

# ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY IN JORDAN AND PALESTINE

## A Joint Exhibition in Cologne

by  
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### Section I

On Friday October 2nd, 1987, the Rauten Strauch-Joest Museum of ethnology in Cologne, West Germany, unveiled a landmark in cultural cooperation and exchange between Jordan and West Germany in the form of a joint exhibition "The King's Highway-9000 years of Art and Culture in Jordan and Palestine"<sup>1</sup> and "Secrets and Splendour-Costumes and Jewellery from Jordan and Palestine"<sup>2</sup>.

This cultural event was inaugurated by Her Majesty Queen Noor Al-Hussein and West German First Lady, Baroness Von Weizecker, accompanied by the Minister of Economic Affairs and Development, Mr. Hans Klein, Lord Mayor of Cologne Norbel Burger, and a number of other dignitaries.

The special importance of the joint exhibition lies in the fact that the cultural history of the region was fully represented through both archaeological and ethnographical material.

The idea of the exhibition was originally proposed in 1984 by Professor Elle Johanson, Professor of Ethnology at the University of Cologne who was in Amman to attend a conference. While in Amman, she went to see Mrs. Kawar's collection of costumes and jewellery, and upon returning to West Germany she discussed with the two museum directors, Dr. Gisela Volger and Dr. Karin Von Welck, the possibility of an exhibition. When the directors saw the King's Highway exhibition in Paris<sup>3</sup> they decided on the idea of the joint exhibition in Cologne. Dr. H.

Bartels the German Ambassador in Amman was very helpful in getting this idea to light.

The exhibition, was carried out in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities, the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmouk University in Irbid and the Tourism Authority and was mainly financed by the West German Foreign Ministry and Municipality of Cologne, in coordination with the German Embassy in Amman. Additional expenses were paid for by the Department of Antiquities, Jordan's Tourism Authority and the Royal Jordanian Airlines which covered travel and insurance expenses and the promotion of tourism in Jordan.

### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXHIBITION

#### **The King's Highway-9000 Years of Art and Culture in Jordan and Palestine**

Consisted of more than 400 objects from the Jordanian Museums and the Musée du Louvre in Paris. The title of the exhibition refers to the main artery which crossed the country from "the borders of Syria to the Red Sea". This road, which was known from at least the second millennium B.C., was a symbol of cultural and religious exchange between the different nations in the Near East. It became a pilgrimage route between Syria and the Holy Cities of Arabia after the Muslim Conquest. Thus, the objective of the ex-

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1. See *Der Königs Weg, 9000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur in Jordanien und Palästina*, Köln, 1987.  
2. See *Pracht und Geheimnis, Kleidung und Schmück aus Palästina und Jordanien*, Köln, 1987. Plates in this report were taken from this

catalogue except where indicated.

3. See "La voie royale, 9000 ans d'Art au Royaume de Jordanie," Musée du Luxembourg, Paris, 1986; F. Zayadine *ADAJ* 30 (1986) p. 427.

hibition was to focus on the cultural relations between Jordan and the neighbouring countries through the Archaeological and Historical Ages, by presenting the most recent discoveries. The most remarkable objects in this respect were the two statuettes of 'Ain Ghazal, Zeinah and Uriah, dating back to the Neolithic period (7th. mill. B.C.). They can be paralleled by the plaster head and the human bust from Jericho<sup>4</sup>. The Chalcolithic period (5th-4th mill. B.C.), was illustrated by flint tools, pottery vessels, mace heads and figurines from Tell Abu Hamid, in the central Jordan Valley. The Bab edh-Dhra' cemetery on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea provided the most representative pottery, basalt mortars and metal weapons of the Early Bronze Age. A pottery figurine, representing a woman carrying a jar over her head, is an excellent example of the continuity of traditions in the East. A wooden box, with ivory panels, discovered at Tabaqat Fahl-Pella, in the Jordan Valley and dated to the Middle Bronze Period (16th-15th B.C.) is decorated with two standing lions and stylised architectural elements. It was skillfully restored in the British Museum and represents ancient Oriental art traditions which spread to Mycenaean Greece.

The long Iron Age Periods (12-6th cent. B.C.) provided a varied and beautiful art in pottery and metal objects. A large collection of Ammonite statuettes, including the well known Yerah-'Azar sculpture (end of the 8th cent. B.C.) (Pl. LXXXIII,1) was a good testimony of the skill of artists from Rabbat 'Ammon (Amman), under Assyrian and Phoenician influences. These male and female statuettes are of great interest for the study of the evolution of costumes in Jordan (Pl. LXXXIII,2) (see below). Of interest in this connection are the gold jewellery and necklaces discovered at Tawilan, near Petra, dated by a cuneiform tablet to the Persian Period (Darius I, 521-484 B.C.). A bronze incense

burner carried by a lady and dated to the 6th cent. B.C. shows interesting details of feminine costumes of this period (Pl. LXXXIII, 3).

Nabataean statuary from Petra (1st cent. B.C.-A.D.), also provide good examples of the Hellenistic-Roman dresses in Jordan (Pl. LXXXIV,1). Figurines from Jarash and pottery vessels excavated at the South Gate together with carpenter's tools are very significant for the Roman Imperial civilisation in Jordan.

Of special interest for the study of costumes and traditions in the Byzantine period are the mosaics of Madaba, Jarash and Khirbet es-Samra (Pl. LXXXIV,2).

An Umayyad collection of steatite vessels and a bronze brozaro, decorated with female figures are among the most attractive discoveries from Ifdein-Mafraq, dated to the 8th cent. A.D.

To sum up, "The King's Highway" demonstrated the wealth of the international cultural relations of Jordan.

#### THE ETHNOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION (Pl. LXXXV,1)

#### **Secrets and Splendour - Costumes and Jewellery from Jordan and Palestine.**

The exhibition, organized and set up in cooperation with the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmouk University consisted of a marvellous collection of traditional costumes and jewellery from Jordan and Palestine, collected over a period of 35 years by Mrs. Widad Kamel Kawar<sup>5</sup>. It is by far the largest and the most complete collection of its kind, covering a wide historical and regional range. In the exhibition, 180 fine old costumes and 200 accessories/jewellery items were beautifully and elegantly displayed in three big rooms of the exhibition. They consisted of fabulous old dresses, wedding dresses, women's jackets, coats, pants, girdles, shawls, headdresses and

4. See Kenyon, Kathleen M., *Archaeology in the Holyland*, 1960, Pls. 14B, 15.

5. Mrs. Kavar is a noted collector and lecturer; her

great interest in the subject and her love for her own Palestinian culture had led her to play a major role in preserving part of a unique heritage.

headveils colourfully and richly embroidered with silk threads and a variety of stitches, forming different types of designs, patterns and decorative motifs. Silver necklaces, bracelets, choker necklaces, and amulates in silver, cloves, amber, coral, agate, blue beads, cornealian, stone necklaces; nose rings in silver and gold, rings, and hair pins. (See Section II).

This outstanding collection of traditional costumes and jewellery dates back to the nineteenth century, the first part of this century, the British mandate period (1920-1948) and extends to 1985.

The Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology's museum contributed an ethnographic collection of objects representing scenes of different aspects of daily village life, reflecting the woman's role in traditional life. This collection is the result of much effort and research, with many visits to various villages all over Jordan and is an important contribution to the documentation of traditional life in the country. The collection was presented in a series of scenes, paying attention even to the most minute details with the objects shown in their original settings. The scenes include a village kitchen (Pl. LXXXV,2), that goes back to the first half of this century showing the details of a kitchen in a very realistic way with the shelves, food store *namlieh*, flour, dried salted yogurt *jamid* and a woman sitting in front of the kitchen baking bread. Beside the village kitchen was a textile shop from Irbid showing how even at the present day women from neighbouring villages come to the city to buy fabrics and headveils. A scene of the women in a refugee camp filling water from the only tap in the camp. A scene of a sewing corner in a village-house in Palestine where the woman keeps her sewing machine and implements. The costumes exhibited started as the materials, threads and embroidered pieces displayed in this scene. A scene of a special occasion in human life, from Ma'an, of a woman and her newborn baby, receiving guests who have brought sweets and gifts for the newcomer, in the same tradition the mother and baby figures are shown wearing amulets which are the physical man-

ifestations of traditional beliefs for protection of the wearers during this critical period of their lives, and a scene of two women picnicing in an orange grove in Jaffa after a long working day.

The ethnographic collection also included part of a travelling exhibition of photographs depicting rural landscapes of Jordan and its traditional architectural environments. A wholistic impression was achieved by presenting living environments starting with landscapes, then zooming into long shots of village streets and courtyards, doorways and windows, interiors of houses and the way they were used as well as portraits of the inhabitants. These photographs document the essential aspects of traditional village life in Jordan and also gave the background to the costumes and jewellery exhibition, depicting the villages from which the costumes came. The photographs were taken and selected by Mr. 'Ammar Khamash, a graduate student in the Anthropology Department at Yarmouk University. Both outstanding collections were being shown for the first time with the archaeological exhibition.

The "Secret and Splendour" exhibition represented the richness of the national heritage and the deep rooted culture and traditional life of the Palestinian and Jordanian village woman.

A series of lectures on the historical and archaeological periods was organised during the days of the exhibition by the scholars who contributed to the exhibition. The effort of the Director General of the Department of Antiquities Dr. Adnan Hadidi, the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of Yarmouk University and the dedication of Mrs. Kawar to promote the archaeological and the ethnographical heritage of Jordan and Palestine by establishing cooperation with the main scientific institutions in the world is a unique effort.

The Department of Antiquities was represented by Dr. Fawzi Zayadine, Yarmouk University was represented by Dr. Mo'awiyah Ibrahim, Director of the Institute, Dr. Birgirt Mershen, Curator of the Museum and Mr. 'Ammar Khamash. The

Rauten-Strauch-Joest Museum was represented by its directors Dr. Giscla Volger and Dr. Karin Von Welch.

The exhibitions "The Kings Highway" and "Splendour and Mystery", which are the result of the combined efforts of German and Jordanian teams aroused considerable interest among the German

public. The exhibitions were on display at Routen Strauch-Joest Museum until March 1988. The ethnographic exhibition then travelled to Paris and will be displayed at the Institute du Monde Arabe on October 17th, 1988, while the archaeological exhibition was at the Schloss Schallaburg near Vienna in May 1988.

## Section II

### TRADITIONAL JORDANIAN AND PALESTINIAN COSTUMES, EMBROIDERY AND JEWELLERY

The following is a description of samples of traditional Palestinian and Jordanian costumes, embroidery and jewellery, presented with reference to the exhibit in order to introduce the reader to this rich heritage which has been gaining increasing interest over the past years.

#### Palestinian Costumes

Palestinian costumes are an integral part of traditional Middle Eastern culture, a folk heritage. The outstanding impression of traditional dress in Palestine is the richness of its diversity. It was usual to speak of a dress as if it belonged to one village, but in actual fact it would be the dress of a whole area.

In the exhibition, the dresses were divided into numbers of regions according to style such as: Galilee area, Bethlehem and Jerusalem area, Ramallah area, Hebron Hills, Hebron plains, Jaffa area, Nablus and Tulkarem, Bi'r es-Sab' and Gaza area (see Fig. 1).

The designs, patterns and the distribution of the patterns on the dress were as varied as the number of areas and follow traditions passed down from one generation to the next. One can tell the origin of the wearer by the fabric, threads, stitches, designs, patterns, motifs and placement of embroidery. The stitches most frequently

used are cross-stitch and couch stitch (known in Arabic as *rashiq tahriiri* (رشق تحريري) in silk and gilt cords. Other stitches used are: applique, running stitch, fish-bone stitch, stem stitch, flat stitch and chain stitch. These stitches formed very distinctive motifs and patterns which vary from area to area and from village to village<sup>6</sup>, for example: the palm motif (*nakhleh* نخلة) moon of Ramallah (*qamar Ramallah* قمر رام الله), Cypress tree (*sarou* سرو), flower pot (*quwar* قوار), eye of the cow (*'ain el-baqqara* عين البقرة), amulet (*hijab* حجاب), S. shaped design "Leech" (*'aleq* غُليق), grass hopper design (*jundub* جندب), watches design (*sawa'i* سواعي), heart design (*qalb* قلب). All these designs, motifs and others were attached to or placed on different kinds of material such as Indigo blue handwoven linen, undyed handwoven linen known as (*rumi* رومي) or (*breem* بريم) used by women of Beit Dajan and Ramallah, coloured silk material (*heremzy* هرمزي) and red and yellow striped silk (*atlas* أطلس), used for trimming the sleeves, sides panels and yoke as a secondary piece on the dress. Indigo blue handwoven cotton, black cotton sateen material (*malaş* ملس), worn by women in southern Palestine and southern Jordan, silk material (*ghabani* غاباني), worn by women in the Jerusalem area, handwoven silk and linen in stripes called "Queenly"

6. For more details on the characteristic stitches and motifs, see Stillman, Yedida K. *Palestinian Cos-*

*tume and Jewellery*. Museum of New Mexico, 1979, p. 104-112.



or "Royal" (*malak* ملك), worn by women in Bethlehem; cotton and linen material in white as the background of the dress, with red and green stripes, called (*janna wa nar* جنة ونار), literally "heaven and hell" worn by women in Nablus, indigo and mauve handwoven cotton material (*abu meetan* أبو ميتين) "father of the two hundred", worn by women in the Ashdod-Gaza area; carmasote material similar to heavy silk and cotton, worn by brides around Lydd and Ramleh.

Although many of the finer and more intricately woven textiles used in Palestine during the nineteenth century and the first part of this century were made in Syria by the weavers of Aleppo, Homs, Hama, and Damascus, many of the materials for men's and women's costumes and other artifacts of domestic use were woven locally. The main weaving towns of Palestine were Şafad, Nazareth, Nablus in northern Palestine, Ramallah and Bethlehem in central Palestine, Beit-Jala, Hebron, Gaza and Majdal in southern Palestine. The type of loom was almost always the treadle loom. The vertical loom was less common and both looms were used primarily in towns by men who were weavers by profession.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, most of the fibres like cotton and flax were imported from Egypt in the raw state or as yarn. Most of the silk, used sparingly for weaving and lavishly for embroidery, was imported ready spun and dyed from Syria which was the centre of silk manufacture in the area. Textile production in Palestine was a flourishing industry, until the last part of the nineteenth century when European textiles began to flood the markets (Wier, 1970A).

Embroidery has been a long standing tradition, and differs from area to area, from village to village. These differences were in patterns, stitches, colour, use of fabric and distribution of the patterns on the costumes. Embroidery was done in villages which were relatively prosperous as well as in villages where there is little work because of the infertility of the land. In the villages around Jenin, Nablus and Tulkarm the costumes had very little embroidery, the women were expected to

help their husbands in the fields with the weeding and harvesting. They also engaged in a wide range of chores which included drawing water from the well (a favourite spot for socializing), collecting bushes for firewood, grinding grain for flour, baking bread, drying and cooking their fruit for winter, helping their husbands in cooking their own soap from olive oil, caring for their children.

The embroidery of Bethlehem is very outstanding and its influence spread over the whole of southern Palestine. Before the British Mandate, the Bethlehem "Queenly" or "Royal" dress (*malak* ملك) and waist-length jacket (*taqsireh* تقصيرة) were the most important part of the wedding trousseau in all the villages around Bethlehem and Jerusalem. During the British Mandate the fame of Bethlehem couching called *rashiq tahriri* spread all over southern Palestine. The Bethlehem wedding dress was worn by women in many central and southern Palestinian villages at their weddings, and was always one of the dresses contributed by the bridegroom to the bridal trousseau.

Bethlehem dresses are distinguished by their fabrics: the "Queenly" or "Royal" fabric (*thob malak* - also the name of the dress made from it). The fabric was made of a combination of handwoven, indigo linen weft with warp stripes of red, orange, and green silk. The center, front, and back were solid cotton in black or indigo. Another type of fabric is the *thob Ikhḍari* or *thob khaḍari* ("green fabric" or "green dress") in which green replaces blue as the principal color. The third fabric is the *thob malak abu warda* or "flowered royal fabric". It is similar to the *malak* but has a design of small red flowers in the stripe. The back hem panel of the dress (*diyal* ديال) is brocaded with metallic thread, (*qaṣab* قصب) and is called (*muqaṣṣab* مقصب).

The dress is a one piece dress (Pl. LXXXVI,1) worn with a belt (*zunar* زنار) made of silk called "seven kings" (سبع ملوك). Embroidery appears on the chest panel (*qabbeh* قبة), side panels (*banayeq* بنایق), and sleeves (*sawa'id* سواعد) in silk and gilt cords of orange,

mauve and green colours, imported from Syria. The main pattern which can be seen on the chest panel consists mainly of the heart motif and the key in the middle, leaf design, and other curvilinear motifs. The frames of the *qabbeh* are often separated by a band of fish-bone stitching called (*sabaleh* سبلة). A typical Bethlehem motif is the “grass hopper” (*jundub* جندب) which often appears above the *qabbeh* and on the sleeves and side panels. The flower pots (*quwar* قوار) and the “tree of life” motifs (شجرة الحياة) appear on the side and sleeve panels and are done on overlapping layers of coloured silk appliques *heremzy*.

The waist-length jacket (*taqşirah* تقصيرة) (Pl. LXXXVI,2) of velvet or broad cloth with short sleeves is worn over the dress. Embroidery appears on the jacket in the same thread used for the dress. The jacket was worn for weddings and festive occasions not only by Bethlehem women but also by Jerusalem and Ramallah women.

In Jerusalem and its vicinity such as: Lifta, Şur Baher, el ‘Azarieh, ‘Ain Karem and Malḥa, the dress is a one piece dress and embroidery appears on silk applique *heremzy*. The material used for the dress (Pl. LXXXVI,3) is called (*‘uthmani* عثمانى) of silk and cotton fabric. The embroidery is worked in Bethlehem couched on overlapping layers of different coloured silk. It appears on the chest panel, side panels and sleeves. The main design of embroidery is the heart, the four sections corresponding to the four chambers of the heart, and appears on the chest panel. The watches motifs called locally (*sawa‘i* سواعي) and the grasshopper appear on the sleeves and the side panels of the dress. The dress of ‘Ain Karem is similar to the Bethlehem dress in its general cut, but is made of black cotton sateen or velvet.

There were other dresses on display worn by the women of the Jerusalem area, such as “the stitched dress”, (*thob abu quṭbeh* ثوب أبوقطبة) made of handwoven pieces, seamed together to form vertical stripes with cretan stitching of silk thread.

Also, (*thob roza* ثوب روزا), (*thob asawri* ثوب أساوري) of silk and cotton, handwoven in Homs, (*thob ghabani* ثوب غاباني) of silk

fabric, handwoven in Aleppo. This particular dress is a wedding dress and very popular in Malḥa and Lifta.

In Ramallah and the surrounding area, the dress is a one piece dress (Pl. LXXXVI,4) worn with an *aṭlas* belt called (*shdad* شداد) or (*ḥizam* حزام) of red colour with yellow strips. The material of the dress is undyed handwoven linen known as (*rumi abyad* رومي أبيض) a colour for summer and festive occasions or handwoven linen known as (*rumi aswad* رومي أسود) a colour for winter. The embroidery is cross stitch, double-sided cross stitch and stem stitch mainly in red silks with a little green and mauve appearing on the chest panel, side panels and sleeves, and also on the lower part of the back of the skirt. Embroidery on the chest panel appears in a V-shaped pattern below the neck opening called the “arch” (*qoss* قوس) in Ramallah and usually “necklaces” (*qalayed* قلايد) in other places such as the region of Bir Zait, ‘Aboud and Jifna. The pointed stars around the V-shaped designs are called “moon of Ramallah”. The main motif is the “palm” and it can be seen on the lower part of the back. The “palm” design is the most common, distinctive feature of the embroidery of Ramallah and is often worked in a doublesided cross stitch.

Beit Dajan/Jaffa area, central coastal plain, was a center for weaving and embroidery and exerted its influence on the fashions of many other villages and towns. The oldest women’s costume is a long coat with short sleeves richly embroidered called (*jillayeh* جلاية) worn over a white chemise (*qamiş* قميص) and long embroidered pants (*elbas* الباس) or (*sirwal* سروال).

The *jillayeh* (Pl. LXXXVII,1) is made of handwoven indigo blue linen, the slit in the front of the skirt is bordered with applique panels of purple, yellow green silk *heremzy*, the yoke material is silk *aṭlas*. The embroidery is mainly in cross stitch with stem stitch and satin stitch. The sides of the skirt are covered with two triangles divided by a striped bar which is called an “amulet” and inverted “cypress”, typical motifs of this region. The chest

panel is also bordered on three sides by inverted cypresses. The sleeves are short. This type of dress was the most important item in the girl's trousseau<sup>7</sup> until it went out of fashion early in the British Mandate.

The Beit Dajan dress (Pl. LXXXVII,2) is a one piece dress of undyed handwoven linen (*breem* بریم) or indigo blue handwoven linen. The yoke (*radha* ردة) is made of velvet or *atlas* and embroidered in *rashiq tahriri* in gilt and silk cords. Most of the embroidery is in cross stitch appearing on the chest panel, side and back panels. The distinctive motif is formed by two triangles divided by a striped bar which is called an "amulet". It is always combined with inverted cypresses motifs, with orange blossom branch motifs. The embroidery of the chest panel itself is usually similar to the embroidery of the Hebron area and is common throughout much of southern Palestine. The sleeves are either wing or short sleeves, richly embroidered and have appliques of *heremzy* material embroidered in *rashiq tahriri* in gilt and silk cords. The motif of the tree of life and rose branch are typical of Beit Dajan couching which was brought to Beit Dajan by a Bethlehem woman while visiting her orange grove in Beit Dajan.

The Bi'r es-Sab' and Gaza area had relatively few settlements but large Bedouin populations well into this century. (Pl. LXXXVIII,1) is an example of a Bi'r es-Sab' costume. The dress is called (*thob abu irdan* ثوب أبوردان) or (*khalafa* خليفة), of black cotton sateen, very intricately and richly embroidered in multi-coloured silk threads. The dress is a one piece dress which has very wide long sleeves. The embroidery appears in cross stitch. Both the chest panel and the back panel consist entirely of typical bedouin geometric patterns such as squares and triangles. The lower front skirt has several rows of *saru* "cypress" and triangular "tents" (*khiyam el-basha* خيام الباشا) motifs. Some machine embroidery has been added to the sleeves. The dress is worn with a wide handwoven

girdle, called (*muqawat* مقوط) of dried goat hair in ivory and black colours in horizontal stripes. This girdle which is an outstanding feature of the dress is wound around the waist several times and supports numerous tassels and strips of woven multi colored wool and goat hair bands on which are attached several beads of many colours, sea shells, Ottoman coins and white buttons. The headwear is called (*wuqah* وقاه) a small red and black woven cap which supports more tassels and various combinations of sea shells and Ottoman coin. On top of the cap is worn a cover called (*abayeh* عباية), a black cloth, the edges of which are richly embroidered. This *abayeh* covers the shoulders and back and reaches below the knees. The distinctive features of the Bi'r es-Sab' woman are the face veil (*burqo* برقع) and the nosering (*shnaf* شناف).

### Trousseau

A bride's trousseau (*jihaz* جهاز) consisted of jewellery, coins and the clothes contributed by the groom (*kisweh* كسوة). In addition, there were items made and embroidered by the bride during the months or years preceding her marriage as her own contribution to her trousseau and paid for by the girl's father usually before her marriage was arranged.

In the exhibition several items complementing the trousseau were on display with a background of old photographs showing figures posing with dignity giving the viewers a connection to the past. These items are: A number of cushion covers (*mikhaddeh* مخدة) or (*wisada* وسادة), (Pl. LXXXVIII,2) decorated with silk material *heremzy* patchwork, richly embroidered. A bride makes up to twelve embroidered cushions for her new home. Kohl bottles (*mukhleh* مكحلة) (Pl. LXXXIX,1) vessels for eyeliner, padded and covered with embroidery and hung on the wall of the bride's room. Tobacco pouch, (Pl. LXXXIX,2) (*kees titin* كيس تين) or (*kees tumbak* كيس تمباك), this

7. For more details about the wedding costumes in Beit Dajan, see Wier, Shelagh and Kawar,

Widad "Costumes and Wedding Customs in Beit Dajan", *PEQ* (1975), p. 42.



small fully embroidered piece was often a gift of the bride to the groom. Tasselled and embroidered handkerchief (*maḥramet el-'arees* محرمة العريس) (Pl. LXXXIX,3) is made by the bride for her groom to dance with on the wedding night. The trousseau also includes a headdress made by the bride. The headdresses varied in shape, materials and embroidery from one part of the country to another, and the way in which the coins were attached was also dictated by the fashion of each region: On display were several examples:

(*Wuqah* وقاة) (Pl. LXXXIX,4) worn by married women in Ramallah is a roundish embroidered bonnet to which is stitched a padded, stiffened, but flexible half moon, with two long bands (*lafayef* لفائف) attached at the back, rolled into a bundle at the nape of the neck, a row of silver or gold Ottoman coins is sewn on the top on the inside, like a fringe called (*shakka* شكة). A big row of Maria Theresa silver coins is sewn to the bonnet at the back of the head to balance the coins over the face. The *wuqah* is held in place by a silver chin chain (*zraq* زناق).

(*Shaṭweh* شطوة) dowry hat (Pl. XC,1) worn by women in Bethlehem and in the nearby villages of Beit Jala and Beit Saḥur (Stillman p. 37), is a kind of *ṭarbush*. It varies in height according to the taste of the wearer, but in most cases it is six inches high. The *shaṭweh* is heavily decorated. These decorations take the form of four or five rows of gold or silver coins sewn across the front of the *shaṭweh*. The *shaṭweh* is held in place by a silver chin chain called (*zraq sab' arouah* زناق سبع أرواح) literally "the chin chain of the seven souls."

(*'Araqiyyeh bi zanbo* عراقية بزنبوع) married women's hat (Pl. XC,2), worn by women in the Hebron area, is a roundish embroidered cap decorated with silver Ottoman coins. It has two long embroidered bands (*lafayef* لفائف) attached at the back to be wrapped around the woman's hair. The *'araqiyeh* is held in place by a silver chin chain (*zraq* زناق) which has two Maria Theresa coins attached to it.

(*Ghudfeh* غدفة) (Pl. XC,3) is one of two distinctive headveils of white linen worn by married women in the Hebron

area. It is richly embroidered and has a thick silk fringe at one end. Most *ghudfehs* were embroidered in cross stitch with red being the predominant colour.

(*Shanbar* شنبر) (Pl. XC,4) is the second type of head veil worn by married women in the Hebron area, usually of black silk richly embroidered at one end for about one-third of its length. Hand-made silk tassels in red are attached at the embroidered end.

(*Khirqā* خرقا) is a headveil of natural or bleached handwoven linen worn by married women of Ramallah, much of the surface is adorned with the kind of embroidery found on the Ramallah dress. A silk fringe is attached at one end of the *khirqā*. The *khirqā* is worn over the headdress (*wuqah* وقاة) which is similar to the headdress of Beit Dajan in shape and decoration, but the embroidery is different.

(*Qurs* قرص) (Pl. XCI,1), is a marriage cap, worn by women in Jerusalem. A cross-stitch embroidered cap adorned with Ottoman coins. The *qurs* is held in place by a silver chin chain *zraq* and a black cord.

(*Burqo* برقع) "face veil", worn by bedouin women of Bi'r es-Sab' and Khan Yunis. The face veil consists of embroidered headband, sometimes decorated with coral and silver pieces mainly in the center. A piece of silk cloth that forms the face cover is suspended from the center of the headband and has a row of Ottoman coins lining the edge of the veil. From the sides hang silver strings with coins dangling from them.

It should be noted here that the headdress is usually very heavy. The Palestinian women are so used to its weight that when they take it off they suffer from severe headaches.

### Traditional Jordanian Costumes

Jordanian dresses were also divided into a number of regions according to style: Irbid-northern Jordan, es-Salt - central Jordan, el-Karak - southern Jordan, Ma'an - southern Jordan and esh-Shuna - Jordan Valley (see Fig. 1). The traditional costumes of the bedouin women in Jordan are

loose fitting, the material is usually black glossy (*tubait* توبيت) with appliques of red, green and orange *heremzy* which appears usually on the collar, or blue cotton applique called "chinese" (صيني) used by women in northern and central Jordan. Other types of material are black cotton sateen for the dress, blue cotton applique for the hem. Brocade silk in green and wine colors made in Syria and *atlas* "seven kings", "comb" or "egg plant" are types used by women in Southern Jordan.

Clothing indicates the tribe or locality from which a woman comes. Until about forty years ago, the bedouin women of Jordan, especially the older women of es-Salt and Abu 'Alanda (Pl. XCI,2), wore an extra-ordinary dress of enormous proportions. The embroidery is in a zig-zag pattern around the neck opening and the hem in silk threads of many colours. It is often called the "double dress" (*thob 'ob* ثوب عب) or (*khalaqa* خلفقة). It is three metres long and has long pointed (wing) sleeves, called (*irdan* اردان) up to two metres in length. The excess fabric is pulled up looped underneath by a waistline girdle (*shwehiyeh* شويحية) of plated woolen material and falls in a baggy fold. This fold is called the ('*ob* عب). The sleeves serve as a veil, thrown over the head and secured by a red or purple silk headband ('*asbeh* عصبة) or (*hatṭa* حطة) which has silver or gold Ottoman coins around the forehead.

The bedouin women in northern Jordan wore a dress of normal size called (*shursh* شرش) or (*madraqa* مدرقة). It is a very loose fitting dress with a low narrow V-shaped neckline. The embroidery on the dress of northern Jordan varies in its richness, some dresses especially the wedding ones are richly embroidered. The sleeves get narrower towards the cuffs and have stripes of embroidery. The head is covered with a black crepe veil (*milfa'* ملفع) which covers the head and is inserted inside the collar to cover the neck and chest. On top of the *milfa'* is worn the ('*urjah* عرجة) which is decorated at the front with two rows of silver coins underneath which are blue beads in the shape of amulets. From the back of the '*urjah* hangs

the (*safifeh* سفيفة) which is a fringed accessory made of pure silk threads each bundle of which is supported by a gold ball-shaped coil of gilt cord. Over the *safifeh* is worn a black or purple silk headband called '*asbeh* or *hatṭa* with metal thread brocade and silver Ottoman coins round the forehead.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the dress was made from blue machine-woven cotton, but later black cotton became the fashion (Weir 1976). The bedouin women of Jordan no longer wear the *thob 'ob* but prefer dresses of normal size in sateen, usually in black, of synthetic fabrics. In winter a jacket called (*jubbeh* جبّة) of black velvet, green or blue cotton with gold thread or black cotton cord embroidery, is worn over the dress by the women in southern Jordan.

The Jordanian dresses are embroidered with silk threads and a few stitches such as *ragmah* stitch, *ibreh bint ibreh* "needle, daughter of the needle" stitch *nather er-ruz* "rice scatter" stitch which combines stem stitch, wave stitch and back stitch, zig-zag pattern, in silk threads of many colours and in couched stitch and stem stitch, *minjal* "sickle" stitch and also fish bone stitch *sabaleh*. The Jordanian women follow their own special patterns such as "seven eggs in pan", amulets, coffee seeds, comb design and fish ribs design.

Ma'an costumes of southern Jordan (Pl. XCI,3) and 'Adwan costumes of esh-Shuna - Jordan Valley deserve special mention, as they differ in both material and embroidery. The fabric of the Ma'ani dress is brocade silk in green and wine colours made in Syria. A loose fitting dress, the collar is a slit reaching from the neck to the chest and is encircled with a narrow panel of *atlas*. The sleeves *irdan* are very wide and are attached to the dress with a plain green silk applique. The right sleeve is larger than the left in order to cover the head. This dress is an expensive dress worn by the wives of skeikhs especially during the pilgrimage season. Over this dress is usually worn a coat (*kiber* كبر) of *atlas* "egg plant" pattern with red as the predominant colour. The *kiber* covers the head, shoulders and back. The

headwear is a dark turban-like 'aşbeh over which is worn the (صفه *saffa*) by brides, a wide piece of cloth to which are attached many rows of silver and gold Turkish coins as well as two tassels, one on each side of the neck. The Ma'ani woman usually wears a long plaited silk cord that reaches from the right side of the neck to the left side of the knee. It ends with thick bundles of tassels, tied with ball shaped gilt cords, with which she ties her keys.

The fabric of the 'Adwan dress (Pl. XCI,4) is black cotton sateen for the costume, blue silk and cotton applique for the hem. The costume is called (*khalaqa* خلفة) a very long dress made of 20 yards of cloth, adjusted to the height of the women by a goat-hair hand-woven girdle from which very colourful tassels hang. It is called (*shuweiḥieh* شويحية) or (*safifeh* سفيفة). Thus a layer of the dress is folded above this girdle and reaches the ankles. This layer carries the main embroidery of the dress in vertical lines of *nather er-ruz* stitch, worked in stem stitch, wave stitch and back stitch. It also appears around the collar and around the blue appliques located in two rows all round the hem of the dress. The sleeves are very long and tent-shaped, and may be tied at the back of the neck while the woman is working. They have no embroidery.

The head wear is a black crepe (*milfa* ملفع) worn on the head and covers the lower part of the face, the neck and the chest. Above this is worn a black silk or cotton cloth printed in colourful floral design, worn turban-like called (*aşbeh* عصبه).

#### TRADITIONAL ACCESSORIES/ JEWELLERY

More than 200 accessories were on display at the exhibition. Part of these accessories was a great variety of jewellery, showing the class distinction of the village, town or tribe. The bride proudly wears her jewellery. The jewellery is either part of the bride price "dowry" (*maher* مهر) paid by the groom to her father, or is bought for her by her father after the bride payment had been made. Her jewellery is entirely

her own property. Jewellery extended beyond adornment, wealth, and status symbol. Certain pieces of jewellery are thought to have protective and beneficial effects on the wearer. Particularly popular among bedouin women is jewellery which combines talismanic with decorative functions. In the form of amulets they had the prophylactic function of protecting the wearer from the omnipresent dangers of the evil eye. From the time a Palestinian or Jordanian child is born, it wears some amulet for protection. Most of the jewellery is silver with some gold pieces, beads and stones.

In small, very carefully lit showcases, one could see a variety of silver ornaments worn by both bedouin and village women in Jordan and Palestine up to forty years ago. Examples were: The distinctive fish-shaped amulet in pure silver, known in Arabic as (*samakeh* سمكة) with niello decoration and five pendent Ottoman coins. The fish is an ancient Mediterranean symbol of life and fecundity. The cylindrical silver amulet (*khiyarah* خياره) literally "cucumber", is hollow and contains a scroll with religious writing. The flat pear-shaped silver pendant (*maskeh* ماسكة) "that which holds or grasps" and therefore protect, with niello decoration, has in the center a crescent and five pointed star which were not only Ottoman symbols, but also ancient prophylactic symbol against the evil eye. Another type of *maskeh* is the disc-shaped amulet, which has an inscription in the centre reading *ma sha' a'llah* "what God wills". This phrase was used in many Middle Eastern countries in order to negate evil powers or envy. The clove necklace (*qladat quronful* قلاذات قرنفل) (Pl. XCII,1), was popular with married peasant and bedouin women in Palestine and Jordan. The reason is probably due to its pleasant odor. The silver chain with silver coins called (*jinad* جناد) is worn starting from the right shoulder and ending on the left hip worn by bedouin women in Jordan. Necklaces of amber beads have been popular among the bedouins for a long time, (*anbar* عنبر) (Pl. XCII,2) is believed to have prophylactic powers against the evil eye. It was also worn because of its

incense-like smell in hot weather. The agate beads are believed beneficial for health. The forehead ornament (Pl. XCII,3), with silver hand-shaped "hand of Fatima" (*kaffa* كفه) or (*khamasiyat* خماسيات) ornaments and beads are suspended by semi-settled bedouin women of the Jordan Valley area and Bethlehem area ('Arab et-Ta'amreh) to ward off the Evil Eye or power. The choker necklace (*kirdan* كردان) (Pl. XCIII,1) of cotton cloth strip and thirty narrow silver bars called "fingers" ('*asabe* أصابع) or "frogs" (*dafade* ضفادع) arranged vertically one next to the other, has hanging from each bar chain links in floral and inverted teardrop and crescent patterns with small Ottoman coins (*barat* بارات). Several choker necklaces one of blue beads alternating with tubular pieces of silver called (*sh'ariyyeh* شعيرية) (Pl. XCIII,2) was popular throughout the Hebron region. The thin, rectangular silver container with niello decoration (*hijab* حجاب) has sand-cast crescent and silver ornaments as pendants. These beautiful cases often contained a folded piece of paper with a religious inscription. This *hijab* was normally suspended from a delicate silver chain. A variety of silver and gold nose rings (*shnaf* شناف) (Pl. XCIII,3) are worn by bedouin women of Bi'r es-Sab' and Khan Yunis in their nostrils, the *shnaf* is often decorated with beads and coral, the lower part consisting of pyramid or star shaped pieces with Ottoman coin dangling from it. The fashions in *znaq*, one of the most common styles of chin chains, was used throughout central Palestine to keep the various head-dresses firmly on the head. The *znaq* (Pl. XCIII,4) consists of a double chain of round figure-eight links of silver, with a small-shaped filigree pendant to which is attached a Maria Theresa coin. Shown were also items of rings in different shapes and styles in silver and gold, several items of

hair pins, used to gather hair, some of them in silver with inlaid enamel in different designs, copied from Circassians in Transjordan.

Silversmiths of Palestine and Jordan used different techniques<sup>8</sup> for working and decorating silver ornaments, such as: hammering (*tarq* طرق), repousse (*darb shakush* ضرب شاكوش), filigree (*mashabak* مشبك), granulation (*habbiyat* حبيبات), sand-casting (*sakb* سكب), chain-making (*sinsal* سنسال). Later, jewellery decorated with black enamel "niello" (*mhabbar* محبر) became very popular. This technique was attributed to the Circassian and Armenian silversmiths who settled in Transjordan since the late nineteenth century.

The jewellery styles have been subjected to many influences. Jewellery was often brought back from the Hajj and imported by Christian and Muslim pilgrims. Many of the Silversmiths working in Jordan and Palestine early this century were from other areas: Syria, Hejaz, Armenia, Circassia and Yemen.

In the late 1930s, silver jewellery began to go out of fashion and was replaced by gold. The reason for this change is the development of a new outlook concerning the social and economic status of jewellery.

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8. See Wier, Shelagh, *The Bedouin*, London, The British Museum, 1976 p.66

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