق الأشياء خلق التربة قبل السماء فلما خلق السماء وتضاعف سبع سموات دحا الارض اى بسطها

³⁾ يقال ارض طيبة التربة اى خلقة ترابها

These examples may be sufficient to illustrate the parallel between the sanctuary and the nucleus of the earth as pre-existent entities. Now this theory is completed in a remarkable way by the theories concerning the nature of Adam and his being created on the spot of the later sanctuary.

It is well known, that **אדם** has the collective meaning of „mankind”. This is not a discovery of modern philologists, but it has always been vivid in the mind of the Semitic peoples. I will only remind the reader of the fact that to indicate an individual, the Israelites say **בן אדם**; that Jacob of Edessa, a Syrian, is well acquainted with the collective meaning of **אדם** (Ephraim Opp. I 131 A) and that according to the Muslim legends God takes from the spine of Adam the nucleus of all mankind and makes his covenant with them.

Now according to Jewish ideas Adam, the substance of mankind, was created on the substance of the earth, the sanctuary, more particularly the altar. Ber. Rabba XVII vo. a, 1. 6 infra: „out of the place where reconciliation is made for him, man has been created”¹⁾.

This idea has further been intrinsically woven into the scheme of the Syriac Cave of Treasures, according to which man has been created in the centre of the earth whereto he returns at his death (Schatzhöhle, p. 14, 2 sqq.). In the Book of the Bee (p. 10, 5 infra) it is said that the „idea” Adam is conceived even before the creation of the world, consequently a pre-existent Adam, an idea which has its counterpart in the pre-existent Christ, who is called the second Adam.

Muslim theory has transferred some of these features from Jerusalem to Mekka and also from Adam to Muhammed. Adam has been created in the vicinity of Mekka (Khamīs I, 46 paen.) from all elements of the earth (Tha'labī, p. 23 sq.).

The origin of Muhammed's substance (**طينا**) is in the navel of the earth, in Mekka. Khamīs I, 37, 7 sqq.; Tha'labī I, 197, 2: „the origin of the clay of the apostle of Allāh is from the navel of the earth in Mekka”²⁾. And finally Adam and Muhammed have also become pre-existent entities in Muslim tradition (Tha'labī, I 197, 16; 198, 3 sqq.).

The traditions which relate that the earth was spread out from the nucleus or from the sanctuary lead us to the third quality of

¹⁾ ממוקום כפרתו נברא

²⁾ وعن ابن عباس اصل طينة رسول الله من سرة الارض بهيمة

the navel inherent to the sanctuary viz. that of being the centre of the earth.

This idea is already expressed in the well known passage in Ezekiel, V, 5: „So speaketh the Lord Yahwe: this is Jerusalem, I have set it in the midst of the nations, and round about it are countries”¹⁾. It is also found in Pseudepigraphic literature. In the Book of Jubilees VIII, 19 Mount Sion is called the centre of the navel of the earth. It is not clear whether this expression is genuine or not; „the centre of” looks like a gloss on „navel”. If however the words are genuine, their meaning must be that the holy land is the navel of the earth and that Jerusalem lies in its centre. According to the same chapter vs. 12 the territory of Sem, apparently Palestine, is called the centre of the earth. In the Apocalypse of Henoch XC, 26 the Temple and Gehenna are placed in the centre of the earth.

It is only natural that this idea should occur also in Jewish literature; according to Rabbi Eliezer „the world has been created from its centre”²⁾. The immediately preceding words are: „the world has been created from Sion”. (Yoma 54 b).

A new proof of the influence of Jewish tradition on Christians and Muslims lies in the fact that this idea is also well known in Syriac and Arabic literature. In the „Cave of Treasures” Adam is created in the centre of the earth, on the place where the cross of Christ shall be erected in later times (p. 14, 2 sq.); the whole book is dominated by this idea. Jerusalem as the centre of the earth is also mentioned in the Book of the Bee, p. 21, 3 sq.

In Muslim literature we find regarding this subject the same phenomenon as we have found above: the Jewish views have first been taken over and afterwards transferred to Mekka. Halabi I, 195, 5 infra, quotes a tradition on the authority of ‘Alī which opens thus: „the centre of the world is Jerusalem”³⁾. In the Ins I, 7, 15 (cf. I, 202, 14) this idea is used as an explanation of the well known epithet „the farthest”: „According to a tradition Jerusalem is called „the farthest”, because it is exactly the centre of the world”⁴⁾. In Kisā’ī, fol. 15 a 4 infra, the term is explained

כה אמר אדני יהוה זאת ירושלם בתוך העמים שמותיה וסביבותיה
ארצות

²⁾ עולם נמצעתו נברא

³⁾ وسط الدنيا بيت المقدس

⁴⁾ وروی انه سمي الاقصى لانه وسط الدنيا لا يزيد شيا ولا ينقص

in this way: „the centre of the earth is Jerusalem because it is the gathering place”¹⁾. It is a common idea among the Muslims, taken over from the Jews that the gathering of mankind before the last Judgment will take place at Jerusalem. This idea is the counterpart of the history of the creation and its complement: as mankind has sprung from the hands of the Creator at Jerusalem and has spread from it, so it will be gathered there to reappear before him, and the spot where he once stood will then be the spot of his judgment seat. It is not only in this connection that we meet the navel as the seat of the judge (cf. the chapter on the navel and the throne).

Notwithstanding these widely spread ideas, Muslim tradition has found no difficulty in declaring Mekka the centre of the earth. The transition was in this case very easy because in the Kor’ān there are sayings which can be interpreted in favour of such a view. Sūra XLII, 5 (= VI, 92): „Thus we have revealed unto thee an Arabic Kor’ān that thou mayest warn the mother of places and those who are round about it”²⁾. According to Tabarī Tafsīr VII, 165, 18 „those who are round about it” means the whole of the earth; this explanation involves the conception that „the mother of places” (and this is nothing but Mekka in Muslim terminology) is the centre of the earth. Of course this verse from the Kor’ān is only of secondary importance for the later spread of the conception among the Muslims who use „the centre of the earth” as a common epithet for Mekka (Kutb al-Dīn, p. 18, 7 infra; cf. Bibl. Geogr. Arab. I, 3, 20 and Mas’ūdī I, 77 where Arabia is the centre of the earth).

The sanctuary is not only the centre of the earth, it possesses also an other characteristic of the navel, viz. that of being the place of communication with the upper and with the nether world, or, on the one hand with heaven in general and with Paradise and the divine throne in particular — on the other hand with Tehom in general and with the realm of the dead and Hell in particular; in other words: in the sanctuary the three parts of the Universe, earth, upper and nether world, meet.

The communication between the sanctuary and heaven is a fact so well known that it will not be necessary to give a large collection

وسط الارض هو بيت المقدس لانه الرحش

كذلك اوحينا اليك قرانا عربيا لتنذر ام القرى ومن حولها

of literary evidence. In the first place we remember the sanctuary being a peculiar mountain and as such possessing the quality of reaching to heaven. And further it is in the sanctuary that the smell of burnt offerings and incense daily ascends and reaches the godhead whose presence is at the same time here and in heaven. Of the sanctuary of Bethel it is said in Genesis XXVIII, 17 that it is *שַׁעַר הַשָּׁמַיִם* „the gate of, the entrance to heaven”. Mount Sinai at the visit of the Israelites, is burning *לֶב הַשָּׁמַיִם* (Deuteronomy IV, 11) „unto the heart of heaven”. The rabbi's maintain that the ladder in Genesis XXVIII, 12 represents Mount Sinai which lies on the earth and reaches to heaven (Ber. Rabba fol. LXXVII ro. b, 11 sqq.). Jerusalem is often described with heavenly colours and considered as the earthly image of Jerusalem in heaven.

Further it should be noted that Muslim tradition has accepted the idea of Jerusalem being the place of communication with heaven. It is remarkable that Muhammed's ascension to heaven does not take place at Mekka but at Jerusalem; nay even Allāh himself when he created heaven and earth or, to express it more exactly, the navel, heaven and earth, ascended from Jerusalem to heaven. The common Muslim view is, that originally the divine throne rested on the water, as the Kor'an (Sūra II, 9) already has it: „and his throne rested upon the water”¹). Later traditions add a good many details, which can partly be traced back to Jewish sources. Before the creation Allāh's original restingplace is identified in some Muslim traditions with Jerusalem: „Ka'b al-Aḥbār said: Allāh says to Jerusalem: Thou art my throne, from which I ascended to heaven”²) (Nuwairī p. 90, 29). In an other place (Nuwairī p. 90, 15) Ka'b asserts having read this in the Tora. At any rate the Jewish origin of this tradition is clear and it is not at all to be considered as a common Muslim view.

The Jewish and Christian views of the communication between Jerusalem and heaven or Paradise have left many traces in Muslim traditions; some of them will be quoted later on; here I will give only this one (Ins, I, 211, 7 sqq.): „Ka'b said: Every morning in heaven one of the gates of paradise is opened; from it light

¹) وكان عرشه على الماء

²) عن كعب الاحبار قال يقول الله عز وجل لببيت المقدس انت عرشى الذى ارتفعت منك الى السماء

and mercy stream down upon Jerusalem and this will last till the Hour (of Resurrection)”¹).

It is only natural to find analogous sayings about Mekka. The tradition of 'Ā'isha asserting that at Mekka heaven is nearest to the earth is not only a testimony for Mekka as the highest place on earth, but also of its connection with heaven (above p. 15). More remarkable is the story which is told about the people of 'Ād by Kutb al-Dīn p. 442, 6 infra. When they were in need of rain they sent messengers to Mekka in order to pray there for rain, of course because their prayer would be heard better there than at any other place of Arabia, because of its connection with heaven. When they arrived at Mekka, they were advised to climb Abū Ḳubais, because never a repentant sinner had climbed it without being heard²).

We have now to turn to the nether world in its connection with the sanctuary. As I have already observed, we must — at any rate in Jewish theology — distinguish three terms designating the nether world: Tehom, Sheol, Gehenna. The idea connecting these three, is that they form the nether stage of the world and its ungodly, demoniac part.

The connection of the sanctuary with Gehenna is given by the situation of the latter close to Jerusalem. So we find as early as in the Book of Henoch, Chapter XXVI, a vision of the centre of the earth, consisting of a holy mountain and other mountains to the East and the South, evidently Sion, the Mount of Olives and the present Djebel Abū Tōr. Between the latter two is a ravine, evidently Gehinnom. The angel accompanying Henoch declares it to be destined for those that are to be damned for ever.

In the Talmud, 'Erubin 19 a, is found a remarkable utterance about Gehenna, important not so much for the conception of Gehenna, as for its co-ordination with Tehom and with the Desert. It runs: „Three gates has Gehinnom: one in the Desert, one in

عن كعب قال باب مفتوح من السماء من ابواب الجنة ينزل منه النور والرحمة على بيت المقدس كل صباح حتى تقوم الساعة

وان وفد عاد قدموا الى مكة للاستسقاء فامرهم فامروا بالظلوع الى ابي قبيس للدعاء وقيل لهم لم يهلك خاطى يدرك الله منه الا انابة الا اجابه الى ما دعاه اليه

the Sea, one in Jerusalem" ¹). Further it is said that the entrance to Gehinnom is possibly on the spot of two palm-trees between which vapour ascends from the earth. In Arabic literature too the conception of Jerusalem as the entrance to Hell, is found. Nuwairi p. 90, 14 has a tradition in which the following words occur: „this (viz. Jerusalem) is the place of my Fire, on its left side" ²). Another tradition speaks more explicitly (Nuwairi p. 89, 3 *infra*) which is given as an explanation of Sūra LVII, 13. Here Muḥammed says: „Then (viz. on doomsday) a wall shall be set between them (viz. Believers and Sceptics), wherein shall be a gate, within which shall be mercy; and without it, at its side the torment" ³). 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Omar commentates on this place in the following way: „this wall is the wall of Jerusalem, on its East side; behind it is a valley, called Wādī Djahannam and before it is a gate, called Gate of Mercy" ⁴).

The idea of the sanctuary being the place connecting Paradise and Hell is expressly added in Ins I 202, 17 sq.: „and this is a wall between Paradise and Hell" ⁵).

The connection between Jerusalem and Tehom is in the first place expressed in a number of traditions which represent the holy Rock as the stone which is connected with Tehom (cf. Feuchtwang, p. 544 sqq.). Other traditions, of which Feuchtwang has given also a good many, link the altar with Tehom by means of the channels which conducted the blood of sacrifices and the water to a subterranean cave. Sukka 49 a Rabbi Jose says of these channels: „A way was made for these channels which descended unto Tehom" ⁶). In Sukka 53 a Rabbi Yohanan says: „When David dug the channels, Tehom rose and threatened to submerge the world" ⁷).

Another remarkable connection between Jerusalem and Tehom is

¹ שלשה פתחים יש לגיהנם אחד במדבר ואחר בים ואחר בירושלם

² وهذا موضع ناري عن يسارها

³ ف ضرب بينهم بسور له باب باطنه فيه الرحمة وظاهره من قبله العذاب

⁴ هو حائط بيت المقدس من الشرقي الذي من ورأه واد يقال له وادي جبنم ومن دونه باب يقال له باب الرحمة

⁵ هو حائط بين الجنة والنار

⁶ שיתין מחוללים ויורדין עיר תרום

⁷ בשעה שכרה שיתין קפא תרוםא ובעה למשטפי עלמא

D¹. J. L. Palache drew my attention to this place.

given in the headings of the Targum to the שירי המעלות (Ps. CXX—CXXXIV) viz.: „a song recited on the steps of Tehom" ¹). A well known tradition maintains that the fifteen Ma'alot psalms had a certain analogy with the fifteen steps in the Jerusalem temple which lay between the enclosure of the women and that of the men. The headings of the Targum contain an allusion to this tradition and call the steps „the steps of Tehom i. e. the steps which conduct from Tehom to the Temple". Here is a remarkable corroboration of the view of Winckler and his adherents; Benzinger writes in his Hebräische Archäologie ², p. 330: „der Vorhof (entspricht) dem Himmelsozean". At any rate the expression in the Targum is a new proof of the relation between the sanctuary and the nether world.

Conceptions of a different nature also testify to this relation, viz. those which represent the sanctuary as a sepulchre. Of course I do not mean to say, that the presence of graves in Jerusalem establishes a relation of the nature mentioned. But both Jerusalem and Mekka possess the qualities of a typical sepulchre. As concerns Jerusalem I do not know of this idea in Jewish literature; but it appears in the Syriac legends about Adam, who is here and in Muslim legends as we have seen, a type of mankind, mankind in substance. Now Adam is created in the centre of the earth and after the Deluge his corpse is brought back to this place and buried in what is called **לכנה** **באדמה** „the gate of the earth". We remember here the sanctuary as „the gate of heaven". In the text itself the nature of the place is called back to memory by the addition of the words **מחלל** **באדמה** „the centre of the earth". Consequently the sanctuary as the navel is a typical sepulchre. Muslim tradition also mentions Jerusalem as Adam's grave (Tha'labī, p. 43, 15 sqq.; Tabarī I, 163, 2; Azrakī, p. 39, 5); we have already seen that the creation of Adam is sometimes placed in the Muslim centre of the world. His grave is often localised in Abū Kūbais. That Syriac influence has been at work in the traditions concerning Adam is proved by the fact that his burying-place is called: **غار** **الكنز** a translation of **סוד** **האוצר** „the cave of treasures" (Tabarī I, 162, 18; Ibn al-Athīr I, 38, 5 *infra* where the reading of the text is to be corrected; Mas'ūdī I, 69; Ḥadrāwī, p. 12, 19 *infra*; Kuṭb al-Dīn, p. 442, 4 *infra*; 443, 1 sqq.). As in many other cases, North-Semitic traditions have been islamised here; and as the legend of Adam's creation has been transferred to Muhammed so has Adam's

¹ שירא דאתאמר על מסיקין (מסיקין, מסיקין) דתרוםא

grave in connection with his creation given rise to a remarkable theory of Muhammed's grave. The stuff out of which man was made, his طينة (طينة) returns after his death to its primeval place. Muhammed, the image and substance of mankind, was buried in Medina; so his substance originally belongs to Medina (Khamis I, 37, 9 sqq.; Iḥdrāwī, p. 6, 11 sqq.). This theory proceeds from the fact that Muhammed's grave is in Medina: consequently Medina must also have the privilege of being the birthplace of Muhammed. This conception therefore is in total disharmony with the Muslim view that either Jerusalem or Mekka is the centre of the earth.

Therefore it is not astonishing to observe that other people go in the opposite direction. They start from the idea that Muhammed's substance (طينة) belongs to Mekka and their conclusion is that his grave ought also to be in Mekka (Ḥalabī I, 197, 13). We observe here the power of theory, in this case the theory of the close connection between the navel and the grave or the nether world.

This theory does not only affect Adam or Muhammed as the heads of mankind, but also the subsequent leaders, the prophets. Noah, Hūd, Šālīḥ, Šu'aib, Ismael have been buried in the sanctuary, in the Iḥdjr or between Zamzam and the house of al-Arḥam (Iḥdrāwī, p. 4, 9 infra; Azrakī, p. 34 paen.; 363, 10 sqq.). According to Azrakī, p. 39, 5 between Zamzam and the Rukn 70 prophets are buried; in other places larger numbers, even 300 graves of prophets are mentioned (Azrakī, p. 363, 14; Ḥalabī I, 206, 9 infra) as situated around the Ka'ba. Azrakī formulates the theory in this form: „Every prophet, after his people had perished, would establish himself at Mekka; there he and his followers with him used to perform worship till he died” (p. 363, 9 sqq.; cf. Ḥalabī I, 206, 8 infra)¹.

We have been able to observe the North-Semitic origin of this theory and its development on Muslim territory. It is only natural to find that in some Muslim traditions Jerusalem is also considered as the burying-place of prophets. According to Azrakī, p. 39, 5 not only Adam but also Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph are buried in Jerusalem and the author of the Ins who is influenced by local Jerusalem tradition, maintains that a thousand of prophets have been buried in that place (Ins I, 208, paen.).

There is still an other tradition relating to the sanctuary as a

¹ كان النبي من الانبياء اذا هلك امتد بحق بهكة فـ بـد فيها النبي ومن معه حتى يموت

burying-place. Azrakī, p. 305 sqq. says that on the North side of the Ka'ba there was a tumulus where the Ismaelite virgins were buried „and as often as people have made it level with the (rest of the) mosque it did not tarry to retake the shape of a tumulus as long as it exists”¹.

In the first place it is to be noted that the form of the grave, a tumulus, is emphasised in the above tradition. In the second place it is perhaps allowable to assume a general thought in this quaint utterance, viz. this, that virginity belongs to the nether world. We remember Kore whose relations with the nether world are well known and Minerva whose attribute, the owl, is the proof of a similar relation.

Now our next question is this: are there other relations between the sanctuary of Mekka and the nether world, analogous to those of Jerusalem; in other words: is there any relation between Mekka and Hell or Tehom? The answer seems to be partly evident, partly doubtful. For of a relation between Mekka and Hell nothing is known. But Tehom? In the first place we must remark that Muslim tradition does not contain much concerning Tehom and the nether world. Still in the form of the sanctuary there are characteristics which point in this direction.

The Arab sanctuaries in pagan times usually consisted of a stone which was besmeared with the blood of the victims and a pit, غيب into which the rest of the blood flowed down. A similar state of things existed in Jerusalem. Blood and water were conducted by the channels שרתין towards a cave in the interior of the holy mountain. Now we have seen that, according to the Jewish conception, these channels led to Tehom; consequently the cave is a representation of Tehom. As Wellhausen has already remarked, this has in its turn a strong likeness to what is found at Hierapolis. Here is also a *χρυσά* which is considered as the opening through which the waters of the Deluge have retreated, and which consequently has a close relation with Tehom, for the water of the Deluge is the water of Tehom (Lucian, Paris, 1615, p. 1060). Now the sanctuary at Mekka had also a deep pit or well, here called جب, or بئر, situated within the Ka'ba (Azrakī p. 41, 14 sqq.; 49, 1;

عن الزهري انه سمع ابن الزبير على الهذير يقول ان هذا الحدودوب قبور
عذاري بنات اسحقيل يعنى مـا يلى الركن الشامى من المسجد الحرام قال
وذاك البوضع يسوى مع المسجد فلا ينشب ان يدود محدودبا مذ كان

106, 14 sqq.; 111, 11; 169 ult.; 171, 4 infra). At its side stood the statue of the god Hobal. It is not probable that this statue was ever used as an altar stone. But the fact that Mekka possessed a pit within its sanctuary bears too close a resemblance to the presence of the pit in the other Semitic sanctuaries, to be overlooked, and analogy seems to favour the conclusion that the Mekkan *جب*, had also its connection with the nether world, a conclusion which has already been drawn by Wellhausen in his famous book *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (p. 103), and which is favoured by the tradition that this pit served for presents to be thrown into. If these presents had simply been gifts in honour of the sanctuary they would certainly have had an other place than the pit; but the fact that they were thrown into it proves that this really was their destined place. And so these gifts were probably intended to propitiate the god of the nether world.

The sanctuary, as the place of communication with the upper and with the nether world, is also the place which participates in the highest degree of the gifts of Heaven and Tehom. This is the next characteristic of the navel belonging to the sanctuary. We have already seen that this is also a characteristic of the mountains; now we shall see that what is said of the mountains as the distributors of food, is taught in a more precise way of the sanctuary, which not only supplies the earth with water but is watered itself in a particular degree. This idea has in the case of the sanctuary a natural basis as well as in the case of the mountains. Springs generally rise on the mountains; and a spring, with or without a mountain, is, generally speaking, a necessary requisite in a sanctuary. It has even been supposed that Mekka owes its origin as a sanctuary to Zemzem (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 5). But we will first turn to Jerusalem and consider what the Old Testament says about its being blessed copiously with water.

Psalms CXXXIII compares the gathering of the Diaspora at Jerusalem on the Feast (probably the Feast of Tabernacles) with the sweetness of the oil which drips from the head of the high-priest along his beard upon his clothes and with the „dew of Hermon that descendeth upon the mountains of Sion. For here Yahwe commanded the blessing for evermore”¹⁾.

כטל הרמון שיוור על הררי ציון כי שם צוה יהוה את הברכה
חיים עד העולם

The word חיים is probably to be cancelled.

Yahwe's blessing, according to the poet, chiefly consists in rain (cf. Malachi III, 10) for dew and rain are nearly synonymous in Hebrew, and this blessing will for ever be bestowed upon Jerusalem, as it is bestowed upon mount Hermon. Now mount Hermon was, as its name testifies, of old a sacred mountain. Commentators on Ps. CXXXIII to this day, zealously endeavour to extort confirmation from travellers of the copious dew to be met with in the vicinity of Hermon; and the travellers in their turn have felt obliged to testify to an extraordinary quantity of dew around Hermon, in order to explain Ps. CXXXIII. It seems to me, that the expression of the text acquires quite a different aspect, if we are able to show that the presence of dew and rain is a feature belonging to the theory of the sanctuary. Ps. CXXXIII speaks at any rate in clear terms of Jerusalem. The feast of Tabernacles and its rites also provide us with materials which may be used for our purpose. In the first place it should be remarked that from of old this feast was closely connected with the rain expected in the subsequent autumn and winter. This idea is explicitly expressed by Zechariah XIV, 16: „and it shall come to pass, that everyone that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the king Yahwe Sebaot and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. And it shall be that who will not come up of all the families of the earth unto Jerusalem to worship the king Yahwe Sebaot, even upon them shall be no rain”¹⁾.

If these words stood by themselves they would not be of great importance for our object. For the Feast of Tabernacles is the occasion appointed for praying for rain and all Feasts are to be celebrated at Jerusalem; so it would not be surprising to find a connection here between Jerusalem and the prayer for rain. But what is remarkable and gives the words a wider significance, is the fact that not only on the Feast of Tabernacles, but in general Jerusalem has a special importance for the prayer for rain. I must further remark, that there is an other circumstance which seems to lessen the importance of the traditions which will be given later on; viz. the fact that Jerusalem in its capacity of a sanctuary is the place for prayer in general, consequently also for prayers for

והיה כל הנותר מכל הגוים הבאים על ירושלם ועלו מרי שנה בשנה
להשתחוות למלך יהוה צבאות ולחג את תג הכבוד והיה אשר לא יעלה
מאת משפחות הארץ אל ירושלם להשתחוות למלך יהוה צבאות ולא
עליהם יהיה הגשם

rain. An objection of this sort could be met with by the question: How is it to be explained that prayer for rain especially is always brought into connection with Jerusalem? This fact must be based upon the conception of Jerusalem's eminent significance for the coming down and spreading of rain and water in general. But it is better to take the evidence of literature.

In the Talmud, Ta'anit 10 a, the pre-eminence of Palestine to the rest of the world, in this respect, is taught: „The land of Israel is watered by the Holy One Himself and the rest of the world by the means of a messenger. The land of Israel drinks the mass of the rain, and the rest of the world what is left. The land of Israel drinks first, thereafter the rest of the world”¹⁾.

In a tradition in the Ins I, 202, 3 sq. Jerusalem is a place of dew and rain. Ibn 'Abbās said: „Jerusalem is provided with dew and rain, ever since Allāh created years and days”²⁾.

In another tradition of the Ins I, 111, 6, an explanation is evidently given of the fact that the prayers for rain usually take place at Jerusalem: Solomon has asked from Allāh the favour, that everyone praying for rain at Jerusalem should obtain it³⁾. This tradition perhaps goes back to 2 Chron. VI, 26 sq. where a cognate passage occurs which however does not only speak of rain, but also of other favours. Important is a tradition in the Ins I, 214, 2: when the Israelites were in need of rain they made an image of Jerusalem, directed their prayers towards it and then rain would not cease to fall⁴⁾. The intrinsic connection between Jerusalem and the supply of rain is shown here.

There are however traditions which contain a more definite theory of the significance of Jerusalem for the supply of rain. The Jewish ideas on this point have been discussed by Feuchtwang. So I may refer here to his long quotation, p. 72, 3 sq.

Perhaps this idea was already known in Old Testament times. The last verse of Ps. LXXXVII runs: וְשָׂרִים כְּחוֹלָיִם כָּל מַעֲיִנִי בָךְ. The text as it is, can however scarcely be translated and the ancient

אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִשְׁקָהּ אוֹתָהּ הִקְבָּה בַּעֲצָמָהּ וְכָל הָעוֹלָם כּוֹלֵו עַל יְדֵי
שְׁלֹחַ אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל שׁוֹתָה מִן גִּשְׁמִים וְכָל הָעוֹלָם כּוֹלֵו מִחֲמִצִּית אֶרֶץ
יִשְׂרָאֵל שׁוֹתָה תְּחִלָּה וְכָל הָעוֹלָם כּוֹלֵו לְבִסְוָף

قال ابن عباس بيت المقدس عليه الطل والهطرمذ خلق الله السنين والأيام

ولا يدخله مقحده لا يعهده إلا للاستسقاء أن نسقى بلاد

وكذلك في الجذب إذا صرروه واستقبلوا به فلا تزال السماء تهطر عليهم

translations do not help us here. If the words of the Hebrew text are to be retained, the simplest way to translate them is to consider the last three words as what is said by the singers and dancers.

Now the meaning of כָּל מַעֲיִנִי בָךְ is quite clear: „all my fountains are in thee”. As the whole psalm is a glorification of Jerusalem, these words are certainly to be referred to it; consequently this chorus would be a remarkable illustration of the characteristic we are dealing with.

But Muslim tradition does not leave any doubt concerning the significance of Jerusalem for the distribution of water over the earth. A tradition on the authority of Ubayy b. Ka'b runs: „God calls Palestine blessed, only because there is no sweet water of which the source does not originate under the Holy Rock at Jerusalem” (Khamīs I, 86, 18 sq.)¹⁾. Nuwairī, p. 90, 16 gives more particulars: „all water flowing from the tops of the mountains has its origin under thee”²⁾ (cf. p. 90, 13). In Ins I, 202, 6 sq. the same idea is found: all sweet water comes from under the Holy Rock „thereafter it spreads over the earth”³⁾.

It is again to be noted that this feature of the sanctuary as a navel is closely connected with the sanctuary as an image of Paradise (see above p. 15). Therefore it is only natural to find that many traditions maintain that the Holy Rock belongs to Paradise (for instance Ins I, 209, 2 sq.).

At the conclusion of this section some expressions in Ber. Rabba should be noted which although they are not particularly relevant to our subject, yet appear in a new light after our foregoing research. Fol. LXXIV, vo., a, ult. the words „from the dew of heaven” are explained by „this is Sion”; and the well in Gen. XXIX 2, from which all flocks were drinking, means Sion according to fol. LXXIX ro., a, 27.

The idea of Jerusalem being the origin of all sweet water on the earth, is extended in some traditions in a remarkable way. Nuwairī, p. 90, 3: „Abū Huraira said on the authority of the prophet: all rivers and clouds and vapours and winds come from

أنها سبأها الله مباركة لأنها لا من ماء عذب إلا وينبع أصله من تحت
صخرة بيت المقدس

كل ماء يسيل من ذروة الجبال من تحتك

ثم ينفرق في الأرض

under the holy rock in Jêrusalem" ¹). Ins I 205, 4 infra has a similar tradition in which the winds are called „the fertilising winds” (الرياح الملقحة) after Sûra XV, 22. According to these traditions rain, dew, winds, consequently vegetation, the whole aspect of the earth and the order of nature are regulated at Jerusalem. We shall see later on that this view is connected with the navel as an image of the divine throne, properly the place where the order of nature is regulated (cf. the chapter on the navel and the throne).

That such utterances do not stand by themselves is proved by the fact that in the R̥gveda, in innumerable places, ṛtasya yónih, „the womb of cosmic order”, is used as a synonymous expression to the „place of sacrifice” and the place of sacrifice is often called „the navel of the earth”.

The idea of the sanctuary being the place which provides the earth with water, has probably given rise to the ceremony of the libation of water which took place on the feast of tabernacles. For it was a general practice to induce nature to do what was wanted by setting it an example to imitate. When people watered the navel of the earth, it meant that nature had to do the same. Professor Houtsma, some years ago pointed out, that the famous „watering-day” (يوم التروية) in the days of the Haddj was the day of the libation of water in order to get copious rain. This explanation is corroborated by the indubitable fact that Mekka, like Jerusalem, is considered as the navel of the earth.

But there are some other traditions which seem to regard Mekka as connected with the supply of water. Perhaps it is justifiable to mention here the traditions which declare Mekka to have been a fertile valley in previous times.

„Ibn ‘Abbās said: There was at Mekka a tribe called Amalekites; this tribe lived there, mighty and numerous and prosperous. They possessed a great many horses and camels and beasts which used to pasture at Mekka and its environs such as Marr and Na‘mān and the country around them; autumn was rich in shadow in those times, spring rich in rain, the wādis flowing with water, the trees densely planted, the soil rich in produce; so they led an easy life” ²).

¹) وعن أبي هريرة عن النبي قال الانهار كلها والسحاب والبحار والرياح من تحت صخرة بيت المقدس

عن ابن عباس انه كان بهيمة حتى يقال لهم الممايلق فكانوا في عزة وكثرة ²) وثروة وكانت لهم اموال كثيرة من خيل وابل وماشية وكانت تربي بهيمة وما

(Azraqī, p. 50, paen. sqq.; cf. p. 47, 8; Kuṭb al-Dīn, p. 33, 12; 43, 6; Ṭabarī I, 278, 16 sq.; Ibn Hishām, p. 71 ult. sq.). Such utterances are remarkable because they certainly are not founded upon historical reminiscences, consequently must be the outflow of theory. Further we remember the messengers of ‘Ād who were sent to Mekka by their people in order to pray there for rain. This tradition is not a historical fact either; for the tribe of ‘Ād is probably only a product of Muḥammed’s imagination; but it points most likely to a well known custom, parallel to what we found to take place at Jerusalem.

Lastly we should mention what Kaẓwīnī tells of the significance of rainfall at Mekka for the rest of the world. „When rain beats one of the sides of the Ka’ba, fertility will be during the year on that side; when it beats all sides, fertility will reign on all sides” (II, 77, 12 sqq.) ¹).

The material gathered in this chapter seems to show sufficiently that Jerusalem and Mecca possess all the characteristics we have enumerated in the Introduction as characteristics of the navel. It is therefore only natural to find the term conferred on these sanctuaries. Hesekeiel mentions the navel of the earth, probably thinking of Jerusalem or of Palestine in general (38, 12). We have already seen that in the Book of Jubilees the navel of the earth either means Jerusalem or Palestine. Josephus is the first to give indubitable evidence. „In the very middle of it (viz. of Judea) is situated Jerusalem; therefore some people call it, not without reason, „the navel of the country” ²) (Bell. Jud. III, 3, 5). This is apparently the only thing the highly cultivated Josephus knew of Jerusalem as the navel. From later literature I will only quote, following Feuchtwang, Jellinek, V, 63, 4: „and where is its (viz. the world’s) navel? It is Jerusalem” ³).

In Muslim literature on Jerusalem we find the term also. Nuwairī

حولنا من مَرَّ ونَعْبَانِ وما حول ذلك وكانت الخرف عليهم مظلة والاربعه مغلقة والودية نجال والعضاء ملتفة والارض مبقلة وكانوا في عيش رخی

وإذا اصاب المطر احد جوانبها يكون الخصب في تلك السنة في ذلك ¹) الجانب فإذا عم المطر جميع الجوانب عم الخصب جميع الجوانب

²) Μεσσηνία δὲ αὐτῆς πόλις τῶ Ἱερουσόλυμα καλεῖται. παρ’ ὃ καὶ τινες εὐκαρῶς ἐμφανὲς τὸ ἄστυ τῆς χώρας ἐκάλεισαν.

³) ודרך טבורו זו ירושלם

p. 89 ult. „On the authority of Anas b. Mālik it is said: Paradise is longing after Jerusalem and Jerusalem after Paradise. And Jerusalem is the navel of the earth”¹⁾.

The sayings about Mekka are not less clear. I will quote as many of them as I have found in Arabic literature, because they have never been introduced into scientific works. Professor Snouck Hurgronje asserts that he has heard the expression: „the navel of the earth” several times at Mekka.

Khamīs I p. 37: „the origin of the clay of the Prophet is from the navel of the earth, in Mekka, viz. the Ka’ba”²⁾.

The same tradition is also found in Ḥalabī I, 197, 2 and 4 infra and in Ḥaḍrāwī p. 6, 11.

Ḥalabī I, 195, 6 infra speaking about the creation of the spot of the Ka’ba adds: „so it is the origin of the earth and its navel”³⁾.

Ḳazwīnī, II p. 75, 10 and Abū Zaid IV, 81 infra: „so it (the Ka’ba) is the navel of the earth”⁴⁾.

Kisā’ī fol. 14 b, 15 a: „know that the centre of the earth, according to a tradition on the authority of the Prophet, is the Ka’ba; it has the significance of the navel of the earth, because of its rising above the level of the earth”⁵⁾.

After all what has been said about Mekka as the navel in this chapter it will not be necessary to emphasise the fact that the very few traditions which consider a different region of the Muslim world as the navel, must be taken as local traditions. Rhodokanakis has already drawn attention to Burton’s statement (II, 297) about Eve’s grave at Djidda. Here is a cupola and a stone which are called „el-Surrah”. That the old Babylonia is also called سُرَّةُ الْأَرْضِ in Muslim authors (Mas’ūdī III, 127; Biblioth. Geogr. Arab. V, 209, 14) is certainly a reminiscence of old Babylonian traditions about the navel which have, however, not come down to us.

¹⁾ فقد روى عن انس بن مالك قال ان الجنة تحن شوقا الى بيت المقدس وبيت المقدس من جنة الفردوس وهي سرّة الارض

عن ابن عباس اصل طينة النبي من سرّة الارض بهكة يعنى الكعبة

²⁾ فبنى اصل الارض وسرّتها

³⁾ فبنى سرّة الارض

⁴⁾ اعلم ان وسط الارض على ما روى عن النبي هي الكعبة وهي للارض

بهزلة السرة لقرنها على استوا الارض

CHAPTER III

THE NAVEL AND THE UNIVERSE

A. THE NAVEL AND THE EARTH.

In the second chapter we have not only tried to prove that Jerusalem and Mekka possess the characteristics of the navel, but we had also the opportunity of learning in a preliminary way something about the character of the navel itself viz. its being considered as the nucleus of the earth, as its prototype and image.

In this chapter we shall test our preliminary results by discussing the different forms of the navel and by comparing them with the forms of the universe and its parts.

In the first place we have to remark that the general form of the Semitic sanctuary may be considered as the general form of the navel too, for we have seen that the sanctuary is considered as representing the navel. Now we have also seen that the general form of the sanctuary is that of a mountain; so it is to be expected that we shall find 1. the navel represented as a mountain and 2. the earth represented in the same form.

As regards the last point many readers will remember that the conception of the earth as a mountain is familiar to the Semitic world, especially in its Eastern part as Assyriology has brought to light. It will therefore be sufficient to refer to Jensen, third plate, and to Jeremias, Register under Erde. As the passages in Jeremias show, it is not the appellation of mountain that is always used, but other names and cognate images also occur.

The same is found in the literatures of the West-Semitic peoples.

In the Old Testament there is no evidence of the earth being considered as a mountain. Yahwe has drawn a circle on Tehom viz. the horizon (Job XXVI, 10); as the earth seems to reach its end there it is at the same time הַיָּם הָאֲרִיזִים „the circle of the earth” (Is. XL, 22).

We have quoted Jacob of Edessa above (p. 3) who maintains that the earth was originally a smooth globe surrounded on all sides by Tehom; when God had rent the latter and created mountains and basins it acquired its present form. It is probable, but not certain, that this conception goes back to Babylonian origins; it is also probable that like Babylonian cosmology it supposes the earth to emerge from Tehom (cf. Schatzhöhle, p. 6, 14) in the form of a hemisphere or a mountain, but this is also uncertain; for Syriac authors like Jacob of Edessa are under Greek influences, especially under the influence of Greek philosophers.

The earth as a hemisphere is well known in Arabic literature. Ibn al-Wardī says: „Some scholars maintain that the earth bears the shape of a semi-globe” (I, proemium 25, 8) ¹. And Ḳazwīnī I, 14 3, 14 sqq.: „People maintain that the form of the earth is convex, like that of a globe or a cauldron rising from the water” ².

Perhaps we have to interpret in this sense the numerous traditions which relate how Allāh expanded the earth under the sanctuary which is the highest point of the earth: „Allāh expanded the earth beneath the Ka'ba” ³. (Ḳazwīnī II, 75, 9; cf. Ḳhamīs I, 31, 3). Ḳuṭb al-Dīn explains Mekka's epithet „mother of places” thus: „because the earth has been expanded under it” ⁴ (p. 26, 6; 18, 2; cf. Ṭabarī Tafsīr IV, 6, 22 sqq.; I, 409, 7).

In other places the earth is represented as having the form of a shield (كَبَيْتَةُ الْقُرْسِ), Abū Zaid II, 40, 1).

All these traditions are more or less in harmony with the Babylonian view reproduced by Jensen in his diagram.

That our conclusions are right is proved by the traditions concerning the primeval form of the Mekkan sanctuary. Azrakī, p. 20, 5 infra and Nuwairī, p. 74, 13 have a tradition which describes the place of the later Ka'ba after the Deluge as „a hill of red clay, not being submerged by the floods” ⁵. Azrakī p. 26, 7 describes it in the times of Abraham as „a hill elevated above its

¹ وذكر بعضهم انها تشبه نصف الكرة

² زعموا ان شكل الارض قريب من الكرة والقدر الخارج من الماء محدب

³ بسط الارض من تحت الكعبة

⁴ لان الارض دحيت من تحتها

⁵ اكبة حمراء مدرة لا تغلوا السيول

surroundings, covered with gravel” ¹ (cf. Ḳhamīs, I, 99, 10). Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, p. 22, 2; 23, 6 infra; 33, 12; 38, 5; Ṭabarī I, 278, ult. call it „a hill” (رَبْوَة).

These materials seem to show sufficiently that both the earth and the navel are represented as a mountain.

In other traditions however the earth is represented differently viz. as a cupola; it is a new proof of our thesis concerning the correspondence between the earth and the navel that the latter is also found represented in the form of a cupola.

The evidence is as follows.

„Ibn 'Abbās said: when before the creation of heaven and earth the divine throne was on the water, Allāh sent a soft wind which drove away the water so that on the spot of the House of God there appeared a protuberating dry spot in the form of a cupola” ² (also in Nuwairī p. 72, 10). And Ṭabarī in his Tafsīr I, 409, 5, 12 has a tradition relating how in the times of Abraham the sanctuary was a „red hill in the form of a cupola” ³.

As to the form of the earth Abū Zaid II, 40 mentions the opinion that it has the „form of a cupola” and the same words occur in Ibn al-Wardī I, proemium 25.

These passages need no further explanation: in exactly the same words the navel and the earth are compared with a cupola: the navel is the image of the earth. Further it may be observed that the form of a cupola does not differ much from that of the hemisphere which we found before. They are both the conventionalised representation of the earth as a mountain.

Side by side with the conception of the earth as a mountain, a hemisphere or a cupola, there exists in the Semitic world a different one, which represents the earth as a quadrangle. The four winds are connected with this conception. The Talmud still speaks of the „world as a quadrangle” רבוע עולם (Erubin, 55 a, 56 a). We have already quoted Agapius, who maintains that the world's centre is situated higher than its corners. The Cave of Treasures

اكبة مرتفعة على ما حولها هليليا رضراض من حصباء

عن ابن عباس انه قال لما كان العرش على الماء قبل ان يخلق الله السموات والارض بعث الله ريحا هفافة فصغقت الماء فابززت عن حشفة في موضع البيت كانتا قبة

ربوة حمراء ككبيته القبة

Mekkan navel in the form of a quadrangular stone. Numerous Muslim authors give descriptions of the foundations (قواعد) of Allāh's House. This term already tends towards the idea of a quadrangular navel. But some traditions give definite particulars. Tabarī in his Tafsir I, 409, 7 sq. says that the foundations of the sanctuary had four sides¹⁾ and according to Azrakī, p. 12, 5 infra the foundations having been constructed by the angels were crowned by Adam with a hollow hyacinthstone from Paradise „which had four sides”²⁾.

But not only in the times of Adam, even before the creation of the world, the four-sided navel was the centre of Tehom. Tabarī I, 47, 2 sqq.; Tafsir, I, 409, 14 sq.: „Ibn 'Abbās said: Allāh placed the holy House on the water, upon four pillars, two thousand years before the creation of the world”³⁾. This tradition does not afford a quite clear image of the navel, in the first place because of the ambiguity of the word ركن, which may denote a side, a wall of the Ka'ba for instance, but which also can have the meaning of pillar; in the second place because of our uncertainty concerning the form of the House.

Further the most famous stone in the Mekkan sanctuary after the black stone, the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, is according to the few eyewitnesses, a quadrangular stone covered with two golden bands⁴⁾. As we have seen, Wellhausen has already compared the cave غيبف under the sanctuaries of the pagan Arabs with the cave under the altar at Jerusalem and with the χῆσμα at Hierapolis which were considered as basins connected with Tehom and as the last receptacle of the water of the Deluge. The Holy Rock at Jerusalem was imagined to be the huge stone which shuts off these waters for ever. It is only natural to regard the altar stones of the Arab

¹⁾ وقالوا اساسه على اركان اربعة في الارض السابعة

وهبط ادم بياقوتة حمراء مجوفة لها اربعة اركان بيض فوضعها على الاساس²⁾
فلم تنزل الياقوتة كذلك

عن ابن عباس قال وضع النبي على (اركان) (this word is to be cancelled) على
الهاء على اربعة اركان قبل ان يخلق الدنيا بالفي سنة

والهقام مربع سعة اعلاه اربع عشرة اصبعاً في اربع عشرة اصبعاً ومن اسفله⁴⁾
مثل ذلك وفي طرفيه من اعلاه واسفله طوقاً ذهب بما بين الطوقين من
الحجر من الهقام بارز بلا ذهب عليه (Azrakī, p. 278, 14 infra)

sanctuaries from the same point of view, viz. as navel-stones. Wellhausen's description of the sanctuary of Allāt (p. 29 sq.) harmonizes wonderfully with Burton's description of the navel at Djidda. Allāt was a quadrangular stone, covered with a Kiswa; under it was a cave and over it was built a temple. Here is not only a close parallelism with the navel of Djidda but also with that of Mekka. Consequently the Ka'ba, though being of a rather recent date, is only to be considered as a primus inter pares. Dusares at Petra was a quadrangular stone, perhaps also called Ka'ba (Wellhausen, p. 49 sq.). The Lisān itself emphasizes the non-exceptional character of the Ka'ba (II, 213): „Every square building is called by the Arabs Ka'ba; and Rabī'a had a building called al-Ka'abāt around which they used to perform the Tawāf”¹⁾. The Tawāf was also performed around al-'Uzzā (Azrakī, p. 80, 8).

B. THE NAVEI AND HEAVEN.

The navel as a cupola, قبة, appeared to be an image of the earth as a cupola. It is however not only the earth but also heaven which has the form of a cupola.

Sūra II, 20 relates how Allāh made heaven a بناء, a building, over the earth. The commentators upon this place give more particulars. Tabarī Tafsir I, 125, 7: „the building of heaven over the earth has the form of a cupola; this cupola is the roof of the earth”²⁾. In the same way Tabarī says in an other place (Tafsir XIII, 55, 4): „Heaven is built over the earth like a cupola”³⁾. Baidāwī's and Zamakhsharī's commentaries give the same explanation of Sūra II, 20 as Tabarī does. Abū Zaid II, 6, 1 has a tradition on the authority of Ibn-al-Kalbī to the same purport: „The heavens are over the earth as a cupola whose borders are attached to it”⁴⁾.

Consequently the navel is not only an image of the earth but also of heaven, just as heaven and earth are similar in form one to the other. This is said expressly by Tha'alabī whose book opens

كل بيت مربع فبؤ عند العرب كعبة وكان لربيعه بيت يطوفون به يسرونه¹⁾
الكعبات

فبناء السماء على الارض كهيئة القبة وهي سقف على الارض²⁾

السماء مبنية على الارض مثل القبة³⁾

السروات فوق الارض كهيئة القبة الهلصق منها اطرافها⁴⁾

with these words: „Traditionists have handed down with different words but with the same meaning, that Allāh when he had conceived the idea of creating the heavens and earth, created a green substance resembling the layers of heaven and earth”¹⁾.

The term *قُبَّة* which I have translated by cupola has also a different though cognate meaning viz. that of a tent. This meaning appears in many cosmologic and cosmogonic traditions of the Muslims. Zamakhsharī in his commentary on Sūra II, 20 says: „Then Allāh created heaven which resembles a *قُبَّة* built upon this solid land, or a tent erected over it”²⁾. The ambiguity of the word *قُبَّة* already proves that there is the closest resemblance between the two conceptions. The only difference of form consists herein that the cupola has a more or less convex mantle, while the mantle of the tent goes down in a straight line. But cupola as well as tent are only varieties of the same conception. Now heaven represented as a tent is well known in Semitic literatures. In the Old Testament Yahwe is often said to extend the curtains of the tent of heaven. Ps. CIV, 2: „Who covereth himself with light as with a garment, who stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain”³⁾. Is. XL, 22: „that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in”⁴⁾. Heaven is Yahwe's tent; it is natural to suppose that Yahwe's tent on earth is only a copy of that in heaven. We shall indeed have occasion to discuss this conclusion in a more general form (cf. p. 48 sq., 52).

The idea of heaven as a tent is also found in the Kor'ān, connected with a peculiar representation of the function of the mountains. Sūra LXXVIII, 6 sq.: „Have we not made the earth a plain territory and the mountains pegs?”⁵⁾. This place has become the authoritative starting point for cosmologic ideas which represent heaven as a tent. Some of them have already been mentioned above. According to Tabarī's Tafsīr 'I, 409, 13 Abū Kubāis was the first mountain Allāh used for fixing the tent of heaven. We have already

روى الرواة بالفاصل مختلفاً ومكان متفقاً ان الله لما اراد ان يخلق
السموات والارض خلق جوهرة خضراء اغصاف طيائن السموات والارض

ثم خلق السماء التي هي كالقبة المضروبة والخيصة المطبقة على هذا القرار

عوضاً اور כשלמה נוטה שמם כדעה

הנוטה בדרך שמם וימתחם כאהל לשבת

الم نجعل الارض مهاداً والجبال اوتاداً

seen that in Muslim literature the earth is often conceived as surrounded by the mountain of Kāf. In connection with the conception of heaven as a tent, it is said that on mount Kāf are placed the two shoulders (كتفا) of heaven, like a tent with dropped curtains (Ibn al-Wardī I, proemium 8, 5 sqq.)¹⁾.

Popular imagination has been much occupied with the curtains of the heavenly tent. In Jewish literature the lowest heaven is called *וילון* = velum (Hagiga, 12 b). and in Muslim literature the curtains which screen Allāh from the sight of men are often spoken of. Kisā'i fol. 6 sqq. has many traditions on these *حجاب* of Allāh. Like in Psalm CIV, 2, the expression „God's mantle” is used in some other places, e. g. Tabarī Tafsīr XXVI, 105, 4 infra.

It is not our purpose to pursue this subject; it is sufficient for us to have noticed, that heaven is represented in these traditions either as a cupola or as a tent. We have seen, that the navel and earth are also represented as cupola's. It is interesting to observe that heaven as a tent has also its correlation upon earth. There is a well known tradition in the legendary history of the Ka'ba, according to which Adam was caused by Allāh to dwell in a tent (*خيمة*) from Paradise on the spot of the House of Allāh, i. e. on the navel²⁾ (cf. Azraqī, p. 27 ult., 357 ult.). Here there is not only the correspondence between the navel and heaven, but just as Allāh dwells in his heavenly tent, so Adam, Allāh's substitute and image, is dwelling in his; heaven and earth are one another's counterpart.

We may carry this idea one step further: earth, itself a cupola, being situated under the corresponding cupola of the lowest heaven, finds its centre in the navel; and as the earth has a navel, so heaven has its corresponding one.

C. THE NAVEI OF HEAVEN.

The navel of heaven is not mentioned in Semitic literatures as often as the navel of the earth. Yet we are able to observe that it has some of the characteristics of its earthly counterpart, as is to be expected considering the general similarity between heaven and earth.

وعليه كتفا السماء كالخيصة المسبلة

فعرّاه الله بخيمة من خيام الجنة ووضعها له بهيمة
في موضع الكعبة قبل ان تكون الكعبة

Perhaps the navel of heaven was already known to the author of Deut. IV, 11, where mount Sinai is represented as burning „unto the heart of heaven” (עַד לֵב הַשָּׁמַיִם), for heart is sometimes used as a synonym for navel. Jerusalem is called the heart of the earth (in the Zohar as quoted by Feuchtwang p. 728). Mekka is also called the heart of the world (قلب العالم) by al-Batanūnī, p. 27, 4 infra; the author's note to this expression does not leave any doubt as to its meaning. But the idea of the navel of heaven is certainly known in Jewish literature. Ber. Rabba, fol. VI ro. b. 10 sq. has this passage: „At the moment that the Holy One said: there shall be a firmament, he coagulated the drop in the middle and so was made the nether heaven and the upper heaven”¹⁾.

This is evidently the story of the creation of all heavens; as the firmament was created from the centre onwards, so were the rest of the heavens. The strict analogy should be noted here between the navel of the earth as the centre of creation, and the navel of heaven, having the same function. In Muslim literature more particulars are given. Tabarī I 63 sqq. quotes a long tradition in which Ibn ‘Abbās is describing the revolution in nature in the last days, on the authority of the Prophet. As in other eschatologies sun and moon will be changed; like a coupled pair of oxen they will begin a race, one endeavouring to leave the other behind him, „till when they have reached the navel of heaven, and this is its centre, Gabriel will go and take them by their horns and force them back to the West”²⁾ (p. 71, paen.).

Aethiopic literature has also preserved a reminiscence of the same conception, combined with that of heaven as a sort of tent. The firmament is represented as a net „and God attached it in the navel of heaven, above which is the water” (Hexaemeron, 192, 4 sq.³⁾).

The net is apparently parallel to the curtains of the tent we discussed above. And the navel of heaven must be the end of the pole of the tent.

The Semitic peoples are not the only ones who were acquainted with the idea of a navel of heaven. In the Rgveda the altar itself

¹⁾ בשעה שאמר הק"ב יהוה רקייע בתוך המים גלדה טיפה האמצעית ונעשו השמים המתונים ושמי העליונים

حتى اذا بلغا سرة السماء وهو منصفها اتاهما جبرئيل فاخذ بقرنئيهما ثم ردهما الى المغرب

³⁾ ወተተ : ወተተ : ሕተተ : ሕተተ : ሕተተ : ሕተተ : ሕተተ : ሕተተ : ሕተተ : ሕተተ

is called the navel of heaven. Rv. 3, 4, 4 c: divó vā nábhā ny āsādi hótā i. e. „on the navel of heaven the priest of the sacrifice has set himself” (properly: „has been set down”). And Rv. 9, 12, 4 a: divó nábhā i. e. „on the navel of heaven” in the sense of „on the place of sacrifice”

Identity of the navel of heaven and the navel of the earth as it is expressed in these places will scarcely be found in the literature of the Semites, which only considers the two as parallel in situation and in function. Yet it should be noted that according to the Mandaeans the mountain of light in the North, where the King of light has his throne, a mountain which has many of the characteristics of the navel, is at the same time the place which is watered by heavenly rivers, consequently a place which belongs to the earth as well as to heaven (Brändt, p. 30 and 34). Further it should be remembered that in the descriptions we have quoted above, the navel and Paradise (which is also the navel of heaven) are represented in the same way.

Now we have to ask: what is this navel of heaven? Several answers are given to this question in Semitic literature. In the first place we have an astronomical answer. Kisā’ī, fol. 15 a, 7 infra: „In Tradition it is said: the Polestar proves the Ka’ba to be the highest situated territory on earth, for it (viz. the Ka’ba) is opposite the centre of heaven”¹⁾. The explanation of this tradition is apparently this: the highest point and the centre of heaven is the Polestar (heaven is here again represented as a cupola). Now the Ka’ba lies exactly opposite this centre; so the Ka’ba is the highest spot on the earth. Why? Because heaven and earth are similar one to the other, two cupola’s placed one above the other.

This view has also a close connection with the significance of the direction of prayer, the qibla, which is twofold: on the earth it is the Ka’ba, in heaven it is the corresponding place, the Polestar. This is said by the same Kisā’ī in a somewhat clumsy way, fol. 15 a, l. 12: „In the centre of this moving part of heaven (viz. the Great Bear) is a fixed star which does not move, and this is the Polestar, around which the Bear and the rest of the stars turn. People are agreed on this point that he who places himself opposite the Polestar has at the same time the direction of the qibla, because this star is above the Ka’ba, without ever moving. The Bear may

وفي الحديث القطب دلالة على ان الكعبة اشرف البقاع لانها على مقابلة وسط السماء

move somewhat, but the Polestar never does. If now the Polestar, which is the centre of heaven, around which the other stars turn, is above the Ka'ba, this fact proves that what corresponds with the centre of heaven is most likely to be the centre of the earth; consequently the Ka'ba is the centre of the earth" ¹⁾).

In Greek literature there is a remarkable parallel to this idea. Nikander (Alexipharmaka, vs. 6 sq.) says to his friend Protagoras:

ἦ νῦρ δὴ σὺ μὲν ἄγχι πολυστροίβοιο θαλάσσης
ἄρκτον ὕπ' ὀμφαλὸςσαν ἐνάσσαο

The scholiast remarks concerning this expression: ὀμφαλὸν δὲ καλεῖ τὸν βόρειον πόλον ὡς μεσαίτατον ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν ἄρκτον διὰ τὸν παρακείμενον αὐτῇ τῶν ἄστρων χορόν.

Muslim tradition contains more concerning the correspondence between the Ka'ba and the centre of heaven. Azrakī, p. 18, 4 sqq.: „Ibn 'Abbās said on the authority of the Apostle of God: „the house which is in heaven is called al-Durāḥ; it is built in the same way as this sacred House (viz. the Ka'ba); if the former would fall, it would fall upon the latter" ²⁾. And p. 17, ult. sqq.: „Wahb ibn Munabbih said that he found in the Tora (the description of) a house in heaven opposite the Ka'ba over the cupola of the latter, called al-Durāḥ and this is the visited House" ³⁾. (cf. Sūra LII, 4). These traditions return in various forms in innumerable places.

Instead of بحیال الکعبة we find also على منا, بحذاء, بهیزان, مستقبل, بهیزان, على منا (cf. Azrakī, p. 7, 6 infra; 12, 7 infra; 18, 12; 19, 7; 356, 2 sq.; Kṭb al-Dīn, p. 27, 15; Ṭabarī Tafsīr XXVII, 10, 3, 6, 8 etc.).

وفى وسط هذا الصوف كوكب خمر ثابت لا يتحرك وهو القطب الذى تدور بنات نعرش عليه مع سائر الكواكب وانفقوا ان من قابل هذا الكوكب فقد استقبل القبلة لانه فوق الكعبة لا يزول ابدا فاما بنات نعرش فقد تنزل قليلا واما القطب فلا فاذا كان القطب على الكعبة والقطب وسط السماء والكواكب حوله تدور كان ذلك دليلا على ان ما يلقى وسط السماء اولا ان يكون وسط الارض فعلم بذلك ان الكعبة هي وسط الارض

عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله البيت الذى فى السماء يقال له ²⁾ الضراح وهو مثل بناء هذا البيت الحرام ولو سقط لسقط عليه

عن وهب بن منبه انه وجد فى التوراة بيتا فى السماء بحیال الکعبة ³⁾ فوق قبة اسمها الضراح وهو البيت المعمور

In some places it is even said that in the times of Adam this „visited House" (Khamīs I, 89 ult. called رعى) stood on the place of the later Ka'ba; before the Deluge it was placed in heaven (Kṭb al-Dīn, p. 27, 3; Baidāwī ad Sūra III, 90; Zamakhsharī ad II, 121 (p. 104, 10 infra) and III, 90 (p. 219, 6 infra).

Probably the theory of the earthly sanctuary as an image of the heavenly one and being situated opposite to it has been borrowed from Jewish lore. Jellinek V, 63, 5 sq.: „The Holy One created the nether sanctuary of which the upper one is the counterpart, one opposite the other" ¹⁾. The expression כנגד means both opposite and as the counterpart. Accordingly in the Arabic traditions we found بهیزان, مثل, which render the latter meaning, and مستقبل, بحیال, which render the former.

The likeness between the earthly and the heavenly sanctuary is made complete by the correspondence between the nether and the upper rites of worship. The above quoted Midraš goes on in this way: „While the sanctuary was still standing, the High Priest used to offer sacrifices and incense beneath; and Michael in the same way used to offer sacrifices and incense above" ²⁾. Muslim tradition is also acquainted with this idea, though it is usually given in the reverse form; the angels do not follow the example of man but the other way round. Of course the Muslim angels perform the Muslim rites. I will quote only a few examples. Baidāwī ad Sūra III, 90: „Other people say: before the times of Adam there was on the spot of the Ka'ba a House, called al-Durāḥ, around which the angels used to perform the Ṭawāf. And when Adam was made to descend (from the mountain) he was ordered to make it the object of ḥadjdj and ṭawāf. When the Deluge came it was taken up into the fourth heaven, where the angels of the heavens perform the ṭawāf around it" ³⁾.

Azrakī, p. 5, 6 infra: „Then Allāh ordered his creatures on the

وبراء הקיבה בית המקדש למטה שבנגדו בית המקדש למעלה ¹⁾
בזמן זה כנגד זה

בזמן שהיה בית המקדש קיים היה כוהן גדול מקריב ומקטיר ²⁾
למטה ומיכאל כנגדו מלמעלה מקריב ומקטיר

وقيل كان فى موضعه قبل ادم بيت يقال له الضراح ويطوف به الملائكة ³⁾
فلما اُهبأ ادم أمر بان يحججه ويطوف حوله ورفع فى الطوفان الى السماء
الرابعة يطوف به ملائكة السموات

earth to perform the *ṭawāf* around this House (the Ka'ba), as the inhabitants of heaven do around „the visited House”¹⁾.

The name „visited House” is explained in Muslim tradition by the fact that it is visited by the angels (Tabarī Tafsīr XXVII, 9 infra).

The parallel between heaven and earth becomes still stricter if we consider the form of the „visited House”. On the one hand it resembles the Ka'ba, *بيت الله*. But as the Ka'ba had originally the form of the navel, so the „visited House” has also the form of the navel. We have quoted above some traditions representing the navel as being placed upon four pillars (أركان). Now Azrakī describes the „visited House” in this way: „A building on four pillars of emerald, which he crowned with a hyacinth and this building was called al-Durāḥ”²⁾. (cf. Ḥalabī I, 199, 1 sq.).

We observe here the complete likeness between the navel and the „visited House”; at the same time we must draw the attention to Mas'ūdī's description of the nucleus of Paradise, which consists of a golden cupola on four pillars (I, 269). The parallel between the navel of the earth and Paradise leads us to the discussion of the relation between the navel and the Universe.

D. THE NAVEL AND THE UNIVERSE.

In the biblical stories of the creation the description of heaven is very short. Gen. I, 8 says that God called the firmament heaven; further nothing is said of the upper world except that the water was above the firmament. In other places in the Old Testament two heavens are mentioned. Ps. CXLVIII, 4: „Praise him ye heaven of heavens and ye waters that be above heavens”³⁾.

Here we have the firmament as heaven and a still higher heaven. This highest heaven is mentioned several times in the Old Testament. But no third heaven occurs as in later times. 2 Corinth. XII, 2 this third heaven is mentioned. Syrians also know of three heavens: „God created the heavens as three strata”⁴⁾. (Lagarde, p. 5, 21).

فأمر الله من في الأرض من خلقه أن يطوفوا بهذا البيت كما يطوف
أهل السماء بالبيت المعمور

بيننا على أربعة أساطين من زبرجد وشالهن بيانونة حبراء وسى ذاك
البيت الضراح

הללוהו שמי השמים ורמים אשר מעל השמים

وخلق الله السموات ثلاث طباق

In some of the descriptions of the voyage of the soul the heavens are also reckoned as being three in number (cf. Bousset in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft IV, 234 sqq.). Jewish and Muslim theology generally imagine seven heavens. The Hebrew names of the seven heavens are enumerated in Hagiga 12 b. In the Kor'an, Sūra II, 27, Muḥammed also speaks of the seven heavens; their names are given in two different series by Tha'labī, p. 11. That these seven heavens however do not occupy a prominent place in many traditions of the Muslims, is proved by the theories of the upper sanctuaries, which, in so far as they are really living in the Muslim mind, usually are two in number, sometimes three. So far as only two are mentioned, the conditions are imagined to be similar to those which are found in some places of the Old Testament. This is clearly shown by the traditions concerning the „visited House”. As we have seen, those quoted above place it opposite and over the Ka'ba; at the same time it is considered as being situated exactly beneath the divine throne as Azrakī expressly says: „God placed beneath his throne a house and this is the „visited House”¹⁾. (p. 5, 10).

This tradition only knows of the heaven of which the „visited House” is the centre and the heaven in which Allāh resides. In other traditions which adhere to the seven heavens of the Kor'an the „visited House” is either localised in the lowest heaven or in that heaven which is under the throne, according to the aim of the tradition; if it describes the „visited House” in connection with the Ka'ba, it is localised in the lowest heaven; if it is considered in connection with the throne, it is localised in the sixth or seventh (Kisā'i, fol. 11 ro, 1; Tabarī Tafsīr XXVII, 9 sq.; Ḥalabī I, 199, 7; Azrakī, 19, 1); occasionally in the fourth.

The Kor'an, as is well known, does not only mention seven heavens, but also seven earths. Now as earth and heaven have their navel represented by their sanctuary, so every heaven and every earth obtain a sanctuary in their centre so that the imaginary axis of the Universe runs through fourteen sanctuaries (cf. Khamīs I, 38, 9 infra; 90, 22; Tabarī Tafsīr XXVIII, 89, 10 infra; Azrakī, p. 355, 4 sqq.).

In an other place Azrakī gives this cosmological system in a modified, remarkable form: „The Apostle of God said: this House (viz. the Ka'ba) is one of fifteen, seven in the heavens up to the throne and seven up to the limits of the lowest earth. The highest

وضع الله تحت العرش بيتا وهو البيت المعمور¹⁾

situated one, which is near the throne, is the „visited House”. Every one of these houses has a sacred territory, like that of the Ka’ba. If anyone of them fell down, the rest would fall down, one upon the other, to the limits of the lowest earth. And every house has its heavenly or earthly worshippers, like the Ka’ba”¹⁾. (p. 6, 10 sqq.).

In this theory the navel has become the centre of the Universe, which consists of several parts, similar to one another. As the navel is the image of the whole, so the sanctuary is an image of the whole. This is not only a logical deduction, but several traditions express this idea plainly, or contain allusions to it. In the Book of the Bee Theodore of Mopsuestia is quoted, who maintains that the tabernacle is an image of the World and that the apsis represents heaven²⁾ (p. 15, paen. 2).

Tabarī Tafsīr XXVII, 10, 11 infra maintains that between heaven and earth the same relation exists as between the roof of the Ka’ba and the Ka’ba itself: „By the roof in this place he means heaven; and the latter is called a roof because it is the heaven to earth, just as the heaven of the Holy House which is the roof of it”³⁾.

In cod. Sachau 221, fol. 80 a, the „earth” and the „heaven” of the altar of a Syrian church are mentioned.

The correspondence between heaven and earth does not only exist in material, but also in spiritual things. Adam is created on the earth as God’s substitute. According to Muslim theory every earth has its Adam and its Abraham (Ibn al-Wardī I, proemium 27, 5 sqq.)⁴⁾.

قال رسول الله هذا البيت خامس خمسة عشر بيتا سبعة منها في السماء
الى العرش وسبعة منها الى تخوم الارض السفلى واعلاها الذي يلي العرش
البيت المعمور لكل بيت منها حرم كحرم هذا البيت او سقط منها بيت لسقط
بعضها على بعض الى تخوم الارض السفلى وكل بيت من اهل السماء ومن
اهل الارض من يعرفه كما يعرف هذا البيت

مخمسها به مستمسك احد به مخصص بكم صوما لمعها هو
بكلها صوم مخصص به صوما بمصملا امسوم بخصمها صوما
مخصص به صوما فكلها امسوم واكلها صوم مخصص

يعنى بالسقف في هذا الموضع السماء وجعلها سقفا لانهما سماء للارض كسماء
البيت الذي هو سقفه

في كل ارض ادم كادكم ونوح مثل نوحكم وابراهيم مثل ابراهيمكم
والله اعلم

We have seen above that the navel of the earth, earth itself and heaven have the form of cupola’s. It is only in accordance with the similarity between the several parts of the Universe to find that this form is also given for the rest of the heavens. Tha’labī, p. 11, 3 sqq.: „God has created the heavens in the form of several cupola’s; now the borders of the lowest heaven are fastened to those of the second; those of the second to those of the third and so on till the seventh; and those of the last are fastened to the throne”¹⁾.

There are however also traditions propounding the theory that all heavens and all earths are flat strata, a distance of a five hundred years’ journey lying between any two of them. This opinion is to be found in Jewish as well as in Muslim sources (Ber. Rabba fol. VIII vo. a, 12 sqq.; Tabarī Tafsīr XXV, 5, 6 infra sqq.; XXVIII, 89, 20; Tha’labī, 5 ult.; Nuwairī, p. 5, 7 infra sqq.).

Such a theory is difficult to harmonize with that of the earth being founded upon mountains situated in Tehom. According to the latter, the sanctuary, as the mountain *par excellence* and as the navel, has been placed directly above Tehom. It is probably due to endeavours to harmonize tradition when it is asserted that the foundations of the mountain al-Ilirā’ are situated on the seventh earth (Hadrāwī, p. 14, 6).

The same is said of the foundations of the Ka’ba. Kuṭb al-Dīn, p. 27, 8 infra: „When Allāh had caused Adam to descend from Paradise, he said: O Adam, build for me a House opposite my heavenly one. Yourself and your posterity shall worship in it, as my angels worship around my throne. Then the angels descended to him and he dug till he reached the seventh earth. Then the angels threw large stones into it (viz. the pit) till it rose above the surface of the earth”²⁾. (cf. Azrakī, p. 4, 6 sqq.; 7, 10).

The foundations of the holy mountain or those of the Ka’ba are here a regular axis running through half of the Universe.

خلق الله السموات مثل القباب فسواء الدنيا قد شددت افطارها بالثانية¹⁾
والثانية بالثالثة وكذا الى السابعة والسابعة بالعرش

لها ابط الله ادم من الجنة قال يا ادم ابن لي بيتا بعزاء بيتي الذي²⁾
في السماء تتعبد فيه اذت وولدك كما تتعبد ملائكتي حول عرشي فبطت
عليه الملائكة فحفز (حفز Prof. Snouck Hurgronje reads حتى بلغ الارض
السابعة فحفزت فيه الملائكة الصخر حتى اشرف على وجه الارض

throne, الكرسي. That البيت which is of course the Hebrew מִבְּדֵי „temple”, has anything to do with the Universe as a sanctuary, is only vaguely understood by Wāhib, who compares it with the ropes of a tent¹⁾. Here we meet the Universe as a tent and here is proved anew the resemblance between the parts and the whole, for we have also found heaven as a tent.

Often Muslim authors distinguish between عرش and كرسي, the former being represented as a part of the latter. According to Abū Dharr as quoted in Kisā'i, fol. 4 vo., 5 ro. the seven heavens are as compared to the kursī as a ring in a desert; the kursī in its turn is as compared to the 'arṣi as a ring in a desert (cf. also Tabarī Tafsīr III, 7, 17; Abū Zaid I, 166 infra, 167). And according to Baiḍāwī ad Sūra II, 256 al-kursī is perhaps an appellation of „the sphere known as the sphere of the zodiacal signs”²⁾. In the Miḍrash Ester the six steps of Solomon's throne correspond to the six heavens (שֵׁשׁ רִקְיעִים). It seems that all these ideas are influenced by conceptions like that of Is. LXVI, 1: „thus saith Yahwe: the heaven is my throne and the earth is my foot-stool”.

F. THE NAVEI AND THE NETHER WORLD.

We have stated above that the navel is the place of communication with the nether world, that it is even considered as a typical sepulchre. This characteristic appears also in the fact that the navel is represented as a hill or a cupola. Over the grave a tumulus is often made; this is a primitive form of a tomb, also among the Semitic peoples. As we have seen Azrakī mentions a tumulus as the grave of the Ismaelite virgins (cf. p. 37 sq.). Making a grave is called تَسْنِيم which properly means „giving a thing a convex form”. In a tradition preserved by Buḥārī, Djana'iz, bāb 96, 3rd tradition,

ان السموات والارض والبحار لفي البيت وان البيت لفي الكرسي وان قديمه عز وجل لفي الكرسي وهو يحبل الكرسي وعاد الكرسي كالنعل في قديمه وسئل وهب ما البيت قال شي من اطراف السموات محدث بالارضين والبحار كاطناب الفسطاط وسئل وهب عن الارضين كيف هي قال هي سبع ارضين مهيطة جزائر بين كل ارضين بحر والبحر محيط بذلك كله والبيت من وراء البحر

الفلك المشهور بذلك البروج²⁾

it is said that the tomb of Muḥammed was مستم¹⁾. Kuṭb al-Dīn p. 444, ult. maintains having experienced the efficacy of prayers performed at the tumulus (تربة) of al-Nakshbandī.

Modern Muslim tombs of some importance are provided with a cupola, also called قبة. It is possible that this cupola is a tumulus modelled after the Byzantine cupola. There also occur tombs covered with a square stoneblock and even such as are provided with a cupola on four pillars (cf. Lane, Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, p. 528 sq.). According to Goldziher (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions X, 356) the chapel on the tomb has developed from the tent, which till the present day, is dressed on Eastern graves (cf. W. M. Thomson, The Land and the Book, I, 148; Wetzstein in Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, V, p. 294 sq.).

At any rate it will not be an accident that the navel, as the type of the tomb, has also the same forms as the grave. This conclusion is corroborated by the relation between the navel and an other representation of the nether world, viz. the realm of the dead or Hell. As to the former it is to be observed that according to a widely spread Semitic conception, which we met with above, the nether world, earth and the heavens, are similar cupola's, one placed above the other. Jensen's third plate represents the Babylonian conception some features of which we have found even in Arabic literature. Here we observe also the navel of the nether world „the Temple of the Orcus” (ikal irṣit la tarat). In Arabic literature many parallels are found to the Babylonian conception of the nether world (cf. Ins I, 14, 7 infra sq.; Kisā'i, fol. 8 ro.). In Tirmidhī II, 95, 18 a mountain of fire in Hell is mentioned. In European Middle Ages Hell is also represented as a mountain. These materials, few as they are, contain a new proof of the navel being the image of different similar parts of the Universe.

G. THE NAVEI AND THE SERPENT.

At the conclusion of our research we have still to draw attention to testimonies literary and monumental of a connection between the navel and the serpent.

In the first place Dalman's discoveries at Petra are to be remem-

حدثنا محمد بن مقاتل اخبرنا عبد الله اخبرنا ابو بكر بن عياش عن
سفيان الثمار انه حدثه انه رأى قبر النبي مستم

hered. In his book on Petra he prints a photographic reproduction of a monument of which he gives a detailed description in the text (I, p. 218--220).

The monument consists of a conic navel, 2 metres in height and diameter, surrounded by a serpent in four circles, with an enormous head. This navel which may be compared with several plates in Roscher's treatises, is placed upon a gigantic quadrangular stone block which serves as its pedestal. Under the rock that supports this monument is a large room with niches for the reception of the dead.

In the first place we have to observe here that a monumental combination of a grave and a navel-stone above it, cannot be accidental. Such an enormous monument is not placed upon a grave if it does not express a living thought. A grave is the symbol of the nether world; the navel is the symbol of the earth; this is the reason why these elements are combined here, one above the other. But the serpent? Is it really only the genius loci, or the guardian of the grave? It would be preposterous to base our answer to this question upon the Petra monument only. But we are not going too far, if we remark that, navel and grave having a cosmic significance, the serpent is likely to have a similar character. In order to be able to answer this question, we shall first have to ask another, viz. this: Are the Western Semites acquainted with the combination of navel and serpent? Traditions of the Meccan sanctuary give a plain answer to this question. These traditions consist of two series: one describing how Abraham began to build the sacred house upon the foundation which had already been made by Adam or the angels; the other describing an analogous fact, viz. the restoration of the sacred house shortly before the rise of Islām.

Further it is to be observed that the analogy of the two occasions corresponds to two different traditions of which one is analogous to the other.

Azraqī, p. 30, relates how Abraham and Ismael laid bare the foundation (الاساس) of the sanctuary and built the sacred house upon it: „then the Sakīna (the divine presence) wound itself upon the original foundation as if it were a serpent, saying: Build upon me, o Abraham”¹). That in this tradition the serpent should only be the usual guardian, is of course excluded by its mythological character; this prevents it also from being taken as the usual genius loci.

¹) وتطوّقت السكينة كأنها حية على الأساس الأول وقالت يا ابراهيم ابن علي

The mythological character of the monster is emphasised in other, ancient and modern traditions. Tabarī I, 275, 8 sqq. describes it as „a stormy wind with two heads. One of them followed the other till it reached Mekka; there it wound itself like a serpent on the spot of the sacred house”¹).

Some manuscripts read الحفّة „a shield” instead of الحية „a serpent”. This expression occurs also in Ibn al Athīr I, 76, 2; Tabarī Tafsīr I, 44, 20 sqq.; Thaʿlabī, p. 77, 11; Lisān s. v. حنف. This reading makes also a good sense; the navel in the form of a shield is again similar in form to the earth in the form of a shield, one of the representations of the earth (see above p. 38).

In other places (Tabarī I, 276, 16 sq.; Tafsīr I, 410, 21 sq.) the monster is described as: „a wind called the wind Al-Khadjūdī which had two wings and a head like a serpent's”²). Khamīs I, 98, paen. it is described as possessing two serpents' heads, one behind the other.

To these descriptions should be added, that in Ḥalabī I, 207, 11 infra sqq. the monster has a human or a cat's face, and that it is accompanied by a bird called حرد.

The mythological character of this serpent is sufficiently shown by these traditions. And the solution of the question what the serpent around or upon the navel means, does not seem to be very difficult. If the navel represents the earth, that which surrounds it can scarcely be anything else but the Ocean.

This conclusion is raised to a high degree of certainty by the fact that the Ocean, in Babylonian as well as in Hebrew mythology, is conceived as a serpent: Tiamat is a marine serpent and Tehom-Leviathan is in Isa. XXVII, 1 expressly called נחש „serpent”. The likeness between the Mekkan serpent and Leviathan is made complete by two other common features: The Mekkan Serpent is called الخجوج. In some places this word is taken as an adjective. The Lisān s. v. in fact gives the explanation „stormy” (شديدة الريح). In other places (cf. also Zamakhsarī, p. 904, 5 sq.) the matter has quite a different aspect. Here it is a being, which bears the name of Al-Khadjūdī. Now this name is either a foreign mythological term denoting the serpent, or there is a misunderstanding

¹) ريح خجوج وبها راسان فاتبع احدها صاحبه حتى انتهت الى مكة فتطوّقت على موضع البيت كتنوى الحية

²) ريحا يقال لها ريح الخجوج لها جناحان ورأس في صورة حية

in the common Arabic translation „stormy”; for „stormy” is not the epithet to be expected for the mythological serpent. The Lisān has however preserved the real meaning of the root خج . The first synonym the author gives is الترى „to wind oneself”. The root لري is also the basis of the word Leviathan, which even by the Ancients was taken in the sense of עקלתון (Isaiah XXVII, 1).

The process consequently seems to have been this: the Jewish theories concerning the Leviathan have come down to the Muslims and the name, being explained as „the serpent which winds itself”, has been translated by al-Khadjūdī and so some traditions appear to be still acquainted with the fact that al-Khadjūdī is a nomen proprium just as Leviathan.

Now Khadjūdī has also the meaning of „stormy”; in this manner it can be explained that the serpent was changed into a wind and consequently a being came into existence composed of such heterogeneous elements as a wind and the head of a serpent. An other remarkable feature in some descriptions of the Mekkan serpent is its having two heads. Here again is a peculiarity of Leviathan. Ps. LXXIV, 14: „Thou (Yahwe) hast crushed the heads of Leviathan”¹). In the Odes of Solomon the dragon (لبيلا) has seven heads (XXII, 5). Further the Mekkan traditions maintain that the sanctuary was built upon the serpent. Here a Jewish tradition may be compared: „The Ocean surrounds the world as a vault surrounds a large pillar. And the world is placed in its circular form on the fins of Leviathan”²). (Jellinek I, 63, 17 sq.).

This explanation of the serpent and the navel as being cosmic symbols is set in a remarkable light by a renewed comparison of the navel and the divine throne. From this comparison it appears that even the serpent is common to them. Tha'labī, p. 13 ult. sqq. and Ins I, 10 paen. describe the divine throne as being surrounded by a serpent of mythological appearance. This is Tha'labī's description: „Then Allāh surrounded it by a serpent... this serpent wound itself around the throne and the latter reaches to half the height of the serpent which is winding itself around it”³).

¹) אתה רצצת ראשי לוייתן

יום הגדול סבב את העולם כפה של עמוד גדול וכל העולם מוקף על סנפירי לוייתן

²) فَطَرَهُ اللَّهُ بِحَيَّةٍ فَالْتَفَتَ الْحَيَّةُ بِالْعَرْشِ فَالْعَرْشُ إِلَى نَصْفِ الْحَيَّةِ وَهِيَ مَلْقُوءَةٌ بِهِ

One is reminded here of the frequent Greek images of a serpent wound around and ascending above the omphalos (Roscher Omphalos, plate IX, N^o. 6; Roscher, Neue Studien, plate II, n^{os}. 3, 4, 14). Kisā'i completes his description in this way (fol. 6 vo., 14 sqq.): „when this serpent utters the words: Glory to God, its voice overbears the voice of the angels. And when it opens its mouth it encompasses the heavens like a flash of lightning. And if this serpent hat not been inspired to moderate its glorification, all creatures would be thunder stricken at its voice”¹).

This serpent is also found in connection with the throne of Solomon. Targum Ester II, p. 228, 27: „and a silver dragon was on the machinery (of the throne)”²). And Jellinek II, 85, 1 sqq.: „a silver serpent bore the wheel of the throne”³).

In order to complete the description of the Mekkan serpent we have now to review the traditions which mention it on the occasion of the restoration of the sanctuary shortly before the rise of Islām. Azrakī relates how in the times of the Djarhum the treasures of the Ka'ba were stolen (p. 49, 8 sqq.). Thereupon Allāh sent „a serpent which had a black back and a white belly and a head like the head of a he-goat; this serpent guarded the sacred House during five hundred years”⁴). On p. 105, 4 sqq. the author tells us that this serpent reappeared and terrified the Kuraishites when they were beginning to restore the sacred House. At their prayer Allāh sent a bird with a black back, a white belly and yellow paws which snatched up the serpent and bore it to the mountain Adjyād. Of the numerous parallel passages in Azrakī (p. 106, 14; 108, 4; 114, 14; 170, 10) and Kutb al-Dīn (p. 50, 14) it is only that in Azrakī p. 170, 10 which adds a noteworthy feature. The serpent is called here ثعبان „a large serpent” and it has its dwelling-place in the pit of the Ka'ba, where it guards the treasures. But Iḥalabī I, 189, 3 sqq. gives a more complete description of the serpent: „Allāh sent a white serpent with a black head and

وَإِذَا سَبَّحَتْ هَذِهِ الْحَيَّةُ عَلِمْتَ تَسْبِيحَهَا تَسْبِيحَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَإِذَا فَتَحَتْ¹)
فَاجَا التَّقَمَّتِ السَّمَوَاتُ كَالْبَرْقِ وَلَوْ أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْحَيَّةَ أَلْبَسَتْ أَنْ تَقْلُطَ فِي
تَسْبِيحَهَا أَصْعَقَ الْخَلْقَ أَجْمَعِينَ

²) ותנינא דכספא חד במוכנני

³) תנין של כסף היה טוען גלגל של כסף

⁴) حَيَّةٌ سَوْدَاءُ الظَّاهِرِ بَيْضَاءُ الْبَاطِنِ رَأْسُهَا مِثْلُ رَأْسِ الْجَدْيِ فَحَرَسَتْ¹)
الْبَيْتَ خَمْسَ مِائَةِ سَنَةٍ

a black tail and its head was like the head of a he-goat. It had to dwell in this pit in order to guard the objects there. It used to leave its dwellingplace and to appear glittering, viz. it exposed itself to the sun upon the wall of the Ka'ba while its colour assumed a glittering appearance; and often it wound itself on the wall so that its tail approached its head" ¹). On p. 192, 2 sqq. the description is continued thus: „while one day the serpent was on the top of the wall of the Ka'ba, as was its wont, Allāh sent a bird larger than an eagle; this bird snatched up the serpent and cast it on al-Hudjūn where it was swallowed by the earth. Some people say that this is the creature which will speak to mankind on the day of Resurrection. It is also said that the monster will come fourth from the ravine of the mountain Adjyād" ²).

The different features of all these traditions may justify the following remarks concerning the character of the serpent. As the Ocean, it assumed the form of a circle. In the Snorra Edda, chapter 47, the serpent Midgardsormr is represented as surrounding the earth and touching its head with its tail. As the Ocean, the Mekkan serpent is glittering in the sun and as the Ocean it is black and white. As Tehom it is connected with the nether world; for we have seen above that the pit which is its dwelling-place is a symbol of the nether world. It has however not only the natural features of Tehom but also its mythological ones. Just as Tehom in the form of Leviathan, so the Mekkan serpent will reappear at the Resurrection.

There is another, constantly returning characteristic of the serpent, viz. its having the head of a he-goat; of course this also a mythological feature. This quaint representation induces us to ask: are there other descriptions or images of a serpent with the head of he-goat existent in Semitic mythology? The question can be

بعث الله حية بيضاء سوداء الرأس والذنب رأسها كراس الجدى ¹
فاسكنها تلك البئر لحفظ تلك الامتعة وكانت قد تخرج منها الى ظاهر
البيت فتشرق بالقف اى تبرز للشمس على جدار الكعبة فيبصر لونها ورزها
اللقمت عليه فتصير رأسها عند ذنبيها

فبينما هي ذات يوم تشرق على جدار الكعبة كما كانت تصنع بعث ²
الله طائرا اعظم من النسر فاخطفها واتقاه في الحجون فالتقمتها الارض قيل
وهي اندابة التي تكلم الناس يوم القيامة وقد جاء ان اندابة تخرج من
شعب احياد

answered in the affirmative at once. Jensen, p. 80, concludes his remarks on the constellation Caper with these words: „Der Steinbock eröffnet die Iá-Apsu-Region des Himmels. Dem Steinbock entspricht bei den Babyloniern ein Fisch, dessen Kopf durch eine Ziege gebildet wird. Unter solchen Umständen kann es kaum dem Zweifel unterliegen, dass der Ziegenfisch-Steinbock mit Fischschwanz auf Iá hindeutet. Beachte hierzu auch dass der Wendekreis des Steinbocks, der im Altertume die Ekliptik im Steinbock berühre, „Weg in Bezug auf Iá'hiess"!.

On the so-called kudurru's Ea's beast is indeed a fish with a goat's head (cf. Jeremias, Abb. 80 and 81). And in the text of one of the kudurru's as communicated by Steinmetz in the Sachau-Festschrift, p. 62 sqq., the fish with the goat's head is expressly called „the sanctuary of Ea".

Now Ea is the god of Apsu, Tehom; and Leviathan is a fish as well as a serpent. It is evident that the Mekkan serpent is cognate with familiar types of North- and East-Semitic mythology. Finally it is to be noted that the Mekkan serpent in the main part of the traditions is either the *Shekīna*, the divine Presence, or a being sent by Allāh, not a demoniac but a divine being.

If our conclusions as to its significance in connection with the navel, as being cosmic symbols, are right, some familiar facts concerning Jerusalem appear in a new light. Kittel (Der Schlangenstein) has shown it to be probable that the Stone of the Serpent *אבן הוחלת* (1 Kings I, 9) was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Source of the Dragon *עין התנין* (Neh. II, 13) and he has suggested a connection between these data and the worship of the serpent mentioned in 2 Kings XVIII, 4. That the stone and the spring had a peculiar religious importance appears from their names and from the fact that Adoniyah slays victims and presides at a religious meal in the immediate vicinity of the stone and that these ceremonies in this place are considered as the ceremonies which invest him with royal power. After our foregoing research not much imagination is needed in order to combine these elements; the dragon in the spring, the stone of the serpent and the place where the king is inaugurated, seem again to represent: the nether world, the earth, and its government. The navel is the seat of natural and civil order, a symbol of the divine throne, the place where the order of the Universe is regulated.