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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEANING OF KORANIC *ḤANĪF*

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The concept of the *ḥanīf* as the follower of the religion of Abraham and spiritual precursor of Muhammad is one which has great importance for the understanding of the origins of Islam, since it is one of the fundamental characteristics of that faith. Yet from all the discussion and polemic to which this problem has given birth little of a very constructive and enlightening character has resulted. The various schools of thought regarding the *ḥanīfs* may be roughly grouped into the following categories: 1) They were either a Christian or a Jewish sect;[1] 2) They were not a sect and had no specific cult;[2] 3) They represented an Arabian movement under Christian or Jewish influence;[3] 4) They represented

[1] A. SPRENGER, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1869), I, pp. 43, 67–9; III, pp. 8–9; L. CHEIKHO, *Le Christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam, pt.* I (Beirut, 1912), pp. 118–9; J. HOROVITZ, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), pp. 56–9; A. VON KREMER, „Über die Gedichte des Labyd," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Cl., XCVIII (Vienna, 1881), p. 577.

[2] J. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1897), pp. 238–40; HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran* (London, 1902), p. 26; T. NÖLDEKE in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLI (1887), p. 721; H. LAMMENS, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire* (Beirut 1928), p. 7.

[3] L. CAETANI, *Annali dell'Islam*, I (Milan, 1905), pp. 183–6; NÖLDEKE-SCHWALLY, *Geschichte des Qorans*, 2nd ed. I (Leipzig, 1909), p. 8; C. HUART, *Histoire des Arabes*, I (Paris, 1912), pp. 84, 102; R. NICHOLSON, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1930), pp. 149–50; C. H. BECKER, *Islamstudien*, I (Leipzig, 1924), p. 347; MARGARET SMITH, *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East* (London, 1931 p. 153; A. VON KREMER, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 5; F. BUHL, art. "Ḥanīf," *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*; D. B. MACDONALD *Development of Muslim Theology*

an independent Arabian movement;[4] 5) They were closely connected with the Ṣābians.[5] The last-mentioned writers represent a tendency, on the whole in the right direction, to stress the rôle of Hellenism and gnosticism in pre-Islamic Arabia and their possible rapport with the *ḥanīf* movement.

One of the principal difficulties to be met and overcome is that of the immediate derivation of the word *ḥanīf* itself and the solution of the problem presented by its apparently contradictory meaning in Koranic Arabic on the one hand, and in the remaining Semitic languages on the other.[6] To resolve this difficulty it is plain that a careful study must be made of the semantics of the word in Arabic literature, and secondly the corresponding usages in Aramaic, Greek and other important cultural languages of the environment of early Islam must be carefully taken into account.

It is generally recognized that the problem of establishing the authenticity of what passes as "pre-Islamic" poetry is an old *bête noire* in Arabic studies, owing to the unscrupulous fabrication

Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory (New Haven, 1903), p. 125; R. DOZY, *Het Islamisme* (Haarlem, 1863), pp. 10—11; tr. V. CHAUVIN as *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme* (Leiden and Paris, 1879), pp. 16—17.

[4] H. GRIMME, *Mohammed*, I (Münster, 1892), pp. 12–14; II (1895), pp. 59–60; O. PAUTZ, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 14–15; D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, "On the Origin and Import of the Names Muslim and Ḥanīf," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, NS, XXXV (1903), pp. 470, 478 ff.; C. J. LYALL, "The Words 'Ḥanīf' and 'Muslim.'" *JRAS*, NS, XXXV (1903), p. 773 ff.; RICHARD BELL, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London, 1926), p. 57 ff., 132; H. LAMMENS, *L'Islam, croyances et institutions* (Beirut, 1926), p. 28; W. St. CLAIR-TISDALL, *The Original Sources of the Qur'ān* (London, 1911), pp. 272—3; J. FÜCK in *ZDMG*, XC (1936), p. 516 ff.

[5] TOR ANDRAE, *Mohammed*, tr. T. MENZEL (New York, 1936), pp. 150–5; J. PEDERSEN, "The Ṣābians," *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 387–91.

[6] The apparent impossibility of answering this question led the following to give it up entirely: LYALL (*op. cit.*), NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Straßburg, 1910), pp. 30, 35; JOSEPH SCHACHT, *Der Islam* (Tübingen, 1931), pp. 187—8; A. MINGANA, "Syriac Influence on the Style of the Qur'ān," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, II, No. 1 (1927), p. 23; F. BUHL, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, tr. H. SCHAEDER (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 68–71. LAMMENS (*Bulletin*, p. 196) persisted in the hardy opinion that the sense of Ar. *ḥanīf* had been deliberately perverted from its original Aramaic meaning of "heathen" by Muḥammad.

which went on in the early centuries after the Hijrah. Still, from the use of *ḥanīf* in what may be regarded as the least suspicious of this literature, it becomes evident that this term was not synonymous with Christian, and certainly does not mean Jew, Magian or Ṣābian, for we may be permitted to infer from the use of these terms in the Koran that they indicate entities which are quite distinct from the *ḥanīf*.

If, for example, the dying Christian Bisṭām says to his brother, "I will become a *ḥanīf* if thou turnest back [to aid me]," [7] he is obviously threatening to become something which must be regarded as the very antithesis of a Christian; perhaps it implies also that he had been a *ḥanīf* before he became a Christian. It is indeed a fact that even early Islamic verses show the same distinct tendency to use this word in opposition to Christian. Thus dhu-al-Rummah [8] says,

When the shadow of eventide draws nigh, I see it [the chameleon]
To be a *ḥanīf*; but at the time of morn it becomes a Christian.

Abu-al-Akhzar al-Ḥimāni: [9]

Both of them [the camels] knelt and bowed their heads
As a Christian women, not a *ḥanīf*, bows in prayer.

The reference to not bowing in prayer naturally precludes the possibility that *ḥanīf* here might mean Muslim. Similarly, we have from Ẓālim ibn-al-Barāʾ al-Fuqaymi, [10]

At eventide he is a *ḥanīf*, but in the morning
He prays like the Christians and fasts.

From Jarīr: [11]

You oppose bitterness, O house of Dirham,
As the Christian opposes the creed of him who becomes a *ḥanīf*.

The impression given by this last verse in that the opposition be-

[7] Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright (Leipzig, 1864), p. 131; cf. Ibn-ʿAbd-Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1302), III, pp. 90–1.

[8] *Al-Shiʿr w-al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. M. J. DE GOEJE (Leiden, 1902), p. 338.

[9] *Lisān al-ʿArab*, VII (Būlāq, 1301), p. 68.

[10] *Al-Shiʿr w-al-Shuʿarāʾ*, p. 338.

[11] *Dīwān* (Cairo, 1313), II, p. 10. HOROVITZ (*op. cit.*, p. 58) has read حلاف for خلاف, thus turning the meaning completely around.

tween Christian and *ḥanīf* had almost become proverbial. Again, the contrast is subtly, but forcefully, brought out in a pre-Islamic poem from the Hudhayli *dīwān*:[12]

Its [the cloud's] edges hung over the plain
Like [wine-]drinking Christians meeting a *ḥanīf*.

This is a very difficult verse and has seldom been translated twice in the same way, but if the rest of the poem is read through it will be seen that there is a constant comparison between nature and man, which constitutes its *Leitmotiv*. What the poet sought to do was to convey the contrast between the moist, rain-laden cloud (the "wet" Christians) and the parched plain (the "dry" *ḥanīf*.)

In other early Islamic sources *ḥanīf* is used, as might be expected, under Koranic influence. The story of Zayd b. ʿAmr's journey to Syria to find the "true religion" (*Aghāni*, III, pp. 16–17) seems to be a fabrication on the basis of Koran 3:60.[13] From its use in conjunction with other Muslim terminology, *ḥanīf* is to be translated with its Koranic meaning in the following places where it occurs: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, x, p. 404; ʿAmr b.-Zaʿbal in the *Kāmil*, p. 244; *Lisān*, x, p. 403; al-Uqayshir[14] in *al-Shiʿr w-al-Shuʿarāʾ*, p. 354;[15] ibn-Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*,[16] I, p. 180. The only verse in which *ḥanīf* can plainly be construed as Christian is that of Jarīr in the *Kāmil*, p. 526:

Verily, when al-Farazdaq turned *ḥanīf* against his will,
He became a friend of Taghlib and the cross.

In the Koran the word *ḥanīf* (pl. *ḥunafāʾ*) occurs twelve times, beginning with the late Mekkan surahs. In the majority of cases (seven times: 2:129; 3:60, 89; 4:124; 6:162; 16:121, 124) it is associated with the faith (*millah*) of Abraham. Nine times (2:129; 3:60, 89; 6:79, 162; 10:105; 16:121, 124; 22:32) the *ḥanīf* is contrasted with the idolater (*mushrik*). Twice (6:79; 30:29) the religion of the *ḥanīf* is spoken of as that of man in his primeval condition (*fiṭrah*). In 3:60 it is made clear that the *ḥanīf* is not

[12] Ed. J. G. L. Kosegarten, *The Hudsailian Poems*, I (London, 1854), p. 45

[13] Cf. the version in ibn-Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, ed. E. Mittwoch, I, pt. 1 (Leiden, 1905), p. 106.

[14] Cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, II, p. 51

[15] Varies radically in the *ʿiqd*, III, p. 411; ed. Cairo, 1316, p. 300. Cf. Horovitz, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858)

to be identified with either Jew or Christian. Only twice (3:60; 4:124) does the verb *aslama* appear in conjunction with *ḥanīf*, and then in surahs of the Madinah period. Finally, the religion of the *ḥunafāʾ* is once (98:4) referred to as the religion of the Resurrection (*dīn al-qiyāmah*).

It has generally been accepted by western scholars that the Arabic *ḥanīf* is a loan-word from Eastern Aramaic (Syriac), where the root *ḥ-n-p* expresses, as in other Semitic languages, the idea of false heathenism, but also eclecticism and vacillation in religious matters.[17] The verses of dhu-al-Rummah and al-Fuqaymi quoted above thus show a nice appreciation of the original meaning of the word. This conception of meticulousness, whether in religious or wordly things, makes itself felt again in the purely Arabic words *taḥannafa*, "was particular, exact," and its cognate *taḥannatha*,[18] "abstained from." It is very possible that the general sense of these Arabic roots was associated in the course of time with the orginally Aramaic *ḥanīf*.

In Christian Arabic *ḥanīf* is a broad term used for pagan. However, it does not describe the barbarous heathen of the Arabian desert, who were closest to Muhammad's eye, but the stubborn partisans of the old Graeco-Roman religion,[19] especially of the mystery cults and their oriental offshoots, who were the principal target of the polemic of the Christian church. It must be remembered that these were not a simple and ignorant people, but included such able intellects as that of Porphyry of Tyre, who was the direct cultural ancestor of such men as Thābit b.-Qurrah and al-Battāni. With the conquest of the Near East by Alexander and its domination by the Diadokhoi, the clear understanding of ancient oriental paganism faded from the minds of men and was replaced by a concept which was the product of the mighty wave of Hellenism which swept over the Near East and reorientated the whole line of its historical and religious thought.

To illustrate this point further, we have for example in the

[17] M. GRÜNBAUM, "Miscellen," *ZDMG*, XLII (1888), pp. 54–5.

[18] Cf. ibn-Hishām, *Sīrah*, p. 152.

[19] This was suggested some time ago by Prof. HITTI in *al-Kullīyah* (publication of the American University at Beirut), X, No. 2 (1923), pp. 93–4. See also NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 35, n. 4.

old Arabic translation of the Syriac *Maʿarraṯ Gazzē* (*Schatzhöhle*),[20] written in Mesopotamia in the 6th century, the use of *ḥanīfah* (Syr. text has *ḥanpūṯo*) to describe heathen worship destroyed by Asa in Jerusalem; Rehoboam, moreover, dies a *ḥanīf* (Ar. text p. 185), as does his father Solomon after having in his last days turned to worldly things (p. 183). The 9th-century Arabic translation of the Epistles of Paul[21] uses *ḥanīfi* throughout where the Greek text has *Ἕλλην* and the Syriac *Armoyo*, "Roman, heathen;"[22] *ἔθνος*, however, is consistently rendered by *ummah*, "nation, people" (ܐܡܬܐ). But *ḥanīf* is used also to mean a person of Hellenic culture, even though he may be a Christian; thus Paul's companion Titus is called a *ḥanīfi* (Gal. 2[3]), Gr. *Ἕλλην*. The explanation of this is that like *Ἑλληνιστής*, *Ἕλλην* was applied to Jews born in foreign lands and speaking Greek (Acts 11[20]), and the name adhered to them even after they had embraced Christianity. Thus it is shown that *Ἕλλην* and *ḥanīf* both have as much if not possibly more of a cultural as a religious connotation. Again, in the translation of the Canons of Athanasius made from Coptic into Arabic in the second or third quarters of the 11th century it is said that "The deacon paid little attention to the church, thereby making it possible for dogs and *ḥunafāʾ* to enter therein, and he drove them not out."[23] Here the Coptic has *ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ*, which is unusual; in the Epistles, where the Greek has *Ἕλλην* and the Arabic *ḥanīfi* the Coptic uses *ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛⲓⲛ*, "Greek, heathen."

In Islamic literature not under the influence of the Koran, *ḥanīf* means a cultured pagan. Like the *Maʿarraṯ Gazzē*, al-Yaʿqūbi († 897)[24] employs it to describe the Philistines against whom David fought; he adds that they were "star worshippers" (*ʿabadat al-nujūm*). Al-Masʿūdi († 956)[25] identifies the *ḥunafāʾ* with the Ṣābians, but this is a later

[20] Ed. C. Bezold (Leipzig, 1888).

[21] Ed. Margaret D. Gibson in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. II (London, 1894).

[22] Cf. Jewish Aram. *ărmoyo*, "heathen;" *aramiyūṯo*, "gentile ways, Romedom, idolatry." This word is derived from *ărōmoyo*, "Roman," but later fell together with *ărammi*, "Aramaean, Syrian." See G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (Frankfurt a. M., 1922); M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* (London and New York, 1903); J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1881).

[23] Ed. W. Riedel and W. Crum (London, 1904), p. 48, § 11.

[24] *Taʾrīkh*, ed. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), I, p. 52.

[25] *Kitāb al-Tanbīh w-al-Ishrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1893).

confusion of the two terms. To him *ḥanīfīyah* means cultured paganism in general; it was the religion brought to Ṭahmūrath (Avestan Takhma Urupi) by the Buddha[26] which prevailed in Iran till the advent of Zoroaster (pp. 90–1). It was also the faith of the kings of Greece and Rome, and that he regarded this as the original *ḥanīfīyah* is shown by the adjective *ūla*, "first, original," which he applies to it (p. 136). He says, furthermore, and pointing in the right direction, that the Arabic is derived from the Syriac, which he reproduces as حنيفوا. Al-Masʿūdi gives us also an idea of what the current conception of the ritual of such *ḥanīfs* was when he tells us that Julian the Apostate ". . . made death the punishment of those who would not return to *ḥanīfīyah*; those who did began casting incense upon fire, eating of the sacrifice of the *ḥunafāʾ*, and other things" (p. 145). Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* II. 13) accuses the Simonians of worshipping images of Simon and Helena with offerings of incense, sacrifices and libations. Some similar ceremony must have been current among the Nabataeans, for Strabo (16. 14. 26) reports that they worshipped the sun at altars on top of their houses, where they poured out daily libations and burned incense.

Now the Aramaean pagans of Ḥarrān, whose doctrines contained a very marked Ophite-Hermetic and neo-Platonic element in addition to their Syro-Babylonian heathenism, regarded themselves as the protagonists of Hellenism against the encroaching Christianity and Islam; what is surprising is that they did not hesitate to publicize this fact in their writings which circulated outside their own community. It was owing to this intransigent chauvinism that Ḥarrān gained for itself the title *Ἑλληνόπολις*, *Ἑλλήνων πόλις* (*paganorum urbs*).[27] The character of their religion is well described by al-Bīrūni (†1048)[28] in the following words: "The name Ṣābians has been applied to the Ḥarrānians, who constitute the remnants of the ancient occidental religion which the Graeco-Romans [al-Rūm al-Yūnānīyūn] gave up

[26] Cf. al-Bīrūni, *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah*, ed. E. SACHAU (Leipzig, 1878), p. 204. This is an originally Christian tradition which made Gondophares, king of Baktria, the founder of astronomy and astrology among the Indians. JOHN OF NIKIU (*ca.* 700), ed. and tr. H. ZOTENBERG (Paris, 1883), tr p. 240; *Khronikon Paskhale* in J.-P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, XCII (Paris, 1865), § 36.

[27] D. CHWOLSOHN, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (St. Petersburg, 1856), I, pp. 14–15.

[28] *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah*, p. 318

when they became Christians. They attribute their system to Agathodaimon, Hermes, مابا واليس and سوار.[29] Before they were called Ṣābians they were known as *ḥunafā'*, *wathanīyah* (idolaters) and Harrānians

But if we turn to sources which emanate from the Harrānians themselves, we shall find Syr. *ḥanpo* (pl. *ḥanpē*), "heathen," used in a sense quite different from that which it has in Christian Syrian writers and most of their Arabic dependents. One of these sources is Ibn-al-ʿIbri's (Bar Hebraeus's)[30] citation from a work of Thābit b. Qurrah († 901) who, together with the astronomer al-Battāni, stood in the foremost rank of Harrānian scientists and men of letters. The two works of his quoted by Ibn-al-ʿIbri are entitled *On the Law and Canons of the Ḥanpē*, and *On the Affirmation and Declaration of the Doctrines of the Ḥanpē*. In one of these, according to Ibn al-ʿIbri, Thābit wrote: "We are the heritage and the inheritors of *ḥanpūṯo*, once spread gloriously over the world. Fortunate indeed is he who bears the burden with steadfast patience for the sake of *ḥanpūṯo*. Who else has established culture and founded cities but the nobles and kings of *ḥanpūṯo*? Who else has built harbors and canals and imparted hidden knowledge? To whom did the Divinity reveal the gift of divination and knowledge of the future but to the famed ones of the *ḥanpē*? They taught all these things. They taught, moreover, the healing of the soul and pointed out the way to its salvation; they imparted also knowledge of the healing of the body and filled the world with the discipline of order and wisdom, which is the *summa* of all excellence. Without these things the world would be empty and poor.

The way in which Thābit uses the words *ḥanpūṯo* and *ḥanpē* makes it clear that they stand forth here as the terms currently employed in the Syriac dialect of the Ḥarrānians to designate their own Aramaeo-Hellenistic culture and its adherents. There is, moreover, a treatise on the Ḥarrānian religious practises in the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (written between 1050 and 1057)[31] which refers to the *miṣḥaf al-ḥunafā'* (codex of the *ḥunafā'*) which the Ḥarrānian hangs

[29] The meaning of these last three names is so far unsolved.

[30] *Chronicum syriacum* (Paris, 1890), p. 168.

[31] Dozy and de Goeje, "Nouveaux documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harraniens," *Actes du 6me congrès international des orientalistes tenu en 1883 à*

around his neck during the performance of the ritual; this ritual agrees in many ways with that of the *ḥunafā'* described by al-Masʿūdi. Again ibn-Waḥshīyah († *ca.* 900), himself of Ḥarrānian "Nabataean" origin, mentions in his *Kitāb al-Filāḥah al-Nabaṭīyah*[32] a king called حيناڤا [*ḥīnāfā*] whose interest in agriculture led him to adopt the cultivation of many varieties of plants from the Greeks [al-Yūnān]: like the Nabataean Aretas III he was a *Φιλέλλην*.

A very curious story is told by Theodore bar Koni[33] (second half 8th century) about the connection of paganism with Hellenism. He says that paganism's ... origin and birth were from Serug. The *ḥanpē* were so called after a man who lived in Hellas. It is also said that they were named after an olive tree which grew in Athens, for the olive tree in the Greek language is called ܐܠܝܐ [*ʾelaia*] and a *ḥanpo*, ܐܠܝܐܘܣ [*ἔλαιος*] which is also the olive. The olive tree referred to here, of course, is the sacred one which grew on the Acropolis and served as the symbol of the city.

It should be kept in mind that Hellenism penetrated into central Arabia from both, north and south. It is a mistake to think that it had died out in Arabia long before the time of Muhammad,[34] for Procopius[35] († after 559) expressly mentions that in the time of the Ethiopian emperor Hellestheaios (contemporary with Justinian) there were among the Himyarites, besides Jews and Christians ... many who followed the ancient faith which men now call the Hellenic." South Arabian Hellenism would seem to have been an importation from the Nabataean and Palmyrene territories via the Liḥyanite, Ṣafaitic, and Thamudene tribes of northwest Arabia.[36]

The tribe of the Banu-Ḥanīfah of Central Arabia, significantly enough, were under considerable Aramaean influence; the lexicographer and genealogist ibn-Duravd († 933)[37] says that many foreign

Leyde, pt. II (Leiden, 1885), p. 289; text, p. 312; tr. p. 353. This has the appearance of being copied from an original Ḥarrānian document.

[32] Quoted in CHWOLSOHN's monograph "Über die Überreste der altbabylonischen Literatur in arabischen Übersetzungen," *Memoires présentés à l'Académie Impériale de St.-Pétersbourg*, VIII (St. Petersburg, 1859), p. 145 (87).

[33] *Liber scholiorum*, pt. II, ed. ADDAI SCHER in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* series II, vol. LXVI (Paris, 1912), p. 285.

[34] Cf. PEDERSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 390. [35] *De bello persico*, I. xx. 1.

[36] DITLEF NIELSEN, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, I (Copenhagen, 1927), pp. 48–9. [37] *Ishtiqāq*, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD (Göttingen, 1854), p. 200.

(Aramaic) names were to be found among them. This tribe, in its capacity as protector of foreign caravans travelling through Arabia, necessarily came into close contact with the more or less ARAMAIZED tribes to the north, and that this contact extended for a considerable distance into the past is indicated by epigraphical evidence. DE VOGÜÉ[38] has published a votive tessera (date uncertain) from Palmyra bearing the legend אגן בל בני חנפי. "May Bel protect the BNĒ ḤNPĒ." In addition to the name Bel, the occurrence of symbols of the seven planets and cult objects along with the inscription put its nature beyond question. The form *Ḥanīfah* as a proper name appears in the Greek transcription Ἀνεφάθης from Dūmah,[39] and the diminutive Ὀναίφαθος (*Ḥunayfah*) occurs in a still unpublished text from Mushannaf.[40] The spelling חניפו identical with the Syriac حنيفو given by al-Masʿūdi as the original of Ar. *ḥanīf*, is found in a Nabataean inscription from Ḥibrān reproduced by DUNAND (*loc. cit.*): רבו בר חניפו אמנא "Rabbu bar Ḥanīfu the artisan [made this eagle]." This name is found once in South Arabic, in the Sabaean *Dammbruch* inscription (GLASER No. 618) dated A.D. 543, where it has the form חנפם.[41] The fact that it is found only once, and then in such a late text, makes it seem probable, when NIELSEN's remark above also is taken into account, that it was an imported name.

There remains to be discussed the problem of the prohibition of wine-drinking and its bearing on the *ḥanīfs*. This, judging from the Hudhayli verse quoted above and the forbidding of the drinking of wine[42] in the Koran (5:92,93; 2:216), is perhaps the most important of the few characteristics of the *ḥanīfs* of pre-Islamic poetry and the Koran of which we have any information. It is an especially fruitful lead on which to work because there is concrete epigraphical evidence at hand for examination, and this evidence comes from the same territory as the word *ḥanīf* itself.

[38] *Inscriptions Sémitiques* (Paris, 1868—77), No. 133.

[39] R. DUSSAUD and F. MACLER, *Voyage archéologique au Ṣafā et dans le Djebel ʿed-Drûz* (Paris, 1901), p. 146. Cf. E. LITTMANN, D. MAGIE and D. R. STUART, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1921), p. 349.

[40] MAURICE DUNAND, *Le musée de Soueïda* (Paris, 1934), No. 196.

[41] See G. RYCKMANS, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* (Louvain, 1934), I, p. 96. Reading accepted by WINCKLER in *OLZ*, I (1898), col. 21.

[42] *Khamr*, an Aramaic loan-word; see S. FRAENKEL, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), pp. 160—2.

ENNO LITTMANN,[43] in evaluating the results of the Princeton archeological expedition to Syria in 1899–1900 says, . . . we must . . . conclude that the Safaïtic as well as the Thamudene graffiti are remnants of some sort of a national civilization of Northern Arabia, of which not much is known as yet . . . ." Among the few divine names occurring in these inscriptions is that of a certain Shayʿ ha-Qawm. LITTMANN (*op. cit.*, Safaïtic No. 125) points out that in this inscription Shayʿ ha-Qawm is grouped along with the other purely Arabian gods Allāt and Gad-ʿAwīdh, as distinguished from Baʿl-Šamīn and Dūshara, who were adopted from the settled Aramaean population of the Ḥawrān. This name (in the North Arabic form Shayʿ al-Qawm) occurs again at Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ,[44] in the Ḥawrān southeast of Bostra,[45] and finally in Palmyra;[46] the first two inscriptions are in Nabataean and the last, though in Palmyrene, is the work of a Nabatean. The inscription itself dates from A.D. 132 and is dedicated to [4] "Shayʿ al-Qawm, the good and rewarding god, who does [5] not drink wine: . . . " (ישיע־אלקום אלהא טבא ושכרא די לא שתא חמר). This appearance of an abstaining god in a Nabataean text would be too slender evidence on which to base any far-reaching conclusions, were it not for the two statements from classical authors which CLERMONT-GANNEAU[47] adduces to give added support. He quotes the passage in Diodorus Siculus (XIX. 94.3) which says that among the Nabataeans wine-drinking was punished with death. In the same vein Nonnos Panopolitanos (*Dionysiaka*, XX, XXI) tells how the anti-bacchic Arabian god Lykourgos attacked Dionysos and his troops of satyrs and bacchantes marching to the conquest of India: that this Lykourgos is not a figment of the imagination is shown by an inscription from Ḥibrān (from the Antonine period) dedicated to a deity of this name.[48] A good grasp of the situation is shown by

[43] *Semitic Inscriptions* (New York, 1904), p. 110.

[44] JAUSSEN and SAVIGNAC, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (Paris, 1909), p. 221, No. 72.

[45] M. LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I (Giessen, 1902), pp. 332–3; C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, IV (Paris, 1901), pp. 173–6.

[46] LITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 70; G. A. COOK, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), No. 140 B.

[47] *Op. cit.*, pp. 396, 398 ff.

[48] W. H. WADDINGTON, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1870), No. 2286 *a*.

LITTMANN (pp 73–4) who, concurring with CLERMONT-GANNEAU, concludes that "Wellhausen remarks that Arabic gods did not drink wine, anyway, and that the express statement די לא שתא חמר was probably a reaction against the cult of Dushara, who on Aramaean ground was identified with Dionysos. This is certainly the clue to the matter, as CLERMONT-GANNEAU has also recognized. The latter says that since we have here two gods opposed to each other, and since we know that the Nabataean nation was composed of different ethnic elements, we might assume that the two different cults corresponded to two different ethnic elements but that it is difficult to assign the gods to the single elements as yet. I do not hesitate, however, to believe that the prohibition of wine was due to the influence of the *Arabic* element, bearing in mind WELLHAUSEN's remarks and the fact that such tendencies as the Rehabite movement in the Old Testament are considered to be a reaction of the desert life against the peasant life, and that in the national *Arabic* religion, the Islam, wine is prohibited."[49]

From the evidence which has so far been presented the conclusion seems inescapable that Koranic *ḥanīf*, with all that it implies, must have come via pre-Islam Arabic from the dialect of the Nabataeans, in whose language it meant a follower of some branch of their partially Hellenized Syro-Arabian religion. In view of the occurrence of *ḥanīf* and abstinence both among the Nabataeans and in the Koran, it is hard to believe that there is not some basic relationship between the two. It is from just such a source as the strongly Arabian element among the Nabataeans that one would expect Muhammad to draw his ideas for the formation of a new Arabian religion and "a plain Arabic Koran. It is also noteworthy that the Nabataean and Koranic usage of *ḥanīf* in a favorable sense is paralleled in other Semitic languages only in the Eastern Aramaic dialect of Ḥarrān, with which it has other linguistic affinities.[50] Moreover, the religion of the Ḥarrānians as a Syro-Hellenistic syncretism has a good deal in common with the worship of the Nabataeans;

[49] For a further discussion of wine among the Semites see W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed. by S. A. COOK (London, 1927), pp. 574–6.

[50] For the Eastern Aramaic affinities of Palmyrene see FRANZ ROSENTHAL, *Die Sprache der Palmyrenischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1935), p. 27.

it is also not without significance that the Aramaeans of Ḥarrān are frequently referred to in Islamic literature as Nabataeans (Nabaṭ), as well as Chaldaeans (Kaldānīyūn). What little is known of the traditions of these people fits very well into the general picture of their culture as one sees it reflected from other sources; Nonnos's myth of the Nabataean Lykourgos and Theodore Bar Koni's story of the origin of *ḥanpūṯo* at Athens are of the same tendentious character. This philhellenism appears, moreover, on the earliest Nabataean coinage, that of Aretas (Ḥārithat) III (87–62 B.C.), who calls himself *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ*.[51]

With other aspects of *Ḥanīfentum*, such as its connection with Abraham and the religion of the *fiṭrah*, this study is not concerned at length. Still, it might be well to stress here certain undercurrents and tendencies in the religious history of the Near East in the period preceding the rise of Islam which, if properly analyzed and followed up, may lead to the solution of this and other problems of a similar nature. According to a statement of Pseudo-Eupolemos quoted by Alexander Polyhistor,[52] Abraham was born in Ur in the tenth generation after the Flood and was the inventor of astrology and the Chaldaean arts, which were pleasing to God, and these he taught to the Phoenicians. Artapanos, quoted by the same author (p. 213) says that Abraham taught astrology to Pharaoh. If one takes this tradition in conjunction with the canonical association of Abraham with Ḥarrān (Gen. 11[31]), it becomes quite understandable why it should have been to the interest of the later Ḥarrānians and those of allied religious belief to make the most of it in order to justify their astral worship before the Jews and Christians. To Abraham as the father of astral worship they would logically apply the term *ḥanīf* by which they also designated themselves, and thus the circle becomes completed.

[51] GEORGE F. HILL, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922), pp. 1–2.

[52] In: C. MULLER, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, III (Paris, 1883), p. 212. Cf. J. FINKEL, "Jewish, Christian, and Samaritan Influences on Arabia," *The Macdonald Presentation Volume* (Princeton, 1933), pp. 151–2.

THE DRUZE PEOPLE AND THEIR RELIGION

NEVILL BARBOUR

(JERUSALEM)

[The following lines were written in response to a request from the Secretary of the Palestine Folk Museum for a note on the subject of the Druzes and their religion. In the course of preparing this, it occured to me that the subject is so little known that readers of the Journal might be glad to have it available to them in this place. The standard work on the Druzes, as can be seen from the bibliographical note below, was published over one hundred years ago. Although it is a most excellent book and is never likely to be entirely superseded, there is an obvious need for a full-sized modern work on the subject; Professor HITTI's little book, though up-to date, covers only a very small portion of the ground.]

The Druze community numbers in all about 117,000 souls. The two principal settlements are in the southern Lebanon (Aley, Esh-Shweyfat, Baaqlin, El Mukhtara) and in the Jebel Druze (Sueida, Qanawat). There are also a few Druzes in the mountains near Aleppo, while about 7,000 live in the Galilee Hills (Abu Sinan, Buqeia, Kafr Yasif, Bet Jan), and on Mount Carmel (Daliat el Carmel). They are a vigorous and courageous people, and have always known how to make themselves respected by their neighbours. Their language is Arabic; but whether they may be considered also to be of Arab race is a subject of dispute.

The factor which constitutes the Druzes a distinct community is religion. The members of the sect call themselves Muwahhadun (Unitarians), but they have no doctrinal or political connection with the medieval Muwahhadun (Almohades) of Morocco. The community was formed during the reign of Abu Ali Mansūr el Hākim (996—1021), Fatimid Caliph of Egypt. It arose as a gnostic

sect, at the culmination of a long period of esoteric propaganda, in a Shiah Moslem environment from which it soon completely emancipated itself. Within a few years of el-Hākim's death it was, indeed, itself subjected to persecution bv the Fatimid authorities in Cairo.

God is worshipped under the title of Maulāna el Hākim (Our Lord the Ruler). The divine nature is held to be indefinable and beyond human comprehension. God does not possess attributes distinct from his essence. His activity has, however, been manifested through certain emanations which were incarnate in human beings. These are named the Intelligence, the Soul the Word, the Precedent and the Successor. The religion is esoteric, that is to say its truths are known only to initiates (ʿUqalā). The "Knowledge" of God is thus the supreme aim of religion.

God himself has been incarnate in certain historical personages. The last of these was the Caliph Abu Ali, known in his worldly aspect as El Hākim biamrillah (He who rules by the command of God), but identified, by the incarnation, with God, El Hākim bidhatihi (He who rules by, or in, his essence). The actual formulation of the religion was the work of El Hākim's minister, Hamza b. Ali b. Ahmad, a man of Persian origin who, theologically, has the title of "Regent of the Age".

In Muslim and Christian historians, emphasis is chiefly placed on the eccentricity and cruelty of El Hākim's character. The Caliph's eccentricity is acknowledged by Unitarian writers, but his actions are given a symbolic interpretation and are adduced as a proof of his profound spiritual wisdom, somewhat in the way that some of the strange actions of the Prophet Ezekiel in the Bible are generally interpreted. His cruelty was perhaps no greater than that of many other rulers of his age. He was however unique amongst them in his susceptibility to religious motives. In the early part of his reign, he was an ardent supporter of Shiah Islam and took drastic steps to enforce its dictates. In particular he adopted the most violent measures to enforce the seclusion of women and the prohibition of the manufacture and consumption of alcoholic drinks. This activity was accompanied by a fierce persecution of Jews and Christians. In the course of this, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was ordered, along

with many other Churches and Synagogues, to be destroyed. There are, however, reasons for believing that he was, in many respects, a capable and energetic administrator who inspired such awe in his subjects that he was able habitually to appear in public virtually unaccompanied.

Later in his reign he adopted an esoteric doctrine. According to this, the ritual and ceremonial of all existing religious systems were to be interpreted symbolically and need not be observed literally by those who had a more perfect knowledge. His adoption of this teaching naturally led to a relaxation of the persecution of Jews and Christians and the formation of a new sect, distinct from Islam. The new doctrine was propagated by missionaries throughout the Near and Middle East, and there is a mention of Druze martyrs in Khorasan. The sect was, however, shortly confined entirely to Syria, where it alone exists today.

The religion is thus entirely without ritual, God being worshipped solely in spirit, truth and knowledge. Druzes have, however, a special meeting place for religious study; this is known as a "place of retreat" (Khalweh.) It is permissible for a Druze to conform outwardly with the practices of another religion, if his life would otherwise be imperilled or for other valid reasons. The seven principal injunctions of the religion are:— A truthful tongue; care of the fellow members of the community; the abandonment of all former beliefs and mistaken or empty worship; liberation of the self from demonic and evil powers; realisation of the unity of Our Lord (whose name be exalted!) in all times, periods and ages; welcome acceptance of His action, whatever it may be; submission to His orders, publicly and privately, with a full realisation that He sees man where man sees Him not.

The Unitarians are monogamists, and stress is laid on the importance of imparting the knowledge of religion (the Gnosis) to women.

El Hākim became Caliph in the year 996, at the age of eleven. In the year 1021, during the course of one of the nocturnal excursions which he was in the habit of making in the neighbourhood of Cairo, accompanied only by one or two servants, he disappeared. The nature of his end has never been satisfactorily established, though historians have reported many unverified rumours. According to his followers. he passed into a state of "occultation".

whence he will one day return to establish true religion upon earth.

In secular history, the Druzes are best known for the exploits of their Prince Fakhreddin, who established his authority over most of Syria early in the 17th Century; for the civil war, instigated by the Turkish Government, between the Druzes and the Maronite Christians in the Lebanon in 1860; and for the rising against the French Mandatory Government in 1925. Druzes have been conspicuous among the leaders of the Arab National Movement.

The name Druze, by which the Unitarians are commonly known, appears to be derived from the name of an early propagandist of the teaching, a certain Neshtakin ed Darazi, apparently a Turk or Persian. He was soon expelled from the community for teaching that the faithful were exempted from the recognised moral observances of religion, as well as from its ritual observances. The use of his name to describe the members of the sect was therefore apparently originally intended, by those who used it, as abusive.

The Druze era dates from "the first year of Hamza", i.e. the first year of the revelation of the incarnation in El Hākim, A.D. 1017.

The fullest and most reliable book upon the Druze religion is still that of SYLVESTRE DE SACY, "*Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*" 2 Vols. Paris 1838. Useful information is contained also in P. K. HITTI's brochure, "*The Origin of the Druze People and Religion.*" Oxford Univ. Press. 1928. Columbia University Oriental Studies Vol. 28. The Druzes possess a number of religious tractates, written in Arabic, dating from the early days of the movement. MSS. of these are to be found in the libraries at Paris, London, Oxford and elsewhere.

ON THE GEOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE MEGIDDO AREA.

M. AVNIMELECH

(JERUSALEM)

I. PREFACE.

In summer 1935 I made a geological survey in the hilly area south-east of the Carmel and parallel to the Haifa-Megiddo-Jenin road. This work was originally undertaken by Dr. L. PICARD with my collaboration in connection with the underground water research on behalf of the Jewish National Fund. But soon Dr. PICARD entrusted me with the whole task and put at my disposal unpublished material of his previous investigations in adjoining districts and also paid a visit to the area during my work. I take this opportunity to express to him my deepest appreciation for his friendly support.

I had hoped to continue this survey over an area further south-west to the borders of the Coastal plain of Caesarea. The disturbances however which broke out in 1936 made it impossible to continue field work. Nevertheless I feel justified in publishing the results of my research on that part of the afore-mentioned region already examined, because they are decisive for solving the geological problems of the whole area.

II. GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF THE AREA INVESTIGATED (Fig. 1.)

The area investigated is part of a morphologic-geographical unit which forms a rhombus the borders of which are:

(1) NW: Wadi Milh at the foot of the Carmel;

(2) SE: Wadi Ara;

(3) NE: Plain of Esdraelon between Yokneam (Qaimun) and Megiddo;

(4) SW: Coastal plain of Caesarea between Zikhron Yaakov and Kafr Ara.

The survey was limited to a strip of 5–7 km width, south-west of the Yokneam-Megiddo road, e. g. to an area draining north-westward to the Kishon-River. The remaining part was studied on general lines only.

III. HISTORY OF GEOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

The oldest geological or rather palaeontological information on the said region is of BELLARDI, 1855 (**1**),[1] who in his description of Eocene fossils from Egypt mentions a *Nummulites beaumonti D'ARCH.* from "Mt. Carmel". As Eocene does not exist in the proper Carmel area it is obvious that this fossil originates from the area further south-east. This is understandable from the fact that in earlier times—sometimes also to-day—the name of Carmel designated erroneously the whole hilly spur, which spreads out from the main mountain body of Ephraim, between Nablus and Jenin and which runs north-westward to the sea (**19**).

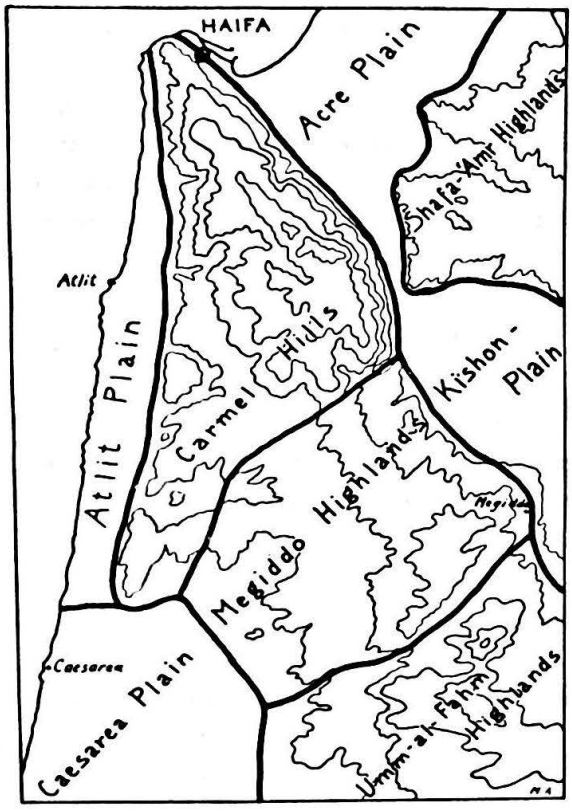

Fig. 1
Morphological division of the areas round Carmel.

BELLARDI's note has caused LARTET, 1867–1872, (**3**) in his map of Palestine to mark the existence of "Nummulitic" beds on top of the Cretaceous formations of the Carmel. It may be noted here that LARTET used the name "Carmel" in the above-mentioned broader sense. Generally speaking, LARTET saw in the architecture of Palestine a single, gentle arch as a

[1] The numbers in paranthesis refer to the bibliographic references at the end of this paper.

principal element, contrary to his contemporary FRAAS, 1867, (**2**), who expressed the view of a completely tabular structure of this country.

HULL (**4**) followed (1886) the way of LARTET regarding the structure of Palestine as being constituted by a large meridionally stretching monocline with Eocene exposed on the western flank. Accordingly, he designated Mt. Carmel as being built up by Eocene formations and our region, SE of it, by Cretaceous.

The fundamental research-work of BLANCKENHORN added much in revising old ideas and constructing a new image of the geological structure of Palestine. As regards Mt. Carmel and its environs he states in his "Naturwissenschaftliche Studien", 1912 (**7**) that Mt. Carmel consists of Cenomanian-Turonian strata with a cap of Senonian beds on the top. It is to note that he was preceeded by stratigraphical and palaeontological investigations of NOETLING (**5**) and BOEHM (**6**). The area further south-east, named Billed er Ruha in BLANCKENHORN's geological map and designated as Senonian is structurally not included in the Carmel.

Two years later, 1914, appeared BLANCKENHORN's classical review (**8**) of the geology of the Arabian Peninsula with many pages devoted to Palestine. Tb. III of this work shows the structural lines of Syria, among them a great fold running from the northern corner of the Samarian mountains in a northwesterly direction through the whole Carmel, thus correlating with the apparent morphological feature. Furthermore, some fault-lines cut this arch almost at right angles. This conception left its influence on the views of several other geologists up till recently.

While the war interrupted to a certain degree the systematic geological study of Palestine, it gave some opportunity of work for military geologists. Our region was crossed by the German military geologist, KOERT, (**9**), who at the end of 1917 passed along the important military road of Wadi Ara, between Megiddo and Karkur. His direct observations put forward, for the first time, a true picture of the structure of this section. According to his definition Wadi Ara is not a "fault-valley" as BLANCKENHORN finds it, but a "Schichtental", viz. a monoclinal valley forming a boundary between the hard Turonian limestone and dolomite strata and the upper soft Senonian chalky limestone beds, both formations dipping north-westward.

The post-war period of geological research in Palestine is marked

by active work of local as well as of foreign investigators. The first general review on the geology of Palestine after the war was that of J. FOHS 1927 (**10**). His stratigraphical views are based mainly on the results of observations of LARTET-HULL and BLANCKENHORN as shown in his section fig. 3, p. 139, where the Danian beds mark the top of Mount Carmel. But his structural ideas—although founded on unsatisfactory stratigraphical data—gave fruitful suggestions (viz. "Jerusalem geanticline", "Beit Jibrin—Nablus block"). In general his map (fig. 1, p. 138) does not differ much from BLANCKENHORN's map.

The investigations of L. PICARD, 1926 and 1928 (**11** and **12**) on the NE-slopes of the Carmel have established and in certain details corrected the stratigraphical interpretation of this region by BLANCKENHORN. They also gave some new data concerning the borderfaults of the mountains.

BLAKE, 1928 (**13**) does not differ much from BLANCKENHORN as regards the area SE of the Carmel ("Er Ruha block") which is still considered to be partly Senonian and partly Cenomanian. But BLAKE introduces a clearer structural interpretation. His idea of a "Carmel-Safed anticline . . . largely broken by east-west faults" (p. 26) is of great importance. In following the observations of KOERT, concerning the nature of the Wadi Ara valley, BLAKE describes the "monocline of Umm el Fahm which produces—together with the fault turning south-west at Mahraka... the low intervening chalk country of Er Ruha".

Connected with the problems of our area is the brilliant discussion of BAILEY-WILLIS, 1928 (**14**) on the mechanics of the Palestinian faults. Although WILLIS's paper has thrown a new light on the problems of the Palestinian geology, his discussion of the local stratigraphy and tectonics was premature (**17**). Our region is formed —according to WILLIS—by part of an anticline which extends from Jenin northwestward to the Mediterranean.

In 1931 another paper of BLANCKENHORN appeared (**15**) in which the Nestor of Palestinian geology summed up the latest geological achievements and included a sketch map representing the "System of Syrian anticlines". This map differs but little from the former of 1914 (**8**). Our area, represented as a prolongation of the Carmel, is regarded as an anticline running from SE toward NW, i.e. corresponding

to the apparent morphological direction. This is in contrast to KOERT's note on the structure of Wadi Ara (**9**, p. 32). BLANCKENHORN assumes two fault-lines, one along the Wadi Milh, the second along Wadi Ara, both in a directions SW-NE.

From PICARD's section, 1931, (**16**) through the Esdraelon plain from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River one can conclude the existence of SW-NE folding-axes in the neighbourhood of our area. The author analyses the faults of these areas classifying them into somalic, SW-NE-faults and erythreic, NE-SW or NNE-SSW-faults.

The "*Carte géologique au Milionnième*" of L. DUBERTRET, 1933 (**18**), for the southern part of which G. S. BLAKE is responsible expresses a view similar to that of BLANCKENHORN. The Carmel mountain proper presents a triangle, bordered by faults. DUBERTRET's map shows the Er-Ruha block as Senonian on the whole, leaving only a spot of Eocene in the south-western corner, north of Umm el Fahm. The extension of the Cenomanian-Turonian round Umm el Fahm is very limited. DUBERTRET points out (p. 311) that the East-shores of the Mediterranean do not represent a folded country in the sense of KOBER or KRENKEL, but on the contrary belong to the East-African regions of large faults.

In 1936 AVNIMELECH, DONCIEUX and PICARD (**19**) in a short note on a nummulitic series SE of the Carmel determined for the first time the real age of the formations in the Megiddo area. Eocene and Oligocene were recognized as such and the structure referred to as the "syncline of Megiddo".

At the same time, 1936, the author, presenting his conception of the main folds and faults in Palestine (**20**), mentioned also the anticlines of Umm el Fahm and of the Carmel and the syncline of Megiddo in between and also the faults of Umm az Zinat and Shefeya.

The review of Palestine geology by G. S. BLAKE, 1936, (**21**) states independently of AVNIMELECH the Eocene character of our region, although the Oligocene outcrops were not recognized.

Other recent publications [BLAKE, 1937, (**22**), DUBERTRET, 1937, (**23**), VROMAN, 1938, (**24**], touching the problems of our area, will be referred in the text.

IV. THE MAIN MORPHOLOGICAL AND TECTONIC FEATURES.

(See Figs. 1–4)

The synclinal character of our region is clearly recognizable in its morphology, although younger faults have complicated in many ways the simplicity of the original structure. Like pillars rise on both sides of the region, from NW and from SE the anticlinal arches of the Cenomanian hills of Mt Carmel (see pl. 1, fig. 1—2) and of Umm el Fahm. Both mountains are built of hard limestone and dolomite which dip steeply in the direction of the axis of the syncline. As the Senonian rocks consist mostly of chalk or of soft limestone (the usually wide-spread flint-beds being missing), they are almost completely eroded from the top and slopes of the two blocks and they appear only in narrow strips. Two broad valleys, running with the strips of the layers, divide the Cenomanian-Turonian areas from the Eocene parts. They are Wadi Milh, at the foot of the Carmel, and Wadi Ara, below the Umm el Fahm mountains. The later is known from ancient times as a commercial and military artery leading from the Coastal Plain to Galilee or in a wider sense, from Egypt to Damascus.

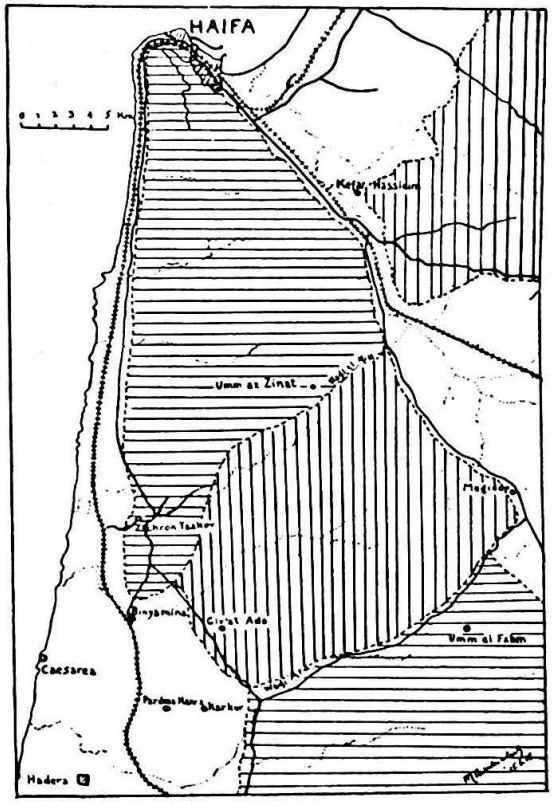

Fig. 2. Structural map of Carmel, Megiddo and Umm al Fahm regions. (Horizontal lines—Cretaceous; vertical lines—Eocene.)

These two valleys form the frame of our region, which consists chiefly of white limestone, chalky and flinty limestone and of chert. The contrast between the white and for the most part bare limestones of the synclinal area, and the grey partly forested limestone and

dolomite of Carmel and Umm el Fahm areas, is striking. One may easily recognize these contrasts from afar, for instance from the northern side of the plain of Kishon or from the Coastal plain of Binyamina-Pardess Hanna.

The differences of morphology are well recognizable in the different forms of the valleys: the valleys of the Carmel and of the Umm el Fahm area are steeper and narrower than those of the Megiddo (= Er Ruha)-block, the first having stronger forms of erosion partly due to the development of Karst phenomena in some horizons of the Turonian-Cenomanian.

The NE and SW flanks of Megiddo region are separated from the Kishon and Caesarea plains by important faults. They represent a rather complicated system of faults of the *en échelon* type. In such a case some blocks, on both sides of the faults dip outwardly, e.g. to SW and to NE. This could naturally produce the appearance of a monocline, as it actualdy did in previously cited exemples.

Among the faults the more important are

1) The so called "*Megiddo-line*" (**7**, **16**) which descends from Mt. Carmel and runs at the foot of the hills along Tell Qaimun, Yokneam, Abu Zureiq, Mishmar ha Emek and Megiddo.

2) The *fault of Umm az Zinat* (**20**, p. 133) which starts E of the village of the same name, in the Wadi Natif and runs almost parallel to the former line, crossing the area of the three Ladjun (= Megiddo) villages.

3) Between these two lines there exist several minor faults which manifest themselves by a row of volcanoes which will be referred to in the following chapter.

As the formation where the faults run is fairly uniform, not all the faults are well recognizable. In some sections separated blocks containing nummulitiferous horizons (such as the block of Dahrat el Mallul near the block of Dahrat el Asi, between Megiddo and Kafrin—see Pl. II, fig. 1), indicate the fault more convincingly. But even in these cases it is often impossible to follow the faults continuously. Joints as a manifestation of faults are very frequent, but they cannot always be used as an exact indicator.

4) Parallel to the fault of Umm az Zinat and west of the locality fo this name there seems to occur another fault-line. It passes probably between the villages of Daliyat er Rauha on the one, and of

Rihaniya and of Ein Hashofet (= Ji'ara) on the other side and runs southeastward through Kafrin (where joints and changes of the dip were frequently observed) in the direction of Umm el Fahm village, where—according to BLANCKENHORN—Upper Cretaceous basalts exist.

5) This last fault serves evidently as the NE-border of a high plateau, which spreads towards the Coastal plain of Caesarea and which is in a similar way intersected by numerous *en échelon* faults. The example of these faults is the hypothetic *Shefeya-fault* (**20**, p. 133), east of Zikhron Yaakov, running NW—SE.[1]

6) There is certain evidence of another fault line starting from the SW point of the Carmel, S of Zikhron Yaakov, and passing under the Pleistocene cover of the Caesarea plain, in the section Binyamina-Pardess Hanna, parallel or diagonal to the former. This fault may explain the strongly disturbed underground structure of the Caesarea plain proved by borings and by geoelectric measurements of LOEHNBERG and LOEWENSTEIN (personal communication) at Karkur and Pardess Hanna.

All above mentioned faults are probably of the same age—Upper Pliocene or Lower Pleistocene, viz. dating back to the time of the main faults in the Coastal and the inner plains.

Another system of faults, apparently older, seems to have been connected with folding movements. The direction of these faults is SW-NE. They may be caracterized as sliding faults as they occur on the flanks of anticlines being the result of tension, due to folding. These faults are less numerous and less important than the former type. As an example we cite a fault near Umm az Zinat, along which a small Senonian block dropped down on the flank of the Carmel anticline (see Fig. 3 and Pl. I, fig. 2.)

Occasionally minor and hardly noticeable faults of this direction occur also in the Eocene area.

A WSW-ENE fault-system touches the small triangle plain of Arab Baniha (between En Naghnaghiya and Mausi), NW of Megiddo at its southern side.

[1] J. VROMAN in his study on the South-eastern Carmel (**24**) questions the existence of such a fault. In fact this hypothetic fault is not based on a detailed geological survey and it was only supposed in order to explain the abnormal distribution of Cretaceous and Eocene rocks, as also the complicated morphology of this region. Unfortunately VROMAN does not solve any of these problems: his map gives no opportunity for structural analysis as it is based on unexact differentiation of stratigraphical and facial characters of rock formations.

On the whole our region appears to be a strongly broken area, divided into several polygonic blocks, the outer ones being more dislocated than the inner ones.

V. STRATIGRAPHY. (see Figs. 2–4).

A. Cretaceous.

Cretaceous formation appears in the anticlinal structures of the Carmel and of Umm el Fahm. As noted before they dip strongly in the direction of the axis of the syncline between them and they are not encountered in any boring of the area.

1. *Cenomanian and Turonian.*

The Cenomanian and Turonian horizons are of a similar petrographical appearence and they are hardly discernible without fossils, especially in such a disturbed area as is our region. It seems that in the Carmel-flank the Turonian is little exposed, the most of the visible rocks belonging to the Cenomanian. The rocks consist of grey and green dolomite and of hard grey limestone, badly broken and triturated, often forming a veritable tectonic breccia cemented by calcite. In Wadi en Natif, in the neighbourhood of Umm az Zinat, grey and brown granular dolomites occur, which show a particular diagonal texture. They are often rich in iron oxides, probably due to the diagenetic in-

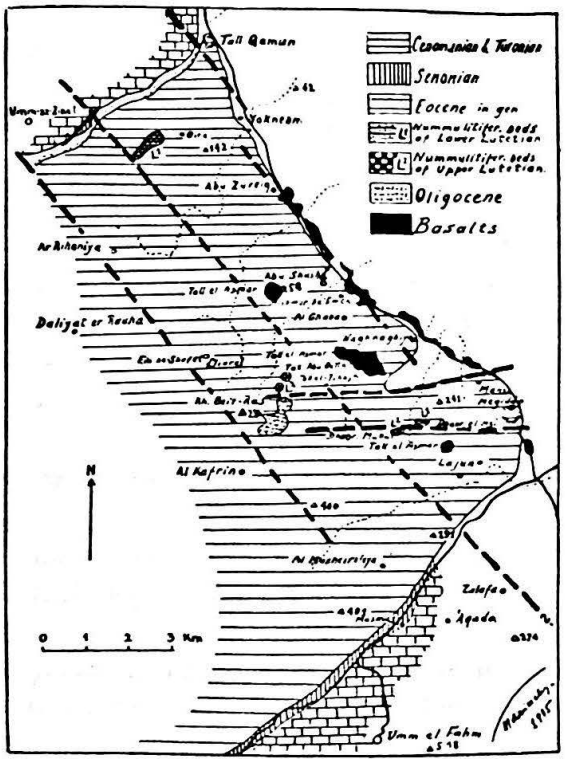

Fig. 3. Geological sketch-map of the Yokneam-Megiddo-Umm el Fahm area

fluence of the Upper Cretaceous eruptive rocks, distributed over several areas of the Southern Carmel.

In the Umm el Fahm block, along Wadi Ara, typically hard grey limestones point to the existence of Turonian. They are not disturbed like the beds of the Carmel and their NW dip is clearly distinguishable. Their surface is very rough and strongly eroded as in almost all areas of this formation

2. *Senonian.*

The Senonian formation of our region is much thinner than in the eastern regions of Palestine and especially in the Judean Desert. Its thickness does not surpass 50 m. On the Carmel side I observed Senonian rocks near the mouth of Wadi en Natif, NE of Umm az Zinat; their contact with the folded Cenomanian beds is apparently not a normal one. A fault has to be supposed, along which a small rest-block of Senonian slid down. (Pl. I, Fig. 2.) This fault—as mentioned above—is probably older than the other faults of this region and is connected with the Middle Tertiary continuation of folding movements. It is possible that other Senonian remnants are buried under the young deposits of Wadi el Milh.

In the Umm el Fahm block the Senonian is preserved almost along of the whole of Wadi Ara. It lies directly on the Turonian. The Wadi has cut its bed into the soft chalky rocks, thus forming a boundary between Cretaceous and Eocene formations. The Senonian age of these rocks was already recognized by KOERT (**9**), who mentioned a quarry near Ain Ibrahim, opposite Umm el Fahm village, where Upper Senonian fossils were found in a white chalky limestone and shale containing badly preserved *Baculites*, *Inoceramus* and *Pecten delumbis* CONR. Some beds are slightly bituminous. The outcrops show the typical character of the Upper Senonian beds in Palestine. The Lower Senonian is much less characteristic in our region and hardly discernible from the Turonian.

B. EOCENE.

The whole area between the two mentioned great parallel wadis is built up of Eocene rocks. They form a mighty complex of probably not less than 1000 m. thickness. In a previous note (**19**) I assumed a possible thickness of even 2000 m. DUBERTRET (**23**) opposing this assumption, suggested that the thickness might

not surpass some hundreds of meters. After a thorough revision of my profiles I agree to reduce the previous estimate. There exist however little doubt that the Eocene series is here extraordinarily thick. Although such thickness may be uncommon we know from the sections near Nablus given by ROMAN and DONCIEUX (**26**) and from sections from Beersheba quoted by BLAKE (**21**), that this formation may be hundreds of metres thick. This is also proved by some newly carried out borings. Near the Carmel, SE of Tell Qaimun (Yokneam), a bore which started in the lower part of our Eocene series did not reach till 400 m. the top of the Senonian. (**25**, p. 23) Another bore at Giveath Ada, E of Binyamina and SE of Zikhron Yaakov, reached 430 m. depth remaining still in Eocene; there are no indications whether the top of the Eocene in this bore is higher than Lutetian.[1] A similar result was obtained from the Pardess Hannah deep bore (600 m.) some 6 km SW of the former one.

The intersecting of the Eocene series in several directions by numerous faults, its petrographical uniformity and the deficiency of palaeontological remains, make it very difficult to differentiate between the single Eocene horizons. It will be therefore hardly possible to estimate exactly the thickness of the local Eocene beds without a detailed investigation of the whole rhombic area from the Carmel to Umm el Fahm region and from the plain of Esdraelon to the Coastal Plain, and without some deep borings in the middle of our region. My estimate is further based on the distribution of several discernable horizons, on their dipping measured at various points and on their actual thickness observed. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the width of the synclinal, e.g. the distance between both wings of the lowest Eocene beds is 13 km. and that the distance between the outcrops of the nummulitiferous horizons of the Lower and Upper Lutetian is approx. 6 km, which would be impossible without a greater thickness of the series.

It will be convenient to divide the Eocene complex into three parts: 1° Lower part; 2° Middle Part; 3° Upper Part.

[1] The statement of VROMAN (24, p. 14) that in this log ("between Abu Habil & Tell Abu Hamad"; "at a depth of 25 m. already *Nummulites* and *Amphisteginae* have been found in grey chalky rock"—is uncorrect: to-date these foraminifera have not yet been recognized in any sample of the log. Neither did I write—as VROMAN quotes—that the "Giveath Ada limestones are Oligocene"—this question is still open.

1° *Lower Part.* The base is not exactly known, as it is covered by young fluviatile deposits or obscured by faults. In the area of El Weibda, east of Umm az Zinat, I have observed, not far from the above mentioned Senonian remnant, a soft chalky and marly limestone dotted with brown spots and containing nodules of limonite. These attributes make the series appear similar to the lower part of the "Sar'a complex" of the Shephela (**20**) belonging to the Lower Eocene. This horizon seems to pass into a white, sometimes flinty limestone, the flint beds becoming more and more numerous in the upper layers. It is this flinty limestone which forms the

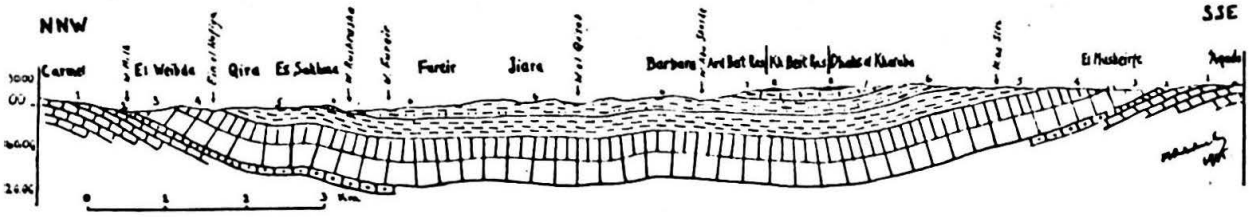

Fig. 4 Geological Cross-Section through Megiddo-syncline.
1. Cenomanian-Turonian; 2. Senonian; 3–4. Lower Eocene; 5–6–7. Middle Eocene (Lutetian); 8. Oligocene.

small ridge of El Weibda and Wad el Milh, parallel to Wadi el Milh. The flinty beds dip with 30–35° toward SE.

Above these beds occurs a white common limestone and a marly shale, often containing elongated small corpuscules most probably *Pteropoda* of the *Vaginella*-group (**37**). This strata is soft and therefore some wadis with many small springs have cut in.

The whole complex is covered by a calcareous and flinty stratum, containing Nummulites of Lower Lutetian.

This part up to the Lower Lutetian is 400 to 450 m. thick. This may be compared with the 400 m. thickness of the "Sa'ra complex" in the Shefela.

2° *Middle part or Lutetian.* Only this part of the Eocene is well defined by palaeontological evidence, which permits to establish its age as *Lutetian.*

a) *Lower Lutetian* beds are exposed West and Southwest of Qira. They are represented by white and grey limestone and by flinty beds, both of which contain numerous grains of glauconite and Foraminifera. Among the Foraminifera determined by L. DONCIEUX (**19**) are: *Nummulites globulus* LEYM., *guettardi* D'ARCH., *irregularis*

DESH., *subirregularis* DE LA HARPE, *gallensis* B and A, HEIM, *Operculina* sp., *Orthophragmina* sp., *Robulus* sp. This fauna is clearly of Lower Lutetian. So far, these are the only nummulitic outcrops of this horizon on the SE side of the syncline. The beds are thin, as it is the rule in this country, and they occur irregularly in limited areas. It may be expected that detailed investigations will result in a discovery of nummulitiferous outcrops of Lower Lutetian age also in other areas.

On the south-eastern wing of the syncline there occurs also a single nummulitiferous outcrop of this horizon. It is situated about 2 Km W of the Tell of Megiddo on the northern side of the hillock of Dahrat el Asi. Its palaeontological contents are *Nummulites irregularis* DESH. and *subirregularis* DE LA HARPE, *N. curvispira* MEN., *gallensis* HEIM and *Operculina* sp. This outcrop is only half a Km distant from another nummulitiferous outcrop belonging to the Upper Lutetian, both being separated by an important fault.

On the basis of structural data other outcrops of Lower Lutetian should be found nearer to Wadi Ara. In fact, not far from and above Ain Ibrahim, opposite Umm el Fahm, I found a glauconitiferous chert, which reminds of the glauconite-bearing and nummulitiferous rocks of Qira. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to look for nummulitiferous beds and therefore their existence in this area has for the time being to remain a suggestion.

The thickness of the whole flinty complex of Lower Lutetian is estimated at about 200–250 m. The numerous pieces of flint which almost uniformly cover wide spaces of the region, present a characteristic morphological feature.

b) Above this clearly recognizable horizon follows a mighty complex of a white common limestone and marly limestone, of siliceous brown-grey limestone and of chalk which contain little palaeontological evidences and which is petrographically uniform, so that but a very rough stratigraphical differentiation is possible. Some strata contain, apart from the common and little characteristic foraminiferal fauna, the elongated corpuscules of *Pteropoda* (*Vaginella* sp.). The thickness of this complex is estimated at 200–250 m. It may represent the whole *Middle Lutetian*.

c) This monotonous rock-series is covered with hard grey lime-

stone and flint banks, containing numerous *Nummulites* and badly preserved *Pectinidae*. The *Nummulites* belong to the couple of *gizehensis-curvispira* species, thus proving the *Upper Lutetian age* of the strata. The nummulitiferous beds are as usual 2–4 m. thick, but the whole complex of hard grey limestone and flint beds may be estimated as from 40 to 60 m. thickness.

The nummulitiferous beds are exposed in two outcrops near the top of Khirbet Beit Ras hillock, NNE from the village of Kafrin; the second wing of this strata is exposed on the Dhahrat el Mallul hillock, W of Megiddo. This latter outcrop lies in a strongly disturbed area.

The complete Lutetian series in our region is estimated as 400 to 550 m. thick.

3° *The Upper Part.* The Upper Lutetian beds pass into common limestone beds with some flint banks, which contain nothing that may be used for their stratigraphical determination. They may still belong to the Upper Lutetian or represent Upper Eocene. The existence of Upper Eocene was noted by L. PICARD in a limestone formation near Kefar Hassidim, at the foot of the Carmel, northwestward from our region (**28**). [See map fig. 2.]

These beds of still doubtful age crop over the Upper Lutetian beds of Khirbet Beit Ras. Their thickness is estimated as from 50 to 70 m.

Thus the thickness of the whole Eocene in our region reaches 850 to 1050 m. This uncommon thickness leads us to suppose a continuous subsidence during the Eocene of the whole area of Meggiddo.

C. OLIGOCENE.

Oligocene was discovered only few years ago in Southern Palestine. The discovery of Oligocene in our area links the outcrops of Southern Palestine with those of Syria.

The Oligocene outcrops in the Megiddo-region are situated 1 km NE from the village of Kufrein. It can be observed here, as elsewhere in Palestine, that the Oligocene lies discordantly on the Middle Eocene.

His petrological and faunal character is similar to that of the Oligocene outcrops in Southern Palestine (**20**, p. 79 ff.). The rocks are soft marly and hard sandy limestones, very fossiliferous grey-yellow detritic limestones, and grey-reddish cristalline limestones.

Their palaeontological remains suggest the same Oligocene stages as near Ramle and near Beit Jibrin, e. g. from Stampian to Aquitanian. There were here recognized: *Nummulites boucheri* DE LA HARPE, *Nummulites* sp. very small. ind., *Nephrolepidina simplex* H. DOUV., *N. tournouerí* LEM. & R. DOUV, *Eulepidina dilatata* MICHT., *E. formosoides* H. DOUV., *E.* aff. *elephantina* MUN.-CH., *Operculina complanata* DEFR., ? *Heterostegina depressa* D'ORB., *Gypsina globulus* REUSS, *Amphistegina* sp., *Globigerina*, *Orbulina*, *Robulus*, *Bolivina*, *Rotalia*, *Polymorphina*, *Truncatulina*, *Textularia* etc., fragments of *Crinoidea*, *Echinoidea*, *Bryozoa* and *Algae*.

The position of the discordant Oligocene on the top of the Eocene series proves that the process of folding continued into Post-Lutetian time. The Distripution of Oligocene outcrops was influenced by the young Pliocene-Pleistocene faults.

D. NEOGENE FORMATIONS.

There are some indications in the south-eastern part of the region of *Miocene*, but the problem is not yet solved.[1]

Marine and Continental *Pliocene* does not occur here, although it is known in both facies in the adjoining plains.

E. VOLCANIC ROCKS.

Volcanic rocks are situated here in striking accordance with the main fault lines. The small outcrops along the Yokneam-Megiddo road as well the big conical volcano of Tall al Asmar, SW of Megiddo, were already known to BLANCKENHORN (**7**) and mentioned by KOERT (**9**). A detailed survey reveals the existence of numerous smaller and larger spots of volcanic rocks which appear in two distinct rows, one along the border of the Kishon-plain, along the main road (**25**), between Abu Zureiq and Megiddo, the other in the hills parallel to the former row, approximately 3 km further southwest. The linear arrangement convincingly proves their dependance on tectonics.

The first, low-lying row of volcanic outcrops possesses no definite volcanic structures such as cones, craters, etc. It seems as if these outcrops represent small, narrow lava outflows from elongated ruptures, or small external remnants of wider lava and tuffa field which may

[1] BLAKE's note on my discovery of Vindobonian in this region (*22*, p. 76) is erroneous.

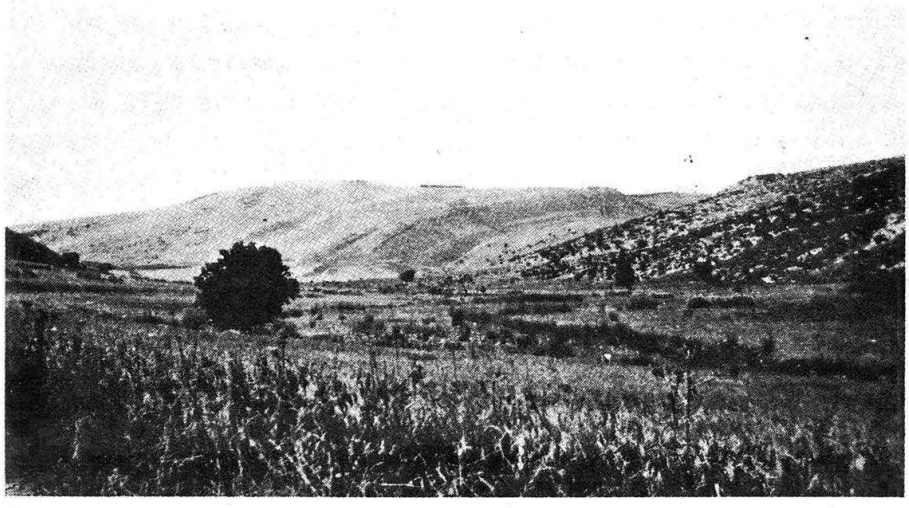

Fig. 1 Carmel-anticline east of Umm az Zinat cut in two parts by a fault..

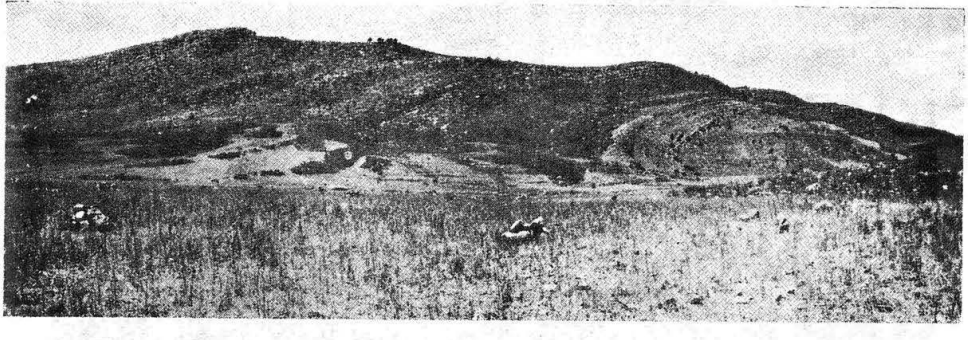

Fig. 2. Carmel-anticline east of Umm az Zinat; view from SE to NW. In the foreground a Senonian remnant which dropped down along a fault.

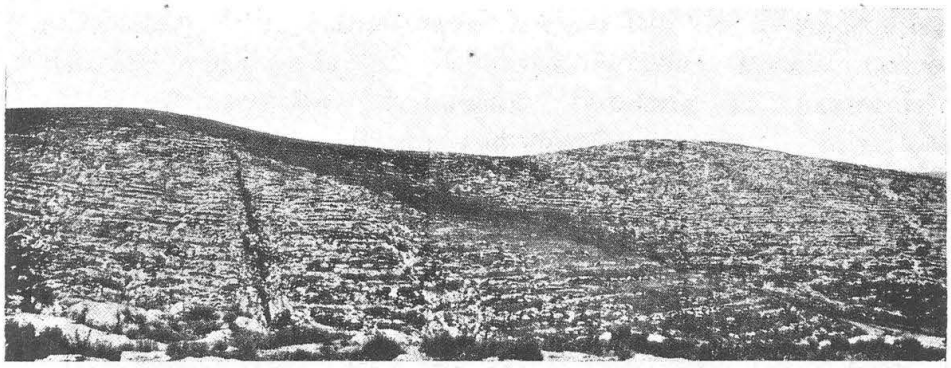

Fig. 1. View of the Dhahrat el Mallul hillock near Megiddo: Eocene beds crossed by numerous joints.

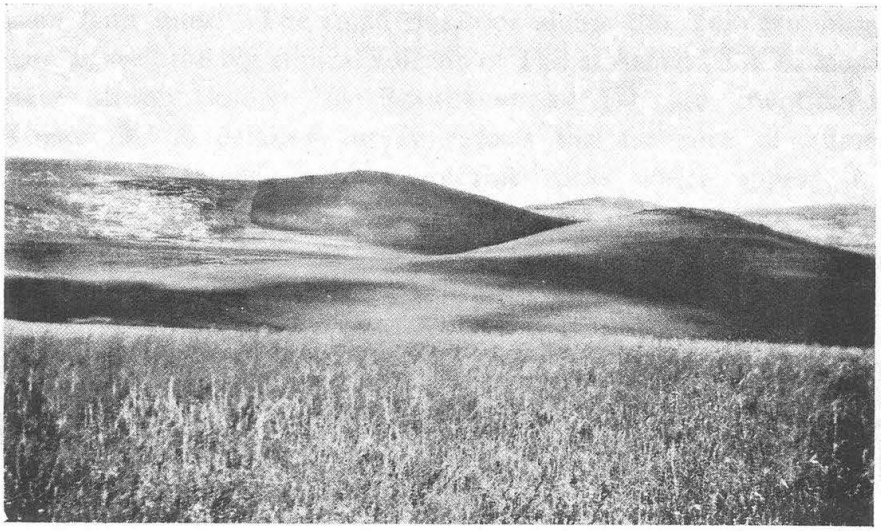

Fig. 2. The volcanoes of Tall al Asmar and Tall Abu Qutta as seen from Tall al Jihash.

be burried under the Kishon plain, i.e. on the other side of the fault-line. In fact, broad basalt outcrops are known from neighbouring areas of the plain and they were met also in several Plio-Pleistocene horizons in the local borings.

The second row, situated in the hills, is represented by a number of distinct volcanoes. The most northern one, named Tall al-Asmar I (there exist here three volcanoes of the same name!) about 2 km westward of Abu Shushe, is a rounded hillock, covered with black basalts from all sides.

Three volcanoes arise south of Mishmar Haemek: Tall al Asmar II, Tall Abu Qutta and Tall al Jihash (Plate II, Fig. 2). This last volcano is almost completely eroded and his basalts are deeply weathered and covered with soil.

About 3 km west of Megiddo the great black conic hillock of the Tall al Asmar III completes the row.

It may be noted that there exists no visible connection between the upper and lower rows of volcanic rocks. Morphologically or tectonically it seems improbable that such a connection ever existed and was afterwards destroyed by erosion or buried as a result of tectonic events. It may therefore be concluded that there existed from the beginning two separate rows of volcanoes which however may have been active at the same time.

According to BLANCKENHORN the basalts and tuffas of the neighbouring region of Carmel and Umm al Fahm are of Cretaceous (Turonian) age. It is important to make clear the relation between the eruptive rocks of the Megiddo and of the neighbouring areas. The fact, that the basalts of Megiddo region cover Eocene strata places them obviously into a younger time than Middle Eocene. Unfortunately younger strata being entirely missing the common stratigraphical method in determing the age of the volcanic rocks cannot be used. We have, therefore, to rely on morphologic data and on the state of preservation of the outcrops. The degree of weathering, however, being dependent upon petrological qualities of the rocks and upon the climatic conditions during unknown epochs, can be used only as a very general criterium. On the contrary a morphological analysis can help in certain circumstances to establish a sequence of geological events. The filling of wadis by lava-flows, as for instance East of Mishmar Haemek (near Ghaba al Tahta)

and in the wadis between the three volcanoes, S of Mishmar Haemek, shows that in the time of the eruptions the morphology was almost in detail the same as that of to-day. Thus the volcanic activity may safely be placed into a recent time, probably into the upper Pliocene or Lower Pleistocene, e.g. in the time of most volcanic eruptions in northern Palestine, in Transjordan and Syria.

As the old eruptive rocks of Carmel and Umm al Fahm have a similar linear arrangement to the young eruptiva of the Megiddo area, it may be supposed that the principal Plio-Pleistocene fault lines of these regions were based on much older fault-lines, formed already during the Turonian time.

F. PLEISTOCENE.

Pleistocene formations are very poorly developed so that they cannot be satisfactorily characterized. Here and there appear small rests of fluviatile gravel terraces situated some metres higher than the actual wadi bed, as for ex. in Wadi Abu Shushe (between Beit Ras and Ain el Quʿ). In some wadis, as for instance in Wadi el Khawwar, east of Rihaniye, thick gravel beds are deposited, the age of which cannot yet be designated.

In the vicinity of Rihaniya rich tuffa deposits have been formed by numerous springs; they seem to be of very recent age and without doubt continue to grow to-day.

The soils, originating from rock-material, are in general as uniform as the rock themselves. Most of them are middle heavy, of grey to light-brown colour. Owing to the porosity of most rocks the soils are generally well aired. The abundance of silica mostly associated with alumen and iron-oxides, makes the soil satisfactorily rich in mineral compounds. Heavy loamy soils are rare because of the lack of clay or marl beds. Only in the vicinity of basalts limited areas of dark heavy soils exist.

SUMMARY.

Between the Samaritan Mountains near Jenin and the Mediterranean shores Haifa spreads as an elongated hilly country, running from SE to NW. It was previously considered as a morphological unit and therefore the name of Carmel Mt. has been assimilated

to the whole area. As the stratigraphy of this country was known almost to the latest days in very general terms only, its geological structure was considered as representing an anticline running in the apparent morphological direction, i.e. SE—NW.

A geological survey made in the middle part of this hilly spur, between the Carmel and Umm el Fahm mountains, has revealed, that the previous geological interpretation was incorrect. In fact this country represents a row of SE—NW-folds intersected by a system of SE—NW-faults. These very faults have produced — through the subsidence of some blocks, forming now the Coastal Plain of Caesarea and the Plain of Kishon River — a horst-like strip of the Carmel, of Megiddo-plateau and of Umm el Fahm mountains.

A detailed investigation was made in an area between Yokneam (Qaimun) at the foot of Carmel and Megiddo, near Um el Fahm region. These two localities lie on the outer points of a deep syncline, named by the author the *syncline of Megiddo.* On the two flanks of the syncline Upper Cretaceous rocks from Cenomanian to Senonian appear. The last formation is very scarcely represented in contrary to its great thickness in other parts of Palestine. Eocene presents a nearly 1000 m. thick calcareous and flinty formation including his Lower and Middle stages. Two nummulitiferous horizons of Lower and Upper Lutetian age were defined.

On the top of this series lays discordantly a limited remnant of Oligocene formation of Stampian-Aquitanian stage which is characterized by typical *Nummulites*, *Orbitoides* and other *Foraminifera.*

Two distinct rows of volcanic formations occur in the NW—SE-direction according to the direction of the main faults.

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MAPS:

a) Survey of Palestine. Palestine. Scale 1 : 250 000. 1934, revised 1937.

b) „ „ *Palestine. 1 : 100 000. Sheet 1 — Haifa.* 1935

c) „ „ *1 : 20 000 Series Topocadastral:*
Sheet 15—21 — Kafr Qariʿ ;
Sheet 15—22 — Umm ez Zinat;
Sheet 16—21 — Umm el Fahm;
Sheet 16—22 — Megiddo.

LA LISTE DES DONATIONS DE BAÎBARS EN PALESTINE D'APRÈS LA CHARTE DE 663 H. (1265).

F.-M. Abel

Jerusalem

Après avoir emporté et rasé les places-fortes de Césarée et d'Arsouf en mars-avril 1265, al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir Baîbars fit dresser les listes des villages et des bourgs du territoire de ces deux villes possédant des terres cultivables et confia au qāḍī de Damas, Šams ad-Dīn Ibn Ḫallikān, le soin d'investir les émirs, qui avaient pris part à la campagne, de la propriété du pays conquis. Des diplômes furent établis en bonne et due forme, que les *dawādāriyya*, ou commis principaux du sultan, répartirent entre leurs destinataires. Quand la cérémonie de l'investiture eut pris fin, Ibn Ḫallikān s'en vint à Gaza, où il rédigea une charte collective réunissant toutes les attributions de fiefs et le nom de chacun des émirs et des courtisans qui en étaient gratifiés, et de ce *maktūb ǧāmʿa* on tira des copies dont chacun des bénéficiers reçut un exemplaire. Suivant l'importance du fief et le degré du mérite à récompenser, le territoire des villages était concédé soit en totalité, soit par moitié, par tiers ou par quart. Ce point de vue, de même que le nom des bénéficiers, reste en dehors de notre programme qui vise seulement à établir d'une manière autant que possible définitive la toponymie de cette charte générale à laquelle la transmission manuscrite a fait subir de multiples altérations. Les variantes ont probablement commencé à se faire jour dans les premières copies du document et il est naturel qu'elles se soient multipliées en passant d'une chronique à l'autre.

C'est Quatremère, par la traduction du texte de Maqrīzī qu'il a publiée sous le titre *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, qui a le plus contribué à divulguer la charte générale de Baîbars (t. 1, 2, p. 13—15). Malheureusement les leçons qu'il trouvait dans son manuscrit étaient loin d'offrir toutes la teneur authentique de l'original, et ses transcriptions comme ses interprétations prêtent le flanc à

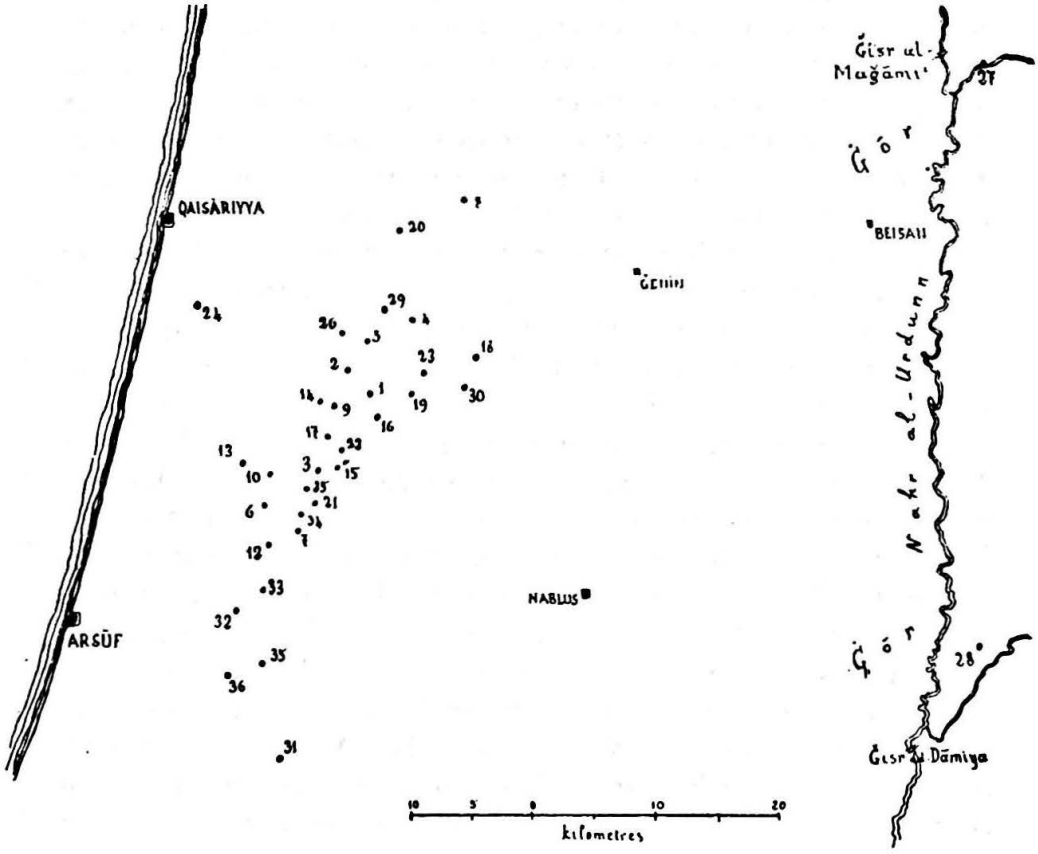
la critique. Les corrections que RÖHRICHT y apporta dans le *ZDPV.*, 1896, p. 61, ne pouvaient aller bien loin, attendu qu'elles ne reposaient que sur des hypothèses émises à l'aide de la toponymie actuelle sans le secours d'un texte critique. Aussi bien, CLERMONT-GANNEAU pensait-il qu'on n'arriverait à aucun résultat décisif si l'on ne recourrait aux manuscrits originaux. Lui-même a fourni sur ce point quelques précisions et d'heureuses suggestions dans le *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. II, p. 56, en attendant un travail plus complet qui, à ma connaissance du moins, n'a pas été publié. En tout cas, dans l'article si documente sur le territoire de Césarée au temps de la domination franque, GUSTAV BEYER, en 1936, ne disposait encore que des trois publications précitées pour établir ses rapprochements entre l'état médiéval de la contrée et sa condition sous Baîbars.

Il y aurait eu cependant un avantage appréciable à tenir compte du texte paru en 1919 dans le tome XII de la *Patrologia Orientalis* par les soins de E. BLOCHET, p. 479—486, que le copte Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abi'l Faḍā'il a inséré dans son *Nahǧ as-sadîd*, histoire des premiers sultans mamlouks de la dynastie des Baḥrides, de 1260 à 1341. L'oeuvre de Mufaḍḍal, terminée en 1358, precède donc de quatre-vingts ans environ le *Sulūk* de Maqrīsī. Mais ce qui a plus d'importance pour nous, c'est qu'il tire la pièce officielle qui nous occupe des Annales de Muḥyi'l Dīn Ibn ʿAbd aẓ-Ẓāhir, qui fut secrétaire privé de Baîbars et de ses deux successeurs, et mourut en 1292. Ce n'est pas que l'emprunt du compilateur copte ait été pratiqué d'une façon irréprochable. Mais s'il est impossible de le corriger par lui-même, puisqu'on ne possède de son œuvre que le ms. 4525 du fonds arabe de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, on a la faculté de collationner ses leçons avec celles d'Ibn ʿAbd aẓ-Ẓāhir, de Nuwaïri dont l'œuvre encyclopédique fut terminée en 1331, et aussi avec celles de Maqrīzī, BLOCHET ayant eu la bonne idée de donner les principales variantes des deux premiers de ces historiens.[1] Cet éditeur toutefois a été moins bien inspiré dans les quelques indications topographiques qu'il a cru devoir fournir pour éclairer son texte, ce qui d'ailleurs pour nous a peu de conséquence.

Dans la liste des noms de lieux énumérés par la charte de Baîbars qui va suivre, le nom en tête de ligne est la forme qui

[1] D'après les Mss. arabes 1707 et 1579 de la Bibl. Nation. à Paris.

nous paraît authentique. Les variantes données à la suite sont les leçons rejetées. On présume l'exactitude de l'auteur dans les cas où il laisse une lettre sans point diacritique.



M = Mufaḍḍal. AZ = Ibn ʿAbd aẓ-Ẓāhir. N = Nuwaïri. Q = Maqrīzī d'aprés QUATREMÈRE, sans égard à la transcription imparfaite de ce dernier.

1. *ʿAtīl*, عتيل, M, AZ.—*ʿatīl* Q.
2. *Zeita*, زيتا, AZ, Q.—*ztn* M.
3. *Ṭūr Karm*, طور كرم, M, Q.—*Turcarme* des actes latins.[1]
4. *Afrāsīn*, افراسين, AZ, Q.— *afrāšīn* M.[2]

[1] Il est intéressant de constater la persistance de la forme originale araméenne. ABEL, *Géogr.* de *la Palestine*, II, p. 487. BEYER, *art. cit.*, p. 39, a tort de lire *Tulkerām* dans Q.

[2] Comme on le peut voir dans le *Census of Palestine 1931* édité par E MILLS, le nom actuel est *Firāsīn* ou *Farāsīn* dans le sous-district de Ǧenīn, p. 68, avec l'aphérèse de l'*élif* initial.

5. *Bāqat aš-Šarqiyya*, باقة الشرقية, AZ.—*nāḥiyya* M, *nāmch* Q.
6. *Qalansuwa*, قلنسوة, M,Q etc.
7. *Ṭayyibath al-ism*, طيّبة الاسم, M,Q etc.
8. *Umm al-Faḥm*, ام الفحم, AZ, Q.—*um al-ʿağam* M.
9. *Baṯān*, بثان, var. de Q. *batān* AZ, *banān* M, *tabān* Q.[1]
10. *Būrīn*, بورين, M,Q.—*nūrīn* AZ.[2]
11. *Bizzīn* بزّين, M.— *tabrīn*, *tīrīn* Q.[3]
12. *Ǧalama*, جلمة,N,AZ.—*ǧabla* M, *ḥamla* ou *ǧamla* AZ.
13. *al-Burǧ al-aḥmar* البرج الاحمر, M, Q etc.[4]
14. *Yammā*, يمّا, AZ, Q.—*nama* M, *bama* N, *tama* var. Q.
15. *Dannāba*, دنّابة, N, Q.—*danāba* AZ, *danāna* M.
16. *Deir al-Ǧuṣūn* دير الغصون, N,[5]— *quṣūn* M, *quṣūl* AZ. *ʿaṣfūr* Q?
17. *aš-Šuweika* الشويكة, M Q.—*šuweila* AZ.
18. *Ṭubras*, طبرس, N, AZ.—*ṭars* M.[6]
19. *ʿIllār*, علّار, M.—*ʿalār* Q.
20. *ʿArʿara*, عرعرا, M, N.—*ʿarʿar* AZ, Q.
21. *Farʿūn*, فرعون, M.—*qarʿūn* Q.
22. *Iktāba*, اكتابا Census.—Blochet *iqtāba*; *istāba* M, *istābā* N, AZ.[7]
23. *Seidā*, سيدا, N, AZ.—*sbdā* M. Census: *Ṣeidā* صيدا.[8]

[1] *Kh. Ibṯan* actuellement sur le territoire de *D. al-Ǧuṣūn*, Census, p. 54. ABEL, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] *Kh. Būrīn* à l'ouest de *Ṭūl Karm* (BEYER, *ZDPV.*, 1936, p. 40.) plutôt que le village homonyme au sud de Nablus.

[3] *Beit Bezzin*, nom samaritain d'une ruine importante proche de *Kafr Qaddūm*, *SWP.*, XI, Lo. Lorsque BLOCHET ne donne pas les variantes de N et de AZ, c'est qu'il y a accord avec M.

[4] *Turris Rubea* des chartes du moyen-âge, aujourd'hui *Burǧ al-ʿAṯōṯ* ou *Kh. el-Burǧ* à l'ouest du Kh. Būrīn. CL.--GANNEAU, *RAO.*, II, p. 98.

[5] A vrai dire, Nuwairi a *Deir el-Ǧuṣūd* dans le ms. de Paris, mais, sauf pour la dernière lettre, il est bon dans l'ensemble du toponyme, et M bon pour la finale.

[6] *Ṭubrās* d'après *SWP.*, XI, Lm, site ruiné au nord de *Kafr Rāʿī*.

[7] BLOCHET ne dit pas sur quoi il établit son texte, qui dans Q est *estaba*, *sebahia* avec une identification hypothétique avec Deir Istīa. Mais il est certainement question ici de *Iktaba* du ressort de ʿAnabta. Census, p, 53.

[8] Parmi les bénéfices de l'abbaye du Mont-Sion figure *in territorio Caesariensi* le casal de *Sida*. ROEHRICHT, *Regesta RH.*, No. 576.

24. *aṣ-Ṣufrā*, الصفرا, M etc.—*aṣ-ṣaīr al-fauqā* Q.[1]
25. *Irtaḥ*, ارتاح, M, N.—*irbaḥ* AZ, *artaḫ* Q.
26. *Bāqat al-Ġarbiyya*, باقة الغربية N, AZ.—*yafā ġ.* Q, *namā* M.
27. *al-Quṣeir*, القصير, M, N, Q.—*al-qaṣr* AZ.[2]
28. *Aḫṣāṣ*, اخصاص, N, AZ, Q.—*aʿāṣ* M.
29. *Qaffīn*, قفّين, N.—*qaʿīn* M correction, *fafīn* AZ, *faqīn* Q.
30. *Kafr Rāʿī*, كفر راعى, N, AZ, Q.—*bezaʿī* M.
31. *Kesfā*, كسفا, N, AZ, M, Q.—BLOCHET *kastā*.[3]
32. *Breika*, بريكة, N.—*brmla* AZ. *berdika* Q.[4]
33. *Ḥānūtā*, حانوتا BLOCHET.—*ḫānūtā* Q, *ḥanuna* N, AZ, *ḫabūna* M.[5]
34. *Fardīsyā*, فرديسيا, BLOCHET.—*fardīsā* N, AZ, *afradīsa* M, *afradnesifa* Q.
35. *Ḥabla*, حبله, N.—*ǧabla* Q, *ḥala* AZ, M.
36. *Ġulǧūlya*, جلجوليا, N, Q.—*ġulḥūlya* M, *ḥlḥūlya*.

[1] C'est le nom du territoire situé au sud de Césarée et du Nahr al-Mufǧir où se trouve maintenant la florissante colonie juive de Hadera. Ce nom provenait sans doute de la couleur jaunâtre d'un marais. *SWP.*, VII, II.

[2] Cette localité et la suivante n'appartenaient pas au cadre général du *sahel*, comme ou le verra plus loin.

[3] Cette correction est inutile, car le *Kh. Kesfa* est bien connu au nord-est de Meǧdel Yābā (GUÉRIN, *Samarie*, II, 136) et *Kasta* peut à peine représenter *Qasṭa*, proche du Thabor.

[4] La leçon مكة, de M, qui a perdu son initiale, montre ainsi que AZ que le nom comportait cinq lettres. Comme le nom est répété dans le texte, parce que la localité est répartie en deux moitiés, les variantes ne manquent pas. Mais je ne doute pas que le vrai texte ne soit la première mention de Nuwairi بريكة où, quoiqu'elle soit muette, la 3e lettre est à ponctuer en *yā*. Le village en vue ici n'est autre que le *Kh. Ibreikeh* de *SWP.*, XI, Jo, ou *el-Breikeh* de GUÉRIN, *Samarie*, II, 355, au sud de *Kh. Ḥānūtā*, plutôt que son homonyme au nord-est de Cèsarée, dont il est question *ZDPV.*, 1936, p. 32. *Barnikya* de *SWP.*, XIV, Jp, au sud de Qalqilya peut se soutenir à la rigueur, comme le propose BLOCHET.

[5] Au nord de Qalqīlya. Voir la feuille *Tulkarm* du *Survey*, 1937.

OBSERVATIONS

I.— Ont été concédés chacun dans sa totalité les Nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 34. Total : 13.

Ont été concédés par moitié les Nos. 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13,[1] 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32. Total: 17.

Une seule moitié est mentionnée pour les Nos. 29 et 33. Total: 2

Une moitié et deux quarts pour le No. 2. Total: 1

Ont été concédés par tiers les Nos. 12,[1] 35, 36. Total: 3.

II,— Le No. 8 d'après Q, et le No. 34 d'après N, AZ, Q sont suivis de la mention *min Qaīsāriyya.*

Les Nos. 33 et 35 d'après N, AZ, Q sont suivis de la mention *min Arsūf.*

III.— Le No. 11, *Bizzīn*, a été prélevé sur un ancien fief de Baudouin de Rames (Ramla) dont l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat avait reçu le droit de percevoir d'abord le tiers de la dîme, puis la dîme entière. Beith-bezim (var. *Bathezim, Bezezin*) aujourd'hui *Kh. Beit Bezzīn* près de Kafr Qaddūm, formait un groupe avec les villages actuels de Ṣarra et de Ǧammaʿīn du sous-district de Nablus.[2]

A l'occasion de l'octroi des bénéfices de la région conquise à l'ouest, la charte globale insère dans une énumération peu soucieuse de l'ordre géographique deux fiefs situés dans la vallée du Jourdain à l'est du fleuve, en deux situations aussi importantes au point de vue du rapport des terres qu'au point de vue stratégique ou routier. QUATREMÈRE[3] a vu juste quand il a identifié le No. 27 avec *Quṣeīr* que Maqrīzī connaît dans la province du Ġōr.

En plus du son rôle de tête de pont du Ǧisr el-Maǧāmiʿ,

[1] Q donne la 13e place à *Ġalama* parce qu'il l'ajoute d'après Nuwairi après *Burǧ al-aḥmar* au lieu de l'inscrire avant, comme le font les autres auteurs.

[2] DELABORDE, *Chartes de T.S. provenant de l'Abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat*, p. 37, 64, 101. L'éditeur fait erreur en identifiant B. Bezzīn avec Bethbesan de Guill. de Tyr, XI, 12 qui représente *Kh. Beit Baṣṣa* près de Bethléem.

[3] *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, I, 2, p. 258, avec les références aux auteurs arabes. Mais le rapprochement avec le Châtelet de Guill. de Tyr XXII, 22, qui se trouvait près du Gué de Jacob, est erroné.

Quṣeir,bien irrigué par les canaux de dérivation du Wādi el-ʿArab, était un village où l'on cultivait la canne à sucre, d'après Yaqūt. Ce village, qui tirait son nom du château d'Ibn Mūʿyīn ad-Dīn, n'est guère connu aujourd'hui que sous la vulgaire appellation de *Šūni*.[1]

Quant à *Aḥṣāṣ* (No. 28) le nom est encore attaché à un tell situé près confluent du Nahr az-Zerqā et du Jourdain dans la région où Baîbars fera construire, un an après la charte de donation, son fameux pont du Dāmiya (1266). C'est aussi un de ces domaines fertiles que Jacques de Vérone en 1335 se plaisait à signaler: "*Ultra istum fluvium (Jordanem), sunt pulchre ville et cassalia et orti et jardini, et nascuntur ibi canamelle ad faciendum cucarum.*[2]

IV.— Afin de faciliter les recherches sur la carte administrative actuelle des trente-six localités habitées ou désertes qui portent encore les mêmes noms qu'au XIIIe siécle, nous indiquons ici leur répartition dans les sous-districts modernes.[3]

TULKARM en possède vingt-cinq, à savoir: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.

JENIN en possède cinq, à savoir: 4, 8, 18, 29, 30.

HAIFA en possède deux, à savoir: 20, 24.

NABLUS en possède deux, à savoir: 11, 31.

Dans le Ġōr en Transjordanie, il s'en trouve deux: 27 et 28.

[1] *RB.*, 1911, p. 424; *JPOS.*, 1927, p. 115; HARTMANN, *ZDMG.*, LXX., p. 491, n. 4; *MuNDPV.*, 1912, p. 59. GUÉRIN, *Galilée* I, p. 286; LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 490.

[2] *RB.*, 1910, p. 555 s., 553; *Géogr. de la Pal.*, I, p. 481. *Arch. de l'Or. Lat.* I. p. 369.

[3] *Sufrā*, *Breika* et *Quṣeir* figurent encore dans les anciennes cartes.

A FORGED "MAMLUKE" COPPER-PLATE

ST. H. STEPHAN

(JERUSALEM)

In his work on *Saracenic Heraldry*, L. A. MAYER, in a short chapter on forgeries, states that they are comparatively "rare and easily detected" from the workmanship and pseudo-historical inscriptions, "invariably very clumsy in their wording, without regard to the right character and sequence of titles, usually anonymous".[1]

The following typical example may be added to the specimens reproduced in his work on plates lxx and lxxi.

COPPER PLATE (private collection) formerly in the possession of "The Sphinx" (Messrs. Najjarian Bros.), Jerusalem.

Dimensions: Diameter: 37 cms., depth from the rim 5,5 cms., depth without the rim: 2.5 cms., breadth of the rim: 5.5 cms.

The inscription runs as follows

عزّ لمولانا السلطان ا ○ لعامل العادل القادر ا ○

لمالكي المرابط الكامل ا ○ لمولوى الملك الناصري ○

Glory be to our Lord, the Sultan, the Governing,[2] the Just, the Omnipotent, the Royal, the Warrior at the Frontiers, the Perfect, the Lord, (officer) of al-Malik an-Nāṣir.

The four medallions intersecting the inscription show a seven-petalled rosette in the centre, with a short text around it:—

المقر العالي المالكي ○ العالمي ○ الناصرى

His high excellency, the royal, the learned (freedman) of an-Nāṣir.

The chiselling is in low relief (not incrustation). It is executed in a manner considered nowadays highly expensive. The smooth

[1] MAYER, L. A.: *Saracenic Heraldry*. A Survey. Oxford, 1933, Clarendon Press. xvi, 302, lxii pls., pp. 42–43.

[2] *al-ʿāmil* the person doing (sc. good works and deeds) in contradistinction to *al-ʿālim* the learned. These titles were also given to Judges, cf. the *ḥujaj* of the Sharīʿa Courts, where these epithets form a usual part of the preamble.

back of the plate is certainly over 150 years old[3] and contrasts curiously with the "modern" impression made by the inscribed side. It was alleged to be of Egyptian make, bought from a coppersmith over fifty years old, who claimed to have seen it in his shop "since the time of his grandfather".

The inscription may be dated to the beginning of this century, or about fifty years ago at the most, judging from epigraphical evidence.[4]

The inscription professes to be mamluk and royal, but its wording betrays its considerably later origin. The text begins with the familiar opening "Glory be to our Lord, the Sulṭān", but immediately changes over to an amirical "protocol", mixes titles of independent form, like *al-māliki*, or *al-maulawi*, with absolute ones, like *al-murābiṭ*, or *al-kāmil*. The most curious title is that of *al-qādiri*, the omnipotent, which is one of the "precious ninety-nine Names of Allah", and so far as the present writer knows, was never used with the titles of any sultan or amir of the Mamluks.[5] The most obvious error lies in the last two words, "*al-malik an-Nāṣiri*," which at the end of a supposedly royal invocation are in themselves sufficient to give the forgery away.[6]

Details. 1. *The Writing.* The general impression left by the forms of the letters is that they were not chiselled before the beginning of this century. But the artisan did not want to use the script of his own age, and copied an older inscription which he had before him,

[3] Coppersmiths in Damascus produce to order a patina on similar copper vessels, which would give the impression of antiquity, by exposing the object so treated to smoke after coating it with ammonia. The procedure takes less than half an hour.

[4] *al-Qalqashandi* in his administrative compendium *ṣubḥu-l-aʿsha* (Cairo, 1915, Govt. Press), vol. vii, p. 140 ff. gives full details of the preambles to be used in individual cases for royal persons and high dignitaries, dividing them into eight distinct categories.

[5] *al-qādiri* might, as it stands, allude to membership of the Qādiri Order of Derwishes. But this is very improbable, as it is never thus used in Mamluk inscriptions. No Mamluk Sultan with the name of ʿAbd ul- Qādir is known.

[6] To enable the reader to make his own comparisons the following sources may be quoted: WIET, *Objects en cuivre*, for a *pen-box* (pls. viii & xlvi); for a *rosette* (other form) and *vine-scroll* (pls. v & lxiv); for *leaves* (pl. lvii) and BOURGOIN, *L'Art arabe*, vol. III, pl. lxi, a similar execution in wood is also to be found in the last named vol., pl. lv.

seen in forms such as, e.g., the *kāf* in *al-māliki* and the *mīm* in *al-murābiṭi*.

2. The *Medallion* is similar to that on pl. xlii, 1, MAYER, *op. cit.*

3. The *Pen-Box* is carelessly drawn and the upper and lower fields filled with three rows of lozenges each, a way of indicating an empty space not to be found on genuine Mamluk copper plates.

4. The four *rosettes* have their prototype in medieval copper inscriptions.

5. The *ornaments* show Coptic influence. The ornamental designs in the centre of the plate are as a whole very different from medieval decoration of Syrian and Egyptian dishes although single elements appear on Coptic and Mamluk copper objects.

The whole is well made and a fine specimen of pre-war Syrian and Egyptian metal-work. It may be of interest to know that it realized £ 3.10.0; copper dishes of the same size without inscriptions or ornamentations are sold for less than 10/-.

Plate III

THE VERY EXCEPTIONAL RAINY SEASON OF 1937–38 IN PALESTINE AND THE NEAR EAST

D. ASHBEL

(JERUSALEM)

SUMMARY.

The rainy season of 1937–38 was marked by a greater rainfall than the average along the entire eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea in Syria, Palestine, the Sanjak of Alexandretta (Hatai), and the coast of Turkey bordering the Aegean Sea. There was a very unusual amount of rain in the Negeb (Southern Palestine) and the Syrian Desert between Damascus and Baghdad, owing to two severe cloudbursts which occured there at the end of October and the middle of November, 1937. These floods were associated with barometric minima in the form of an inverted V (Λ), the centres of which were located at the northern end of the Red Sea. December was the most arid month of the winter, an unusual phenomenon in Palestine and Syria. The most rainy month in the mountainous sections of Palestine and the Lebanon was January, 1938. In this month, about 750 millimetres of rain fell in 22 days in the Hermon and the Lebanon, mostly in the form of snow.

The month of February also, in the year concerned, received a high amount of rain, especially in those regions which were relatively dry in the months of October and November, i. e., the mountains of Palestine and Syria; where as along the coast there was in February a considerable drop in the line of the yearly graph. In this and the following month, snow still fell in the high mountains, especially in the Hermon and the Lebanon; with the beginning of March the snow began to thaw, although in this month there fell from 8 to 20 per cent of the rain of the season. The major part of the rain fell on this occasion in the regions distant from the sea, such as the hills of Jerusalem and Moab, the Hauran, and even Iraq. However it must be pointed out that, also along the coast, portions of the country in the southern part of Palestine (namely, between Gaza and El-Arish) received an exceptionally

great quantity of rainfall in March. While April was almost dry throughout the country, heavy rains fell in most zones in the middle of May. The rains of May were especially heavy in Armenia and Western Persia, in which the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates have their origin. This fact was responsible for the heavy floods in Iraq at this time.

The high amount of rain in the winter of 1937–38 was accompanied by a great deal of cloudiness during the rainy season, and the number of days of sunshine was therefore small. In general, both the winter and the spring, were colder than average. The effects of this were visible in the plant and fruit tree kingdom. In the spring of 1937–38, the foliation and blossoming of fruit trees of all kinds was delayed by three or four weeks in the coastal plain and still longer in the hills.

The winter of 1937–38 set in on October 4, 1937. The outstanding feature of the month however was the heavy floods which occurred in the desert regions of Sinai and the Negeb in southern Palestine, in the Syrian Desert, and the area between Damascus and Homs on the hills of Kalmon and Maalula on the eastern slope of the Anti-Lebanon. There were also heavy floods in the heart of the desert (in the vicinity of the Rutbah Wells). Localities which ordinarily receive 50 mm. per year, or less, received a quantity of water several times greater than that in this flood alone. The wells of Rutbah between Damascus and Baghdad, in the heart of the desert, received over 60 mm. of rainfall during the flood in the latter part of October. In the vicinity of Auja-Hafir, in the Negeb of Palestine, about 100 mm. of rain fell in place of the 73 mm. customarily received during a whole year. The soil of the desert, not being accustomed to absorb rainwater, particularly if the water falls in very great quantities at a time, was inundated over large areas.

A very considerable amount of destruction was wrought in the villages to the north of Damascus by the catastrophe at the end of October. No actual measurements were taken at the scene of the disaster, owing to the panic and the great loss of life and property caused to one hundred villages in the vicinity of Damascus, Nebek, and Jarud. M. Combier, the Director of the Geophysical Institute at Kasara in the Lebanon, communicated to the writer the information

that he estimated the amount of rain that fell on this occasion at 200 or 300 millimetres. The devastation to the villages in the region was caused mainly by the hundreds of tons of stones and boulders which rolled thunderously down the hillsides with enormous violence, that is, following the loss of equilibrium due to ditches formed in the surrounding soil by the water. The propulsive force of the water alone could not have caused such great damage.

In Southern Palestine, the flood centred in the Wadi El-Arish; more specifically on the water-shed between this Wadi and the Wadi of Fukrah descending to the Dead Sea.

Of the total amount of rain in the winter 1937–38, approximately 25% fell during the month of October at El-Arish, and about 40% at Port Said and Maan on the frontier of Hejaz. At Auja-Hafir, which was close to the focal point of the cloudburst at the end of October, there fell about 16.5%, and at Asluj about 13.5%. The Tel-Aviv-Haifa area also received, in percentages, about 17%, while Acre received about 22.2%. Unlike the Negeb and the coastal regions, in the interior of the country about 2–5% of the total rain of the year fell in the mountainous districts, 9–10% in the Valley of Jezreel, 10–16% in the Beisan-Ein-Harod Plain, about 10% in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, and about 5–7% in the Huleh. The Hills of Amman and the Gilead on the other side of the Jordan received from 1 to 5 per cent. The regions close to the sources of the Euphrates in Armenia received 10–17%. The same is true of the entire interior of Anatolia and its coast on the Black Sea. It is especially worthy of note that the rainbursts of October, as well as that in the middle of November, were related to an arm of the barometric minimum centered over Abyssinia and the Sudan, the centre of which absorbed a great quantity of humidity at the northern end of the Red Sea and flowed northwards to Palestine and Syria. This distribution of pressure and winds, although rare as regards both extent and type, appears to have been a cause of the great floods in this territory.[1]

NOVEMBER.

The distribution of rainfall in November into percentages shows that there was an increase in all parts of the Negeb between

[1] D. ASHBEL Great floods in the Sinai Peninsula, Palestine and the Syrian Desert, etc. *Quarterly Journal Royal Meteorological Society*, October 1938, London.

Auja-Hafir to Kurnub, receiving from 24% to 51% (at Al-Imarah). An equal quantity of rain also fell in Maan in Edom and Rutbah in the Syrian Desert. The Nathanya-Ras el Nakura region along the coast received amounts similar to the above in percentages, although in millimetres there was a vast difference (see Table). In the month of November, the basin of the Euphrates on the north-eastern frontier of Syria also received 31–38% of the rain of the season, while Baghdad and Basrah received only 12%. The district of Van received about 20% and the region of the Taurus Mountains about 40%. The entire sea coast near Mersine, as well as the entire region of Ismir and the Dardanelles received about 20–26%. At the same time, the coast of the Black Sea did not receive more than 10–12%. The interior of Anatolia received 15–26%. In Palestine, the citrusbearing districts of Rehovoth-Herzlia received about 9%, while the vicinity of Gaza-Gederah received 11–17%. Mount Carmel received 16–17%, while the valley of Acre, the western part of the Plain of Jezreel, and the Huleh received about 13%. The Ein-Harod-Beisan region and the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee received 7–10%. The Hauran, in this period, received 15%. while in the hills of Gilead there fell only 2–6%.

During the night of November 18–19, there was a great downpour in almost the identical regions in which the flood of the end of October occurred. This flood was less severe to the north of Damascus, but in the Negeb, the hills of Edom and Moab, the Hauran, and the desert of Rutbah, its effects were even greater than the flood of October. The flood was also destructive at the foot of the Taurus Mountains in the south of Turkey. The water coursing down the hills of Edom and Moab and the Negeb in this instance flowed mainly to the Dead Sea, not being limited to one channel but distributed through a number of tributaries simultaneously. The perpetual streams as well, such as the stream of Zered (Hassa), the Arnon, the River of Zerka-Main, the Yabok, and the Yarmok brought down tremendous quantities of water, together with thousands of tons of trees, which covered the surface of the Dead Sea until thrown by the waves or the storm on to the various coasts. These trees interfered with the motor boat traffic for a long period of time. The deltas of all the above-mentioned streams were completely altered in the latter part of November.

The epicentre of the cloudburst of November in the Negeb was at El-Imarah, between Beersheba and Khan-Yunis. In two days, 213 millimetres of rain fell at this usually arid point!

In several sections of Palestine, especially along the coast and in the Negeb, the month of November formed a new peak in the annual rainfall curve.

DECEMBER.

The month of December was, on the whole, dry to an exceptional degree. With the exception of a few places on the Sea-coast and in the Negeb, which received more than 10–12%, only from 4 to 7% of the rainfall of the year fell in this month in the greater part of the country. In the Plain of Jezreel, in Upper Galilee, and in the Hermon, the amount decreased to even 2%. In the hills of Amman and in Iraq, the quantity decreased to one fourth of one per cent, and even to zero.

The interruption of rainfall which began in the month of December continued for several weeks. This, in several sections, caused a dessication of the field crops and pasture in the hills so that many farmers were apprehensive for the welfare of their winter crops. Some farmers hurried to replough their fields. This, however, subsequently appeared to have been premature and unnecessary.

The one region which was rainy in December was the hills of Muglah in Anatolia, opposite Rhodes, and the coast of the Aegean Sea as far as the Dardanelles. Muglah received 604 mm. in 18 days in this month!

JANUARY.

In January, the rainfall graph rose to its highest point. Over two-thirds of the days of the months were days of rain and snow in the hills. The maximum precipitation of the month in the whole of the eastern Mediterranean occurred at the Hermon. In Majdal-Shems at the southern foot of the Hermon, 745 mm. of rain fall in a period of twenty-two days! (London receives 630 mm. in 170 rainy days out of a whole year.) Precipitation of 400–410 mm. also fell in Kuneitra, in the Golan, in Es-Salt, in Gilead, in Metullah, and in Kfar Gileadi. The hills of Ramallah to the north of Jerusalem

also received more than 300 millimetres in this month. The graph for the rainfall climbed abruptly at this place to the peak of the year. Two places in Turkey also received a quantity of 300 mm. and more in this month. These were Muglah in the south and Rizah in the northeast of Anatolia at the boundary of the Caucasian Mountains. In this month, the level of the inland lakes in Palestine rose to their highest points, and the rivers were also swollen with water. Many springs reappeared throughout the country and the waterways coursed powerfully for many months.

The following amounts of rain, in percentages, fell in the month of January:

In the Negeb, about 20–30%, Ras-Zweira, in the Negeb, alone receiving 50.4%. On the Sea-coast and in the mountains and valleys, about 32–45% of the total rain of the year fell in this month. Besides the Negeb, the desert and the Tel-Aviv region in Palestine and the region of Basra in Iraq (45%), the region of Urfa, on the boundary of Turkey and Syria, received the greatest quantity in percentages. The smallest quantity in percentages which fell in January (5–7%) occurred along the coast of the Aegean-Sea between Ismir and the Dardanelles. The same was true of the interior of Anatolia (10–13%).

FEBRUARY.

Along the coast of Palestine, this month's graph began to fall, while in the mountains and valleys and the valley of Jezreel it remained at the standard, although to a slightly lesser degree than in January. Only a few places showed a graph for February which rose above the peak for January (Beit Alpha, Amman, Damascus, the coast of the Aegean Sea in Turkey and the coast of the Black Sea.).

The precipitation in percentages in the month of February was as follows: In the hills of Jerusalem, 33–38%; the hills of Hebron, Zweira and Kurnub, 25–27%; the valley of Jezreel, 20–35%; the region of Tiberias, 20%; the sea coast, 15–30%; the Huleh district, 18–22%; Gilead, about 30%; the Druse Hills and the Hermon, about 22% and the Syrian Desert, 3–4%. Only 2–8% fell in the interior of Anatolia.

The month of February this year was very cold, and in the

mountainous districts of Palestine there were four snowfalls. The final snow in Jerusalem fell on February 28, connected with an eastern air current (at the earth surface)!

MARCH.

There were heavy rains in this month also in the Negeb, especially in the districts of El-Arish (36.1%). In the region of the Jerusalem-Hebron hills and the Hills of Ephraim 15–20% fell, and along the cost, 6–10%. The region of Gaza was especially prominent in this respect, as it received 23.5% of the rainfall of the year in this month, which was higher than any other portion of the coast. The Hills of Edom and Moab, which received 17–21% of the rains of the whole year in the month of March, were also notable in this connection, as well at the Jebel Druze. This was true also of the vicinity of Baghdad, which was especially rainy (31%). The month of March in this year was also colder than average.

APRIL

The month of April was very dry in Palestine and Syria, and the amount of precipitation was 0–2% of the yearly total. The districts which received the most rain in this month were that of Maan on the Hejaz frontier (10%), the source of the Euphrates in Armenia (15–19)% and the interior of Anatolia (Ankara, 22.6%). Siwas 22.2% ElAziz 13.9% Gumusplane 23.8% Eskishehir 22.2% (Tokat 24.5%/0 The coast of the Black Sea received 6–17%.

MAY.

Heavy rains fell in the beginning and middle of this month, influencing to a great extent the winter crops in several districts. In Palestine the rainfalls for this month were especially heavy in the hills of Ramallah. The eastern part of the Valley of Jezreel received 5–7%. From one to two per cent fell on the sea coast and 4–8% in Galilee, while the hills of Transjordan received 2–6%. The region which received the greatest amount of rainfall during this month was the vicinity of Kastamouni in Turkey—26.6%. The Taurus Mountains received 10–18%, the coastal regions of the Aegean Sea 2–4%, the interior of Anatolia 7–18%, and the coast of the Black Sea 6–12%.

THE SEASONAL TOTAL.

In general, the greatest quantity of rainfall (in percentages of the average) fell in the Negeb of Palestine (200–357%) and at Rutbah, in the Syria-Iraq desert 240%). The coast of the Mediterranean Sea received 25–40% more than the average for Palestine. Nathanya, for instance, was especially prominent in this connection, receiving 143%. The Valley of Jezreel and the Ein-Harod-Beisan district did not receive such a surplus (124%.) The Huleh received the normal quantity, whereas the Gilead and the Hermon, as well as the Hills of Lebanon, received 120–130%. At the same time, a great part of Transjordan, as well as Moab and Edom, did not receive more than normal, while there were several places which received less than normal.

Sections receiving much greater quantities than average were the regions of Antioch and Tripoli in the northern part of Syria and the Lebanon (about 1500–1800 mm.) The Lebanon and the Hermon received from 1800 mm. upwards. The rainiest place in the Near East during this period was the region of Muglah in the southern part of Anatolia opposite Rhodes (over 2300 mm.). The region of Rizeh, in the vicinity of the Caucasian Mountains to the northeast of Turkey, was also outstanding, receiving over 2400 mm.

RAIN SEASON 1937–1938 IN PALESTINE, & THE NEAR-EAST IN % OF THE SEASON AMOUNT.

	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Ap.	May	Year in mm	Year in % of the average
Alexandria	—	12.7	13.2	13.7	31.6	20.4	7.0	1.0	—	196.	100.
El Arish	—	24.5	3.9	20.0	14.2	0.7	36.1	—	0.6	155.	152.
Khan Junis	—	8.4	19.3	13.2	29.8	11.9	16.8	—	—	302.	150.
MOUNTAINS OF PALESTINE											
Auja Hafir	—	16.4	24.1	2.7	32.5	14.6	13.5	—	—	284.5	357.
Asluj	—	13.5	23.6	2.9	25.3	10.6	24.1	—	—	170.	170.
El Jmara	—	3.5	51.2	3.3	18.2	13.4	10.5	—	—	456.	236.
Beersheva	—	9.5	25.7	2.2	32.5	11.7	17.2	—	1.0	236.1	117.
Kurnub	—	2.3	24.6	3.9	20.8	27.7	20.8	—	—	130.	173.
Ras Zweira	—	10.8	4.5	—	50.4	25.5	8.9	—	—	101.5	107.
Hebron	—	4.9	10.9	2.7	35.2	26.5	19.0	—		527.2	100.
Jerusalem University	—	3.3	.45	2.3	36.5	38.0	14.0	0.2	0.5 1.2	645.5	115.
Ramallah	—	1.7	8.2	52.	37.5	33.0	18.4	—	13.0	039.4	130.
Kiriat Anavim	—	4.7	6.5	4.3	36 5	35.5	11.8	0.9	—	1876.9	109.
Nablus	—	4.1	5.8	5.8	36.	32.4	11.1	—	4.1	658.8	94.
Jenin	—	9.2	8.2	5.5	30.6	26.2	13.7	—	5.9	522.2	104.
Nazareth	—	5.7	12.6	4.8	39.7	16.8	15.2	0.6	4.9	506.7	68.5
Safed	—	12.0	5.8	3.	31.7	14.5	22.	2.8	4.5	900.	95.
Miilia	—	11.4	13.6	6.0	40.5	16.2	6.8	1.8	3.8	208.6	34.1
COASTAL PLAIN											
Gaza	—	10.1	13.0	6.0	37.1	9.6	23.5	—	0.8	594.6	156.
Beertuvia	—	5.1	17.0	6.4	31.7	25.5	14.4	—	—	723.2	145.
Rehovoth	—	6.9	8.6	14.7	44.	29.7	5.6	—	1.4	710.4	140.
Tel Aviv	—	13.6	6.7	10.4	45.	15.	7.3	—	1.7	714.3	145.
Nathania	—	14.2	21.3	2.7	28.1	11.9	8.	1.3	2.3	771.	143.
Zikhron Jacob	—	8.9	16.8	6.5	38.	13.4	13.4	0.2	2.7	706.	113.
Athlit	—	5.	13.7	18.2	36.7	17.5	13.5	1.7	4.1	660.5	110.
Haifa	—	17.	16.5	1.3	29.2	15.	6.6	1.7	2.5	807.2	132.
Jaur	—	9.3	13.1	5.9	37.	19.	10.7	1.6	3.3	941.3	115.
Acco	—	22.2	13.0	6.5	29.7	17.4	8.1	—	1.3	837.2	129.
Naharia	—	19.5	15.4	5.6	31.2	13.5	9.9	1.9	2.3	965.5	138.
Ras el Nakura	—	9.	22.3	4.3	35.5	17.3	14.1	0.2	3.8	933.8	134.
Beirut	0.2	16.7	14.2	10.2	28.3	16.	8.	2.9	3.1	194.	131.
Tripoli	—	13.2	11.3	14.2	29.2	18.	6.9	4.5	2.5	495.	150.
Tartus	—	25.7	15.2	6.4	15.9	13.5	5.9	4.2	3.5	1990.	
Alexandretta	—	16.	16.2	12.4	18.	9.1	3.9	8.6	16.	1888.	135.
EL AMK											
Antioch	—	10.2	12.5	8.2	20.9	14.1	4.6	8.7	20.2	1516.	126.
Kirik Khan	—	9.6	21.4	8.2	30.	12.9	4.6	8.8	4.6	852.	

	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Ap.	May	Year in mm	Year in 0/0 of the average
					PLAIN OF JEZREEL						
Nahalal	—	9.1	13.	5.2	35.8	17.3	14.1	0.2	3.8	663.4	102.
Merhavia	—	10.8	12.1	2.1	37.	20.6	12.1	0.7	4.2	547.5	100.
Ain Harod	—	15.6	6.7	2.	33.8	21.6	14.3	—	6.2	601.	120.
Beth Alfa	—	10.9	6.6	2.9	22.2	35.5	16.8	—	4.9	636.9	100.
Beisan	—	16.7	9.	3.2	30.3	16.5	18.2	—	5.9	356.	119.
Naharaim	—	7.1	8.5	3.1	36.5	19.3	17.3	1.2	6.6	496.	124.
Dagania	—	4.3	9.	4.2	41.5	21.	13.3	—	6.0	419.6	104.
Tiberias	—	9.7	11.3	4.1	38.8	19.2	11.6	0.5	5.	591.	124.
Rosh Pina	—	6.6	10.2	4.9	37.3	22.6	11.7	2.2	4.3	889.	101.
Ajeleth Hashahar	—	5.9	10.5	5.6	35.	21.5	13.	1.5	6.7	585.7	104.
Jessod Hamaala	—	5.3	11.7	6.	33.	22.5	11.6	1.6	7.3	511.5	105.
Kfar Gileady	—	4.9	6.9	7.3	40.	22.	9.5	2.	6.4	1015.7	120.
					TRANSJORDAN, SYRIA & IRAQ						
Petra	—	5.5	18.2	5.5	33.1	18.3	18.7	1.8	—	292.	150.
Buseira										428.	
Maan	—	22.6	25.1	—	18.9	13.2	7.6	10.	2.5	79.5	150.
Mazar	—	9.9	7.2	3.	40.	17.7	20.8	—	1.5	414.	103.
Medeba	—	1.	11.1	2.6	35.5	29.3	21.	—	2.	397.	95.
Amman	—	1.4	3.9	0.3	28.5	3.7	19.5	0.4	6.7	341.3	115.
Es Salt	—	2.1	2.9	1.9	44.6	34.	10.9	—	3.1	996.5	143.
Kefrinji	—	3.5	3.5	5.	30.1	27.8	16.	0.9	4.	777.	111.
Irbid	—										
Sweida	—	2.6	15.3	2.9	34.4	22.	21.2	—	3.6	500.	100.
Keneitra	—	5.1	4.9	2.6	40.5	31.	8.1	4.1	5.5	1175.	95.
Majdal Shems	—	3.5	9.6	1.9	42.5	22.9	9.	4.4	5.8	1730.	116.
Damascus	—	7.9	3.1	1.7	20.	21.7	8.9	—	8.6	290.	116.
Ksara	—	10.1	8.1	5.2	30.5	25.6	8.1	3.8	7.8	743.	129.
Raiak	—	7.8	7.8	6.9	31.3	29.3	7.5	6.8	5.4	798.	134.
Homs	—	13.2	7.6	9.8	33.2	21.3	10.6	0.8	4.	500.	166.
Aleppo	—	15.2	9.8	7.	40.	14.7	3.5	4.9	5.1	429.	143.
Palmyra	—	15.8	10.8	2.5	44.	15.9	7.5	1.7	1.7	120.	120.
I.P.C.(T_3)	—	12.2	35.	2.4	23.7	6.5	18.7	1.6	—	123.	
„ (T_4)	—	15.9	14.5	4.8	44.	8.3	11.7	0.7	—	145.	
Rutba Wells	—	26.5	23.6	—	28.4	8.4	9.3	3.1	0.9	235.	240.
Der ez Zor	—	3.4	37.8	5.4	27.	5.4	12.2	3.4	5.4	148.	99.
Hassetche	—	5.1	30.6	4.8	29.6	10.9	8.8	7.5	2.7	376.	
Jerablus	—	14.8	16.3	1.6	38.4	16.3	2.7	7.8	2.7	257.	
Mossul	—	11.8	27.6	2.8	33.7	15.2	9.1	—	—	463.2	
Kerkuk	—	8.	10.1	0.4	36.7	20.9	23.6	—	—	471.9	
Baghdad	—	5.6	12.5	—	31.8	16.9	31.0	1.8	—	219.2	146.
Basra	—	—	12.1	0.1	45.	26.7	15.2	0.5	—	195.	129.
Diban	—	3.4	21.5	—	41.	5.2	29.4	—	—	147.1	
Diwanie	—	1.5	25.6	—	51.5	17.2	4.3	—	—	116.6	

	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Ap.	May	June	July	Aug.	Total (mm)
Western & South-Western Turkey (Maritime)													
Gelibolu	1.5	12.1	26.8	20.8	6.1	6.1	12.5	11.0	2.4	0.3	0.4	0.1	806.0
Çanakale	0.6	13.3	23.0	24.3	5.4	10.8	11.9	7.8	1.6	0.1	—	—	841.0
Bursa	—	14.4	15.7	11.9	11.0	5.7	10.6	11.4	8.7	0.8	7.7	2.	744.0
Bardirma	1.1	20.6	16.4	30.0	6.0	5.7	8.1	7.7	1.8	0.7	1.2	—	1137.0
Kutahia	2.6	10.0	16.7	13.5	19.1	7.1	6.7	14.6	4.0	—	5.6	0.8	616.0
Manissa	1.5	8.0	21.8	18.0	12.3	22.0	3.5	8.0	4.4	—	0.3	—	670.0
Izmir	0.9	11.1	23.3	18.3	6.7	20.7	5.6	8.0	3.4	2.0	—	—	695.0
Nazilli	0.9	11.0	18.2	17.6	12.6	17.5	7.3	10.0	4.2	0.2	0.6	0.1	776.0
Mugla	—	9.2	10.8	25.4	14.5	18.0	9.2	10.5	0.9	—	0.1	0.3	2364.0
Antalia	—	6.8	25.2	8.9	26.5	17.7	5.7	8.1	0.3	—	—	0.8	996.0
Mersina	—	4.2	36.6	4.4	25.6	10.1	6.2	8.6	2.5	—	1.1	0.5	790.1
Adana	—	3.2	20.6	5.4	17.4	—	5.0	2.4	18.3	—	0.6	0.4	782.0
Inner Turkey (Continental)													
Eskisehir	—	6.1	18.5	6.4	18.5	3.6	3.1	22.2	7.8	0.3	9.8	3.6	356.0
Afion	3.4	11.2	9.6	9.6	13.7	7.1	6.9	14.7	11.0	0.2	6.4	5.9	436.
Konia	3.4	16.0	26.2	8.0	21.2	8.5	4.1	9.3	7.3	—	5.9	0.6	355.
Isparta	1.7	9.7	14.6	11.2	14.3	20.0	3.8	14.2	6.5	—	1.8	1.7	656.
Nigde	7.4	13.9	11.0	3.2	16.2	4.9	6.4	9.1	16.2	—	1.5	10.2	408.
Çorum	1.7	6.7	15.0	14.5	11.5	0.7	5.1	17.4	14.3	4.2	0.7	2.8	453.
Tokat	0.5	7.6	16.2	14.5	7.1	2.6	4.8	24.5	10.9	1.7	8.5	0.4	458.
Ankara	—	11.2	11.0	6.4	7.4	1.4	6.7	22.6	4.8	0.9	24.6	2.9	419.0
Sivas	0.7	13.5	21.6	8.	9.3	3.7	7.5	22.2	10.	0.5	2.6	0.7	400.0
Malatya	—	16.8	16.7	4.5	17.3	11.1	11.8	11.1	5.9	2.6	2.4	0.2	423.0
El Aziz	—	15.1	27.4	7.1	12.4	8.2	4.	13.9	11.3	—	0.7	—	425.0
Eastern Turkey & Armenia (Continental)													
Diarbekir	—	11.1	11.7	9.9	27.4	22.0	4.6	6.6	6.	—	1.2	0.6	484.0
Urfa	—	8.3	17.8	5.9	46.5	14.4	3.8	1.7	0.9	0.2	0.6	—	576.0
Siirt	—	11.8	14.3	7.9	19.7	4.8	10.	18.8	11.3	—	1.4	—	730.0
Van	—	15.5	18.7	4.5	15.3	9.3	6.3	16.3	8.	1.6	6.5	—	380.0
Erzurum	1.2	10.4	4.4	5.4	6.5	13.5	6.2	12.7	10.6	12.0	6.6	8.6	490.0
Sivri Hissar	4.7	10.2	16.2	13.6	18.	—	7.4	18.8	1.9	—	8.2	0.5	382.0
Gumushane	6.8	6.1	14.4	7.2	14.2	3.8	4.1	23.8	10.	5.6	7.4	2.5	442.0
Kars	4.1	4.9	2.4	2.9	5.9	7.5	3.7	7.1	13.4	8.7	20.4	18.4	513.0
Black-Sea													
Zunguldag	2.7	19.8	11.4	6.2	15.7	9.6	8.1	11.5	5.4	4.9	4.5	2.2	1244.0
Kastamonu	3.5	4.1	8.9	8.4	3.8	3.6	6.3	17.3	26.	1.4	14.2	5.8	431.0
Sinop	0.1	17.6	11.5	10.2	17.3	8.9	10.1	11.8	4.6	1.4	0.7	6.3	654.0
Samsoun	3.3	12.8	13.4	17.4	11.5	9.2	11.8	0.7	5.2	2.5	0.6	2.6	661.0
Ordu	5.5	12.8	8.8	10.4	11.6	17.6	8.9	10.6	2.5	3.2	0.8	6.5	1251.0
Giresun	11.1	10.	11.7	5.9	12.7	14.4	6.1	5.9	2.4	1.6	12.8	5.5	1338.0
Rize	1.2	13.7	8.0	6.6	13.1	20.1	8.7	6.2	2.5	3.5	10.1	6.4	2403.0

ANCIENT JEWISH COINS

A. REIFENBERG

(JERUSALEM)

The last general treatise on Jewish coins in a European language was published twenty-five years ago. In the meantime not only have some important finds been made, but investigations in Palestine and elsewhere have thrown new light on the development of Jewish art. Both these facts were fully taken into account in the present monograph. A number of unknown Jewish coins are published here for the first time and some new attributions of coins are suggested. Although strictly speaking, the coins of the Herodian Dynasty of Chalcis as well as those of the procurators, and the Roman coins struck in Palestine commemorating the Jewish defeat, cannot be said to belong to the Jewish series, the author thought fit to include them.

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PERSIAN PERIOD.

The coins of the Persian period were first correctly read by E.L. SUKENIK.[1] They bear the inscription Jehud, the official Aramaic name of the province Judaea in Persian time, a designation known from the books of Daniel and Ezra[2] and from the Elephantine papyri.[3] According to SUKENIK, these coins prove that Judaea enjoyed the privileges of an autonomous province, a fact which is further substantiated by one of the coins (No. 2) seemingly bearing the name of a Jewish High-priest. On the other hand, these coins may have been issued under the authority of one of the Persian satraps.

[1] E.L. SUKENIK, *JPOS XIV*, pp. 178 et seq. 1934 and *JPOS. XV*, pp. 341 et seq. 1935. [2] Dan. 2^{25}; 5^{18}; 6^{14}; Ezra 5^{1} and ^{8}; 7^{14}.

[3] A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century*, Oxford 1923.

The coins are related in style to the so-called "Philisto-Arabian" coins[1] and not only the owl on Nos. 1 and 2, but also the Corinthian helmet and the mask on No. 3 show the Greek influence. The coins were probably struck in the 4th Century some time before the victory of Alexander the Great.

Coin No. 2 was found at the excavation of Beth Zur in Southern Palestine and SELLERS and ALBRIGHT[2,3] read the name of Hezekiah on it. This Hezekiah may have been the High-priest and friend of Ptolemy I, whom we know from Josephus.[4] The inscription to the left was read in different ways, but we agree with SUKENIK, that it contains most likely the elements of the name Jehud.

No. 3 is said to have been found at Gaza and forms part of the collection of the British Museum. Owing to an earlier theory held by various authors that the inscription is to be read Yahu the latter has given rise to the most phantastic speculations.[5] The figure on the Reverse, described here according to HILL,[6] should be compared with coins of Persian satraps, which show the Baal of Tarsus. Even on coins of Alexander the Great and his successors Zeus is shown similarly holding an eagle in his hand.

THE MACCABEAN DYNASTY

In 138 B.C. a decree was issued by Antiochos VII,[7] which is of the greatest importance for Jewish numismatics, since it accorded to the Jews the right to strike coins of their own. The decree reads: "King Antiochus to Simon the High-priest and prince of his nation, and to the people of the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as certain pestilent men have usurped the kingdom of our fathers, and my purpose is to challenge it again, that I may restore it to the old estate, and to that end have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together, and prepared ships of war, my meaning also being to go through the country that I may be avenged of them that have destroyed it, and made many cities in the kingdom desolate; now

[1] G.F. HILL: *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, London 1914, pp. 176 et seq.
[2] O.R. SELLERS; *BASOR*, No. 43, 1931.
[3] O.R. SELLERS: *The Citadel of Beth-Zur*, Philadelphia 1933, (p. 73).
[4] *Contra Apionem* I, 187–189.
[5] The literature is conveniently given by SUKENIK, *l.c.*, 1934.
[6] HILL, *l.c.*, p. 181, No. 29.
[7] I Maccab. 15^{2-9}.

therefore I confirm unto thee all the oblations which the kings before me granted thee, and whatsoever gift besides they granted. *I give thee leave also to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp and as concerning Jerusalem and the sanctuary, let them be free*; and all the armour that thou hast made, and fortresses, that thou hast built, and keepest in thine hands, let them remain unto thee. And if anything be, or shall be, owing to the king, let it be forgiven thee from this time forth for evermore. Furthermore, when we have obtained our kingdom, we will honour thee, and thy nation and thy temple, with great honour, so that your honour shall be known throughout the world."

As against WILLRICH [1,2] there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this decree. BICKERMANN [3] is surely right in pointing out that the absence of coins generally attributed to Simon during excavations at Beth Zur [4] and Bethel [5] is no proof to the contrary.

With the exception of No. 6 all the coins generally attributed to Simon are of the utmost rarity and at Beth-Zur e. g. only three coins of the later Maccabean period were found although such coins are most common. The rarity of the bronze-coins usually attributed to Simon is easily explained by the short lapse of time between the grant of Antiochus and the death of Simon.

1. SIMON MACCABAEUS (143/142–136/135 B.C.).

There was no understanding between Judaism and the ideas of Hellenism which penetrated the Orient after the victory of Alexander the Great. Both in exile and under the rule of its priests the Jewish people had become conscious of its historic mission. The national God had become the one and only God of the Universe and the Jews regarded themselves as His chosen interpreters. Nowhere in the ancient world was there any resistance against Hellenism but in Judaea. The revolt started primarily because of the existence of a Jewish party which tried to reconcile the conflicting ideas, and

[1] H. WILLRICH: *Urkundenfälschungen in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur*, 1924. [2] H. WILLRICH: *Ztschr. f. alttestamentlische Wissenschaft*, 1933, p. 79.

[3] E. BICKERMANN: *Der Gott der Makkabäer*, 1937.

[4] O.R. SELLERS: *The Citadel of Beth Zur*, 1933.

[5] W. F. ALBRIGHT: *BASOR*, 1934, Nr. 56, p. 14.

BICKERMANN[1] has shown that the persecution under Antiochos Epiphanes is to be explained by the assimilatory tendencies of the ruling class in Jerusalem. The coins struck by Antiochos IV in the different cities of his Empire at the outbreak of the revolt (168/169 B.C.) clearly show that there was nowhere a tendency to replace the native gods by the cult of Zeus.[1] The Maccabees, however, felt that no reconciliation between Greek polytheism and Jewish monotheism was possible; they succeeded in their revolt against the spread of Hellenism in Judaea and in this way they preserved monotheism for Judaism and the world.

The rule of the Maccabees opens a new chapter in the history of the Jewish people. The safeguarding of their political independence provided for an undisturbed inner development which found its outward expression also in art. For the first time in Jewish history no foreign artistic models are adopted, but specific Jewish objects are represented. In 142 B. C. the "yoke of the heathens was thrown off" and the people started to date its documents in "the first year of Simon, the high-priest, commander and leader of the Jews". As pointed out before, Simon was granted the right to strike coins in 139 B. C., although apparently he only made use of this privilege in the fourth year of his reign, a not uncommon procedure as shown by HILL.[2]

The coins show the national feeling of the time.[3] Although the early Hebrew writing had dropped out of use long ago, the coins were nevertheless stamped in the ancient script, a procedure followed in all the issues of the later rulers apart from the Herodians, who used Greek writing, as will be shown later. The same Simon, of whom it is said that "he augmented the sacred vessels of the temple" proceeded also to their representation on the coins. Not only do we find on his coins the chalice used (No. 6) for wine-offering, but also the *lulab* (bundle of twigs) and *ethrog* (citrus-fruit),the symbols of the feast of Tabernacles. Besides, a basket full of fruits is depicted (No. 4), in all probability an allusion to the

[1] E. BICKERMANN, *Der Gott der Makkabäer*, 1937.

[2] G. F. HILL, *Cat. of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. *Palestine*, p. XCIV, 1914.

[3] It should nevertheless again be pointed out (p. 61), that the attribution of these coins to Simon is not absolutely confirmed.

offerings of the first-fruits. The palm-tree on the reverse of this coin became in later times a symbol of the country, of which Plinius says: "Judaea vero incluta est vel magis palmis". With all these symbols we meet again at later periods, when synagogual art was at its highest level.[1] It may be mentioned that analysis shows these coins to be of excellent quality, containing over 80% of copper.[2]

2. JOHN HYRCANUS. (135–104 B.C.).

In pre-Maccabean times the government of the Jews was a hierocracy, and a high-priest acted as leader at the head of it. Whereas in earlier times the high-priest was but a commissioner of the king, he succeeded in the third century to achieve a princely position. In the course of time the high-priest disassociated himself from the Jewish clergy and in the second century he is called by Jesus Sirach[3] a prince, "who looks after his people against robbery and fortifies his city against a siege".[4]

John Hyrcan not only knew how to obtain extraordinary success against the declining Seleucid rulers, but also succeeded in strengthening the princely might of the high priest over the pharisaic gerousia. It is a proof of the growing princely consciousness that he was the first Jewish ruler to have his name stamped on coins. The gerousia of the scribes sinks into insignificance;[5] it is not mentioned on the coins, on which appears solely the name of the community of the Jews as a whole, since we know this to be the correct meaning of the word חבר.[6] On some coins John seems to designate himself as the leader of this community. (Nos. 7 and 11).

The Greek letter "A" on one of his coins (No. 8) has not yet been satisfactorily explained; possibly it refers to his alliance with Alexandra Zabina in 128 B.C. The symbol of cornucopiae was most common on coins of Seleucid kings and it was probably from this coinage that John Hyrcanus adopted it. It may be mentioned that as the coins of Simon so the coins of John are minted from

[1] A. REIFENBERG, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike*, 1937, p. 41–42.
[2] A. REIFENBERG, *Ztschr. d. deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1927, pp. 175 et seq.
[3] Jesus Sirach 50[4]. [4] E. BICKERMANN, *l.c.*, p. 57–58.
[5] H. ZUCKER, *Studien zur jüdischen Selbstverwaltung im Altertum*, 1936, p. 47–48.
[6] SCHÜRER, *l.c.*, I, p. 269.

good bronze, showing a copper content of about 83%. On many of his coins the inscription is incomplete, only the beginning of the legend being given correctly.

3. Judas Aristobulus (104–103 B.C.).

According to Josephus,[1] Aristobul was the first Maccabean ruler to adopt the title of king, a fact however which is not corroborated by his coins. On the coins (Nos. 13 and 13a) he is only styled "high-priest", and Strabo[2] may be right, in stating that only the successors of Aristobul assumed the royal title. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the coins were struck in the beginning of his reign, when he had not yet assumed the title of king. The scarcity of his coins is easily explained by the fact, that his reign lasted only one year.

4. Alexander Jannaeus. (103–76 B.C.).

Alexander Jannaeus was the first Maccabean ruler to style himself King on his coins and he was the first to stamp his name and title also in Greek.

The classification of his coins which we give here is mainly based on the finding of a hoard during excavations on Mt. Ophel near Jerusalem and published by Lambert.[3] There were over 300 coins of the anchor wheel type (No. 14) in this hoard, and apart from some coins of the same type, but of smaller denomination (No. 15), eight coins struck by John Hyrcan were found. From this find the conclusion may be drawn that the smaller denomination was actually struck by Alexander and not by his successors, as was previously assumed. Besides, the presence of some coins struck by John Hyrcan seems to prove that the anchor-wheel-type coins were the first to be struck by Alexander. None of the anchor flower type coins (No. 16) were found, but since these coins show the same inscription as those mentioned above, it is to be assumed that these coins are a later issue of Alexander Jannaeus. The small denomination belonging to this type is probably represented by No. 17. The comparative rarity of the anchor flower type should probably

[1] *Ant.* XIII, 11,1; Bj. I, 3,1. [2] Strabo, XVI, 2,40.
[3] C. Lambert, *Qu. St. PEF*, 1927. p. 184 seq.

be explained by the fact, that all available coins of this type were overstruck by his successor, as will be shown later. The representation of an anchor on his coins, if not simply borrowed from Seleucid coins, may, perhaps, be an allusion to his conquest of Jaffa and other ports of the Mediterranean. The wheel may be connected with solar ideas; in later times it is often found in the decoration of the synagogues.[1] There is no doubt, according to MADDEN,[2] that two coins of the anchor, wheel, type bear the inscription *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ* ,which means that they were stamped by Queen Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannaeus. But because of HILL[3] expressing grave doubts as to the accuracy of this reading and because of the Hebrew inscription being illegible on both coins, we decided not to include them in this monograph.

5. JOHN HYRCANUS II (67 AND 63–40 B. C.).

As early as 1876 MERZBACHER[4] attributed the coins with cornucopiae and the title "Jonathan the High-Priest" to John Hyrcan II, an attribution discarded by all later authors. SCHÜRER[5] considers this hypothesis quite possible, but absolutely uncertain, since nothing is known about the Hebrew name of Hyrcanus. On numismatic grounds, however, we hold that not only these coins, but also the anchor flower coins of Alexander restruck with the title "Jonathan the High-Priest" (No. 18) actually belong to Hyrcan II and not to Alexander.

Notwithstanding all the difficulties which Alexander had in dealing with the Pharisees the general assumption that he himself ordered his coins to be restruck seems to be most improbable. Alexander had never denounced his royal dignity and there is no precedent for a ruler crossing out his royal title for political reasons. Besides, the presence of a number of coins not restruck, however small, speaks against such a hypothesis. On the other hand it is very likely, that the royal title was overstruck by his successor, Hyrcan II, who held the pontifical office already in the lifetime of

[1] A. REIFENBERG, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike*, 1937, p. 20–21.
[2] F. W. MADDEN, *l. c.*, pp. 91–92.
[3] G. F. HILL, *l. c.*, p. XCV; cf. also KAHRSTEDT, *Klio*, 1910, pp. 284 et seq.
[4] E. MERZBACHER, *Ztschr. f. Numismatik*, Vol. III, 1876, pp. 201 et seq.
[5] E. SCHÜRER, *l.c.*, I, p. 285.

his mother. This was probably not done during the first part of his reign, which only lasted four months, after which he renounced royal and pontifical dignity in favour of his brother Aristobulus II (67 B. C.). But in 63, not only Aristobulus and Hyrcan II appeared before Pompeius, but also delegates of the people and the latter asked Pompeius for the restitution of the priestly rule of former days. The final decision was given in the same year. The autonomous Jewish district being considerably reduced, its rule was conferred upon Hyrcan II, but only with the title of High-Priest and without the title of King.[1] During this rule (63–40 B. C.), the coins of Alexander were probably restruck with the pontifical title and corresponding coins freshly issued. There seem to exist no coins issued by Aristobulus II, the pontifical title making the attribution of No. 13 to Aristobulus I fairly certain.

We hold that not only the coins bearing the inscription Jonathan (No. 19), but also the coins bearing the name in the form of Jehonathan (No. 20) were struck by John Hyrcanus II. It is most risky to jump to far reaching conclusions on the strength of the different ways of spelling the theophoric name, as did LAMBERT,[2] MARMORSTEIN[3] and NARKISS,[4] who, attributing these coins to Alexander Jannai, thought the difference due to party-strife with the Pharisees. Both ways of spelling not only occur on these coins, but had been found already on the coins first issued by Alexander ([4]). Besides, both ways of writing such theophoric names occur side by side on a sepulchral inscription of the first century B. C. and on many other inscriptions.[5]

In case DERENBOURG is right in his identification, a corroboration of Hyrcan's Hebrew name being Jannai, the equivalent of Jonathan, is given in Talmudic sources.[6]

[1] JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* XIV, 4,4 ; Bj. I, 7, 6–7 and especially *Ant.* XX, 10.

[2] C. LAMBERT, *l. c.*

[3] A. MARMORSTEIN, *Qu. St. PEF*, 1928, pp. 48 and seq.

[4] M. NARKISS, *Bull. Jewish Palestine Exploration Soc.* I, 1934, pp. 10 et seq.

[5] S. KLEIN, *Jüd. palästinensisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, 1920, p. 14 seq.

[6] J. DERENBOURG, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 1867, pp. 146–148.

6. ANTIGONUS MATTATHIAS (40–37 B. C.).

Antigonus, whose Hebrew name we only know from his coins, came to the throne in 40 B. C. The coins are struck from bad metal, the copper-content being less than 70 % and the lead-content exceeding 27 %. This deterioration of the metal as against the coins of his predecessors[1] has surely to be attributed to the frequent extortions made by the Romans[2] and to the continual warfare raging at the time.

The Greek inscription on the reverse gives his royal title, whereas on the Hebrew obverse only the pontifical title is mentioned. The Hebrew inscription is mostly incomplete and the coins are generally very badly preserved due to the high content of lead. On some coins the letters "נא" seem to appear between the horns, a fact not yet satisfactorily explained.[3] NARKISS[4] who reads them otherwise, considers the letters to represent simply the abbreviation of Antigonus' title.

The emblems represented on the coins of Antigonus generally are not different from those on the coins of his predecessors, meeting as we do with cornucopiae, wreath etc. But on some of his coins, apart from a hitherto not well explained design (No. 24), we meet for the first time with the representation of the seven-branched candlestick, which later became the most characteristic symbol of Judaism. The form of the candlestick corresponds essentially to that represented on the arch of Titus and to the many representations of this symbol in later synagogual art.[5]

The vessel represented on the obverse of No. 24 is explained by de SAULCY as the table of shew-bread, a description which can only be accepted with reserve.[6]

THE HERODIAN DYNASTY.

1. HEROD I (37–4 B. C.)

Herod, the "Idumean", was the first Jewish ruler to use only Greek writing on his coins. Although inclined towards Hellenistic

[1] A. REIFENBERG, *Z. d. P. V.*, 1927, pp. 175 et seq.
[2] JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* XIV, 14,16; Bj. 1, 15,2; DIO CASSIUS, XLVIII, 41.
[3] HILL, *l.c.*, p. XCVI.
[4] M. NARKISS, *Coins of Palestine*, Part One: *Jewish Coins*, 1936, p. 33.
[5] A. REIFENBERG, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike* 1937. [6] MADDEN, *l.c.*, p. 102.

ideas incidentally–he was one of the greatest city-builders of his time — he nevertheless still scrupulously avoided hurting his subjects feelings by the representation of human figures on his coins. We find helmets, shields, fruits etc. on his coins, some of which still show a close relationship to the coinage of his predecessors. The vessel on No. 26 is not a ceremonial head-dress,[1] but a thymiaterion[2] which, like the tripod on Nos. 26 and 30/32, is most probably meant to represent vessels used in the temple cult. The eagle on No. 34 may refer to the golden eagle affixed by him to the temple and afterwards pulled down and destroyed by the people. On some of his coins of the third year (Nos. 26–29) appears the monogram ⸸ which NARKISS,[3] with much probability explains as short for "Trachonitis". We know that Herod received this district from Augustus in 28 B. C., three years after his having been crowned for the second time.[4] It may be, as pointed out by NARKISS,[5] that these coins are of a later date than the small coins resembling the Maccabean coinage.

The coins of Herod show an unusually high content of tin (over 10%). Since bronzes with so high a content of tin were mainly used in implements etc.,[6] this lends colour to the statement of Jesephus[7] that Herod had coins struck from all his treasures because of the scarcity of ready money.[8]

2. HEROD PHILIP II (4 B. C.–34 A. D.)

Herod Philip II was the first Jewish ruler to use the effigy of the Roman Emperor on his coins, thereby gravely infringing the Jewish Law. It should, however, be borne in mind that his rule extended over districts mainly inhabited by non-Jews (Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis and Paneas).

According to HILL[8] some light is thrown by coin No. 43 on the mint from which his coins were issued. This coin gives him

[1] HILL, *l.c.*, p. XCVII.

[2] C. WATZINGER, *Denkmäler Palästinas* II, 1935, p. 24.

[3] M. NARKISS, *Bull. of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Soc.* I., 1934, pp. 8. et seq. [4] *Bj.* I, 20,3–4. [5] A. NEUBURGER, *Technik des Altertums*, 1920, p. 17. [6] *Bj.* I, 18,4

[7] A. REIFENBERG, *Ztschr. d. deutschen Pal. Ver.*, 1927, pp. 175 et seq.

[8] HILL, *l.c.*, p. XCVII.

the title of κτίστης and since Herod Philip built the city of Caesarea Philippi (Paneas), it is most probable that the coin was struck there. The building represented on the coins may possibly be the temple of Augustus founded by Herod I. From a hitherto unpublished coin (No. 37) we learn that he first struck coins in the ninth year of his reign.

3. HEROD ANTIPAS (4 B. C.–39 A. D.).

Herod Antipas, who inherited the tetrarchy of Galilaea and Peraea from his father, avoided hurting Jewish feelings by the representation of human effigies on his coins, on some of which the name of the ruling Emperor is given. However, most of the coins bear the inscription "Tiberias", which obviously points to the fact that these coins were struck at this city, built by Antipas in honour of the Emperor Tiberius.

Some coins are said to have been struck with the dates of the year 44 and 45; the correctness of the reading having been questioned however,[1] we decided not to include them in this catalogue.

4. HEROD ARCHELAUS (4 B. C.–6 A. D.).

Archelaus being the only Herodian ruler with the title of "Ethnarch", the coins bearing this inscription may with certainty be attributed to this ruler. Archelaus, reigning over distinctly Jewish districts (Judaea and Samaria), used only such emblems as would not offend religious feeling. We again meet with cornucopiae and anchor and besides bunches of grapes, a helmet and a galley appear on his coins.

5. HEROD AGRIPPA I (A. D. 37–44).

The last Maccabees had already introduced two languages on their coins. The Herodians had used purely Greek legends, but applied different methods in different districts, that is to say they differentiated between wholly Jewish and foreign districts. Philip proved an exception since he ruled over pagan districts, but Herod took the ban on imagery into consideration and struck coins with absolutely neutral symbols. Agrippa I did exactly the same as far

[1] SCHÜRER, *l.c.*, pp. 416 et seq., where the relevant literature is fully quoted; NARKISS, *l.c.*

as Judaea proper was concerned. There he would not have dreamed of striking coins with the Imperial portrait,[1] whilst a coin struck in Caesarea even bears his own likeness (No. 62).

The coins No. 58 and 62 show a very plump face, though at the same time energetic, intelligent and good-natured. The big nose—as will be seen later—is a family trait. The king is wearing the diadem. Even the heir-apparent is honoured by being depicted on horse-back (No. 58). Agrippa seems to be proud of his kingly estate; on the coins he calls himself: BACIVEYC MEΓAC "The Great King". The expression on his face bears out the characterisation found in literary sources. In his youth he had been extravagant and lavish to a fault.[2] He seems to have been partial to drinking, for Josephus relates[3] that he picked a quarrel with Herod Antipas in Tyre over a glass of wine. In his old age he was certainly fond of dispensing charity, but at the same time very prodigal,[4] inasmuch as he put up sumptuous buildings for which there was no need.

The importance Agrippa attached to his kingly estate was not merely illustrated by the painful incident in Alexandria,[5] but also by the silver robe he wore at the contests in Caesarea.[6] He would not tolerate disrespect towards his person[7] (unless the story in question is but a legend). His energy and good-nature were strongly manifested towards Silas.[8] And to the scribe who reproached him for allowing the contests, he showed himself wise and conciliatory.[9] He seems to have been a keen promoter of such contests.

6. Herod of Chalcis (41–48 A.D.).

A traditional friendship linked the Herodians with the Imperial Roman family, a friendship which found expression on their coins by the legend "Friend of Caesar" and "Friend of the Romans". The friendship between the two dynasties went so far as to lead to Herod's descendants not being merely entrusted with the ad-

[1] A. Reifenberg, *Portrait Coins of the Herodian Kings* London 1935; (reprinted from the *Numismatic Circular*, 1935).

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 6, 1; 18, 8, 8. [3] *l.c.*, 18, 6, 2. [4] *l.c.*, 19, 7,3.

[5] Philo, *In Flaccum*

[6] Josephus, *Ant.* 19, 8,2; Acts of the Apostles, 12[21]

[7] *Mishnah Pessachim*, 57, 2.

[8] Josephus, *l.c.*, 19, 7,1. [9] *L.c.* 19, 7,4.

ministration of purely Jewish districts but likewise with that of large pagan zones in the Near East. Tigranes, for example, a son of Herod, was made King of Armenia, and at a later period we find Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, ruling over Armenia Minor and parts of Armenia Major.

Chalcis itself fell to Herod, a brother of Agrippa I, and after his death to his nephew, Agrippa II. Subsequently, Agrippa II gave up the throne of Chalcis in order to rule over the Tetrarchy of Philippus. But Jewish Kings continued to rule Chalcis, because in 72 A. D. there is still mention of Aristobulus as King of Chalcis or Chalcidene.

Herod of Chalcis took a keen interest in everything concerning the Jewish people. He was guardian of the Temple and entitled to appoint the High Priests. On the other hand, Herod of Chalcis and his successors had no need to heed Jewish susceptibilities and invariably struck coins [1,2] bearing their portraits.

The youthful portrait of Herod of Chalcis (Nos. 68 and 69) is striking in its strong and not unintelligent expression. The mouth particularly indicates great energy. On coin No. 70, apparently struck at a more advanced age, the nose appears larger and more bent, and the expression far more spiritual.[2] We realise something of the energy of this King, when we read that immediately after his brother's death he had Silas executed, whom Agrippa I had spared.[2] Apparently Herod too shared his brother's dreams of independence, since he attended the famous conference at Tiberias.[3] On the occasion of Claudius' ascent to the throne, he too rendered him signal service and therefore called himself "Friend of Claudius".[4]

7. Aristobulus of Chalcis (70–92 A. D.).

We are struck by the peculiar and strongly bent big nose, the family trait of the Herodians (Nos. 71 and 72). The forehead is low. The narrow-lipped mouth in particular has an unpleasant expression.[5] Following the usage of the Roman Emperors, this King of Armenia Minor also strikes coins with his wife's portrait. It is Salome, well

[1] F. de Saulcy, *Mel. de Num.*, III, 1882, pp. 339 and seq.

[2] A. Reifenberg, *Portrait coins of the Herodian Kings, l.c.*

[3] Josephus, *Ant.* 19, 8,3. [4] *Ant.* 19, 8,1

[5] A. Reifenberg, *Portrait Coins of the Herodian Kings, l.c.*, where the older literature is found.

known from the New Testament,[1] who danced before the Tetrarch Herod and, at the instigation of her mother, demanded the head of John the Baptist. Her first husband had been Philippus, so that she must have been at least in the early forties when this portrait was taken. The face has simple and severe lines, not at all reminiscent of those of a "dancer". Unfortunately, the literary sources are silent with regard to Aristobulus! The only fact worth mentioning is that he too stood up to the Romans for his Jewish correligionists.[2]

On the other hand, it seems very questionable indeed whether No. 73 actually represents the same Aristobulus as is commonly assumed. The inscription on the reverse side doubtless refers to Vespasian and not to Titus. If, therefore, the coin was struck at the time of Titus and not of Vespasian, its earliest date could only have been 79 A. D. This, however, would not have been the 17th but the 25th year of Aristobulus' reign (See No. 79). Moreover, in spite of a strong family likeness, the portrait on the coin shows a different and far younger ruler than the one depicted on No. 72 in the eighth year of his reign. Most likely, therefore, the portrait is that of Aristobulus' son of the same name, mentioned by Josephus.[3] He would have ascended the throne between 63 and 65 A. D. It is highly probable that this ruler is identical with the King Aristobulus of the 4th year of Vespasian mentioned in "Josephus",[4] whilst it remains an open question whether he ruled over Chalcis, his grand father's realm, or whether he was King of the region of Chalcidene.

(To be continued)

[1] Marc. 6,[22] et seq.; Matth. 14[6] et seq.

[2] JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* 20, 1, 2.

[3] JOSEPHUS, *l.c.*, 18, 5, 4.

[4] JOSEPHUS, Bj. 7, 7.

I. THE PERSIAN PERIOD
(Early 4th Cent.)

No. 1. Obverse

Bearded male head r., wearing a turban-like head dress.

Reverse

Owl standing to r.; a fleur-de-lis shaped flower to the left; in field r. inscr.:

"יהד"

"Jehud"

No. 2. Obv.

No traces left.

Rv.

Owl standing to r.; in field r. יה יחזקיה (?) in field l. יהוחנן or יהד (?).

r. "Hezekiah"

l. "Jehud" (?)

No. 3. Obv.

Bearded male head r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

Rv.

Male divinity, bearded, wearing *himation* leaving upper part of body bare, seated r. on a winged wheel; his r. is wrapped in his garment; on extended l. he holds a hawk; above יהד "Jehud"; in field r. bald-headed mask l.; all in square of cable-pattern in incuse square. Cf. HILL, p. 181, No. 29.

II. THE MACCABEAN DYNASTY

SIMON MACCABI (143/2—136/5 B.C.)

No. 4. Obv.

Ethrog between two *lulabs* (bundles of twigs); inscr. around from above:

שנת ארבע חצי

"Year Four — One half"

Rv.

Palm tree between two baskets filled with fruits; inscr. from r. below:

לגאלת ציון

"For the redemption of Zion"

No. 5. Obv.

Two *lulabs* (bundles of twigs); inscr. around from above:

שנת ארבע רביע

"Year Four—one quarter"

Rv.

Ethrog. Inscr. from l. above:

לגאלת ציון

"For the redemption of Zion"

No. 6. Obv.

Lulab (bundle of twigs) between two ethrog; inscription from r. below:

שנת ארבע

"Year Four"

Rv.

Chalice with knob on stem and pearled rim; inscr. from r. below:

לגאלת ציון

"For the redemption of Zion"

No. 6 a. Obv.

Lulab etc. as above

שנת ארבע

"Year Four"

Rv.

Chalice etc. as above, but inscription rectograde, from l. below:

ון̇יצ תלאגל

"For the redemption of Zion"

JOHN HYRCANUS (135—104 B.C.)

No. 7. Obv.

Crested helmet with visor and cheek pieces.

Rv.

Double cornucopiae filleted; around from l. above inscr.:

יהו . . . . שהחבר היהדים

"Jehohanan the High-Priest and leader of the community of the Jews"

No. 8. Obv.

Wreath of laurel; within inscription:

A

יהוחנן

הכהן הגד

ל וחבר הי

הודים

"Jehohanan the High-Priest and the community of the Jews"

Rv.

Double cornucopiae, between which poppy-head.

No. 9. Obv.

Wreath of laurel; within inscr.:

יהוחנוה

כהוהגדל

וחברה י

הד י [ם]

"Jehohanan the High-Priest and the community of the Jews"

Rev.

Double cornucopiae, between which poppy-head.

No. 9 a.

Similar to preceding, inscr.:

יהוח

נוהכה

וה· גדל

/ / / /

"Jehohanan the High-Priest . . .

No. 10. Obv.

Wreath of laurel; within inscription:

יהוחנן

הכהוחג

דלהחבר

היה - -

"Jehohanan the High-Priest of the Community of the Jews"

Rv.

Double cornucopiae, between which poppy-head.

No. 11. Obv.

Wreath of laurel; within inscription:

יהו

חנן - - ה

והגד-לר

א? שחב

- - - -

"Jehohanan the High-Priest and, chief of the community of the Jews"

Rv.

Double cornucopiae, between which poppy-head.

No. 12. Obv.

Palm-branch; four lines of inscr.; two on l., two on r. reading downward:

יהוחנן

הכהוהגדל

וחברה-

-דים

"Jehohanan the High-Priest and the community of the Jews"

Rv.

Flower between two buds (lily?).

JUDAS ARISTOBULUS (104—103 B.C.)

No. 13. Obv.

Wreath of laurel; within inscription:

יהוד

הכהוגד

ולוחבר

היהו-

ים

"Jehudah the High-Priest and the community of the Jews"

Rv.

Double cornucopiae, between which poppy-head.

No. 13 a. Obv.

Similar to preceding inscr.:

יהוד

הכהוגד

ולוח - - -

- - - - - י

"Jehudah the High-Priest and the community of the Jews"

Rv.

Similar to preceding.

ALEXANDER JANNAEUS (103–76 B.C.)

No. 14. Obv.

Anchor; around inscr. from l. upwards:
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Rv.

Sun-wheel; between the spokes inscr.:

יהונתן המלך

"Jehonathan the King"

No. 15. Obv.

Anchor within a circle, around of which inscr.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Rv.

Sun-wheel, outside of which an unintelligible Hebrew inscription.

No. 16. Obv.

Half-opened flower; around from l. above inscr.:

יהונתן המלך

"Jehonathan the King"

Rv.

Anchor within broad circle, around of which inscr.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΔΡΟΥ (!)

No. 17. Obv.

Palm-branch? around from l. above inscr.:

יהונתן המלך

"Jehonathan the King"

Rv.

Flower (lily?); no inscription.

JOHN HYRCANUS II (67 and 63–40 B.C.)

No. 18. Obv.

Obverse of No. 25 (flower), restruck by inscription of four lines within wreath:

יונתן
הכהן ה
גדל וחבר
היהדים

(only partly recognisable)

"Jehonathan the High-Priest and the community of the Jews".

Rv.

Reverse of No. 25 (anchor), restruck by cornucopiae, between which a poppy-head.

No. 19. Obv.

Wreath of laurel; within inscription:

יונתן
כהן
גדלוח
בר - -

"Jehonathan the High-Priest and the community of the Jews"

Rv.

Double cornucopiae, between which a poppy-head.

No. 20. Obv.

Wreath of laurel; within inscr.:

יהו
נתנהכ
הוהגדל
וחבר - - -
- - רי -

"Jehonathan the High-Priest and the community of the Jews"

Rv.

Double cornucopiae, between which a poppy-head.

ANTIGONUS MATTATHIAS (40–37 B.C.).

No. 21. Obv.

Double cornucopiae; inscr. beg. on l. below around and between horns:

מתתיה
כהוגד -
חברהיהד - -

"Mattathias the High-Priest (and) the community of the Jews"

Rv.

Ivy wreath; around from l. above inscr.;
ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ

No. 22. Obv.

Cornucopiae, sometimes with bunch of grapes hanging over; around beg. on l. inscr. (mostly incomplete):

- - תתיהכהוה -

"Mattathias the High-Priest (and) the community . . . . ."

Rv.

Within a wreath inscr.

BACIA
ANTIΓ

No. 23. Obv.

Within a wreath, inscr., reading rectograde:

מת

"Mat . . ."

Rv.

The seven-branched candlestick; around beg. on r. below and reading inscr.: outwardly BAC - - - ANT

No. 24. Obv.

Object represented by a horizontal line from which four verticals are rising; no inscr.

Rv.

The seven branched candlestick; around beg. on r. below and reading outwardly inscr.: ΕΩΣ ANT

No. 25 Obv.

Double cornucopiae with ear of barley between the horns.

Rv.

Within a wreath, reading rectograde inscr.:

מתתיה

"Mattathias"

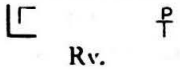
III. THE HERODIAN DYNASTY

Herod I (37 – 4 B.C.).

No. 26. Obv.

Tripod with lebes; in field l. monogram, r. date. Inscription around beg. above:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ



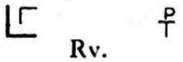
Rv.

Thymiaterion between two palm-branches.

No. 27. Obv.

Helmet to r., showing crest and one cheek piece; on l. date; on r. monogram; around beg. above inscr.:

ΒΑΣΙ [ΛΕ] ΩC ΗΡΩΔΟΥ



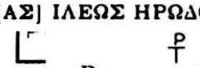
Rv.

Circular shield; around a wavy line.

No. 28. Obv.

Winged caduceus; around beg. above inscr.: In field l. date, r. monogram

Β [ΑΣ] ΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ



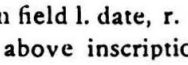
Rv.

Pomegranate on stalk with leaf on either side.

No. 29. Obv.

Aphlaston; in field l. date, r. monogram; around beg. above inscription:

[ΒΑΣΙΛ] ΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ



Rv.

Palm-branch between two unrecognisable ornaments.

No. 30. Obv.

Wreath or fillet, tied at the bottom and containing as ornament two crossed lines; around beg. above inscr. (often incomplete): ΒΑCΙΛΕ [V] C ΗΡΩΟΥ (sic!)

Rv.

Tripod between two palm-branches.

No. 31. Obv.

Wreath etc. as above, but not closed at bottom. Inscr. as above

[ΑΒΣΙΛΕ] VC ΗΡΩΔΟΥ

Rv.

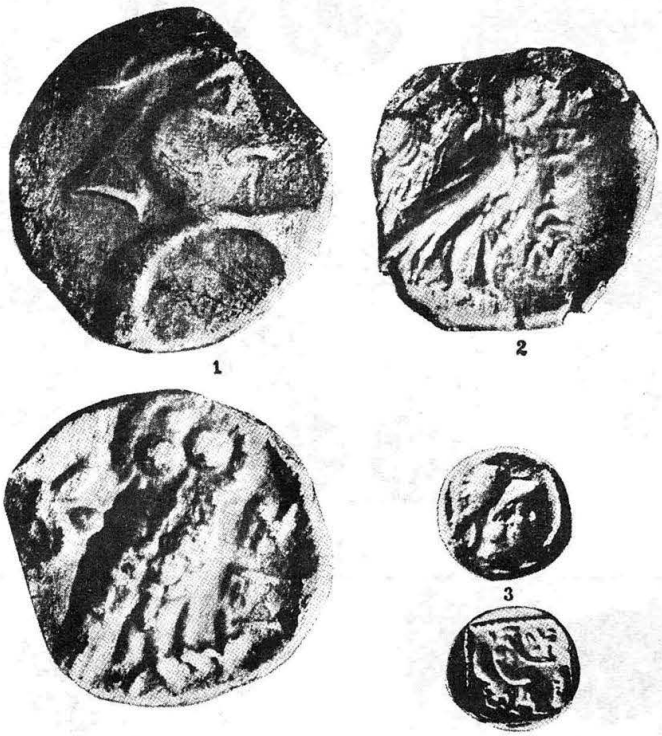
Tripod etc. as above.

No. 32. Obv.

Similar to No. 31.; around traces of inscr.: ΗΡ - ΒΑ

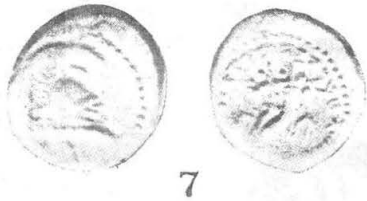
Rv.

Tripod (no palm-branches).



Persian Period
(Nos. 1 and 2 are 5 times the natural size, No. 3 natural size).

Simon Maccabi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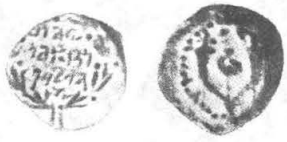
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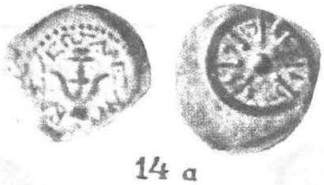
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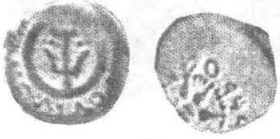
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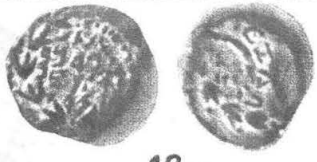
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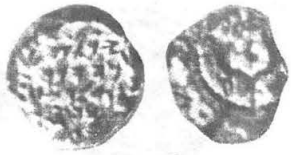
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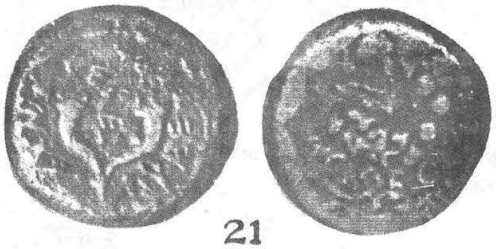
John Hyrcanus | Judas Aristobulus | Alexander Jannaeus | John Hyrcanus II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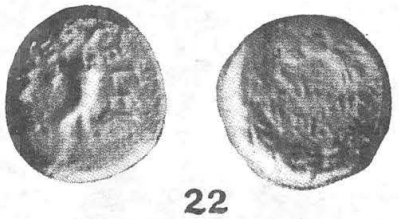
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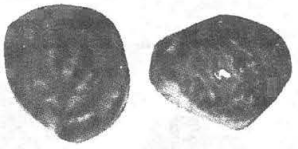
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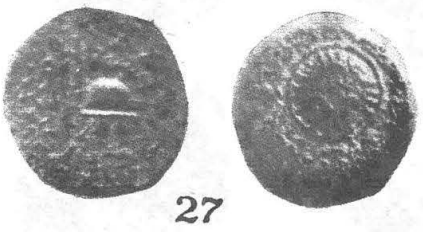
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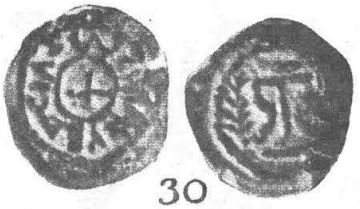
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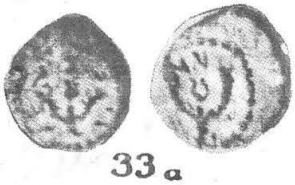
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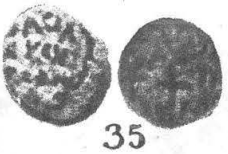
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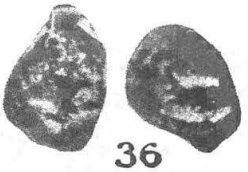
36

Antigonus Mattathias | Herod I

Herod Philip II | Herod Antipas | Herod Archelaus

58

59

60

61

63

62

64

68

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70

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Agrippa I | Herod of Chalcis | Aristobulos of Chalcis

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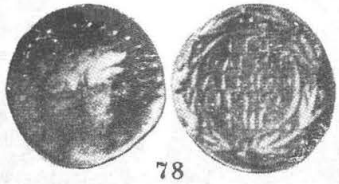
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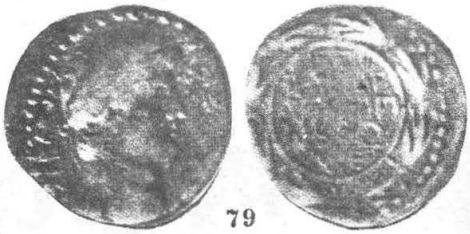
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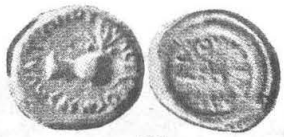
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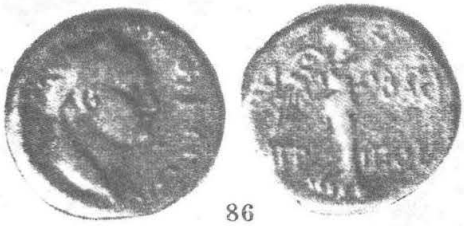
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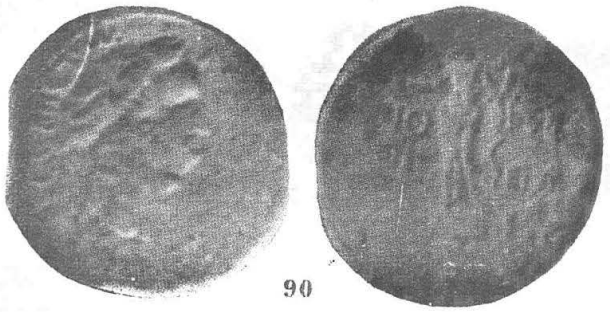
Agrippa II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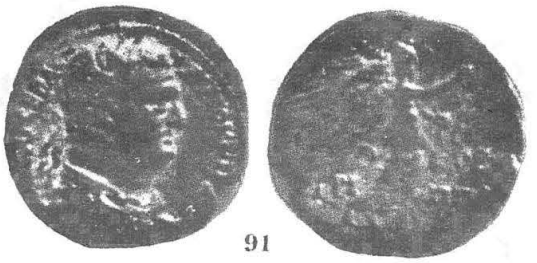
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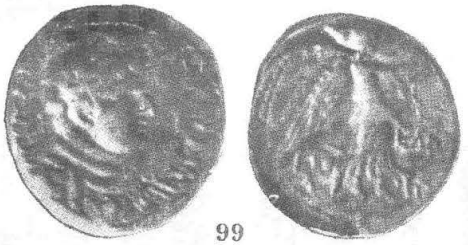
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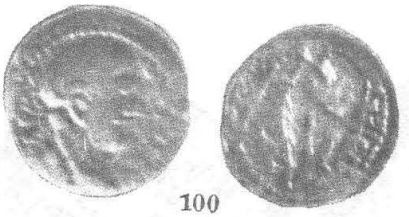
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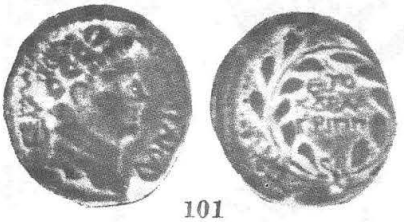
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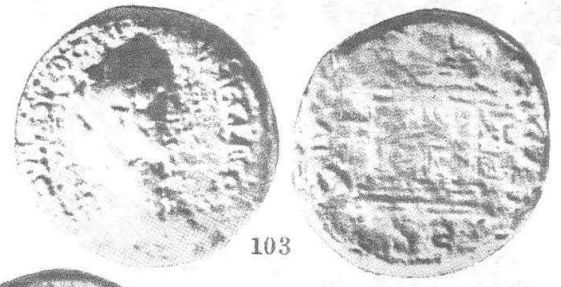
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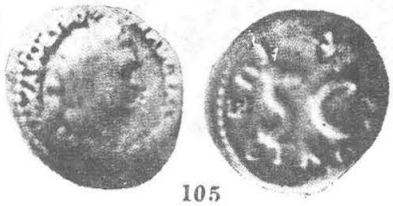

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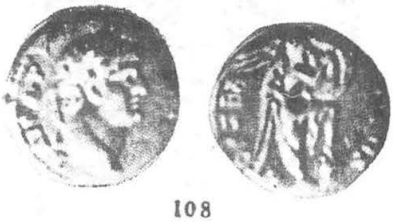

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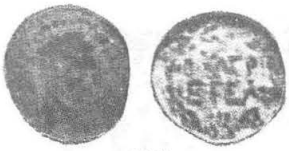

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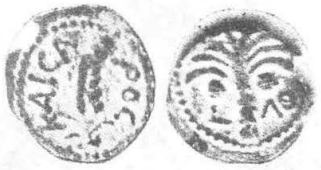
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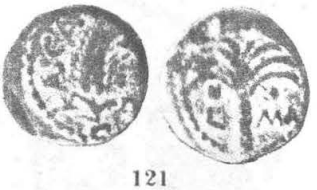
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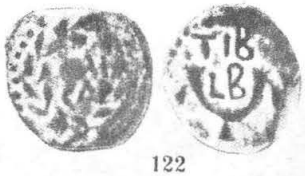
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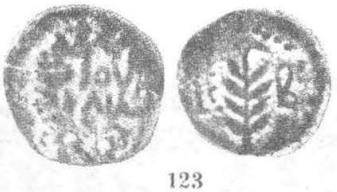
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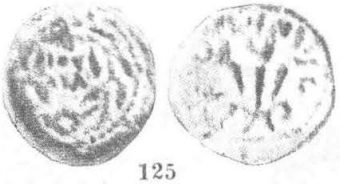
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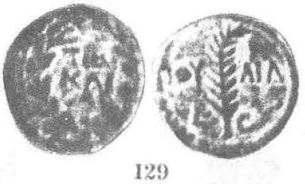
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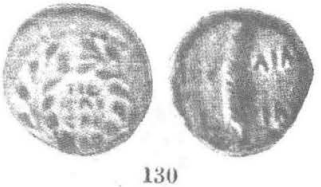
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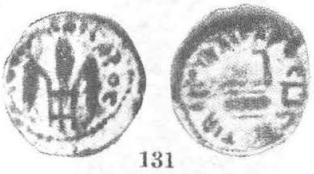
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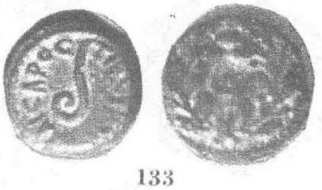
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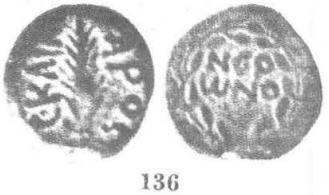
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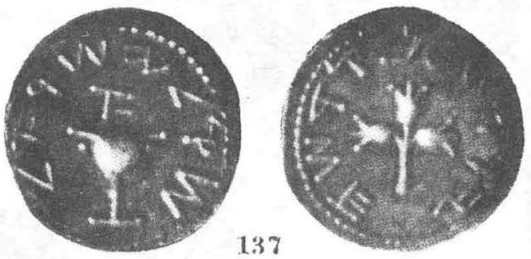

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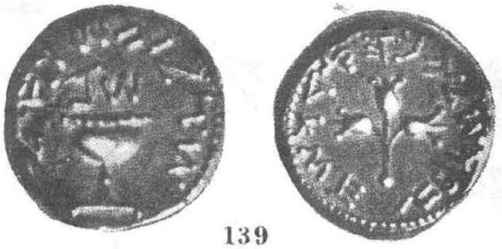

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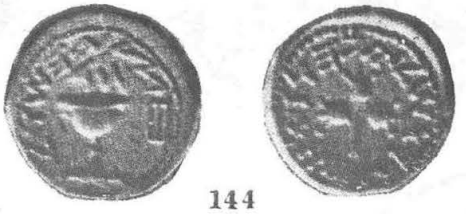

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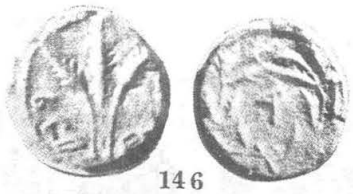
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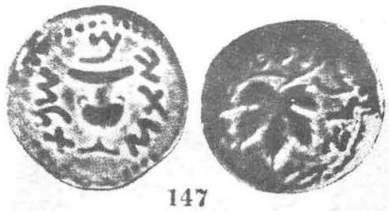
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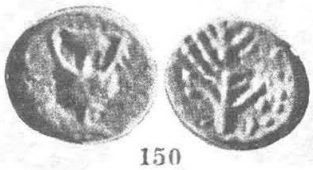
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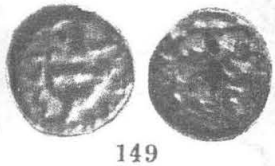
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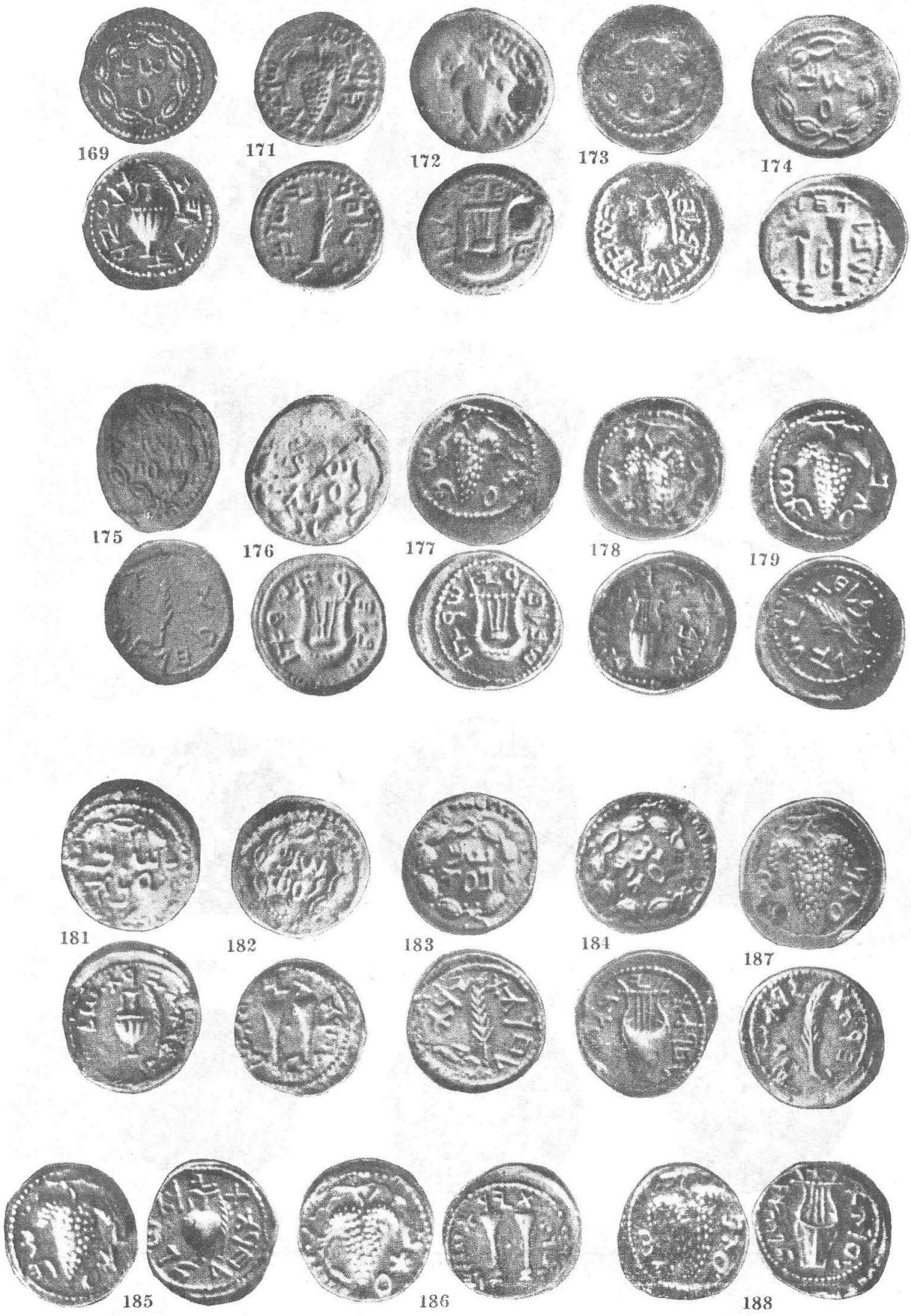
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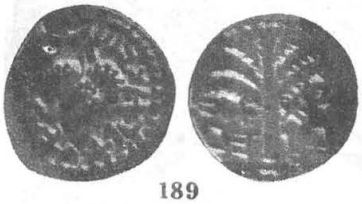

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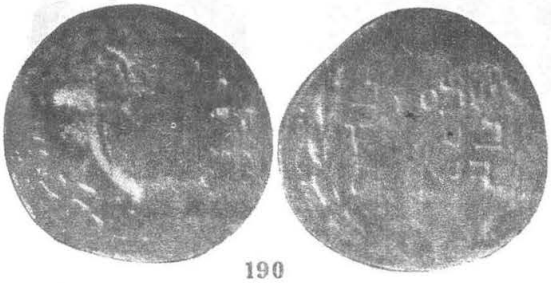

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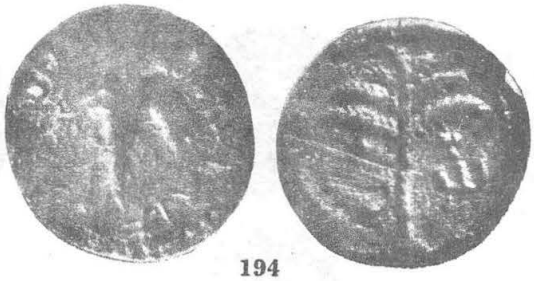

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200 a

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204

204 a

204 b

205

206

207

The Second Revolt (concl.)

No. 33. Obv.
Anchor; around, beg. on r. above inscription: BACI HPΩ
(Inscr. sometimes more complete, cf. HILL, l. c., p. 224/226).

Rv.
Double cornucopiae with caduceus between the horns. Sometimes above the caduceus, N (see No. 33 a.).

No. 34. Obv.
Cornucopiae; on l. and r., reading upwards inscr.:

BACIΛ
HPΩΔ

Rv.
Eagle, standing r.

No. 35. Obv.
Within border of dots inscr.:

BACIΛ
EYCH
- - -

Rv.
Anchor within wreath.

No. 36. Obv.
Anchor; around, beg. on l. above, and reading outwardly inscr. (mostly incomplete): [BACIΛ - - H - -]

Rv.
War galley l., with oars.

HEROD PHILIP II (4 B.C. – 34 A.D.)

No. 37. Obv.
Heads of Augustus and Livia r.; inscr. beg. above on l.: ΣEBA - - -

Rv.
Temple with four columns and pediment; beween columns date (9 – A. D. 5/6). Inscr. beg. below:

Θ
ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡ - -

No. 38. Obv.
Head of Augustus; around inscr., beg. above on l.: [CEBACTΩ KAI] CAPI

Rv.
Temple etc. as above; date (12 – A.D. 8/9). Inscr.

L I B
- - ΠΟ - ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ

No. 39. Obv.
Head of Augustus to r. Inscr. around beg. on l. above: KAICAPI

Rv.
Temple etc. as above; date (16 – A.D. 12/13)

L I
- - ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ

No. 40. Obv.
Head of Tiberius r.; on the neck countermark. Inscr. beg. above on l.:

ΣEBA - -

Rv.
Temple etc. as above; date (19 – A.D. 15/16). Inscr. beg. above on l.:

L I Θ
ΦΙΛΙΠ[Π]ΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟ[Υ] (sic!)

No. 41. Obv.
Head of Tiberius, laureate r. inscr. beg. on l. above: [- - CT - - - . APΙ]

Rv.
Temple etc. as above; date (30 – A.D. 26/27). Inscr. beg. below:

L Λ
- - ΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ

No. 42. Obv.
Head of Tiberius r., laureate. Inscr. around, beg. on l. above:

ΣEBAΣΤΟΥ KAIΣAPO

Rv.
Temple etc. as above; date (33 – A.D. 29/30). Inscr. beg. on r. below:

L Λ Γ
ΦΙΛ-ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ

No. 43. Obv.
Head of Tiberius r. around inscr., beg. below on l. In front of head branch of laurel: TIBEPIOCCEBACTOC KAICAP

Rv.

Temple etc. as above; date (34—A.D. 30/1)

L Λ Δ
ΕΠΙΦΙ - - ΤΡΑΡ
ΧΟΥΚΤΙC - -

No. 44. Obv.

Head of Tiberius r.; in front branch of laurel. Inscr. beg. below on l.:

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟCCΕΒΑCΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ

Rv.

Temple etc. as above date (37—A.D. 33/34)

L Λ Ζ
- - ΠΠΟΥΤΕΤΡΑΧΟ (sic!)

HEROD ANTIPAS (4 B.C.—39 A.D.)

No. 45. Obv.

Palm-branch; across field date (33—A.D. 29/30). Inscr. around, beg. below on l.

ΗΡΩ - . ΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ
L ΛΓ

Rv.

Within a wreath inscr.:

ΤΙΒΕ
ΡΙΑC

No. 46. Obv.

Palm-branch etc. as above; date (34—A.D. 30/31).

ΗΡωΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ
L ΛΔ

Rv.

Wreath etc. as above

ΤΙΒΕ
ΡΙΑC

No. 47. (in plate—46a) Obv.

Palm-branch etc. as above; date (34—A.D. 30/31). Inscr.

- - ΔΟΥ
L ΛΔ

Rv.

Wreath etc.

Τ
C

No. 48. Obv.

Palm-branch etc. as above; date (36—A.D. 32/33).

ΗΡΩΔΟΥ - - ΡΧΟΥ
L ΛC

Rv.

Wreath etc. as above.

ΤΙΒΕ
ΡΙΑC

No. 49. Obv.

Palm-branch etc. as above; date (37 — A. D. 33/34). Inscr. beg. above on r.:

ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕ
ΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ
L ΛΖ

Rv.

Wreath etc. as above.

ΤΙΒΕ
ΡΙΑC

No. 50. Obv.

Palm-tree; across field date (year 43—A.D. 39/40); around inscr.:

ΗΡΩΔΗC ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗ
ΕΤΟ ΜΓ

Rv.

Within a wreath inscr. (in four lines)

ΓΑΙΩΚΑΙCΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ

No. 51. Obv.

Palm-branch; across field date (year 43—A.D. 39/40). Inscr. around beg. on r. above:

ΗΡΩΔΗC ΤΕΤΡ - -
L ΜΓ

Rv.

Within a wreath:

ΓΑΙΩ
ΚΑΙCΑ
ΓΕΡΜ
ΝΙΚΩ

No. 52. Obv.

Branch downwards; across field date (year 43—A.D. 39/40). Inscr. beg. r. above:

ΗΡΩΔΗC ΤΕΤ - -
L ΜΓ

Rv.

Within a wreath:

ΓΑΙ
ΩΚΑ
ΙCΑ

HEROD ARCHELAUS (4 B.C.–6 A.D.)

No. 53. Obv.
Double cornucopiae; around beg. on l. inscr.: ΗΡΩΔΗϹ

Rv.
War galley l. with oars, cabin, stem curving up at bow, aphlaston at stern; above inscr.: ΕΘΝΑ - -

No. 54. Obv.
Double cornucopiae; around beg. on r. inscr. (mostly incomplete):
Η Δ

Rv.
War galley etc. Inscr. above:
ΕΘΝ
ϥΑ
Χ

No. 55. Obv.
Bunch of grapes on a branch with leaf. Inscr. above and on r.: ΗΡΩΔΟΥ

Rv.
Tall helmet with cheek pieces and double crest. On l. small caduceus: Inscr. below: ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟ (No. 55 a: ΕΟΝΑΧΟ).

No. 56. Obv.
Prow of war-galley l. Disposed around it inscr.: Η Ρ ω

Rv.
Wreath, within inscr.: ΕΘΝ

No. 57. Obv.
Anchor; around beg. on l. below inscr.:
ΗΡΩΟΥ (Sic !)

Rv.
Within a wreath inscr.:
ΕΘ
ΑΝ

HEROD AGRIPPA I (A.D. 37–44).

No. 58. Obv.
Head of Agrippa with diadem, to r. Inscr. around beg. below on l.:
- - ϹΙΛΕΥϹ ΑΓ - -

Rv.
Agrippa II on horse-back, cantering to r. In field under the belly of the horse date (year 2 – A.D. 38/39). Inscr. beg. above on l.:
ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ
L B

No. 59. Obv.
Umbrella with fringe; around beg. above on r. inscr.: ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ

Rv.
Three ears of barley springing from between two leaves; across field date (year 6–A.D. 42/43). L Ϛ

No. 60. Obv.
Head of Claudius r. laureate; around beg. above on r. inscr.:
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟϹ ΚΑΙϹΑΡϹΕΒΑϹΤΟϹ ΓΕΡΜ

Rv.
Temple with two columns and pediment, showing two figures between them the cowering figure of a naked man. From the roof of the temple an unrecognisable object is hanging down (chain?). The figure to the l. (Emperor?) wears a short cuirass. The figure to the r. (Victory?) holds a diadem in r. hand, with which she crowns the head of the cowering man (Agrippa?). In pediment by below l. date (year 7–43/44 A.D.). Inscr. on l.:
L Z
ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑϹ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙϹΑΡ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ
ΜΕΓΑϹ

No. 61. Obv.
Head of Claudius to r., laureate. On r. below counter-mark. Inscr.:
- - ϹΕΒΑϹΤΟϹ ΓΕΡΜ

Rv.
Temple etc. as above, but date (year 8–44/45 A.D.). Inscr.
L H
- ΦΙΛΟ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ Μ - -

No. 62. Obv.
Head of Agrippa with diadem to r. Inscr. beg. below on l.:
ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑC ΑΓΡ[ΙΠ]ΠΑC
ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙCΑΡ

Rv.
Female figure to l. holding rudder (?) and palm-branch. Across field to r. date (year 8 — A.D. 44/45).
ΚΑΙCΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟ[C] ΤΩ
CΕΒΑCΤΩ ΛΙΜ[ΕΝΙ]
└ Η

No. 63. Obv.
The King, head veiled, sacrificing, and crowned by two females, one of which is Victory. Inscr. beg on l.:
ΒΑCΑΓΡΙΠΑC ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙCΑΡ

Rv.
Two hands joined together within a wreath head in countermark. Inscr.:
[Φιλ] ΙΑ ΒΑC [ιλέως] ΑΓ
[ρί] ΠΑ [πρὸς τὴν] ΚΛΗΤΟΝ
[καὶ τὸνα] ΗΜ [ον] ΡΩΜ
ΑΙΩ[ν Κ[αί] CΥΜ [μαχία]
XI - AY

Cf. MOMMSEN (1) and MADDEN (2) and HILL (3).

No. 64. Obv.
Head to l. (Caligula ?). Inscr.
- - ΣΕΒΑΣ - -

Rv.
The King in a quadriga to r., holding sceptre. Inscr. beg above on r.:
ΒΑΣΙΛ ΑΓΡ - -

No. 65. Obv.
Head of Caligula to l. laureate. Inscr. beg. on l. below: ΓΑΙΩΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ

Rv.
Emperor in quadriga to r., holding sceptre. Above in field inscr.:
[ΝΟΜ ΙΣΜΑ]
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ

No. 66 Obv.
Head of Caius

Rv.
Male figure. standing, holding a roll (cf. MADDEN l. c. p. 136, No. 4).
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΛΣΥΛΟΥ
ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Σ]

No. 67 Obv.
Head of Claudius

Rv.
Within a wreath:
ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ. ΑΓΡΙΠ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΕΩΝ
(cf. MADDEN, l. c. p. 138, No. 3).

HEROD OF CHALCIS (41—48 A.D.)

No. 68 Obv.
Bust of Herod to r.. Inscr. beg. above on r.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΗCΦΙΛΟ[ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC]

Rv.
Within a garland inscr. and date year 3—43 A.D.)
ΚΛΑΥΔ
ΩΚΑΙΣΑ
ΡΙΣΕΒΑΣ
ΤΩΕΤΓ

No. 69 Obv.
Head of Herod to r.. Inscr. around beg. above. on r.:
ΒΑCΙΛΗΡΩΔΗC ΦΙΛΟΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC

Rv.
Within a garland inscription and date (Year 3—43 A.D..
ΚΛΑΥΔ
ΙΩΚΑΙΣΑ
ΡΙΣΕΒΑΣ
ΤΩΕΤΓ

No. 70 Obv.
Bust of Herod, laureate to r.. Inscr. beg. above on r.
ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΗΡΟΛΗC

Rv.
Within a garland:
ΚΛΑΥ
ΔΙΩΚΑ
ΙΣΑΡΙ

ARISTOBULUS OF CHALCIS (70–92 A. D.).

No. 71 Obv.

Bust of Aristobulus with diadem to l. Inscripition around beg. on l.:

ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΡΙCΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ

Rv.

Bust of Salome, with diadem to l. Inscr. around beg. on l.:

ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΗ CΑΛΩΜΗC

No. 72 Obv.

Bust of Aristobulus to l. Inscr. around beg. below on l. Date (Year 8–77 A.D.).

ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΡΙCΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ
ΕΤ Η

Rv.

Within a garland:

ΝΕΡΩΝΙΚΛΑΥ
ΔΙΩΚΑΙCΑ
ΡΙCΕΒΑCΤΩ
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ

No. 73 Obv.

Head of Aristobulus to l. Inscr. around beg. on r. below. date (17–ca. 81 A.D.?).

ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΡΙCΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ

Rv.

Within a garland: Inscr. and date (17–ca. 87. A.D.?).

ΤΙΤΟΥΕCΠΑCΙΑΝΩ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ
ΟΡΙCΕΒΑCΤΩΕΤ ΙΖ

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE NAZARETHS

CLEMENS KOPP

(KARMEL)

II. DIE KIRCHE DER VERKÜNDIGUNG.

I. DAS HAUS MARIENS.

A. DIE LITERARISCHEN ZEUGNISSE BIS ZU DEN KREUZFAHRERN.

Nazareth wurde erst spät christliche Pilgerstadt. ORIGENES z. B., der mit seinem warmen Herzen für Palästina längere Zeit in Cäsarea lebte, scheint Nazareth nicht gesehen zu haben. Lag es daran, „daß die Juden hier die Herren waren und niemanden eintreten ließen"?[1] Das will schwer glaubhaft erscheinen. Die Juden wünschten nicht, die Einheit der Stadt durch fremdrassige oder fremdgläubige Mitbürger sich sprengen zu lassen, Touristen, Handelsreisende oder Pilger wollten oder konnten sie gewiß nicht abhalten. Eher darf man vermuten, daß der jüdische Charakter der Stadt sich erkältend auf das christliche Herz legte, für sein Empfinden lag wohl eine Art Bannfluch auf ihr. Diese Stadt hatte einst den Gottessohn von sich ausgestoßen, das gleiche verstockte und aufsässige Blut floß noch weiter in den Adern seiner Bevölkerung. Das allein kann aber nicht der Grund für die lange Vernachlässigung sein. Denn der Jubel der unter Konstantin siegreichen Christenheit läuft nicht bis nach Nazareth, ihre Freude verkörpert sich in Denkmälern, die Geburt, Tod und Auferstehung des Herrn verherrlichen. Wir können es kaum nachempfinden, daß Konstantin die Eiche Abrahams in Mambre mit einer Basilika ehrte, aber in Nazareth keinen Stein bewegen ließ, wo doch der Engel die Geburt des größten Sohnes aus dem Samen Abrahams verkündete. Das gehört zum Empfindungswandel der Zeiten. Wir müssen uns mit der Feststellung begnügen, daß die Herzen der ersten Jahrhunderte noch nicht stark von dem Idyll des verborgenen Heilandlebens in Nazareth ergriffen wurden, ihre eigentliche Liebe galt der Heilstrias: Geburt, Tod und Auferstehung Christi.

[1] HARDY, S. 19.

EUSEBIUS,[1] SOCRATES, SOZOMENUS berichten keine Silbe über einen Kirchenbau in Nazareth. Wir wissen nur, daß JOSEF VON TIBERIAS noch zu Lebzeiten Konstantins die Erlaubnis erhielt, auch hier eine Kirche zu errichten. Es ist aber nicht völlig sicher, daß er seine Absicht auch durchgeführt hat. Das treibende Motiv ist sein Missionseifer, in das jüdische Galiläa eine Bresche zu schlagen. Darum darf man nur vermuten, daß er mit dieser ersten Pfarrkirche auch die Verkündigung in Stein verewigen wollte. Auf jeden Fall kann sein Anfang nur bescheiden gewesen sein, denn die Schritte der Pilger eilen noch für längere Zeit an ihm vorüber. 373 besucht die HL. MELANIA Christen, die aus Ägypten nach Sepphoris verbannt sind, um Almosen unter ihnen auszuteilen, des benachbarten Nazareth wird nicht gedacht.[2] Die HL. PAULA ist die erste, von der wir wissen, daß sie als Pilgerin um 386 die Stadt besuchte. Von Samaria aus „durcheilte sie in schneller Reise Nazareth, die Stadt der Ernährung unseres Herrn, Kana und Kapharnaum".[3] Die ganze Reise ist sehr summarisch geschildert, immerhin darf man schließen, daß noch kein glänzendes Heiligtum ihren Schritt festhielt. In einer Schrift gegen 440, die freilich kein vollständiges Verzeichnis aller heiligen Orte sein will, fehlt Nazareth.[4] Um 460 wird die Stadt als Bischofssitz aufgezählt, abhängig von der Metropole Skythopolis,[5] mithin bestand schon oder entstand bald eine Kathedrale. Gegen 530 heftet aber THEODOSIUS immer noch nicht eine besondere Erinnerung an die Stadt.[6]

[1] HARDY (S. 27) u. a. glaubten, aus einem Werk „*De situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum*", das dem Eusebius-Hieronymus zugeschrieben wurde, ein frühes Zeugnis für zwei Kirchen in Nazareth (Verkündigung und Ernährung) zu besitzen, aber es geht erst auf BEDA (um 720) zurück.

[2] Vgl. A. MOLINIER und C. KOHLER, *Itinerum Hierosolymitanorum et descriptionum Terrae Sanctae series chronologica*. Genf, 1879. S. 69 f.

[3] „Cito itinere percucurrit Nazareth, nutriculam Domini, Cana et Capharnaum." (PL 22,889).

[4] SANCTUS EUCHERUS, *De situ Hierosolymitanae urbis* usw. (GEYER, S. 125–134).

[5] *Descriptio Parrochiae Jerusalem*. (TOBLER-MOLINIER, S. 325); HARDY (S. 35) zitiert aus dem gleichen Jahre noch einen Pilger VERGILIUS, der Nazareth erwähnt. Aber dieser Pilger hat nie existiert, es handelt sich um ein Fragment des THEODOSIUS. Vgl. CH. KOHLER, *Le Pseudo-Pèlerin Virgile*. (*RB* X, 1901. S. 93–96). — In andern Quellen der byzantinischen Zeit wird kein Bistum Nazareth mehr erwähnt. (Vgl. F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*. Paris, 1938. II, 199–201).

[6] GEYER, S. 139.

Es wird 570, bis wir durch den ANONYMUS VON PIACENZA die erste Erwähnung der Verkündigungskirche erhalten. Auf der Pilgerstraße von Akko kommt er zunächst nach Sepphoris. Die Stadt scheint damals eine vorbereitende Etappe für Nazareth gewesen zu sein, denn hier zeigte man ihm einen Eimer und ein Körbchen der Mutter Gottes. „Hier war auch der Sessel, wo sie saß, als der Engel zu ihr eintrat".[1] Man dachte sich also damals Maria sitzend, als der Engel ihr erschien; die Apokryphen nehmen ja auch an, daß sie in dieser Stunde am Tempelvorhang webte. Nur mit einem Satz erwähnt er ihr Heiligtum in Nazareth. „Das Haus der hl. Maria ist eine Basilika und viele Wunder geschehen dort durch ihre Kleider".[2] Unbemerkt von der großen Welt ist, das lehrt der kurze Satz, Nazareth inzwischen Pilgerstadt geworden. In der religiösen Hochspannung einer Wallfahrtsstätte geschehen Wunder. Das Bedürfnis, sein Vertrauen an sinnlich Greifbares anzuklammern, schafft leicht falsche Reliquien, wenn echte fehlen. Die Geschichte weiß nichts von Marienkleidern in Nazareth,[3] sie sind aus Irrtum oder Betrug gewebt, sei es, daß dieser Glaube aus „einer irrtümlichen Identifikation eines Votivgeschenkes" entstand, oder daß er auf „einem vielleicht von jüdischer Seite inszenierten Betrug beruht".[4]

Der ANONYMUS könnte so verstanden werden, daß man damals, gestützt auf eine schwankende oder sichere Tradition, glaubte, noch die Wohnräume Mariens, eingebaut in die Basilika, zu besitzen. Der nächste Pilger — ARKULF aus dem Jahre 670 — belehrt uns aber, daß die Kirche nur den Ort von Mariens Wohnhaus festhalten wollte. „Die andere Kirche ist an dem Orte errichtet, wo jenes Haus erbaut war, in das der Erzengel Gabriel zur seligen Maria eintrat, die er in selbiger Stunde allein antraf."[5] ARKULF erwähnt nicht die apokryphe

[1] „In quo loco erat et cathedra, ubi sedebat, quando ad eam angelus venit." (GEYER, S. 161).

[2] „Domus sanctae Mariae basilica est, et multa ibi fiunt beneficia de vestimentis eius." (*Ebd.*).

[3] Einen Gürtel und eine Binde Mariens erhält unser Pilger auch in der Grabeskirche gezeigt. (Vgl. GEYER, S. 173). — Über Kleider Mariens, die geschichtlich eine Rolle spielten, vgl. KLAMETH, S. 11–16.

[4] KLAMETH, S. 16.

[5] „Altera vero ecclesia in eo fabricata habetur loco, ubi illa fuerat domus constructa, in qua Gabriel archangelus ad beatam Mariam ingressus ibidem eadem hora solam est locutus inventam." (GEYER, S. 320).

Verkündigung an der Quelle, er stützt sich allein auf den biblischen Bericht, das Haus Mariens ist die Stätte des Geheimnisses. Der Text scheint zu fordern, daß der Engel ihr im Hause erschien, das inzwischen von der Zeit verweht wurde. Denn die Grotte blieb ja bei allen Erweiterungen und Veränderungen in der Substanz unverändert. Doch ist die Annahme möglich, daß ARKULF nur den Eintritt des Engels in das Haus erwähnt, ohne seinen Endpunkt in der Grotte zu fixieren.

BEDA wiederholt 720 kompilierend: „Die andere aber ist die Kirche, wo das Haus stand, in dem der Engel zu Maria kam."[1] WILLIBALD 723/26 muß wohl eine ausdrückliche Polemik gegen die Apokryphen beabsichtigen, wenn er betont von dem Orte spricht, „wo Gabriel zuerst zur hl. Maria kam und zu ihr das Ave Maria usw. sprach. Dort ist jetzt eine Kirche."[2] Auch seine Worte begünstigen die Auffassung, daß damals die Basilika, nicht die Grotte, als Stätte der Verkündigung galt. Melancholisch fügt er den Satz hinzu: „Jene Kirche kauften die Christen oft von den heidnischen Sarazenen, wenn jene sie zerstören wollten."[3] Er erwähnt nur diese Kirche. Das bedrückte und finanziell geschwächte Christentum konzentrierte seine Anstrengung auf die Erhaltung dieses Heiligtums, es galt mithin als das ehrwürdigste. Man kann darum kaum zweifeln, daß die zwölf Mönche, die das *Commemoratorium de casis Dei* 808 in Nazareth anführt,[4] im Kloster an der Verkündigungskirche wohnten. Aus dem IX./X. Jahrh. wird berichtet, daß die hl. Helena „als sie das Haus gesucht hatte, in dem die lobwürdigste Gottesgebärerin das Ave empfing von dem Erzengel Gabriel, dort einen prächtigen Tempel der allerheiligsten Gottesgebärerin errichtete."[5] Wieder fehlt die Erwähnung der Grotte, aber wieder bleibt es möglich, daß in ihr, als einem Teil des Hauses, der Engel die Menschwerdung verkündete.

[1] Altera vero est ecclesia, ubi domus erat, in qua angelus ad Mariam venit. (GEYER, S. 320).

[2] ... ubi Gabriel primum venit ad sanctam Mariam et dixit: Ave Maria et reliqua. Ubi est nunc ecclesia. (TOBLER-MOLINIER, S. 260).

[3] Illam ecclesiam Christiani homines saepe comparabant a paganis Saracenis, quando illi volebunt eam destruere. (*Ebd.*)

[4] *In civitate sancta Nazareth monachi* XII. (TOBLER-MOLINIER, S. 303).

[5] „— *ζητήσασα τὸν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ ἡ πανύμνητος Θεοτόκος ἔλαβε τό χαῖρε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου αβριήλ, ναὸν ἐκεῖσε τῆς παναγίας Θεοτόκου παράδοξον ἀπειργάσατο.*" (M. GUIDI, *Un Bios di Constantino.* Roma, 1908, S. 50).

Ein einziges Heiligtum bezeugt 943 der arabische Schriftsteller MAS'ŪDI: „Ich selbst habe in diesem Dorfe eine Kirche gesehen, die von den Christen sehr verehrt wird".[1]

B. DER ARCHÄOLOGISCHE BEFUD.

Die Franziskaner, seit 1620 dauernd in Nazareth ansäßig, haben das Heiligtum der Verkündigung durch schwere Jahrhunderte gerettet und aus dem Schutt erlöst. Erst 1730 konnten sie eine günstige Gelegenheit benutzen, um eine bescheidene Kapelle in aller Hast durch die heutige Kirche abzulösen, die, 1877 durch ein Gewölbejoch nach Süden erweitert, an innerer Länge 22 m und an Breite 17 m mißt. Die Grotte umfaßt in ihr fast die ganze Nordhälfte des Mittelschiffes, sie beherrscht so machtvoll das Blickfeld und hat die Orientierung nach Norden veranlaßt. Heute mündet eine Treppe von 15 Stufen (C)[2] in den rechteckigen Vorraum (B), genannt Engelskapelle. In der Mitte der Nordseite öffnet sich ein $2^1/_2$ m breiter Arkadenbogen, zwei Stufen führen von dort herab in die Grotte (A), deren größte Maße ungefähr sind: Länge 7 m, Breite 6 m, Höhe 3 m. Der Niveauunterschied zwischen dem Fußboden der heutigen Kirche und dem der Grotte beträgt 3,35 m.

Es ist das Verdienst der Franziskaner B. VLAMINCK und P. VIAUD, daß nun auch die Archäologie über die ältere Basilika berichten kann. 1895 entdeckte VLAMINCK das Westdrittel der Engelskapelle (F) mit dem Mosaikbelag wieder, dazu die sackartige Felsenhöhlung (E) und die zwei Treppen (O u. N), die ehemals in den Vorraum führten. Die Ausgrabungen von VIAUD ließen die Schicksale der alten Basilika wieder erstehen. Die Kreuzfahrer folgten nach ihm beim Neubau dem byzantinischen Vorbild, „der Plan erfuhr in seinen großen Linien keine Veränderungen".[3] Mit einer äußeren Länge von 75 m und einer Breite von etwas über 30 m reihte sich die dreischiffige Basilika einst den stolzesten Gotteshäusern würdig an die Seite. Ihr Dach war getragen von antiken grauen Granitsäulen, wohl heidnischen Tempeln entnommen.[4] Die Basilika war geostet, sie schloß mit drei Apsiden ab, ihr Fußboden lag 1,21 m unter dem heutigen.

[1] LE STRANGE, S. 301.
[2] Zu den eingeklammerten Buchstaben vergleiche den beigefügten Plan.
[3] S. 123.
[4] Vgl. *ebd.* das Fragment einer griechischen Inschrift auf einer Granitsäule.

Die Grotte selbst befand sich unter dem nördlichen Seitenschiff, erstreckte sich aber darüber noch bis zu einem Gewölbejoch des Mittelschiffes.

Soweit heute unser Wissen reicht, ist das Westdrittel der Engelskapelle (F) mit der Felsenhöhle (E) der älteste Teil der Kirche. In der alten Basilika dehnte sich Mosaik über den ganzen Vorraum aus, nur das westliche Drittel blieb erhalten, weil es bis 1895 durch eine dreifache Mauer für Jahrhunderte Blicken und Händen entzogen war.[1] Die Nordwestecke des Mosaik trägt die Inschrift: *Παρα Κωνωνος Διακονου Ιεροσολυμων*. Sie will doch den Stifter des Mosaikbodens, nicht aber sein Grab an dieser Stelle angeben.[2] Das Gegenstück, das die Aussage enthielt, muß in einem andern Mosaikquadrat gestanden haben, das achtlos und unbeschrieben vernichtet wurde. Weil der Märtyrer Konon aus Nazareth stammte, darf man vermuten, daß der Diakon in Jerusalem seinen hl. Namensträger, der vielleicht sein Patron war, im Sanktuarium seiner Heimatstadt durch diese Stiftung ehren wollte. A. BAUMSTARK urteilt über das Alter der Inschrift: „Der Name Konon muß als wesenhaft antik angesprochen werden und begegnet im griechischen Mittelalter nicht mehr. Deutet schon dieser Umstand spätestens in das V. oder VI. Jahrh., so weist in diese Zeit mit Bestimmtheit der paläographische Befund. — Alles in allem würde ich die Mosaikinschrift um die Mitte oder im dritten Viertel des V. Jahrh. ansetzen".[3] Dieses Westdrittel — seine größte Länge ist 3,6 m, seine größte Breite 3,4 m. — fällt dadurch auf, daß seine Nord- und Südseite um je 35 cm. über die Linie der Engelskapelle hinausspringt. Es muß darum wohl der ältere Raum sein, denn bei einer gleichzeitigen Anlage ist nicht einzusehen, warum die Meßschnur hier zwei kleine rechteckige Winkel beschreibt, ehe sie wieder in die gerade Linie fällt. Am Westende wird das Mosaikfeld von drei Mauern umklammert, die mit mehreren Kalkschichten leicht beworfen sind. Ihre Blöcke sind 40–46 cm breit und 70–85 cm lang. „Ein ähnliches Mauerwerk, mit Blöcken von dieser Größe, trifft man allein in Bauten, die noch nach der klassischen Art gebaut sind".[4] Am Fuße dieser Mauern läuft überall eine Mosaikkante von

[1] Vgl. die beigefügte Photographie.

[2] BAGATTI (S. 259) glaubt, daß sie die Grabinschrift des Konon sei.

[3] Aus einem Gutachten, mitgeteilt an HÜFFER (S. 34 f).

[4] BAGATTI, S. 261.

drei Reihen weißer Würfel entlang, „was deutlich zeigt, daß sie älter sind als das Mosaik."[1] Der älteste Teil sind also die Mauern, es folgt das weiße Mosaik als Bodenbelag. Um 450/500 breitet dann Konon seinen Mosaikteppich von hier über die ganze Engelskapelle aus.

Die erste künstlerische Hand wurde also spätestens im IV. Jahrh. an diesen Raum gelegt. Er ist aber hingeordnet auf die Felsenhöhle, sein Mauerwerk strebt ihr zu, an der Nordwestecke des Mosaiks schwenkt die Mauer in nord-nordwestlicher Richtung ab und bildet den Unterteil für den Vorraum dieser Felsenkammer. Darum muß die Ausgestaltung dieser Höhle auch noch bis in die römische Zeit herabgehen. Sie ist 4,25 m lang, hat als größte Breite 2 m, ihre durchschnittliche Höhe mißt etwa 1,75 m. Sie zerfällt in in einen Vorraum und eine innere Nische, die beide ungefähr von der gleichen Länge sind. Sie waren getrennt durch eine Tür, deren Rahmen noch erhalten ist. Doch wurde sie vielleicht erst in der spätarabischen Zeit eingefügt, wo die Kammer als Nutzraum diente. Der Vorraum ist durch ein Mosaikstück geziert, 1 m im Quadrat; vor dem Herzstück, gebildet abwechselnd aus schwarzen und weißen Würfeln, befindet sich das konstantinische Christusmonogramm. „Die Mosaiken sind gleichzeitig mit dem Mauerwerk, da der Felsen keinen andern Boden als diesen hat."[2] Aber schon vor dem Ziehen der Mauer und dem Legen des Mosaiks kam der Höhle eine besondere Bedeutung zu. Denn von den Fragmenten der sechs Kalkschichten an der Ostwand der inneren Nische steckten zwei zwischen der Mauer und dem Mosaik,[3] ihr höheres Alter ist dadurch bewiesen. Bei der Entdeckung in 1895 fand man an der Wand „eine Anzahl von Kreuzen" und „zwischen zwei Kalkschichten eine lange, unleserliche griechische Inschrift."[4] „Sehr viele Personen haben versucht, sie zu entziffern, aber ohne großes Ergebnis."[5]

War diese Felsenhöhle das Grab einer heiligen Persönlichkeit? HÜFFER[6] möchte sie als Teil des Wohnhauses Mariens ansprechen und daraus erklären, daß sie ein Bauglied der Basilika wurde und durch Kreuze, Inschrift, Mosaik eine Verehrung und Auszeichnung empfing. Aber für einen Wohnraum ist die

[1] VIAUD, S. 88.

[2] BAGATTI *ebd.* — VIAUD (S. 93) möchte dagegen auch dieses Mosaik später datieren, gleichzeitig mit dem Konons und dem im Hauptschiff der Kirche gefundenen. [3] Vgl. BAGATTI, S. 260 f. [4] VLAMINCK, S. 5.

[5] VIAUD, S. 93. [6] Vgl. S. 91–95.

Höhle, trotzdem sie inzwischen erweitert wurde, doch zu klein und primitiv. VLAMINCK, der Wiederentdecker, sprach gleich die Überzeugung aus, daß hier ursprünglich ein Einzelgrab war. Er fand am äußersten Ende der Nische eine Steinbank. Als er sie entfernte, stieß er auf ein Bassin oder Trog, „augenscheinlich arabischen Ursprunges, aber von sehr geringem Wert. Ich zerstörte die Bank und den Trog, um hinterher zu meinem großen Bedauern zu entdecken, daß beim Anlegen dieses Troges die Arbeiter die ursprüngliche Form des Felsens zerstört hatten, der in früheren Zeiten ein Grab enthalten haben muß, wenigstens nach den Überresten der Nische zu urteilen, die noch sichtbar sind."[1] VLAMINCK weist auch schon auf den hl. Josef hin. „Eine beständige Überlieferung unter den Bewohnern Nazareths, besonders der Griechen, verlegt das Grab des hl. Josef in die alte Basilika."[2] Auch VIAUD hält die Höhle für ein altes Grab, „das anscheinend schon in sehr alter Zeit zertrümmert und umgestaltet wurde."[3] Es ist sogar nach ihm gut möglich, daß der hl. Josef hier beigesetzt wurde. Denn Jesus zog sich bald nach seinem öffentlichen Auftreten mit seiner Mutter nach Kapharnaum zurück. „Kann man nicht voraussetzen, daß sich in dieser Zeit das Haus der hl. Jungfrau außerhalb des Fleckens befand und daß mithin nichts im Wege stand, daß hier ein Begräbnis stattfand?"[4] BAGATTI nimmt an, daß hier ursprünglich ein Grab „nach Art eines Backofens" d.h. ein Kokim war.[5] Da nur die Ostseite noch Reste des Kalkbewurfs enthält, darf man zunächst schließen, daß die Höhle später nach Westen erweitert wurde. Auch nach unten reißt der Kalkanstrich etwa in der Mitte der Ostwand ab, der ursprüngliche Boden ist mithin später vertieft worden. Man würde also ein Kokim erhalten, das sich ungefähr 1 m über dem Boden erhob und durch einen Vorraum ausgezeichnet war. BAGATTI enthält sich des Urteils, welche Persönlichkeit hier beigesetzt war. Archäologisch erscheint es ihm nur mit Recht möglich, daß Josef von Tiberias in dieser Grabkammer seine letzte Ruhestatt fand. Durch KLAMETH ist diese Hypothese sehr populär geworden. Er nimmt an, daß Josef den ersten Kirchbau an dieser Stätte errichtete und darum sein Leichnam nach hier überführt wurde. „Sicher wäre das der herrlichste Dank für diesen Wohltäter der Kirche gewesen".[6] Später sei dann

[1] S. 4. [2] S. 5, Anm. 11. [3] S. 93. [4] S. 116.
[5] S. 260. [6] S. 35.

eine Verdunkelung eingetreten, das Volk habe, durch den gleichen Namen verführt, ihn mit dem hl. Josef verwechselt. Aber der Bericht des Epiphanius läßt in keiner Weise durchschimmern, daß Josef von Tiberias an ein Heiligtum in Nazareth dachte, es ist nur wahrscheinlich, nicht sicher, daß er die erste Kirche in der Stadt baute. Die Höhle lehrt, daß hier ein Heiliger verehrt wurde. Ob das Volk diesen Josef zu dieser Ehre erhoben hat? Solange dieser Hypothese jede geschichtliche Substanz fehlt, läßt man sie besser unberücksichtigt. Da Vorhalle, Vorraum und Grabkammer der für unser Wissen älteste Teil der Basilika sind, muß er doch wohl irgendwie mit der hl. Familie in Verbindung gebracht sein, vielleicht ist hier sogar die Keimzelle des Ganzen. Literarische Zeugnisse fehlen ganz vor den Kreuzfahrern. Immerhin läßt sich aus Masʿūdi entnehmen, daß 943 der Reliquienkult in der Basilika blühte. „Hier sind Sarkophage aus Stein, in denen Gebeine von Toten sind. Aus ihnen fließt ein dickes Öl gleich Syrup heraus, mit dem die Christen sich zum Segen salben".[1] Wo standen diese Sarkophage? Sie können nicht unter dem Boden gewesen sein, da die heilkräftige Flüssigkeit aufgefangen wurde. Mehr können wir leider dem Text nicht entnehmen. Unsere Grabhöhle verweist uns darum allein auf den Weg der Hypothesen. Die von Viaud ist an sich möglich, daß Mariens Haus früh verlassen und dann für den Pflegevater Jesu auf dem Grundstück ein Grab ausgehauen wurde. Nur zeigte man in der Kreuzfahrerzeit, — das soll der folgende Abschnitt erhärten — sein Grab in der Verkündigungsgrotte. Möglich ist, daß man seine Gebeine aus der Grabhöhle nach hier übertrug, als ein Vernichtungssturm den Greuel der Verwüstung in die Basilika brachte. Aber das ist nicht wahrscheinlich, da in der Kreuzfahrerzeit die Grabhöhle noch offen war. Zahllose Pilger gingen damals durch die Vorhalle an ihr vorbei in die Verkündigungsgrotte; keine Silbe wird über sie geäußert, ihr heiliger Charakter muß sich inzwischen verflüchtigt haben. Ob nicht das junge Christentum Nazareths im IV. Jahrh. einem Irrtum zum Opfer fiel, indem es annahm, hier sei Maria selbst beigesetzt worden? Auch ihre Geburt wurde lange in Nazareth lokalisiert, obwohl Jerusalem die älteren und besseren Zeugen für sich hatte. Viel früher erwarb sich die Tradition über ihr Grab im Kidrontale — seit 530 wissen die Pilger

[1] Le Strange, S. 301.

nur von ihm zu berichten — die Anerkennung der Gesamtchristenheit. Vielleicht mußten darum die Nazarethaner schon früh ihren Irrtum berichtigen. Das könnte erklären, warum so bald der Schatten der Vergessenheit sich über unsere Felsenkammer legte, nachdem schon im IV. Jahrh. Liebe und Verehrung sie umgab. Das soll keine neue Hypothese sein, nur ein Gedanke, der vor dem Rätsel dieser kleinen Felshöhle auftaucht, die den Bau der Basilika mitbestimmt hat. Daß Josef auf diesem Grundstück irgendwo beigesetzt wurde — das also nach VIAUD trotzdem das Wohnhaus Mariens getragen haben kann — erscheint in hohem Maße wahrscheinlich.[1] Es war hier wohl das Erbbegräbnis der Familie Christi, die, wenn der Bericht über das Martyrium Konons zuverlässig ist, wenigstens noch um das Jahr 200 Glieder der Verwandtschaft in Nazareth zählte. Das liebende Gedächtnis der Juden für ihre Toten ist berühmt, im IV. Jahrh. konnte darum leicht noch die Grabstätte dieser Familie bekannt sein. Das Gefühl, daß die Familie noch im Tode vereint sein muß, war so stark, daß später gänzlich ungeschichtlich Josefs Grab neben dem Marias in Jerusalem verehrt wurde.[2] Konnte nicht umgekehrt ein echtes Josefgrab in Nazareth dieses Gefühl dazu treiben, in seiner Nähe auch die Begräbnisstätte Mariens zu vermuten? Der Verstand läßt sich unter solchen Impulsen, die warmblütig auf nüchterne Beweise verzichten, leicht gefangen nehmen und in die Irre führen. Was soll sonst die Christen veranlaßt haben, ihre Basilika auf diesen ungünstigen Abhang, über jüdische Gräber zu setzen? In nächster Nähe lag südlich das Laḥḥāmgrab,[3] über eine zweite jüdische Kokimanlage (H) erhob sich jetzt das Heiligtum, andere wurden vielleicht von den Bauherren in Cisternen umgewandelt,[4] möglich, daß noch mehr in den Fundamenten von

[1] Die Dames de Nazareth erheben den Anspruch, das Grab Josefs unter ihrem Besitz wieder entdeckt zu haben. (Vgl. *Découvertes*, S. 30–34). Ihre Begründung ist aber jüngst von BALDI (S. 250–52) u. BAGATTI (S. 253–58) so einwandfrei widerlegt worden, daß keine Ergänzung mehr möglich ist.

[2] So spät wie 1834 hörten hier noch E. CH. DÖBEL (*Wanderungen im Morgenlande*, Gotha 1843, II, 111) von Grabe Josefs sprechen, um 1860 A. VON NOROFF (*Pelérinage en Terre* Sainte, St. Petersburg, 1864, S. 113, Anm 1). Nach der Beschreibung und Zeichnung von SLISANSKY (S. 52 f.) zeigte man 1662 das Grab Josefs an der linken Seite der Treppe, die nach unten führt, ihm gegenüber die Gräber von Joachim und Anna.

[3] Vgl. *J.P.O.S.* XVIII, No. 3–4 S. 196.

[4] Vgl. *Ebd.* S. 197.

Kirche und Bischofspalast verschwanden. Eine starke und sichere Erinnerung muß die Basilika in dieses Gräberfeld gezogen haben. Nach den mittelalterlichen Zeugnissen ist das Begräbnis Josefs auf diesem Platze sehr wahrscheinlich; nur Hypothese ist, daß er, wie seine apokryphe Geschichte will, an der Seite seiner Väter beigesetzt wurde. Da die Verehrung des hl. Josef erst in späteren Jahrhunderten blut- und glutvoller sich entwickelte, mag man als Hilfskonstruktion die Annahme zulassen, daß die hl. Maria in der Felsenhöhle fälschlich ihre Ruhestatt erhielt. Die Zeichen der Liebe in Konstruktion, Ausschmückung und Graffiti können sich so früh wohl nur auf sie beziehen. Als „Haus Mariens" tritt die Basilika ins literarische Leben, sie, nicht der hl. Josef, ist die Seele des Heiligtums. Daß ihre Wohnstätte hier stehen konnte, bleibt, wie mehrfach erwähnt, nicht bloß im Rahmen des Glaubens, sondern auch des wissenschaftlich Möglichen. — Die Vorhalle (F) diente schwerlich bloß als Zugang des Grabes in der Felsenhöhle, nach Analogie ähnlicher Räume führte sie vermutlich noch in andere Anlagen. Das Kokimgrab (H) liegt so nahe an ihr, daß wohl ursprünglich ein Verbindungsgang bestand. Hat die Treppe (N) hier zerstörend eingegriffen? Sie liegt in der Flucht der alten Basilika und erweckt darum den Eindruck, daß ihre sechs Stufen — ihre Breite beträgt 1,05 m — erst damals in den Felsen gehauen wurden. Die sechs Stufen der 1,20 m breiten Treppe (O) sind aus Steinen gelegt. VLAMINCK entfernte einige und stellte fest, „daß der Felsenboden weggehauen war, um Platz für die Treppe zu schaffen,"[1] Aber ein schmalerer Felsengang könnte damals vernichtet worden sein, um Raum für etwas Monumentaleres zu schaffen. Obwohl diese Treppe in der Gesamtrichtung der alten Kirche quer lag, war sie doch der Haupteingang zur Grotte, was nicht bloß durch ihre größere Breite bewiesen wird. Denn nur $1^1/_2$ m von ihr befindet sich in gleicher Breite ein rechteckiges Mosaikfeld, mit einem Christusmonogramm in der Nordhälfte, das von einem Kranze umschlungen ist.[2] Das legt den Gedanken nahe, daß man einen älteren, geheiligten Zugang erweiterte, durch Steinstufen verschönerte und mit dem Mosaik schon im Vorfeld ehrte.

Von der Südostseite des Mosaiks gelangt man in einen felsigen

[1] S. 3. [2] Nach A. BAUMSTARK ist auch dieses Mosaikstück altchristlich. Er fühlt sich vor allem an Mosaikfragmente aus der Stephanusbasilika der hl. Eudoxia um 480 erinnert. (HÜFFER, S. 35f.).

Raum, den ein späterer Mauerzug in zwei Teile zerschnitt (G-G). VIAUD hält ihn für „eine Grabkammer. — Der wirkliche Eingang dieser Gräber mußte sich im Boden der Oberkirche befinden. Vielleicht waren sie mit großen Grabsteinen oder mit Mosaiken geschmückt, aber alles ist seit langem verschwunden. In der Tat lag gerade an diesem Platze die Treppe, die in dem Plan von QUARESMIUS[1] eingezeichnet ist und die bis 1730 existierte, als die gegenwärtige zentrale Treppe errichtet wurde".[2] Die Franziskaner öffneten nach 1620 diese vermauerte Treppe wieder,[3] sie war ein Noteingang, irgendwann angelegt, als Bibars 1263 die Kreuzfahrerbasilika zerstört hatte. Die Treppe wurde so gebaut, daß sie gerade auf den alten Eingang der Verkündigungsgrotte zulief. Das Westdrittel des Vorraumes mit der Grabhöhle (E) interessierte damals schon nicht mehr, es blieb bis 1895 unberührt unter dem Schutte. Diese Treppe mußte sich schon damals darum durch Trümmer durcharbeiten,[4] unter sich ließ sie die „Grabkammer". Ihr Felsenboden ist noch niedriger als das Mosaikfeld, er liegt wenigstens 2 m unter der alten Basilika. Darum ist die These nicht wahrscheinlich, daß vom Boden der Kirche zwei Gräber in dieser Tiefe ausgehauen wurden. Der finstere Raum wartet noch auf eine genauere Untersuchung, es ist nicht einmal sicher, ob ihn gewachsener Felsen oder nur eine Schuttmasse von der Engelskapelle trennt. Sicher darf man auch in ihm ein Etwas sehen, das schon vor dem ältesten Bau existierte und in verschiedenen Verwandlungen mit der Basilika durch die Geschichte ging.

Das Westdrittel F verengert sich nach Osten um 70 cm und geht in die eigentliche Engelskapelle (B) über, die nur noch 2,70 m breit ist. Die Länge beträgt 7,75 m. Erst 1730 erreichte sie dieses Maß, als beim Bau der heutigen Kirche die östliche Felswand um 91,5 cm vorgeschoben wurde.[5] Wann ist dieser Raum aus dem Felsen gehauen worden? Seine ältesten archäologischen Zeugen sind Reste des Kononmosaiks, 1895 unter dem Gabrielsaltar an seiner

[1] Vgl. II,623. [2] S. 95.

[3] Daß hier eine alte Treppe wieder gefunden wurde, verdanken wir dem Bericht des Franziskaners THOMAS A NOVARIA. (S. 111). Weil diese Treppe gerade auf den alten Eingang der Verkündigungsgrotte zulief, führte er sie auf die hl. Familie zurück.

[4] Vgl. den Querschnitt bei VIAUD, S. 83, Fig. 39 „Tombeau dans le roc."

[5] Vgl. VLAMINCK, S. 5.

Nordwestecke gefunden.[1] Das wirkliche Alter kann natürlich viel höher sein. Das schmale Rechteck sollte den nackten Felsen der Verkündigungsgrotte in der ganzen Breite wirkungsvoll hervortreten lassen. Es wurde darum wohl gleichzeitig mit dem vermutlich noch älteren Westdrittel Kultraum. Die Annahme, daß (B) und (F) schon Teile des Wohnraumes Mariens waren, kann die Archäologie weder bezeugen noch widerlegen.[2] VIAUD nimmt an, daß der Vorraum in seiner ganzen Länge auch noch in der Basilika der Kreuzfahrer überwölbt war,[3] um so das Haus Mariens zu repräsentieren. KLAMETH meint: „Beides (Grotte und Vorhalle) bildete nun ein einheitliches Ganzes, ein isoliert inmitten eines großen freien Platzes dastehendes Marienmonument, welches man jetzt erst durch eine mächtige Basilika einschloß".[4] Der älteste bescheidene Bau des IV. Jahrh. muß wohl nach Süden mit der aufgemauerten und überdachten Vorhalle geendet haben. Ob aber die Prachtbasilika des folgenden Jahrh. diese Mauern einschloß oder niederriß, um einen freien Blick und eine offene Vorhalle zu gewinnen, können wir nach unserm heutigen Wissen nicht entscheiden.

Der alte Eingang zur Verkündigungsgrotte war an ihrem Westende. VLAMINCK entdeckte die vermauerte Türöffnung wieder hinter dem Gabrielsaltar.[5] VIAUD erwähnt, daß noch Rahmen und Türsturz vorhanden waren.[6] Der etwa 1 m breite Weg lief westlich an der Engelssäule (M) vorbei und wandte sich dann mit einer vollen Rechtsschwenkung, die Mariensäule L zur linken Hand, in das Innere der Grotte. VIAUD nimmt an, daß die heutige breite Grottenöffnung, der Treppe (C) gegenüber, schon in alter Zeit bestand.[7] QUARESMIUS fand sie zwar schon vor,[8] aber ein Gatter verschloß sie, das sich wohl nur bei feierlichen Anlässen öffnete. Doch kann die breite Öffnung erst im späten Mittelalter geschlagen sein, keine ältere Quelle erwähnt sie, einige schließen sie sogar positiv aus. Wie erwähnt, legten darum die Christen die erste Treppe, die sie nach

[1] *Ebd.* S. 3.

[2] Der II. Band des sehr gelehrten u. kritischen Loretoforschers G. HÜFFER befaßt sich mit der quellenmäßigen u. archäologischen Erforschung der Basilika in Nazareth. H. glaubt, „daß uns noch heute sechs Bestandteile des Marienhauses, sei es ganz, sei es stückweise, erhalten sind" (S. 105). HÜFFER zeigt dann, von dieser Voraussetzung ausgehend, daß dieses Marienhaus mit dem Heiligtum von Loreto nicht übereinstimmt.

[3] S. 126–28.

[4] S. 5.

[5] S. 3.

[6] S. 95.

[7] *Ebd.*

[8] II,620.

1263 bauten, so an, daß sie ihnen den Weg in gerader Linie zu dem kleinen Eingang bahnte. Der Fußboden des Grotteninnern war einst mit Mosaik geschmückt, wie als erster NICOLÒ DA POGGIBONZI 1345 bezeugt.[1] Noch 1895 konnte VLAMINCK über seine Arbeit an der Ostapsis in der Grotte schreiben: „Die Entfernung der Erde und des Schuttes machte die alte Apsis sichtbar, ganz mit Mosaikarbeit bedeckt, von der noch einiges übrig ist".[2] Heute haftet kein Mosaikwürfel mehr, es scheint, daß die letzten Reste ohne Aufnahme und Untersuchung verschwunden sind. Als älteste Zeugen der Grotte verbleiben darum die beiden Säulen (L) und (M), sie dienten dazu, die Decke zu stärken, als sich die Last der Basilika über sie legte, in einen ihrer Pfeiler ist die Mariensäule eingebaut. Die Eingriffe in die Höhle sind so stark gewesen, daß sich über ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt nichts aussagen läßt. Schon früh wurde der Felsen im Osten und im Norden zu einer Apsis erweitert. Ob man damals auch die Höhle selbst ausweitete, wissen wir nicht.

Die Decke der Südhälfte ist zerklüfteter, im Norden dagegen geglätteter und am Ende mit behauenen Steinen ausgefüllt, sei es, um ein Abbröckeln über dem Altar zu verhindern oder um der Apsis ein würdigeres Aussehen zu geben. Auch ist das Niveau der zwei Hälften verschieden, zwei Stufen (etwa 40 cm) führen in den nördlichen Teil hinauf. Der letzte Eingriff in die Gestalt der Grotte fand spät statt, vermutlich 1730. Als der Verkündigungsaltar aus der Ostapsis quer in die Mitte rückte und sich der Altar des hl. Josef mit seinem Rücken an ihn lehnte, „war man gezwungen, einen neuen Weg zu legen, um zum Josefsaltar zu kommen".[3] Darum buchtete man die nördliche Hälfte der Ostwand aus. Möglich, daß man auch damals den Felsenboden der Südhälfte senkte, um den hohen Altar aufstellen können.

Vielleicht war die Verkündigungsgrotte mit einer zweiten Höhle ursprünglich zu einem Ganzen verbunden. VLAMINCK bemerkte durch eine Lücke der südlichen Ostapsis, entstanden durch eine Erdsenkung, den riesigen Kreuzfahrerpfeiler (K). „Es war mein ernstlicher Wunsch, freien Zugang zu diesem Pfeiler zu lassen, aber ich war leider gezwungen, die Öffnung zu schließen, um die Apsis in ihrer primitiven Form zu erhalten".[4] Anscheinend mauerte man schon bei der Anlage der Apsis — ihre Wand ist hier nur 20 cm dick — eine

[1] I,271. [2] S. 6. [3] VLAMINCK, S. 7. [4] *Ebd.* S. 6.

ähnliche, breitere, natürliche Lücke zu. Nur eine genaue Untersuchung könnte lehren, was gewachsener Felsen, was etwa aus Steinchen und Erde zusammen gebackener künstlicher Aufbau ist, VLAMINCK gebraucht hier den Ausdruck *wall* (Mauer), nicht *rock* (Felsen). VIAUD stellte fest, daß von der Sakristei her ein Weg durch den Pfeiler K lief. Dieser Teil eines östlichen Pilgergangs ist nach seiner Auffassung erst später eingetunnelt worden.[1] HÜFFER weist dagegen aus der Gestaltung des Felsens in der Umgebung nach, daß dieser Pfeiler einen Hohlraum antraf und den Tunnel gleich in seinen Bauplan mit aufnahm.[2] Daß Menschen schon einmal irgendwann vor dem Bau der Kirche diese Höhle benutzten, beweist das Becken (S). VIAUD nennt es „eine Art Silo."[3] Der Weg fand nach Süden hinreichende Weite, da, wie erwähnt, die Ostwand der Engelskapelle erst 1730 weiter vorgeschoben wurde. Er drehte sich an der Südostecke und mündete dann durch einen weiteren Hohlraum (Q) in die Vorhalle. Die Fortsetzung dieses Hohlraumes nach Südosten (P) ist noch nicht näher untersucht worden. Ob diese „Ostkammer ein Teil von Christi Elternhaus ist,"[4] muß archäologisch so lange unentschieden bleiben, bis eine ursprüngliche Öffnung in der Ostapsis der Grotte und eine Besiedlung dieses Geländes um die Zeitenwende nachgewiesen ist.

Seit 1730 führen vom Mittelschiff an beiden Seiten je zwölf Stufen zum Hochaltar und Chor empor. Die Mauern dieses Oberbaus, mit Marmorplatten bedeckt, ließen ganz vergessen, daß hinter ihnen ein ehrwürdiger Zeuge der ersten Kirche lag. 1908 konnte man einen Teil freilegen und erkennen, daß die Decke der Höhle wie ein Hügel etwa 3m. über den Boden der alten Basilika emporragte, aber aus der umgebenden Felsmasse herausgeschnitten und ungefähr in Form eines Trapezes den Linien der Grotte angepaßt war. Nach Norden ließ man den nackten Felsen sichtbar, bekleidete ihn aber nach Osten und Westen mit Mauern. Eine Treppe führte von Westen nach oben, vermutlich zu einem Altar auf der Höhe. Nach VIAUD, dem glücklichen Entdecker, beweist die ganze Anlage „die Gleichheit der Arbeiten, die in Nazareth ausgeführt wurden, mit denen des hl. Grabes und in Gethsemane."[5] Die gleiche Zeit ist aber damit noch nicht bewiesen, Vorbilder können noch lange

[1] S. 106 f. [2] S. 97–99. [3] S. 106. [4] HÜFFER, S. 102.
[5] S. 125.

anregend nachwirken. VIAUD konnte natürlich Chor und Hochaltar nicht abtragen, sie fallen aber demnächst bei dem geplanten Neubau der Basilika. Erst dann wird sich die Ummantelung des Felsens ganz untersuchen lassen.

C. DIE ZEIT DER KREUZFAHRER

Wer als Geißel Gottes durch Nazareth und seine Heiligtümer ging, ob der Sultan al-Ḥākim 1008 oder später einer der seldschukischen Fürsten auf ihren Zügen nach Palästina, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Als TANCRED auf dem ersten Kreuzzuge Fürst von Galiläa wird, öffnet er seine freigebige Hand auch für Nazareth.[1] Die erste Spur seiner fürstlichen Fürsorge finden wir 1102 bei SAEWULF: „Die Stadt Nazareth ist ganz von den Sarazenen zerstört und zugrunde gerichtet; dennoch zeigt aber den Ort der Verkündigung des Herrn ein sehr schönes Kloster an".[2] Der betont gründlichen Zerstörung kann das Kloster nicht entronnen sein. Offenbar richteten die Kreuzfahrer es zuerst mit der bischöflichen Residenz wieder auf, ehe sie die Basilika aus dem Schutt zu neuem Glanze erhoben. In den amtlichen Urkunden erscheint 1110 zum ersten Mal ein Bischof,[3] dann 1128 ein Erzbischof von Nazareth[4] erwähnt. Der russische Abt DANIEL bezeugt aber schon 1106/07, daß ein „sehr reicher lateinischer Bischof" hier residiert und die Kathedrale bereits vollendet ist.[5]

DANIEL verdanken wir auch die erste Beschreibung der Basilika, erst mit ihm treten wir aus dem Nebel allgemeiner Wendungen heraus. „Eine große und hohe Kirche erhebt sich in der Mitte des Fleckens. Tritt man in sie hinein, so sieht man zur Linken, vor einem kleinen Altar, eine kleine, aber tiefe Grotte, die zwei Türen hat, eine im Osten und die andere im Westen, durch die man in die Grotte hinabsteigt".[6] Die Verkündigungskirche lag geographisch

[1] Vgl. WILH. VON TYRUS, *Historia*, lib. IX, cp. XIII. (PL 201, 445).

[2] D'AVEZAC, S. 37: „Civitas autem Nazareth omnino a Sarrecenis devastata atque precipitata; sed tamen locum Dominicae annuntiationis monasterium demonstrat valde preclarum."

[3] R. RÖHRICHT, *Regesta Hierosolymitana* (1097—1291) Innsbruck, 1893. Nr. 57. S. 12. [4] *Ebd.* Nr. 121. S. 30. [5] Vgl. KHITROWO, S. 71.

[6] „Une grande et haute église à trois autels s'élève au milieu du bourg; en y entrant, on voit à gauche, devant un petit autel, une grotte petite, mais profonde, qui a deux petites portes, l'une à l'orient et l'autre à l'occident, par lesquelles on descend dans la grotte." (*Ebd.* S. 69).

immer am Ende, nie „in der Mitte" der Stadt, sie wurde aber der Lebensnerv des dritten Nazareth, Zentrum der wichtigsten Bauten, kurz die ideelle Mitte. Nach dem Eintritt in die Basilika sucht das Auge des DANIEL die hl. Grotte, sie liegt „vor einem kleinen Altar", dessen Platz also auf der mit Steinen umfaßten Höhe gewesen sein muß. Durch zwei Türen, eine im Westen, die andere im Osten, steigt man in die Grotte. In der Westhälfte der alten Basilika führten die zwei Treppen (N) und (O) nach unten, auf beide paßt der Ausdruck „Westpforte." Man wird aber eher an die Südtreppe denken müssen, die in ihrem Vorfelde durch Mosaik ausgezeichnet ist. Außerdem fand VIAUD an seinen Seiten „Fundamente, deren Natur schwer zu bestimmen ist,"[1] während die Untersuchung des Bodens vor der Treppe (N) ergebnislos blieb.[2] Die „Ostpforte" bildete dann den Anfang des Weges, der durch den Pfeiler (K) über (S) und (Q) in den Vorraum mündete.[3] VIAUD[4] folgert aus dem Ausdruck „porte," daß er den Eingang eines Gebäudes meint, dann hätte die Engelskapelle als Haus in der Basilika gestanden. Das ist möglich, aber ebenso statthaft, ein freies Portal vor der Treppe anzunehmen.

DANIEL fährt fort: „Wenn man durch die Westtüre hineingeht, hat man zur Rechten eine Zelle, deren Eingang winzig ist und in der die hl. Jungfrau mit Christus lebte. Er wurde in dieser hl. Zelle erzogen, die das Bett enthält, auf dem Jesus ruhte; sie ist so niedrig, daß sie fast auf dem gleichen Niveau mit dem Boden zu liegen scheint."[5] Meint er mit „la porte occidentale" eine Türe vor der

[1] S. 92. [2] S. 90.

[3] BALDI (S. 249) will in den beiden Treppen (N) und (O) die Ost- und Westpforte sehen, obwohl die Himmelsrichtungen dann nicht stimmen. Diese Treppen (N) und (O) liegen, wie er selbst angibt, „una all'occidente e l'altra a mezzogiorno." Baldi ist wohl entgangen, daß VIAUD auch einen Ostgang entdeckte (S. 106 f.). Er ist freilich heute nicht mehr sichtbar. Es bleibt aber möglich, daß der Urtext nicht die Richtung „Osten" und „Westen" enthielt. Der Text von KHITROWO hat fast kanonische Geltung erlangt. A. de NOROFF hat in seiner Ausgabe (*Pèlerinage en Terre Sainte*, St. Petersburg, 1864) 31 von den 40 bekannten Handschriften benutzt. Auf ihn stützt sich die deutsche Übersetzung von A. LESKIEN (*ZDPV*, VII, 1884). Danach berichtet Daniel: „Wenn man in die Kirche hineinkommt, so ist an der linken Seite eine sehr tiefe Höhle; Türen hat sie zwei, und man steigt auf Stufen in diese Höhle." (LESKIEN, S. 54) Ist dieses der ursprüngliche Text, so kann Daniel die Treppen (N) und (O) meinen.

[4] S. 127.

[5] Pénétrant par la porte occidentale, on a à droite une cellule, dont l'entrée est exiguë et dans laquelle la sainte Vierge vivait avec le Christ. Il fut élevé dans cette cellule sacrée qui contient la couche sur laquelle Jésus se reposait; elle est si basse qu'elle paraît être presque de plain-pied avec le sol." (Kh. S. 70).

Treppe (N) oder (O)? Selbst dann wäre es möglich, daß er bereits im Innern der Höhle steht, die er durch ein Portal in der Westhälfte erreicht hätte. Das „pénétrant" kann nämlich den Ruhepunkt einer Bewegung genau so anzeigen, wie vorher das „en y entrant" DANIEL schon im Innern der Kirche schildert. Aber der Text ließe sich dann auch so auffassen, daß er durch eine Westpforte herabsteigt und nun unten am Fuße der Treppe in der Vorhalle zur Rechten die Zelle der hl. Jungfrau sieht.[1] Jede Unklarheit verschwindet, wenn man "la porte occidentale" von dem schmalen Eingang am Westende der Verkündigungsgrotte verstehen darf, durch den der ganze Pilgerstrom dieser Zeit ging. Dieser eine Ausdruck ist der Angelpunkt auch für die Lokalisierung des Folgenden: „Wenn man in diese gleiche Grotte durch die Westtür eintritt, hat man zur Linken das Grab des hl. Josef, des Verlobten der Jungfrau, der hier durch die reinsten Hände Christi beigesetzt wurde. Von der Mauer, die an sein Grab stößt, sickert wie hl. Öl ein weißes Wasser heraus, des man sammelt, um die Kranken zu heilen".[2] Wieder kommt die Frage: Steht Daniel noch in der Engelskapelle oder ist er bereits in die Verkündigungsgrotte eingetreten? Weil man „la porte occidentale" auf eine der Treppen (N) oder (O) bezieht, ist die Auffassung herrschend, daß „Grotte" in einem weiteren Sinne als Krypta zu verstehen und mithin auf die Vorhalle (B—F) zu beziehen ist. Das Grab Josefs „zur Linken" kann dann nur die Felsenhöhle (E) sein.[3] Aber die Fortsetzung des Textes macht diese Exegese unmöglich. „In dieser gleichen Grotte, bei der Westtür, befindet sich

[1] BALDI (S. 249) interpretiert ihn in dieser Weise. Er macht darum den Vorschlag, die Zelle der hl. Jungfrau in dem Felsenraum (G-G) zu sehen, der auf jeden Fall rechts liegt, ob nun die Treppe (N) oder (O) von ihm benutzt wurde. Aber dieses völlig lichtlose Felsengemach kann man kaum Pilgern als Erziehungsstätte Christi vorgeführt haben. Es widerspricht zudem dem Text, da der Raum nicht „niedrig" ist, sondern über die respektabele Höhe von etwa 2 m verfügt.

[2] „En pénétrant dans cette même grotte par la porte occidentale, on a à gauche le Tombeau de saint Joseph, le fiancé de Marie, qui y fut enterré par les mains très pures du Christ. Du mur voisin de son tombeau suinte, comme de l'huile sainte, une eau blanche qu'on recueille pour guérir les malades." (Kh. S. 70).

[3] So verstand schon VLAMINCK (S. 5.) diese Stelle, ihm folgte VIAUD (S. 20, 93, 127), neuestens F.-M. ABEL (*Les Guides Bleus. Syrie, Palestine.* Paris 1932, S. 515.) und BALDI (S. 249). Soweit ich sehe, bezieht nur HÜFFER (Vgl. S. 55–73) den ganzen Abschnitt auf die Verkündigungsgrotte selbst.

der Platz, wo die Jungfrau Maria saß und Purpur spann, nämlich Scharlachfäden, als ihr der Erzengel Gabriel, der Gesandte Gottes, erschien".[1]

Wo empfing Maria die Botschaft, in der Höhle[2] oder im Vorraum? Die Antwort kann nach anderen Zeugnissen nicht zweifelhaft sein. Sicher hat sich spätestens in der Zeit nach den Kreuzfahrern die Lokalisierung so verengt, daß konstant die Säule L als der Platz galt, wo Maria den Engelsgruß erhielt. Vielleicht fand das suchende und fragende Denken schon in den Tagen DANIELS oder noch früher an dieser Säule einen Halt. Dann sah er aber auch die Zelle Mariens und das Grab Josefs in der Verkündigungsgrotte selbst, denn die Ausdrücke „Grotte" und „Westtüre" wendet er auch schon dort an. Es kann sich nur um den gleichen Raum handeln. Der Text wird aber noch eindeutiger: „Er erschien vor ihren Augen nicht weit von dem Orte, wo die hl. Jungfrau saß. Es sind drei Sagenen von der Tür bis zu dem Orte, wo Gabriel sich befand. Dort ist auf einer Säule ein kleiner runder Marmoraltar errichtet, auf dem man die Liturgie feiert".[3] Der Altar in der Ostapsis steht fest, die Tradition hat hier noch für viele Jahrhunderte nach den Kreuzfahrern die Erscheinung Gabriels fixiert. Maria sieht von ihrem Platze bei der Westtüre, wo sie spinnend sitzt, den Erzengel, sie muß also auch drinnen in der Höhle sein. Das verlangt weiter die Maßangabe, Maria ist durch drei Sagenen (= 6,42 m) von Gabriel getrennt, das ist ungefähr die Entfernung zwischen dem Grotteneingang und der Ostapsis. Mithin ist unter dem Ausdruck „la porte occidentale", den er für seine Lokalisierung dreimal gebraucht, auch dreimal der schmale Eingang an der Westecke der Grottensüdwand zu verstehen. Die hl. Erinnerungen sind auf knappsten Raum in der Höhle zusammen-

[1] "Dans cette même grotte, près de la porte occidentale se trouve la place où la sainte Vierge Marie était assise près de la porte et filait de la pourpre, c'est-à-dire du fil écartale, lorsque l'archange Gabriel, l'envoyé de Dieu, se présenta devant Elle" (Kh. S. 70).

[2] A. DE NOROFF übersetzt in seiner Ausgabe (*a. a. O.*, S. 113) den russischen Ausdruck immer mit „caverne", dadurch ist klarer als durch die Übersetzung mit „grotte" die Vorhalle ausgeschlossen.

[3] „Il apparut devant ses yeux non loin du lieu où était assise la sainte Vierge. Il y a trois sagènes de la porte à l'endroit où se tenait Gabriel; là est érigé, sur une colonne, un petit autel rond en marbre, sur lequel on célèbre la liturgie" (Kh. S. 71).

gedrängt. 1) Rechts ist die Zelle der hl. Jungfrau, in der sie Jesus groß zog. Eine kleine Erhebung über dem Boden galt als Lagerstatt.[1] Diese Zelle kann nur eine Nische in der damals noch geschlossenen Mitte der südlichen Felswand gewesen sein,[2] heute treten hier unter dem Arkadenbogen die Füße der Pilger in die Grotte ein. 2) Links, also in der Nordapsis der Grotte, sah der Eintretende das Grab Josefs. Die Erzählung von dem wunderkräftigen Heilwasser verbindet den Text des DANIEL mit dem des MAS'ŪDI aus 943.[3] Die Verehrung von Josefs Grab reicht also zurück in Zeiten, die für uns quellenmäßig nicht mehr genau zu erfassen sind. 3) In der Ostapsis lag auf einer Säule eine marmorne Platte, sie galt als Altar der Verkündigung. Maria hatte ihren Platz nahe der Säule (L), von hier sah sie den Engel und hörte seinen Gruß. Die Grotte zählte also drei Ausbuchtungen bezw. Apsiden,[4] an die sich die heiligsten Erinnerungen hefteten.

Aus einer vatikanischen Handschrift des XIV. Jahrh. veröffentlichte CHEVALIER das Zeugnis von BELARD (um 1120). „Die Zelle unserer Frau, in die der Engel zu ihr eintrat, war eine Krypta, an der Seite der Stadt, jedoch im Innern, gegen Osten gelegen, nicht aus Steinen errichtet, sondern so in den Fels gehauen, ungefähr vier Schritte lang und ebenso breit".[5] Die Ortsbezeichnung — an der Ostseite der Stadt, ohne von ihr losgelöst zu sein — ist auch heute noch exakt, sie korrigiert die „Mitte des Fleckens" von DANIEL. Unser Pilger kennt auch nur einen heiligen Raum, die Felsengrotte; ein steinerner Vorbau als Casa Santa ist ausdrücklich ausgeschlossen.[6]

[1] Eine Erhebung über dem Boden erhält noch 1616 P. DELLA VALLE als Lagerstatt Mariens gezeigt. (I, 316.) — Der Text von NOROFF (S. 113) läßt natürlicher die felsige Ruhestätte für Jesus und Maria sein, nach ihm wurde Jesus hier nicht „erzogen", sondern „ernährt".

[2] DALMAN, der ebenfalls Daniel noch außerhalb der Höhle im Vorraume stehen sieht, schließt darum, „daß der Wohnraum Mariens an der Stelle der jetzigen Treppe zu suchen wäre." (S. 74). [3] Vgl. S. 90.

[4] VLAMINCK sieht es auf Grund seiner Untersuchungen als sicher an, daß „die Grotte drei Apsiden in Form eines Kreuzes hatte." (S. 7).

[5] „Cella domine nostre, in quam ingressus est angelus ad eam, cripta fuit syta ex latere civitatis, intus tamen ex parte orientis, non ex lapidibus facta sed sic in saxo cavata, longa q. passus IV et totidem ampla." (S. 33).

[6] Hinter „orientis" steht bei CHEVALIER kein Komma, vielleicht ist es nur ein Druckfehler, vielleicht war es in der Handschrift vergessen. Das kann dem

JOHANNES VON WÜRZBURG erlebt auf seiner Pilgerfahrt 1165, daß die Nachbarstädte Sepphoris und Nazareth in dem Anspruch rivalisieren, der Geburtsort Mariens zu sein. „Auch soll in Sepphoris die Jungfrau Maria geboren sein; aber nach dem Zeugnis des Hieronymus[1] . . . soll sie in der Stadt Nazareth selbst geboren sein und zwar in dem gleichen Gemach, in dem sie später empfing nach der Begrüßung durch den Engel. Es wird noch dort an einem bestimmten Orte gezeigt, wie ich selbst gesehen und bemerkt habe."[2] Die Verkündigungsgrotte gilt mithin vielen auch als Geburtsstätte Mariens.

Ergänzt wird die karge Bemerkung dieses Pilgers durch THEODERICH, der einige Jahre später (1172) als scharfer Beobachter durch das Hl. Land geht. „Von der linken Apsis dieser Kirche steigt man auf ungefähr fünfzehn Stufen in eine unterirdische Höhle herab, in der nach Osten hin ein kleines Kreuz unter einem offenen Altar in den Boden eingelassen ist, um die Stelle zu bezeichnen, an der Christus unserer Herrin durch den Erzengel Gabriel verkündigt wurde."[3] Er kommt aus der Nordapsis, deren Niveau höher lag als das Mittelschiff der Basilika,[4] daher die „ungefähr fünfzehn Stufen." Er benutzte also den erwähnten Ostgang,[5] dessen Lauf bis in die Nähe der heutigen Sakristei festgestellt ist. Auch ihn fesselt an der Prachtbasilika nur die Felsenhöhle. Der runde Marmoraltar,

Satz den Wortsinn geben, als ob nur die Ostseite der „cripta" aus Felsen, die drei andern aus Steinen beständen. Dieser Ausweg wurde von Loretofreunden versucht. (Vgl. HÜFFER, S. 150. Anm. 1.—VIAUD, S. 21.) Er ist schon durch die freilich nicht korrekte Maßangabe ausgeschlossen, die immerhin einen ungefähr quadratischen Raum voraussetzt, durch die Hinzufügung der rechteckigen Vorhalle aber ganz widersinnig wird.

[1] Er meint das Buch „*De Nativitate Mariae*," das fälschlich Hieronymus zugeschrieben wurde.

[2] „In Sepphori etiam dicitur fuisse nata beata virgo Maria; sed, teste Hieronymo . . . in ipsa civitate Nazareth nata esse dicitur, et quidem in eodem cubiculo, ubi et postmodum impraegnata fuit angelico alloquio. Hoc adhuc ibidem ostenditur in loco distincto, ut praesens vidi et notavi." (TOBLER, *Descriptiones*, S. 111).

[3] „In hujus ecclesiae sinistra abside per gradus fere XV in quemdam subterraneum specum descenditur, ubi versus orientem cruciola est in fundo cujusdam altaris impressa, Christum eidem dominae nostrae per Gabrielem archangelum ibidem nuntiatum fuisse designans." (TOBLER, *Libellus*, S. 104).

[4] Vgl. den Querschnitt bei VIAUD (S. 94). [5] Vgl. S. 96.

der nur auf einer Säule ruhte, ist seit den Tagen DANIELS unverändert geblieben, THEODERICH nennt darum diesen Altaraufbau „hohl" (offen). Das kleine Kreuz im Boden sollte also ganz präzis den Standort Gabriels festhalten. „Nach der linken Seite aber dieses Altares hin oder nach Norden liegt ihr Bräutigam Josef begraben, nämlich der Nährvater des Erlösers, worüber auch ein Altar errichtet ist."[1] Auch hier ist volle Harmonie mit DANIEL, die Nordapsis der Grotte galt als die Begräbnisstätte Josefs. Im felsigen Boden ist dort heute keine Vertiefung sichtbar, der Leichnam ruhte also in einem Sarkophag — das ließ sich ohnehin schon aus MAS'ŪDI entnehmen — über dem sich der Altar erhob. Mit THEODERICH verschwindet literarisch das Grab Josefs aus der Verkündigungsgrotte,[2] vielleicht wurde der Sarkophag bei der Zerstörung der Kirche durch Bibars mitvernichtet, die erstarkenden Ansprüche der Marienkirche im Kidrontal auf Josefs Grab erstickten dann wohl die ältere Tradition Nazareths.

Nun blickt THEODERICH nach der Südwand der Grotte. „Ebenso ist nach rechts oder nach Süden ein Ort, der nach oben gewölbt ist, er enthält ein bis zum Boden eingelassenes Kreuz, hier erblickte die selige Gottesgebärerin das Licht der Welt".[3] Theoderisch sieht also da, wo heute der Grotteneingang ist, eine überwölbte Nische, die als Geburtsstätte Mariens verehrt wurde, ausgezeichnet durch ein erhabenes (solo tenus) Kreuz auf dem Boden. Er beschreibt nur das Innere der Höhle (specus), man kann darum nicht den Geburtsort Mariens in der Engelskapelle suchen.[4] JOH. V. WÜRZBURG sah ja

[1] „Ad sinistram autem ipsius altaris partem vel ad aquilonem Joseph sponsus ipsius, nutritius videlicet salvatoris, sepultus quiescit, cui etiam altare suppositum est." (TOBLER, *Libellus*, S. 104). — Später hat TOBLER (*Nazareth*, S. 137, Anm. 5) vorgeschlagen, „suppositum" in „superpositum" zu korrigieren.

[2] In Nazareth ist es noch einmal in einem serbischen Pilgerbericht erwähnt. Das Manuskript trägt das Datum 1360. Der Herausgeber, J. MARTINOW, enthält sich des Urteils über das genaue Alter. Nur kurz ist die Nachricht: „In Nazareth, wo der Erzengel der Jungfrau die Geburt des Sohnes verkündete, ist das Grab Josefs, des Gemahls Mariens." (*AOL*, II, 1884, ii, 393). Der Zusammenhang scheint anzudeuten, daß die Verkündigungs, grotte gemeint ist.

[3] „Ad dextram nihilominus vel ad meridiem locus, cruciolam solo tenus habens impressam, desuper arcuatus consistit, in quo beata Dei genitrix de matris suae nascens utero prodiit." (TOBLER, *Libellus*, S. 105).

[4] So VIAUD (S. 113) u. a. Aber der breite Grotteneingang fehlte noch. Außerdem käme der Geburtsplatz Mariens gerade an der heutigen Zentraltreppe

auch diese Stätte „in demselben Gemach" wie die Verkündigung. Als Geburtsort Mariens ist heute Nazareth ausgeschieden,[1] die St. Annenkirche in Jerusalem hat sich mit ihrem älteren Glauben allein behauptet. Ein Widerspruch mit DANIEL besteht nicht. ihm wurde auch wohl die Südnische als Geburtsort Mariens gezeigt, aber er lehnte kühl diese lateinischen Neuerungen durch Ignorieren ab. Für ihn ist Maria in Jerusalem geboren,[2] die Verkündigungsgrotte ist zudem „das Haus Josefs".[3] Als Glied der Ostkirche lebt er in den apokryphen Vorstellungen des Jakobusevangeliums. Maria empfing den ersten Gruß des Engels an der Quelle, sie wohnte damals schon im Hause Josefs, sodaß die zweite Verkündigung hier stattfand. Wie konnte sie also im Hause ihres Gemahls geboren sein? Auch THEODERICH hörte wohl, daß Maria später in ihrem Geburtsraum ihr Kind nährte und großzog. In seiner prägnanten Kürze hat er dann nur die erste Heiligkeitsweihe dieser Nische durch Mariens Geburt aufgezeichnet. Geburts- und Wohnraum schließen sich nie und nirgends aus.

zu liegen, wo aber um diese Zeit durch die Grotte (Q) der alte Östeingang mündete. Im Loretohause wird der Geburtsort Mariens verehrt. (Vgl. MGR. MISLIN, *Les Saints Lieux*. Paris-Lyon, 1876. II, 559 ff. u. III, 508 ff.). M. stützt sich stark auf einige Bullen von Päpsten, die den Volksglauben wiedergeben, daß Maria in der Engelskapelle geboren und mithin ihr Geburtsplatz nach Loreto gewandert sei. Die Loretofreunde müssen eben die Texte so auslegen, daß die Engelskapelle mit einbezogen wird. Aber erst von Loreto aus ist dieser Glaube in die Engelskapelle nach Nazareth gewandert. Der erste Pilger, der m. W. berichtet, daß „der Raum, in dem sie geboren war, von den Engeln nach Loreto getragen wurde" ist G. SANDYS um 1610, (S. 161).

[1] Allgemein wurde dieser Glaube nie wegen der konkurrierenden Städte. JACOBUS de VITRY drückt sich gegen 1226 vorsichtig aus, daß „von einigen" Nazareth als Mariens Geburtsort angesehen wird. (BONGARS, *Gesta Dei per Francos* Hannover. 1611. S. 1078). Von Pilgern der Kreuzfahrerzeit bezeugt ERNOUL 1231 diesen Glauben (MICHELANT-RAYNAUD, S. 60), ohne aber die genaue Stätte anzugeben. Von späteren Pilgern sei aus 1498 A. v. HARFF genannt, der kategorisch behauptet, „daß u. l. Frau zu Nazareth geboren wurde." (S. 194). SCHAUWENBURGH zeichnet gar 1647/49 noch auf seinem Plan die Geburtsstätte Mariens ein. (Mitgeteilt von TOBLER, *Nazareth* S. 137. Anm. 3). Sch. liegt nur in Handschriften vor, die ich nicht einsehen konnte. T. hält die Zeichnung der Höhle für „ein Phantasiestück." (S. 125 *a. a. O.*). Günstiger urteilt über seine Federzeichnungen R. RÖHRICHT (*ZDPV* XX, 1897, S. 57). Vielleicht könnte diese Zeichnung uns doch Aufschluß geben, wo um 1650 die Geburtsstätte Mariens in der Kirche lokalisiert wurde.

[2] Vgl. KHITROWO, S. 19. [3] *Ebd.* S. 71.

Der Kreter PHOCAS kommt 1177 durch das linke Seitenschiff. Das Eingangsportal zur Grotte,[1] durch das er dann tritt, ist mit Marmor ausgelegt und durch Gemälde geschmückt, die zeigen, daß der apokryphe Stoff von der spinnenden und erschreckt flüchtenden Jungfrau auch in der lateinischen Basilika ein volles Bürgerrecht genoß. „Wenn du nun durch den Eingang in die Höhle hineintrittst, steigst du nur wenige Stufen herab. Dann siehst du jenes alte Haus Josefs, in dem der Erzengel der Jungfrau die frohe Botschaft brachte, als sie von der Quelle heimkehrte. Außerdem gibt es an diesem Orte, wo die Verkündigung stattfand, ein Kreuz aus schwarzem Stein, in weißen Marmor eingeschnitten, und über ihm einen Altar. Zur Rechten des Altares sieht man einen kleinen Wohnraum, in dem die jungfräuliche Gottesmutter sich aufhielt. Zur linken Seite der Verkündigung sieht man einen andern kleinen Wohnraum, der ohne Licht ist, in dem unser Herr Christus nach seiner Rückkehr aus Ägypten gewohnt haben soll bis zur Enthauptung des Täufers".[2] PHOCAS muß „wenige Stufen" heruntersteigen, mithin steht er beim Beginn des Abschnittes noch an einer der sechsstufigen Treppen (wohl sicher der südlichen)[3]

[1] Es ist wohl an eine Art Triumphtor vor der Südtreppe des Westschiffes (O) zu denken. HÜFFER (S. 146) bezieht den Text schon auf den schmalen Eingang zur Grotte selbst, mit veranlaßt durch das Wort *στόμιον* das „Mund, Mündung" bezeichnet, also etwas Winziges vorauszusetzen scheint. Nach ihm wäre dann „die Südwand zur Seite des Grotteneinganges mit einer auf weißem Marmor ausgeführten, dem Verkündigungsvorgang gewidmeten Bilderreihe geschmückt" gewesen. Aber Spuren einer Marmorbekleidung an dieser Stelle sind nirgends und nirgendwann festgestellt worden. — VIAUD (S. 127 f.) nimmt wieder wie bei DANIEL an, daß die Pforte die Eingangstür zum Marienhaus war, das sich wenigstens in gleicher Höhe wie die Grottendecke über der Engelskapelle erhob. Dann hätte dieser Bau die Grotte verdeckt, PHOCAS sieht sie aber gleich beim Eintritt in die Kirche, sie ist ihm „in ihrer Oberfläche sichtbar" (*ἐπιπολαίως φαινόμενον*).

[2] *Εἰσελθὼν οὖν τοῦ στόματος ἔσωθεν τοῦ σπηλαίου, κατέρχῃ βαθμίδας ὀλίγας, καὶ οὕτως ὁρᾷς τὴν πάλαι ταύτην ἐκείνην οἰκίαν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ, ἐφ' ᾗ μετὰ τὸ ὑποστραφῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς τῇ Παρθένῳ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος καθὼς ἔφην, ταύτην εὐηγγελίσατο. Ἔστιν· οὖν κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, καθ' ὃν ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς γέγονε, Σταυρὸς ἐκ λίθου μέλανος ἐγκεκολλαμμένος ἐπὶ λευκῷ μαρμάρῳ, καὶ ὕπερθεν τούτου θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ θυσιαστηρίου μικρὸς οἰκίσκος ἐμφαίνεται, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἀειπάρθενος Θεοτόκος ἐθαλαμεύετο. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ, ἕτερος θεωρεῖται οἰκίσκος ἀφώτιστος. Ἐν ᾧ ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Χριστὸς μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπάνοδον οἰκῆσαι λέγεται, μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Προδρόμου ἀποτομῆς.* (*PG* 133,936.).

[3] Vgl. S. 92.

in der Westhälfte.[1] In der Engelskapelle fesselt aber nichts seinen Fuß, er eilt gleich in die heilige Höhle. Auch er sieht in der Ostapsis die Stelle, wo der Engel Maria die frohe Botschaft brachte. Unter dem offenen Altar hält ein Kreuz aus schwarzem Stein, in weißen Marmor eingelassen, genau den Punkt fest, wo der himmlische Fuß stand. Nach links und rechts gewahrt er von hier zwei „Zimmerchen" (*οἰκίσκος*), das ist die nördliche und südliche Ausbuchtung. In der Südnische hatte Maria ihren Wohnraum, ihre Geburtsstätte findet er aber als Grieche in Jerusalem.[2] Die Grotte gehörte ja auch ohnehin nach seinen apokryphen Vorstellungen zum Hause Josefs, in das er Maria gleich heimführte, als er sie aus den Händen der Priester empfing. Eine ernstliche Differenz zu DANIEL und THEODERICH scheint also nur in der Bestimmung der nördlichen Grottenhälfte zu bestehen, in die sich kaum noch ein Lichtstrahl verirrt. Ihm gilt sie nicht als Grab Josefs, sondern als Wohnraum des heranwachsenden Christus. Aber eine Verbindungslinie läßt sich doch vermuten. Denn die Grotte ist so beladen mit Erinnerungen an die hl. Familie, daß auch die Führer der beiden andern den Nordteil sicher nicht bloß als Grabstätte Josefs erklärt haben. Das wurde er nach seinem Tode, im Leben diente er als sein Wohnraum. Hier liegt eine so zähe Tradition vor, daß sie bis heute noch nicht erloschen ist, wie der Josefsaltar in diesem Teil beweist. Als Christus dem zartesten Alter entwachsen war, ging er aus den Händen der Mutter in die des Pflegevaters über. Er siedelte darum aus der Süd- in die Nordhälfte über, die nun auch sein Wohn- und Schlafraum wurde. So ungefähr muß die Vorstellung gewesen sein. Daß Josef dann hier nach dem Tode seine Ruhestatt fand, muß Phocas aus Gründen, die wir nicht wissen, abgelehnt haben. Von Schattierungen abgesehen, ist darum ein voller Gleichklang zwischen dem Russen DANIEL, dem Deutschen THEODERICH und dem Griechen PHOCAS. Sie besuchen in dem Jahrhundert der vollen Kreuzfahrermacht Nazareth, ihre Pilgerwege schneiden sich nicht, der eine hat auch nicht den andern später als schriftliche Vorlage benutzt. Heilig ist allen drei nur die Grotte, der

[1] HÜFFER (S. 60 f., 146) denkt an den schmalen Grottenzutritt. Es müßte noch untersucht werden, ob hier überhaupt der Niveauunterschied durch Stufen überwunden wurde wie durch die zwei beim heutigen breiten Eingang in der Grottenmitte.

[2] Vgl. *PG* 133,944.

Prachtbau der Basilika ist bloß ihre glänzende Umrahmung. Die Höhle ist so durchzogen bis in die letzten Winkel mit heiligen Erinnerungen, daß ihr Wachstum in Jahresringen erfolgt sein muß. Erst spät kann z. B. die Geburtsstätte Mariens hier lokalisiert sein. Die Kreuzfahrer fanden Nazareth in Ruinen vor, die Grotte blieb unbewegt. Verständlich, daß andere Erinnerungen nach hier flüchteten und zunächst bloß ein Gastrecht suchten. So zog die Erziehung Christi in diese Felsenhöhle, als das Heiligtum, das ihrem Gedächtnis geweiht war, in Ruinen lag; aus dem Gastrecht wurde dann unmerklich ein Bürgerrecht. Welche Traditionen die byzantinisch-arabische Zeit in der Grotte pflegte, ist nicht mehr restlos anzugeben. Das Grab Josefs ist aber mit dem Kommentar unserer Pilger durch MAS'ŪDI 943 hinreichend angedeutet, über die Verkündigung in der Grotte selbst sagen die bloßen Texte vor den Kreuzfahrern nichts Sicheres aus. Die Höhle ist aber schon in der byzantinischen Basilika das Herz des ganzen Baus, das fordert doch, daß hier das eigentliche Geheimnis des „Domus Mariae" gefeiert wurde. Ohne die leiseste Abweichung verlegen auch die drei Pilger die Verkündigung in die Ostapsis. Das setzt eine Tradition voraus, die nicht mehr jugendlich biegsam ist. Seltsam bleibt nur, wie Grab und Verkündigung sich in der gleichen Grotte zusammen finden konnten. Die besprochene Hypothese VIAUDS wirkt bestechend, daß Mariens Wohnhaus später verlassen und zur Grabstätte Josefs wurde.[1]

D. DIE ZEIT NACH DEN KREUZFAHRERN.

1263 läßt Bibars die Basilika zerstören, unverändert ragt die Felsenhöhle in die Brandstätte hinein. Kurz vor dem Abzug der letzten Kreuzfahrer erwähnt 1283 BURCHARD VON SION: „Es gibt drei Altäre in der Kapelle, die ganz aus dem Felsengestein gehauen ist".[2] RICOLDUS findet 1288/94 nur noch die „Zelle" der Verkündigung vor; „es gibt aber einen Altar an dem Orte, wo u.l. Frau betete, als der Engel Gabriel zu ihr gesandt wurde, und einen Altar des Erzengels Michael, wo Gabriel bei der Verkündigung stand".[3] Danach

[1] Vgl. S. 89. [2] „Tria altaria sunt in capella, et est excisa de rupe in petra." (LAURENT, S. 46).

[3] „Nihil erat ibi de primis edificiis nisi sola cella, ubi fuit annunciata domina;—est autem in loco, ubi orabat domina, quando missus est Gabriel angelus ad eam, et altare archangeli Michaelis, ubi stetit Gabriel adnuntians." (LAURENT, S. 107).

scheint es, daß der dritte Altar BURCHARDS nicht in der Südnische, sondern in der Nähe der Mariensäule aufgestellt war. Ist das Wort „Michael" nicht aus Versehen in den Text gedrungen? Andererseits hat der Kanon der Kreuzfahrer sehr schnell Abstriche und Ergänzungen erfahren, wie der katalonische Pilgerbericht aus 1323 lehrt. Der Engel erscheint Maria in der Kammer, während sie im Gebete ist. „Und als die Jungfrau dieses hörte, erfaßte sie große Furcht, und sie näherte sich einem Pfeiler, der in jener Kammer ist, zur linken Hand, wenn man eintritt, und nahe an jenem Pfeiler empfing sie den Sohn Gottes, und von jenem Pfeiler geht seitdem eine Flüssigkeit wie Öl aus."[1] Die Südwand der Grotte ist also bis auf ihre schmale Tür im Westen noch geschlossen. Nachdem der Pilger sie durchschritten, stößt er links auf die Säule (L), die hier zum ersten Male den Standort Mariens bei der Verkündigung fixiert. Auch die Feuchtigkeit an der Säule, der man heilkräftige Macht zuschrieb, wird von späteren Pilgern oft erwähnt.[2] Der Bericht kennt auch nur noch zwei Altäre: „In dieser Kammer gibt es zwei Altäre, den einen für die Jungfrau, die Mutter Gottes, den andern für die hl. Anna, ihre Mutter. Außerhalb der Kammer gibt es einen Altar des hl. Gabriel, und am Ende der Stadt gibt es eine Quelle, die man St. Gabriel nennt."[3] Der St. Gabrielsaltar ist also aus der Ostapsis ausgewandert. Eine überwölbte Engelskapelle existierte noch nicht. Stand er also irgendwo halb schutzlos in den Ruinen der Basilika? Das ist schwer glaubhaft und unwürdig seiner geschichtlichen Vergangenheit. Warum hat man ihn nicht an seiner ehrwürdigen Stelle gelassen? Man beschreitet wohl den sichersten Weg

[1] „E can la Verge aço hoy ach gran paor e acostas a hun pilar qui es en aquela cambra axi co entra hom a ma esquerra e prob aquel pilar concebe lo fyl de deu e dequel pilar isque lavores licor a manera doli." (PIJOAN S. 379.) Die Übersetzung des altkatalanischen Textes verdanke ich den Benediktinerpatres von Monserrat in Jerusalem.

[2] THOMAS a NOVARIA findet 1620 den festen und allgemeinen Glauben, den er selbst teilt, vor, daß die Säule eine Flüssigkeit an Sonntagen wie Öl ausschwitzt, die zum Heilen von Krankheiten benutzt wird. (S. 108). — SURIANO (S. 146) teilt schon 1485 mit, daß Christen wie Nichtchristen an diese Flüssigkeit glauben, die an Sonntagen und den vier „großen Festen des Herrn und der Madonna" von der Säule ausgeschwitzt wird.

[3] „En esta cambra ha II autars, la I es de la Verge mara de Deu e el altre de santa Anna mara sua: fora de la cambra ha I autar de sent Gabriel, e el cap de la vila ha I font que apela hom font de sant Gabriel." (S. 379).

mit der Hypothese, daß nach dem Abzug der Lateiner die einheimischen Christen den Altar in ihr Heiligtum an die Quelle zogen, das auch die Verkündigung vergegenwärtigte und dem Erzengel geweiht war. Es bleibt freilich hart, das „außerhalb der Kammer" und das „am Ende der Stadt" auf das gleiche Gelände zu beziehen. — W. v. BOLDENSELE kennt 1332 nur die Höhle als hl. Ort, „wo bei einer Marmorsäule sich das verehrungswürdige Geheimnis der Empfängnis sich vollzogen haben soll".[1] Drei Jahre später steht JAKOB VON VERONA an der gleichen Säule, er macht das Geständnis: „Ich war an diesem gebenedeiten Ort und wollte von der Säule nehmen, aber konnte es nicht, weil der Stein sehr hart ist.[2] In jener Kapelle oder Höhle der Jungfrau Maria steht ein Altar und ein anderes kleines Gewölbe in der Nähe, wo Maria beim Arbeiten weilte, und von dem Stein dieses Ortes nahm ich und betete in Andacht".[3] Was meint er mit dem gewölbten Raum? Er hat vorher den Ausdruck auf die ganze Höhle angewandt. („Ibi est capella ad modum caverne seu volte"). Bezieht man nun „una alia volta parva prope" auf „caverna," dann könnte er nur eine andere Höhle meinen, die felsige Grabkammer (E) wäre dann zum ersten Mal erwähnt. Aber sie liegt sonst völlig im literarischen Dunkel. Dagegen suchten die Kreuzfahrer den Wohnraum Mariens in der Südgrotte, darum muß der Ausdruck auf „altare" zurückweisen, der ja in der Ostnische in „alia parva volta" stand.

LUDOLPH VON SUDHEIM bestätigt uns um 1336, daß der Erzengel Gabriel die Ostnische verlassen mußte. „In dieser Kapelle steht eine kleine Säule, an der Gabriel stand, als er Christum verkündete,

[1] „. . . ubi circa quandam columnam marmoream asserunt veneranda conceptionis mysteria esse perfecta." (S. 279).

[2] Die Mariensäule ist in ihrem unteren Ende abgehauen. Das hat zu dem zähen Glauben früherer Zeiten den Anlaß gegeben, daß sie durch ein Wunder in der Luft schwebe. THOMAS a NOVARIA (S. 108) berichtet, daß afrikanische Mauren sie abgeschlagen hätten, weil sie unter ihr im Boden Schätze vermuteten. Ob das nicht Legende ist? Ebenso wahrscheinlich ist doch mindestens, daß andere Pilger mit größerem Erfolg durch Werkzeuge allmählich das untere Ende wegschlugen. SLISANSKY meint 1660, daß von ihr „vor Zeiten durch die Pilgrim viel abgeschlagen worden" (S. 113).

[3] „Et ego fui in illo loco benedicto et volui recipere de columna, sed non potui, quia durissimus lapis est. In illa capella seu caverna virginis Marie, est unum altare et una alia volta parva prope, ubi stabat virgo Maria ad laborandum; et de lapide illius loci ego recepi et devote oravi" (S. 273).

und seine Figur[1] ist der Säule bis heute wie in einem Siegel aufgedrückt".[2] Mit dem Verschwinden des Gabrielaltars aus der Ostapsis hat sich also die Erinnerung an diese Säule (M) geklammert.

So wie der gedruckte Text des NICOLÒ DA POGGIBONSI (1345) vorliegt, beschränkt er das Marienhaus nicht auf die Grotte. Er unterscheidet nämlich zwischen dem Haus (casa), das am Platze der zerstörten Kirche stand und der Kammer (camera). „Die erwähnte Kammer ist sehr klein und mit Mosaik ausgelegt; und es war das Haus angelehnt an eine Felsengrotte. Drinnen gibt es eine Säule, die Maria aus Furcht umarmte, als der Engel ihr die frohe Botschaft brachte. — An der Seite gibt es einen Altar, oberhalb der Grotte; und oberhalb der Säule ist ein großer Fenster, durch das der Engel bei der Verkündigung einstieg".[3] Spekulationen über die Ausdehnung des Marienhauses über die Grotte hinaus setzen erst mit dem Loretoglauben ein, sie fehlen darum noch dieser und der nächsten Epoche. Aber es ist nicht sicher, daß der Druck die beste Handschrift verwandt hat. In einem Manuskript[4] sind nach dem Zusammenhang „camera" und „casa" gleichgesetzt. Es heißt dann klar: „Und das Haus war im Innern der Grotte angelehnt".[5]

FR. FREDERICO, dessen Text von NICOLÒ beeinflußt ist, findet 1411 alles zerstört, „mit Ausnahme der Kammer der Jungfrau Maria. Diese Kammer ist klein, acht Fuß lang und sechs breit, und mit Mosaiken ausgelegt, sie ist aus einem Felsen ausgehauen".[6] NICOLÒ

[1] TOBLER, *Nazareth*, S. 139, sieht die Gestalt Christi hier eingedrückt. Grammatisch ist diese Beziehung möglich, aber nicht er, sondern Gabriel soll doch an dieser Säule eine Erinnerung hinterlassen haben.

[2] „In hoc capella stat parva columna, contra quam stetit Gabriel, dum Christum annuntiavit et ejus figura columnae ut in sigillo est impressa, in praesentem diem" (S. 94). — In der Ausgabe von NEUMANN (*AOL* II, 1884, S. 358), die eine verkürzte Ausgabe von 1348 wiedergibt, fehlt der Abdruck des Engels, die Säule selbst als sein Stand bei der Verkündigung ist aber genannt.

[3] "La detta camera si è piccola molto, e è lavorata di mosaica opera; e era la casa appoggiata ad una grotta di sasso. Dentro si è la colonna che abracciò santa Maria per la paura, quando l'angelo l'annunziò. Dallato si è un piccolo altare, di sopra della grotta; e di sopra alla colonna si è una finestra grande, donde l'angelo entrò quando l'annunziò (I,271 f.).

[4] In der Bibliothek der Bibelschule der Franziskaner (Kapelle der Flagellatio) in Jerusalem.

[5] "Ed era la casa appoggiata dentro alla grotta."

[6] "Saluo la camera de la vergene Maria. Questa camera e piccola longa VIII pedi et larga VI et sta lavorata de opera musaycha la quale e cavate intro de uno saxo." *ZDPV* XIV, 1891, S. 123). — J. COLA hat um 1500 ebenfalls NICOLÒ als Vorlage. Auch er schreibt, nachdem er „casa" und „camera" ohne Unterschied gebraucht hat: „La casa è posta in una grotta" (S. 105).

wird sich darum nicht durch selbständiges Denken über seine Zeit herausgehoben haben, auch für ihn beschränkt sich höchst wahrscheinlich das Haus Mariens auf die Grotte.[1] Daß die „Kammer ganz mit Mosaiken ausgelegt" war, bezeugt um 1425 auch B. RUSTICI.[2] Da aber nur Reste in der Ostapsis 1895 wieder entdeckt wurden,[3] scheinen spätere Nivellierungen den Bodenbelag der Grotte gänzlich vernichtet zu haben. Wo stand der „kleine Altar"? Gewiß muß der engste Wortsinn zu der Annahme führen, daß „er oberhalb der Grotte aufgestellt war".[4] Aber im Text selbst ist zwischen „di sopra di" und „di sopra a" unterschieden. Wenn das letztere nach oben auf ein Fenster zeigt, so kann das erstere einen Platz in der Grotte selbst meinen, der oberhalb von der Säule liegt. Diese Erklärung wird zudem wieder gerechtfertigt durch das Manuskript[5] und „FR. FREDERICO."[6] Wie sollte auch der Altar mitten in der Beschreibung aus der Grotte springen und oben auf dem felsigen Hügel in den Ruinenhaufen ragen! Die Phantasie hat sich so vergröbert, daß der Engel durch ein Fenster eintritt. G. GUCCI (1384) nennt die Öffnung ein „Loch" (buco)[7], B. RUSTICI (1425) wieder „finestra",[8] das mit der Säule und dem einen Altar seine Aufmerksamkeit in der Grotte fesselt.[9] Der Volksglaube, daß der Engel durch diese Offnung flog und dann an der Säule (M) nieder-

[1] Der publizierte Text von N. ist den Anhängern von Loreto sehr wichtig, um den Vorbau eines Marienhauses vor der Grotte zu beweisen, der dann angeblich 1291 von Engelshand weggetragen wurde. (Vgl. den glühenden Anhänger von Loreto: J. RINIERI, *La Santa Casa di Loreto*, Torino, 1910, S. 36).

[2] "— camera tutta lavorata di mosaico—" (Zitiert von CHEVALIER, S. 65).

[3] VLAMINCK, S. 6. [4] So CHEVALIER, S. 73.

[5] „Der kleine Altar ist an der Seite (dallato) der erwähnten Säule".

[6] Oberhalb der Säule ist das Fenster, rechts von ihr der Altar, an ihrem Fuße ein kleines Mauerstück, das den Ort des Gebetes Mariens lokalisierte. „Et apidi de questa colonna sta uno moricello de petri et in questo loco la vergene Maria staua in oracione. Et alo lato sta uno piccolo altaro per lo diritto de la colonna. Et da sopra sta una grande finestra, donde venne lo spiritu sancto" (*a. a. O.*, S. 123).—Auch J. COLA interpretiert wieder NICOLÒ richtig durch seinen Satz: „Und sie (die Grotte) hat einen kleinen Altar und oberhalb der Grotte gibt es ein Fenster" (S. 195). [7] GARGIOLLI, S. 392. [8] CHEVALIER, S. 65.

[9] Noch 1853 hört A. P. STANLEY erzählen, daß der Engel durch eine Öffnung im Westteil der südlichen Grottenwand flog. „... the celestial visitant, who is supposed to have entered through a hole in the rocky wall forming the western front of the cave, close by the opening which now unites it with the church" (*Sinai and Palestine*. London, 1871, S. 443).

ging, erklärt, daß der Gabrielsaltar an diesen Teil der Engelskapelle gerückt ist.

Für mehr als ein Jahrhundert wiederholen die Pilger in kargen Wendungen längst Bekanntes.[1] Der erste, der dann wieder ausführlicher und selbstständiger über die hl. Grotte schreibt, ist um 1485 F. SURIANO, auch Franziskaner wie NICOLÒ. Die zwei Säulen werden zum ersten Male zusammen genannt, „die eine, wo der Engel, die andere, wo die selige Jungfrau stand".[2] In der Grotte unterscheidet er „zwei Kämmerchen, das eine dicht neben dem andern; in dem einen wohnte Josef und in dem andern die selige Jungfrau".[3] Des hl. Josef gedachte keine unserer Quellen mehr, nun erfahren wir, daß die Nordhälfte ihm noch gehörte, wenn auch sein Grab nicht mehr erwähnt wird. Die Tradition der Kreuzfahrer und der nun folgenden Zeit ist so einhellig, daß SURIANO sicher diesen Raum meint, obgleich er die Himmelsrichtung nicht angibt. Die Südnische ist dann wieder der Anteil Mariens. Die Ostapsis benutzt er stillschweigend als Orientierungspunkt. Sie hat bis 1730 den Verkündigungsaltar getragen, sie stand in Nachwirkung ältester Tradition bis dahin immer noch mit diesem Geheimnis in Verbindung, wenn auch Gabriel aus ihr gewichen war. SURIANO muß aber auch in der Süd- und Nordnische einen Altar angetroffen haben, denn drei Altäre in der Grotte werden in seinen Tagen erwähnt von BREITENBACH[4] (1483) und dem ANONYMUS LUBICENSIS[5] (vor 1488).

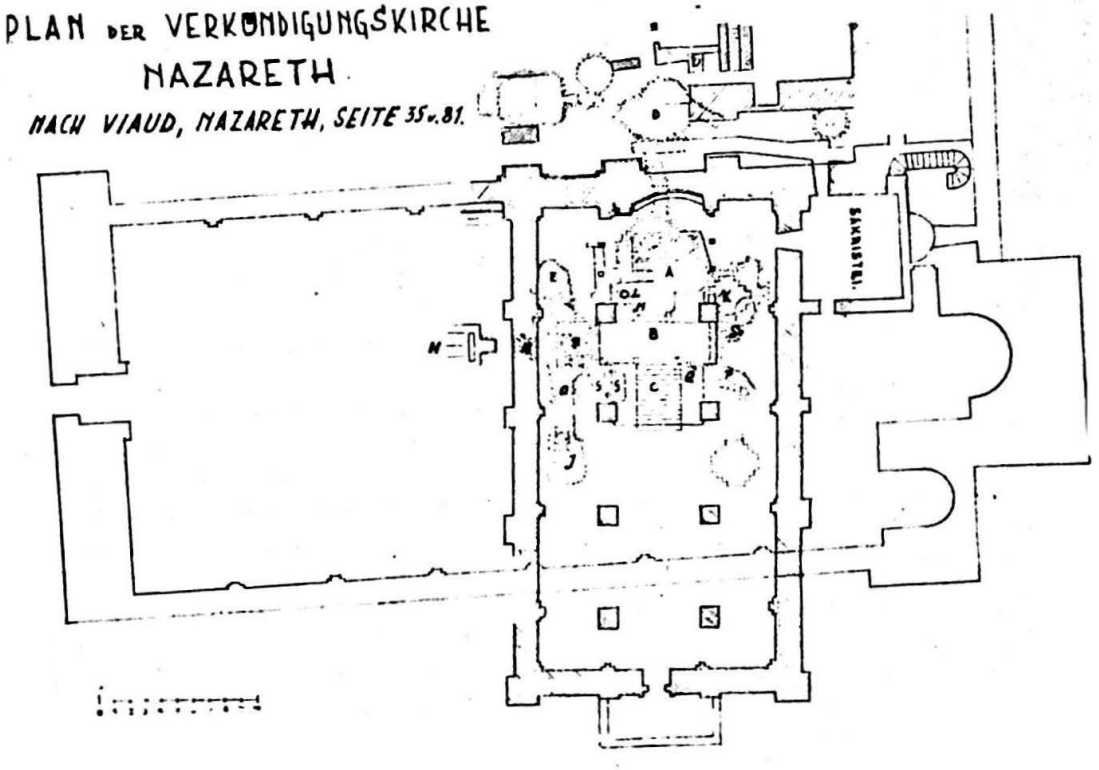
SURIANO lehnt mit einer gewissen Schärfe die Ansprüche von Loreto ab, die Casa Santa beschränkt sich für ihn wie für die früheren Pilger noch auf die Grotte. 1506 erwähnt der Engländer GUYLFORDE nur die Felsenkapelle.[6] Aber schon zwei Jahre später schreibt der polnische Franzikaner ANSELMUS: „Dort ist der Ort, wo der Engel Gabriel der seligen Jungfrau die Menschwerdung des Sohnes

[1] Aus der Reihe fällt BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE (1432). Er verlegt die Verkündigung nicht in die Grotte, sondern in die Kirche, die an der Stelle des Marienhauses steht. "Of the house, wherein Our Lady was, when the angel appeared to her, not the smallest remnant exists." (WRIGHT, S. 298).

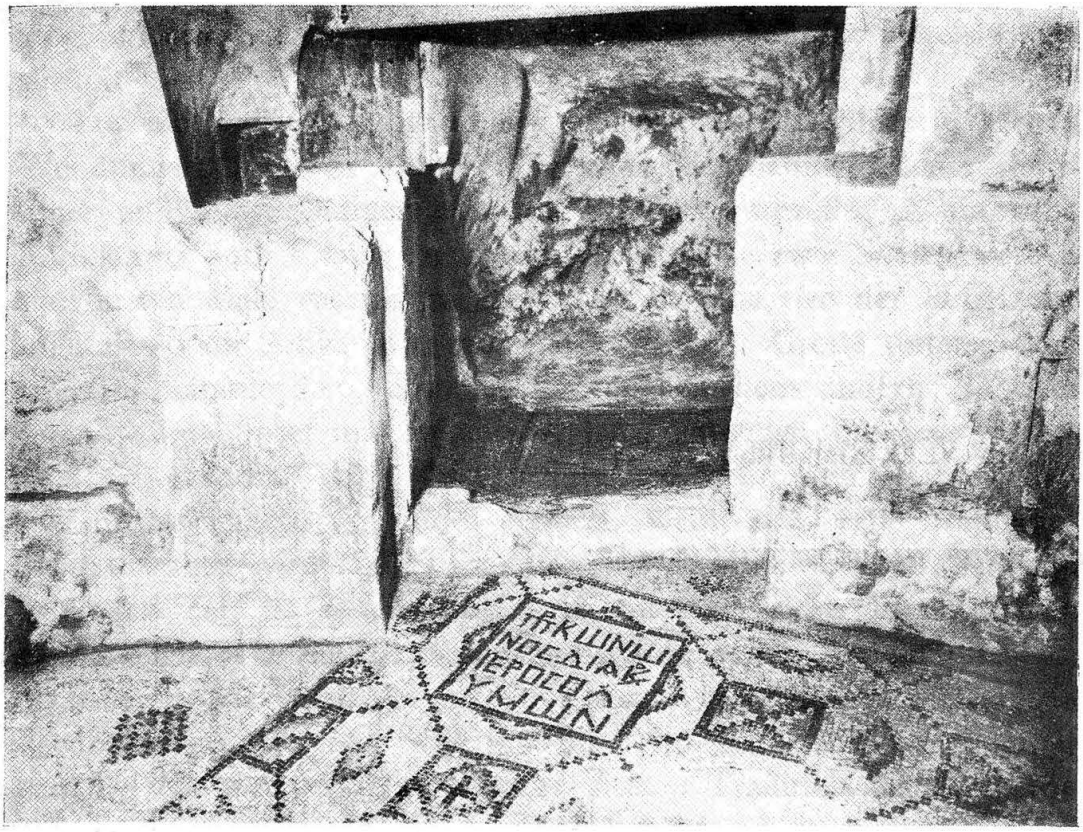
[2] u. [3] "... l'una dove stava l'Anzolo, e l'altra dove stava la b. Verzene ... due stanziolete, l'una accanto l'altra; in una de la quale dimorava Joseph, et in l'altra la b. Verzene." (S. 145 f.). [4] REYSSBUCH, S. 68.

[5] Im Kapitel über Nazareth (ohne Seitenzahl). — Vielleicht haben aber diese zwei Autoren bloß BURCHARD. VON SION kopiert.

[6] S. 50.

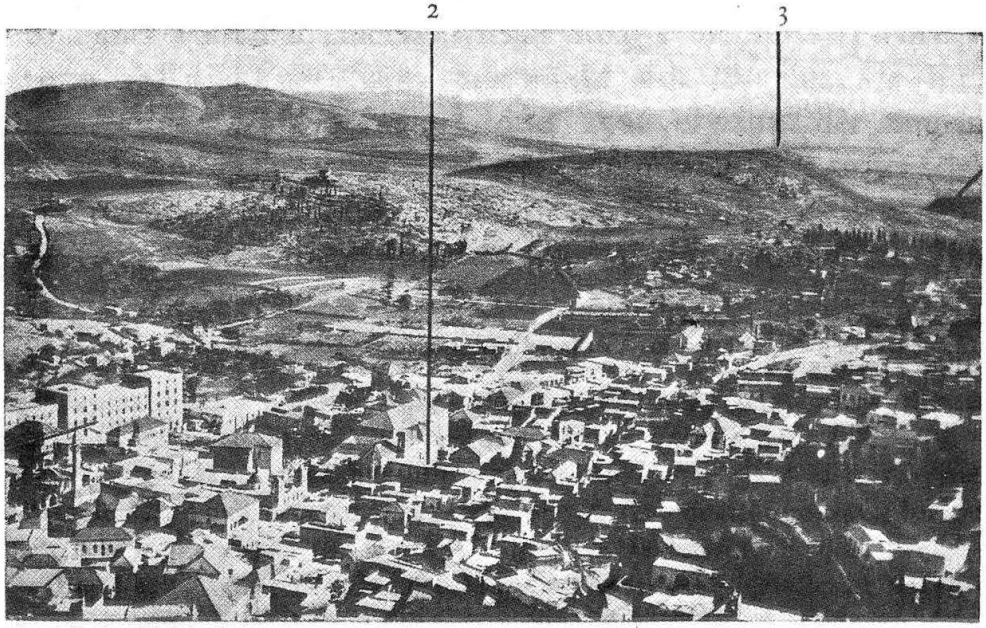


Plan der Verkündigungskirche Nazareth



Felsenhöhle (E), vor ihr die Mosaikinschrift Konons

Plate XI



Kloster der Franziskaner, anschließend das niedrige Dach der Verkündigungskirche.

Absturzberg der Franziskaner

Hügel Maria Timoris

Panaroma von Nazareth

Gottes verkündete, aber jene Kapelle ist, wie berichtet wird, von jenem Orte durch die Engel nach Loreto übertragen worden."[1] In lapidarer Kürze nimmt dierer Satz der Grotte ihre Seele, die Verkündigung.[2] Aber in welcher „capella" hat denn nun der Engel der Jungfrau die Verkündigung gebracht? Darf man folgern, daß zwischen 1506/08 die Grottenwand in der Mitte zu dem breiten Eingang durchschlagen, das Westdrittel des Vorraumes durch Mauern abgesperrt, sein Ostteil überwölbt, m. a. W. die heutige Engelskapelle geschaffen wurde? Dann konnte schnell der Glaube entstehen, daß sie auf den Linien des Hauses nachgewachsen war, das Engelshände nach Loreto getragen hatten. Aber daß ANSELM an diese Kapelle denkt, ist nicht sicher. Denn für längere Zeit irren die Meinungen noch über die Frage hin und her, wo das Marienhaus von Loreto ursprünglich in Nazareth gestanden haben soll.[3] Der erste klare Zeuge für die Engelskapelle folgt aber bald, es ist der Franziskaner GABRIEL VON PÉCZVÁRAD (1514). „Die erwähnte Kapelle hat einen Seitenraum aus dem gleichen Felsen nach Norden, ähnlich hat sie nach Süden einen andern Bau, (aus

[1] "Ibi est locus, ubi Angelus Gabriel nunciavit B. Virgini incarnationem Filii Dei, sed illa capella, ut fertur, de illo loco est translata ad Loretum per Angelos." (S. 1300).

[2] Auch der nächste Zeuge für den Loretoglauben (BARTHOLOMAEUS DE SALIGNIACO, tom. IX cp. VII,) sagt aus, daß jenes "domuncula", in dem die Inkarnation sich vollzog, nunmehr in Loreto sein soll. In späterer Zeit vollzog sich eine Art Ausgleich. Die Heiligkeit verteilte sich auf beide Räume, doch so, daß der Grotte die eigentliche Inkarnation verblieb. Vgl. etwa PHILIPPUS, (1629), S. 424.

[3] Eine päpstliche Kommission wurde 1530 nach Nazareth gesandt, sie erhielt angeblich den Platz des ehemaligen Marienhauses von Loreto gezeigt, der genaue Ort ist aber nicht angegeben. (Vgl. HARDY, S. 134–36). BONIFACIUS (S. 263) glaubt um 1564, dieses Loretohaus habe an der Marienquelle gestanden. So auch 1600 CASTELA (S. 482). PIETRO DELLA VALLE (1616) verficht die Meinung (I, 316 f.), daß "la santa Casa di Loreto" über der Grotte stand, die ihr "fondamento" war. Ungefähr gleichzeitig sagt MANTEGAZZA (1600) dasselbe. Unten ist die Grotte "sopra la quale era la stanza" der Verkündigung (II, 385). Dann wird aber bald der Glaube allgemein, daß die Engelskapelle wenigstens einen Teil des Loretaner Marienhauses deckt, THOMAS A NOVARIA bemüht sich 1620 nur noch um Ausgleich der verschiedenen Maße (S. 110). Auch QUARESMIUS (II,628) vollzieht die Gleichung. Die Loretolegenden sind zu seiner Zeit schon lange vom Abendland eingedrungen, denn er erhält sie bereits von "alten Nazarethanern" als bodenständige Tradition erzählt.

Steinen) errichtet, der größer ist als die Kapelle selbst".[1] Der Pilger steht in der Verkündigungsgrotte, ihren Nordteil empfindet er mit richtigem Gefühl als etwas Selbständiges, nach Süden fällt sein Blick durch die nun offene Mitte in den steinernen Vorbau.

Wer hat die Engelskapelle gebaut, wer war m. a. W. Eigentümer der Grotte nach den Kreuzfahrern? Hier ist noch manches Dunkel zu lichten. Für eine Zeitlang scheinen georgische Christen die Wächter des Heiligtums gewesen zu sein.[2] 1449 trifft GUMPPENBERGER nur einen einzigen Geistlichen hier an,[3] ohne seinen Ritus zu nennen. 1485 liest SURIANO als Franziskaner oft die hl. Messe in der Grotte.[4] Alle Riten dürfen hier ihren Gottesdienst halten, so bezeugt 1600 CASTELA, „insbesonders haben die Christen der römischen Kirche hier einen Altar, auf dem ihre Priester die hl. Messe feiern können".[5] Wie oft und wie lange die Franziskaner in diesen Jahrhunderten ein Recht auf die Grotte besaßen bezw. beanspruchten, ist ebenfalls noch einer Untersuchung würdig und bedürftig.[6] Von der

[1] Zitiert von TOBLER, *Nazareth*, S. 150, Anm. 3. "Praedicta capella habet parvum latus de eadem rupe a parte aquilonari, a parte autem australi habet consimiliter latus aliud constructum, majus quam ipsa capella."

[2] Nach A. MANSUR, der einige Jahrzehnte arabischer evgl. Pfarrer in Nazareth war, nannten die Nazarethaner das Franziskanerkloster „dēr el-kurdsch" (*ta'rīch*, S. 148). Da Kurdistan auch zur Bezeichnung von Georgien gebraucht wurde, wie A. M. nachweist, muß sich in der Bezeichnung „Kloster der Kurden" eine Erinnerung an die früheren Eigentümer erhalten haben. Da jedoch die Kurden nie Christen waren, wohl aber die Georgier, ist es wahrscheinlicher, daß es, wie das Kloster Saint Sauveur in Jerusalem, früher georgischer Besitz war.

[3] REYSSBUCH, S. 242. [4] S. 146.

[5] "... que toutes les nations du monde puissent faire l'office chacune à sa mode, particulièrement les Chrètiens de l'Eglise Romaine y ont un autel, auquel les Prestres peuvent celebrer." (S. 481).

[6] 1385 sagt BARTHOLOMAEUS PISANUS, daß wegen „der Schlechtigkeit der Sarazenen" die Franziskaner wieder Nazareth verlassen hätten. (Zitiert von CHEVALIER, S. 63). Eine neue Flucht wird für 1448 angegeben. (S. MENCHERINI, *Gli Annali di Terra Santa*. Quaracchi 1918. II,38). Im folgenden Jahrh. scheinen die Franziskaner ein Kloster an der Kirche besessen zu haben, denn sie werden gezwungen, „Kloster und Kirche" zu verlassen, (Ebd. II,42). Von dieser Flucht erzählt auch BONIFACIUS (S. 264). Nach ihm zogen sich die Patres nach Jerusalem zurück und übergaben die Schlüssel einem erprobten Christen, namens Issa. QUARESMIUS wiederholt diese Angaben. (II,628). — Im XVII. Jahrh. hat der Patriarch der orthodoxen Griechen ebenfalls Ansprüche auf die Verkündigungskirche erhoben. (Vgl. G. GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliographica della Terra Santa*, Nuova Serie, Tom. X. S. 58,76 und an anderen Stellen).

höchsten kirchlichen Autorität zu Schutzherren der Heiligtümer berufen, durften sie sich mit Recht als die Erben der Kreuzfahrer betrachten, deren Kunst und Geld die Grotte mit dem Prunkgewand der Basilika umkleidet hatte. Aber erst 1620 werden sie durch den Fürsten Fachr ed-Dīn die juristischen Herren des Heiligtums.[1] Ihre ausbessernde, aber auch verändernde Hand macht sich bald fühlbar. Sie finden den Gabrielsaltar in der Engelskapelle an der Südwand der Grotte „zwischen den zwei Türen" vor.[2] Der uralte, schmale Westeingang wird also zunächst gleichberechtigt mit dem neuen, breiten in der Mitte weiterbenutzt. Doch war er 1652 „fast zugestopft",[3] der Altar muß sich also etwas nach Westen geschoben haben. Über ihm war das Fenster, durch das Gabriel flog, aber um 1666 ist es „zugemauert".[4] Die Ostapsis der Grotte trug den „Hauptaltar, geweiht der Verkündigung der seligen Jungfrau", andere wurden erst von den Franziskanern hineingestellt.[5] Schon bald schlugen sie von der Nordapsis aus eine Treppe in den Felsen,[6] um eine unbemerkte Verbindung mit dem Kloster zu haben. Der Josefsaltar, den sie im Gehorsam gegen

[1] Vgl. den Bericht von THOMAS A NOVARIA (S. 107). Sie erhielten die Rechte „gratis". ROGER (S. 344) ergänzt, daß der Fürst ihnen dazu noch „donna une bonne somme d'argent pour le rétablissement". Der Qadi von Saphed wurde mit der Investitur beauftragt. Dieser Qadi verlangte nach GOUJON (S. 68) von vier der ältesten Einwohnern Nazareths den Schwur, „que des leur enfance et celle de leurs pères, cette maison appartenoit à ces Religieux". Das sollte aber ein Freundschaftsakt sein, um die Franziskaner „gegen gewisse gute Religiosen" zu schützen, die ein Auge auf das Heiligtum geworfen hatten. Der Schwur wird geleistet. ROGER, ebenfalls Mitglied des Ordens, erklärt im Widerspruch dazu, daß sie „niemals hier gewohnt hätten." (S. 433). Die Schwörenden dachten wohl an die Rechtsansprüche und an die gescheiterten Versuche, das Heiligtum zu erlangen. ROGER dagegen will wohl nur sagen, daß de jure der Orden bisher nicht im Besitz gewesen war.

[2] „...inter duas portas a priscis altare in honorem Archangeli Gabrielis erectum est." (THOMAS VON NOVARIA, S. 110).

[3] „presque bouchée" (DOUBDAN, S. 487).

[4] „Au dessus il y a une fenestre qui est à présent condamnée. Elle est à la hauteur de 12 pieds et l'on croit, qu'elle a été faite pour marquer l'endroit par où il entra." (NAU, S. 620).—PIERRE DE LA VERGUE sieht um 1650 noch das Fenster geöffnet. "On y voit une petite fenêtre, qu'on y a faite pour marquer à peu près l'endroit par où l'Ange passa. (*Relation Nouvelle et Exacte*, Paris, 1688, S. 148 f.).

[5] QUARESMIUS, II,619.

[6] *Ebd.* II,620.— Der nächste, der die dunkle Felsentreppe erwähnt, ist 1629 PHILIPPUS, der sie irrtümlich in östlicher Richtung verlaufen läßt.

eine zähe Tradition dort aufgestellt hatten,[1] blieb zunächst noch dort stehen, man schlüpfte also hinter ihm durch, dann rückte er an die Ostwand der Engelskapelle.[2] Der Annenaltar hatte einen Platz in einer Apsis der Engelskapelle, die in der Mitte ihrer Südwand in den Felsen gehauen war.[3] 1730 wurde die jetzige Kirche gebaut. Der Annaaltar verschwand, weil über ihn die Zentraltreppe nach unten sich legte. In dem gleichen Jahre muß auch die historische Ostapsis der Grotte ihren Altar verloren haben, denn noch 1719 ist er erwähnt, „geweiht der hl. Jungfrau unter dem Titel ihrer Verkündigung."[4] Man stellte ihn in die Mitte der Grotte, sodaß er in der Süd-Nordrichtung der Kirche lag und so gleich die Blicke der Eintretenden auffing. Mit dem Rücken an ihn gelehnt, blickt der Josefsaltar wieder bis heute auf die Nordapsis, wo er Jahrhunderte stand. Der Altar der Inkarnation ist mithin von der Ostapsis in die Mitte gerückt,[5] der Erzengel Gabriel erhielt schon bald nach den Kreuzfahrern seinen Platz an der Säule nahe beim alten Eingang, der hl. Josef aber kehrte bei allem Wechsel und Wandel der Zeiten zäh in den Norden der Grotte zurück, wo er nach 1000 jähriger literarischer Tradition lebte und begraben wurde.

[1] Er findet sich noch auf den Plänen von QUARESMIUS (II, 623), ANTONIO in 1627 (S. 315) und ROGER um 1631 (S. 58).

[2] M. W. erfahren wir zuerst durch DOUBDAN in 1652, daß der Altar hier steht; er zeichnet auch als erster die Treppe aus der Nordapsis in den Konvent ein. (S. 498).

[3] Zuerst eingezeichnet von QUARESMIUS, II,623. Die Annahme ist gerechtfertigt, daß diese Apsis als Ersatz für die Südnische im Grotteninnern gehauen wurde, als sie mit der Errichtung der Engelskapelle verschwand. Völlig sicher ist der Schluß aber nicht, denn der SPANISH FRANCISCAN spricht noch um 1553/55 von drei Altären in der Felsengrotte selbst, „The house of the Blessed Virgin is in Nazareth, and the site of the Annunciation is hollowed out of the rock and contains 3 altars", (S. 55). Er hat aber die Grotte nicht betreten, aus Furcht vor Räubern, die damals in ihr hausten. (Vgl. S. 20). Die drei Altäre in der Grotte sind darum wohl eine Lesefrucht oder Niederschrift von Mißverstandenem. Immerhin bleibt die Möglichkeit, daß die Südwand bis auf den schmalen Eingang zur Grotte noch um 1555 geschlossen war und erst nach diesem Zeitpunkt die breite Verbindung mit der Engelskspelle geschlagen wurde.

[4] "Il y a un autel du côté de l'orient consacré à la sainte Vierge, sous le titre de son Annonciation". (LADOIRE, S. 298).

[5] Unter dem Altartisch stehen heute auf einer Marmorplatte die Worte: „Verbum caro hic factum est."

2. DAS HAUS JOSEFS.

Die Josefserinnerungen sind unverwischbar mit dem Hause der Verkündigung verbunden. Das Ursprüngliche ist wohl sein Grab, das dann den Lebenden nach sich zog. Die hl. Schrift unterscheidet dagegen klar zwischen einem Haus Mariens (Lk. 1[28]), verschieden von dem des hl. Josef (Matth. 1[24]). Aber die Ostkirche fand mehr Freude an dem bunteren Kleide des Protevgl. Jakobi. Daß Maria als Tempeljungfrau gleich in das Haus Josefs übergeht und dort die Menschwerdung erlebt, gilt als sicherste Wahrheit. So kann denn DANIEL nach seiner Schilderung abschließend erklären: „Der Platz, der durch diese hl. Grotte eingenommen wird, war das Haus Josefs, und in diesem Hause spielte sich alles ab".[1] Mit der gleichen Selbstverständlichkeit nennt PHOCAS die Grotte zweimal „das Haus Josefs".[2]

In der Sache sind aber die Lateiner durchaus einig mit der Ostkirche. Die Kreuzfahrer gebrauchen zwar nie den Ausdruck „Haus Josefs", aber auch für sie ist die Stätte der Verkündigung die gleiche, in der Christus zum Knaben und Manne heranwuchs. Wie ist dieser Gegensatz zur hl. Schrift zu erklären? Die letzte Bearbeitung des apokryphen Stoffes in „*De Nativitate Mariae*" dürfte der sichere Wegweiser sein.[3] Nach diesem Buch hat Josef überhaupt keinen Besitz in Nazareth. Sein Wohnort ist Bethlehem, dorthin kehrt er zurück, als ihn der Hohepriester als Gemahl ausgewählt hat.[4] Maria dagegen geht, von sieben Tempeljungfrauen begleitet, in das elterliche Heim nach Nazareth. „Dann heiratete Josef nach dem Befehl des Engels die Jungfrau".[5] Man hat den Eindruck, daß er in das Haus von Joachim und Anna hineinzieht. So muß man das Buch, das schnell auf den Wogen der Popularität durch das Abendland ging, aufgefaßt haben. Wenn darum vermutlich auch die Kreuzfahrer schon verwandte Vorstellungen antrafen, die in den Zeiten des Niederganges und der Zerstörung dort eine

[1] "L'emplacement occupé par cette grotte sacrée, était la Maison de Joseph, et c'est dans cette maison que tout se passa". (KHITROWO, S. 71).

[2] *PG* 133, 936.

[3] Vgl. Nr. 3—4. S. 222.

[4] Vgl. cp. VIII. TISCHENDORF, S. 119.

[5] *Ebd*, cp. X, S. 120.

Zuflucht hatten, so gaben sie doch gerne ihr Placet und konzentrierten in der Grotte das Leben der hl. Familie, nur noch bereichert um die Stätte von Mariens Geburt. Der Unterschied zwischen Ost- und Westkirche sinkt darum zu einer bloßen Formalität herab, nämlich ob Maria oder Josef der juristische Besitzer des Hauses war. Nur eine sachliche Trennungslinie läuft zwischen den beiden Kirchen: Maria kann nur im Hause ihrer Eltern, nicht aber in dem Josefs geboren sein.

Bemerkenswert und befremdend ist, daß bei den Lateinern bis gegen 1900 Marien- und Josefshaus identifiziert bleiben. Die Brücke zwischen den Kreuzfahrern und 1620 bildet SURIANO.[1] Von diesem Jahre ab belegen die Quellen, die nun, seitdem das Heiligtum unter dem Schutz der Franziskaner steht, stärker fließen, überreichlich und geschlossen diese These. Es ist müßig und ermüdend, alle Belege einzeln durch fast drei Jahrhunderte anzuführen.[2] Der letzte Zeuge dieser Auffassung ist Frère LIEVIN, der vor der Jahrhundertwende der anerkannte Interpret der Tradition unter den Franziskanern war. „In diesem ehrwürdigen Hause lebte die hl. Familie und verbrachte der Erlöser den größten Teil seines

[1] Vgl. S. 112

[2] Der einzige Lateiner, der m. W. das Haus der Verkündigung "la Casa de S. Patriarca Giosef" nennt, ist 1610 MANTEGAZZA (II, 386). Sonst erscheint es immer als das Haus Mariens, es wird gerne als ihr Patrimonium bezeichnet, so z. B. von ROGER um 1631 (S. 56), von SURIUS um 1644 (S. 306). Auch wenn es nicht ausdrücklich als ihr Erbgut bezeichnet ist, so schimmert diese Auffassung, die auf "De Nativitate M." zurückgehen muß, doch in der Behauptung durch, daß auch Joachim und Anna hier gewohnt haben. (Vgl. z.B. PHILIPPUS, 1629, S. 423). 1631 versichert STOCHOVE (S. 337), daß hier „ehemals das Haus der Jungfrau und Josefs" war. Ziemlich konstant ist die Versicherung, daß hier Jesus 23 Jahre lebte, da man für Ägypten ungefähr 7 Jahre annahm, so gleich 1620 THOMAS A NOVARIA (S. 110), 1627 ANTONIO (S. 311) u.a. Unter dem Einfluß von Luk. 4 [16] ("Nazareth, ubi erat nutritus") wird zuweilen auch im Ausdruck die Verkündigungskirche zur Ecclesia Nutritionis. Jesus wurde hier 23 Jahre „ernährt und erzogen" (SURIUS, S, 308). Die gleiche Wendung gebraucht 1668 GOUJON (S. 66). „Das war in dieser Kammer, wo er ernährt wurde", versichert 1719 LADOIRE (S. 301). Um noch einen Durchschnittspilger des letzten Jahrh. herauszugreifen: „Das hl. Haus von Nazareth gehörte der hl. Jungfrau, die es vom hl. Joachim und der hl. Anna erhalten hatte. — Hinten in der Grotte ist eine kleine Kapelle St. Josef geweiht, weil man glaubt, daß er hier gewöhnlich lebte". (H. DE GUINAUMONT, *La Terre Sainte.* Paris, 1867, II, 527).

sterblichen Lebens".[1] Dann erfolgte unter Führung von VIAUD und MEISTERMANN die Besinnung auf die hl. Schrift und auf die alte Tradition, die von einer besonderen „Erziehungskirche" berichtet. Diese Rückorientierung an den Quellen begleitete dann der Versuch, die „Ecclesia Nutritionis" mit der sog. „Werkstatt des hl. Josef" zu identifizieren.

[1] *Guide de Terre Sainte.* Jerusalem, 1897. III, 95.

BOOK REVIEWS

REIFENBERG, A.: *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike.* Berlin, 1937. Schocken-Verlag (Bücherei des Schocken-Verlags No. 75–76). 63 pp. text and 63 plates with legends on opposite pp.; Price RMk. 2.50.

This useful little book is a successful attempt to popularize archaeology for the general Jewish reader, who would be well advised to study it thoroughly. But also the student of Palestinian archaeology would profit by its perusal, the more so as it has been headed by a brief and pertinent introduction from the pen of Professor L. A. MAYER, Sasoon David Professor of Oriental Art and Archaeology at the Hebrew University.

The author is well-known for several books on the Jewish aspect of Palestinian archaeology and the book under review is a worthy successor to his preceeding works.

The collection deals with materials dating from the time of the Kingdom of Israel down to the end of Antiquity. It contains a useful collection of pictures of the most important Jewish monuments, gathered from a great number of books, and justifies thereby its aim to interest a large number of Jewish readers in the much neglected field of local archaeology.

The text deals with the early period, the Persian and Hellenistic times, the Herodian period, the climax of synagogal art in Palestine, the Jewish arts of the catacombs; glass and lychnaria. The bibliography is a little meagre, and could have easily been doubled.

The plates represent lamps, pottery, ivory, seals, coins, historical monuments sarcophagi, ossuaries (including the "famous" Yashūʿa bar Yoseph ossuary in the Palestine Archaeological Museum), Jewish ornaments, frescoes from Dura Europos (exceptionally fine) and from the catacombs of Rome, mosaic floors from synagogues in Jerash and Beth Alpha, glass vessels from Rome and a few local lychnaria (clay). This very judicious selection may be considered representative of Jewish monuments of art and archaeology, apart from the absence of some inscriptions, especially the first (CL.-GANNEAU) or the second Thanatos inscription from the Herodian Temple (published in the *Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities,* vol. vi, 1936).

The printing is extremely careful. The well chosen plates are admirably executed and deserve the highest praise. The text is adequately written—free from the drudgery of "scientific works"—and the book has charm.

An Index would have been welcome, but otherwise the book may be recommended without reserve.

ST. H. STEPHAN.

The Psalms. Chronologically treated with a new translation by MOSES BUTTENWIESER, Professor Emeritus of Biblical Exegesis, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1938 XVIII + 911 pp., Price 5 $.

M. BUTTENWIESER legt in diesem stattlichen Band die Ergebnisse langjähriger Arbeit an der Erklärung der Psalmen vor. Es sind im wesentlichen zwei Grundgedanken, die den Autor bei seiner Erklärung leiten. Das historische Prinzip, das ihn veranlasst die einzelnen Gedichte nicht nur zeitlich zu bestimmen,

sondern auch innerhalb der Gruppen präexilischer, exilischer oder nachexilischer Dichtung chronologisch anzuordnen und selbst auf einzelne Autoren wie Deuterojesaia oder den Autor des Buches Hiob zurückzuführen. Daneben steht des Verfassers Auffassung der hebräischen Tempora, die er auch in früheren Aufsätzen besonders an den Psalmen nachzuweisen bemüht war. Im besonderen glaubt er, dass das hebräische Perfekt in viel weiterem Umfang als allgemein angenommen wird, die Bedeutung des Wunsches, der Bitte oder des Futurums hat. In die Erklärung der Psalmengruppen sind Exkurse über die historische Situation etc. eingefügt. Das Buch wird durch eine Geschichte der Psalmen eingeleitet und ist reichlich mit Indices ausgestattet.

Besonders hervorzuheben sind endlich auch die vielen Parallelen aus der altorientalischen und klassischen Literatur, die BUTTENWIESER mit großer Belesenheit herangezogen hat. Die Haltung des Buches ist wissenschaftlich, die Untersuchung eindringend und nirgends oberflächlich, die Darstellung klar. Und so wird der Leser und Mitforscher sicherlich in vielen Einzelheiten aus dem Werke lernen können. In den Grundlagen jedoch steht der Rezensent auf einem so völlig anderen Standpunkt, dass er die wesentlichen Resultate des Buches nicht akzeptieren kann. Wie ich besonders in meiner Abhandlung über „Das literarische Problem der Bibel", *ZDMG* 1931 ausgeführt habe, sind die Psalmen ursprünglich Einlagedichtungen innerhalb der biblischen Erzählung gewesen, wie dies ja zum Teil noch der Fall ist, und wie dies für andere Fälle die Überschriften der Psalmen bezeugen. Die auf David zurückgeführten Psalmen z.B. stammen aus Erzählungen über diesen König und schmückten ursprünglich Situationen seines Lebens. Und so muss auch die Erklärung der Psalmen im Sinne ihrer Autoren zunächst jene historische Situation der alten Zeit zu rekonstruieren suchen, an die der Dichter dachte, nicht des Dichters eigene Situation. Und so besagt die dem Psalm bewußt zugrunde gelegte Situation nichts für des Dichters eigene Zeit, und ein chronologisher Ansatz dieser Zeit auf Grund des Psalmeninhalts, in dem der Dichter eine andere, ältere Periode darstellt, muß, wenn dies nicht voll in Rechnung gestellt wird, in die Irre führen. Zudem sind die biblischen Dichtungen des Orients überhaupt im Grunde zeitlos. Derselbe Stoff—und im besonderen der geschichtliche Stoff des alten Israel—wird immer wieder nacherzählt und umgedichtet. Und dabei werden die alten Lieder mitverwendet und für neue Situationen umgestaltet. So ist, was in der letzten Abschrift spät nachexilisch zu sein scheint, oft im wesentlichen ein uraltes Gedicht. Und die Erklärung gewinnt nichts oder fast nichts aus dem historischen Ansatz. In ihrer letzten Abschrift dürften alle Psalmen „nachexilisch" sein. Ist ja die Orthographie die einer späteren Zeit, und die musikalischen Überschriften der Psalmen, so wenig sie im einzelnen befriedigend erklärt sind, sind sicherlich durch Kulturen beeinflusst, mit denen Israel erst im Exil oder nachher in Berührung kam. Aber darum mögen selbst rein nachexilische Psalmen in ihrem Kern vorexilisch sein.

Auch des Verfassers Auffassung der Tempora kann der Rezensent für die meisten Psalmenstellen, an denen BUTTENWIESER z.B. ein futurisches Perfekt nachweisen will, nicht teilen. Wo es sich nicht um Fragen der Textkritik handelt, ist des Rezensenten abweichende Erklärung der Stellen aus seiner 1937 abgeschlossenen, im Verlag von J. KAUFFMANN, Frankfurt a/M. erschienenen Bibelübersetzung zu ersehen.

Aber auch in der Einzelerklärung wäre nicht wenig zu beanstanden. Unmöglich kann man den meisten textlichen Emendationen des Verfassers zustimmen, die, z.T. auch dort, wo er anderen Autoren folgt, zuweilen das wesentliche des hebräischen Gedankenrhythmus, den parallelismus membrorum, zerreissen. Andrerseits ist ein großer Teil der Literatur, so weit sie nicht gerade zu den Handbüchern notiert ist, dem Verfasser völlig unbekannt geblieben. Als ein Beispiel für sehr viele sei hier notiert, dass BUTTENWIESER für Psalm 85 Vers 9 Ende ואל ישובו לכסלה noch immer ausschließlich die völlig unhebräische Emendation ואלי שבי בכל לבם לה bringt, obwohl M. BERKOWITZ, „Der Strophenbau in den Psalmen" S. 25 schon 1910 die zweifellos richtige Lesung angegeben hat, diese von mir

ZDMG 66, 397 (1912) zitiert und danach in 1915 dem *Handwörterbuch* von GESENIUS-BUHL. 16. und 17. Auflage S. 356 und manchen andern Werken wiedergegeben ist. Lies" כי וידבר שלום אֶל־ עמו וְאֶל חסידיו וְאֶל-יִשְׁרֵי-לֵב סֶלָה. "Ja, Frieden redet er ob seinem Volk und seinen Frommen und denen, die redlichen Herzens sind. Sela!"

H. TORCZYNER

STEAD, CLEVES: *Fantastic Fauna*, With a Foreword by Gaston WIET. Cairo, R. Schindler, 1935, [9] + 29 p., 177 pl.

The book consists of a foreword, a short introduction, 630 animal drawings copied from the everyday crockery of Medieval Egyptian households, and a very full index. Although the approach of Mrs. CLEAVES STEAD is that of an artist, she has hidden her individuality and completely adapted her technique to that of the originals. With the accuracy of an archaeologist, a sure hand and a feeling for the brush of the Islamic decorator, Mrs. STEAD has copied that fauna—which deserves the appellation "fantastic" only in a score of rather exceptional cases—in such a manner that we get all the essentials from her drawings far better than we could from photographs. Her plates bring home to us how well the Egyptian artists, and not only of the Fatimid period, could render life and movement in a few quick strokes. The result is a most delightful volume which will give as much pleasure to those turning its pages as it has caused work to its author and designer. More grateful still will be the antiquarian and historian of Oriental zoology whom Mrs. STEAD has provided with a wealth of material which is not easily available in a handy form. She has started an entirely new line of work and it is to be hoped that she will continue with other subjects and techniques.

I have tried to find fault with the book, and have looked up the list of animals presented, to find omissions, only to discover upon closer examination that such animals as do not appear in this repertoire, like serpents or dragons, for instance, are very rarely depicted on any opjects during that period, so that even on its negative side the book is a reliable guide. Of course it must be kept in mind that Mrs. STEAD's material is based on ceramics only, and that she has restricted herself to the collection of the Arabic Museum in Cairo. With regard to details it seems to me that we are today in a much better position to date the various pieces of ceramics here reproduced, and the vague designation "Mamluk 14th to 15th century" can very often be changed into something more precise. To quote a few instances only: Fishes of the type shown on pl. 31, i, are Baḥrī Mamluk, and closely associated with the reign of Muḥammad b. Qalāūn; pl. 113, i, is the coat-of-arms of Ṭuquzdamur and therefore to be dated ca. 1320–1345; pl. 115, iv and v, are of the same period; pl. 139, i, cannot be later than the first half of the 14th century. The description "Ayyubid, XIII-XIV century" (*passim*) should be abandoned, as the only Ayyubids who ruled in the 14th century were Abu-l-Fidā and his son in Ḥama, and so far as the artistic work of their epoch is concerned, they are pure Mamluks. Most Mamluk potsherds are marked "XIV-XV" century, but the Egyptian imitation of celadon is dated "XIV-XVI" (p. 5), thus giving the impression that pseudo-celadon was produced during the last 17 years of Mamluk rule, a distinction for which we have no evidence so far. Pl. 167, iii, is a cheetah and should have been reproduced in the chapter on panthers and leopards. But only a pedant will stop over such details and thus spoil his enjoyment of a most lovable and instructive book.

L.A. MAYER

The Archaic Inscriptions from Lachish. A non-phoenician System of the North Semitic Alphabet (with three Plates) by JULIAN OBERMAN, Yale University-Publications of the American Oriental Society. Offprint Series, No 9.

Les inscriptions archaïques de Tell Duweir (Lachish) se composent jusqu'ici de cinq petits textes comprenant en tout une dizaine de mots, plus quatre ou cinq signes dont trois incomplets. Il s'agit donc d'un matériel épigraphique fort restreint, mais très important néanmoins pour l'histoire de l'alphabet. Aussi a-t-il déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs études sans qu'on ait pu arriver à une lecture satisfaisant.e Celle proposée par M.O. réunira-t-elle cette fois tous les suffrages? Il est difficile de l'espérer. Ce travail qui s'attache principalement à l'analyse de l'alphabet dit „de Lachish" renferme cehendant des vues nouvelles.

Jusqu'ici, on avait généralement rattaché ces textes à l'alphabet protosinaïtique. Le fait qu'on n'a pas abouti à les interpréter par cette voie ne prouve pas qu'on aitfait fausse route, puisque les inscriptions sinaïtiques elles-mêmes restent toujours une énigme. Il existe un air de parenté indéniable entre les deux; qu'il s'agisse de différents essais d'écriture alphabétique apparentés l'un à l'autre, ou d'un même alphabet à des stages différents comme l'alphabet sud-sémitique dans les inscriptions minéennes, lihyanites ou thamoudéennes.

M.O. s'écarte résolument de ses devanciers et va chercher ailleurs qu'au Sinaï, du côté du Nord, des analogies pour son alphabet de Lachish. On est même étonné de la multiplicité des alphabets auxquels il a recours. La Pl. I groupe un certain nombre de signes de Tell Duweir rapprochés pour leur forme exérieure d'une série de lettres alignées en dessous et provenant, suivant les cas, de l'écriture égyptienne, des alphabets ugarite, phénicien, grec, latin, étrusque, runique, lydien, thamoudéen, safaïtique, etc., etc.,—On se demande à quoi bon cet étalage de signes d'origines et de dates si diverses. Quelle lumière cela peut-il projeter sur l'origine de l'alphabet de Lachis et ses relations avec l'alphabet phénicien? L'auteur donne beaucoup trop d'importance à des ressemblances extérieures qui peuvent être purement fortuites, qui doivent même-être nécessairement fortuites, quand il s'agit d'alphabets distants de plus d'un millénaire l'un de l'autre, appartenant à des régions et à des langues si variées. Certaines ressemblances invoquées sont d'ailleurs fort lointaines. Par contre, comment se fait-il que le signe représentant une tête, dans le No 3, et interprété ṛ soit rapproché de cette lettre en ugaritien, en grec, en latin, etc. et non point de ṛ protosinaïtique qui correspond invariablement à une tête, souvent plus ou moins déformée, mais cependant facile à identifier?

Dans une étude de ce genre, il était de première importance de commencer par essayer de déterminer la date des inscriptions. L'une d'elles, nous dit-on (No. 3), est indubitablement contemporaine des Hyksôs (env. 1750–1555), les autres remontent au temps qui a suivi plus ou moins immédiatement la période des Hyksôs (p. 5). On avouera que c'est pour le moins assez vague comme date; peut-être même quelques uns diront-ils un peu inexact. D'après la nature de la poterie portant ces inscriptions et d'après les autres pièces trouvées en même temps, M. Starkey plaçait le No 1 au XIVe–XIIIe s. et les Nos 2,4,5 au XIIIe s.; ce qui éloigne assez considérablement de la date assignée plus haut aux Hyksôs. Il n'eut pas été indifférent non plus de noter à quelle époque des Hyksôs pourrait remonter la tombe d'où a été extrait le No 3. Starkey estimait qu'elle est peut-être antérieure à 1600, mais elle n'est certainement pas postérieure. S'inscriptisn No 3 serait donc plus vieille que les quatre autres d'environ 300 ans.

Le sous-titre donné par M. O. à sa plaquette: "Un systéme non-phénicien de l'alphabet nord sémitique" annonce nettement les conclusions de l'auteur; Les vieux textes de Lschish contribuent à une meilleure compréhension de l'alphabet nord-sémitique et s'inscrivent contre l'unité trop absolue accordée jusqu'ici à l'alphabet phénicien, comme prototype des autres alphabets, de l'alphabet grec en particulier.

A vrai dire, personne ne songe plus à soutenir l'unité de l'alphabet nord-

sémitique, depuis la découverte des tablettes alphabétiques de Ras Shamrā, bien que son origine reste encore mystérieuse. Les textes de Râs Shamrā sont généralement datés du XIVe s; quelques uns peuvent être du XVe. Mais jusqu'à plus ample information, rien ne permet de faire remonter leur alphabet beaucoup plus haut, surtout jusqu'au début du second millénaire (p. 7). Nous croyons au contraire qu'il a été d'un usage assez restreint et assez localisé.

Il semble avoir existé concurrement, dans les régions nord-sémitiques, vers les débuts de la création de l'alphabet, une double écriture alphabétique : l'une cunéiforme, l'autre linéaire qui devait finalement l'emporter avec l'alphabet phénicien. Mais avant le triomphe définitif de ce dernier, des tâtonnements se sont produits, des essais divers dont témoignent les inscriptions protosinaïtiques et les textes archaïques exhumés dans les fouilles du Sud de la Palestine ou de Byblos. Quelle influence réciproque ont eu les uns sur les autres ces différents essais? On n'est pas encore à même de répondre, faute de documents. La dérivation d'une source commune est peu probable (1). Mais ces tentatives n'ont pu s'ignorer, et dés lors, ont dû s'influencer mutuellement jusqu'à ce que l'écriture phénicienne ait pris le dessus. Elle avait acquis certainement son hégémonie lors de la création de l'alphabet grec qui, d'aprés la tradition classique tirerait son origine de l'alphabet phénicien. Il n'y a pas lieu de révoquer en doute une pareille tradition appuyée par les faits; à condition de ne pas confondre dérivation avec imitation servile.

M. O. admet que dans l'ensemble, les inscriptions archaïques de Lachis se rattachent à l'écriture phénicienne, dont la différencient cependant nombre de détails importants. Mais la plupurt des divergences signalées reposent uniquement sur les interprétations de l'auteur, qui demanderaient à être confirmées. Telle, par exemple, la premiére divergence portant sur la direction de l'écriture : phénicien écrit de droite à g.; inscr. de Lachis, de g. à dr.—C'est moins certain que l'auteur veut bien le dire. La disposition du texte du No 1 n'est pas sans analogie avec l'inscr. phénic. d'Abibaʿal (2); le No 2 peut être lu aussi bien de dr. à g. que de g. à dr.; le No 3 est écrit verticalement; la lecture du No 4 est des plus douteuses; il n'y a rien à tirer du No 5.—Très intéressante serait l'équation ד=ד araméen, si l'identification du 1er signe dans No 2 et 3 était plus certaine et la lecture de l'ensemble assurée.

On serait tenté de dire que les conclusions de M.O. dépassent les prémisses, vu la pauvreté du matériel épigraphique et l'incertitude qui continue à planer sur la lecture de ces textes. Elles ne peuvent donc etre prises que comme des hypothèses attendant confirmation des découvertes futures. On saura gré néanmoins à l'auteur d'avoir émis ces hypothèses qui s'offrent comme autant de voies ouvertes aux épigraphistes venant après lui.

M. R. Savignac, O.P.

Report of the Joint Expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the American School of Prehistoric Research 1929—1934. Vol. I., Oxford 1937, Clarendon Press, 42 sh. *The Stone Age on Mount Carmel.* I. By D.A.E. Garrod and D.M.A. Bate.

Dies ist der offizielle Bericht der vereinigten englischen und amerikanischen archaeologischen Institute.

Diese schon weltberühmten Grabungen liegen am Westhang des Karmelgebirges, am Ausgang des Wādi el-Mughāra bei ʿAtlīt.

Drei Höhlen, eṭ-Ṭabūn, el-Wād und es-Skhūl bargen unter metertiefem Schutt so viel Tausende von Artefacten, Tierknochen, daß es sich lohnte, sie in

[1] Exception faite du principe même de l'alphabet, venu d'Egypte.- R B. voir 1938, p. 308 s.

[2] Voir *Revue Biblique* 1926, Pl. vii, fig. 8.

mühsamer neuzeitlicher Grabungstechnik Schicht für Schicht abzutragen Dabei fand man 11 Neandertaler Skelette, die aber erst im zweiten Band beschrieben werden sollen.

Der erste Band wird künftig die Grundlage der Vorgeschichte Palästinas bilden. MENGHIN hatte noch in seiner „*Weltgeschichte der Eiszeit*" den Zustand der syrisch-palästinischen Prähistorie als unbrauchbar bezeichnet (S. 356, 46, 39). Nunmehr hat sich das alles geändert.

In mustergiltiger Form wird von Miss GARROD die Stratigraphie behandelt, dann die Artefacten. M.C. BURKITT hat alle Zeichnungen geliefert, so klar, daß man die Richtung jeden Schlages erkennen kann. Die Tierwelt ist in ebenso gründlicher Weise von M. A. BATE behandelt. Greifen wir einige Ergebnisse heraus.

Tayacien, Oberacheuléen, Levallois-Moustérien, Middle Aurignacien, Atlitien, Natufien sind die gewählten Bezeichnungen für die stratigraphisch sich folgenden Kulturen. Tayacien wird als Absplißkultur mit Facetten auf der Schlagfläche angesehen. Es kann im Archäologischen Museum in Jerusalem eingesehen werden. Mit dem Oberacheul von eṭ-Ṭabūn E. (a—d) wird Umm Qaṭafa E,D_1,D_2 gleichgesetzt. Damit kämen die von R. NEUVILLE auf frühere Eiszeiten gelegten älteren Kulturen erst in die jüngere Zeit nach der Riß-Vereisung zu liegen. Typologisch muß man Miss GARROD recht geben.

Auch in der Anwendung des Ausdrucks „Levalloisien "bestehen Unterschiede zwischen Miss GARROD und R. NEUVILLE. Letzterer hält sich mehr an BREUIL's Auffassung, der „Levallois" auch noch vor die Rißeiszeit ansetzt. Jedenfalls ist klar, was im Sinne unseres vorliegenden Werkes mit der Verbindung Levallois-Moustérien gemeint ist. Im Aurignac spaltet GARROD noch ein „Atlitien" ab, das durch Bogenstichel in großer Menge ausgezeichnet ist. Darauf folgt eine neue Welt, das Natufien, etwa um 10,000 v. Chr. Es ist eine mikrolithische Kultur, die Anklänge an das zeitlich so verschieden anzusetzende Tardenois hat.

Man vermißt mit Freuden solche Namen wie Chelléen, Solutréen, Magdalénien, Robenhausien, Capsien, Campignien. Im Oberacheuléen (Micoquien, Ṭabūn E b) werden 76 Chatelperronspitzen verzeichnet. Ebenso werden, unbeirrt um westeuropäische Chronologie, 91 Chatelperronspitzen und 27 Audispitzen in das „Atlitien" gestellt, das nach M. GARROD dem europäischen Magdalénien ungefähr zeitlich entsprechen soll. Der Grund liegt darin, daß diese in allen populären Schriften sich findenden Namen meist als Zeitangaben, hier in diesem Buch aber nur als typologische Beschreibung der Form angesehen werden.

Diesen wesentlichen Unterchied heißt es stets vor Augen halten. Wer Originale sehen will, hat im neuen Archäologischen Museum in Jerusalem alles schön geordnet vor sich. (Gallery book No S. 18—26, 35—42, 55—60, 70—76, 93—133, 164—249.) Nach Tausenden zählen die Originale in den Kästen des Studiensaales. Nur sind noch die älteren Bezeichnungen von Miss GARROD[2], die „Achéuleo-Moustérien" für Ṭabūn E. angeben, beibehalten. Es wäre gut, sie nach dem Buch umzuschreiben.

[1] Miss GARROD, Report 1936 in the *British Association for the Advancement of Science.* 100 (1936), 155.

„Gone for ever is the straightforward succession of Palaeolithic cultures from Chelléen to Magdalenian as laid down in the Musée Préhistorique.

The discoveries of the last decade have merely completed its demolition as a system of world-wide application. The fault of DE MORTILLET's disciples lay in their canonisation of a system which could only be applied locally and which in any case contained enormous gaps." "It was not until the old orthodoxy had been dethroned that the new material could be made to give its full measure".

Sie beklagt, daß 9/10 der Prähistoriker noch fortfahren, diese alten Namen im Sinne von Chronologie zu behandeln, statt nur „in a typological" Sinn.

[2] *Antiquity.* 8 (1934) 133 ff.

Sie werden die Grundlage künftiger Gliederung Palästinas bleiben. Wer über die Skelettfunde Bescheid haben will, findet sie in dem Bericht des Congresses 1937, zu Philadelphia (Titel: G. GRANT Mac CURDY *Early Man*, Philadelphia-London, 1937). Daselbst ist auch Miß GARRODS Anschauung über die Gleichung mit dem Chronologiesystem Europas, die in unserem Werk bewußt nicht behandelt wird, angegeben. Darnach wäre des Aurignacien (wie in Europa) der letzten Eiszeit (Würm) zuzuschreiben, das Moustérien dem Beginn dieser Zeit und dem Ende der Interglacialzeit Riß-Würmeiszeit. Die lange Zeit Tabun E. wäre demnach im Interglacial Riß-Würm. Daß dieses lange gedauert hat, kann man erkennen aus der Annahme, daß der in der Rißeiszeit gebildete Ghōrsee (200 m über dem Toten Meer) im Interglacial langsam zusammenschrumpfte, also von einer Ausdehnung von Tiberias bis unter dem Spiegel des heutigen Toten Meeres. Rein schematisch haben wir in dieser Zeitschrift (*J.P.O.S.* 17 1937, 11) schon einmal auf diese langen Zeiten hingewiesen. Auf sie müssen wir uns für den zweiten Band gefaßt machen, der die Menschenskelette behandeln wird. Der kritische Punkt für die Chronologie der Karmelhöhlen ist „Tabun B." Was entspricht ihm in der europäischen Eiszeitgliederung? Ist mit Recht Tabun B der Schicht „el-Wad G" als „Moustérien" gleichgesetzt? Wenn ja, dann ist es berechtigt die Gliederung von et-Tabūn, die vor das Moustérien geht, vor jene von el-Wad, die bis zum Moustérien geht, anzusetzen. So entsteht eine Gliederung von Tayacien bis Natufien in stratigraphisch einwandfreier Weise. Wir können, nachdem wir im Museum diese Frage ebenfalls eingehend geprüft haben, der in dem Werk vertretenen Anschauung nur beistimmen. El-Wad und et-Tabun bilden eine einzige Reihe. Sie sind der beste Maßstab der Zeit Palästinas. Daher ist das von Miss BATE gegebenen Bild der Klimaänderungen Palästinas bis jetzt der beste Aufbau einer Geschichte und Gliederung des Palästinischen Pleistocäns nach der Rißeiszeit. In frühere Zeiten in Palästina zu gehen, glauben wir demnach noch keine Notwendigkeit zu haben. Aber dies ist schon ein großer Schritt nach vielen Jahrzehntausenden.

Eine Gegenprobe für die in dem Buch vorgetragenen Auffassungen werden die von den amerikanischen Patres DOHERTY und EWING in Kasr Akil (bei Beirut) vorgenommenen Schichtgrabungen bringen. Schon sind 17. 20 Meter erreicht; sie umfassen die Zeit bis zum Moustérien, sind also etwa el-Wad entsprechend. Eine andere Probe sind die neuesten Zusammenfassungen wie sie A.C. BLANC über die in Italien gemachten klimatologischen und isostatischen Schwankungen des Mittelmeeres in mehreren Schriften eben veröffentlicht hat. Auch er wendet sich von dem westeuropäischen System ab, um klareren Einblick in die Wanderungen und die Zeitverhältnisse zu bekommen. Das muß unser Ziel auch in Palästina sein.

ROB. KÖPPEL, S. J.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

W. A. HEURTLEY

(JERUSALEM)

When considering what would be a suitable theme for a Presidential Address to this Society, I took the occasion to run through the "Short Reports on Excavations" contributed by excavators to the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* during the five years of my stay in Palestine, and I was astonished at the amount of archaeological activity which they represent. I thought, therefore, that it would not be unsuitable to take stock, as it were, of some of the principal additions to our knowledge of the respective archaeological periods which that activity has brought about during these five years. My remarks will be very general and very brief, and will refer only to what appears to be most significant.

THE PALAEOLITHIC AND MESOLITHIC AGES.

The impetus given to the study of the Stone Age in Palestine by the discovery of the Galilee Skull and the human remains in the Mughāret es-Sukhūl has since 1932 been intensified by the discoveries at Jebel el-Qafze and by further explorations in the Wādi-l-Mughāra. From the palaeontological side, Jisr Banāt Ya'qūb and Bethlehem have proved important, the latter having produced eight species of fauna hitherto unknown in Palestine. In Transjordan a new culture has been identified. The importance of Palestine and Transjordan in this field of study has thus been convincingly established.

THE NEOLITHIC AND CHALCOLITHIC AGES.

Coming to these periods we have had the stratified sequences at Ghassūl, Jericho with its surprising sculpture, the lowest level at Beisān, and the "earlier stages of Megiddo", 'Affūle, and, finally,

the striking ossuaries at Hederah. Our knowledge of these periods had previously been negligible. Here, then, a definite advance has been made.

EARLY BRONZE AGE.

Of the Early Bronze Age a very imperfect picture existed, at least for the development of pottery. Now we have the relevant layers at Beisān and Jericho, those on the eastern side of the Megiddo ten and the later "Megiddo stages". The picture is filled in by et-Tell with its fine architectural remains, sanctuaries, cave-burials and pottery. Among the most interesting finds, because of external contacts which they suggest, are the perforated stone-axes from the site. The position of Khirbet Kerak ware in the ceramic sequence has now been ascertained with precision.

MIDDLE BRONZE AGE.

The carefully excavated material from Tell Beit Mirsim (Strata I—D) had been published in 1932, in which year the large tombs at Jericho had been dug. This material has since been supplemented by Beisān, Beitīn and Megiddo, and a good sequence from Rās el-ʿAin. The end of the period and the transition to the next has been especially clarified at Megiddo, where the best opportunity will eventually be given for drawing the emergence of that remarkable pottery with bichrome ornament including animal figures hitherto best known from Tell el-ʿAjjūl. I have tried elsewhere to show that the animal figures can usually be attributed to a single painter (probably a Palestinian) on account of the marked individuality of the drawing. In any case, the chronological setting of this class is now firmly established.

The inscribed dagger from Tell ed-Duweir belongs to this period.

LATE BRONZE AGE.

This had been probably the best known period of all. But here too the material has been appreciably enriched by the excavations at Tell Abu-Hawwām, Megiddo and Tell ed Duweir. At Megiddo, I have been shown recently part of a true "Minyan" goblet with ringed stem, a form and a fabric of the Middle Helladic period

familiar to archaeologists in Greece, and whence it must assuredly have come to Palestine. The beautiful Late Helladic II cup from Tell ed-Duweir is obviously a find of great significance, quite apart from its aesthetic worth. At the close of the period "Philistine" pottery has turned up at Megiddo, apparently associated with Late Helladic III (Mycenaean) and speculation as to the relation of the two wares has been further aroused by their reported stratified position at Tell el Jerīsha, and the material for discussion, not to say a controversy, increased. "Philistine" pottery still seems to me to be a purely Palestinian product, and echo rather than an imitation of Mycenaean, and I should not be surprised if it was eventually found to have originated from a single studio (I mean as far as the painted decoration is concerned) in which Mycenaean models had left an impression, but were not actually available. That on some sites the last surviving examples of the older style and earlier examples of the new should be found in the same context strikes me as perfectly natural, and equally natural that at other sites they should be found separated. That Mycenaean potters disappeared from the Palestine scene more or less simultaneously seems clear; local potters henceforth supplied the demand. Hence "Philistine" pottery.

Outstanding finds of the period are the gold and jewellery from Tell el-ʿAjjūl, and the inscribed ewer from Tell ed-Duweir.

IRON AGE I AND II.

Apart from "Philistine" pottery, which, strictly, belongs here, our knowledge of the civilization of this period, hitherto based principally on Tell Beit Mirsim, Beisān, and, of course, Gezer (the fundamental importance of which I have so far taken for granted in speaking of other periods) has been amplified by the work at Tell Abu Hawwām, ʿAin Shems, Ezion-Geber (where the melting-plant is noteworthy) and further work of Megiddo. For the earlier phase, the later group of ivories from Megiddo have rightly aroused admiration for their superb craftsmanship, and there is the inscribed base of Ramses VI from the same site; for the later phase the finds from the Phoenician cremation burials at ʿAtlīth have established the existence of a Phoenician colony there in the 7th century, a fact which had already been inferred on historical grounds. The

contribution, however, which, to judge solely by the interest it has evoked, must be regarded as the most important that has been made in the last five years in Palestine, is that of the Lachish letters. It is not for me to enlarge upon these, but I will only say how much the prompt and thorough publication of them has been appreciated.

PERSIAN AND HELLENIC PERIODS.

No outstanding discoveries of these two periods, with the exception of that of the splendid semi-circular tower at Sabaṣṭya occur to me. We are, in fact, much as we were. But Nabataean pottery arose and flourished within the limits of the period, though it belongs more properly to the next. The identification and tracking down of this remarkable pottery had just began five years ago. Now, thanks to the efforts of many scholars, we are beginning to know a good deal about it. Those who are not yet familiar with it, will, I think, be astonished when they realize its range, variety and technical excellence as presented in the last instalment of the Petra material by Mr. and Mrs. HORSFIELD in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities* vol. VIII, 3 for 1938. Personally, I do not find it beautiful, but like Nabataean sculpture it has individuality and is distinctive, if not distinguished. The study of its parentage, affinities and its relations to Terra Sigillata, and its distribution promises to be a highly interesting field of research.

ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD.

Passing to the Roman Imperial Period we had the discovery of the triumphal arch of Jerash. The monuments of Petra have been re-studied, and the true character of many of them as *triclinia* or houses has been established. Incidentally, I may say that the discussion of the architecture of Petra will form a later instalment of the Petra Publication by the HORSFIELDS in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities.* Meanwhile our knowledge of Nabataean arts and religion has been conspicuously advanced by the excavation of the Temple site in Khirbet et-Tannūr.

On the Christian side in this period there is the wholly unexpected discovery of the remains of an earlier church below

Justinian's Basilica at Bethlehem; in Transjordan the impressive sanctuary of Mount Nebo.

In the field of Jewish archaeology history and epigraphy will have the remarkable finds at Sheikh Ibreik. I understand that the excavations have been resumed and further discoveries are in course of being made.

The earlier construction of the broad-house synagogue at Esthemoa (es-Sammūʿ) also falls within this period.

BYZANTINE AND EARLY ISLAMIC PERIODS.

Discoveries affecting our knowledge of Christianity in Palestine and Transjordan, just prior to the rise of Islam, are those at Isbeiṭa and Maʿīn, whence has been recovered the mosaic with the twenty four churches.

The Early Islamic Period has itself produced one of the most surprising finds of all, I mean, the Umayyad palace at Khirbet Mifjer. Personally I find its plaster screen and ornaments among the most attractive things I have seen in Palestine, and I need not emphasize the importance which the site has for the study of Islamic art.

Khirbet el-Minye, the other early Islamic palace, discovered almost simultaneously, promises to be a site of great interest also. The novel character of these two discoveries is evident from the fact that one was taken to be a church and the other a Roman fortress by the respective excavators until their true character became apparent.

The further instalment of papyri from el-ʿAuja is of course noteworthy, in view of the absence of such finds hitherto from other sites.

THE CRUSADERS' PERIOD.

Research in this period has also been productive. I believe I am right in saying that the cemetery and stables at ʿAtlīth are at present solitary examples of such remains on Crusaders sites.

I have not mentioned in this review the important work of the Department at the citadel in Jerusalem, because the work is still in progress and the results have been only partially and provisionally made public.

Apart from actual excavation, our archaeological knowledge of

the country has been systematically expanded by the survey now being made by the British School and by the American School's researches in Transjordan.

It is clear from this brief summary how impressive has been the archaeological activity in Palestine and Transjordan during the last five years. The production has been rapid, possibly too rapid. One simetimes has the uneasy feeling that production in archaeology, as in the other things, tends to outrun the capacity for consumption. As a librarian, I am particularly conscious of the possiblity, when I contemplate the enormous number of articles on various learned subjects, which come within my purview, "many of which will never be read", except by their authors. If these fears are justified, a temporary showing up of field work may not be without its advatages. In this connexion one must particularly welcome those works of synthesis, that assemble, bring up to date and condense all that has been written on any special subject. Such work as I have in mind, are M. AVI-YONAH's *Mosaic Pavements*, A. ROWE's *Scarab Catalogue,* R.P. F.-M. ABEL's *Géographie de la Palestine*, J.H. ILIFFE's works on *Terra Sigillata* and the forthcoming *Corpus* of Professor C.S. FISHER. Presenting the information in a manageable and accessible form, they prevent the harassed student from getting intellectual indigestion, which appears to be one of the chief dangers of all time.

It is a pleasure to be able to leave off on a note of genuine admiration. I have formed during the five years I have been in Palestine a very high opinion of the methods of Palestinian excavators; and I am sure I shall not be misunderstood if I say that I also admire the Department of Antiquities, as, of course, I do not mean that part for which I have to some extent been responsible. The future of archaeology in Palestine and Transjordan is in good hands.

Finally, I have to thank the Palestine Oriental Society for electing me their president. I have no illusion about the extent and value of my contribution to the objects for which it stands, either absolutely or in relation to my distinguished predecessors in the office. But I accept the invitation as a kindly gesture on your part on the eve of my departure, though deeply conscious of my own unworthiness; but I console myself with the reflection that I cannot, at any rate, do any harm.

On behalf of the Society I express our sorrow to the Dominican Fathers for the loss of the great scholar, Père M.-J. LAGRANGE, one of the Society's founders, which occured on March 10th, 1938. And I have to thank them and the American School for their hospitality to the Society during the last year, as well as to the Director of Antiquities for the use of this admirable room on the present occasion.

THE PERSONAL NAMES IN THE LETTER OF LUCIAN OF CAPHAR-GAMALA

ST. H. STEPHAN
(JERUSALEM)

In two former articles in this *Journal*[1] the writer has attempted to establish the identity of the ancient Caphar Gamala, or Beth Gamla, with the present-day hamlet of Beit Jimāl in the Shephela, a site known to the older generation as Kafr Ijmāl, Khirbet Beit Ijmāl or Beit Ijmāl.[2] In the first article the present name of the locality was discussed from a linguistic point of view. It was shown that it had nothing to do with "camels", *al-jimāl*, but in all probability conserved the Aramaic name *Gamala* or *Gamla*.[3] In the second article an attempt was made to identify Caphar Selemia and other sites mentioned in the Letter of Lucian of Caphar Gamala. It was shown that they may be located in the same district as Beit Jimāl. Returning to the presbyter Lucian's account of his discovery of St. Stephen's tomb at Caphar Gamala along with those of Gamaliel, of his son Abibas (or Abibo) and his friend Nicodemus,[4] the writer now offers a short commentary on the names there mentioned. If the modern hamlet of Beit Jimāl is indeed on the site of Caphar Gamala, "Village of Gamaliel", presumably

[1] *JPOS.* xiii, (1933), pp. 232–37, and xvii, (1937), pp. 45–51.

To the select bibliography given in Vol. xiii, p. 235, should now be added: F.-M. Abel, *La légende apocryphe de Saint Etienne, à propos de quelques textes géorgiens*, (pro manuscripto) 35 pp. —— A. SACHETTI, *Studi Stephaniani, Identificazione Cafargamala — Beitgemal* (printed at Beit Jimāl, 1934, for private circulation), Serie A, 12 fascicles, 215 pp.; Serie B, 6 fascicles, 115 pp; Serie C, 8 fascicles, 69 pp. —— H. DELEHAYE, 'Quelques dates des martyrologies hieronymiennes' in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xlix (1931), pp. 22 ff.; G. DE JERPHANION, 'Charactéristiques et attributs des saints dans la peinture cappadocienne', *ibid.*, liv (1937), and the resumé of the excavations at Beit Jimāl in vol. L (1932), p. 221, by the late A. MALLON, S. J. —— J. VOGELS, 'Um Sankt Stephans Grab' in *Das Heilige Land*, 1935, pp. 65–72; also an article by Mauritius GISLER, O.S.B., *ibid.* 1917, pp. 15 ff. and a resumé of the discoveries, *ibid.* 1923, pp. 37 ff.

[2] Verbal communication of ʿUmar Effendi aṣ-Ṣāleḥ al-Barghouthy.

[3] LUCIUS, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultes*, (Tübingen, 1907), p. 107 states that the place was also known as Beth Gamla, quoting RYSSEL, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xv, 1895, pp. 224, (according to whom the form *Gamla* is twice mentioned in the Talmud, as *Kaphar Gamla*, p. 235, and *Beth Gamla*, p. 340).

[4] MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. xli, coll. 107 et seq. See also Professor A. BAUMSTARK's study of the names in *Oriens Christianus*, xii–xiv, pp. 141 ff.

some trace of St. Stephen's name also must have remained in the toponomy or traditions of the district. The writer now seeks to show that such an association long persisted although it is now lost.

Before proceeding to discuss the personal names and their bearing on the problem of Caphar Gamala, some additional pieces of evidence may be noted here which go to support the identification with Beit Jimāl. Firstly, Lucian's letter contains a reference to the miracles worked on many sick persons amongst the bystanders at the time of the discovery of St. Stephen's burial-place: " . . . sanati, alii a tertianis et quartanis; alios febris reliquit . . ."[1] Now, while this could hardly apply to the hill village of Jammāla near Ramallah, which has sometimes been proposed as the site of Caphar Gamala, the malaria of Wādi Būloṣ near Beit Jimāl is notorious; only last year (1938) it spread once more amongst the inhabitants.

Secondly, the contemporary ecclesiastical historian Sozomen (*ob. c.* 445) significantly refers to the discovery of St. Stephen's tomb at the same time as that of the Prophet Zechariah.[2] He describes Zechariah's grave at Caphar Zechariah, "a village of the territory of Eleutheropolis", which must surely be the modern Zakariyya not far south of Beit Jimāl. But the final paragraph, which might be expected to deal with St. Stephen's grave, is unfortunately lacking.

Thirdly, it is to be noted that the name of Beit Jimāl has been in use since the fifteenth century at least. The earliest mention of it of which the present writer is aware, was made by an Italian anonymous traveller who undertook the journey from Gaza to Bethlehem in 1489 via *Beygimèl*.[3] Here the name appears in its true form without the article of the oblique case. In earlier itineraries, however, particularly those of the Crusaders, no such name appears. Only Theoderic[4] alludes to Caphar Gamala and Caphar Samala(!) as being situated in the neighbourhood of Lydda, "between the mountains and the flat country of the seashore." Yet, if the present place-name belongs to a still earlier, Byzantine tradition, how is the gap to be bridged? This difficulty is discussed in what follows, more particularly in connexion with the history of the name of St. Stephen.

[1] MIGNE, *op. cit.*, col. 815.

[2] MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, lxvij, col. 1627.

[3] TOBLER, *Bibliographia Geographica Palaestinae*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 59, mentions under the year 1489 *Reiseskizzen eines Ungenannten* (with Italian title, Leghorn, 1785, Falorni). The following names mentioned in that itinerary [with their identification in square brackets] are relevant:— Sunsùm [=Sùmsum]; Charabia [= Qaraṭiyya]; Sumechalil [=? Sumeil]; Thaba [=? Khirbet ʿAtraba near Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi]: Beygimèl [=Beit Jimāl]; Vozaba [=Cozeba = ʿAin el-Kāzbe near Tell Zakariyya]; Lahar [=? ʿAllār] and thence to Bethlehem.

[4] Theoderich's 'Description of the Holy Land' (ca. 1172) in *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. v, (1896), pp. 58—59.

Turning to Lucian's letter, the persons whom it mentions in addition to St. Stephen are as follows: Gamaliel, his son Abibas, his friend Nicodemus, his other son Selemias and his wife Ethna or Edna, mother of Selemias.[1] Let us begin with Gamaliel.

GAMALIEL.

The Hebrew name Gamaliel (Gamliel) means "God is my portion". It has no direct counterpart in Arabic usage,[2] but its first component indicates the probable origin of the place-name Beit Jimāl, in which it may well have survived.

The Gamaliel to whom Lucian refers is the "High Priest", *rabban*, "our teacher", known as Gamaliel the Elder (*ha-zaqen*), which title would distinguish him from his namesake and grandson Gamaliel II.

He is considered to be identical with that member of the Sanhedrin, who, according to Acts 5^{34}, defended the Apostles in a public session of that body. He was the head of a law school. His most famous pupil was St. Paul, like him a Pharisee (Acts 22^{3}). Although Gamaliel was descended on the paternal side from the tribe of Benjamin, yet his family also laid claim to Davidic descent on the side of his mother, through whom he was a grandson of Hillel.[3]

In Jewish Talmudic literature, both contemporary with Gamaliel and later, he is considered to be the last of the line of ancient patriarchal teachers of Israel. This consideration has led some modern critics to the conclusion that he was the high priest presiding over the Sanhedrin which passed the sentence on Our Lord. Yet the Biblical account does not warrant such a conclusion. Acts 5^{34} mentions him as a member of the highest judicial body. And since he wielded great influence there he was able to induce the judges to take a more lenient attitude towards the young Christian movement.

His great learning may be judged from his judicial decisions which are preserved in the Jerusalem Talmud.[4] He was the last

[1] MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. xli, coll. 807—8 ff.

[2] Similar to the form *Ḥamdi, Šukri, Šauqi, ʿAuni, Saʿdi*, (not necessarily a *nisbe* but rather a linguistic legacy of the Mamluke period), *Gamaliel* may be rendered literally with *Naṣībi* (itself a form used together with the more frequent *Nasīb. Jamāl (-ud-Dīn)*, does not answer to *Gamaliel* though the order of the consonants is left unchanged.

[3] According to Talmudic tradition Hillel was a descendant of David. Cf. the thorough study of S. KLEIN in *Zion* IV (1938), pp. 30 ff. Some complementary material may also be found in JOSEPHUS' *Vita*, 38, 191. Other studies on Gamaliel are BUECHLER in *Festschrift Blau*, Budapest, 1938, pp. 157 ff., and APTOWITZER in *Hebrew Union College Annual* vols. IV and V.

[4] Cf. the French edition of the Jerusalem Talmud by M. SCHWAB, Paris,

outstanding figure of a line of famous Talmudic scholars. The Tractate *Soṭa* states that after his death the Law "became extinct" and with him the purity of Pharisaism ended.[1]

Tradition asserts that he became a Christian, and so the *Breviarium Romanum*, under August 3rd, commemorates the invention of his body together with those of St. Stephen and the others. In his letter Lucian states that Gamaliel told him in a vision how he was baptised along with Nicodemus and Abibon at the hands of SS. Peter and John, a statement repeated by Photius.[2] Similarly, in the Armenian collection of refectory readings published by G. BAYAN as the *Synaxaire Arménien de Ter Israel*,[3] we read under the 2nd August that St. Stephen was buried by Gamaliel and Nicodemus in the field called Capar Gamaliay, and that "Gamaliel and his son Abibas as well as Nicodemus, who were baptized by the Apostles, and who died in the Faith, were deposited near St. Stephen". The author of the *Recognitiones Clementinae* supposed that although a secret Christian, Gamaliel remained a member of the Sanhedrin, outwardly attached to Judaism so that he could help his Christian brethren.[4] And here it should not be forgotten that many Christians of the Apostolic Age remained to all intents and purposes Jews, who adhered to the Mosaic Law whilst they cherished a belief in the Messiahship of Jesus. Several martyrologies mention Gamaliel as a saint. But some scholars hold his crypto-Christianity more than debatable, arguing that a man of Gamaliel's upright character could possibly rank among Christian saints, but that it was impossible for a Jewish religious leader to be a secret Christian as well.[5]

What seems beyond dispute is that he was buried at Caphar Gamala beside the Protomartyr, whom he had himself buried there.

1878—1890, *Orla*, 11,12 (vol. iii, p. 34); *Yebamoth*, XIV, 7 (vol. vii, pp. 219—220): *Gittin*, IV, 2,3 (vol. ix, pp. 2—3); *Shabbath*, XVI, 1 (vol. iv, 161).

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 342. Cf. *Seder Neziqin* (Talmud Babli), Baba Qamma, fol. 83a, ed. by the Soncino Press, London, 1935, vol. I, p. 470... "Did not Rab Judah say that Samuel stated in the name of Rab Simeon b. Gamliel [the words] MINE EYE AFFECTED MY SOUL BECAUSE OF ALL THE DAUGHTERS OF MY CITY (Lamentation iii, 51) [could very well be applied to the] thousand youths who were in my father's house; five hundred of them learned Thorah and the other five hundred learned Grecian Wisdom, and out of all of them there remain only I here and the son of my father's brother in Asia"? Cf. also *Soṭa* 49b and *Gittin* 58a.

[2] *Bibliotheca*, Cod. clxxii - clxxiv, in MIGNE, *P.G.*, vol. ciii, coll. 500—1.

[3] PATROLOGIA ORIENTALIS, vol. xxi, pp. 808—9.

[4] Book I, chapters xlv and lxvi, ed. GERSDORF (1838); in MIGNE, PATROLOGIA GRAECA, vol. i, coll. 1201 ff.

[5] WETZER-WELTE, *Kirchenlexikon* (ed. by HEFELE): „Nach christlichen Sagen

St. Stephen

The form *Stephanus,* Greek *Stephanos,* meaning "wreath", is most probably the translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic name *Keliel, Klīla* or *Kalīl,*[1] the Arabic counterpart of which is *iklīl* of the same meaning. It may be presumed that it was by this Aramaic name in one or other of its forms that St. Stephen was once remembered among the people of the country.[2]

In describing the discovery of the tombs of St. Stephen and the others at Caphar Gamala, Lucian's letter states that the names were found inscribed on the cover stones. One version says that they were written in old-fashioned characters, the other that they were in Greek characters, but both agree in giving the Greek forms of the Hebrew or Aramaic names with the significant exception of that of St. Stephen, which appears in the purely Aramaic form *Celiel* (or *Cheliel*). Some manuscripts add the explanation that this stands for Stephen.[3]

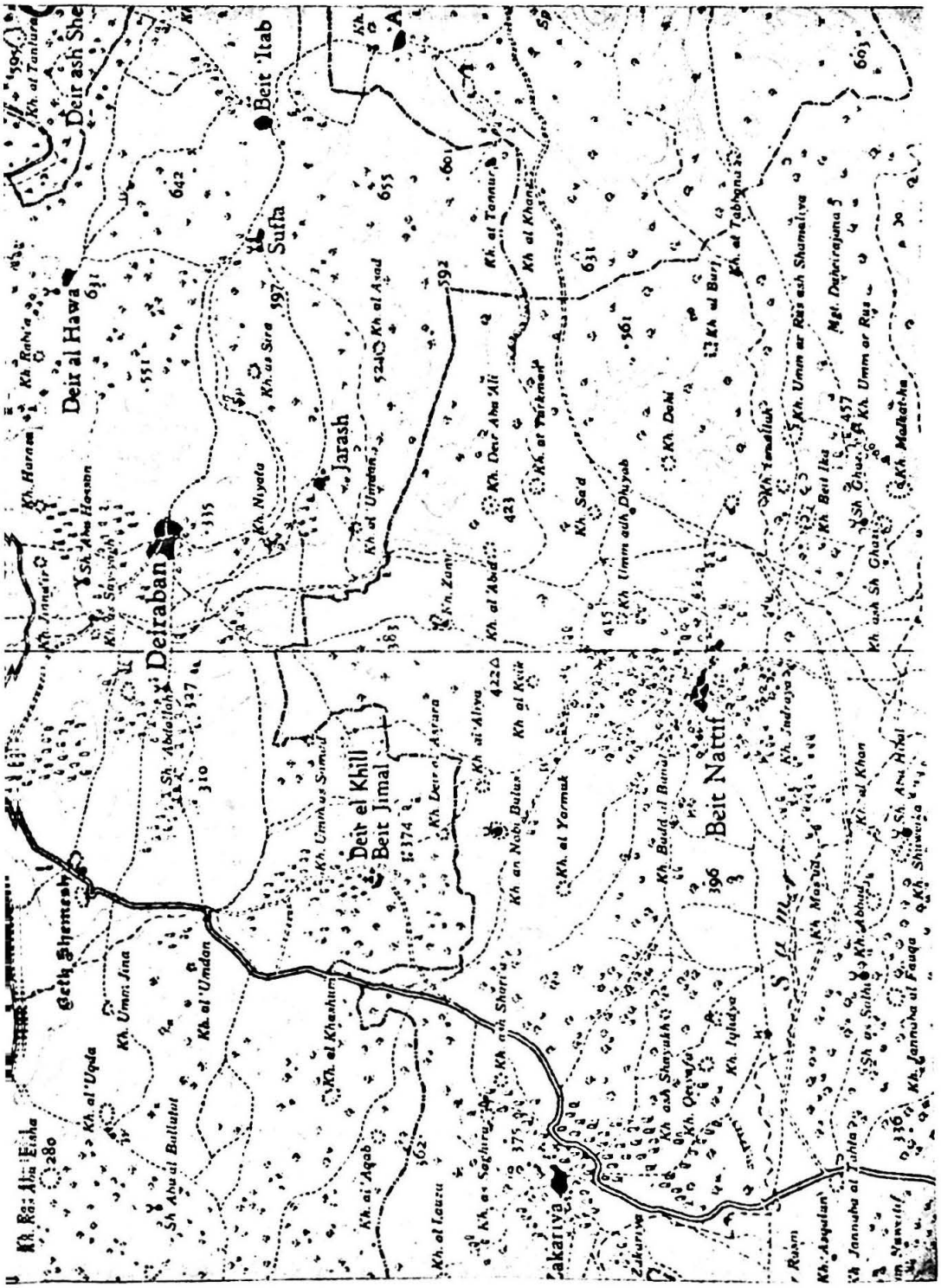
In the circumstances it is not strange that the Protomartyr should have been known both by his Aramaic name and its Greek equivalent. In New Testament times the Jews often used Latin or Greek translations of their own Hebrew or Aramaic names, e.g. the grandfather of Flavius Josephus was known as Psellus. Similarly, St. Peter was really Cephas, and was called by this Aramaic name by Our Lord (John 1^{42}) and by St. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (1^{12}, 3^{22}, 9^{5}) and in his Epistle to the Galatians (2^{8-9} where both names occur). Again, St. Paul himself is mentioned with both his names (Acts 13^{9}). Hence there is no reason to doubt the parallel use of Celiel (Keliel) and Stephanus (Stephanos) in the case of St. Stephen, and every reason for accepting the form Keliel

hätte Gamaliel samt Nicodemus sich zum Christentum bekehrt und wäre eines seligen Todes gestorben." (Wagenseil, *Sota*, 92); also Calmet, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v.; Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v.; G. Dalman in *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, s.v.; „Daß er Christ geworden ist, wie *Clem. Recogn.* 1,65 erzählt wird, ist eine Fabel. Er starb vor 70."

[1] The name *kll* has several forms, of which *kalīl* is one. It is not improbable that *kll* of the Rās Shamra texts is a variant thereof. E. Dhorme, 'Nouvelle Lettre d'Ugarit en Ecriture Alphabètique', *Syria*, 1938, p. 143, reads it *Kelāl*, which form appears also in Ezra 10^{30}.

[2] Christians in the East use preferably the Greek form of the name of the Protomartyr: Ṣṭifān, Iṣṭfān, Uṣṭfān (with the diminutives Ṣṭēfo, Iṣṭēfo; the Armenian form being Stepān with the diminutive Pānos). The corresponding Moslem name would be Tāj-ud-Dīn (diminutive: Tājo, used also as a short form, similar to Armenian).

[3] Migne, *P. L.*, xli, coll. 815, para 8, with note 1; 816, para 8.


Deir ash She
Beit 'Itab
Sufla
Deir al Hawa
Jarash
Deiraban
Deir el Khill
Beit Jimal
Beit Nattif
Geth Shemesh
Zakariya

or one of its modifications as the name by which he would have been known locally.[1]

In 439, some time after its discovery, the body of St. Stephen was removed to Jerusalem and placed in the Mater Ecclesiae on Mount Zion. Later it was transferred to the sumptuous basilica built for its reception by the empress Eudocia in 460. This sanctuary was erected on the traditional site of his stoning. Then, in 483, his relics were translated to Constantinople, an event still commemorated by the Eastern Orthodox churches on the 2nd August (O.S.) and by the Copts on the 15th Thot. After the destruction of Jerusalem by the hordes of Khusrau II Parvez, "the Victorious", in 614 the Jerusalem sanctuary of St. Stephen fell into oblivion until it was rebuilt by the French Dominican Fathers some fifty years ago.[2]

Meanwhile, had St. Stephen's memory been kept alive at his original burial place, Caphar Gamala? An entry in the geographical dictionary of the 13th-century Arabic author Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi gives a hint that it was. He notes a certain Deir al-Khill as the place where the Byzantines had their headquarters on the eve of the important battle of Ajnādein or the Yarmūk (28th Jumāda 1, A.H. 13=30th July 634):[3] دير الخلّ موضع قرب اليرموك نزله عسكر المشركين يوم وقعة اليرموك "The Monastery of al-Khill is a site near al-Yarmūk where the army of the unbelievers encamped on the day of the Battle of Yarmūk". Now, as CAETANI has shown,[4] Ajnādein stands probably for al-Jannābatein, a dual form which must refer to the two ruined villages called al-Jannāba, upper and lower, situated on the Wādi-s-Sant to the south of Beit Jimāl, and al-Yarmūk is therefore to be identified with the present Khirbet al-Yarmūk situated between those two villages and Beit Jimāl.[5] (See map, plate xii). Where then

[1] It is quite possible that the popular belief gave the impetus to the discovery of the tombs. Cf. A. BAUMSTARK's article in *Oriens Christianus*, N. S. xii — xiv, 1925, p. 149, and N. MARR, 'Le Synaxaire Géorgien, ii. Découvertes des Réliques de Saint-Etienne', in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xix, p. 669. The distance there given from the top of the hill to the *memoria Stephani*, the sepulchral chapel and martyrion, agrees with measurements I have taken from the village of Beit Jimāl to the place of the discoveries.

[2] On this occasion the late Père J.-M. LAGRANGE, O. P., published a masterly account on the finding of the relics of St. Stephen and the other companions, see *Saint Etienne et son Sanctuaire à Jerusalem*, pp. 53 ff.

[3] *Geographisches Wörterbuch* (edited by F. WÜSTENFELD), II. 858. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iv, s. v. *Yarmūk*, at end; E. HONIGMANN spells the name incorrectly *khall*, meaning 'vinegar'.

[4] *Annali dell'Islam*, iii, pp. 24 ff., especially pp. 37 ff.

[5] Rather than the river Yarmūk in northern Transjordan where a second great battle took place on 12th Rajab A. H. 15 (29th August 636 A. D.).

was Deir al-Khill? I suggest that this was no other than the Monastery of Stephen, Deir Keliēl or Iklīl, and that it is to be identified with the Byzantine ruins discovered at Beit Jimāl.

The name *al-khill* is of course derived from a different root from *Iklīl*. Is it then a corruption? That such a change could have taken place in popular speech is unlikely. The modification of *k* (ك) to *kh* (خ), though not unknown in Semitic philology, does not normally occur in initial consonants.[1] Moreover, *iklīl* was a current Aramaic name which has survived unchanged in some place-names.[2] But it is not unlikely that such a confusion would occur in writing الخل for اكليل; and it is to be remembered that Yāqūt compiled his work from manuscript sources while residing in Mōṣul in northern ʿIrāq. Unfortunately there is no other mention of the place Deir al-Khill in extant Arabic literature which would prove or disprove this hypothesis.

However that may be, the fact remains that there is no other site in the neighbourhood of the presumed Ajnādein which is so likely to have been Byzantine headquarters as Beit-Jimāl. The district has many Christian and monastic associations to judge from the surrounding place-names.[3] Yet none of these sites has such strategic advantages as has Beit Jimāl, which controls three roads, from Lydda on the north, Bethlehem on the east, and Beit Jibrīn on the south. Moreover, it lies only two kilometres north of the round-topped hill of al-Yarmūk, and hardly more than six kilometers north-north-east of both the Jannābas, which are about two kilometers distant from each other. Its Byzantine ruins represent the nearest monastery to al-Yarmūk. Such coincidences would seem to justify the conclusion that in the Byzantine ruins at Beit Jimāl we have the monastery which Yāqūt called after *al-Khill* instead of *Iklīl*, or Stephen.

The following may be added to CAETANI's notes. Ajnādein is never referred to as a fortified place, and both the Jannābas are sites of ruined villages. A Hebrew parallel to the use of a dual form

[1] But only under the influence of a preceding vowel or syllable, cf. Arabic *kaukab* and Hebrew *kochba*, Arabic *Karak* or *Kerkūk* and Syriac *Karkha*. See DALMAN, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Leipzig 1905, (2nd edition), para. 102, pp. 61—62, and BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 1, p. 120, para d (α).

[2] E. g., *arḍ bīr iklīl*, Palestine Village Maps, Abu Sinān 1 (Acre Sub-District).

[3] There are in the immediate vicinity several ruins with names reminiscent of Christianity, some even with the compound *Deir*, "monastery", e.g. Khirbet Deir al-ʿAṣfūra, Khirbet an-Nabi Būloṣ ("of the Prophet Paul"), Khirbet Deir Abu ʿAli (a frequent Christian name in the first three centuries after the Moslem conquest), Deir Abān, &c.

in a place-name occurs in Gederothaim of Joshua 15[36], which was somewhere in this district, along with Jarmuth (= Khirbet al-Yarmūk). North of al-Jannāba-l-fōqa is the shrine of al-Weli-ṣ-Ṣāliḥi, believed to be the burial-place of one of the Companions who fell in the Battle of Yarmūk. It is greatly venerated by the peasantry of that region, who affirm also that, on the eve of the battle, the Beni Hilāl tribe pitched their tents near those villages.

This tradition is somewhat corroborated by another one held by the inhabitants of Beit Nattīf, according to whom the battle took place in Wādi-s-Sanṭ; presumably in that part of it known nowadays as Sahl Ḥammāde, for the bed of the valley there is called, especially near its first winding, *Jōrit Qweiz*, a faint reminiscence of Balāḏuri's *Yāqūṣā'* and Yāqūt's *Wāqūṣā*, of which it may be a corrupt diminutive form by metathesis.

The abundance of water in this region should also be taken into consideration. Ample water is to be found in *bīr-as-sifla* (Zakariyya), and *bīr Iqlīdia* (slightly brackish) and especially in *bīr-aṣ-ṣifṣāfe* near al-Jannāba-l-fōqa.

It remains to note an interesting if not conclusive statement made by the VAN DE VELDE who was travelling in that region in 1853. Following the same route as the 15th-century traveller already referred to (p. 137 n. 3) who passed by *Beygimel*, VAN DE VELDE records that near Beit Nattīf, which is situated to the south of Beit Jimāl (plate xii), he passed an Arab hamlet named after St. Stephen.[1] His informant was presumably a Christian of a village to the north of Beit Jimāl, Deir Abān, which was still Christian at that time.[2] This passing reference is the more significant since neither he nor anybody else had then raised the question of identifying St. Stephen's burial place, Caphar Gamala. May it not have been the last echo of a local Christian tradition which has since died out?

NICODEMUS.

This Greek name has no literal translation in Aramaic or Hebrew which could be considered as the acknowledged form.[3] Nicodemus,

[1] *Reis door Syrie en Palestine in 1851 en 1852*, Utrecht, 1844, p. 187.

[2] The rural boundaries of Beit Jimāl and Deir Abān still run together. Deir Abān remained a purely Christian village until the second half of the 19th century, when most of the inhabitants embraced Islām. Those who still clung to the faith of their fathers then left the village and settled in the Christian villages of Ramallah and Beit Jāla, but they still acknowledge relationship with the Moslem branches of their families who continue to live in Deir Abān.

The last Orthodox priest of Deir Abān died some 125 years ago in ʿAin ʿArīk. The last Christian generation in Deir Abān had no village priest.

[3] The well-known Jerusalem family of Nicodème is not of Arab origin. No persons with that Christian name are known to the writer in Palestine. But the Hebrew form of Nakdemon is met with in Palestine, conforming to

"a ruler of the Jews", is mentioned twice in the New Testament as taking the side of our Lord.[1] But he was not such a personality as to command the unqualified approval of the other members of the Sanhedrin, who objected to his ideas about Christ.[2] A later Jewish tradition asserts that he was buried by Gamaliel.[3]

Unlike the name of the Protomartyr which is popular in the Near East,[4] the name of Nicodemus is rarely met with among oriental Christians.[5]

ABIBON.

This son of Gamaliel, who is mentioned in the letter as having been buried near his father, has a Semitic name. It corresponds to the Aramaic *Ḥabīb(a)* (Philotheus, Theophilus) and forms the feminine in Arabic (*Ḥabībe*).[6] The Oriental Churches have a great number of saints bearing this name. There is, e.g. a saint and martyr Abibo of the sixth century venerated by the Georgian Church.[7] The Coptic martyrologion honours on the 25th Bābah, (corresponding in 1939 to the 5th November, N. S.) a certain Abibo, a monk of the 4th century.[8] The Nestorian Church has a bishop *Ḥabība* of Pushang[9] (the present-day Gōriyān, west of Herāt), who flourished about 585; and the anachorete *Ḥabība* of the monastery Kardu (= Cordyene), who with his brother performed

the Talmudic form of Naqdimōn, נקדימון. Josephus, *Antiquities* IV, iii, 2, mentions a certain Nicodemus among the ambassadors of Aristobulos to Pompey. The name occurs also in the *Acta Pilati*, published in the 16th century under the title of *Evangelium Nicodemi*.

[1] St. John 7^{50-51}, 3^{1}, and 19^{39}.

[2] The comparatively recent theory to identify him with Nakdemon b. Gorion rests on very weak foundations, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s. v.

[3] SCHUERER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, (4th edition), vol. ii, pp. 430 ff.

[4] Cf. e.g. the name of seven families in Jerusalem alone, belonging to the different Christian communities.

[5] There is a Greek Monastery in the Old City, of Jerusalem, behind the Flagellation, under this name (known also as Deir el-ʿAdas), which belonged formerly to the Jacobite Syrians.

[6] Cf. KLEIN, *Corpus*, p. 30, No. 32, where the name *ḥbb* may tentatively be vocalized as Ḥabīb. This inscription is Palmyrene. See F.-M. ABEL, 'Tombeaux et ossuaires juifs...' in *Revue Biblique*, N. S., x, 1913, p. 268.

[7] Cf. BAUDRILLART, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastique*, vol. I, col. 116.

[8] BAUDRILLART, *op. cit.*, col. 117.

[9] *Op. cit.* where another Nestorian bishop Ḥabib of Rhages is mentioned. Cf. also CHABOT, *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 423 and p. 10, note 2; BAUDRILLART, *op. cit.*, col. 119. He is the Metropolitan whom Mar Yaballāha III visited on his journey, cf. E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Book of Governors*: The Historia Monastica of Thomas of Marga, ii, 494, where other distinguished holders of that name are mentioned on pp. 252 and 649.

miracles in the Iōnān mountains.[1] The Jacobite Church venerates seventeen bishops called *Ḥabība*, the most famous amongst them being the successor of James Baradaeus (688–708)).[2] One of the epithets of the Prophet Muḥammad is *al-Ḥabīb*, the Beloved. Altough this name was formerly in vogue with Moslems[3] its use nowadays has been practically monopolized in the Near East by Christians (and some oriental Jews).

SELEMIA

This son of Gamaliel is stated in the Letter of Lucian to have preferred to remain with his mother Edna. Assuming Selemia to be a metathesis of Semelia, earlier writers have identified this name with Ishmael, the Arabic form of which is Ismāʿīl. Without dwelling too much on such a coincidence, it may be stated that the *wely* in Beit Jimāl bears the name of Sheikh Ismāʿīn. He may or may not be the successor of the Selemia, or Semelia, of the neighbouring ruin called Khirbet Umm Ṣāmil or Khirbet Umm aṣ-Ṣamal (Khirbet Umm aṣ-Ṣamad on the Government map, plate xii).[4] Incidentally, prayers are still offered at this *maqām*.

EDNA

There are no remains *in situ* which would clearly indicate in one way or another Edna,[5] the wife of Gamaliel, unless one may consider her "name" to be perpetuated in the locality known as Khirbet *Umm Ṣāmil*, where she is "mentioned" simply as the "Mother of Selemia". The form *Edna* is Hebrew, and GESENIUS–BUHL's *Dictionary* notes a hierodule of that name in ʿAmmān.[6]

[1] BAUDRILLART, *op. cit.*, col. 119.

[2] *Op. cit.*, col. 118. Also *Revue de l' Orient Chrétien*, vol. V, 1900, p. 628. where they are mentioned between the end of the 8th and 12th centuries.

[3] Cf., e. g., Ḥabīb b. Aus, better known as Abu Tammām, the poet and anthologist (1st part of the 9th century); Ḥabīb b. Maslama of the clan of Fihr one of the Companions and a famous general of the Umayyads, to whom tradition ascribes the conquest of Armenia. The Umayyad prince Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd-il-Malik, (of Spain), died 778 A D., and Habīb b. al-Muhallab, who revolted with his brother against the Umayyads and died A.D. 720 in ʿIrāq. Habīb an-Najjār, the Saint of Antioch, is identical with Agapius of Acts 11 $^{27.30}$. The best known bearer of this name in modern history is Ḥabībullāh Khān of Afghānistān. The form used in ancient Egyptian epithets for the Pharaoh as being the "Beloved of Horus" or the "Beloved of the Gods" is another form of this popular epithet. which was used as a personal name also in other parts of the ancient Near East.

[4] Cf. *JPOS.* xvii (1937), p. 47, note 3. Another instance of alternative forms is Deir Dibwān (Government 1 : 100,000 map, Jerusalem sheet), or Deir Diwān (P. E. F. map, sheet xvii).

[5] עדנה. Cf. also e. g., 2 Chron. 17^{14}; and Ezra 10^{30}.

[6] *Op. cit.*, s.v., p. 567.

The nearest Arabic name to this form is *Adma* (with a *mīm*, and without a *ʿain*, though the two names have no common Semitic root). It is still used in Syria and Palestine, but no corresponding modern Coptic form can be cited. It may have been borrowed from the Aramaic—though this hypothesis cannot be proved and is only offered as suggestion—or, more probably, it was derived directly from the Arabic *dumyā*, "picture",[1] indicating beauty in general.[2]

In conclusion, as grounds for the identification of Beit Jimāl with Caphar Gamala, the burial-place of St. Stephen, it is suggested:

a) that a monastery existed at Caphar Gamala under the name of Deir Iklīl (or Kelīla), the Aramaic form of Stephen;

b) that Yāqūt means this when he refers to Deir al-Khill;

c) that his Deir al-Khill was on the same site as Beit Jimāl, where

d) the name Deir al-Khill eventually gave way to the older Beth Gamala, which by the fifteenth century at latest assumed its modern form Beit Jimāl, but

e) that some memory of the burial of St. Stephen was preserved in local Christian tradition, which may be traced down to the middle of the last century, while

f) the associated site of Caphar Selemia[3] is indicated by the neighbouring ruin still known as Khirbet Umm Ṣāmil.

Finally, as an illustration of Lucian's story, it may be added that the invention of saints' tombs through dreams was not unheard of even as late as the end of the 17th century, as is proved by the case of the wely Sheikh Ḥarb of Dārayya (about ten kilometres south-west of Damascus). This story is related at length by Sheikh ʿAbdu-l-Ghani an-Nābulusi in his *riḥla* to Jerusalem, under the first day of the journey (Monday, 28th March 1690).[4] It offers certain parallels to the story of the discovery of St. Stephen's place of burial as told in the letter of Lucian of Caphar Gamala.

[1] This is also a loanword according to FRAENKEL, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 272: who quotes PAYNE SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, p. 913.

[2] This is not so isolated a case as one might believe, for even in German a picture was originally taken to be the prototype of beauty in the proverbial saying *bildhübsch, bildschön*, applied to beautiful persons; *ein Bild von einem Mädchen*, "a perfect beauty of a girl". Cf. also the similar English expression "quite a picture", which has its parallel in the Turkish *tasvir gibi*, "handsome as a picture", while ugliness may be rendered in that language as *ṣuretsiz* "without shape" (lit. without "picture", or countenance), reminding one of Isaiah 53[2].

[3] The occurrence of similar place-names even as far afield as Salamya, east of Ḥimṣ, shows their doubtless Aramaic origin.

[4] MS. in the Khālidiyya Library, Jerusalem.

MAQRĪZĪ'S TREATISE "*ḌAU' AS-SĀRĪ*" ON THE TAMĪMĪ WAQF IN HEBRON

CHARLES D. MATTHEWS

(BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA)

INTRODUCTION

Having worked now several years on manuscripts chiefly relating to Palestine, principally from the Landberg Collection at Yale University,[1] I offer herewith an edition of the *Kitāb Ḍau' as-Sārī li-Maʿrifat Khabar Tamīm ad-Dārī*, by the noted Mameluke historian, Taqiyy ud-Dīn AL-MARQRĪZI (1364–1442 A.D.).

The treatise includes not only several accounts of the reputed grant of territory by Mohammed to Tamīm ad-Darī and his associates (pp. 159–166, 173–4), but also a chapter on provisions for operation of the *waqf* which the property apparently became after the Crusades (pp. 174, 179), a form of the interesting *Jassāsa* legend (pp. 154 ff.), and other material connecting Tamīm ad-Dārī (the famous انصارى اصليًا من النصارى) (pp. 166 ff.) with occasions for Qur'ānic revelation.

This edition was made on basis of a microfilm copy of MS.III in Count Landberg's handlist,[2] collated with MS. Leiden Or. Warn. (IV, Cat. Cod. Orient. V, p. 100), by means of a photostatic copy.

The Bibliotheque Nationale has a third text (DE SLANE'S *Catalogue*, No. 4657, 5), among fifteen opuscules of Maqrīzī. The Paris text is of the 18th century, the Yale of the 17th, and the Leiden of the 15th.

[1] See:- "Palestine -- Holy Land of Islam," *JBL*, LI part II, 1932 pp. 171–8.

"The *Kitāb Bāʿith an-Nufūs*, of Ibn al-Firkāḥ," *JPOS*, XIV, 4, 1934, pp. 284–93, and XV, 1–2, 1935, pp. 51–87.

"*Qāʿida fī Ziyārat Beit al Maqdis*: A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taimīyeh) on the 'Merits' of Jerusalem and Palestine," *JAOS*, vol. 56, No. 1. 1936, pp. 1–21.

"The *Muthīr al Gharām* of Abu 'l-Fidā' of Hebron," *JPOS*, XVII, 2, 1937, pp. 108–37, and XVII, 3–4, 1937, pp. 149–208.

An edition of the Princeton *Muthīr* (see below, intro.) is in progress.

[2] The Landberg Collection is now being catalogued by Dr. LEON NEMOY, of the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, under supervision of Professor CHARLES C. TORREY.

Both *Y* (Yale) and *L* (Leiden) have been extensively annotated in the margins by correctors, whose colophons are given at the end. Their learned comments are sometimes of no more value than my own, but at times they give essential corrections and interesting references. Some of the jottings are unclear, and have had to be queried in the notes below.

Y was evidently rebound and trimmed, for some of the notations are partially cut away. *Y* is much worm-eaten, especially at center and edges.

Not all unimportant points have been indicated, as in the case of different conjunctions and for other slight differences. Especially is this true of the frequent absence of diacritical points in *L*. And ـد ع has generally been used for abbreviation of phrase of respect after all genders and numbers. Other abbreviations will be clear.

This interesting document on Tamīm ad-Dārī and the Tamīmī *waqf* may be a welcome addition to the sources on the subject mentioned by LE STRANGE in his indispensable *Palestine under the Moslems* (pp. 1–13), and by CAETANI in his monumental *Annali dell' Islam* (II/i. 288, and esp. § 69). For neither refers to this work by Maqrīzī or to the *Bāʿith an-Nufūs*, and only LE STRANGE to the *Muthīr* of Abu 'l-Fida' on Hebron (noted above). I cite from CAETANI, II, p. 291: MIEDNIKOFF, I, 328–363, who, he says, gives a long and minute critique of the tradition of grant of land by Mohammed to the Tamīmī family, and refers to many other edited and unedited texts on the subject. Further references to LE STRANGE and CAETANI, are too lengthy for inclusion here.

But it is worth while to cite again (as in the edition of the *Bāʿith an-Nufūs*, p. 292, note 1): F.A. KRENKOW, "The Grant of Land by Muhammad to Tamīm ad-Dārī," *Islamica*, I, 1924–25, pp. 529–32. The lamented Prof. L. BILLIG gave me on the streets of Jerusalem in the year 1933–4 his card with pencilled notation of KOWALSKI and GOTTSCHALK. This I have not been able to follow up.

This edition is presented with diffidence. For the final work has necessarily been done far from reference materials. Engagament with the Princeton *Muthīr* (by Jamāl or Shihāb or Bahāʿ ud-Dīn al-Maqdisī; cf. LE STRANGE, p. 11), and with the Yale *Kitāb al-Bāʾ ʿala-bakīyeh* of Ibn Taimīyya, in connection with the second

Oriental Seminar at Princeton University in the of 1938, prevented completion there of the task begun several years ago. Therefore personal names and titles of several books mentioned have not been certified beyond collation where possible in the texts employed.

But I have had advantage of the kindness of Dr. EDWARD JURJI, of the Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton, in looking over the text. Thanks are gladly given also to the libraries of Yale and Leiden for the text materials, and to the former for permission to publish.

Finally, I am indebted to Dr. NEMOY for supplying, from his vantage point of work with the Yale Landbery Collection itself, the following: *Y* is of size $20^1/_2$x15 cm. It belonged to the renowned scholar Ramaḍān Ḥalāwa (See latter part of note 1, and first part of note 5, p. 179 [30] I had read from the relatively unclear projecting process Ḥallāq). The corrections and annotations in *L* (see note 5, p. 179 [30] on corrector's colophon) were made by the hand of Maqrīzī himself. And it is likely, as appears from the copyist's colophon of *Y* was copied from *L*. For reference to *L*, it may be of use to add to what is given above, that it is No. 1080 in the Leiden catalogue by DE GOEJE and JUYNBOLL.

تأليف الشيخ العالم العلامة والحبر الحجة الفهامة
وحيد دهره وفريد عصره تقي الدين
احمد بن علي المقريزي الشافعي
تغمده الله برحمته وكاتبه
والمسلمـــين
آمـين[1]

كتاب ضوء الساري لمعرفة خبر تميم الداري

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *وهو حسبي الحمـد لله على نعمائه وصلى الله وسلم عـلى نبينا محمد خاتم انبيائه وعلى آله وصحبه اجمعين وتابعي هديهم الى يوم الدين[2]

وبعده فهذه مقالة وجيزة[3] وتحفة سنية عزيزة[3] سميتها ضوء الساري لمعرفة خبر تميم الداري (رض)[4] والله أسأل التوفيق الى سواء الطريق بمنه وكرمه

فصل

اتفق جميـع فرق الاسلام وسائر اهل الـكتاب من اليهـود والنصارى على ان نسم جميـع الانس على اختلاف اجناسهم مخلوقـــة من آدم (عم) قال الله تعالى[5]

[1] Beg. of L: Title, fol. by — تاليف الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة الحبر الحجة الحافظ وحيد دهره وفريد عصره تقي الدين ابى محمد وابى العباس احمـد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد ابى ميمر بن محمـد بن تميم المقريزي الشافعي عامله الله بلطفه المغني امين. The evid. inserted. المغني
Y. Has on title page, between title and stamp: حـلاوة [؟] — ملك الفقـير رمضان وعفى عنه وعن المسلمين في ١٠ ربيع الاول سنة ١٣٠٠ من الهجرة الميمونة على صاحبها اتم الصلاة واكمل السلام.

[2] L. o. first two words; remainder inserted by correcting hand, between بسم الخ رب يسر يا كريم at top of page, and وبعده.

[3] L وحيرة and عزيرة. L omits many diacritical points.

[4] L corrector, margin. [5] L o. تعالى; Sūra iv. 1.

جلت قدرته يا ايها الناس اتقوا ربكم الذي خلقكم من نفس واحـــدة وخلق منها زوجها وبث منهما رجالا كثيرا ونساء وقال تعالى[1] يا ايها الناس انا خلقناكم من ذكر وانثى وجعلناكم شعوباً وقبائل لتعارفوا واجمعوا مع ذلك على ان نوحا (عم) هو الاب الثاني وان العقب من آدم (عم) انحصر فيه فليس احـد من بني ادم الا وهو من ولد نوح (عم) واهل الهند واهل الصين لا يقرون بذلك ويقول بعضهم ان الطوفان لم يحدث سوى في اقليم بابل وما وراءه من البلاد الغربية فقط فان ولد كيومرت[2] الذي هو عنـدهم آدم كانوا بالشرق فـلم يصلهم الطوفان ولذلك اهل الصين والهند لا يعرفون الطوفان والله اصدق القائلين قال سبحانه وتعالى[3] ولقـد نادانا نوح فَلَنِعْمَ المجيبون ونجيناه واهله من الـكرب العظيم وجعلنـــا ذريته هم الباقين فهذا قول الله تعالى ومن اصدق من الله قيلا

واجمعوا مع ذلك ان العقب من نوح (عم) انحصر في اولاده الثلاثة وهم سام وحام ويافث وان العرب بأسرها من ولد سام بن نوح (عم) واتفق علماء النسب عـلى ان العرب من ولد يعرب بن قحطان وان العرب قسمان القسم الاول العرب العاربة وهم العرب العرباء وارادوا المبالغة في العربية وكانوا في الزمن الغابر والدهر القديم فطالت مددهم في الحيـــاة وامتدت مملكتهم في جميع المعمور من الارض وبنوا مدينة الاسكندرية وهرمَيْ مصر وسمرقند وافريقية وعـــدة مدائن بالمشرق والمغرب وعمروا الافاً كثـــيرة من السنين وعظمت خلقتهم كما ذكرت ذلك في كتاب [4]الخبر عن البشر[4] وهو المدخل الى كتاب[5] امتـاع الاسماع بما للرسول من الانبـاء والاحوال والحفـدة والمتاع (صلعم) والقسم الثاني العرب المستعربة وهم بنو اسمعيل بن ابراهيم الخليل (عم) واتفقوا مع ذلك على ان العرب ترجع بأسرها الى قحطان وعدنان فيقال لسائر قحطان اليمن ويقـــال لسائر بني عدنان المضربة والنزارية وهي قيس فاذاً العرب قيس ويمن واتفقوا ايضاً عـــلى ان العرب ست

[1] Sūra ixl. 13.

[2] كيومرت Gaya Maretan of Iranian mythology; the Gayōmart (Gaiú Mart) of Firdausi, *Shāhnāmeh*, I, 120. See *The Mythology of* All *Rosen*, VI pp. 293 f., p. 296. [3] Sura xxxvii. 73 f. [4] L corrector, margin.

[5] I regret my inability to obtain references for these and other books.

طبقات شعب *بفتح الشين المعجمة[1] وقبيلة وعمارة بفتح العين المهملة[1] وبطن ونخذ وفصيلة وما بينهما من الآباء يعرفها اهلها كما قد بيّنتُه[2] بيانا شافيا في كتاب المدخل وفي كتاب[3] عقد جواهر الاسفاط من اخبار مدينة الفسطاط واذا تقرر ذلك فاعلم ان يعرُبَ بن قحطان بن عابر بن شالح بن ارفخشد بن سام بن نوح (عم) على خلاف في نسب قحطان تشعبت منه بطون حِمْيَر وكهلان ابنا سبا بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان وانفرد بنو حمير بالملك فكان منهم التبابعة اهل الدول المشهورة وفي حمير عدة بطون قد ذكرناها بحمد الله ذكرا شافيا فيما تقدم ذكره وتداول بنو كهلان الملك في اول امرهم ثم انفرد بنو حمير به دونهم[4] وبقيت بطون بني كهلان تحت مملكتهم باليمن فلما ذهب ريح حمير بقيت الرئاسة على العرب البادية لبني كهلان فلم يَرْأس ولا تأمَّر في العرب الا من كان منهم على ما بيناه هناك

واعلم ان شعوب كهلان باسرها انشعبت من زيد بن كهلان في مالك وعريب ابنيْ زيد بن كهلان *فمن مالك بن زيد بن كهلان[1] بطن همدان باسكان الميم بن مالك بن زيد بن اوسلة بن ربيعة بن الخيار بن مالك بن زيد بن كهلان وهم اعظم قبائل اليمن ومن مالك ايضا الازد وهو دَرْأُ بن الغوث بن نبت بن مالك ومنه خثعم وبجيلة ابنا أنمار بن اِراش اخي الازد بن الغوث فالازد بطن عظيم متسع ذو شعوب كثيرة وخثعم وبجيلة بطون عديدة ايضا ومن عريب بن زيد بن كهلان طيّ والاشعريون ومذحج وبنو مُرّة واربعتهم بنو ادَد بن زيد بن يشجب بن عريب بن زيد بن كهلان ومن بطون مذحج واسمه مالك بن ادد بن عنس بالنون ومراد واسمه نخابر بن مذحج وسعد العشيرة بن مذحج وهو بطن عظيم لهم شعوب كثيرة منهم جُعْفي بن سعد العشيرة وزُبَيْد بن صعب بن سعد العشيرة ومن بطون مذحج النخع ورها ومَسْلِيَة وبنو الحرث[5] بن كعب فاما النخع فهو ابن عمرو بن عُلَة بن جَلْد بن مذحج فاما مَسْلية فهو ابن عامر بن عمر بن علة بن جلد بن مذحج

[1] L. corrector, margin. [2] L. عنته.
[3] I regret my inability to obtain references for these and other books.
[4] Margin Y: اي دولنهم. [5] L الحارث; below, الحرث.

واما رُها فهو ابن مُنْيَة بن حرب بن علة بن مذحج واما بنو الحرث فابوهم الحرث بن كعب بن علة المذكور

فقد ذكرنا فيما تقدم من الكتابين هذه البطون كلها والغرض هنا انما هو ذكر بني مرّة بن ادد إخوة طي ومذحج والاشعريين فانهم اصل لخم وهم عدة بطون كلها تنتهي الى الحرث بن مرة وهم خولان والمعافر ولخم وجذام وعليلة[1] وكندة فالمعافر[2] بنو يعفر بن مالك بن الحرث بن مرة وخولان اسمه إفْكِل بن عمرو بن مالك فعمرو هو اخو[3] يعفر وهم وهمدان في زماننا اعظم قبائل اليمن ولهما الغلب والكثرة واما لخم فاسمه مالك بن عدى بن الحرث بن مرة بن ادد بن الغوث بن نبت بن مالك بن زيد بن كهلان وقيل لخم بن عدى بن مرة بن ادد بن مهسع بن عمرو بن عريب بن يشجب بن زيد بن كهلان بن سبا وهو بطن كبير متسع ذو شعوب وقبائل منهم الدار بن هاني بن حبيب بن نمارة بن لخم فمنهم تميم بن اوس بن خارجة بن سود ويقال سواد اصح[4] ابن حذيفة[5] بن ذراع *بفتح الذال المعجمة[6] بن عدى بن الدار بن هاني بن حبيب بن نمارة بن لخم بن عدى[7] ابو رقية الداري[8] *رقيه هنا بضم[6] الراء المهملة وفتح القاف وتشديد الياء اخر الحروف الصحابي (رض) روى عنه النبي (صلعم) حديث الجساسة وروى عنه[9] عبد الله بن عباس وانس بن مالك وابو هريرة وعبد الله بن وهب وقبيصة بن ذُؤيْب على ما قيل وسُليم[10] بن عامر وشُرحْبيل بن مسلم وعبد الرحمن بن غنم وعطاء بن زيد الليثي وروح بن زنباع وكثير بن ضمرة ووبرة بن عبد الرحمن وزرارة بن اوفى والازهر

1 L وعاملة. 2 L + هم. 3 Y ابو.

4 L, margin: وسواد اصح. 5 L حذيمة (Y so? or حذيفة ?)

6 L corrector, margin.

7 Margin Y: نسخة اسد الغابة حذيمة وفي بعض طرقه جذيمة بالجيم والذال. L has in margin something like بلع, orig. hand.

8 Margin Y: زاد بعده في اسد الغابة ابن عمرو بن سبا ورقية ابنته اشتهر بكنيته بها.

9 Margin Y: اي سمع منه. L omits.

10 Margin Y: نسخة اسد الغابة سليمان, with a word following I cannot read, like فلي.

بن عبـــد الله (رض) وطائفـــة كثيرة وخرّج له مسلم في صحيحه وابو داود والترمذي والنسائي وابن ماجه

واما حديث الجساسة[1] فخرجه الامام ابو الحسين *مسلم بن الحجاج القُشَيْري (رح) من طريق الحسين[2] بن ذكوان قال يا ابن بُريدة قال حـــدّثني عامر بن شرحبيل الشعبي شعب همدان انه سأل فاطمة بنت قيس اخت الضحاك بن قيس وكانت من المهاجرات الاول فقـال حدّثيني حديثا سمعته من رسول الله (صلعم) لا تسنديه الى احد غيره فقالت لئن شئتَ لافعلن فقال لهـــا اجَلْ حدثيني فقالت نكحت ابن المغيرة وهو من خيار شباب قريش يومئذ فأصيب في اول الجهاد مـع رسول الله (صلعم) فلما تأيّمتُ خطبني عبد الرحمن بن عوف في نفر من اصحـاب محمد (صلعم) وخطبني رسول الله (صلعم) على مولاه اسامـة بن زيد وكنت قـد حدثتُ ان رسول الله (صلعم) قال من احبني فليحب اسامـة فلما كلمني رسول الله (صلعم) قلت امري بيدك فانكحني من شئت فقـــال اُنتقلي الى ام شريك وام شريك إمرأة غنية من الانصار عظيمة النفقة في سبيل الله تنزل عليها الضيفان فقلت سأفعل فقـــال لا تفعلي ان ام شريك كثيرة الضيفان فاني اكره ان يسقط عنكِ خمارك او ينكشف الثوب عن ساقك فـيرى القوم منك بعض ما تكرهين ولـكن انتقلي الى ابن عمك عبـد الله بن عمرو بن[3] ام مكتوم وهـو رجل من بني فهر فهر[2] قريش وهو من البطن التي[4] هي منه فانتقلت اليه فلما انقضت عدّتي سمعت المنادي منادي رسول الله (صلعم) ينادي الصلاة جامعة[5] فخرجت الى المسجد فصليت مع رسول الله وكنت في صف النساء الذي يلي ظهر القوم فلما قضى رسول الله (صلعم)

1 الجساسة — Lane, S. 423, with refs. to Leyth b. Naṣr b. Seiyár, author of the *ʿAyn*, or *Kitāb Leyth*; *Qāmus*, and *Lisān al-ʿArab*. *Lisān*, Bulāq, 1st edn., VII, 337: والجساسة دابة في جزائر البحر تجس الاخبار تأتي بها الدجال زعموا وفي حديث تميم الداري انا [إنّ ؟] الجساسة يعني الدابة التي رآها في جزيرة البحر وانما سميت بذلك لانها تجس الاخبار للدجال. LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, many refs., esp. pp. 286–292, and to Yāqūt, ii, 934; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭlāʿ*; i, 514. WHERRY, IV, 317: "Jasūa (Al). The beast which will appear at the approach of the last day, [Sura] xxvii. 84." (other refs, WENSINCK, *Handbook*, p. 50.) 2 L corrector, margin.

3 L + ابن. 4 L o., though corrector's sign in place, above line.

5 Y and L, margin: نصبت الصلاة على الاغرا. وجامعه على الحال.

صلاته جلس على المنبر وهو يضحك فقال ليلزم كل انسان مصلاّهُ ثم قال اتدرون لِمَ جمعتكم فقالوا الله ورسوله اعلم قال اني والله ما جمعتكم لرغبة ولا رهبة ولكن جمعتكم لان تميماً الداري كان رجلا نصرانيا فجاء وبايع واسلم وحدثني حديثاً وافق الذي كنت احدثكم عن مسيح الدجال حدثني انه ركب في سفينة بحرية مع ثلاثين رجلا من لخم وجذام فلعبت بهم الموج شهراً في البحر ثم أرفوا[1] الى جزيرة في البحر حيث مغرب الشمس فجلسوا في أقرُب السفينة فدخلوا الجزيرة فلقيتهم دابة اهلب كثير الشعر لا يدرون ما قُبُله من دُبُره[2] من كثرة الشعر

فقالوا ويلك ما انت قالت الجساسة قالوا وما الجساسة قالت ايها القوم أنطلقوا الى هذا الرجل في الدير فانه الى خبركم بالاشواق قال فلما سمت لنا رجلا فرقنا[3] منها ان تكون شيطانة فانطلقنا سراعا حتى دخلنا الدير فاذا فيه اعظم انسان رأينا قط خلقا واشدّه وثاقا مجموعة يداه الى عنقه ما بين ركبتيه بالحديد الى كعبيه قلنا ويلك ما انت قال قد قدرتم على خبري فاخبروني ما انتم قالوا نحن اناس من العرب ركبنا بسفينة بحرية فصادفنا البحر حين اغتلم[4] فلعب بنا الموج شهراً ثم أرفأنا الى جزيرتك هذه فجلسنا في اقربنا فدخلنا الجزيرة فلقيتنا دابة اهلب كثير الشعر لا يدري ما قبله من دبره من كثرة الشعر فقلنا ويلك ما انت قالت انا الجساسة قلنا وما الجساسة قالت أعبروا الى هذا الرجل في الدير[5] فانه الى خبركم بالاشواق فاقبلنا اليك سراعا وفزعنا منها ولم نأمن ان تكون شيطاناً[6]

قال اخبروني عن نخل بيسان قلنا عن اي شأنها تستخبر قال اسألكم عن نخلها هل يثمر فقلنا له نعم قال اما انها يوشك ان لا تثمر قال اخبروني عن بحيرة طبرية قلنا عن اي شأنها تستخبر قال هل فيها ماء قالوا هي كثيرة الماء قال اما انها يوشك

1 For ارفؤوا.

2 Cf. sayings: ما له في هذا قبلة ولا دِبرَة. لا يعرف قبيلا من دبير; Y and L., margin: اهلب يعني غليظ الشعر كثيره.

3 Y and L, margins: فرقنا يعني خفنا.

4 Y and L. margins: اغتلم يعني هاج.

5 Y o.

6 Y, margin: تقدم قبله شيطانة بالماء فانظره.

ان يذهب قال اخبروني عن عين زُغَر[1] قالوا عن اي شأنها تستخبر قال هل في العين ماء وهل يزرع اهلها بماء العين قلنا له نعم هي كثيرة الماء واهلها يزرعون من مائها قال اخبروني عن نبي الاميين ما فعل قالوا خرج من مكة ونزل يثرب قال اقاتله العرب قلنا نعم قال كيف صنع بهم فاخبرناه انه قد ظهر على من يليه من العرب واطاعوه قال لهم[3] قد كان ذلك قلنا له نعم قال اما ان ذلك خير لهم ان يطيعوه واني مخبركم عني اني انا المسيح[4] واني اوشك ان يؤذن لي في الخروج فأخرج فاسير في الارض فلا ادع قرية الا هبطتها في اربعين ليلة الا مكة وطيبة[5] فهما محرمتان عليّ كلتاهما كلما اردت ان ادخل واحدة او واحدا منها استقبلني ملك بيده السيف صلتاً يصدّني عنها وان على كل نَقْب منها ملائكة يحرسونها

قال[ت] قال رسول الله (صلعم) وطعن بمخصرته[6] في المنبر هذه طيبة هذه طيبة يعني المدينة الا هل كنت احدثكم ذلك فقال الناس نعم قال فانه اعجبني حديث تميم انه وافق الذي كنت احدثكم عنه وعن المدينة ومكة الا انه في بحر الشام وبحر اليمن لا بل من قبل المشرق ما هو من قبل المشرق ما هو من قبل المشرق ما هو واوما بيده الى المشرق قالت فحفظت هذا من رسول الله (صلعم)

وقد خرّج مسلم هذا الحديث من طرق وهو معدود في مناقب تميم الداري (رض) لان النبي (صلعم) روى عنه هذه القصة وهي من باب رواية الفاضل عن المفضول والمتبوع عن تابعه وفيها دليل على قبول خبر الواحد والجساسة بفتح الجيم وتشديد السين المهملة الاولى سميت بذلك لأنها تتجسس الاخبار للدجال

[1] See LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, many refs., esp. pp. 286–92, incl. an extract of Yāqūt's account of the Jassāsa tradition (ii, 934). also = سقر and صغر, = Degor of the Crusader chronicles. Y, margins: زغر بالزاي (sic) والغين المعجمتين اخره مهملة بوزن زغر بلدة بالشام سميت باسم زغر بنت سيدنا لوط (عص) بما نزلت بها, زغر بلد بالجانب القبلي من الشام. L., margin: and [?] بزغر بلد بالحاسة which supports LE STRANGE's contention that the Arab geographers all place Zughar *south* of the Dead Sea. [2] Y repeats. [3] Y, margin: لعله لنا.

[4] Y, margin: بالمهملة على الصحيح لانه ممسوح جدا لعيسى لعنه الله.

[5] Y and L., margin: طيبة هي المدينة النبوية. L., above, هبطها.

[6] Y, margin: قضيب او عنزة يشير به الخطيب الى الناس اذا خطبهم وهي بكسر الميم وفتح الصاد المهملة بعد الخاء المعجمة.

وعن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص (رض) انها دابة الارض المذكورة في القرآن وفاطمة ابنة قيس من خالد الاكبر بن وهب بن ثعلبة بن واثلة بن عمرو بن شيبان ابن محارب بن فهر القرشية الفهرية احدى[1] المهاجرات الاول الجميلات العاقلات النبيلات كانت عند ابي عمرو بن حفص بن المغيرة *ويقال ابو عمرو بن حفص بن عمرو بن المغيرة[2] بن عبد الله بن عمرو بن مخزوم المخزومي القرشي واسمه عبد الحميد وقيل احمد كنيته فطلقها لما بعثه رسول الله (صلعم) مع علي بن ابي طالب (رض) حين وجهه (صلعم) اميراً على اليمن وبعث اليها تطليقة وهي بقية طلاقها ثم مات هنالك مع علي بن ابي طالب (رض) فتأيمت اي صارت أيما وهي التي لا زوج لها فخطبها معاوية وابو جهم بن حذيفة فاستشارت النبي (صلعم) فيهما فاشار عليها باسامة بن زيد فتزوجته

*وذكر البخاري في التأريخ انه عاش الى خلافة عمر (رض)[3] وقولها فاصيب ليس معناه انه قتل في الجهاد مع النبي (صلعم) وتأيمت بذلك بل انما تايمت بطلاقة البائن ويكون معنى فاصيب بجراحة[4] او اصيب في ماله او نحو ذلك وارادت عد فضائله فابتدأت بكونه خير شباب قريش ثم ذكرت الباقي وقوله وام شريك من الانصار انكر هذا بعضهم وقوله انما هي قرشية من بني عامر بن لؤي واسمها غزية وقيل غزيلة وذهب اخرون الى انهما ثنتان قرشية وانصارية فالقرشية العامرية هي ام شريك غزية بنت دودان بن عوف بن عمرو بن عامر بن رواحة بن ضباب بن حجير ويقال حجر بن عبد بن معيص بن عامر بن لؤي *وقيل بل هي ام شريك بنت عوف بن جابر بن ضباب بن حجير بن عبد بن معيص بن عامر بن لؤي[5]

وهي التي وهبت نفسها للنبي (صلعم) على خلاف في ذلك قد ذكرته في كتاب امتاع الاسماع بما للرسول من الانباء والاحوال والحَفَدَة والمتاع (صلعم) عند ذكر ازواج رسول الله (صلعم) واما ام شريك الانصارية فمن بني النجار ولم

1 L احد. 2 Y o. Margin has: وقيل اسمه احمد قاله في اسد الغابة.

3 L corrector, margin.

4 I. بحراجة (sic). Y has معناه, near beginning of sentence, in margin, across page from where it is, confused, in text. 5 L o.

يذكرها ابن عبد البرّ وانما روى الحاكم في المستدرك من طريق محمد بن اسحق ثنا ابو الاشعث ثنا زهير بن العلاء ثنا سعيد بن ابي عروبة عن قتادة قال تزوج رسول الله (صلعم) *ام شريك[1] الانصارية من *بني النجار[1] قال اني احب ان اتزوج في الانصار ثم قال اني اكره غيرتهنّ فلم يدخل بها

وقوله انتقلي الى ابن[2] عمك عبد الله بن عمرو بن ام مكتوم وهو رجل من بني فهر فهر قريش وهو من البطن الذي هي منه ابن ام مكتوم صفة لعبد الله لا لعمرو فانه عبد الله بن ام مكتوم وهي امه فينسب تارةً الى ابيه عمرو وتارة ينسب الى امه ام مكتوم فينبغي انه[3] يكتب في قولنا ابن ام مكتوم بالف في ابن وفي قولنا هذا اشكال فان ابن ام مكتوم من بني عامر بن لؤي فاطمة بنت قيس من بني محارب بن فهر فكيف يكون ابن عمها وانها من البطن الذي هو دون القبيلة والمراد انه ابن عمها مجازا لكونه من قبيلتها وفيه نظر

وقوله ثم ارفؤا الى جزيرة هو بالهمزة يقال رفاء السفينة بالهمزة[4] يرفوها رفاء ادناها من الشط وهو المرفاء وقوله فجلسوا في اقرب السفينة هو بضمّ الراء المهملة فقد اختلف فيه فقيل المراد باقرب قارب وهي السفينة الصغيرة التي تكون مع الكبيرة يتصرّف فيها ركاب السفينة لقضاء حوائجهم الجمع قوارب والواحد[5] قارب بكسر الراء وفتحها وجاء هنا اقرُب وهو صحيح لكنه خلاف القياس وقيل المراد باقرب السفينة أخرياتها وما[2] قرب منها للنزول وقوله دابة اهلب كثير الشعر الاهلب الغليظ الشعر مع الكثرة قوله من قبل المشرق ما هو ما هنا زائدة صلة للكلام وليست بنافية[2] والمراد اثبات انه في جهة المشرق والله اعلم

وقال محمد بن سعد في الطبقات اخبرنا محمد بن عمرو يعني الواقدي قال حدثني محمد بن عبد الله عن الزهري عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عتبة قال وانبأنا[6] هشام

[1] Confused, written again in margin. [2] L corrector, margin.
[3] L ان. [4] Both, twice, بالهمز. Y, margin: جابه منع [؟] ويقال ارفأها متعديا والمرفأ بالفتح والضم كمكرم. margin. — واختاره الصنعاني من الشرق
[5] Y والواحدة.
[6] L, points lacking — as in many cases partly or entirely.

ابن محمد الكلبي ثنا[1] عبيد الله بن يزيد بن روح بن زنباع الجذامي عن ابيه قال :—

قدم وفد الداريين على رسول الله (صلعم) منصرفة من تبوك وهم عشرة نفر منهم تميم *ونعيم ابنا اوس بن خارجة بن سوادة[2] بن جذيمة بن ذراع بن عدى بن الدار بن هاني بن حبيب بن نمارة بن لخم ويزيد بن قيس بن خارجة والفاكه بن النعمان بن جبلة بن صفارة قال الواقدي صفارة وقال هشام صفار بن ربيعة بن ذراع بن عدى بن الدار وجبلة بن مالك بن صفارة وابو هند والطيب ابنا برّ وهو عبد الله بن رزين بن يميت بن ربيعة بن ذراع وهانىء بن حبيب وعزيز ومرة ابنا مالك بن سوادة[3] بن جذيمة فأسلموا وسمى رسول الله (صلعم) الطيب عبد الله وسمى عزيز عبد الرحمن واهدى هانىء بن حبيب لرسول الله (صلعم) راوية خمر وافراسا وقبآء مخوّصا بالذهب فقبل الافراس والقباء واعطاه العباس بن عبد المطلب فقال ما اصنع به قال تنزع الذهب فتحليه نساءك او تستنفقه ثم تبيع الديباج فتاخذ ثمنه فباعه العباس (رض) من رجل من يهود بثمانية الاف درهم

وقال تميم لنا جيرة من الروم لهم قريتان يقال لاحداها حبرى والاخرى بيت عينون[4] فان فتح الله عليك الشام فهبهما لي قال فهما لك فلما قام ابو بكر (رض) اعطاه ذلك وكتب له به كتاباً واقام وفد الداريين حتى توفى رسول الله (صلعم) واوصى لهم بجادّ مائة وسق قوله فلما قام ابو بكر اعطاه ذلك وكتب له به كتابا هذا الكتاب يأتي ذكره ان شاء الله تعالى ويحمل الاعطاء من ابي بكر على الامضاء فان عمر هو الذي اعطى ذلك تميما على ما سيأتي ان شاء الله تعالى فاطلق الراوي عليه عطية كما *سيظهر لك فيما بعد ان شاء الله تعالى[5]

قال ابن سعد في الطبقة الرابعة من لخم وهو مالك بن عدى بن الحرث بن مرة

[1] Y like نا [حدّثنا = ثنا]. the definite material on the grant begins here.

[2] L corrector, margin. [3] Y here and a few lines above, like السوارة.

[4] Y long marginal note, unclear: حبرى كسكرى وسيأتي ضبطه [?] وفي شراق [divided] حبرى كسكرى وحبرون كزيتون اسم مدينة سيدنا ابراهيم (عصس) بالقرب من بيت المقدس وبها غار يقال له غار حبرون فيه قبر ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب صلى الله [out of place] عليهم وسلم وقد غلب على اسمه بالخليل فلا تعرف الا به وفيها لغة ثالثة حبرى كقلى — [remainder erased] the شراق may be an abbreviation, ش ق [?]

[5] L, last part of first word by corrector's hand in text, remainder in margin.

ابن ادد بن يشجب بن عريب تميم بن اوس بن خارجة بن سود بن حذيمة بن ذراع ابن عدى بن الدار بن هانىء بن حبيب بن نمارة بن لخم وفد على النبي (صلعم) ومعه اخوه نعيم بن اوس وعدّة من الداريين وقال ايضاً في الطبقة الرابعة تميم بن اوس الداري بطن من لخم ويكنى ابا رقية لم يزل بالمدينة حتى تحوّل الى الشام بعد ما قتل عثمان (رض) وذكر البيهقي وغيره من طريق يعقوب ابن سفين اخبرني ابو محمد الرملي قال لم يكن لتميم ذكر انما كانت له ابنة تسمى رقية يكنى بها وقال ابو سعيد بن يونس في تأريخ الغرباء تميم بن اوس الداري كان ينزل دمشق يقال قدم الى مصر حدث عنه من اهل مصر علي بن رباح بحديث واحد وقال في تأريخ مصر تميم بن اوس الداري يكنى ابا رقية قدم بمصر وقيل ان قدومه كان لغزو البحر روى عنه من اهل مصر علي بن رباح وموسى بن نصير ثم ذكر من طريق ابن وهب[1] ابن لهيعة عن موسى بن على بن رباح عن ابيه ان تميما الداري قال اتيت النبي (صلعم) فحيّيته تحية اهل الجاهلية فقال انما تحيتنا السلام وقال ابو عبد الله بن منذة تميم بن اوس روى عنه النبي (صلعم) حديث الجساسة نزل فلسطين واقطعه (صلعم) بها ارضا وخرّج الطبراني في المعجم الكبير وابو نعيم في معرفة الصحابة وابن عساكر في تأريخ دمشق *على ما نقلته من[2] طريق سعيد بن زياد بن فائد[3] بن زياد ابن ابي هند الداري عن ابيه عن جدّه عن ابي هند الداري قال

قدمنا على رسول الله (صلعم) بمكة ونحن ستة نفر تميم بن اوس ونعيم اخوه ويزيد بن قيس وابو هند بن عبد الله واخوه الطيب بن عبد الله فسماه رسول الله (صلعم) عبد الرحمن[4] وفاكه بن النعمان فاسلمنا وسألناه ان يعطينا ارضا من ارض الشام فقال سلوا حيث شئتم فقال تميم ارى ان نسأله بيت المقدس وكورتها فقال له ابو هند لا تفعل فاني اخاف ان لا يتمّ لنا هذا قال تميم فنسأله بيت

[1] Both here, following, only written ان, or ثنا ? Y has بن after لهيعه Cf. with note 4, p. 166 [17] for name again. [2] L corrector, margin.

[3] L, margin: فايد هذا بالفاء. Margins both: زياد هذا بفتح الزاي وتشديد اليـاء. اخرُ الحروف فهو فرد في الاسماء واختلف في جدّه [Y ثاني] Margin of Y trimmed away.

[4] Y, margin: تقدم له في الرواية التي فيها العشرة ان الذي سماه النبي (صلعم) عبد الرحمن هو عزيز.

جبرين[1] وكورتها فقال له ابو هند هذا اكبر واكبر قال فاين ترى ان نسأله فقال ارى ان نساله القرى التي تصنع فيها حصرنا[2] مع آثار ابراهيم فقـــال تميم اصبت ووُفقت قال فقال رسول الله (صلعم) لتميم أتحبّ تخبرني بما كنتم فيه او اخبرك فقال تميم بل تخبرنا يا رسول الله نزداد ايماناً فقال رسول الله (صلعم) اردتم امراً فاراد هـذا غيره فنعم الرأي رأ[يه]

قال فدعا رسول الله (صلعم) بقطعة جلد[3] من ادم فكتب فيهـــا كتابا نسخته بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا ما وهب محمد رسول الله الداريين ان اعطاه الله الارض وهب لهم بيت عين[4] وحبرون وبيت ابراهيم بما فيهن(ا) لهم ابدا شهد عباس بن عبد المطلب وجهم بن قيس وشرحبيل بن حسنة وكتب قال ثم دخل بالكتـاب الى منزله وغشاه بشيء لا نعرفه وعقده من خارج الرقعة بسَيْر عقدين وخرج الينا به مطوياً وهـو يقول ان اولى الناس بابراهيم الذين اتبعوه وهـذا النبي والذين امنوا والله ولي المؤمنين ثم قال انصرفوا حتى تسمعوا بي قد هاجرت

قال ابو هند فانصرفنا فلما هاجر رسول الله (صلعم) الى المدينة قدمنـــا عليه فسألناه ان يجدّد لنا كتابا فكتب لنـا كتابا نسخته هذا ما انطى[5] محمـد رسول الله لتميم الداري واصحابه ان انطيتكم [بيت] عين وحبرون وبيت ابراهيم بذمتهم وجميع ما فيهم نطية بتّ[6] نفذت وسلمت ذلك لهم ولأعقابهم من بعدهم ابد الابد فمن اذاهم

1 L has بيت, in margin; both margins here حبرين هي حبرون (Y + لغتان). Both also: margin Y + الكورة بضم الكاف المدينة والصقع، الصقع الناحية والجمع كور.

2 L بل [حصر or] حصن. Y similar, but evidently corrected to حصرنا. Both يصنع. Some confusion in almost all accounts of this widely repeated tradition. Cf. notes on the *Bāʿith an-Nufūs* of Ibn al-Firḳāḥ, *JPOS.*, XIV, No. 4, 1934, pp. 284–293, and XV, Nos. 1–2, 1935, pp. 51–87, esp. pp. 85–6. The الرأي رأي is also variously given, sometimes with the name of an individual insteal of رأي.

3 Y, margin: بيان الجلد.

4 Bath, margin: بيت عين عينون. Y + other noted, erosed.

5 Margins bath: انطى بالنون لغة في اعطى.

6 Margins bath: بت بباء موحدة ثم تاء مثنـــاة مشددة اي عصية قطع يريد لا رجوع فيها. Margin Y, to بذمتهم, big الدفن الاثار [؟]

فيها اذاه الله شهد ابو بكر بن ابي قحافة وعمر بن الخطاب وعثمان بن عفان وعلي بن ابي طالب ومعوية بن ابي سفيان[1] وكتب

فلما قبض رسول الله (صلعم) وولى ابى بكر (رض) ووجه الجنود الى الشام كتب لنا كتابا نسخته بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من ابي بكر الصديق الى ابي عبيدة ابن الجراح سلام عليك فاني احمد اليك الله الذي لا اله الا هو اما بعد امنع من كان يؤمن بالله واليوم الاخر من الفساد في قرى الداريين وان كان اهلها قد جلوا[2] عنها واراد الداريون ان يزرعوها فليزرعوها فاذا رجع اهلها اليها فهي لهم واحق بهم والسلام عليك هذا سياقه ابن عساكر وهو حديث منكر لان قوله "ان ذلك[3] وقع مرتين مرة بمكة ومرة بالمدينة لا يعرف في شيء من الاثار وقدوم تميم على النبي (صلعم) بلا خلاف كان بالمدينة والاكثر انه كان في سنة تسع وقيل سنة ثمان ومع هذه النكرة فان سنده ضعيف وقد ذكر سعيد بن زياد المذكور ابو حاتم بن حبان[4] وقال حديثه باطل ولا ادري البلاء منه او من ابيه او جده وقال ابو الفتح الازدي في الضعفاء سعيد بن زياد متروك

وذكر ابو عبيد القاسم[5] بن سلام في كتاب الاموال ثنا حجاج بن محمد عن ابن جريج عن عكرمة قال لما اسلم تميم الداري قال يا رسول الله ان الله مظهرك على الارض كلها فهب لي قريتي من بيت لحم قال هي لك فكتب له بها فلما استخلف عمر (رض) وظهر على الشام جاء تميم بكتاب رسول الله (صلعم) فقال عمر انا شاهد ذلك فاعطاه اياه قال مؤلفه[6] وفي هذا الخبر مع ارساله انقطاع لان ابن جريج لم يسمع من عكرمة وقد خالف في تسمية الارض وبيت لحم في القدس لا في بلد الخليل ويمكن ان يقال لعل بلد الخليل كان من جملة كورة بيت لحم ويؤيده قوله قريتي من بيت لحم اي كورة بيت لحم 322-8

قال ابو عبيد وحدثنا عبد الله بن صالح عن الليث بن سعد ان عمر (رض) لما امضى ذلك لتميم قال له ليس لك ان تبيع قال فهي في ايدي اهل بيته الى اليوم

1 L. سفين. 2 Y, margin: اي أخرجوا. 3 Y o.
4 Margins both: ابن حبان بكسر الحاء المهملة وتشديد الباء الموحدة.
5 Y القسم. 6 L. كاتبه.

قال وحدثني سعيد بن عفير[1] عن ضمرة بن ربيعة عن سماعة[2] ان تميم الداري سأل رسول الله (صلعم) ان يقطعه قريات بشام عينون[3] وفلانة(!) والموضع الذي فيه قبر ابراهيم واسحاق ويعقوب (عم) وكان بها ركه وركنه[4] فاعجب ذلك رسول الله (صلعم) فقال اذا صليت فسلني ذلك ففعل فاقطعه اياهن(!) بما فيهن(!) فلما كان زمن عمر (رض) وفتح الله الشام امضى له ذلك قال ابو عبيد الركح الناحية والجمع اركاح قال واهل المدينة اذا اشتروا الدار قالوا بجميع اركاحها قال مؤلفه[5] هذا السند معضل والسند الاول مرسل او معضل لكن يستفاد منه صحة اصل هذه القصة عند الليث بن[6] سعد (رح) وشهادته بان ذلك لم يزل في ايدي آل تميم فان ذلك يقتضي ان عصر الصحابة من لدن عمر (رض) ثم عصر التابعين ثم عصر من بعدهم مضى على ذلك من غير انكار

وخرّج ابن عساكر من طريق حميد بن زنجوية[7] في كتاب الاموال قال حدثنا[8] الهيثم بن عدى قال انبأني يونس عن الزهري وثور بن يزيد عن راشد بن سعد قال قام تميم الداري وهو تميم بن اوس رجل من لخم فقال يا رسول الله ان لي جيرة من الروم بفلسطين[9] لهم قرية يقال لها حبرى واخرى يقال لها بيت عينون فان فتح الله عليك الشام فهبهما لي قال هما لك قال فاكتب لي بذلك كتابا فكتب له بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا كتاب من محمد رسول الله لتميم بن اوس الداري ان له قرية حبرى[10] وبيت عينون كلها سهلها وجبلها وماؤها وحرثها وانباطها ولعقبه من بعده لايحاقه ولا يلجها[11] عليهم احد بظلم فمن ظلمهم او اخذ منهم شيئاً فعليه لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين وكتب عليّ فلما وُلي ابو بكر (رض) كتب لهم كتابا

1 Margins: عفير بعين مهملة ثم فاء مصغر. 2 Margins: سماعة بكسر السين المهملة.

3 Margins: وقوله Y عينون بفتح العين المهملة وبعدها ياء اخر الحروف ساكنة ثم نونين الاولى مضمومة بعد واو ساكنة.

4 Y big ركة ورطنة وكاف ساكنة. Margins: انهار ركه وركنه ركه بضم الراء. L (sic) ها ثم حاء مهملة وهاء ضمير. 5 L. كاتبه. 6 L. corrector, margin.

7 Margins: زنجوية بفتح الزاء وسكون النون وبعدها جيم.

9 Margins: فلسطين بفتح الفاء واللام وسكون السين المهملة.

10 Margins: حبرى بفتح الحاء المهملة وسكون الياء الموحدة والقصر يقال لها حبرون ايضاً.

11 Margins: يحاقه بتشديد القاف واصله يحاققه اي يدعى معه فيها حاقه قوله يلجها بالجيم من الولوج.

نسخته هذا كتاب من ابي بكر الذي استخلف في الارض بعد رسول الله (صلعم) كتبه للداريين ألا تفسد عليهم مأثرتهم[1] قرية حبرى وبيت عينون لمن كان يسمع ويطيع فلا يفسد منهما شيئاً وليقم عمرو بن العاص عليهما فليمنعهما من الفاسدين

فهذا الكتاب من ابي بكر (رض) هو وجه قوله في الخبر الماضي اعطاه ذلك اي امضاه واما تخبير العطاء فانما وقع في عهد عمر (رض) كما مضى في الخبر الاول لان فتح فلسطين وما حولها لم يفتح[2] الا في خلافة عمر (رض) والى الدعاء الذي في هذا الاثر يشير الى ما اخرجه ابو عبيد البكري في كتاب معجم ما استعجم ان سليمان بن عبد الملك بن مروان آخر خلائف بني امية[3] كان اذا مرّ بقريتي تميم يعرج عنهما ويقول اخاف ان تصيبني دعوة رسول الله (صلعم) وجاء الدعاء المذكور من طريق اخرى حسنة المخرَج

قال ابن سعد في كتاب الطبقات حدثنا[4] اسمعيل بن عبد الله هو ابن ابي أويس ثنا اسمعيل بن عبد الله بن سعيد بن ابي مريم التيمي مولى بني جذعان[5] عن ابيه عن جدّه ان كتاب رسول الله (صلعم) لتميم الداري هذا كتاب محمد رسول الله لتميم بن اوس ان عينون قريتها كلها سهلها وجبلها وماؤها وحرثها وكرمها وانباطها[6] وثمرها له ولعقبه من بعده لا يحاقهم فيها احد ولا يدخل عليهم بظلم فمن اراد ظلمهم او اخذه منهم فعليه لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين[7] وقال ابن سعد ايضاً قالوا وكتب رسول الله (صلعم) لنعيم بن اوس اخي تميم الداري ان له حبرى وعينون بالشام قريتها كلها سهلها وجبلها وماؤها وحرثها وانباطها وبقرها ولعقبه من بعده لا يحاقه فيه احد ولا يلجه عليهم بظلم من ظلمهم واخذ منهم شيئاً فان عليه لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين وكتب علي ذكره من طريق الهيثم بن عدى وابى

[1] Margins: Y المأثرة بضم المثلثة وفتحها; more elegant hand.

[2] L يقع. In Y, فانما, above, corrected in margin.

[3] The last Omayyad was, however, Marwān, surnamed *al-ḥimār*, for his determined attitude in war.

[4] L. ثنا.

[5] Margins: جذعان بضم الجيم وسكون الذال المعجمة وبعدها عين المهملة.

[6] Margins: جمع نبيط. L + انباطها بنون وباء موحدة وطاء مهملة وهو الماء المستنبط.

[7] L o. several lines, to اخرجه below. The corrector, however, inserted it all (in a very different hand), and even added the note (which Y also has): حرثها بالحاء المهملة والثاء المثلثة.

دلهمة بن صالح وابى[1] بكر الهذلي عن عبد ابن بريدة الحُصَيب وثنا محمد بن اسحق عن يزيد بن رومان والزهري وثنا الحسن بن عمارة عن فراس[2] واخرجه الحافظ ابو علي بن السَكَن وابو حفص بن شاهين في كتابيهما في الصحابة في ترجمة تميم الداري من طريق اسمعيل بن عبد الله بن خالد بن سعيد بن ابي مريم ورجاله موثوقون واسمعيل ابن ابي اويس من شيوخ صاحبي الصحيح واسمعيل بن عبد الله ثقه مشهور وابوه وثقه احمد بن صالح المصري وذكره ابن حبان في الثقات وهو تابعي صغير وكانه وقف على الكتاب المذكور فحكاه فهو يقوى على ما تقدم ويعضده

وخرّج الحافظ ابو القاسم سليمان بن احمد الطبراني من حديث احمد بن بهرام الأيذجي[3] ثنا علي بن الحسين الدرهمي ثنا الفضل بن العلاء عن الاشعث بن سوّار عن محمد بن سيرين عن تميم الداري قال استقطعت النبي (صلعم) ارضا بالشام قبل ان تفتح فاعطانيها ففتحها عمر بن الخطاب (رض) في زمانه فأتيته فقلت ان رسول الله (صلعم) اعطاني ارضا من كذا الى كذا فجعل عمر (رض) ثلثها لابن السبيل وثلثها لعمارتها وثلثها لنا هكذا اخرجه الطبراني في معجمه الكبير واورده الحافظ ضياء الدين المقدسي في كتاب الاحاديث المختارة مما لم يخرج في الصحيحين ورجاله اخرجه لهم مسلم من اشعث فصاعدا الا ان في اشعث بن سوار مقالا وابن سيرين لم يسمع من تميم الداري فان مولد محمد بن سيرين لسنتين بقيتا من خلافة عثمان (رض) وكان قتل عثمان في ذي الحجة سنة خمس وثلاثين وتميم الداري (رض) مات سنة اربعين ويقال قبلها وكان ابن سيرين مع ابويه بالمدينة ثم خرجوا الى البصرة فكان اذ ذاك صغيرا وتميم مع ذلك كان بالمدينة ثم سكن الشام وكان انتقاله الى الشام يوم[4] قتل عثمان (رض) فهذه علة خفية تقتضي القدح في صحة هذا الحديث لوجود الانقطاع في سنده

ولم يبيّن اسم الارض المذكورة في هذا الطريق وجاء بيانها فيما خرّجه ابو عبيد

[1] Names somewhat unclear both MSS. Y has وابو both times; L. ابا first Y has in upper left corner of page ثاني عشر. [2] End of gap in L.

[3] Y like عرام Margins: الايذجي بفتح الهمزة والذال المعجمة بينهما ياء اخر الحروف ساكنة ثم جيم. [4] L. بعد, perhaps better; but Y = general sense, "at time of."

وغيره كما تقدم وقال محمد بن سعد قال محمد بن عمر يعني الواقدي وليس لرسول الله (صلعم) قطيعة[1] غير حبرى وبيت عينون اقطعهما رسول الله (صلعم) *تميما ونعيما ابنا اوس وغزا تميم مع رسول الله (صلعم)[2] وروى عنه ولم يزل بالمدينة حتى تحول الى الشام بعد قتل عثمان (رض) وكان تميم يكنى ابا رقية

وقال محمد بن الربيع في كتاب من دخل مصر من الصحابة وتميم الداري شهد فتح مصر فيما اخبرني يحي بن عثمان ولاهل مصر عنه عن النبي (صلعم) حديث واحد فذكر من طريق ابن وهب *عن النبي (صلعم)[3] قال اخبرني ابن لهيعة[4] عن موسى بن عُلَيّ عن ابيه ان تميم الداري كان يبتغي الدين فاتى اليهود فقالوا إنا مغضوب علينا ثم اتى النصارى فدلوه على راهب فاتاه فقال انه قد خرج من بيت ابراهيم نبي[5] قال تميم فاتيت النبي (صلعم) فحييته تحية اهل الجاهلية فقال انما تحيتنا السلام فرأني انظر اليه وحدثته بامر الراهب وسألته فقال ائتني[6] بما استطعت من قومك وبالراهب ولن تدركه فانه بقية القسيسين الذين ذكرهم الله في القرآن[7] فانصرف فاتاه بنفر من قومه وفتح الله الشام فاتى بكتابه الى ابى بكر (رض) فامضى له القريتين فلما كان عمر بن الخطاب (رض) كلمه اهل القريتين فاتاه بكتابه فقال عمر لتميم هما قريتان من الشام ليس لك ان تستخدم اهلها ولا تبيع ولكن خراجهما لك فلم يزل ذلك لهم فلما كان عبد الملك بن مروان اراد ان يعرض لهم فاتوا بكتابهم فتركهما[8] ثم كان سليمان بن عبد الملك فاراد ان يعرض لهم فاتوا بكتابهم فتركهما ثم كان سليمان بن عبد الملك فاراد ان يعرض لهم فاتوه بكتابهم فخلى عنهم قال ابن لهيعة هي لهم الى اليوم

قال ابن الربيع ولهم عن تميم حكايات فذكر من طريق بن وهب قال اخبرني ابن لهيعة عن الحرث بن يزيد عن يزيد بن مسروق عن موسى بن نصير قال كان

1 L + بالشام. Margins: مفعولة, but Y has فصيلة, for قطيعة بمعنى قطيعة.

2 L. corrector, margin. 3 L o., and Y evidently right by scratches.

4 Margin Y: لهيعه كنيته, more elegant hand. Cf. with note 50.

5 L margin. Y omits here: كالخاتم بين كتفيه فاته وسله قريتين [or ثألول] وعلامته ثؤلول.

6 L ايتى. 7 Y has added in margin, by more elegant hand, the verse Sura v. 85

8 This sentence is a repitition of the preceding one.

تميم الداري في البحر غازيا فكان يرسل اليّ لارسل اليه بالأسارى من الروم فيتصدق عليهم ويأمر بهم فيغسلوا ويدهنوا ويمشطوا ومن طريق الوليد بن مسلم عن ابن لهيعة عن الحرث بن يزيد عن موسى ابن نصير قال كنا في غزاة مع تميم الداري في البحر فكان يأمرنا بمشط رؤوس الاسارى[1] ودهنهم

و[ا]خرج البخاري تعليقا فقال[2] وقال لي علي بن عبد الله بن يحيي بن آدم ثنا ابن ابي زائدة عن محمد بن ابي القاسم عن عبد الملك بن سعيد بن جبير عن ابيه عن ابن عباس (رض) قال خرج رجل[3] من بني سهم مع تميم الداري وعدي بن بدّآ فمات السهمي بارض ليس بها مسلم فلما قدما بتركته فقدوا جاماً من فضة مخوص من(!) ذهب فاحلفها رسول الله (صلعم) ثم وُجد الجام بمكة وقالوا ابتعناه من تميم وعدى[2] فقام رجلان من اوليائه فحلفا لشهادتنا احقّ من شهادتهما وان الجام لصاحبهم قال وفيهم نزلت هذه الاية[4] يا ايها الذين امنوا شهادة بينكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت واخرجه ابو داود فقال ثنا الحسن بن علي قال حدثنا يحي بن ادم بهذا الاسناد مثله غير انه قال جام فضة مخوّصا بالذهب وقال فقام رجلان من اولياء السهمي ذكره البخاري في اخر كتاب الوصايا والوقوف وترجم عليه باب قول الله تعالى يا ايها الذين امنوا شهادة بينكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت و[ا]خرجه الترمذي ايضا من حديث يحي بن ادم قال ابو عبد الله محمد بن نصر الحميدي وليس لعبد الملك[5] في هذا المسند غير هذا الحديث

و[ا]خرج الترمذي[6] من حديث محمد بن اسحق عن ابي النصر عن باذان مولى ام

1 Both, popular form روس. 2 L corrector, margin.

3 Margins: (!) وبزيل براء. Margin Y, better hand, + هذا الرجل اسمه بزيل بن ابي مرية معجمة وبعضهم يقول بديل بالدال المهملة وعلى كل فهو مصغرا وسيأتي في صفحة بعده وقال بزيل بن ابي مريم وهنا بالهامش ابن ابي مرية وفي اسد الغابة وفي ترجمة عدى بن بدّاء قال بديل بن ابي مريم وقال في ترجمة بديل هو ابن مارية مولى عمرو بن العاص السهمي فانظر تحريرا هو ابن مارية او مريم او بن مارية كما بالهامش هنا وقوله بداء بفتح الموحدة وتشديد الدال المهملة ممدوداً وسيذكره المؤلف بعد.

4 Sura v. 105. WHERRY on the verse, relates (through Sale from Baiḍāwī) this tradition.

5 L + [القاسم :] عن عبد الملك بن سعيد عن ابيه سعيد بن جبير ولا لمحمد بن ابي القسم.

6 Margin Y: الذي في اسد الغابة بعد قوله الترمذي قال حدثنا الحسن بن احمد بن ابي شعيب الحراني حدثنا محمد بن سلمة الحراني حدثنا محمد بن اسحق الخ.

هانىء عن ابن عباس عن تميم الداري في هذه الاية يا ايها الذين امنوا شهادة بينكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت[5] قال برىء منها الناس غيري وغير عدى بن بدآء وكانا نصرانيين يختلفان الى الشام قبل الاسلام فأتيا الشام لتجارتهما وقدم عليهما مولى لبني هاشم يقال له بزيل[1] بن ابي مريم بتجارة ومعه جام من فضة يريد به الملك وهو عظم تجارته فمرض فاوصى اليهما وامرهما ان يبلغا ما ترك اهله قال تميم فلما مات اخذنا ذلك الجام فبعناه بالف درهم ثم اقتسمناه انا وعدى بن بدآء فلما قدمنا الى اهله دفعنا اليهم ما كان معنا وفقدوا الجام[2] فسألونا عنه فقلنا ما ترك غير هذا وما دفع الينا غيره قال تميم فلما اسلمت بعد قدوم رسول الله (صلعم) المدينة تأثمت[3] من ذلك فاتيت اهله فاخبرتهم الخبر وأديت اليهم خمسمائة درهم فاخبرتهم ان عند صاحبي مثلها فاتوا به رسول الله (صلعم) فسألهم البينة فلم يجدوا فامرهم ان يستحلفوه بما يقطع[4] به على اهل دينه فحلف

فانزل الله تعالى[5] يا ايها الذين امنوا شهادة بينكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت الى قوله ويخافوا ان تُرَدّ ايمان بعد ايمانهم فقام عمرو بن العاص ورجل اخر فحلفا فنزعت الخمسمائة درهم من عدى بن بدآء

قال ابو عيسى هذا الحديث غريب وليس اسناده بصحيح وابو النضر الذي روى عنه محمد بن اسحق هذا الحديث هو عندي محمد بن السائب الكلبي يكنى ابو النضر[6] قال ابو عيسى ولا نعرف لسالم ابى النضر المدني رواية عن ابي صالح مولى ام هانىء وقد روى عن ابن عباس شيء من هذا على الاختصار من غير هذا الوجه

ثنا سنين بن وكيع ثنا يحي بن ادم عن ابن ابي[7] زائدة عن محمد ابي القاسم عن عبد الملك بن سعيد بن جبير عن ابيه عن ابن عباس (رض) قال خرج رجل من بني سهم مع تميم الداري وعدى ابن بدآء فمات السهمي بارض ليس بها مسلم فلما

1 Margins: بزيل هذا بزا. معجمة اي كما تقدم قبله + Margin Y better hand, [:] فلا تغفل

2 That is, in the list of his effects.

3 Margin Y: اي اعتقدت اني ارتكبت اثما.

4 Margin Y: قوله بما يقطع الذي في اسد الغابة time يعظم على شيء.

5 Sura v. 105.

6 L + وقد تركه اهل الحديث وهو صاحب التفسير سمعت محمد بن اسمعيل يقول محمد ابن السائب الكلبي يكنى ابا النضر.

7 Y, margin.

قدما[1] بتركته فقدوا جاما من فضة مخوّصا[2] بالذهب فاحلفهما رسول الله (صلعم) ثم وُجد الجام بمكة فقيل اشتريناه من تميم وعدى فقام رجلان من اولياء السهمي فحلفا بالله لشهادتنا احق من شهادتهما[3] وان الجام لصاحبهم قال وفيهم نزلت يا ايها الذين امنوا شهادة بينكم[4] قال ابو عيسى هذا حديث حسن غريب[5] من حديث ابن ابي زائدة

وقال ابن عساكر وذكر مقاتل بن سليمان المفسر في تفسيره منقطعاً وقال مولى لبني سهم الا انه قال ابن ابي مارية بدلا من ابي مريم قال مقاتل في قوله تعالى يا ايها الذين امنوا شهادة بينكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت نزلت في بُزَيل بن ابي مارية مولى العاصي بن وائل السهمي كان خرج مسافرا في البحر الى ارض النجاشي ومعه رجلان نصرانيان احدهما يسمى تميم بن اوس الداري وكان من لخم وعدى بن بدّآء فمات بزيل وهم في السفينة في البحر قال حين الوصية وذلك انه كتب وصيته ثم جعله في متاعه ثم دفعه الى تميم وصاحبه وقال لهما بلّغا هـذا المتاع اهلي فجاآ[6] ببعض المتاع وحبسا جاما من فضة مموّها بالذهب فنزلت يا ايها الذين امنوا شهادة بينكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت حين الوصية يقول عند الوصية شهد[7] وصيته اثنان ذوا عدل منكم يعني من المسلمين وآخران من غيركم يعني من غير اهل دينكم يعني النصرانيين تميم الداري وعدى بن بدّآء ان انتم يا معشر المسلمين ضربتم في الارض للتجارة فاصابتكم مصيبة الموت يعني بذيل بن ابى ماريه حين انطلق تاجرا في البحر وانطلق معه تميم وعدى صاحباه فحضره الموت فكتب في وصيته ثم جعله في المتاع فقال[3] أبلغا هذا المتاع اهلي فلما مات بزيل قبضا المال فاخذا منه ما اعجبهما وكان فيما اخذا إنآء من فضة فيه[8] ثلثمائة مثقال منقوشا[5] مموّها بالذهب

فلما رجعا من تجارتهما ودفعا بقية المال الى ورثته ففقدوا بعض متاعه فنظروا الى الوصية فوجدوا المال فيها تاما لم يُبَعْ منه ولم يُهَب فكلموا تميما وصاحبه فسألوهما هل باع صاحبنا شيئاً او اشترى فخسر او طال مرضه فأنفق على نفسه

1 Y قدمنا. 2 Margins: المخوص هو الذي تجعل عليه صفائح الذهب كالخوص.
3 Sura v. 105. 4 Sura v. 106. 5 Y o.
6 Margin Y: قوله فجآا بالف التثنية اي تميم وعدى.
7 Y شَهَّدَ; L يشهد. 8 L corrector, margin.

قالا لا فإنّا قد فقدنا بعض ما ابدى به صاحبنا قال ما لنا علم بما ابدى[1] ولا بما كان في وصيته ولكنه دفع الينا هذا المال فبلغناه كما آتاه فرفعوا امرهما الى النبي (صلعم) فنزلت يا ايها الذين امنوا شهادة بينكم اذا حضر احدكم الموت يعني بزيل ابن ابي مرية اثنان ذوا عدل منكم من المسلمين عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص والمطلب بن ابي وداعة السهميان او اخران من غيركم من اهل دينكم يعني النصرانيين ان انتم يا معشر المسلمين ضربتم في الارض تجاراً فاصابتكم مصيبة الموت يعني بزيل بن ابي مرية مولى العاص ابن وايل السهمي تحبسونهما يعني النصرانيين تقيمونهما من بعد الصلوة يعني صلوة العصر فيقسمان بالله يقول فيحلفان بالله إن ارتبتم يعني إن شككتم ان المال كان اكثر من هذا الذي اتيناكم[2] به لا نشتري به ثمنا يقول لا نشتري بايماننا عوضا[3] من الدنيا ولو كان ذا قربى يقول ولو كان الميت ذا قرابة منا ولا نكتم شهادة الله إنا إذاً لمن الآثمين

فحلفهما النبي (صلعم) عند المنبر بعد صلوة العصر فحلفا انهما لم يخونا شيئاً من المتاع فخلى سبيلهما فلما كان بعد ذلك وجدوا[4] الاناء الذي فقدوه عند تميم الداري قالوا هذا كان من آنية صاحبنا الذي كان ابداها[5] وقد زعمتما انه لم يبع ولم يشتر ولم ينفق على نفسه فقالا قد كنا اشتريناه منه فنسينا ان نخبركم به فرفعوهما الى النبي (صلعم) الثانية فقالوا يا نبي الله انا وجدنا مع هذين إناء من فضة من متاع صاحبنا فانزل الله تعالى[6] فان عُثر على انهما يقول فان اطّلع على انهما يعني النصرانيين كتما شيئا من المال او خانا فآخران من اولياء الميت وهما عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص والمطلب بن ابي وداعة السهميان يقومان مقامهما يعني مقام النصرانيين من الذين استحقّ عليهم الاوليان[7] اي استحق عليهم الاثم[8] فيقسمان بالله يعني فيحلفان بالله في دبر صلوة العصر ان الذي قال في وصية صاحبنا حقّ وان المال كان اكثر من الذي اتيتمانا به وان هذا الاناء لمن متاع صاحبنا الذي خرج به معه وكتبه في وصيته وانكما خنتما

1 Both, both cases, ابدا, Y corrected between lines. 2 L اتياكم.
3 L عرضا. 4 L وجد. 5 L ابوابها. 6 Sura v. 106.
7 Margins: [v.106] الاوليان يعني فآخران يقومان وهما الاوليان.
8 L corrector, margin.

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/ فذلك قوله تعالى لشهادتنا يعني عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص والمطلب بن ابي وداعة احق من شهادتهما يعني النصرانيين وما اعتدينا في الشهادة عليكما يعني النصرانيين بشهادة المسلمين من اولياء الميت انا اذاً لمن الظالمين ذلك ادنى يعني اجدر ان يأتوا يعني النصرانيين بشهادة على وجهها كما كانت ولا تكتما شيئاً او يخافوا ان تُرَدّ ايمان بعد ايمانهم يقول او يخافوا ان يطلع على خيانتهما فترد شهادتهما بشهادة الرجلين المسلمين من اولياء الميت فحلف عبد الله والمطلب كلاهما ان الذي في وصية الميت حق وان هذه الآنية من متاع صاحبنا فاخذوا تميم بن اوس الداري وعدى بن بدآء النصرانيين بتمام ما وجدوا في وصية الميت حين اطلع الله تعالى على خيانتهما في الاءنآ ثم[1] وعظ الله تعالى المؤمنين ان يفعلوا مثل هذا او يشهدوا بما لم يروا ولم يعاينوا فقال يحذرهم نقمته واتقوا الله واسمعوا مواعظه والله لا يهدي القوم الفاسقين

ثم ان تميم بن اوس الداري اعترف بالخيانة فقال له النبي (صلعم) ويحك يا تميم اسلم يتجاوز الله عنك ما كان في شركك فاسلم تميم الداري وحسن اسلامه ومات عدى بن بدآ نصرانيا انتهى

وقد ذكر ابو جعفر محمد بن جرير الطبري عن قتادة وابن سيرين وعن عكرمة وابن زيد ومقاتل بن حبان هذا القصة يعني ما تقدم

وقال ابن سعد ثنا محمد بن عمرو حدثني العطاف بن خالد عن خالد بن سعيد قال قال تميم الداري كنت بالشام حين بعث رسول الله (صلعم) فخرجت الى بعض حاجتي وادركني الليل فقلت انا في جوار عظيم هذا الوادي الليلة قال فلما اخذت مضجعي اذا منادٍ ينادي لا اراه عُذ بالله فان الجن لا تجير احدا على الله فقلت ايم[2] تقول فقال قد خرج رسول الله (صلعم) وصلينا خلفه بالحجون واسلمنا واتبعناه وذهب كيد الجن ورُميت بالشهب[3] فانطلق الى محمد واسلم فلما اصبحت ذهبت الى دَير ايوب فسألت راهبا به واخبرته الخبر فقال قد صدقوك تجد يخرج من

[1] Y o. [2] Y, margin, better hand: لعله ايما.
[3] L corrector, margin.

الحرم ومهاجره الحرم وهو آخر الانبياء فلا تُسبق اليه فتكلفت الشخوص حتى جئت رسول الله (صلعم) فاسلمت

وقال عبد الرزاق ثنا معمر عن قتادة في قوله تعالى ومن عنده علم الكتاب قال منهم عبد الله بن سلام وسلمان الفارس وتميم الداري وقال محمد بن سعد انا مسلم ابن ابراهيم ثنا قرّة بن خالد ثنا محمد بن سيرين قال جمع القرآن على عهد النبي (صلعم) أُبيّ بن كعب وزيد بن ثابت وعثمان بن عفان وتميم الداري (رض) وقال سليمان بن حرب ثنا حماد عن ايوب وهشام عن محمد قال جمع القرآن على عهد رسول الله (صلعم) اربعة لا تختلف فيهم معاذ بن جبل وابيّ بن كعب وزيد وابو زيد واختلفوا في رجلين من ثلاثة قالوا عثمان وابو الدرداء وقالوا عثمان وتميم الداري وقال ابن سعد ثنا هودة بن خليفة ثنا عوف بن محمد قال قُبض رسول الله (صلعم) ولم يجمع القرآن من اصحابه غير اربعة نفر كلهم من الانصار والخامس مختلف فيه والنفر الذين جمعوه من الانصار زيد بن ثابت وابو زيد ومعاذ بن جبل وابيّ بن كعب والذي يختلف فيه تميم الداري

ثنا[1] عفان بن مسلم ثنا وهيب ثنا ايوب عن ابي قلابة عن ابي المهلب عن ابيّ ابن كعب انه كان يختم القرآن في ثمان[2] ليال وكان تميم الداري يختمه في سبع وقال ابن المبارك ثنا[3] عاصم بن سليمان عن ابن سيرين ان تميم الداري كان يقرأ القرآن في ركعة وعن عاصم الاحول عن ابن سيرين عن تميم الداري انه قرأ القرآن في ركعة

وقال ابن سعد ثنا[3] عفان بن مسلم ثنا وهيب ثنا[4] محمد بن ابي بكر عن ابيه قال زارتنا عمرة فباتت عندنا فقمت من الليل فلم ارفع صوتي بالقرآة فقالت يا ابن اخي ما منعك ان ترفع صوتك بالقرآة فما كان يوقظنا الا صوت معاذ القارى. وتميم الداري وقال خارجة بن مصعب ختم القرآن في ركعة واحدة[5] اربعة من الأيمة عثمان بن عفان وتميم الداري وسعيد بن جبير وابو حنيفة (رض)[5]

[1] Both اثنا, Y corrected. [2] L ثماني.
[3] Both انا [حدثنا = ثنا]. L has المبرك. [4] Both انا, again.
[5] L o.

3 وقال ابو الضحى عن مسروق قال لي رجل من اهل مكة هذا مقام اخيك تميم الداري صلى ليلة حتى كرب[1] ان يصبح يقرأ اية يرددها ويبكي ام حسب الذين اجترحوا السيئآت ان نجعلهم كالذين امنوا وعملوا الصالحات سوآء محياهم ومماتهم سآء ما يحكمون[2] وفي رواية عن مسروق ان تميم الداري ردد هذه الاية حتى اصبح ان تعذبهم فانهم عبادك وان تغفر لهم فانك انت العزيز الحكيم وعن منكرر(!) بن محمد[3] عن ابيه ان تميم الداري نام ليلة لم يقم يتهجد فيها حتى اصبح فقام سنة لم ينم فيها عقوبة للذي صنع

وروى الجزري عن ابي العلآء بن الشخير عن معاوية بن حرمل ان تميما الداري اضافه وان نارا خرجت بالحرة فجاء عمر بن الخطاب الى تميم (رض) فقال له قم الى هذه النار فقال من انا وما انا فما زال به حتى قام معه فتبعتهما فانطلقا الى النار معا فجعل تميم يحوشها بيده حتى دخلت الشعب فدخل خلفها فجعل عمر (رض) يقول ليس من رأى كمن لم يرَ

وقال قتادة عن انس (رض) ان تميم الداري اشترى حُلّة بالف درهم فخرج فيها وقال السائب ابن يزيد اول من قصّ تميم الداري استأذن عمر (رض) فأذن له فقص قائما وعن تميم الداري انه قال لثلاث ركعات نافلة احب اليّ من ان اقرأ القرآن في ليلة ثم اصبح فاقول قرأت القرآن الليلة وعن ابي سعيد قال اول من اسرج في المساجد تميم الداري رواه ابن ماجة ووجد على نُصُب[4] قبر تميم انه توفى في سنة اربعين (رض)

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قال القاضي ابو بكر محمد بن العربي في شرح الموطأ لما تكلم في البيوع على حديث عمرو بن شعيب عن ابيه عن جدّه قال هي صحيفة صحيحة وانما تركنا من تركها لقولهم انها غير مسموعة وهذا لا يمنع من الاحتجاج وقد كان عند اولاد

1 Corrector adds اصبح; Y o. اصبح; in margin: اي دنا. 2 Sura xlv. 20.
3 Y o. the verse preceding in Sura v. 118.
4 Y, margin: ما نصب وجعل علما على صاحبه.

تميم الداري كتاب النبي (صلعم) في قطعة اديم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هـــذا ما أنطى محمد رسول الله تميما الداري اقطعه قريتى حبرى[1] وبيت عينون بلد الخليل فبقي ذلك في يده وفي يد اهله الى ان غلب الفرنج عـــلى القدس والخليل سنـة اثنتين وتسعين واربعمائة

قال ولقد اعترض بعض الولاة على ال تميم ايام كنت بالشام واراد انتزاعها منهم فحضر القاضي حامد الهروي الحنفي واحتج الداريون بالكتاب فقال القاضي هـذا الكتاب ليس بلازم لان النبي (صلعم) اقطع تميما ما لم يملك فاستفتى الوالي الفقهآء وكان الطوسي يعني الشيخ ابا حامد الغزالي حينئذ ببيت المقدس فقال هـذا القاضي كافر فان النبي (صلعم) قال زويت لي الارض كلها وكان يُقطع الجنة فيقول قصر كذا لفلان فوعده صِدق وعطـاؤه حقّ قال فخزي القاضي الموالي وبقي آل تميم على ما بايديهم

وقد ذكر القاضي ابو بكر بن العربي (رح) هذه القصة في كتاب قانون التأويل وهو كتاب جمعه من فوائد الشيخ ابى حامد الغزالي (رح) ونصّه ما قوله ادام الله عُلوّه فيما اقطع رسول الله (صلعم)* تميما الداري من الشام قبل ان يملـــكه اهل الاسلام[2] ما وجه صحته مع انه جرى قبل الملك ولم يتصل به القبض ولم يجر تحديد محلّ الاقطـاع هل يجوز للامام ان ينزع ذلك من يد آل تميم ومـتى يحصل الملك للمُقْطَع فاجاب ذلك الاقطاع صحيح لتميم ومنتقل الى اعقـابه ووقت حصول الملك عند تسليم الامام المستولي على تلك الارض له ذلك ووجه صحته ان النبي (صلعم) كان مختصا بالصفايا[3] من المغنم حتى كان يختار من المغنم ما يريد ويدفع ملك المسلمين عنه بعد استيلائهم عليه فـكذلك كان له ان يستثنى بقعـة من ديار الـكفر عن ملك المسلمين ويُعَيِّنها لبعض المسلمين فتصير ملـكا له ويـكون سبب الملك تسليم الامام

[1] L حبرون. Following is an interesting reference to the crusades. The "grant" still exists on the Tamīmī *waqf* (Cf. below), Y, margin, by date: المهمة [?—] على هذه. [2] L, margin, by corrector. Y inserts اهل before الشام.

[3] Y, margin: الصفايا جمع صفية كعطايا وعطية وقال ابن السكيت جمع صفى وهو على كل ما يختار لنفسه من المغنم قبل القسمة. Cf. MUSIL, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, pp. 510–11.

بامر رسول الله (صلعم) وهي من التخصيصات قبل الاستيلاء وليس ذلك لغيره من الائمة فانه (صلعم) كان مطلعاً بالوحي على ما سيملك في المستقبل وعلى وجه المصلحة في التخصيص والاستثناء وغير ذلك ولا يطلع غيره عليه واما قول من قال لا يصحّ اقطاعه لانه قبل الملك فهو كفر محض لانه يقال له هل حلّ لرسول الله (صلعم) ما فعل او كان ظالما بتصرفه ذلك فان جعله ظالما كفر وان قال بل حلّ له ذلك قيل افعلم ان ذلك يحصل اولا فان جهّله كفر وان قال انه علم لكن علم انه لا يحصل قيل له فلا يبقى الا انه أقدم عليه مع علمه ببطلانه فطيّب قلب من سأله بما لا يحصل له وهذا محض الخداع والتلبيس ومن نسبه الى ذلك فقد كفر

واما قوله ان القبض لم يحصل فهو مردود من وجهين[1] احدهما ان افعاله (صلعم) حجة فهو كما لو وهب امرأة رجل لرجل آخر فانها تحرم على الاول وتحمل على انه أوحى اليه انها حرمت عليه وحلت للاخر[2] بل الاقطاع المذكور نظير ما لو اقطع الامام شخصا من موات الارض شيئا فان الاقطاع يصح ولا يملكه المُقْطَع في الحال بل انما يملكه بالاحيا والقبض ليس بشرط في صحة هذا التخصيص واما الحدّ فليس شرطا للصحة ولا سيما في الامور العامة وانما يشترط التسليم والامام عند التسليم ان يعوّل فيه على الشهرة وله ان يتسامح فيما يقع منه في محل الاشتباه فان مَبنى هذه الامور على المساهلة بخلاف التصرفات الجزئية انتهى

ففي كلام الغزالي هذا انه يرى ان عطآء ذلك لتميم الداري من الخصائص النبوية ويجعله من الصفايا المختصة به (صلعم) فلا يكون لاحد من الائمة بعد النبي (صلعم) ان يقطع احداً من الرعية شيئا لم يدخل في ملك[3] المسلمين وطريقة ابى الحسن الماوردي على ما ذكر في الاحكام السلطانية وطريقة القاضي ابى يعلى من الحنابلة في الاحكام السلطانية يرى جواز ذلك عموما وهي اقوى لان الاصل التأسّي والخصائص[4] لا تثبت بالاحتمال وفي كلام الغزالي ايضاً ما يُشير الى ان ذلك من جملة وعوده (صلعم) ولم يَعُدّ احدٌ هذا من الخصائص سواه وعدّ ابو عبيد

[1] Y. margin: ينظر الوجه الثاني.

[1] Margin Y: اي الاقتدآء.

القاسم بن سلام في كتاب الاموال ذلك من باب النفل وان للامام بعده ان ينفّل من يرى تنفيله من المقاتلة ما يرى فيه المصلحة لكن هل يختص ذلك بالمنقولات او يدخل فيه العقار وهل يكون ذلك بعد الظفر وقبل القسمة او قبل الظفر هذا محل النظر

وفي الجملة فقد وُجد النقل عن ائمة السلف وائمة المذاهب بتصحيح الصورة المسؤل عنها بخصوصها وقال الشيخ تقي الدين السُّبكي في احيآء الموات من شرح المنهاج اقطاعات النبي (صلعم) كانت في الموات قال الماوردي الا ما كان من شأن تميم الداري وابى ثعلبة الخُشَني فيحتمل ان يكون اقطعهما اقطاع تقليد لا إقطاع تمليك ويجوز ان يكونا مخصوصين بذلك لتعلقه بتصديق خبر وتحقق إعجاز واما الائمة بعده فابو بكر وعمر (رض) لم يقطعا الا مواتا الا ان عمر اصطفى من اموال كسْرَى من ارض السواد فكان يُغِلّ شيئا يصرفه في مصالح المسلمين ولم يقطع منها شيئا ثم ان عثمان (رض) اقطعها[1] اقطاع اجارة او امرهم ان يؤجروها باجرة معلومة لينتفعوا بها مع بقآء الرقبة انتهى

فيستفاد من هذا ان الماوردي تردّد في مأخذ الاقطاع الذي وقع لتميم وجواز ان يكون من الخصائص بعد ان حكى الخلاف هل لغير النبي (صلعم) ان يفعل ذلك والله اعلم

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في مسائل الاوالى — على صحة دعوى الداريين العطية المذكورة والجواب ان يدهم ثابتة ومستندها الاثار المتقدمة فان مجموعها يدلّ على ان لذلك اصلا مع ما انضم الى ذلك من شهادة الليث بن سعد احد فقهاء الامصار كما تقدم النقل عنه وعن غيره بأصل العطية وان وقع التغائر في صفتها الثانية هل كانت على جهة الوقفية او الهبة او غيرها والجواب انه ليس في شيء من الاثار التصريح بالوقفية الا ما في الاثر السابق عن عمر (رض) انه شرط عليه ان لا يبيع وان يخرج ثلثا

[1] L. ها —.

في العمارة وثلثا لابناء السبيل والذي يتحرر ان ذلك كان ارصاداً له ولذريته الى اخر الدهر فامتثل الائمة ذلك الى اليوم والثالثة هل يختص ذلك بتميم وذريته واذا اختص هل يعم ذكورهم واناثهم واذا لم يختصّ بذريته هل يدخل فيه اقاربه والجواب انه يختص بعد تميم بذريته سوآء كانوا ذكورا او اناثا لان اهل النسب متفقون على ان تميما لم يُعْقب سوى أبنته رقية وبها كان يكنّى واما اقاربه فوقع في بعض الاثار المتقدمة ان لهم مدخلا فى ذلك فان ثبت ذلك دخلوا وكانوا في الاستحقاق سوآء

الرابعة هل يثبت كونهم اقارب تميم بمجرد قولهم وهل تكفي شهادة بعضهم لبعض والجواب ان من كان بيده شيء كفاه وضع يده ومن رام الدخول لم يكفه مجرد دعواه ويكفي في ثبوت كونه منهم وجود الشهرة لمن يدعى ذلك فان النسب مما يثبت بالاستفاضة الا ان ثبت ما يخالفه وتقبل شهادة بعضهم لبعض الخامسة اذا ثبت كونه من اقارب تميم بالشهرة هل يكون ذلك اقوى من عموم تصرف الامام في اراضي بيت المال والجواب ان الشهرة قد صحبها العمل المستمرّ مع ترك النكير من عهد الفتوح الى الآن وقد نازع في ذلك قوم احيانا وخصموا[1] واستمرّ ذلك بايدي المذكورين فخصّ ذلك من عموم تصرف الامام الا انه لا يرتفع الا بالنسبة لنقل ذلك عنهم الى غيرهم واما مع ابقآئه عليهم فلا السادسة هل تقبل دعواهم ان البلدتين المذكورتين الموجودتين[2] الان هما المراد بما في العطية المذكورة والجواب ان مهما كان بايديهم فانه يحمل على انه من العطية ومهما كان ليس بايديهم لم يقبل انه داخل في العطية الا ببيّنة لانه يطرقه احتمال حدوث احيآء فيما يجوز فيه الاحيآء مما كان خارج البلد مثلا ثم اتّصل بها فلا تنزع ممن هو بيده بمجرد دعواهم ان ذلك داخل في عموم عطية البلدين فمهما ثبت انه كان مبنيّا او مغروسا او مسكونا في وقت العطية فانها تشمله *وما لا بد[3] منه من اقامة البيّنة ومهما تعذرت فيه البينة أُقِرّ على من هو بيده

السابعة هل يستحقون حكر جميع البلدتين حتى المغارة والجواب ان الاصل

[1] Y unclear, corrected in margin.
[2] Y o. the verse preceding in Sura v. 118.
[3] I. وما لا فلا بد.

استحقاقهم لذلك جميعه الا انه يستثنى ما كان فيهما من مساجد ومقابر المسلمين فانها لا تدخل في العطية وكذلك من وجد بيده شيء غير ذلك لا ينزع منه الا بعد ثبوت انه مما دخل في العطية واما المغارة التي فيها قبور الانبيآء (عم)[1] فلا يحلّ لاحد المطالبة بحكرها فانها لم تدخل في العطية لكون الخليل (عم) اشتراها لدفن اهله فان العطية انما وقعت على ما لا ملك فيه لمسلم ولا اختصاص فكيف اذا كان لنبي من انبيآء الله تعالى

الثامنة هل لهم المطالبة باكثر من اجرة المثل وهل لهم إلزام احد بقلع بنآئه او غراسه قبل العلم بانه وضع بغير حقّ والجواب انهم في استحقاق اجرة الارض والبنآء كغيرهم فمهما كان في ايديهم على ما تقدم تقريره ووضع احدٌ عليه[2] يده بغير حقّ وجب انتزاعه منه فان بنى في ارضهم بغير حقّ وجب ازالته الا ان ظهر ان الأحظّ لهم ابقاؤه باجرة المثل فيجوز تبقيته وان وجد بناء وضع بحقّ كأن استوجر ليُبْنَى واستوفيت شروط ذلك وانقضت مدّة الاجارة فان اللازم بعد ذلك اجرة المثل وان جهل هل وُضع بحق اولا لم ينزع الا ان يثبت انه وضع بغير حق وليس لهم ان يطالبوا من ثبت لهم عليه اجرة اذا لم يكن بيده اجارة صحيحة[3] باكثر من اجرة المثل

التاسعة هل للامام[4] ان يولي على هذا المُرْصَد ناظرا يوصل الى كل ذي حقّ حقه واذا كان له ذلك هل يقتصر على ناظر واحد او يجوز تعدد النظار او يولي كل واحد النظر على ما يستحقه والجواب ان له جميع ذلك لكن[1] الاولى اجتماع الكلمة في واحد ولا سيما عند وقوع التنازع

العاشرة اذا ساغ للامام اقامة ناظر عليهم فهل يشترط ان يكون الناظر منهم او يجوز ان يكون من غيرهم *وهل يجوز ان يقرر للناظر عليهم اجرة[5] والجواب

[1] L corrector, margin. [2] Y o. the verse preceding in Sura v. 118.
[3] Y صحيفة, margin لعله صحيحة. [4] L الامام.
[5] Y o.; L o. الاجرة والجواب. L has in margin: اولا والجواب. [sic] على عمله اجرة ان يكون الناظر [or الاول] الاولى, with sign for note after للناظر, and lines above the following ويجوز ان يكون من غيرهم [sic], few points, and غيرهم wrongly the على عمله should perhaps be in the text instead of the عليهم before الاجرة. Y has وعلى in place of والجواب, erased, and a note: لعله الجواب.

يجوز ان يكون الناظر عليهم منهم فان لم يكن منهم متأهل فيتعيَّن ان يكون من غيرهم واما الاجرة فلا يقررهـا الا ان لم يجد متبرِّعا فيقرر حينئذ اجرة المثل من غير زيادة فان وجد من يعمل بدونها تعيَّن وان وجد متبرعا تعين ايضا[1] تنبيه الذي استفيض في الاخبار ان القريتين ما زالتا منذ فتحت البلاد في خلافة امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب (رض) بيد الداريين الى ان استولى الفرنج على القدس والخليل وفلسطين فلما استولوا على تلك الديار خلت من جميع المسلمين لانهم قتلوا بها *من كان من المسلمين[2] وفرّ من بقي منهم الى امصار اهـــل الاسلام كالعراق والشام ومصر والمغرب والحجاز واليمن فلما اعاد الله تعالى البلاد الى الاسلام[3] بعد اقامتها بايدي الفرنج نحو مائة سنة لم يتبيّن لي الى الآن كيف وضع الداريون ايديهم على القريتين فانه لم يتأخر *بتلك البلاد[2] ممن كان قبل اخـذ النصارى احد من الداريين الى ان استردهـــا المسلمون فيحتاج الى كيف وضع من عاد منهم الى بـلاده يده بطريق شرعي ام لا والله اعلم[4] وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم وكتب هذه النسخة فقير رحمة ربه الفتاح علي بن محمـد الملاح غفر الله ذنوبه وستر عيوبه بمحمد وآله امين من نسخة مصححة بخط مؤلفها وهـــذه وما قبلها كتبها الفقير خمس مرات وذلك في ثماني جمادى الاول سنة ثمانية عشر والف[5]

[1] L + والله اعلم. [2] L corrector, margin.

[3] L erased, evidently because error.

[4] L ends: تم ذلك بحمد الله تعالى وعونه والحمد لله رب العالمين.

[5] Margin Y, colophon of corrector: طالعها فقير رحمة ربه رمضان حلاوة عفى عنـــه
Corrector's colophon L, margin: تم تصحيح هذه النسخة على يد جامعها احمد بن علي المقريزي ح له [؟] رمضان سنة احدى واربعين وثماني مائة والحمد لله.

[6] Y followed by: (1) كتاب الذهب المبروك في من حجّ من الخلفاء والملوك p. 26 ff.
(2) كتاب النزاع والتخاصم فيما بين بني اميـــة وبني هاشم; both by margin. (both dated 1018 A. H.)

RITES AND BELIEFS OF THE SAMARITANS RELATING TO DEATH AND MOURNING

From the papers of the late Dr. MOSES GASTER

Edited by T. H. GASTER

(LONDON)

INTRODUCTION

1. Until a few years ago little was known concerning the customs and beliefs of the Samaritans relating to death and mourning. A short and summary account had appeared in MONTGOMERY's excellent work. *The Samaritans*, and the actual text of the burial service, together with its accompanying rubrics, had been published, though incompletely, in COWLEY's *Samaritan Liturgy*. Detailed information was, however, somewhat meagre, especially on such points as the administration of the last rites and the beliefs entertained concerning the future destiny of the deceased.

In 1931 my father, the late Dr. MOSES GASTER decided, in pursuit of his Samaritan studies, to remedy this defect in our knowledge. He therefore drew up a questionnaire, covering all aspects of the question, and addressed it to his friend, the Samaritan priest Ab-Ḥasda (Abu-ʾl-Ḥasan), son of Jacob, at Nablus. The following treatise (Codex Gaster, No. 1952) was received by way of reply.

2. The questionnaire was drawn up in a particularly methodical manner, so as to secure the maximum amount of information. It was based on the article "Death and Disposal of the Dead (Introductory)" in HASTING's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Each of the characteristic rites and beliefs there discussed was duly noted, and a question framed to elicit the Samaritan counterpart. In this way the entire field was covered.

3. Ab-Ḥasda's replies, as will be seen, are detailed, if not even discursive. They are careful to point out divergences between the

strict letter of the law and the current usage of the Samaritan community (e.g. in the question of purification in the ashes of the Red Heifer), and to state the Biblical authority for each observance. In many cases, the complete text of important prayers and hymns is given, as is also that of the Confession of Faith (Question VI). Where there are two schools of thought in respect of a belief or practice, each is recorded (e.g. Question XIX: the wearing of bright clothes in mourning; Question XXV: the fate of a child who dies before circumcision; Question XXVI: the question of future judgment). Especially noteworthy is Ab-Ḥasda's insistence on the distinction between Samaritan customs and beliefs and those of the surrounding Moslems and Gentiles.

4. Some of the information afforded by this treatise (viz., in the answers to question I and XXVI) was utilised by Dr. GASTER in his volume *Samaritan Eschatology* (London, Search Publishing Company, 1932), pp. 209--212, where other Samaritan works relating to the subject will be found translated and interpreted, e.g. an account of the death and funeral of the celebrated writer Kabasi (d. 1538), taken from a chapter inserted by the late High Priest Jacob (father of Ab-Ḥasda) in his translation of the *Chronicle* of Abu-l-Fatḥ; an extract from the *Malif* or Catechism: and a short treatise by Jacob (once again inserted into his translation of Abu-l-Fatḥ) on the Red Heifer. Readers who desire to follow up the subject of Samaritan beliefs concerning the fate of the soul and the Last Judgment may be referred to the very full discussion of these themes in *Samaritan Eschatology*. That volume, it may be observed, was designed as the first instalment of a more comprehensive work in which the whole of Samaritan legalistic literature would be presented in translation. These translations, — my father's main lifework, — exist in manuscript among his papers, and it is proposed to publish them as soon as the necessary editorial work is completed and the necessary arrangements are made.

5. It remains to say a few words concerning the present publication. The treatise itself is the joint work of MOSES GASTER and the priest Ab-Ḥasda, the former designing the questions and the latter framing the answers. The Samaritan manuscript was transliterated by my brother, Mr. A. E. GASTER, and the translation was made by myself. It is therefore offered as the joint work of us

all, and more especially as a tribute on the part of my brother and myself to the work and memory of our father. We have thought that the best tribute we could offer would be to continue his life-work by the publication of his remaining works in this field, and this we propose to do.

In drawing up the Notes which accompany this rendering, I have sought, as far as possible, to reproduce my father's own view by quoting from, or referring to, his various works in which the several points are treated. Only where no such treatment of a point exists have I ventured a comment.

Finally, I should like to take this opportunity of expressing once more the debt which scholarship owes to the Samaritans themselves, especially to my father's, and now my own, friends Ab-Ḥasda, son of Jacob, and Abishaʿ, son of Pineḥas, the priests, who have not only copied the bulk of the Samaritan literature, but have also been ready, for more than thirty years, to furnish information whenever it was sought. Indeed, those to whom the preservation of this literature is of interest could repay this debt in no better way than by mobilising measures of relief for this destitute community before it is too late.

In the name of the Lord the Merciful![1]

These are the answers to the questions addressed to me by my master, MOSES GASTER, wisest of the Jews in London. I have replied to them in order, giving such explanations as my limited knowledge permits.

[1] Some such formula as this appears at the beginning of every Samaritan book. It recalls at once the Arabic *basmalah*, on the Samaritan affinities, or possible prototype, of which see M. GASTER, art. *Samaritans*, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (IV, p. 125b):

"There is no verb to complete the sentence, and it is not sufficient to appeal merely to the imagination. It becomes intelligible, however, if compared with the parallel Samaritan invocation: 'In the name of God we begin and finish', or according to the variant, 'In the name of God we begin and prosper'. This form is one constantly in use among the Samaritans; it stands at the head of the *Kinosh*, which contains the collection of the most ancient prayers and hymns, it stands at the head of the ancient phylacteries [see M. GASTER, *Studies and Texts*, pp. 456 ff.], and is at every beginning. In time this formula in its entirety became abbreviated through constant use."

Question I: What is done on the death of a man, woman or child?

Before the death of a man, woman or child (be the latter male or female), the members of the household place the dying person on a bed, facing the Chosen Place, Mount Garizim Bethel.[2] Then a priest is summoned. When he arrives, he takes his stand at the dying person's head and recites to him the final Song of Moses (Deuteronomy xxxii) from beginning to end. After that he recites to him the formal Confession of Faith, repeating it three times. This is the passage which begins with the words:[3] "They proclaim and say, There is no God but One".[4] Then the dying person says the following: "My belief is in Thee, O Lord, and in Moses, the son of ʿAmram, Thy servant, and in the Holy Law and in Mount Garizim Bethel, and in the Holy Law, which is the fairest thing on earth. There is no God but One. Moreover, I bear witness to the Day of Requital and Reward.[5] True it is for ever: there is no God but One. By Him we live, and by Him we die and by Him we shall raised up. In Thy holy keeping are all who repent and all who love Thee, O Lord God!"

The priest then recites hymns of praise to God and addresses words of comfort to the relatives, assuring them that the faithful will indeed enter the Garden of Eden on the Day of Requital and

[2] So in Islam the dying man is turned towards the Qibla.

[3] On the importance of this Chapter in Samaritan doctrine, see M. GASTER, *The Samaritans* (Schweich Lectures, 1923), p. 89:

"Altogether this chapter is considered by them as the revelation of the deepest mysteries of the world and of the future, and is fully interpreted in a great work called *The Day of Judgment* (Yom al-Din), and in the *Code of Laws* (Hillukh), ... It is so important in their eyes that the priest reads it at the bedside of the dying." See also *Samaritan Eschatology*, (London, 1932), pp. 77—96, where Samaritan expositions of the Chapter are assembled.

[4] This is one of the most famous of Samaritan prayers. The text is printed in COWLEY, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, I, p. 4.

[5] This answers to the Islamic *la ilāha illa ʾllāh*. On the connexion between the two formulae, see M. GASTER, art. Samaritans, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 124-5:

" ..... the well-known Muḥammadan proclamation of faith: lā ilāha illa 'llāh 'There is no God but Allah'. This corresponds as closely as religious doctrines will allow to the Samaritan formula repeated over and over again by Markaḥ and his contemporaries ʿAmram Dara and Nana [3rd or 4th cent. C. E.; v. M. GASTER, *The Samaritans*, p. 142]: lēṯ elāh illā eḥād (or, according to their pronunciation, aād), 'There is no God but one".

Reward. His words are framed in a traditional form, of which the following is a specimen:[6]

"Grandeur pertaineth to the Lord, the great King, for all His ways are judgment: a God of truth and without perversity.[7] He is the Master of the Kingdom and His dominion is over all its generations. His is the mighty hand.[8] Tremendous is He in praises, performing wonders.[9] There is no God but One. He alone abideth and continueth for ever, and possesseth the life everlasting. Whatever existeth apart from Him at some time passeth away and is lost, but He doth not pass away and is not lost. In His hands are all things. He giveth death and He giveth life.[10] He sustaineth all things. He smiteth and He healeth, and there is no escape from His hands.[11,12] Therefore it behoveth all mortal men to observe the commandments of the Lord, the ever-existent God. For so shall there be unto them a path whereby they may reach their goal, — to behold the face of their Master. And all their works shall be held in good liking, and when they die their Master shall shew favour unto them. Happy is he who dieth in the faith of Moses the prophet!"

He continues reciting such words until the breath leaves the body. And all the relatives who happen to be in the house, men and women alike, listen attentively to his words, neither speaking nor performing the slightest action until he has finished. Thereupon they lift their voices in weeping, especially the women who

[6] In the Samaritan: יום נקם ושלם. This *terminus technicus* of Samaritan doctrine derives from the Samaritan text of Deuteronomy xxxii, 35 which reads, like the LXX, ליום נקם ושלם instead of the Masoretic לי נקם ושלם. In *The Samaritans*, p. 89, my father points out that "this expression..... occurs more than once with an eschatological meaning in the writings of ..... Isaiah [cf. Issiah xxxiv, 8: כִּי יוֹם נָקָם לַיהוָה שַׁנַת שִׁלֻּמִים לְרִיב צִיּוֹן and *id.* lxiii,4]." He had, in fact, long been engaged in collecting Prophetic passages which supported the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch against the Masoretic, and I hope shortly to publish his notes on this subject. Meanwhile, cp. *Samaritan Eschatology*, pp. 78—81.

[7] Cowley, *op. cit.* II, pp 890—1.

[8] Deut. iii, 24. אֶת־גָּדְלְךָ וְאֶת־יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה ....

[9] Cf. Exodus xv, 12: [10] Deut. xxxii, 39.

[11] Cf. Deut. xxxii, 39.

[12] Our text reads: ואין מיח מפע . . . ולכלה הו סבל, but the rhyme shews that the last word should be מציל, as in the Biblical original and as in Cowley. The variant is due to the fact that Ab-Ḥasda unconsciously lapses into the Samaritan Targum in place of the Hebrew text.

dishevel their hair and begin to lament loudly. At this juncture certain of the communal officials arrive and take the men into another house leaving the women with the dead person. The latter perform the ceremonial acts of mourning current in the city where they happen to be living. They also indulge in profuse weeping. If the dead person enjoyed the real esteem and affection both of his own family and of the community, they justify their profuse weeping by reference to Abraham's weeping over Sarah, as it is said: "And Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her" (Genesis xxiii, 2). If, however, the dead person did not enjoy such esteem and affection, they do not continue weeping for him. Similarly, if he has expressly enjoined on them before his death not to weep for him, they observe his behest, and desist from further mourning and lamentation.

Question II: Who is present in the house?

The persons left in the house with the body are the male relatives and certain others who are expressly summoned because they are able to read the Book of the Holy Law. These stay behind and read over the dead person the whole Law from beginning to end. They are not regarded as having encountered ritual impurity, as is the man who approaches a body in the case specified in the passage: . . . "when a man dieth in the tent: all that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean". . . (Numbers xix, 14).

Formal weeping (at this juncture) is forbidden among the Samaritans. The men read the Pentateuch, and at the end of each book one of the priests recites words of praise to the Lord and of comfort to the relatives of the deceased in this visitation. Moreover, he reminds them that even the pious forefathers and the prophets did not escape death, and he bids them be of good heart, and he thanks God who suffered the deceased to die in the full faith of Moses the son of ʿAmram (the peace of the Lord be upon him, and upon all the pure ancestors, Amen).

If the deceased have friends who are men of education and knowledge, capable of composing poems, each of them then composes a dirge in the Hebrew tongue, commemorating his virtues and proffering consolation to the mourners. Here is a specimen of such compositions:[18]

[18] Ab-Hasda appended a copy of this poem to the letter which he sent

Behold, I weep (how should I not?),
And raise my dirge before my kinsmen all.
Silently flow my tears;
I muster all the armoury of grief.[14]
And when I speak, a fire is lit within me,
And in the deep depths of my heart I burn,
Because thy loss is grievous unto me,
O brother thou and friend;
Needs must I bear great witness thereunto,
And thy death is the cause of mine anguish.
Joy and gladness are departed from me,
And mourning and grief are increased.
O thou who wast so upright,
I feel the loss of thee amid the congregation and the throng,
And I lay this sorrow to heart.
Now when thou art gone,
I cannot speak a single word in joy.
When I remember thee alive,
And all thy wisdom and thy knowledge all,
Wherein thou stood'st apart from all the rest,
Then is thy going anguish to my heart.
Silently flow my tears;
They stream from mine eyes like a sea;
Therefore can I not slumber day and night.
What can I say, what can I speak
Concerning thy wisdom and thy knowledge so resplendent?
Now when thou art gone,
I feel myself an orphan desolate,
And cannot utter word.
Now when thou art gone,
Who amid my people and my kin
Will turn the eye of kindness unto me?
Who will pay heed unto me,

me on the occasion of my father's death. It is not in COWLEY, and I take it that it is his own composition.

[14] Samaritan: ואדקל ון ית חניכי. This is a fanciful adaptation of the Samaritan text of Gen. xiv. 14: וירק את־חניכיו (lit. "he mustered his trained men"; Targum: וטרי ית עליחיו). The Samaritan reading וירק (for MT. וירק) agrees with the LXX.

And answer me when I entreat?
  Thy death is a blow unto me,
And because of thy death am I in anguish.
Grief is come upon me because of my shameful deeds,
And it hovereth over mine head,
  And mine anguish is increased.
Unique thou wast of thy kind,
And who is like unto thee?
  Yea, we have none like unto thee!
  Thou wast as a pillar of support unto thy people,
Yet lo, this day thou sleepest in thy sleep.
  Thou wast a leader 'mid the congregation,
  Greater than can be told.
Thy wisdom had none end,
And thou didst reveal all deepest mysteries.

(For a priest:)
  Thou wast a perfect priest,
And thy words were wise.
  Now when thou art gone,
The congregation is like an orphan.
  Men of all the peoples heard tell of thee
And came and listened to thy reading of the Law,
And they learned from thy knowledge,
And vaunted themselves over them that knew thee not.
  Thou wast a sea of knowledge and understanding,
  Of learning and wisdom,
Thou couldst fathom all knowledge,
And unravel the mysteries of all learning.
  Thou wast unique in thine age,
  Yea, amid all thy generation
For thou wast one whose place no man can fill.
  Now when thou art gone,
  What shall become of me?
Nought is there but grief 'mid my friends and my foes alike.
  Now when thou art gone,
  Who will answer me when I speak?
  Who will reply to my questions,

And give me support against foolish men?

(For a cousin:)

Alas for the loss of thee, O cousin mine!
Alas for thee, my friend and my support!
Now do I feel myself a poor mourner
Alone in my house.
Mourning over thee is as a fire
Which burneth in my heart!

(For a brother:)

Alas for the loss of thee, O brother mine!
Now when thou art gone,
Thy household is withouten friend,
And there is none among them can bring me joy
Nor answer me when I call.
I think of all thy deeds,
O thou whose eld was so adorned with goodness,
And whose good deeds were so exceeding great!
Whither now shall I go
After this anguish of spirit?
Mine household and my people alike do weep,
Because they miss thy wisdom,
And thy children and thy kinsmen are stricken with grief,
For there is none left unto them upon whom they may lean.
Therefore will I raise a voice of weeping
For him that was the pillar of his household and his people.
May God grant mercy unto him,
And appoint unto him a place in the Garden of Eden!

(For one who was of the Tribe of Joseph:)

Now do all thy family cry out:
Alas, thou offspring of Joseph!
Mourning, at thy death, is increased unto us.
Greater is this than loss of silver or gold,
And our mourning groweth ever more deep.

(If he was also a priest:)

Now do all thy children cry out:
Alas, thou offspring of Isaac!
In thy life thou didst not keep apart from us!
I too now wail over thee,
And lose myself in grief!
Never wast thou unmindful
Of the secrets which were between us.
Therefore may Moses, our pious master,
Be near thee to welcome thee,
And the Lord Himself work salvation for thee:
Now when thou art gone,
No comfort can I find,
And now when thou art hence,
Myself am lost!
And I beseech my Master that He dwell near to me
And suffer me not to return unto this grief,
But allow me to go out of this world,
That I may come near unto thee
And enter the Garden of Eden,
That we may meet our pious ancestors
And look upon them there,
And be filled with gladness and joy!
Mine eye still seeth thee, O brother mine,
And in my dreams I dream of thee,
And thine image departeth not from me,
Even though thou be gathered to thy people.
May the Lord, my God and my Master,
Grant forgiveness to thee,
O thou who didst know all hidden things and revealed;
And may His favour rest upon thy spirit,
For the sake of our master Moses, the Hebrew;
And may He grant thee atonement for thy sins and transgressions,
And suffer thy journeying forth to end in the Garden of Eden,
And may Moses be there to meet thee and uphold thee
And greet thee, saying: "Blessed is thy coming!"

Now is my sorrow grievous indeed,
For diverse are my memories.
My God and my Master knoweth what is hidden within me,
And every man of understanding will know the secret import of my words.

(For recital at the graveside:)

And may God preserve my household
Which are here ranged about me,
Which stand by this grave
And read the Holy Book.
Happy is he who dieth in the full faith of the matchless Prophet,
And of the peerless Law.
Alas for this servant of God,
Yet hath He suffered him to die in this attestation of his faith
And his life has ended in bliss,
And he shall yet meet the priests, his fathers!

Everyone who joins in the mourning repeats the verses.

All these rites take place, among the Samaritans, in the actual house of the deceased. They are forbidden to go to the synagogue, because the synagogue ranks to-day as the equivalent of the Temple. There is no difference between them.

Question III: Does a man have to say any special words or prayers before his death?

Yes. Every man and woman is obliged, before his or her death, to command his or her children and other relatives concerning all things which may be hidden in his or her heart. If the dying person be wealthy, he must also leave instructions to his descendants concerning the apportionment of his estate, staying clearly what is to be given as *ḥaram*[15] to the Lord, and what is to be given both to the priests and to the needy. Above all, he must command his children to follow the precepts of the faith and to observe the statutes and commandments of the Lord. This obligation derives from the precedent of our master Abraham (upon whom be peace!),

[15] i. e. "consecrated portion"; cf. Numbers xviii, 14.

of whom it is said[16] that he commanded his sons and his household after him to observe the way of the Lord, to do righteousness and justice. The dying person must also recite certain prayers before his decease. The principal of these is the forementioned Confession of Faith in the five[17] essential beliefs of our religion, viz. in the Lord, in Moses, in the Law, in Mount Garizim Bethel, and in the Day of Requital and Reward.

Moreover, every educated man is obliged to write a will with his own hand and to preserve it against the day of his death, when he must read it out to his household. Further, every man or woman who is able to read the Book of the Law must do so constantly whenever they fall ill, so that they may derive comfort in their sickness. And, maybe, the Lord will then bless them with His blessing and cure them of their illness, and forgive them all their former sins and transgressions and deliver them from His vengeance in the Day of Requital and Reward and cause them to enter his garden of Paradise. (May the Lord grant us peace and relief both in this world and hereafter, Amen).

Question IV: Is anyone left to watch the body after dissolution, and are lights kindled?

As soon as the breath leaves the body, certain members of the household, or of the community, are left to watch over it. If the death has taken place at night, lights are kindled in order to enable the watchers to read over it the Book of the Holy Law.

The door may not be closed, lest the spirit be imprisoned in the house, and the latter become like the grave, rendering unclean all who are in it[18].

Moreover, no member of the Samaritan community may touch a body when it lies in the house. Any who do so are at once accounted unclean. Similarly, those members of the community upon whom devolves the task of washing the body, clothing it

[16] Genesis xviii, 19.

[17] Similarly, in Islamic doctrine, the deceased must give *five* assurances to the examining angel on the "night of desolation" (*lailat al-waḥsha*), viz: (1) his god is Allāh; (2) his prophet is Muḥammad; (3) his faith is Islām; (4) his Bible is the Qurʿān, and (5) his *qibla* is the Kaʿaba.

[18] On this fairly universal practice, v. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, p. 415 b.

and carrying it to the grave are regarded as ritually unclean through contact with a corpse.

If the deceased be a man of standing, or one of the notabilities of the community, lights are lit all around him from the moment of death until his departure from the house.[19] It is not believed, however, that these lights effect any sort of atonement for his sins.[20]

It is also the custom to burn incense of fine spices in the presence of a corpse, the idea being that this will effect the removal of the blight and plague from the rest of his people. The custom derives from the action of our master Moses on the day the plague broke out among the people of Israel. We are told that the people complained to Moses and Aaron in the wilderness, and that Moses thereupon said to Aaron: Take a censer and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them: for there is a blight gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun (Numbers xvii, 11; Ex. xvi, 46). The usage survives among us to this day.

Question V: Is the body washed and clothed with garments, or merely with a shroud?

The Samaritans derive the custom of washing the body from the precedent of our master Jacob (upon whom be peace!), of whom it is said that after his death the physicians in Egypt embalmed him.[21]

The body is washed in water, and clothed in new linen garments. The garments consist of a shirt, trousers and a general outer garment, all of linen. Men are dressed in the same kind of linen garment as they are wont to wear when at prayer on Sabbaths and holy days. The head is covered with a linen cap, and the whole body is wrapped in a praying-shawl (*ṭalith*) reaching from head to foot. The garments must be of linen throughout. There must be no admixture of wool, nor must anything red, blue or purple be introduced.[22] Clothing the dead in purple is forbidden among the

[19] Similarly, in the Sephardic rite among the Jews, candles are lit in the case of a rabbi or Elder of the community, and are carried before the bier at the funeral.

[20] A reference to candles lit for the dead in Catholic churches.

[21] Genesis 50[2].

[22] Cp. LANE, *The Modern Egyptians*, Chap. xxxiii (Minerva Library ed., p. 476) on Islamic custom: "The colours most approved for the grave-clothes are

Samaritans, and wool must not be used because it might have come from an unclean animal, or a dead lamb or a beast slain after the Gentile fashion.

The next thing done is to sprinkle the corpse with scents derived from flowing myrrh.

According to the strict letter of the law, those who wash the body, or come into contact with it, are required to be purged on the third and seventh day following in the dust of the Red Heifer,[23] but since this dust is no longer conserved, having disappeared some three and a half centuries ago, owing to paucity of numbers, general poverty and external oppression, it is now no longer possible to observe this precept. Moreover, all who have come into contact with the body are strictly required to isolate themselves for seven days and then to cleanse themselves by means of ritual ablutions. Since however, the observance of this requirement would, in practise, entail great hardship, it is nowadays the custom to employ the services of Gentiles residing in Nablus (Mount Garizim) for purposes of washing and clothing the dead. Members of the community stand at a distance to give them instructions and to recite the Biblical verses traditional in this ceremony. These are as follows:- (i) Leviticus xv, 31: "Thus shall ye guard the children of Israel from their uncleanness, that they die not" . . . (The Lord it was who commanded thus, and every mouth possessed of speech shall proclaim praises unto thee, O Lord, with heart and soul!); (ii) Genesis ii, 7: "And He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul" etc. until the end of the section;[24]

white and green; but any colour is used, *excepting blue, or what approaches to blue*".

[23] In accordancewith the Biblical commandment in Numbers xix, 11—12. On the Red Heifer among the Samaritans, cp. M. GASTER, *Samaritan Eschatology*, pp. 195—197.

[24] Among the Samaritans, the Pentateuch is divided into *qiṣṣin* or "sections", the equivalent of our paragraphs. In his monographs *The Biblical Lessons: A Chapter in Biblical Archaeology* (reprinted in *Studies and Texts*, pp. 503 ff.) my father suggests that these *qiṣṣin* are related closely to the *peṭuḥōt* and *seṭumōt* of the Masoretic text, and to the paragraphs of the LXX.

The *qiṣṣah* in which occurs Ex. xv, 26 ends with the close of that verse; similarly that of Gen. ii,7. That of Lev. xv, 31 ends at xv,33 and that of Ex. xl, 31 at xl,32.

(iii) Exodus xv, 26: "If thou wilt do that which is right in His sight etc." until the end of the section; (iv) Exodus xl, 31: "And Moses washed therefrom" etc., until the end of the section.

If, however, the deceased was a person of standing among his brethren, or a man of means, or if he has expressly commanded before his death that Gentile hands shall not touch his body, it is customary to recruit the paid services of poor and needy members of the community and to charge them with the task of washing and burying the corpse. These men are then considered to be unclean for seven days, in accordance with the law mentioned above. At the end of this period, they wash and cleanse themselves in water. The reason for this is not confined to the consideration that once upon a time the Divine Sanctuary existed in our midst. There is also a present-day reason, and that is that the paschal lamb is still slaughtered, and this requires the removal of all uncleanness so that the congregation may be in a state of perpetual purity before the Lord.

Question VI: How many days after death does burial take place? Who goes to the funeral? Only relatives, or men and women of the community?

In our own community it is the custom to bury the dead as soon as the digging of the grave is finished. Objection is taken to the practise of buring two persons at the same time, for this is thought to involve the very thing specified as a curse in the words of the Biblical text (Leviticus xxvi, 30): "I will cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols". Burial is never postponed beyond a single day of 24 hours, and even this postponement is made only in order to allow time both for relatives to arrive from a distance and for the washing and clothing of the body to take place. The latter operations are performed with as great expedition as possible, lest the corpse grow rank and emit an objectionable odour.

As soon as the necessary tasks have been completed, the body is removed to the place of burial. The whole community, men and women alike, accompany it. People come both from far and near, and even friendly Gentiles are not excluded. In front of the cortège, at some distance, goes one of the priests, holding a censer in his hand and scattering incense of spices. The said priest begins

reciting the final Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii), beginning at the words: "And Moses spake in the ears of all the congregation of Israel the words of this song, until they were ended" (Deut. xxxi, 30). The congregation thereupon responds with the actual words of the Song, viz. "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak" (Deut. xxxii, 1 ff.), timing the recital in such a way that they reach the graveside upon the words: "See now that I, even I, am He" (Deut. xxxii, 39). At the graveside, priest and congregation stand together and lower the body, the priest thereupon continuing the recital: "See now that I, even I, am He," until the end of the Law (Deut. xxxiv, 12). Then the gravediggers place slabs of stone in position and heap on earth, after which is recited the verse: "The Law which Moses bequeathed us is an heirloom, O Congregation of Jacob" (Deut. xxxiii, 4), and the prayer beginning;[25] "We will bless Him, and there is none like Him" etc. The priest next recites a prayer for the repose[26] of the dead. This runs as follows:-[27]

"O Lord, God, I beseech thee by Thy mercy and by Thy being and by Thy glory, and by our masters, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, and by our master Moses and by Aaron, Eleazar, Ithamar and Phineas, and by Joshua and Caleb, and by the holy kings and the Seventy Elders,[28] and by the sanctity of Mount Garizim Bethel, that Thou account this recital on our part as an acceptable offering unto Thee, to the end that Thy mercy and Thy grace may shelter the spirit of Thy poor servant N. son of N., of the family of N. O Lord God, in Thy mercy have mercy upon him and cause his spirit to dwell in the Garden of Eden, and forgive Thou him and

[25] COWLEY, *op. cit.*

[26] Samaritan מנחה, lit. "offering". My rendering is loose, and I do not intend to suggest that I am reading the word as מְנוּחָה

[27] COWLEY, *op. cit.* II, p. 855.

[28] These are the 70 elders to whom Moses entrusted the Law in the wilderness (cf. Numbers xi, 16—22). The Samaritans claim that the true text of the Law (i.e. *their* text) was traditionally handed down by these men. In *The Samaritans*, pp. 119 ff., my father suggests that herein lies the real origin of the *Septuagint* story, and the explanation of the words used in *Mishna Abōth*, I, i: "Moses received the Law from Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua, and Joshua to *the elders*, and the elders to the prophets". A similar association of Joshua, Caleb etc. with the 70 Elders recurs in the Samaritan phylactery published in *Studies and Texts*, pp. 426 ff.

all the congregation of Israel who venerate Mount Garizim Bethel, Amen. Amen. Amen. By the virtue of Moses, the faithful, Amen."

The forgeoing is recited by all in unison. Then the priest alone says the following:-[29]

Good is He who created the world,
And who calleth unto being all who enter it.
These too did he create who now repose in bliss,
Who laboured and have gotten their reward.
May His greatness be proclaimed
Who calleth men to being when they come,
And may His justice be proclaimed,
Who beareth them away when they depart.
Saints and Prophets alike have died,
And who is there hath length of life but He?
Let us then humble ourselves and say:
God is just, but we ourselves at fault!
May God who hath mercy upon you,
And turneth your lives to righteousness,
And exerciseth grace unto you,
And pardoneth all transgression,
Grant forgiveness unto this one
And unto all the teachers and priests who have died,[30]
And unto all the dead of this congregation, who died in faith,
Men and women, old and young alike,
And may God suffer no vexation to vex thee
Neither grief to grieve thee.
And may He watch over all of you in his mercy and with His spirit,
For He is a merciful God and gracious,
Who doeth whatsoever He desireth,
With none to say Him nay.
The Lord exerciseth justice and is no respecter of persons,
The God of Faithfulness is His name,

[29] COWLEY, II, p. 853.

[30] Cp. the Jewish prayer for the repose of the dead (Hashkabah), according to the Sephardic rite (ed. M. GASTER, vol. i, p.208): "May peace accompany him, and may peace be upon his repose ..... he and all they of his people Israel who now slumber, with fullness of mercy and forgiveness".

And all His judgments are justice.
(O Lord,) forgive Thy people Israel,
Who venerate Mount Garizim Bethel!
Yea, may the Lord forgive this one,
Together with all that be dead among us,
And together with all the dead
Of all our congregations, Amen.

Then he says to the family of the deceased: "May God remove from you all reproach",[31] and they answer him and say, "Amen, and from thee also".

The recital of these prayers takes place only in the case of adults. In that of young children, no prayers are recited and there is no formal lamentation. They are merely washed and buried in new garments. Only men go the funeral of a child, viz., its father, its brothers, and its relatives.

Question VII: Is the body placed in a coffin?

All corpses, whether male or female, are placed in coffins. The usage is derived from the precedent of Joseph, concerning whom it is said in the Holy Law[32] that he was placed in a coffin in Egypt. It is also observed in order to pay due respect to the dead by conserving his body in the grave. On the day of a man's death it may happen to be raining and in that case, were it not for the coffin, his grave-clothes would become sodden and soon moulder, thus affording added cause of grief to the mourners. The coffin, however, must not be embellished with any drawing or portrait.[33]

Question VIII: What prayers are recited over the grave, and by whom?

These are duly set forth in their entirety in the Book of Mourning.[34] They consist of a selection of Biblical passages, some of

[31] Cp. the quotation from Isaiah xxv, 8 which occurs at the end of the Jewish Hashkabah (ed. M. GASTER, *op. cit.*, p. 201): "He will destroy death forever; and the Lord God will wipe away the tear from off all faces, and *the reproach of his people will He remove*..... etc.

[32] Genesis 1, 26.

[33] Such portraits are a common feature of Oriental funerals.

[34] This is the work called in Arabic عادة الكره and printed by COWLEY in his *Samaritan Liturgy* II, 852—866, from the Crawford MS. 15 now in the John

which tell of the deaths of the prophets, patriarch and priests, while others contain admonitions concerning the fear of the Lord, and yet others prayers and supplications originally recited by our master Moses, the son of ʿAmram, chief of the prophets (upon whom be the peace of the Lord!). To these is added the Final Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii), the beginning of which (v. 2) contains a reference to the distilling dew, the middle to the fire which will be kindled at the last (v. 22), and the end to the forgiveness which will be granted by God (v. 43). This song also contains an assurance of resurrection and of grace which will yet be shewn to the dead. Extracts of the final Blessing (Deut. xxxiii), in which the death of our master Moses is narrated, are also recited, except in the case of women, when extracts narrating the death of Sarah Leah, Rachel and Deborah, the nurse of Rebeccah,[35] are substituted.

These prayers are recited over the grave, morning and evening, throughout the week of mourning. They are led by one of the priests who, at the conclusion of them, intones the song the text of which I shall give presently. The song is recited in tones of a monotonous mourning dirge current among the Samaritans from remote antiquity. According to tradition, it was composed by the holy angels themselves.[36] The story goes that when Aaron died, Moses and Eleazar took him out for burial. When they returned from this duty, the people noticed that Aaron was not with them, and began to suspect Moses and Eleazar of having murdered him. God, however, took note of their suspicion, and sent angels to carry the body of Aaron through the midst of the camp, the while they chanted this song. That is why it is expressly said in the Law: "And all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead" (Numbers xx, 29). Seeing his body, they were convinced of his death, and the entire

Rylands Library at Manchester, and from the British Museum MS. add. 19,652. Codex Gaster 856 gives another excellent text.

[35] Cf. Gen. xxxv, 8. COWLEY's texts do not specify these extracts, but they are duly set forth in Cod. GASTER, 856, ff. 56—68, according to my father's MS. note on the margin of his copy of COWLEY.

[36] The legend also occurs in Jewish sources, e.g. *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (ed. M. GASTER), chapter XLIX. Parallels are there quoted (p. xci) from *Numbers Rabbah* XIX, 11; *Yalqut Shimeʿoni* i, f. 238q, 763 (from the lost *Midrash Eshaqa*) and it is stated that Shahrastani mentions an identical Arabic legend.

House of Israel wept for him for thirty days. Here, then, is the song which the angels chanted:-[37]

There is none abides for ever
  Save only God in His greatness.
All that be of human kind
  Pass away in human wise;
God alone abideth,
  God of the past and of the future.
    There is none etc.
All life is vanity,
And all who dwell on earth are borne away;
God alone abideth,
The greatest of the great
    There is none etc.
Alike the old, alike the young,
Do lay them in the dust;
God alone abideth,
Unfading and unique.
    There is none etc.
Alike the great, alike the small,
Are borne away in death like this;
God alone abideth,
Great above all the great.
    There is none etc..
Alike the rich, alike the poor,
Depart in death like this;
God alone abideth,
King above all kings.
    There is none etc.
Man and woman all alike
Are buried in the earth;
God alone abideth,
Sovran o'er all sovranty.
    There is none etc.
Nor man is there nor woman
But needs must suffer death;

[37] COWLEY, II, pp. 852—3.

God alone abideth,
O'er future and o'er past.
There is none etc.
Lo, all that is created
Must yet return to dust;
God alone abideth,
Giving pardon, giving hope
There is none etc.
All that lives must die
Throughout the vast creation.
God alone abideth,
Lord of spirits.
There is none etc.
The living all must die,
The high must be brought low;
God alone abideth,
Full of lovingkindness and of truth.
There is none etc.

(If the deceased belonged to the Priestly House):

No prophet e'en nor priest
Can turn his back on Death;
God alone abideth,
The faithful God.
There is none etc.

(If he was himself a priest or scribe):

All His works are wisdom,
And all His ways are justice;
Yea, God alone abideth,
Who judgeth righteously,
Who hath given judgment concerning this death,
And hath done so in wisdom.
God alone abideth,
The Lord Divine.
There is none abides for ever,
Save only God in His greatness,

Who maketh all generations to pass away,
Himself living for ever.

Then they of the congregation, or of the bystanders answer:[38] "Blessed be our God for ever, and blessed be His name for ever! May God who hath mercy upon you, and who turneth your lives to righteousness, and who exerciseth grace toward you, and forgiveth all who tresspass, grant pardon unto this one, and unto all our dead teachers and priests and to all the faithful dead of the congregation of Israel, men and women, old and young. May He suffer no more vexation to vex them neither grief to grieve them, and may He watch over them in His mercy and with His spirit" etc., as above, [in the answer to question VI].

Then all who are present at the graveside recite the *Fiṯḥ* over the dead. This consists of the words "For I call on the name",[39] "Hear O Israel",[40] "And the Lord hath commanded us to do", etc.[41]

Then the priest says the prayer "O Lord, I beseech Thee, in Thy mercy", the text of which has been given above in the answer to Question VI. And at the conclusion of the whole ceremony, members of the congregation say to the mourners: "May the Lord remove from you all affliction and all reproach". And they answer: "Amen, and likewise from you".

Question IX: What has a mourner to do?

Among the Samaritans, a mourner has to sit at home and do nothing. He may not follow his employment, but must spend his whole time, day and night, reading the Holy Book, until he draw comfort from it. He must remain quietly at home, and must not talk about mundane matters nor indulge in any form of mirth for seven days. He may not go out, except for a short distance, nor change his clothes for thirty days, unless he has incurred

[38] COWLEY, II, p. 583.

[39] Deut. xxxii, 3 (where the Samaritan text has בְּשֵׁם for MT שֵׁם). On the use of this formula, cp. M. GASTER, art. Samaritans, *Enc. of Islam*, p. 125b:

"... this phrase occurs over and over again during prayer and in fact precedes every other portion [i. e. takes precedence over all other portions of the service], even the *Ensira*. Markaḥ has devoted a special portion of his Commentary to it, and Kabāsi has written a special treatise [on it]."

[40] Deut. vi, 4–9 (the "Shemaʿ"). [41] Deut. vi, 24—25.

pollution.[42] He must continue uninterruptedly at prayer morning and evening, and after the regular devotions must recite a special offertory for the dead, consisting in the Confession of Faith[43] coupled with an appeal to God to forgive him all his sins.

If the deceased be a man of standing, certain of the elders of the community come on the eve of the Sabbath and summon the mourner to the synagogue. They go with him, but he himself does not wear his usual Sabbath garb, nor does he join in the prayers. On festivals, he must refrain from listening to festive songs, nor must he go to any place of entertainment for a full thirty days. He must not listen to any singing, either at synagogue or in a private house.

On the seventh day of mourning, he must send for one of the priests to read the Book of the Law to him. This book is then deposited in the graveyard, beside the grave, and the mourner then prays to God on behalf of the deceased to have mercy upon him, to shelter him with the clouds of His favour, and to appoint his spirit to be one of those which dwell in His garden of Paradise. He also prays that the present mourning may be the last affliction to befall the family, and that no similar mourning may visit them. Having finished these prayers and supplications, he rises up, if he be a man of substance, and pays the priest according to his means. Everbody then leaves the graveside and goes home.

The next day, the mourner resumes his employment, and henceforth the mourning is a purely personal matter.

If the deceased was a man of substance, the principal mourner usually gives a banquet on the last day of the official mourning. He invites to it the entire priestly household, together with the various scholars of the community and anyone who happens to be poor and needy. They read the Holy Law, eat and drink, and reserve a portion of the fare as a present to the spirit of the deceased,

[42] By contact with unclean things, by seminal discharge etc., as set forth in the several laws of the book of Leviticus.

[43] In the original, פתח, which immediately suggests the Arabic *Fātiḥa*. My father's view, expressed in art. Samaritans, *Encycl. of Islam*, p. 126a, was, however, that the Arabic term had *in origin* no reference to the *beginning of the Qurʿān*, but was a pre-Mohammedan term connected with the words עמדתי קמיך על פתח רחמיך "I stand before thee at the gate of Thy mercy", which stand at the head of the Samaritan *Ensira*, or confession of faith.

imploring the Lord to grant him favour, mercy and forgiveness. This is as much as I can tell you on the point.

Question X: For how many days must the mourner keep to his house?

The mourner must keep to his house for seven days, as stated above. He must not consort with anyone, save with those who come to him to proffer condolence, or with Gentiles. He is not allowed to do anything. He may merely rise to greet them when they arrive, and as soon as they depart, he must resume his reading of the Holy Law, and seek to draw comfort from the various dirges and lamentations to be found in the Book of Mourning.

Question XI: What things are expressly forbidden to mourners?

Mourners may not listen to any form of merriment, nor frequent places of entertainment. They may not wear new clothes nor go out into the city to enjoy a stroll or take the air. They may not eat sweets or honey, nor wash in the wash-house, nor drink wine or intoxicating liquor, nor indulge in sexual intercouse, nor shave their heads. On Sabbath, they may not join in the traditional chanting of the Law. This is not expressly enjoined in the Book of the Law, but obtains nevertheless as a traditional usage.

Question XII: Are mourners allowed to go to synagogue?

Yes. Every Samaritan is obliged to observe the prescribed seasons of prayer without intermissson. To this end, the eve of the first Sabbath after a death, members of community go to the house of the mourners to summon and accompany them to Synagogue. If, however, the deceased was one of the priestly notabilities, the synagogue is not opened on that Sabbath, since the whole priestly family would then be mourners, and it is not fitting for a priest to officiate in such a state. The same principle obtains also in the case of scholars and elders.

It is customary on festivals to commemorate the deceased by a public recitation of his virtues,[44] each contributing what he knows

[44] This custom, so Ab-Ḥasda writes to me, was observed by the Samaritan community on hearing the news of my father's death, — a touching tribute to the affection in which he was held by these distant friends.

from his own experience. Prayers are at the same time offered to God to grant forgiveness of all sins.

During the year following a death, it is customary to refrain as far as possible from using in prayer the prescribed forms and hymns to be found in the prayer-book. This is done out of respect to the departed and to his relatives, the idea being that any recital of the same prayers once recited by him might inflict upon them pain and grief.[45]

Mourners may on no account absent themselves from the synagogue. This injunction is derived from the fact that our master (upon whom be peace!) is said to have waxed wrath against his brother Aaron when the latter omitted to eat of the sin-offering on the occasion of the death of his sons, Nadab and Abihu, (cf. Lev. x, 17: Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin-offering in the holy place, seeing it is most holy?).

Question XIII: Are there any special prayers which a mourner must introduce into his morning or evening devotions?

There are no special prayers for the dead to be introduced into morning or evening devotions. At the conclusion of the same, however, the mourner must recite the Confession of Faith recorded above (*supra*, In. I.), together with the special supplication beginning "O Lord I beseech Thee, in Thy mercy" etc. (*supra* Qu. VI). In addition thereto, if he be able to read, he must read a portion of the Law.

Question XIV: How long does mourning last?

Mourning lasts among the Samaritans for seven days. This is derived from the precedent of Joseph who is said to have mourned for his father for seven days (Gen. i, 10). This mourning, however, is not observed for every man or woman who dies, but only for notabilities, and for any priest, elder or official in a man's family.

[45] The anthropologist may see in this an extension of the custom whereby anything which might evoke the dead by association (e.g. his clothes) rests under a taboo, even his name being avoided. See on this; FRAZER, *Golden Bough*, one vol. ed., pp. 251—6; CRAWLEY-BESTERMAN, *The Mystic Rose*, I, pp. 129—132.

Question XV: Is shaving of head or beard permissible during mourning?

This question has already been answered (*supra*, Qu. XI). Strictly speaking, the head may not be shaved for an entire year, but the custom has fallen into desuetude, and nowadays one merely refrains from shaving head or beard for seven days, and that only in the case of near relatives.

Question XVI: Is there a prescribed period in which a mourner may not speak to anybody?

There is no such period. Mourners may speak with everyone, though naturally, they are as a rule too depressed and full of grief to indulge in conversation.

Question XVII: Do mourners rend their garments or go barefoot?

Mourners do not rend their garments nor go barefoot. The Samaritans derive their authority for not doing so from the fact that when Nadab and Abihu died, Moses expressly commanded Aaron and his sons, saying: "Uncover not your heads, neither rend your clothes, lest ye die" (Lev. x, 6). Moreover, they do not consider it right to follow heathen custom in this matter,[46] in accordance with the precepts: "Thou shalt not do as they do" (Ex. xxiii, 24), and: "Thou shalt not do according to the abominations of those peoples" (Deut. xviii, 9).

Question XIX: Do mourners wear veils over their faces?

This custom is expressly forbidden to men and women alike. No one goes especially wrapped[47] nor do they wear veils nor do they make baldness[48] between the eyes for the dead. Moreover, they do not wear arm-bands, as do the neighbouring peoples, since they are an holy people to the Lord, especially chosen by Him to be distinct from all nations on the face of the earth.

Nowadays, however, some of the near female relatives observe the custom of dishevelling their hair and wearing a black veil from

[46] The same principle (against adopting חֻקּוֹת הַגּוֹי) operates also in Jewish doctrine.

[47] In reference to the oriental custom whereby women go swathed in shawls at a funeral.

[48] Cf. Deut. xiv, 1.

the moment of the decease until the burial, after which they remove it. They also wear black clothes for the dead, and refrain from dressing in red or yellow garments or in linen. But such observances are really forbidden, and are practised only by a small minority of the people. The majority hold them in disfavour.

Question XIX: Is it the custom to pour away standing water in a house where there is a corpse?

Yes. All standing water is poured away in a place where there is a corpse.[49] Such water may not be drunk.

It is also the custom to sprinkle water on the spot where a body has been lying. This is done after its removal for burial, and effects a purification in the sense that the said spot is not regarded as being ritually unclean for seven days, as are the vessels in the house.

Question XX: Is a banquet served in the house after the return from the funeral?

No banquet is served in the actual house of mourning, nor do we know of any such thing as the "funeral meats"[50] customarily served by the Gentiles in such cases. What happens is that a member of the congregation invites the mourners to a meal in his own house, or that friends take it in turns to send meals in to them throughout the seven days of mourning. Moreover, anyone who is serving a meal for his own household sends a portion of it to the mourners who are confined to their house, or alternatively, all club together, each according to his means, to provide a single repast which is sent in to the mourners. This is done especially if the latter be poor. The practise is observed daily throughout the seven days, and authority for it is derived from the Biblical commandment: "Thou shalt lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth" (Deut. xv, 4). It is adopted both with enthusiasm and with pride, since the eating of meals in common affords a great measure of comfort to people who are, on such occasions, not unnaturally depressed in spirit and also unable to attend to things for themselves.

[49] This custom is followed at present also by Moslem peasants in Palestine.

[50] Samaritan: מחוקת המת.

Question XXI: Are there any special times when people visit graves to pray for the departed? If so, what hymns are recited?

Yes. The Samaritans visit the grave to pray for the departed on each of the seven days of mourning, both in the morning and in the evening. They also pay such visit every Friday[51] and before all festivals.[52]

They recite a portion of the Holy Law, or the Confession of Faith mentioned above (*supra* Qu. I). As for hymns, the one in general use in the Final Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) since, according to the traditional interpretation, it contains at its beginning a reference to the dews which shall distil upon the dead, and at its end a promise of forgiveness and an assurance of resurrection and Divine favour.

On certain other occasions also they recite traditional songs in honour of departed teachers. These are duly set forth in the standard Book of Mourning. It is believed that by reciting these songs and hymns, the spirit of the dead comes to the grave and listens and thereby obtains comfort and consolation.[53] It is also held that these recitals lessen the torment and the fire on the Day of Judgment, and that they induce the Lord to forgive to the deceased all his sins and transgressions and failings and omissions.

Question XXII: Is there any difference in the form of mourning observed for parents and for near relatives?

Yes, there is a difference. Parents are nearer to a man than other relatives, for it is they who reared him from infancy and who supported him in tribulation throughout their lives. They are the very cause of his being and it is they who always exerted themselves to be of service to him. Therefore it is meet that a man should honour his parents throughout their lives and mourn them after their death more than all other relatives.

[51] Similarly in Islamic custom, tombs are visited on the three Fridays following a burial, and on the Friday following the conclusion of the prescribed 40 days of mourning.

[52] This is also the custom among the Jews. In many parts of the world festivals of the dead are associated with seasonal rituals. The point has been discussed, and examples adduced, in my study *The Story of Aqhat* in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1937, pp. 128—130.

[53] A widespread and common belief.

It is, however, one thing to die in youth, and another to die in old age. Accordingly, if parents are already old and well advanced in years, so that their sight has begun to fail and they are unable to move with ease, though the mourning of them must be observed with due respect, nevertheless it is permissible to glory in the fact that they have left living issue and such as hold them in affection. In such cases, it is not customary to overdo lamentation. Rather must one give thanks to God who has suffered them to pass away in the full faith of our master Moses, the son of ʿAmram. Our sages have expressed this sentiment excellently in the adage: Death in old age is not like death in youth.[54] Death in old age is full of mercy and grace, but Death in youth is full of affliction and reproach. The Law itself also gives expression to this feeling when it says of our master Abraham: "And Abraham died in a goodly old age, aged and full of days" (Gen. xxv, 8). For this reason, the aged are not mourned for more than a week, in accordance with the Biblical precedents adduced above.

In general, it may be said that among the Samaritans the degree of mourning is determined by the age and status of the deceased, and by whether he was a parent or merely a relative.

Question XXIII: Is a mourner allowed to eat of the Paschal sacrifice?

A mourner may not refrain from eating of the Paschal sacrifice, since omission to do so on the part of any man entails excommunication. The only exceptions allowed are those of men who are ritually unclean by reason of contant with menstruation, or by reason of flux, or by reason of their being on a distant journey, or by reason of their being in prison under the law of a foreign power. Authority for this is derived from the Biblical commandment which runs: "The man that is clean, and is not on a journey, and yet doth not keep the passover unto the Lord, the same soul shall be cut off from among his people; because he brought not the offering of the Lord in its appointed season, that man shall bear his sin" (Numbers, ix, 13). Any statute or commandment expressly enunciated in the Book of the Law is incumbent also upon a mourner. Any omission on his part entails the penalty

54 Samaritan: מותי סיבותה לא כמותי טליותה : מותי סיבותה רחמים ורתו, ומותי טליותה קצף וגנו

prescribed in that same book: "Because he hath despised the word of the Lord, and hath broken his commandment, that soul shall be utterly cut off; his iniquity shall be upon him" (Numbers xv, 31). In view of this, none who profess the faith may venture any change in any one of the Divine commandments.

Question XXIV: Do funerals take place on sabbaths or festivals?

The Samaritans do not bury their dead on sabbaths or on festivals. The body remains in the house until the evening. The reason for this is that it is forbidden to go out into the city on such occasions. This is expressly stated in the Law: "Abide ye every man whery he is; let no man go out from his place on the sabbath day"[55] (Exodus xvi, 29). Moreover, they are forbidden to do any manual work, in accordance with the precept: "Whoseover doeth work therein shall be put to death" (Exod. xxxv, 2). Again, they are forbidden to indulge in lamentation on sabbaths or festivals, since God gave the sabbath to Israel for rest and joy, whereas lamentation would only entail weeping, and this would not be acceptable to the Lord. Therefore, any man in whose house a body remains over the sabbath must eat and drink and not afflict his soul. He is obliged to recite all the usual prayers for the sabbath, and must not continue weeping for the departed. Rather must he thank God for His works.

Question XXV: What is done in the case of a male child who dies uncircumcised?

There is no special provision in such a case. The child is buried as if he had been stillborn. He is not regarded as excommunicated, as is an adult in similar circumstances. Nor is he considered a heathen, because he has not *transgressed* against the commandment of the Lord. Nor again is he held to be outside the company of the sanctified Hebrews. He has to be buried in exactly the same manner as any little child, without adding or substracting anything from the normal ritual. It is believed that he is indeed of the community of Israel and of those who dwell in

[55] The Biblical Text has בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי, "on the *seventh* day". Ab-Ḥasda unconsciously quotes the Samaritan Targum instead of the Hebrew original (v. *supra*, n. 12).

the Garden of Eden. The Biblical precept which ordains excommunication for the uncircumcised (Gen. xvii, 14) does not apply to him.

The Samaritans do not follow the Muslim custom of *post mortem* circumcision in such cases.

Some members of our congregation hold the opinion that a child who has not been circumcised will not rise up in the Last Day, but God alone knoweth all hidden things and revealed. Blessed be His name!

Question XXVI: What is the practice in the case of suicides?

According to the Samaritans, a suicide is an infidel and a violator of the commandments.[56] Therefore nothing is done in his case which would be done in that of anyone else. The members of his family take him out and bury him. It is held that the Divine judgment is executed upon him from the very moment of his death. Such judgment may be incurred either by suicide or by violation of the Divine precepts. It is to this that God was referring when he said to our master Noah: "And surely your blood of your lives will I require . . . . at the hand of all who live will I require it" (Gen. ix. 4). The allusion is to the day of rewards and punishments, wherein the dead will return to life. On that day God will require from him his blood and will requite him for his sin in committing suicide. We are likewise assured of this in the Biblical utterance: "Whose sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed" (Genesis ix, 6) This refers to the suicide who casts away his soul by that very act.

Question XXVII: Do you profess knowledge of the time in which sinners remain in the Place of Burning? Do they remain there until the Day of Judgment, or are they purified before they go to Eden?

We say that there will be no judgment until the (final) Day of Judgment. This is known to us from the Biblical verse, uttered in respect of the Golden Calf: "In the Day when I visit I will visit their sin upon them", as again from that verse in the final Song of Moses which reads: "Is not this . . . . sealed up in My treasuries,

[56] So too among the Jews.

against the Day of Vengeance and Requital"? (Deut. xxxii, 34—5), and from the passage concerning the men who conspired against the Lord in the wilderness: "I the Lord have said, I will surely act against all this evil congregation who have conspired against me in this wilderness; they shall be consumed, and there they shall die" (Numbers xiv, 35).[57] In the last mentioned passage, the word there refers to the Day of Judgment. There are several other passages in the Law which speak to the same effect, but they are too numerous to be adduced here.

We believe furthermore that when the spirit leaves the body, it is gathered up to its own people from the place where it may be, and continues in its respective station (for there are higher and lower stations)[58] until the Day of Judgment. On that day, God will render vengeance on His foemen and requite His enemies.

The Samaritans do not believe in an Inquisiton in the Grave, as do the Gentiles. Opinion is divided, however, as to what exactly happens. Some say that if a man die in sin, that sin lies in wait over his grave until the Day of Judgment, deriving their authority for this view from the words of God to Cain: "Sin lieth at the door" (Gen. iv, 7).[59] Others say that the dead suffer anguish in the grave until the Day of Requital, and that then God will enquire into each man' evil deeds and requite him, visiting upon each his wickedness, and that a man's recompence will be according to the measure of his deeds, for good or for evil.

Howbeit, we live in the faith and hope that the Lord will requite the sins of the children of Israel here in this world, in accordance with the assurance which our master Moses, chief of the prophets, gave to his father-in-law: "Come thou with us, and we will

[57] According to the accents of the Masoretic text, the words "they shall be consumed", but the Samaritans group the phrases differently. According to them, the words "in the wilderness" go with "this evil congregation who have conspired against me". This construction, however, leaves the following "there" hanging in the air. It is accordingly interpreted in an eschatological sense as referring to the distant "Yonder" of the Day of Judgment.

[58] So too in Jewish folklore there are several "stations" (מעלות) in heaven; see M. GASTER, *Hebrew visions of Hell and Paradise*, reprinted in *Studies and Texts*, pp. 124 ff. (Divisions)

[59] Literally, "Sin lieth in wait *at the opening* (לפתח)." Not impossibly, the Samaritans interpreted this as a reference to the future *opening of the grave*.

do good with thee: for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel" (Numbers x, 29). Similarly, in the final Song of Moses it is expressly stated: "He will render vengeance on His adversaries, but will shrive the land of his people" (Deuteronomy xxxii, 43).

O God, annul not Thy covenant with us, and deliver us from all the evils of our actions, through the prayers of our master Moses, our prophet, before whom Thou didst cause Thy goodness to pass, whereat he cried out: "The Lord (is) a God merciful and gracious, longsuffering and abundant in goodness and truth!" (Exod. xxxiv, 6).

This is as far as my limited knowledge extends.

The above answers were completed on the morning of Sunday, the eighth day of the Counting of the Weeks, which is the 26th day of the first month in the year 3570 of the dwelling of the children of Israel in the land of Canaan,[60] by the hand of Ab Hasda, son of Jacob, son of Aaron, the priest. May God grant him forgiveness, Amen!

This work was written at the request of his dear and honoured master, MOSES GASTER, in the city of London, who addressed questions to his servant on these matters. I have answered every question according to my scant knowledge, and I pray God that they may prove acceptable to my master. May God preserve him from all evil, through the virtue of our master Moses, the son of ʿAmram, AMEN.

[60] i.e. Sunday, 4th April, 1937.

ADDITIONAL MATTER FOR DALMAN'S *'ARBEIT UND SITTE'* Vol. V

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

The fifth volume of DALMAN's *Arbeit und Sitte* deals with spinning, weaving and everything connected with clothes. It describes minutely the material, the processes of work and the machinery used in this connexion. Arabic idioms, names, proverbs, riddles and customs are given to explain in a more vivid way the whole process. Every chapter is followed by a detailed description of the conditions that existed in the time of the Hebrews. The profuse footnotes bear witness to the immense trouble which the author took in order to gather and sift material already recorded in the literature on the subject.

The 362 pages of text are followed by four indices. The first contains Hebrew and Aramaic words, the second Arabic expressions, the third is general and the fourth a list of the Biblical references in the text. 128 illustrations on 62 plates still further enhance the value of this authoritative book of reference which will be indispensable to every scholar.

Names, proverbs, idioms and riddles give a realistic picture of the mode of thinking and the customs of the people from which they are taken. Once such material has been collected it remains a source of wealth for every student of philology, folklore and comparative history.

The following expressions connected with dress and the material of which it is made may therefore profitably be added to the list of DALMAN:

allâdjiyeh a kind of *qumbâz* (Ṭōbâs)

burnus an upper cloak generally with a part to cover the head (burnoose).

bṭâneh the lining of dress. It stands also for the lining of other objects, thus *bṭânet eṣ-ṣurmây*, *bṭânet eṣ-ṣandûq*.

balghā slippers. A shoe smaller than a *nuṣṣiyeh* and without

buttons. It is made as a rule of local yellow leather. Unknown to *Muḥîṭ* in this sense.

dabbûrah a red or yellow short *djazmeh* worn by Beduin women.

dandûšeh (pl. *danâdīš*) a piece of cloth that hangs down from a dress.

durrâʿah (is not only known to el-Muqaddisi and some Beduin tribes, but) denotes in Hebron a blue dress worn by women on special occasions.

djardeh (Hebron, pl. *djrûdeh*) old, darned, worn-out clothes; a synonym to *ḫalaq*. *Muḥîṭ*, I, 232 writes ثوب جرد اي خلق .

djanbiyeh (pl. *djanâbî*) a flat, quadrangular or rectangular cushion laid on the ground. It is about half the size of a *faršeh*, and is filled with cotton or with pieces of rags. This expression is mostly used in the northern districts. It is by no means a synonym to *faršeh*, as DALMAN, p. 161.

djôdaleh a piece of cloth or silk hanging down from an oriental sofa to cover the front and the sides. It is laid on the wooden frame (Jerusalem). In some parts of Palestine this expression is used for the whole sofa.

fānûs (Hebron) a kind of a long shirt (white or coloured) worn by women above other clothes. Not known to *Muḥîṭ* in this sense.

farmaliyeh a kind of jacket made of black or blue cloth, worn by Beduin women.

ghabâneh like *šamleh* (s. below) but embroidered with yellow threads. This word comes from غبن ; غبن الثوب ثناه ثم خاطه كي يضيق, to make a dress tighter.

hôkarah a round elegantly woven knot above a tassel. Unknown to *Muḥîṭ* in this sense.

ḥašweh is the filling between the lining and the cloth; generally used in jackets.

ḥaffây a slipper with no part to cover the ankles.

ḥfâḍ (pl. *ḥfâḍât*) swaddling clothes.

ḫdêdiyeh a small cushion for the bed. From خد cheek.

ḫirqah nâšiq rûḥuh very thin cloth.

kaššâfiyeh slippers without the part to cover the ankles.

kaškaš "volant". *Muḥîṭ*, II, 1819, writes: الكشكش ما يخاط على الثوب ونحوه من الشرائط تزيناً له . فارسية .

kôfaliyeh the outer cloth with which a baby is swaddled.

kurkâr thread reel.

lafḥah a cloth to cover the head and a part of the face. Unknown to *Muḥîṭ* in this sense.

laklûk (pl. *lakâlîk*) the shoes of a baby.

maktûmeh a hidden pocket in the inner lining of a *qumbâz* or a jacket. Unknown to *Muḥîṭ* in this sense.

malaff a broad woollen swaddling band wrapped around the abdomen of a baby.

maniyeh a big, coloured, thin cloth worn by Hebron women to cover face and head.

masnad cushion.

maqʿad like *djanbiyeh* but round. It also denotes a bench and a sofa.

qarâšil thickly woven stockings (Nablus); not known to *Muḥîṭ*.

qaffûrah a small straw hat for young children (Aleppo).

qaṭûʿah (Nablus) a small mat with tassels; unknown in this sense to *Muḥîṭ*.

qattûʿah an old mat (Jerusalem).

ʿarqiyeh a simple *ṭaqiyeh* for babies.

rabṭah a tie (*r. ṣurmây*, *r. djurbâneh*, *r. raqabeh*).

salabeh thread (see proverb No. 77).

sarmûdjeh (pl. *sarâmîdj*) silk shoes for ladies. *Muḥîṭ*, I, 952, writes السرموج نوع من الاحذية والسرموجة اخص منه وتعرف عند العامة بالسرماية واكثرهم يقولها بالصاد. DALMAN, p. 292. In some places it is used for several kinds of shoes.

sirbâl a white (rarely blue) shirt like the coat worn by Beduin, reaching to the knees or slightly below the same. *Muḥîṭ* 1,943, writes: السربال القميص او كل ما لبس.

surṭâliyeh a silk *qumbâz* (Nablus district). Turkish.

šadd (synonym to *šdâd*) girdle (Hebron, not widely known).

šabar woollen ribbon with which peasant and Beduin wind their hairs into pigtails (tress).[1]

šamleh a square piece of cloth or silk used as a *laffeh* (for the head), or as a girdle (for men). *Muḥîṭ*, p. 1124, writes الشملة كساء دون القطيفة.

šarbeh a kind of *ṭarḥah* (shawl for the head). *Muḥîṭ*, I, 1045, writes شربة العباءه عند العامة نقش بين كتفيها.

[1] Other meanings are: الشبر صفائح صغيرة مربعة فيها ثقوب تدخل فيها الخيط وتحاك شريطاً عريضاً. شبر حق النكاح.

šarṭûḥah (also *šartûḥah*) an old slipper.

šrîṭ (DALMAN, p. 334, uses *šrâṭ* for a white band worn as a sign of mourning), any kind of band.

šfûf a carpet with long woollen threads at the boarders. *Muḥîṭ*, I, 1101, الشَّفُّ والشِّفُّ الثوب الرقيق.

ṭaqm is more used than *ṭaqmeh*, DALMAN, p. 203.

ṭarḥah a piece of cloth worn on the head by city women.

ṭîbeh the collar of a dress.

ṭurrâḥah and *ṭarrâḥah*. This expression which is used mostly in the northern districts is a synonym of *djanbiyeh*.

wsâdeh common cushion.

zêniyeh a term applied in the Nablus district to the *qumbâz*.

zîk the upper hard circular edge of the *šaṭweh*.[1]

The different kinds of *ṭarâbîš* are:

1. *Ṭarbûš turkī*, *ṭ. isṭambûlī*, *ṭ. babôrī*, is the common *ṭarbûš* worn by city dwellers. It has vertical sides, a horizontal flat top and a brown red or a dark red colour. The *ṭarbûš maṣrī* has shorter sides.

2. *Ṭarbûš mughrabī* is made of thicker and rougher material. The sides are short and slightly oblique. The contour shows four perpendicular ridges. The top is slightly conical. These two sorts of *ṭarâbîš* have *šarârîb* (pl. of *šurrâbeh*), that of the *mughrabī* being somewhat thicker and slightly bluish.

3. *Ṭarbûš ḥidjâzī* resembles the *ṭarbûš turkī* but has no *šurrâbeh* and is somewhat shorter. It may be made of white or red colour. The top is at times slightly conical.

4. A slightly conical, generally whitish or brown *ṭarbûš*, with a horizontal flat top is a *ṭanṭûr*. It is worn by members of the *Mêlawiyeh* order. It is higher than the usual *ṭ*.

The *ṭarbûs turkī* is worn as a rule without a *laffeh*. Only *ʿulamâ*, Mohammedan religious personalities, wind a *ʿamâmeh*, called also in some places *šamleh*, on this head dress. The *ʿamâmeh* is as a rule a white cotton cloth of about 5–6 m. length. Rarely one may

[1] *Muḥîṭ*, I. 904, الزيق من القميص ما احاط منه بالعنق . والزيق في النسائج عند العامة الخط الدقيق المنسوج فيها مخالفاً لونه . يقولون زيق اسود وزيق احمر . . . . . I heard the peasants pronounce it with a ك and not with a ق. زيك has according to *Muḥîṭ* no such meaning.

encounter a *ʿâlim* with a *ṭarbûš mughrabī* and a *ʿamâmeh*, and still rarer with a *lubbâdeh* or a *ṭanṭûr* and a *ʿamâmeh*.

On a *ṭ. mughrabī* a silk, cotton or linen cloth may be wound. To the south of Jerusalem this cloth is called *kaffiyeh*, and in some villages to the north of this city it is known as *ḥarašiyeh*. It is as a rule of red colour, but may show different colours. A *talliyeh* or *tallâwiyeh* (called rarely *ṭabaziyeh*) is a piece of cloth half white and half red. It is also wound around a *ṭ. mughrabī*. The *Qêsī* leave the red colour and the Yemeni the white appear on the outer part.

The following description of some parts of the *qumbâz* are of interest. The collar of this dress may be a *qabbeh nābulsiyeh* or a *qabbeh bêrûtiyeh*. In the former the collar (*qabbeh*) has one and the same height all the way through. In the *bêrûtiyeh* the front part is cut so as to be 0.75–1.50 cm. lower than the rest of the collar. The part of the *qumbâz* just below the axilla used to be made of a special piece of cloth. It was elongated and broader at the axilla (upper) end than at its lower one. This piece is known as *sôdjaq* (pl. *sawâdjiq*). At present tailors do not make use of the *sôdjaq*. That piece of the *qumbâz* which is sewn to the front and hinder sides of the *sôdjaq* and extends downwards to the lower border of the *qumbâz* is called *bnêqah* (pl. *banâʾyq*). The *bnêqah* has at its lower border a V-shaped cut with the opening pointing downwards. This is known by the name *fqêšeh* (pl. *faqâʾyš*). These openings are two in number, one being on each side. One long side of the *qumbâz* overlaps the other on the front, exactly as in the case of an overcoat. The lower part is the *badanī* and the upper the *rakûb*. When the *rakûb* is broad the *qumbâz* is called *qallâbeh* (Ṭōbâs). The *maḫfiyeh* pocket of a *qumbâz* is known in some places as *mašḥûrah*.

Some customs and superstitions connected with dress and which have not been mentioned by DALMAN may now be given.

A child who wears the head dress of another is said to become bald-headed.[1]

While blue dress is said to protect more or less against the evil eye, yellow cloth draws the same.

If a person wishes to injure his enemy he needs only to take

[1] The same affection may result when two children knock their heads against each other. To prevent baldness every one has to spit.

an *ʾaṯar* (a trace) of his clothes (or of his body, as a few hairs or some cuttings of his nails) and use them in a magic way. Some examples of this procedure are:

a. Whenever a menstruating woman steps over a piece of clothing belonging to a child that child gets sick and begins to waste, as he is said to be attacked with the *kabseh* (see CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 38).

b. Should an envious woman burn a rag of a child's clothing, that child gets sick.

c. If an enemy turns a shoe upside down during a wedding ceremony the bridegroom will remain childless.

The binding of knots in a thread during the wedding ceremony makes the bridegroom impotent.

New blue clothes, which have not yet been washed, if worn by a woman who visits a patient, make his condition worse.[1]

A person who dreams that he has lost some of his hairs is afraid that he or some of his relatives may soon die.

A dream of the falling off of the heal of a husband's shoe denotes the death of his wife.

A girl who dreams that she wears a new head dress may soon expect her marriage (Jaffa). Others say that wearing a new dress denotes long life and in case of a sick person his speedy recovery.

New clothes should not be sewn on a Tuesday or a Saturday, for the person for whom they are being made would fear to put them on lest he should speedily die.

In Bêt Djâlā the people say *tafṣîl yôm el-ʾiṯnên bimûtū ʾiṯnên*, "The cutting of a garment on Monday will result in the death of two".

Women do not like washing clothes on Monday, still less on Friday. Such a work on the latter day results in the cutting off of her descendants (*biyqṭaʿ eḏ-ḏirriyeh*).

Nobody should handle scissors unnecessarily, for playing with scissors is believed by some tribes of the Sinai Peninsula to be followed by a quarrel.

A woman who has lost all her children, except the first born, should carry wooden shoes on her neck while she is again pregnant and should be cauterized on her heals (Aleppo).

[1] Some of these superstitious beliefs have been mentioned in my *Aberglaube*, pp. 25,26.

A woman who has lost all her children should dress the next born child with clothes begged from different persons.

To cure a reddish eruption covering the body of a child (like measles, erythema, scarlet fever eruption, etc.) it should wear a red shirt next to the skin.

The people of el-Kûr tear a slit in the front of the bridal *ṯôb* as soon as she puts it on on the wedding day, believing that this procedure increases her offsprings. *Kull mā nasal kull mā kiṯr en-nasl*, "the more the threads of the torn garment wear away the more numerous will be her descendants".

In some places we find that custom imposes a rigid distinction between the dress worn by girls and married women. In Bethlehem, Bêt Djâlâ, Bêt Ṣāḥûr only married women wear the *šaṭweh*. The girls of most villages of the Ramallah district wear at times a *qaḏleh* (sometimes called *'irweh*). This is a large gold coin hanging in the centre of the forehead and fastened to the edges of the *'râqiyeh*, the head cap. After marriage they replace this coin with a row of other coins (*ṣaffeh*), fastened along the edges of the head cap. In some districts the girls formerly wore a *šakkeh* more often than a *qaḏleh*.[1]

In the cities the Mohammedan bridegroom had to undo the shoes of his bride as soon as she entered the bridal room. This was meant to denote his willingness and readiness to help and serve her whenever she needed help. He then stepped on her garment as a sign of being the head and master of the family (Jerusalem).

If a young man breaks off his engagement, the betrothed girl may, if she wishes, keep all his presents. She may also keep the wedding clothes made up to that time and paid for in part by the money given to her by her father, a sum originating from the *mahr* ("purchase money") paid.

A person who unintentionally wears a part of his dress inside out should not try to correct the error, for it is believed to be a good omen, denoting good luck.

Any tear in a dress should never be sewn while the person is wearing the same, for only the shrouds of the dead are sewn on the body (Jaffa).

[1] CANAAN, *Unwritten Laws affecting the Palestine Arab Women*, *JPOS*, XI, p. 191.

A handkerchief should never be given as a present, especially not to a lady, for handkerchiefs are used primarily to dry tears (Jaffa).

The dipping of a sleeve in a dish of food while a person is eating means that some of his relatives are hungry.

If the shoe band of a lady gets loose while she is walking it is said that her sweetheart is thinking of her (Jaffa).

Sweet coffee unintentionally spilled on the dress is believed to be a good omen (*ḫêr*). Bitter coffee on the other hand brings evil.

The second Thursday of *šahr el-ḫamîs* (April) is called *ḫamîs el-bêḍ*. It is is said to have been the feast day of Abû Djahl, the uncle of the Prophet. On the following Thursday the faces and the horns of the cattle are dyed (ʿÊn Kârim).

Should a shoe come to lie on the other while the person is taking his shoes off, that person is believed to be about to begin a journey (Jaffa). Others think that it predicts evil (Jerusalem).

Demons are said to wear garments which they have "borrowed" from human beings. The word *istaʿârū*, "They have borrowed" is always used. When borrowing clothes, the *djinn* do not ask the permission of the owners. They choose only garments upon which the name of God was not uttered while they were sewn or while they were put on the shelf. Demons always return the borrowed clothes.[1]

The Liâṯneh cling to the old Beduin custom of giving away the clothes of the dead. Everything which had any direct connexion with the dead preserves "a part of his soul". In the case of the *šêḫ* of the tribe, the *ʿabây* of the dead is put upon the son after the burial, as a token that he has become his father's successor.[2]

The following proverbs relevant to this subject are not mentioned in the above reviewed book. Though it was impossible for me to consult all collections of proverbs in order to note all those already mentioned by other authors, I have nevertheless given the references to authors whose works were available to me.[3] In the footnotes proverbs of the classical literature belonging to each category are mentioned. They may be found with their explanation in مجمع الامثال

[1] CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*.

[2] CANAAN, *Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra*, *JPOS*, IX, 136 ff.

[3] As a rule only one or two references have been given, when one and the same proverb was mentioned by several authors.

لابي الفضل احمد بن محمد النيسابوري المعروف بالميداني. The Roman numbers (I and II) point to the volume of this book, the Arabic numbers indicate the page. Several proverbs of this author are of المولدين, i.e. they are of more recent date. Such proverbs were marked with M. The greater part of these proverbs are old, many being pre-Islamic.

It is noteworthy that of 6000 proverbs given by el-Meidânī only few deal with dress. I have met with many more in Palestine.

I. DRESS IN GENERAL

1. *Yâ lâbes libs eṣ-ṣêf fiš-šitā min fuqr willā min ghiwā (ghinā)?* O thou who wearest the dress of summer in winter, is it out of poverty or of coquetry (riches)? For people who do things out of their place and time.

2. *Zînet el-maʿâš el-libs wil-frâš.* The embellishment (goal) of life is (to possess) clothing and a bed (or furniture). Contentment with simple life.

3. *Ṯôb el-ʿîreh mā bidaffī, win daffā mā biwaffī* (var. for p. 204). The borrowed dress does not warm (the person who borrows it), and even if it should warm (him) it will never suffice. L. EINSLER, *Mosaik*, No. 71. A variation is *ṯôb el-ʿîreh mā bidaffī, lauw innhā immî. mā staḥat minnî.* The borrowed dress does not warm. Even if she (who lent me the same) were my mother, she would not respect me (i.e. she would not hesitate to take it back). BAUER, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, No. 155, gives only the first part. Borrowed objects can never fully replace one's property.

4. *Min maḥabbtī fîk yâ fatā labbastak el-ʾabiaḍ fiš-šitā.* Out of love to you, O young man, I have clad you (with a) white dress during the winter. A variation heard in Jerusalem is *min ḥubbī fî ḥabîbī labbastuh el-ʾabiaḍ fiš-šitā.* Blind love may do foolish things.

5. *Sammûk zaiyât imbaiyen ʿalā ʾawâʿîk.* They called you a dealer in oil. This can be seen on your clothes. (Heard in Djaʿûneh but known more or less all over Palestine). A variation is *in kunt zaiyât bibaiyen ez-zêt ʿalā hdûmak.*

6. *Illī biyṭlaʿ min ʾawâʿîh byʿrā.* The person who gets out of his clothes becomes naked (Djaʿûneh). Whoever does a wrong action suffers.

7. *ʿAriân lâḥiq* (or *imṭârid*) *(i)mšallaḥ* (or *mitšalliḥ*). A naked (person) running after one with no clothes (cf. Math. 15[14]).

8. *Illī mâ ʾiluh šughul yištghil fîh bišlaḥ ṯôbuh ubifallîh.* A person who has no work to do, takes off his garments and rids it of lice. BAUER, *Arabische Sprichwörter*, *ZDPV*, xxi, pp. 129 ff., No. 3.

9. *In šuft ʿariân lâ tqulluh wên hdûmak.* Should you see a naked person do not ask him: 'Where are your clothes'? Help is better than criticism. Mad persons and *darâwîš* may be naked. They will not give you any answer.

10. *Baqêtī titṭallaʿī fî ḏêluh mā šuftîš ʿênuh?* You were looking (all the time) at his skirts (only). Have you never seen his eye? The following story is the origin of the proverb. A girl married a rich man, although she saw that he was blind on one eye. When he had spent all his money to satisfy her wishes, she began to complain that he was ugly and half-blind.

11. *Lauw mânī ʿalêk lašarâṭîtak bên ʾidjrêk.* If I were not (taking care) about you, your ragged clothes would have been (hanging) between your legs. *Mânī* comes from *mā ʾinnî.* My care and attention has made a man of you.

12. *ʾIlbis qadrak latinzil qabrak.* Dress according to your rank until you descend to your grave. C. LANDBERG, *Proverbs et Dictons*, No. 89. Keep to your own degree.

13. *Mîn dabbarat mā djâʿat umîn raqqaʿat mâ ʿiriat.* (A woman) who manages well will never get hungry, and she who patches (her clothes) will not become naked (var. to p. 178). EINSLER, No. 31 gives this proverb in a different arrangement. Economy protects against need.

14. *Illī byilbis ṯiâb el-ghêr bitʿarrā qawâm.* The person who wears the clothes of others soon becomes naked. Foreign help is of a short duration.

15. *El-bard ʿaqadd el-kisweh.* The cold is in proportion to the (worn) clothes.

16. *ʾIlbis illī biyʿdjib en-nâs ukôl illī btišthîh nafsak.* Dress what pleases others but eat what pleases yourself (lit. what your appetite wishes). It is a var. to p. 203. People criticize what they see (in this case your dress).

17. The full text of the proverb on p. 313 is *lā tifraḥî bṭaiyât djhâzik yā mā biddik tughslī ṭanâdjir.* Do not rejoice over the folds of your bridal outfit, for you are going to wash copperpots often enough.

18. *Illî mā bitzaiynuh ʿrûquh mā bitzaiynuh ḫrûquh.* A person who is not honoured (lit. decorated) by his veins (blood flowing in his veins, i.e. his birth) will not be honoured by his clothes (lit. rags). Character and not the external appearance make the man. Some use *ḫlûquh* (irreg. pl. of *ḫulq*) and *djdûduh* instead of *ʿrûquh*. In the case of *djdûduh* the second line of the proverb ends with *ḫdûduh* (for the rhyme).

19. *El-wlâd ʾakilhum tudjârah ulibishum ḫsârah.* The (good) feeding of children is (material) gain (lit. good business) but their clothing is loss. Good nutrition and not good clothes, make the children grow healthy. See No. 24.

20. *Eḍ-ḍêf el-badawī bisriq hdûmak.* The Beduin guest will steal your garments. J. L. BURCKHARDT, *Arabic Proverbs*, No. 367. A tendencious saying of city dwellers against Beduin.

21. *Badl mā tâkul waraq ḥuṭṭ ʿaṭîzaq ḫalaq.* Instead of eating (the expensive dish of) *waraq* (soft vine leafs filled with rice and chopped meat) put on your (naked) buttocks (at least) a shabby garment. EINSLER, No. 95, gives the following variation: *badl el-laḥm nil-bêḍindjân djiblak qamîṣ yā ʿariân.* Instead of (the dish of) meat and eggplant get a shirt, O naked. Your standing in society is more important than expensive dishes.

22. *Labbes el-ʿûd ušûf kîf biʿûd.* Clothe (even) a piece of wood and behold how (beautiful) it becomes. Like the German saying "Kleider machen Leute".

23. *Dawâʿîk tušruṭ ʾawâʿîk.* May your curses tear your (own) clothes (i.e. injure you). CANAAN, *The Curse in Palestine Folklore*, *JPOS*, xv, 273; BAUMANN, *ZDPV*, xxxix, No. 311. The good or bad which you do will have its effects upon you.

24. *El-wlâd itʿamhum el-ghâlī ulabbishum el-bâlī.* Feed the children with expensive (i.e. nutritive) food, and dress them with worn out clothes. See No. 19.

25. *Labbes el-ʾasmar el-aḥmar wiḍḥak ʿalêh.* Dress the black (negro or dark-skinned) person with red (clothes) and laugh at him. BAUMANN, *Volksweisheit aus Pal.*, *ZDPV*, xxxix, No. 507. Alluding to the negroes' preference of gay colours.

26. *ʾIdjhâzik lammā ʾinzaff burniyeh uḫalaq daff.* Your bridal outfit, when carried in the bridal procession, was (nothing but) an

earthenware vessel (for oil, olives, etc.) and a shabby tambourine. Do not boast of an imaginary past glory.

27. *Baʿd el-ʿurs mā fī walā djhâz ubaʿd el-ʿîd mā fī walā kmâdj.* After the wedding there is no more bridal outfit, and after the feast there is no more *kmâdj* (a kind of bread loaves). Not every day is a feast. Another better known proverb which expresses the same idea is *miš kull yôm ʾakl zalâbieh.* "It is not every day that (we have) *zalâbieh* (a kind of sweet pancake) as food."

28. *Kull balad uilhā zaiy ukull šadjarah uilhā faiy.* Every country has its own dress fashion, and every tree its shade. JEWETT, *Arab Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, *JAOS*, xv, No. 139.

29. *Mart et-tâdjir mā btiʿrā.* The wife of a merchant does not get naked.

30. *Lā tiḥsibnî fī hal-ḥâleh ṯiâb el-ʿurs mištâleh.* Do not think I am as poor as all that, just because the bridal clothes are put away.[1]

31. *Ḥâlhā mâyel uiṯyâbhā šalâyel.* Her (general) condition is pitiable and her clothes are in rags.[2] It is said of a person whose financial condition is deteriorating.

32. *Kull mā habb el-hawā biḏ-ḏyâlhā bidji-l-ʿarîs qbâlhā* (*ʿabâlhā*). Every time the wind blows in her clothes, the bridegroom comes nearer (opposite) to her (or she thinks of the bridegroom).

33. *Ḥuṭṭ ḥadjar ʿaḏiâlak aḥsan mâ-ṭṭîr.* Put a stone on your train that it may not fly away. ST. STEPHAN, *JPOS*, vii, No. 718. *Muḥîṭ*, I, 733 says, الذيل اخر كل شي . . . . . ومن الازار والثوب ما جرّ . It is said of a conceited person.

34. *Allah lā idjauwiʿlak kibid walā iʿarrîlak djasad.* May God never cause you (lit. your liver) to become hungry, nor cause your body to become naked.[3]

II. MAT, BASKET.

35. *El-marah zaiy il-ḥaṣîreh kull mā-tasḫat kitthā.*[4] The woman is like a mat. Whenever it gets dirty, dust it. Use force to keep

1 See المجلة السورية, vol. III, No. 9, 615.

2 شليل (pl. اشلة) means woollen clothes (HAVA).

3 II, 210. كلابس ثوب زور — II, 294, اوسع القدم ثوباً
I, 445, عارية الفرج وبتّ مطرح — I, 140, ثوبك لا تقعد تطير به الريح
II, 104, اكسى من بصلة — II, 127, افقر من العريان .

4 *Katta* is not known in this sense to classical books.

the woman in the right path. The comparison of the woman to a mat shows the society in which this proverb was coined, namely poor peasants, who rarely possess a *sidjdjâdeh*, *bsâṭ*, etc.

36. *Liff bintak bil-ḥaṣîr uḥuṭṭhā fī bêt kbîr*. Wrap your daughter in a mat and place her (i.e. marry her to a member of) a big (important and rich) house.

37. *Ruḥnā dârkum ušufnā fšârkum, btufuršū-l-ḥarîr ʿalā qaṣṣ el-ḥaṣîr*. We went to your house and beheld your vain boasting. You spread silk on the straw of mats. TALIQVIST, No. 49 and JEWETT, 89, give slight variations. Describes boasting without any foundation.

38. *Ēl-ʾamîr ʾamîr ulauw innuh ʿal-ḥaṣîr*. A prince, remains a prince, even (if he lives) on a mat. *Hû ʿal-ḥaṣîreh*, "he is on the bare mat" is an idiom denoting complete poverty. *ʾAmîr* stands for "a noble person". The different proverbs connected with *ḥaṣîreh* show clearly its importance in the household of the peasant. A mat as the only cover for the floor is a sign of great poverty. In such a case the guest is asked to seat himself on the mat and not on the floor. Richer families spread beddings on the mat to honour special guests.

39. *Balā ʿazîmeh barrā-l-ḥaṣîreh*. (O thou who comest) without an invitation (remain) outside the mat. BAUER, *Volksleben*, p. 225, No. 37.

40. *Binuṭṭ min el-quffeh laḏinêhā*. He jumps from the (bottom) of the basket to its handles (i.e. to the highest part). BAUER, *op. cit.*, No. 67. He wants to attain the highest goal in one jump.

41. *Biqûm quffeh ubyuqʿud qafîr*,[1] *ʾâḫirtuh êš bidduh ʾiṣîr*? He stands up as a small basket and sits down as a large one. What will become of him in the long run?

42. *Faqîreh unafshā kbîreh qâʿdeh ʿal-ḥaṣîreh ubtišrab ʾargîleh*. She is poor but proud. While she sits (from sheer poverty) on a mat she nevertheless smokes a water-pipe. *Nafsuh kbîreh* denotes always groundless pride. Stupid conceit.

43. *Min kiṯr-el-ʿibâdeh ṣārlhā masbaḥah usidjdjâdeh*. From excessive worship she has acquired a rosary and a praying carpet.

44. *Illī ʾaʿṭâkum bil-qafîr yaʿṭînā bil-quffeh*. May the one who gave you (abundantly) with the big basket give us with the small

[1] A *quffeh* is a small basket used for carrying stones, earth, etc. *Qafîr* is a large basket (more or less like a sack) used for rice, sugar, etc.

basket. E. LITTMANN, *Morgenländ. Spruchweisheit*, p. 1, gives this proverb wrongly in the opposite order. A proverb with the same meaning is *illī ʾaʿṭâkum bil-maghrafeh yaʿṭînā biz-zalafeh.* May the One who gave you (abundantly) with the large ladle, give us with a small spoon. *Zalafeh* means really shell. In Galilee it denotes a spoon, perhaps because the simplest spoons were made with a shell and a wooden handle.

III. NEEDLE, THREAD, STRING.

45. *El-ʾibreh mā btišmil ḫêṭên uil-qalb mā biysaʿ ṯintên.* The (eye of the) needle cannot take two threads (at the same time), neither has the heart place for two (loves). Math. 6[24].

46. *Biṭaʿmîh ʾibreh ubiḫarrîh msalleh.* He gives him a small needle to eat and expects him to excrete a dorning needle. His gifts are calculated with a view to large profit.

47. *Kull mā barṭaʿ ʿidjil bniftilluh ṭūrâs.*[1] Whenever a calf gets wild (frets around) we twist (i.e. we use) for him a (new) 'reed' rope. Cf. *ṭōris il-ʿidjil*, bind the calf by its horns.

48. *El-malsûʿ (el-maqrûṣ, el-maʿqûs.* or *el-maldûgh) biḫâf min djarret el-ḥabl.* A person bitten (by a serpent) fears the trailing of a rope (thinking it a snake). EINSLER, 176; BAUER, *Volksleben*, No. 156; BAUMANN, No. 171, adds after *el-maqrûṣ* the word *min el-ḥaiyeh*, which is not necessary.

49. *ʾImsik el-ḫêṭ umuṭṭuh ukull mîn ʿalêh šî ʾiḥuṭṭuh.* Take hold of the string and draw it long, and every one who owes something (to another) should pay it back. Let us discuss the difficulty at length and let every one acknowledge his mistakes. JEWETT, 232.

50 *Qêd el-ʾahl rummeh*[2] *uqêḍ edj-djôz min ḥadîd.* The fetters of the parents are a worn-out rope, but those of the husband are iron. The husband is never so considerate as the parents.

51. *Bahlawânên ʿalā ḥabl mā bilʿabûš.* Two rope-dancers cannot play (at the same time) on one (and the same) rope. The opposite is the English proverb "You can not dance on two ropes".

52. *El-ḥabl maʿ ez-zamân biyqṭaʿ ḫarzet el-bîr.* The rope (with which water is drawn) in time cuts through the stone opening of the cistern. *Ḫarazeh* denotes originally a bead. TALLQVIST, *Arabische*

[1] *Ṭūrâs* is unknown to HAVA and BELOT.

[2] *Rummeh*, piece of rope, worn out; head rope (HAVA).

Sprichwörter und Spiele, No. 41. With perseverance one attains the most difficult things.

53. *Qasamū-l-ḫarieh (i)bḫêṭ.* They divided human excrement with a thread. Describing stingy people. BAUMANN, No. 460.

54. *Qâl lêš bturkuḍ ufî ʾidak maraṣ. Qâl ṣihr ṣihr ṣihrî*[1] *ištarā faras.* He asked: 'Why are you running with a rope in your hand'? He answered: 'My brother in law's brother in law's brother in law has bought a mare'. Decription of a person who mixes himself with the business of others. It also has more or less the meaning of the German saying "*sich mit anderen Federn schmücken*".

55. *Ṣâr lazrêneh bêt ukaʿktên bḫêṭ baʿd el-bard widj-djwâḥ ṣārilhā sukkarah umuftâḥ.* Zrêneh has (at last) a house and two cakes (bound) on a thread. After the cold and the days of weeping she possesses (now) a lock and a key.[2] About such persons who forget easily their former poor and strained conditions.

IV. WOOL, COTTON, LINEN.

56. *Šufnā-l-kalb ʿalā ḍahrûh ṣûf ḥasabnâh ḫarûf.* We saw the dog with wool on its back and thought it was a sheep. STEPHAN, *JPOS*, v, p. 134, No. 480. External appearance may deceive.

57. *Ahl el-balad ḥasadu-l-kalb ʿaṣûfuh.* The villagers envied the dog for his wool. Envy without reason. STEPHAN, *l.c.*, No. 479.

58. *Es-samrah libb eṯ-ṯamrah udjûḫah ḥamrah ʿalā kitf es-sulṭân.* The dark girl is the core of the date and a red cloth on the shoulders of the sultan. BAUER, *Das Pal. Arabisch*, p. 181, No. 3. A slightly dark compexion is called *qamḥī* and is liked.

59. *Kull ḫirqah uilhā ḫilqah.* Every rag has its (characteristic) appearance. *Ḫirqah* stands also for a cloth worn by peasant women on the head (called also *tarbîʿah*). BURCKHARDT, No. 552 has the following proverb connected with *ḫirqah*: *kull wâḥed fî sûquh bibîʿ ḫrûquh.* "Every one sells his rags in his (own) market," every one tries to display his good qualities among his own friends. A *ḫirqah*

[1] *Ṣihr* means kinsman, son-in-law and brother-in-law (the husband of a sister).

[2] The following classical sayings belong to this chapter: II, 282, انفذ من ابرة; I, 391, اضيق من خزت الابرة; I, 107, ابغى من ابرة; II, 108, M, كالابرة تكسو الناس واستها عارية; II, 246, من نهشته الحية حذر الرس الابلق; II, 345, أسنه مفكك; II, 338, بجمع سيرين في خرزة; II 33, M, في راسه خيط.

is also used for the overcoat of the *darâwîš*, especially that characteristic of an "order".

60. *Ṯôb quṭnī umlûtak yā baṭnī uʿalā ǰl-môt mā ḥadā ysbaqnī* (var. for p. 204). (My only wish in this world is to have nothing but) a garment of cotton (i.e. very cheap dress) and a full stomach. (Having had these blessings) nobody should reach death before me. BAUER, *Volksleben*, No. 58, has only the first part.

61. *Bis-sûq djûḫ ufirā ubid-dâr laṭṭāmât bil-kirā.* (They wear) in the market (i.e. while they are out of the house) cloth and fur, but at home they are paid mourners. Paid mourners belong to a despised profession.

62. *ʾAmmā ḥakī zaiy ʿalk el-libbâd ʿar-rîq*[1] (var. for p. 4). Chatter like the chewing of felt the first thing on the morning (on an empty stomach). Nonsense talk.

63. *Min ḥasrethum ʿaṣ-ṣûf tzannarū (i)bkanârûh.*[2] Out of their excessive passion for woolen cloth they girded themselves with its border.

64. *Bidnā (i)nquṣṣ ʿan ḍahrak mirʿiz.*[3] We shall cut from your back wool of good quality. Taking advantage of others.

65. *Djîbûhum (i)btammûz uliffûhum bil-firā.* Bring (beget) them (i.e. the children) in July (one of the hottest months of the year) and wrap them in furs. To people who boast of doing much and do yet nothing.

66. *Labbasûk el-fira ḏalamûk lā libsak walā libs abûk.* They treated you wrongly when they dressed you with furs, for it is neither your's nor your father's dress. DALMAN gives on p. 245 an abbreviated form. Of a person who undeservedly is placed (or places himself) in a higher social class than that to which he belongs.

67. *Bḥarîr mā tâdjart ušâmī mā ʿâšart uḥalabī mā šârakt ukîf inkasart?* You never traded in silk nor associated with a Damascene nor were a partner of an Aleppean, so how did you become bankrupt? Trading with silk has been always a very uncertain business. Aleppo and Damascene merchants are regarded as very able and cunning.

[1] *ʿAr-riq* is best translated by the German "*nüchtern.*"

[2] A Persian word used extensively in Arabic. BAUER, *ZDPV*, XXI, pp. 129 ff., No. 171 has a variation, which I believe is a misunderstanding of the proverb.

[3] *Mirʿiz* is unknown to HAVA and BELOT.

68.- *Qâlū laṯ-ṯôr lammā tmût binkaffnak bḥarîr qâl in ḍall djildi ʿalaiyé ghanîmeh.* They said to the ox: 'we shall shroud you in a silken shroud'. He answered: 'My only real gain is when my own skin remains on my body'. BURCKHARDT, 521, gives a variation. JEWETT, 64. Said of a person who in transacting a business promises much, while in reality he intends only his own profit, even if he hurts the interests of the other party.

69. *ʾAuwal uff lā tilbis el-kittân fôq eṣ-ṣûf,*
ṯânī uff lā tmadjdjid nafsak uintī maʿrûf,
ṯâleṯ uff lā tâḫuẓ gharîbeh ubint ʿammak tšûf.

The first "*uff*" (an exclamation expressing dissatisfaction and difficulty): do not wear linen over wool; the second "*uff*": do not praise yourself while you are well known; the third "*uff*": do not take a strange girl (for a wife) while your paternal cousin sees it (i.e. while she is still to be had).

70. *Kbirtī yâ Nânā uilbistī kittânah uinsîtī mašī ʃ-ḥafî min ḫânah laḫânah.* You got big, O Nânā, and have put on linen clothes, but you have forgotten the times when you walked barefooted from house to house. Nânā means also 'darling' (Turk). About those who when they get rich forget their poor past condition.

71. *Eš-šaʿr lauw fîh ḫêr mā ṭiliʿ ʿalā ḏnâb el-ḫêl.* If there was any good (benefit to be derived) from hair it would not have grown on horses' tails. For those who boast of a good growth of hair. HARFOUCH, *Le Dragoman Arabe*, p. 337, No. 6. A proverb declaring the opposite is *eš-šaʿr masâmîr el-ʿaql* (*el-muḫḫ*). "Hairs are the nails of knowledge (brain)".

72. *El-faqîreh šû biddhā twarriṯ lawlâdhā? edj-djûḫ illī ʿal-ḥabl uillā ʃ-ḫêl illī fiṣ-ṣtabl.*[1] What is a poor woman going to leave to her children (as an inheritance)? The cloth spread on the rope, or the horses in the stable?

73. *In ilbist ilbis ḥarîr uin (i)ʿšiqt iʿšaq ʾamîr uin ʿaiyarûk tiḥriz et-taʿyîr.* If you dress, dress in silk and if you fall in love, fall in love with a prince(ess) and if they reproach you be reproached for something worth while. Do things in style.

74. *Niyâl mîn ghazlat kittânhā udjâbat banâthā qabl ṣubyânhā.* Happy is the woman who spins her own linen and who brings

[1] *Muḥîṭ*, L, 26, says الاصطبل ... يقال الاسطبل بالسين ومعناه في الاصل اليوناني موقف.

forth her daughters befor her sons. CANAAN, *JPOS*, 1931, p. 175, note 5. The Prophet is said to have taught[1] بارك الله بامراة بكرت بابنة. These two proverbs, as several others, are used to counteract the belief in the inferiority of girls, especially first born girls.

75. *En-nâr fâkhet eš-šitā uidj-djûḫ libs el-fatā.* Fire is the fruit (i.e. the beauty) of winter and (thick woollen) cloth is the dress of a young man. Var. to DALMAN, p. 246. Not *fakiet* with LANDBERG, No. 98, for even when the '*h*' is not distinctly pronounced it never disappears completely.

76. *Šaʿrah min ḏanab (ṭîz) el-ḫanzîr maksab (barakeh).* A hair from the tail (or hind quarters) of a pig is gain (a blessing). EINSLER, 154. TALQVIST, 82, gives *šaʿrah min ṭîz iblîs maksab.* The least thing from a stingy (or bad) person is a gain. The high Arabic language has شعرة من خنزير مكسب, FREYTAG, *Arabum Proverbia*, III, 1.

77. *Ṣabâḥ eš-šuqq ḥaqq uṣabâḥ es-salabah ghalabah.* The morning of the girl (lit. 'slit', i.e. the vagina) is a good omen (lit. good, right), while the morning of the boy (lit. 'thread', i.e. penis) means difficulty. CANAAN, *JPOS*, XI, p. 175. See also No. 74. *Muḥîṭ*, I, 976, writes السلاب عند العامة ما غزل من الشرانق المبلولة · السلب من القصبة قشرها وليف المقل ولحاء شجر في اليمن يعمل منه الحبال.[2]

V. SEWING AND CUTTING CLOTHES.

78. *Hal-ḥalq binbilluh uiṯ-ṯôb binšilluh uil-môt aqrab min hâḏā kulluh.* This throat can be moistened and this garment can be seamed but (the fact is that) death is nearer (to men) than all these things.

79. *Eṯ-ṯôb illī bitfaṣṣluh iḥnā bnilibsuh.* The garment which you cut out we shall put on. Your advice and decision will be blindly followed.

80. *Qabl mā tfaṣṣil qîs aḥsan mā tiqaʿ fil-baliyeh uyṣʿab ʿalêk et-taḫlîṣ.* Measure before you cut out (the cloth for a dress) in order that you should not fall in difficulty and thus it becomes

[1] *JPOS*, VII, p. 163.

[2] The following proverbs are classical: I, 432, العلوف مولع بالصوف; I, 217, خرقاء وجدت صوفا; II, 162, لا افعل كذا ما بلّ البحر صوفه وما ان في الفرات قطرة; II, 272, نفطٌ وقطن اسرع احتراقا; I, 218, الخروف يتقلب على الصوف; I, 211, M, احتاج الى الصوفة; II, 10, من جزّ كلبه; II, 336, يا شاة اين تذهبين قالت اجز; اغزل من عنكبوت · اغزل من سرقة; II, 93, كدودة القز. مع المجزوزين

difficult to get out (of trouble). Think before you act. A variation is *qabl mā tghûṣ qîs* . . . . . .

81. *Ghabbar et-tîn uqarqaʿ wrêquh rauwaḥ en-nāṭûr yraqqiʿ ḫlêquh.* The figs are over and their leaves have rustled down. The watchman goes home to mend his rags. CANAAN, *Folklore of the Seasons*, *JPOS*, iii, p. 33.

82. *Ḥadd en-nuṣṣ faṣṣil uquṣṣ.* In the Middle Sunday of Lent fashion and cut out a dress. A variation is *ḥadd en-nuṣṣ illī mā qaṣṣiš iquṣṣ.* On Middle Sunday every one who has not yet cut out (a dress) must do it. Both in CANAAN, *JPOS*, iii, 34. The Orientals used to order new clothes only at special occasions, like feasts, weddings, etc.

83. *Edj-djûʿ ʿallamnī-s-saqâṭah uil-ʿirī ʿallamnī-l-ḫiâṭah.* Hunger has taught me meanness, and nakedness has taught me sewing. More or less like the German: "*Not hilft Beten*".[1]

84. *ʾAʿṭū-d-dibb ḥarîr ikibb* (var. for p. 57). They gave silk threads to the bear to wind the same into a ball. There are several proverbs about the bear with the same meaning, see STEPHAN, *JPOS*, v, Nos. 115,119,122.

85. *Djôz eṭ-ṭawîleh biquṣṣ ubitbâhā udjôz el-qaṣîreh biqûl el-faḍîleh btikfâhā.* The husband of the tall (wife) cuts out (all necessary clothes) for her and boasts (of her beautiful long stature) while the husband of the short one exclaims: '(she has) virtues which suffice her.' A tall stature is regarded as a sign of beauty. The husband of a short wife consoles himself with her 'virtues'.

86. *Tamm el-qôl bikasr en-nôl.* Conversation has come to an end by breaking the loom. Conversation has made a big difference.[2]

VI. PARTS OF DRESS.

87. *Haṯ-ṯôb mnīḥ walâkin ḥašiwtuh ʿâṭleh.* This garment is good but its lining is bad (Safed). A good looking person without real value.

[1] F.H. WEISSBACH, *Beiträge zur Kunde des Irak-Arab.*, No. 222, gives the following proverb, the real meaning of which he completely missed: *lôlā-l-mraqqʿin hilk-l-kaḏḏâbin.* He translates: "Gäbe es nicht solche (die Lügen) bestätigen, so würden die Lügner zugrunde gehen". It should be: "Were it not for those who patch (the faults of the liers) the liers would have perished all".

[2] Some classical saying of this category are: I, 9, ان دوآء الشق ان تخوصه; II, 282, انفذ من خياط .

88. *Ḫaiyé min baiyé miṯl es-swâr fī daiyé ḫaiyé min ʾummī miṯl el-hawā fī kummī* (or *miṯl el-maḫṭah ʿakummī*). My brother from my father is like an arm-ring on my wrist, while my brother from my mother is (no more) than wind in my sleeve (or snot on my sleeve).[1] My brother from my father belongs to the same family while that from my mother belongs to another family with different interests. A proverb denoting more or less the same is *ʾuḫtên ʾumtên*. "Two sisters (will give rise to) two (different) clans", which clans need in no way be on friendly terms.

89. *Qaddêš (i)bdjébtak halqad (i)btiswā*. You are worth what you have in your pocket.

90. *Fulân mā biyaʿraf tummuh min kummuh*. So-and-so does not know his mouth from his sleeve. Complete ignorance.

91. *Šâfat widjih ṭalbat bṭâneh*. No sooner did she see the cloth then she asked for a lining. Greediness.[2] *Šâfat widjih, fardjâhā widjih*, mean also 'she received kindness', 'he showed her kindness'.

92. *Tummhā bisaqqiṭ uḏêlhā bilaqqiṭ*. Her mouth lets every thing fall out (paralized or toothless) and her dress (is so long that it) gathers (the rubbish from the street). Ugly and pretentious.

93. *Ḫabbī bintak fī kummak walā tâmin ʿalêhā ʾummak* (var. for p. 307). Hide your daughter in your sleeve and do not entrust her (even) to your mother. The supervision of daughters should be the duty of the father. To hide something in the sleeve means to have it continually under supervision.

94. *In qult nâr mā btiḥriq tummī uin qult ḏahab ma bitmallī kummī*. You do not burn my mouth by saying 'fire', nor fill my sleeve by saying 'gold'. Threats and promises without any result. BAUMANN, *ZDPV*, xxxix, No. 309.

95. *ʾUmmak kummak quṣṣuh bizûl hammak*. Your mother is (like) your sleeve. Cut it off and your anxiety (trouble) will disappear. Trouble arises often between a wife and her mother-in-law.

96. *Mā kull mîn ṣaff ṣawânī ṣâr ḥalawânī walā kull mîn qammaṭat qamṭah ṣârat marah*. Not everyone who sets the plates in order becomes a sweetmaker, nor every woman who swaddles (a child) is a (proper) wife. *JPOS*, xvi, p. 59.

[1] A proverb showing the relation of grandchildren to their grandparents is *ʾibn ʾibni ʾilī ʾibn bintī lâ*. The son of my son is (belongs) to me (to my family), but not the son of my daughter (as he belongs to the tribe of his father).

[2] LANDBERG, No. 189, heard in Sidon *el-bṭâneh tsallem ʿadj-djéb*.

97. *Sibbuh bta'raf illī fī 'ibbuh.* Curse him and you will know what he keeps in (the pocket of) his breast. *'Ibb* is the empty space above the girdle and between the shirt and the *qumbâz* (or between the shirt and the body). When a person is angry he reveals his character.

98. *Faltat dikket (i)lbâsuh min ḥyâṣuh.* His trouser string got loose from his nervous movements. *Biḥîṣ* he is ticklish. He shows his faults when he is irritated.[1]

VII. KINDS OF DRESS.

99. *Lôlā-l-'amâym mā śufna kanâyn.*[2] Were it not for the head dress of the *šêḫs* we should have never seen a daughter-in-law.

100. *'Y'îš uiqṭa' barâbîš.* May he (the baby) live and tear many clothes (lit. rags).

101. *El-marah ilhā ṯôb idjurr uḫâbieh thurr.* A woman has to have (only) a dress that drags (i.e. a good one) and a granary flowing (with grain).

102. *Djinkiyeh*[3] *ukôfaliyeh*[4] *mā 'a'ẓam el-baliyeh.* A gypsy cymbal player and swaddling clothes (i.e. who has a child) — what a great calamity!

103. *Lêš šâšak ṭawîl yābn ḫâltī? 'Alā-l-ḫarā yābn 'uḫtī.* Why is your muslin so long, O my cousin (the son of my mother's sister)? For no reason whatsoever (lit. excrements), O son of my sister. Groundless pride.

104. *Kull 'umruh hal-badawī min ghêr haš-šâš.* This Beduin has been all his life without this muslin. Applicable to those who give themselves airs above their rank.

105. *Djârieh bidjwâr uḫunufseh (i)b'izâr.* A maid servant with servants and a blackbeetle (i.e. an ugly woman) with an *'izâr.* As the preceding.

106. *In ṭiqthā šaqqat 'izârhā uid-dôrah 'adjam' eš-šaml.* If I put

[1] The following are classical: II, 244, من فسدت بطانته كان كمن غصّ بالما; I, 437, عندك وهيّ فارقميه; II, 256, M, من انت في الرقعة; II, 109, M, كلب مبطن بخنزير; II, 283, M, الناي في كيّ والريح في في.

[2] A classical proverb is العمائم كالغمائم والعلم عند الله.

[3] A well known Arabic word of Persian origin.

[4] Unknown to HAVA and BELOT. *Muḥîṭ*, II, 1856, says it is a colloquial expression.

up with her (character and manners) she (at once) tears her *ʾizâr* (a sign of her irritable character) though my only desire is peace (lit. union). The Egyptians have a var., see BURCKHARDT, No. 56.

107. *ʿÂšiq balā mâl uṭarbûš balā dâiyr.* A lover without any penny and his *ṭarbûš* has not a rim. Complete poverty.

108. *Es-saneh (i)bʾaḏârhā uil-marah (i)bʾizârhā.* The (fertility of the) year is determined by (the quantity of rain of) its March and the woman is known (if good or bad) by her *ʾizâr*. CANAAN, *Kalender*, *ZDPV*, xxxvi, pp. 266 ff.

109. *ʿAlā qištuh*[1] *lâbis bištuh.*[2] He wears his cloak on his (bare) skin. A sign of complete poverty.

110. *ʿÂrat djibbithā lamḥabbithā ulâqat el-bard (i)bṯuqbithā.* She lent her cloak to her friend and met the cold with her (naked) buttocks. *Ṯuqbeh* means lit. anus. Anyone who thinks more of others than of himself will suffer.

111. *Yilbaq laš-šûḥah mardjûḥah uladj-djamal šaḫšîr (yilbaq laš-šûḥah mardjûḥah ulʾabū brêṣ qubqâb).* A var. for p. 293. A sea-saw fits a vulture (here *šûḥah* stands for a bad woman) and for the camel wide trousers. (A sea-saw fits a vulture and wooden shoes a gecko). *Abû brêṣ* is in the classical ابارص. The second variation is mentioned by several authors, see STEPHAN, No. 820.

112. *Djibbithā ḥamrā uburquʿhā wardī.* Her coat is red and her veil is pink. She wears attractive colours.

113. *Allah ʾihiddak yâ ʾizâr šū ʾinnak gharrâr bitšûfhā qubbeh ʿâlié btiḥsibhā mazâr.* May God destroy you, O *ʾizâr*, what a great deceiver you are. One sees (you as a) high dome (cupola) and deems you a sanctuary (while in reality you may cover a hog or even a woman of bad reputation). STEPHAN, No. 693.

114. *Kundarethā bil-ʿatabeh uiʾzârhā ʿal-qaṣabeh.* Her shoe is (always) on the threshold and her *ʾizâr* is hung on the reed. An untidy woman.

115. *El-bint bšâš uiṣ-ṣabī bšâš wid-dôrah ʿala-llī balâš.* The girl wears a muslin and the boy has also muslin. But the (whole) idea is to get something for nothing. Compare with *fiš ʾišī balâš illā l-ʿamā uiṭ-ṭrâš.* Nothing is gratis except blindness and deafness.

116. *Labbasûk el-banṭalôn uitšuḫḫ min wên yâ Mhammadén.* They

[1] Unknown to *Muḥiṭ*. [2] *Muḥiṭ*, I, 95, عباءه واسعة.

have dressed you up in trousers. How will you make water now O Muhammad? *Mḥammadên* is a term of endearment for Muḥammad.

117. *Irfaʿ ṭaqîtak lafôq ʿind ʾuqûʿhā faradj.* Lift up your (cotton under-) cap (so as to appear young and strong). (Do not worry) relief will come should it fall down.

118. *In dârū ʿalêk iṯnên qalabū ṭaqîtak.* If two go at you they will (persuade you to) turn your cap inside out.

119. *In nâm ʿaduwak ghaṭṭîh (i)bmandîl.* If your enemy goes to sleep cover him with a veil. Do not attack your enemy while he is unaware.

120. *Burnêṭet baiyak bsabiʿ mazârîb.* Your father's hat has seven water spouts (Lebanon).

121. *El-barâṭîl biṭḥill (bitfikk) es-sarâwîl.* Bribes open even trousers. With money one attains everything.

122. *Er-ridjdjâl balā slaḥ zaiyj-marah balā lbâs.* A man without weapon is like a woman without clothes. Although *lbâs* means also a pair of trousers, it stands here for clothes, for trousers have only been used by the peasants for the last 40–50 years.

123. *Krihtak miṯl el-qamîṣ el-wisiḫ.* I hate you like a dirty shirt. LANDBERG, No. 4.

124. *Râkib edj-djamal ulâbis ṭaqiyet el-ḫifā.* (You are) riding a camel and wearing the cap which makes one invisible. Something impossible. STEPHAN, 602.

125. *El-marah bidj-djûḫ wil-firā uir-ridjdjâl biṣṭghil bil-kirā.* The wife (is dressed) with (thick woollen) cloth and fur while the husband is a (poor) labourer.

126. *Illī mā ʾilhā ʾizâr btuftuq el-malḥafeh.* (The woman) who has no *ʾizâr* will unsew a bed sheet (which is sewn to a quilt cotton cover, and use this wrapper as an *ʾizâr*). CANAAN, *JPOS*, xi, p. 185. Formerly the colour of *ʾizârs* was mostly white and bed sheets are white.[1]

VIII. CUSHION, COVER.

127. *Yâ ʿarîs lā tḫâf bizz mḫaddeh bizz (e)lḥâf.* O bridegroom never fear (meaning 'rejoice'); One breast (of your bride will serve

[1] The following are classical proverbs belonging to this category: I, 80, M, اي قيص لا يصلح للعريان; I, 325, M, سراويله في زيقه; II, 108, M, كانه حكاية خلف الازار; I, 406, M, طريق الاصلح على اصحاب القلانس.

you) as a cushion and the other as a quilt coverlet. The bride is stout and thus agreeable. The Orientals used to prefer stout wives.

128. *Bisṭâd ghêm ubisauwī malâḥif* (or *bisṭad min el-ghêm malâḥif*). He hunts clouds and makes them into quilt coverlets. He does a useless work.

129. *Nâiym zaiy ʾahl el-kahf lā faršeh walā ḥhâf*. He sleeps like the people of the cave (the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus), without bedding or coverlet.

130. *Allah yrḥam ʾahl el-môḍah illī ḫallafū lal-qird ʿiddeh, kân iḥuṭṭ râsuh ʿalā ḥadjar ṣārluh dôšak umḫaddeh*. God have mercy on the fashionable folk who bequeathed to the monkey (i.e. a worthless person) an outfit. He used to put his head (when retiring to sleep) on a stone, but now he has a mattress (short for sitting, not long enough to lie on) and a cushion. *ʿIddeh* means literally a set of tools and also the saddle and the bridles for an animal.

131. *El-wallâdeh in djâbat walad qadd el-muftâḥ bimallī ḥl-bêt frâḥ uin djâbat bneiyeh qadd el-mḫaddeh btinzal ʿal-bêt ḫamdeh*. If the delivering woman gives birth to a boy, be he small as a key, he fills the house with joy; if she delivers a baby girl, be she large as a cushion, sorrow descends on the house. *Bneiyeh* is the deminutive of *ibnat*. *JPOS*, vii, 161.

132. *Illī btibʿid mḫaddethā btibʿid maḥabbithā*. She who moves her cushion away (from her husband) moves her love away too.

133. *Bên mā tqûm es-sitt min faršithā bitkûn el-ḥarfûšeh mâkleh ʿadjnethā*. Before the lady of the house has got out of her bed, the horridan has eaten her dough.

134. *Faraštillak taḫt min wên adjiblak baḫt*. I have made you up a bed (a diwan), but whence shall I bring you good fortune? I can do only what is in human power.

135. *Ḥâmeḍ uḥilū ṭabaḫtillak, fôq utaḥt faraštillak uṭariq et-tabbân mā ḥasabtillak*. Sour and sweet food I cooked for you; up (i.e. on the roof) and down (i.e. in the room) I made up a bed for you; but I did not reckon with the Milky Way. It is said by someone who has done his utmost to please, but failed; especially by a woman whose husband is never pleased with her. The origin of this proverb is said to be the following story. A man had two wives, one was young and beautiful but silly and lazy, while the other was older, less attractive but industrious and sensible.

The first, wishing to get her husband for herself, worried him to get rid of the other by divorce. Finally he gave in and promised her to divorce the second wife. It was the turn of the older wife to look after her husband on a hot summer's day. When he came to supper and noticed that there was only cooked food on the table, he exclaimed angrily: 'You know that I like sweets; why have'nt you made some? You are divorced!' To this, she answered: 'Do not get angry, it is ready', and produced various dishes of sweets. His plan was frustrated. At bed time he shouted: 'You are a useless wife. Do you want me to stifle in this stuffy room? You ought to have spread the bedding on the roof where it is cooler. You are divorced.' Quietly she answered: 'Don't be hasty, my dear, there is bedding ready on the roof. You have only to say what you want'. He had lost the battle again. While lying on the roof, he looked at the Milky Way shining in the sky, and asked: 'What is that?' '*Ṭarîq et-tabbân* (the road of the straw-man),' she answered. 'It is said, O *abú* . . ., that a camel driver had several camels loaded with straw, which he was taking to the dwellers in the stars. On his way some of the straw was blown by the wind and it still marks his way. And there it is shining still'. The husband had found an excuse at last to get rid of his wife. 'May you be divorced', he shouted. 'You brought me hither on purpose that the falling straw should blind me'. Thereupon she answered with the above proverb.

136. *El-buʿbuʿ*[1] (*el-qird*[2]) *fil-faršeh uid-daḥḥ fiṣ-ṣandûq.* The scarecrow lies (with you) in (the same) bed, while the beautiful things (clothes and bridal presents) are in the trunk. Said about a man who marries an ugly girl for the sake of her money.

137. *Zaiy fûṭet el-ḥammâm kull yôm ʿawasṭ ʿars.* (You are) like a bath-towel every day wrapped on the waist of a (fresh) procurer (of women). Of a person who is continually in bad company.

138. *El-ḫanâfis biṭ-ṭanâfis*[3] *uil-bakāwât balā ghaṭā.* The beetles (i.e. mean persons) are wrapped in (costly) carpets while those of

[1] *Buʿbuʿ* is the hobgoblin with which children are frightened.

[2] *Qird* denotes here beside a demon (CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube*) also an ugly woman.

[3] *Ṭanâfis* is a Persian word. The following classical proverb belongs to this group: كالساقط بين الفراشين.

the better class are without any cover. STEPHAN, 953. Injustice of the world.

IX. LEATHER, SHOES.

139. *Miṯl mā bta'mal el-'anzeh bil-'afṣ biya'mal el-'afṣ fī djildhā.* What the goat does with the gall-nut (i.e. it destroys it) the gall-nut does with it (the skin of the goat). Var. for p. 188. What you do to me I will do to you. BURCKHARDT, 659, gives *el-qarḍ* for *el-'afṣ*. Math. 7[12].

140. *Šū ǰ-fāydeh min en-nafḫ fī qirbeh maḫzûqah.* What is the use of blowing in a water-skin that has a hole. Var. for p. 187. Useless work.

141. *Fulân biqidd edj-djild min wasṭuh.* So-and-so divides the leather in the middle. His advice and action are radical.

142. *Sant el-qaṭā bî' el-waṭā wištrī ghaṭā* In the year when the peewits are abundant sell the shoes and buy a blanket. CANAAN, *ZDPV*, xxxvi, pp. 266 ff.

143. *El-ma'rûf ma'hā miṯl eṭ-ṭa'neh fil-babûdj.* Doing her a kindness is (has no more effect than) stabbing a wooden shoe. She does not appreciate kindness.

144. *Es-skâfī ḥâfī uil-ḥâyk 'ariân ubêt en-nabī bir'ū fih el-firân.* The shoe-maker goes barefoot and the weaver naked, and the mice flock in the house of the prophet. Var. for p. 137.

145. *'Ilbis kundarah nišlaḥ kundarah tatidjī kundarah 'a-idjrak.* Put on a shoe and take off a shoe until you find a shoe that fits your foot. Var. for p. 355.

146. *Djrînā laḥfînā u(i)bkînā la'mînā.* We ran (and ran) until we became barefoot; we wept until we became blind. We have tried everything but in vain.

147. *Raḫâwet el-ḥzâm btûriṯ ed-dabar.* The looseness of the girdle (of a saddle) causes wounds. Carelessness causes trouble.

148. *Kaff mā bilâṭim maḫraz.* Hand cannot fight (lit. continue to slap) an awl.

149. *'Insît yā fallâḥ illī kunt fih ka'bak el-mašqûq uil-waḥl illī fih.*[1] O peasant, have you forgotten how you were: your cracked heel and the mud in it? Heel may mean the heel of the foot as

1 الخوري بولس قراعلي . الامثال العامية . المجلة السورية السنة ٣ ، العدد ٩ ، صحفة ٦١٦

well as that of the shoe. Of a poor man who has become rich and forgotten his former condition.

150. *Uḫtuh ḫaff uḫâltuh ḥâfieh uil-miqlâqah lā ʿaṭat ʿâfieh.* His sister is naked, his aunt (the sister of the mother) barefoot, may no health come to her who causes the trouble (i.e. the mother-in-law).

151. *Lā tiškī babkîlak uiʿyūni maliâneh dmûʿ, in kânat ʾawlâdak ḥâfieh ʾawlâdī maitîn djûʿ.* Do not complain to me (about your sad condition) for I have also to complain (lit. weep) in your presence, and my eyes are full of tears. If your children are barefoot mine are starving.

152. *Ibn el-markûb bidduh laqq biṣ-ṣurmây.* The son of the shoe (a mean person) has to be slapped with the shoe.

153. *Libsat el-bābûdj bidjrêhā l-ʿûdj udjôzḥā l-maflûdj yiblâh bil-ʿamā.* On her twisted feet she has wooden shoes, (it only remains) for her paralyzed husband to become blind. An incomplete variation is given by DALMAN on p. 355. BAUER, *ZDPV*, xxi, p. 129, No. 78, gives a variation.

154. *Fil-widjh mrây ufil-qafā ṣurmây.* In front a mirror (i.e. when facing you) but a shoe behind (i.e. he kicks you when you can not see what he is doing). Of a person who is two-faced. EINSLER, 18, gives *midrây* instead of *ṣurmây*.

155. *ʾIdjruh mā fîhā madâs* (some say *ilbâs*) *ušâkel šakleh.* He has not a shoe for his foot (or a pair of trousers in his legs), but he carries a bouquet of flowers. BAUER, *Volksleben*, No. 26.

156. *Edj-djild illī (i)mallaḥ mā biʿammil.* The skin which is salted will not suppurate (easily when it is wounded). Therefore a new-born child is anointed with oil in which fine powdered salt has been dissolved. This is believed to strengthen the skin and enable it to resist external forces. Ez. 16[4]. CANAAN, *JPOS*, vii, 163.

157. *Lā laḥmak bit-tâkal walā djildak bitsakkaf.* Your meat can not be eaten, nor your leather be worked into shoes. You are completely worthless. STEPHAN, 984.

158. *Bidduh rghîf min djild ḍʿîf.* He wants a loaf of bread from a weak (poor) skin (person). F.H. WEISSBACH, *Beiträge zur Kunde d. Irak-Arab.*, No. 271. You can not extract blood from a stone. In some places we hear the idioms *djilduh ḍʿif* or *laḥimtuh rqîqah* (his skin is thin and his flesh lean) to denote poverty.[1]

[1] Some classical proverbs belonging to this group are: II, 271, نعلك شر من.

X. SIEVE.

159. *Illī mā bisûf min el-ghurbâl ʾaʿmā.* The person who does not see through a grain sieve is blind. Indicates a person who is slow to take a hint.

160. *Eš-šams mā btitghaṭṭā bil-ghurbâl.* The sun can not be covered by a grain sieve. The good actions of a person can not be hidden.

161. *Lôlā munḫlik ughurbâlik mā ʿrift bâb dârik.* Were it not for your grain- and flour-sieves, I would never have known the door of your house. Need for mutual help brings people together.

162. *Yâ ʾimʾammneh-r-rdjâl yâ ḥâṭṭah-l-moy fil-ghurbâl.* O thou who trusteth men, O thou (i.e. you are like a person) who placeth water in a grain sieve.

163. *Mâ biṭliʿ ʿêb el-qamḥ illā-l-ghurbâl umā biṭliʿ ʿêb el-marah illā-r-ridjdjâl.* It takes a sieve to reveal the faults (adulterations) of wheat, and a man to reveal those of a woman.

164. *Illī bigharbil en-nâs binaḫḫlûh.* A person who sifts people with a grain sieve will be sifted by them with a flour sieve. SOCIN, *Arab. Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, *ZDMG*, xxxvii, No. 192. The classical proverb is من غربل الناس نخلوه (II, 247). See Matth. 7[2]; Luke 6[37-38].

XI. SHROUD, ḪURDJ.

165. *Lauw mânī rakkabtak ʿalā ḍahrī* (really *ẓahrī*) *mā šuft šû fī ḫurdjī.* Had I not let you ride on my back, you would never have seen what is in my saddle-bag. EINSLER, 87; STEPHAN, 16, 234. Judg. 14[18].

166. *Qaṣṣ el-ḫurdj muḫlâitên.* He cut the saddle-bag into two feeding bags (for feeding animals).

167. *Kull mā daqqêtluh watad biʿalleq ʿalêh muḫlây.* Every time I drive a peg (into the wall) he hangs a feeding bag on it. He takes advantage of every thing I do.

168. *ʿAṣâytik umuḫlâytik win fâtek bêt ḥall ṭalâqik.* Take your stick and feeding bag and go around. If you miss a house, your divorce becomes legal. *Muḫlây* means here the bag in which

لا يعلم ما في الخف الا حفاك فاترك ; II, 215, ما طاف حول الارض حاف وناعل ; II, 178, كل الحذاء يحتذي ; II, 74, بيت الاسكاف فيه من كل جلد رقعة ; I, 108, M, الله والاسكاف الحافي الوقع ; I, 281, ربّ نعل شرّ من الحفاء ; I, 80, بقّ نعليك وابذل قدميك .

beggars place the begged food they receive (for *kaškûl).* About a man who lives off his wife.

169. *ʾIntī mkaffin willā ḍâmen djanneh?* Are you shrouding the dead or letting paradise? *Ḍimin* = to take in contract. A man who makes promises instead of attending to his business. BURKHARDT, 112, gives *mghassil* instead of *mkaffin.*

170. *Eṭ-ṭabʿ fil-badan mā bigheiyruh illā ʃ-quṭun uil-kafan.* Nothing can change the natural characteristics (lit. nature in the body) save the cotton (with which the openings of the body are closed) and the shroud. EINSLER, 107, gives the proverb slightly abbridged; BAUER, *Volksleben,* 143.[1]

171. *Tâdjarnā bil-ʾakfân baṭṭalat en-nâs tmût.* (The moment) we began to deal with shrouds, people stopped dying. EINSLER, 175, has *ḥaṭṭêt baḫtī fil-baft baṭṭal imût ḥadā, haṭṭêt baḫtī fil-ḥinna kiṯr* (not *kiṯrū*) *el-ḥdâd.* When I put my money in white cloth, every body stopped dying, and when I placed my fortune in *ḥinnā* (used in festivities) mourning (death) increased. The classical proverb is لو تاجرت بالا كفان ما مات احد (II, 188, M).

172. *ʾIn ʿâšû byâkulhum eḏ-ḏubbân uin mâtû mā bilâqûš kfân.* If they (i.e. the children) remain alive, they will be eaten by flies (i.e. they will remain poor and neglected), and if they die they won't get a shroud (to wrap them with).

173. *Fidj-djubbeh ʃ-ʾaḫîreh mā fî walā djêbeh.* In the last coat (which is put on the dead) there are no pockets.

The following idioms and riddles also concern dress.

ʾÎdī biḥzâmak (taḥt zunnârak, and taḥt ʾabâṭak). "My hand is under your belt (or in your armpit)", means I depend upon you to do me this favour. Gen. 24[2] describes the same custom.

Ṭîzên bilbâs. "Two buttocks in one (and the same) pair of trousers", describes two unseparable friends.

Ṣurmâyethā ʾaḥsan min raqebtuh (aḥsan minnuh). "Her shoe is better than his neck (better than him)", means she is in every way better and nobler than him (the husband or bridegroom).

Miṯl ṣurmâytī or *kullšī ʿalā ṣurmâytī.* "Like my shoe", or "every

1 E. LITTMANN, *Morgenländische Spruchweisheit,* p. 5, gives only the German translation.

thing (I regard to be) on my shoe", i.e. it is all the same to me; I do not care.

Ṣurmâytek ʿarâsī. "Your shoes is upon my head", denotes 1.—I am in every way your servant; 2.—You have overwhelmed me by your kindness.

Yabn_eṣ-ṣurmây. "O son of the shoe" is used to describe a mean person. It is also a curse.

Biddak qlâdet ṣarâmī. "You deserve a necklace of shoes", is said to a person who performed a very mean act.

Es-sabt ʾaṭwal min el-ḥadd. "Saturday is longer than Sunday" is said of a woman whose petticoat shows beneath her skirt. It corresponds to the English saying: "Your father loves you more than your mother".

Wallāh la ʾaḏbaḥak (i)bṣurmây or *(ib)barṭûšeh.* "By God, I shall slaughter you with a shoe (or an old slipper)" is said to someone who deserves a humilating punishment.

ʿAla_l-ḥaṣîreh. "On the (bare) mat", denotes complete poverty.

Bass_it-ṭarriz ʿal-ḥawâši. "Stop embroidering the borders (of the garment)", i.e. stop this continued fault finding.

Sûset el-mḫaddeh, "Maggot in the pillow", is said of a woman who, in bed, troubles her husband with continuous requests or complaints.

Farwet Eliâs ma(t)lâneh djrâs? "The sheep-skin coat of Elias is full of bells—what is it?" The bean plant.

ʾArbaʿ ḥarâmiyeh lâbsîn ṭāqiyeh? "(What is it) four thieves who wear one cap?" The four walls of a room with the ceiling.

ʾIšī ʾanʿam min el-ḥarîr u'aḫraš min es-sider? "(What is the) thing which is smoother than silk and rougher than the lotus tree?" The serpent. STEPHAN, 879.

ʾIzâr ma(t)lân zrâr lā binṭawā walā binšâl? "(What is) an *ʾizâr* which is full of buttons. It can neither be folded nor shelved away?" The sky with the stars.

Farweh (i)mḫazzaqah (i)bẓahrak (i)mlazzaqah? "(What is) a torn sheep-skin coat which adheres to your back?" Your wife.

In considering all this material with that mentioned by DALMAN on this subject, one sees what a deep influence dress and the material of which it is made have left on the Palestinian life. The first purpose is to cloth the human body. The Arabs use the

characteristic expression "*ustur ʿôrtak*", "cover your nakedness (lit. shameful parts)". This rule is imperative for all, except young children, who may at times—but very rarely—walk around more or less naked. I have seen nakedness of this kind at very rare occasions in the heart of the Sinai Peninsula, among the poor tribes of the Bdûl in Petra, as well as at times among the children of gypsies. Even in such cases some rags, or a piece of a sheep's skin covered the *ʿôrah*.

Dress is used also to beautify the person. Proverbs pointing to this aim are abundant. Arab wisdom has continually criticized those who boast of the dress they wear, while unable through their poverty, to provide for their daily food.

Some of the proverbs show clearly how some parts of dress have been introduced newly among the peasants of Palestine. Thus for example proverb No. 116 is aimed at the alleged unpractical nature of trousers. Even the expression used, *banṭalôn*,[1] is western. I vividly remember how about 50 years ago our maid servant, a peasant from Bêt Djâlâ, claimed that she was offended, when presented with a pair of pants. Conditions have completely changed now, and today nearly every peasant wears trousers.

Dress has had such an influence on the life of the Palestinian that many personal and family names are connected with it. The following are some examples: Abû Qubʿ (the father of a cap), Qubʿên (two caps), Kittâneh (Linen), Abû Libdeh (the father of a felt-cap), Abû Djildeh (. . . of a piece of skin), Šalâyel (balls of wool or cotton threads), Ḥarîr (silk), Abû Farweh (. . . of a sheep-skin coat), Abû Ruqʿah (. . . of a patch), Abû Lḥâf (. . . of a quilled cotton cover), Djûḫah (cloth), el-Kauwā (ironer), Dabbâgh (tanner), Ḫayyâṭ (tailor), Qaṭṭân (dealer in cotton), Quffeh (basket), Ṣabbâgh Ṣabbâghah (dyer), Mneyel (dyer with indigo), Šallâḥ (the one who undresses), Farwagî (the maker of sheep-skin coats), Tarazî, Tarzî (Turk., tailor), etc. The following three Mohammedan saints derived their names in the same way. Bišr el-Ḥâfī (B. the bare-footed), Abû Šaʿr (the Hoary One) and Ibrâhîm el-Ḫauwâṣ) I. the worker in palm leaves, making mats). They have been described by the present writer in *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries,* p. 282.

[1] It used to be called by children *maḍraṭôn*.

It has to be noted that a family Abû Šaʿr lives in Transjordan. It has nothing to do with the above mentioned *welî* of the same name.

It is true that many Orientalists have compiled exhaustive lists of Arab proverbs. But only a very few of them have utilized such sayings in the description of the land and its inhabitants. Yet just such sayings are and remain the best indication and the surest proof of an existing custom or a belief.

THE APPLICATION OF GEOPHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

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Archaeologists assert that for more than half a century the most important extensions of their knowledge have been due to the exploration of the soil. As the soil is an excellent conservator, special interest is being paid to excavating and to its technique in the field of archaeological research. The objects of excavations being usually large it is necessary to start with expensive digging; masses of earth-work have to be removed, heaps of ruins to be cleared away, vaults filled with debris have to be cleaned, test bores to be sunk, and the whole area opened up by long and deep ditches. Therefore, to a certain degree, modern archaeological excavations may be compared with the working of a coal or ore mine and with excavations preceding the building of sub-surface structures; so that it may be assumed that such technical means as are generally applied in the exploration of the subsoil may also be of use for archaeological excavations, in so far as these means can be adapted to the specific tasks of archaeology.

Subsoil exploration is normally carried out in two stages: firstly, by preparatory studies on the topography, geology and physics of the subsoil, and secondly by actual excavating. Archaeological field work proceeds similarly, with this difference that geological and geophysical investigations are rarely executed. It will, therefore, be interesting to examine how far modern geophysical methods may be of value for the archaeologist.

The archaeologist who starts excavating generally possesses a certain amount of preliminary knowledge on the objects hidden in the subsoil. This knowledge is derived from surface indications or from data given in historical and geographical reports. Mostly, such preliminary knowledge is limited, and excavations start blind Until much of the excavation has already been done, the ultimate value of an archaeological enterprise is difficult to forecast, and

the extent of excavations can normally be fixed only in the course of field work. Thus if the archaeological objects in the subsoil are old buildings of complicated ground-plan, ramified galleries, vaults, caves or tombs, the archaeologist is often faced with problems which he cannot solve without great labour and expense. This fact, among others, was an important reason for the large-scale equipment of expeditions working in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt. For, the scientific investigation of all material remains of former civilizations being an integral part of modern archaeology, it is necessary to explore systematically the soil of an excavation area. Hence carterwork has to be done in the true sense of the word, and the field archaeologist often has to admit that part of his efforts were in vain, as he carried away only dead material. It is often reported that an excavator who had removed debris from his site to a place nearby, had to remove it again when he found that the second dumping-ground still belonged to the area to be excavated. The work which excavations may involve has been demonstrated at Babylon, where the digging extended to a depth of 20 m. over a fairly large area.

The purpose of geophysical investigation before and during archaeological excavations is the acquisition of more data within shorter time and at less cost than would be possible without geophysical methods. Superfluous work could be avoided, and excavating itself be made more efficient than hitherto.

So far we have no information as to whether geophysical methods have been systematically applied to archaeological excavations, and we have found no reports referring to practical efforts in this direction. However, a recent publication, "*La technique des fouilles archéologiques*" by Comte DU MESNIL DU BUISSON (Paris, 1934, p. 94 etc.) indicates the possible future importance of geophysical methods for archaeology. DU BUISSON highly recommends a serious examination of these methods for archaeological purposes in view of their general importance in subsoil prospecting.

The author intends in the following lines to stimulate such an examination and to submit proposals, the realization of which might permit a theoretical and experimental examination of geophysical methods as a means to aid archaeological research.

What then are geophysical methods and what kind of assistance

may the archaeologist expect from them?

Geophysical methods determine certain physical properties of the subsoil with the aid of sensitive instruments placed on the surface of the given area. An interpretation of the physical data obtained permits conclusions on the composition of the subsoil, or the thickness and extent of layers or limited bodies. According to the properties of the layers and bodies to be explored either gravimetric methods (for the determination of subsoil gravity) may be applied, or seismic methods (elasticity), magnetic (magnetic earth-field), radio-active (radiation of radio-activity), electric (electric conductivity), acoustic or thermic methods. All these methods are to-day scientifically developed to such a degree that they are being applied in practice.[1] But in the main, four methods—the seismic, gravimetric, magnetic, electric—have found universal recognition as means of serving geology and prospecting for metals, minerals, oil or water. In principle, any of the methods cited may be applied to tasks of archaeological excavation with a certain amount of success; in practice, however, the choice of geophysical methods is limited by specific archaeological problems.

As to depth, archaeologists are interested only in upper layers, normally not to a depth beyond 15 m., and rarely beyond 20 or 30 m. Down to such depths, it is desired to have exact information on the stratification and composition of the subsoil. The geophysical investigations should neither be too circumstantial nor too expensive in relation to the prospected object. They should be sufficiently variable and adaptable to suit the diverse conditions under which archaeological strata occur. With this in view, seismic measurements may be rejected because they are charged with too many factors of uncertainty for such small depths. Radio-active, thermic and acoustic methods are limited in their sphere of application, and are to be used only in individual cases. Gravimetric and magnetic procedures have the disadvantage that they permit only qualitative results, such as the determination of gravimetric or magnetic anomalies at this or that place, or the indication of the existence

[1] G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Étude sur la Prospection Électrique du Sous-Sol*, Paris 1920.
A.B.B. EDGE and T.H. LABY, *The Principles and Practice of Geophysical Prospecting*, Cambridge 1931.
H. REICH, *Angewandte Geophysik*, Leipzig 1934.

of a body with certain physical properties not present at a neighbouring place; they do not produce sufficiently reliable data on the depth of origin of these indications. Electrical methods, on the other hand, furnish data of a quantitative as well as of a qualitative character. With an appropriate measuring technique and a suitable method of evaluation, even detailed information may be obtained. In addition, electrical methods detect a wide range of subsoil differences and are adaptable and among the cheapest in use.

The reasons cited induce us to propose in the first place the examination of systematic electrical measurements in connection with archaeological excavations.

In the large domain of electrical methods there are different procedures, the suitability of each of which for excavation purposes should be examined in every single case. It is impossible in this introductory paper to describe all these procedures or to enquire in detail into the degree of their applicability. We restrict ourselves to a short exposition of the principle of the so-called resistivity methods, which are widely applied in practice[1] and which are also to be included in the work which we propose.

If an electric current from batteries is conducted into the ground by two metal pikes an electric field will be produced in the soil. The circuit thus produced consists of the source of the current (battery), of the adductors of the current (cables and electrodes) and of the soil as a more or less conducting medium placed in between. Now, it is possible and convenient to determine ground resistivity by measurements at two further metal pikes (inner electrodes) which are connected with the soil at places between the first or outer electrodes. If the two pairs of electrodes are brought nearer to each other the current flows mainly in the upper layers between the metal pikes, and the resistivity measured is that of the uppermost layer. If the two pairs of electrodes are separated somewhat from each other, the resistivity measured is affected not only by the resistivity of the uppermost layer but also by that of a deeper-lying stratum. The more the electrodes are removed from each other the stronger is

[1] C.A. HEILAND, 'Geophysics in the non-metallic field'. *A.J.M.E., Trans.* 1934, p. 110.

A. LÖHNBERG and A. LOEWENSTEIN, 'Electrical Prospecting for Water'. *Mining Magazine*, London 1937.

the influence of deeper formations felt in the resistivities measured at the surface. If, for example, the uppermost layer were a bad conductor a high resistivity would be measured with the electrodes a small distance apart. If below a certain depth a good conductor were to follow, and if the electrodes were placed further apart, the main quantity of the current sent into the earth would transect the good conducting formation as soon as the electrodes lay far enough apart and from this point the measured resistance would become smaller. In this way resistivity diagrams of subsoil are obtained from which resistivity profiles may be derived. The interpretation of these diagrams has made considerable progress recently. Conclusions concerning the structure of the subsoil may be drawn from the absolute resistivity values, from their sequence, and from the comparison of diagrams from neighbouring places which go to show the material, thickness and extension of subsoil bodies and layers.[2]

Two prerequisites for the application of geoelectric (as of other geophysical) methods are indispensable however: the objects to be searched for in the subsoil must be fairly large and also well differentiated from their physical environment. Moreover, one must not expect the physical results of geoelectric investigation always to be translated directly into archaeological equivalents. It would be in vain to search with geophysical methods for individual objects like coins, vases, small statues etc., nor is a roll of documents sufficiently differentiated from its physical environment. Again one cannot expect a certain physical indication to be counted as typical for the ruins of a certain Egyptian or Babylonian era.

The archaeological problems have to be reduced to simple geological and physical facts so that they may correspond to the usual objects of geophysical investigation. By "usual" are meant geological bodies of not too small a size, which need not be homogeneous within themselves but which should represent geophysically distinguishable units. They can then be treated as local, particular forms and bodies within the structure and composition of the subsoil, or as a special form, or separate body in the subsoil. The geophysical archaeography described above would regard the remains of the dead *species humanis* and the relics of their work in relation

[2] A. LÖHNBERG, A. LOEWENSTEIN: 'Die geoelektrische Hydrologie als Teilgebiet der Analyse des Untergrundes'. *Beitr. zur angewandten Geophysik*. Leipzig 1936.

to the soil much as geology looks upon the remains and excrements of certain prehistoric mollusca as means of classifying geological strata. This definition possibly exaggerates the parallelism between the science of man and natural science. For practical purposes it is sufficient to state that the geophysicist is interested in the physical properties of the object in question, and in the geological conditions surrounding it, which means its extent and limits and its physical state (solidity, hardness, porosity, electrical conductivity etc.).

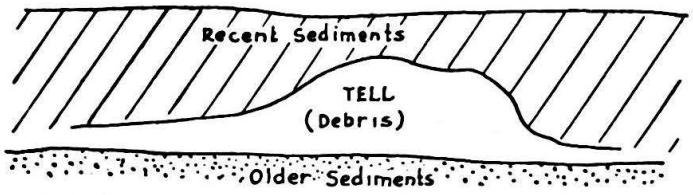
With this point of view in mind we now enter into the discussion of some specific archaeological problems.

At certain periods and at some places prehistoric finds are connected with the existence of certain recent formations. The direct geophysical proof of such a formation or of its extension from a known site across a wider areamay be of use for the archaeologist.

Again, the choice of a tell or mound for excavation may involve the problem of forecasting the archaeological value of one tell among many. If the tell was settled only for a short time, the depth of the layer of debris will be slight. Alternatively, if the tell was settled for long periods, the whole of it may consist of debris and ruins. Most excavators would prefer to start digging at tells that promise rich information, i.e. those with a large amount of debris. It may also be safely assumed that—on the whole—historically important settlements have left more voluminous material traces than unimportant settlements. Thus, the geophysicist may determine with the aid of his instruments the nature and extent of an "archaeological body" corresponding to a geological body, and may decide as between two possible cases such as those illustrated below.

(Two mounds of outwardly the same appearance but of different thickness of debris on underlying rock of different profile).

There are also tells completely hidden under the surface. They offer in miniature form the same geophysical problem which occurs in the determination of a hidden salt dome in connexion with oil prospecting.



(Tell hidden under the surface).

Such situations as this often confront the archaeological excavator in the regions of ancient civilization lying in the oases formed by rivers and along their border zones, where large centres of former civilization are buried by wandering sand dunes or by quicksand. A similar effect has been caused by sedimentation as a result of inundations as at Ur in Chaldaea or at Memphis in Egypt. Sir LEONARD WOOLLEY gives a vivid description of such conditions foı Ur. Here more than 10 m. of debris had been removed, when a layer of completely pure clay was struck. The clay was uniform, but delicately stratified, a fact pointing to sedimentation under water. This seemed to indicate the lowest deposits containing ruins and remains of pottery, and the bottom of the original alluvial land surface. After continuing excavation for another 3 metres however, the pure clay was penetrated, and a new layer of debris, pottery fragments and flint tools encountered — thus affording a clear proof of the correctness of the accounts of the Flood at Ur. The archaeological task here involved — the determination of the existence and thickness of physically similar layers, worthy of archaeological exploration — is scarcely different from the ordinary questions which the geophysicist has to solve in prospecting for minerals and metals or in controlling the progress of bores.

Substantially the same physical problem as the exploration of an archaeologically important layer in sand dune areas or in inundation zones presents itself in excavating places covered by volcanic lava or by volcanic ashes.

One could cite many other examples from excavating practice which would allow of the application of geophysical methods. But there is no room to mention more in this short introduction. Sufficient has been said to show that geophysical methods can usefully be applied to a number of archaeological problems.

In the spring of 1939, in order to verify these statements, the author consulted some archaeologists in Cairo and in Jerusalem, and visited various excavating sites in Egypt.[1] As a result of these first conversations and visits it seems practicable to consider more closely two specific subjects which are of archaeological interest and which can probably be tackled with geophysical methods:

1) The determination of the extent of the Memphis ruin-field under the alluvial sediments of the Nile Valley;

2) the determination of the postion and extent of subterranean tombs at sites in Middle Egypt.

These two tasks may not only produce practical data for later excavation work at these places, but also serve to test and, so to speak, gauge geophysical methods with objects already known in part. Both these tasks seem to fulfil the physical conditions indispensable for a successful application of geophysical methods.

At Memphis the object is to determine the extent of a subsoil body consisting mainly of stone fragments or stone and brick ruins, covered by consolidated Nile mud. This body is underlain by the same more or less homogeneous recent Nile sediments which also form its lateral delimitation.

Likewise there exists a well-defined object for the second task: cavities of about 2 m. high (bodies of air), surrounded by soft rock (*?Nâri* or chalk), the roof of the cavities lying about four metres below the surface, which consists of a thin covering of sand.

One might experiment with several electrical methods and try various procedures, so that the same problem could eventually be attacked from different angles. If possible, some laboratory tests of the layers and materials occuring in the field should be carried out for purposes of correlation. Such an investigation could be conducted as a systematic trial of the value of geophysical methods to the field archaeologist.[2]

[1] Advice and assistance were given to him by Dr. I Ben Dor and Dr. M. Stekelis, of Jerusalem; by M. l'Abbé Drioton, Dr. Leibovitch, Mr. Alan Rowe and Professer Junker of Cairo. The author must assure these gentlemen of his sincerest thanks.

[2] The author is anxious to put the methods he advocates into practice with these objectives in view and would be glad if archeaologists or archaeological bodies who are interested would communicate with him at 1, Saadya Gaon Rd, Rehavia, Jerusalem. EDITOR.

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE NAZARETHS.

CLEMENS KOPP

(KARMEL)

III. DIE ECCLESIA NUTRITIONIS BEZW. GABRIELSKIRCHE.

1. DIE QUELLE.

1911 wurde, um Wasser vor dem Versickern zu bewahren,[1] durch den Kanal von der Marienquelle bis zu ihrem heutigen Ausfluß an der Straße nach Tiberias eine eiserne Röhre gelegt. JONE FRANK, heute Leiter der Tempelgemeinde in Haifa, führte die Arbeit aus, seine Notizen und Zeichnungen gingen leider in den Kriegswirren verloren. AS'AD MANṢŪR verfolgte die Arbeit mit aufmerksamen Auge und schrieb sie mit fleißiger Hand nieder.[2]

Ungefähr 150 m nordwestlich vom heutigen Ausfluß liegt die Quellhöhle.[3] Man grub 1911 einen 10 m tiefen Graben, eine Leiter führte dann in „eine elliptische Höhle von 4 m im Durchmesser und 2 m Höhe."[4] „An beiden Seiten des Eingangs sind die Spuren von Äxten noch zu sehen."[5] Nach der Regenzeit schießt

[1] Durch die Eisenröhren wurde eine Ersparnis von 40% erzielt. Trotz der vielen Zisternen war die Wassernot mit der wachsenden Bevölkerung gestiegen. 1890 schrieb G. SCHUMACHER: „An Wassermangel leidet die Stadt nach wie vor. — Auch die Marienquelle liefert in den Hochsommermonaten kaum mehr als 600 Liter die Stunde, was für eine Stadt von 7500 Einwohnern mehr als spärlich ist." (*ZDPV* XIII, 1890, S. 238). Auch die Tätigkeit der deutschen Truppen während des Krieges (vgl. P. RANGE, *Nazareth*, Leipzig 1923, S. 12 f.) brachte keine wirksame Abhilfe. Sie wurde erst nach dem Kriege geleistet durch Herüberleiten des Quellwassers von er-rēne. Schon die beschränkte Wassermenge verbietet darum, sich Nazareth in alter Zeit als eine größere Stadt vorzustellen.

[2] *QS*, 1913, S. 149—153 und *ta'rīḫ*, S. 16—18.

[3] Nach der Erinnerung von JONE FRANK durchläuft der Kanal genau 164 m.

[4] *QS*, S. 150. Die Maßangaben sind nicht klar, in seinem *ta'rīḫ* (S. 17) gibt A.M. die Höhe mit „ungefähr 3 m" an.

[5] Wahrscheinlich von Steinwerkzeugen, obwohl A.M. darüber nichts aussagt. Allein eine genauere Untersuchung der Höhle und des anschließenden Steinkanals könnte das Alter bestimmen.

das Wasser aus zahllosen kleinen Öffnungen heraus, die Wände sind wie ein Schwamm durchlöchert. Nahe am Boden sind die drei Hauptquellen, die noch im Spätsommer flossen.

Der Kanal zerfällt in vier Teile. 1) Seine ersten 17 m sind in den Felsen gehauen. Auf der Anfangsstrecke von 10 m erreicht der Aquädukt stattliche Maße: 1,50 m hoch und 2 m breit.[1] Auf den folgenden 7 m läuft er, nur noch 50 cm weit, durch eine Höhle, die 4 m breit ist. „Hier, wo nach meiner Meinung der Quell zuerst sichtbar wurde, endet der Felsen, von diesem Punkte ab ist der Kanal aus Steinen."[2] 2) Wir sind nur noch 4 m[3] am Ausgang der Höhle von der Nordmauer des Hofes der Gabrielskirche entfernt. Im Nordarm der Kirche, der unter dem Erdboden liegt und als Höhle der Verkündigung von den orthodoxen Griechen angesehen wird, schöpfen die Pilger Wasser, das aus dem Kanal abgeleitet ist. „Das Steinwerk von diesem Teile des Kanals ist von viel höherem Alter als der Teil, der nun folgt."[4] 3) Diese jüngere Leitung geht durch die Kirche (15×15 m), den Hof, dessen Länge von Nord nach Süd 48 m beträgt, bis sie ungefähr 15 m südlich von der Ostecke seiner Mauer in ein Reservoir mündet. Es lag nur 1 m unter dem Boden, war 8 m lang, 4 m weit und 6 m hoch. Durch diese Öffnungen zog man das Wasser nach oben. 4) Der Kanal wendet sich „nach Osten und dann nach Südwesten,"[5] dieser Teil ist „geringer an Höhe und neuer im Bau."[6] Die Anlagen des heutigen Ausflusses wurden 1862 errichtet, aus zwei steinernen Öffnungen[7] plätscherte das Wasser frei heraus, bis sie 1911 durch vier eiserne, selbstschließende Krane ersetzt wurden. Das Gefälle ist sehr gering, nur 1,60 m, davon gleich 90 cm auf den ersten 6 m nach Verlassen der Quellhöhle.

Wo war die Schöpfstelle in den Tagen Christi? Die Gabrielskirche beansprucht, diesen ehrwürdigen Raum in ihren Mauern zu umschließen. Sechs Treppen führen in den gewölbten Nordflügel, dessen Decke das Niveau des Erdbodens

[1] *Ta'rīḫ* beziffert, wieder leicht abweichend, die Höhe auf „ungefähr 2 m" (S. 18). [2] *QS*, S. 151. [3] *Ta'rīḫ* (S. 18) gibt 5 m an.

[4] *QS*, S. 151. [5] *QS*, S. 152. [6] *Ta'rīḫ*, S. 19.

[7] E. J. Scrimgeour, der um die gleiche Zeit auch als aufmerksamer Beobachter in N. lebte, zählt „drei weite, steinerne Ausgüsse," die nach ihm 1912 durch eiserne ersetzt wurden. (*Nazareth of To-day*. Edinburgh u. London 1913, S. 13).

erreicht.[1] Nach 5,27 m tritt man über eine Stufe (25 cm) in das eigentliche Heiligtum ein. Hinter dem Altar an der Nordwand ist ein Brunnen, über den sich ein runder Marmordeckel legt. Um seinen Rand läuft eine griechische Inschrift, die stark verwischt ist Nach einzelnen lesbaren Silben ist es aber wohl sicher das „Gegrüßet seist du Maria, der Herr ist mit dir." An der Wand ist die arabische Inschrift: „Verkündigung der Jungfrau und Wasserbrunnen."[2] Auf dieses Heiligtum läuft auch eine Treppe zu, die etwa 6 m von der Kirchenmauer aus dem östlichen Hofraum kommt und mit einem Überbau bedeckt ist. Sie wird nicht mehr benutzt, bricht heute plötzlich vor einem Fenster mit Nische nach 18 Stufen ab, reichte aber ursprünglich bis in den Raum hinein, wenn sie nicht noch tiefer lief bis zur Kanalleitung, die hier eine eigenartige, höhlenähnliche Erweiterung erfährt.[3] Es scheint aber diese Stätte der Verkündigung langsam in Vergessenheit zu geraten, denn die Schöpfstelle unter dem Altar ist außer Gebrauch. Die Pilger entnehmen heute das Wasser aus einer südlicheren Öffnung dieses Nordraumes.

Aber die von der Natur geschaffene Schöpfstelle liegt am Ende der 7 m langen Höhle. Hier ist auch die stärkste Cäsur des Ganzen: Felsenkanal — Steinkanal. Erst als unter dem Einfluß des apokryphen Jakobusevgl. das Wasser heilig wurde, leitete man die Schöpfstelle südlich in die Krypta einer Kirche.[4]

Dadurch entstand eine geschichtlich fühlbar gewordene Verlegenheit, das Wasser auszunutzen. In die Kirche selbst konnte man kein Reservoir hineinbauen, nötig waren solche Anlagen aber, um

[1] Vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt die Skizze von JONE FRANK.

[2] „*Bischārat el-ʿaḏrā wa biʾr el-māʾ*."

[3] Das ist die Treppe, von der QUARESMIUS berichtet, daß man auf ihr „zu dem Kloster der Nonnen emporstieg, das nach der Überlieferung hier in alten Zeiten gestanden haben soll." (II, 632). Die hl. Quelle sieht er „am äußersten Ende der Kapelle", nur glaubt er, wie viele, daß sie auch hier entspringe. (*Ebd.*)

[4] Die letzte Entscheidung könnte nur eine gründliche Untersuchung am Ausgang dieser Höhle bringen. Sind noch Spuren menschlicher Benutzung festzustellen? Finden sich vielleicht im Boden noch Scherben? Unter der Führung von JONE FRANK wollte ich darum bis zu diesem Punkte vordringen. Aber er konnte vor 27 Jahren die Leitung legen, heute ist die Enge des Kanals (60–80 cm.) ein Hindernis geworden. Ein zweiter Versuch, den ich allein unternahm, scheiterte wieder an dem Mißverhältnis von Körper und Kanalbreite. Ohnehin verdecken die Kanalwände jede nächste Sicht, sodaß wohl nur eine kleine Grabung Klarheit über die Schöpfstelle Christi bringen kann.

das Wasser aufzuspeichern, auch verlangte sie die Viehtränke. Das Reservoir etwa 15 m südlich von der Südostecke der Kirchhofmauer ist nur eines von vielen. Die geringe Erdschicht von 1 m, die es bedeckte, weist ihm zudem ein jüngeres Alter zu.[1] Unmittelbar hinter dem heutigen Ausfluß liegt das Haus von Salīm Kaʿwār. Vor 60 Jahren stieß man beim Bau auf zwei Reservoirs, das eine ist heute eine bedeckte Zisterne, das andere (etwa 20×10 m) ist sichtbar und dient nun auch zum Auffangen von Regenwasser. Unter dem Schutt fand sich noch ein steinerner Trog zur Viehtränke. Auch diese zwei Anlagen sind nicht von Pilgern beschrieben. Südlich vom Marienbrunnen im Hause von Suleiman Ṣabbāṛ entdeckte man ebenfalls Anlagen, um das Wasser aufzuspeichern.[2] In eine ganz andere Richtung lief der Kanal, von dem man ein 4 m langes Stück vor einigen Jahren—1931 wird angegeben—beim Pflanzen eines Baumes, etwa 50 m südwestlich vom Hofeingang der Gabrielskirche, entdeckte. Seine stattliche Breite von $1^1/_2$ m fiel auf. Vermutlich war er das Stück des Kanals, der zu der Schöpfstelle hinlief, die im Anfang des XVII. Jahrh. beschrieben wird.[3] Die verschiedenen Stücke der Steinleitung sind darum nicht in geschichtlichen Etappen organisch aneinander gewachsen. Von der Schöpfstelle in der Kirche muß der Kanal früher einmal in eine ganz andere Richtung gelaufen sein. Unter dem Boden im Kirchhofe und auf dem Gelände vor ihm werden vermutlich noch verschiedene Reservoirs verdeckt sein.[4] Wie eine Sperrmauer schiebt sich heute die Kirche ein. Zwischen ihr und der alten Schöpfstelle liegen, da gleiche Bedürfnisse gleiches schaffen, sicher-

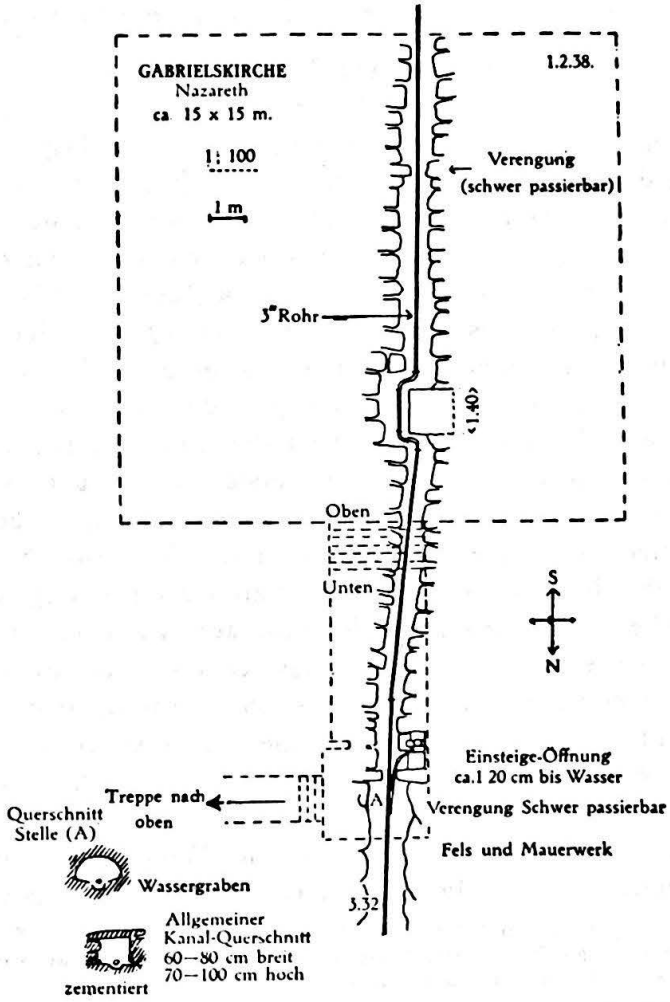
[1] Vermutlich ist es das Reservoir, das GIUSEPPE (1764/78) „vicino alla chiesa" sah. Das Wasser wurde aber noch „einen Steinwurf" weiter geleitet, bis es an die Öffentlichkeit trat (S. 164).

[2] MANṢŪR, *taʾrīḫ*, S. 35.

[3] QUARESMIUS sieht die Gabrielskirche „ein wenig oberhalb der Quelle, oberhalb zu ihrer rechten Seite liegen" (II, 632). Vom heutigen Ausfluß aus gesehen, liegt die Kirche links. Einige Jahre später zeichnet ROGER auf seinem Plan (S. 58) ebenfalls die Kirche rechts von der Ausflußstelle ein. Er bemerkt mehrere Anlagen zum Sammeln des Wassers, „de beaux bassins et reservoirs" (S. 63). — Nach der Durchsicht der Pilgerliteratur glaube ich schließen zu müssen, daß der Ausfluß von hier (vermutlich an der alten Straße nach Tiberias gelegen) gegen 1700 an seine heutige Stelle rückte.

[4] Weil diese Anlagen von Jahrhundert zu Jahrhundert gewechselt haben, ist es falsch, eine Kongruenz in den Pilgerangaben zu suchen. Daher steht TOBLER (*Nazareth* S. 212) dem anscheinenden Durcheinander „mit peinlichen Gefühlen" gegenüber.

lich noch vorbyzantinische und vorchristliche Anlagen zum Aufsammeln des Wassers im Boden. Wenn so die Quelle ihren Wasserarm bis an das Gelände der Kirche vorstreckte, so konnte das den Glauben erleichtern, hier vor der Schöpfstelle Mariens zu stehen.



Höchst charakteristisch trägt ursprünglich die Quelle den Namen Gabriels, freilich erst in der Kreuzfahrerzeit bezeugt.[1] Der Ausdruck „Marienquelle" könnte ja aus bloßer Pietät gewählt sein. So beweist allein der Name, daß auch an dieser Stelle die apokryphen Vorstellungen gestaltend und verwirrend in die Heilig-

[1] Zum ersten Mal als „la fontaine de Saint Gabriel" erwähnt 1187 in „*La Citez de Jherusalem.*" (Text bei VOGÜÉ, S. 449).

tümer Nazareths eingegriffen haben. Der Name „Gabrielsquelle" bleibt unangefochten bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters,[1] dann verdrängen ihn die Lateiner durch stille, aber nachdrückliche Opposition. Sie wird nach „Jesus und Maria" oder bloß nach „Maria" umbenannt, mit „Marienquelle" bezeichnen sie heute auch die orthodoxen Griechen.

2. Die Kirche.

A. Vor den Kreuzfahrern.

Neben der Verkündigungskirche ist das Heiligtum an der Quelle der andere Brennpunkt der Ellipse. Der Anonymus von Piacenza erwähnt es noch nicht 570. In der Tat ist es auch unwahrscheinlich, daß die Christen vor 630 hier eine Kirche bauen konnten. Bis dahin herrschten die Juden in Nazareth.[2] Für sie war ein christliches Heiligtum an der Quelle, die sie täglich aus Lebenszwang besuchen mußten, schwer erträglich. Dann fanden aber bald die christlichen Erinnerungen, die unter dem Einfluß des apokryphen Jakobusevgl. schon früh die Quelle umschwebten, steinerne Gestalt in einer Kirche. Als erster spricht 670 Arkulf von ihr. „Die Stadt Nazareth, auf einem Berge gelegen, hat ebensowenig wie Kapharnaum eine Umwallung durch Mauern. Sie hat aber große Gebäude von Stein. Dort sind auch zwei sehr große Kirchen erbaut. Die eine ist mitten in der Stadt auf zwei Erhebungen gebaut an dem Orte, wo einst das Haus erbaut war, in dem unser Erlöser auferzogen wurde. Wie oben erwähnt, stützt sich diese Kirche auf zwei Hügel und dazwischen eingesetzten Bögen. Unten, zwischen den beiden Hügeln, enthält sie eine sehr klare Quelle, welche die ganze Einwohnerschaft besucht, um aus ihr Wasser zu schöpfen. Das Wasser wird durch eine Winde in Gefässen in die Kirche heraufgezogen, die darüber erbaut ist."[3] Nach der grammati-

[1] Noch 1533/34 nennt sie der Lateiner G. Affagart (S. 233) „la fontaine sainct Gabriel." M. W. erscheint „Jesus und Maria" zuerst bei Bonifacius um 1564 (S. 263), „Maria" bei Cotovicus 1598 (S. 349).

[2] Vgl. *JPOS XVIII*, 3–4, 1938 S. 216.

[3] „Civitas Nazareth et ipsa ut Capharnaum murorum ambitum non habet supra montem posita, grandia tamen lapidea habet aedificia ibidemque duae pergrandes habentur constructae ecclesiae, una in medio civitatis loco super duos fundata cancros, ubi quondam illa fuerat domus aedificata, Dominus in qua noster nutritus est salvator. Haec itaque eadem ecclesia duobus, ut superius dictum est, tumulis et interpositis arcibus subfulta habet inferius inter eosdem tumulos lucidissimum fontem conlocatum, quem totus civium frequentat populus de illo exhauriens aquam, et de latice eodem sursum in ecclesiam superaedificatam aqua in vasculis per trocleas subrigitur." (Geyer, S. 274).

schen Ableitung können *cancer* und *tumulus* die gleiche Bedeutung haben. Sie müssen denselben Wortsinn haben, weil ARKULF ihn durch sein „wie oben erwähnt" ausdrücklich verlangt. Ein Blick auf das Gelände entscheidet die Wahl zwischen den möglichen Übersetzungen. Heute steht die Gabrielskirche in ihrer ganzen Westostlänge nach Norden wie vor einer Mauer. An den beiden Seiten überwinden 17 Stufen in einer Höhe von 2,60 m den Niveauunterschied. Der Nordarm der Kirche schiebt sich in diese Bodenerhebung ein, offenbar weil hier die Quelle das Gelände durchbrochen und zu einem kleinen Wadi erweitert hatte. Auf der Terrasse hinter den 17 Stufen muß die Kirche des ARKULF gestanden haben, sodaß der heutige unterirdische Nordflügel ihre Krypta war. Die Art des Schöpfens setzt nämlich eine größere Tiefe voraus, als die Brunnen sie heute in der Unterkirche besitzen. Die Krypta war überspannt von Bögen, durch die das Wasser mit Winden nach oben gezogen wurde. So schmiegte sich die Kirche dem Gelände an, sie ruhte auf zwei natürlichen Erhebungen bezw. Hügeln, die aber durch Mauerwerk ausgerichtet wurden. Topographisch paßt der Text des ARKULF in Nazareth nur an dieser Stelle, andere vorgeschlagene Lösungen[1] sind gekünstelt und gewaltsam.

Die Kirche scheint der Basilika der Verkündigung ebenbürtig gewesen zu sein, da sie beide als „sehr groß" bezeichnet werden. Leider fehlen systematische Ausgrabungen, die uns den Plan dieses Heiligtums aufzeigen könnten. Immerhin „haben die Griechen auf ihrem Besitz schöne monolithische Säulen gefunden, die sicher zu einer Periode vor den Kreuzfahrern gehörten."[2]

[1] Die DAMES DE NAZARETH übersetzen, um den Text des ARKULF auf ihr Gelände ziehen zu können, *tumulus* mit „Grab". (*Découvertes* S. 17). Aber A. gebraucht dafür den Ausdruck „sepulcrum." Ohnehin haben von den Gräbern ihrer Nekropole nicht zwei eine so zentrale Bedeutung, daß auf ihnen die Kirche ruht, ganz zu schweigen von dem fehlenden „fons lucidissimus", der zwischen ihnen sprudeln müßte. Die Übersetzung mit „Grab" wird aber auch z. B. von L. DRESSAIRE (*Echos d'Orient*, X (1907, S. 41) vorgeschlagen, obwohl er den Text auf die Marienquelle bezieht. Dagegen spricht u.a., daß im jüdischen Nazareth sich keine Gräber in die Nähe der Quelle vorschieben konnten.— Pilasterreste im Josefsheiligtum der Franziskaner haben die Übersetzung von *tumulus* mit „Pilaster" nahe gelegt. (Vgl. VIAUD, S. 9; BALDI, S. 231, 235) Aber es fehlt auch hier der „*fons*" zwischen den beiden Pilastern, dann die von ARKULF vorausgesetzte Gleichheit zwischen *cancer* und *tumulus*.

[2] DRESSAIRE, *a.a. O.*, S. 39.

1913 unternahm die griechische Kirche einige leichte Schürfungen nahe südwestlich von der Quellhöhle, man entdeckte „einige alte Gewölbe etwa zwei Meter unter der Erde."[1] Nach der Entfernung zu schließen, waren sie kein Teil der alten Kirche, könnten aber ein Annex gewesen sein.

Die beiden Basiliken sind durch eine größere Entfernung von einander getrennt. Die an der Quelle ist „in der Mitte der Stadt," die der Verkündigung muß dann doch, da ein Gegensatz vorliegt, außerhalb der Siedelung oder an ihrem Rande liegen. Die Lokalisierungen der Dames de Nazareth und der Franziskaner werden auch nach dieser Seite dem Text nicht gerecht, da ihre Kirchen nächste Nachbarn des Heiligtums der Verkündigung sind. Wie erwähnt,[2] muß das jüdische Nazareth schon wegen der Gräber sich an die Quelle angelehnt haben. Vermutlich zog es sich von dort südlich an der Westseite des Tales entlang bis über den muhammedanischen Friedhof hinaus, da hier 570 nach gut bezeugter Tradition die Synagoge des ANONYMUS AUS PIACENZA gestanden haben muß. Das letzte Wort müßten Ausgrabungen auf diesem Geländestreifen sprechen.[3] Die geographische Mitte will ARKULF mit seiner Wendung gewiß nicht angeben, sondern nur, daß die Stadt sich auf die Quelle hinordnete wie das spätere Nazareth auf die Verkündigungskirche.

Kann die „sehr klare Quelle" eine Zisterne sein? An sich ist die Übersetzung möglich,[4] aber schon das charakterisierende Adjektiv „lucidissimus" erschwert sie sehr. „Die ganze Einwohnerschaft" würde zudem eine Zisterne schnell ausschöpfen. Darum ist dann als Krücke die Hypothese nötig, daß dauernd Wasser von der Quelle in diese Zisterne geleitet wurde. Dafür fehlt der Beweis

[1] MANṢŪR, *QS* 1913, S. 153.

[2] Vgl. *JPOS* XVIII, 3–4, 1938, S. 207.

[3] G. DALMAN berichtet: „Ein alter Nazarethaner versicherte, daß Reste alter Bauwerke sich nur auf der Nordseite des Tals fänden zwischen dem Marienbrunnen und der Verkündigungskirche. Nur sei das Tal ursprünglich tiefer gewesen." (*PJB* III, 1907, S. 9). Ähnliche Urteile habe ich auch gehört, doch ließ sich nichts Datierbares feststellen. Hinter der Kirche stieß man z. B. im Hause von SALĪM DSCHARDSCHŪRA beim Neubau auf Ruinen, die aber nicht untersucht wurden. Der weite Raum vor der Gabrielskirche, der orthodoxe Friedhof, südlich der öffentliche Garten, dann der muhammedanische Friedhof machen Neubauten auf diesem Geländestreifen zu Seltenheiten.

[4] Mit dieser Möglichkeit rechnet auch der unparteiische DALMAN (vgl. S. 75).

in den zwei Kirchen, die den Text des ARKULF für sich beanspruchen. Sprudelte der Quell früher an einer andere Stelle? Kleinere Quellen sind gelegentlich aufgetaucht und wieder versiegt, fast immer floß die schwache, die heute an der nördlichen Außenmauer der Mensa Christi an die Öffentlichkeit tritt. Die Marienquelle war in geschichtlicher Zeit stets, das bewies die Untersuchung der Kanalleitung, die eigentliche Wasserspenderin der Stadt.

Niemand würde darum das Heiligtum von der Quelle wegzerren, wenn es nicht nach dem Text des ARKULF an der Stelle erbaut wäre, „wo einst das Haus gestanden hatte, in dem unser Heiland ernährt wurde". Welches ist der Inhalt dieser Tradition und welchen Glauben verdient sie? Noch war das jüdische Nazareth zeitnahe, darum suchte man an der Quelle das Haus, in dem der Heiland aufwuchs. Topographisch ist es möglich, daß in nächster Nähe der Quelle, links und rechts auf den Erhebungen des schmalen Wassertals, jüdische Häuser standen, die erst dem Bau der Basilika zwischen 630–670 weichen mußten. Haftete an einem diese Heilandserinnerung oder hat erst der Bann der Heiligkeit, in dem seit der apokryphen ersten Engelsbegrüßung die Quelle lag, das Haus magnetisch in seinen Kreis gezogen? Wir wissen es nicht. Ist weiter an das biblische oder an das apokryphe Haus Josefs gedacht? War m. a. W. das Heiligtum an der Quelle jenes, in das Josef—biblisch—Maria erst nach der Verkündigung heimführte, oder war hier—apokryph—die Stätte der Menschwerdung beim zweiten Engelsgruß? Auch hier müssen wir ein Ignoramus sprechen. Die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit neigt aber dahin, daß keines von beiden, sondern jenes Haus hier gesucht wurde, in dem Jesus nach der Rückkehr aus Ägypten groß wurde. Doppelte Heiligtümer existierten noch nicht, da kein Riß die Ost- und Westkirche trennte. Den einheimischen Christen war wohl immer die Verkündigungsbasilika das Haus Josefs, in dem der Engel die Jungfrau beim Purpurspinnen antraf, nur die lateinischen Pilger aus dem Abendlande nannten sie, an der Bibel orientiert, Domus Mariae. Mithin mußte die „Erziehungskirche"—„Nazareth, ubi erat nutritus" Lk. 4[16]—doch wohl jenen Ort umschließen wollen, in dem die hl. Familie nach dem längeren Aufenthalt in Bethlehem und Agypten[1] sich niederließ.

[1] Vgl. *JPOS* XVIII. 3–4, 1938, S. 218.

Um 720 gibt BEDA den gleichen Text[1] wie ARKULF. Dann wird nur noch die Basilika der Verkündigung erwähnt.[2] Die Kirche an der Quelle sank schon früh in Ruinen, ob durch den Fanatismus des Islam oder durch eines der häufigen Erdbeben,[3] ist unbekannt.

1137 schrieb PETRUS DIACONUS in seiner Studierstube ein Buch über die hl. Stätten, aber er stellte es aus den verschiedensten Quellen zusammen. Das Zeugnis eines anonymen Pilgers weist mit deutlichem Finger auf die „Erziehungskirche" hin. „Die Höhle aber, in der er wohnte, ist groß und sehr hell. Dort ist ein Altar hineingestellt. Und in dieser Höhle selbst ist der Ort, wo er Wasser schöpfte."[4] Eine Höhle, *spelunca*, die zugleich eine Schöpfstelle enthält, gab und gibt es in Nazareth nur im Nordarm der Gabrielskirche.[5] Verbindet man den Text mit ARKULF, überblickt man vorgreifend die Zeugnisse der kommenden Jahrhunderte, so muß folgendes die richtige Interpretation sein: Die Oberkirche ist zerstört, darum wanderte zunächst das Gedächtnis vom Wohnen Jesu nach unten. Weiter erhielt diese Krypta, hineingeschoben zwischen die Hügel des Wasserlaufs, nunmehr auch einen Altar. Die Entwickelung ist also ähnlich wie bei der Verkündigungsgrotte, die auch den Stürmen der Zeiten trotzte und darum der natürliche Sammelpunkt der verschiedensten heiligen Erinnerungen wurde. Von wem[6] und aus welchem Jahrhundert[7] dieses Zeugnis stammt, ist nicht festzustellen.

[1] GEYER, S. 319f. [2] Vgl. *JPOS* XIX. 1–2. 1939, S. 85.

[3] Vgl. über die Erdbeben dieser Periode: F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine.* Paris 1933. I, 53 f.

[4] „Spelunca vero, in qua habitavit, magna est et lucidissima, ubi est positum altarium, et ibi intra ipsam speluncam est locus, unde aquam tollebat." (GEYER, S. 112).

[5] Alle Versuche, diesen Text von seiner natürlichen Stelle wegzuziehen, führen zu gewagten Hypothesen. VIAUD z. B., der ihn auf die Verkündigungsgrotte bezieht, meint, daß vielleicht noch unter ihrem Boden eine Schöpfstelle gefunden werden könnte (S. 108). Außerdem war diese *spelunca* nie "lucidissima."

[6] J. F. GAMURRINI (*S. Hilarii et S. Silviae Aquitanae Peregrinatio ad loca sancta.* Romae 1887, S. 130. Anm. 2) vermutet ohne hinreichende Gründe, daß Silvia (Aetheria) diese Sätze geschrieben hat. An sich wäre es möglich, daß diese Höhle mit ihrem Altar im IV. Jahrh. als Wachstumszelle der Basilika des Arkulf verstanden werden könnte. Aber ein Heiligtum am Ausfluß der Quelle war erst im christlichen Nazareth möglich.

[7] BALDI (S. 232) nimmt an, daß ein Pilger des VIII. Jahrhunderts der Verfasser

B. IN DER ZEIT DER KREUZFAHRER.

Beim ersten Zeugen SAEWULF (1102) bleibt unklar, ob sich seine Worte auf den Quell in der Krypta oder auf seinen Ausfluß in die Öffentlichkeit beziehen. „Außerhalb der Stadt sprudelt ein sehr heller Quell, noch wie früher umgeben von marmornen Säulen und Platten."[1] THEODERICH schreibt 1172: „In dieser Stadt sprudelt ein Quell aus einem Löwenmaul, von Marmor gemacht."[2] In der Kirche wurde immer von unten geschöpft, dann weist auch noch das Löwenmaul auf eine weltliche Anlage im Freien. Darum meint auch vielleicht SAEWULF, zumal er den gleichen Ausdruck „ebullire" gebraucht, diesen Vorgänger des Marienbrunnens, der im prunkvollen Marmor erglänzte. SAEWULF läßt sich aber auch mit DANIEL verbinden, der kurz nach ihm (1106/07) die Quelle besucht. „Wir fanden einen bemerkenswerten und sehr tiefen Brunnen, dessen Wasser sehr kalt ist, und zu dem man auf Stufen hinabsteigt. Eine runde Kirche unter dem Namen des Erzengels Gabriel bedeckt diesen Brunnen. — Dort, bei diesem Brunnen, empfing die hl. Jungfrau die erste Begrüßung des Erzengels."[3] Wohl ARKULF hat schon gehört, daß unten in der Krypta Gabriel Maria beim Wasserschöpfen begrüßte, aber als bibelfesterer Abendländer dieser Erzählung sein Herz verschlossen. DANIEL ist das erste Mitglied der Ostkirche, dem wir eine literarische Notiz verdanken. Sofort zeigt auch an dieser Stelle das Protevangelium des Jakobus seine schaffende Kraft, die sicher auch schon die Steine der ersten Basilika bewegt hat. Das Heiligkeitszentrum, die Krypta mit der Schöpfstelle, ging sakrosankt unbewegt durch die Zeiten, statt der Basilika umschließt sie jetzt oben auf der Terrasse eine Rundkirche. Die Winden, mit denen man das Wasser nach oben zog, sind verschwunden, eine Treppe[4] führt

des Abschnittes ist, weil später die Kirche zerstört war. Aber die Krypta blieb bestehen, darum kann der Text bis an die Zeit des Wiederaufbaus der Kirche heranreichen.

[1] „Fons autem juxta civitatem ebullit limpidissimus, marmoreis columnis et tabulis adhuc ut erat circumquaque munitus." (D'AVEZAC, S. 37).

[2] „Fons in eadem civitate per cupellum, hoc est leonis, de marmore incisum, ebullit." (ed. TOBLER, S. 105).

[3] „Nous trouvâmes un puits remarquable et très profond dont l'eau est très froide, et auquel on descend par des marches. Une église ronde, sous le vocable de l'archange Gabriel, recouvre ce puits.——C'est là, près de ce puits, que la sainte Vierge reçut la première Annonciation de l'archange." (KHITROWO, S. 71). [4] Vgl. S. 255. Diese Treppe ist der einzige Rest dieser Oberkirche.

nun an den hl. Brunnen. Der Grieche PHOCAS hinterläßt uns aus 1177 das gleiche Bild. Der Engel trifft die hl. Jungfrau zuerst an der Quelle, dann im Hause Josefs. „Sofort, wenn du das erste Tor dieses Marktfleckens durchschritten hast, findest du die Kirche des Erzengels Gabriel, und, beim Altar dieser Kirche, zu seiner Linken gibt es eine kleine Höhle, in der eine Quelle entspringt, die sehr schönes Wasser gibt."[1] Das neue Kraftfeld der Stadt war die Basilika der Verkündigung, aber auch um die Quelle schmiegten sich noch die Häuser. Denn hier stößt PHOCAS auf „das erste Tor". Da Nazareth stets ohne Umwallung war, mußten sie als Bögen zum bloßen Schmuck oder zur Überwachung des Verkehrs an den Mündungen der wichtigsten Straßen in die Stadt dienen. Wie der ANONYMUS des PETRUS DIAKONUS bezeichnet auch PHOCAS die Krypta mit „Höhle", sie ist die gleiche, die ARKULF durch seine Worte „cancer" und „tumulus" hinreichend deutlich zeichnet, identisch mit dem „tiefen Brunnen" DANIELS, zu dem die noch heute sichtbare Treppe hinabführte. Der Anonymus nennt freilich diese Höhle „groß", PHOCAS „klein", aber Maß- und Raumempfindungen variieren bei zwei Beobachtern genau so wie Urteile über Gut und Schön. Der Hauptaltar stand natürlich in der runden Oberkirche, er sammelte die Gläubigen zum Gottesdienst um sich. Der kleine in der Krypta behielt wohl seinen Platz, da jetzt eine Treppe das Heiligtum der allgemeinen Verehrung offen hielt. Weder DANIEL noch PHOCAS berichten etwas über das Wohnen der hl. Familie an der Quelle, sie grenzen ausdrücklich diese Erinnerungen auf die Verkündigungsgrotte ein. Wie ist das zu erklären? Den Grund können wir ahnen aus dem Zeugnis des BURCHARD (1283). „Es gibt noch am Ende der Stadt in der Kirche des hl. Gabriel eine Quelle, die von den Einwohnern in großer Verehrung gehalten wird, wo, wie man sagt, oft der Knabe Jesus Wasser im Dienste für seine liebe Mutter schöpfte."[2] Er

[1] „*Ἐν γοῦν τῷ εἰσιέναι τὴν πρώτην πύλην τῆς τοιαύτης κωμοπόλεως ὑπάρχει ναὸς τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριήλ. Καὶ περὶ τὰ εὐώνυμα μέρη τοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ θυσιαστηρίου ὁρᾶται μικρὸν σπήλαιον, ἐν ᾧ πηγὴ ἀναβλυστάνει, διειδὲς ῥεῖθρον ἐκπτύουσα.*" (*PG.* 133, 936).

[2] „Est insuper in fine civitatis in ecclesia sancti Gabrielis fons quidam, qui ab incolis veneranter habetur, de quo hausit aquam sepe, ut dicitur, puer Jehsus ministrans dilecte matri sue." (LAURENT, S. 47).

schweigt sich also völlig aus über die erste Verkündigung an der Quelle, selbst hinter das Wasserschöpfen Jesu stellt er noch durch ein „wie man sagt" das Fragezeichen. Der Riß zwischen Ost- und Westkirche ist vollzogen, die „Einwohner" waren schon damals die Gläubigen dieses Heiligtums. Der Kreuzfahrer wird auf sie und ihre Traditionen mit einer ähnlich wohlwollenden Gleichgültigkeit herabgesehen haben wie heute der Engländer auf die „natives". Darum schlägt so selten ein Fragment dieser Glaubenswelt hinüber in eine lateinische Pilgerschrift. Solange die Kreuzfahrer als Herren durch Nazareth schritten, konnten die „Einwohner" nicht wagen, einiges aus den Überlieferungen der Verkündigungsgrotte herauszubrechen. Der Engelsgruß an der Quelle war dem Lateiner anstößig, tastete aber nicht die Ansprüche seiner Basilika an. Das Wohnen der hl. Familie an der Quelle ging aber als Flüstertradition weiter umher unter den Stillen im Lande, bis wieder auf offenem Markte geredet werden konnte.[1] Bei dieser Abwehr des Abendländers gegen die Einheimischen und die apokryphe Engelsbegrüßung ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Basilika des ARKULF dem Erzengel geweiht war. Die Krypta war und ist bis heute die Stelle der Verkündigung. An ihr hängen die „Einwohner" mit aller Zähigkeit und Liebe. Dagegen ist das Wohnhaus der hl. Familie an Stelle der Oberkirche durch Perioden der Verdunkelung gegangen.

Daß an der Kirche seit der byzantinischen Zeit Mönche wohnten, ist anzunehmen. Ausdrücklich bezeugt ist „ein großes Kloster des Erzengels Gabriel" erst in einer griechischen Quelle aus dem XIII. Jahrhundert.[2]

[1] Kann man diese Kirche als „église der Croisés" bezeichnen? (E. REY, *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie aux XII et XIII siècles*. Paris 1883, S. 443). Weil das Heiligtum an der Quelle den Kreuzfahrern fremdartig war, ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß ihre Hand die Rundkirche schuf, obwohl die Bautätigkeit Tancreds für Nazareth eigens hervorgehoben wird. (Vgl. *JPOS* XIX, 1—2, 1939, S. 96). Die politische und religiöse Beruhigung, die dem ersten Kreuzzug folgte, gab aber wohl den Einheimischen den Mut und die finanzielle Kraft, die Oberkirche zu bauen. H. RANTZOW will 1623 an der Kirchenruine „ein doppeltes Kreuz oder lothringisch" Wappen gesehen haben. (RÖHRICHT, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, Innsbruck, 1900, S. 294).

[2] Gr. PALAMA, *Ἱεροσολυμίας*. Jerusalem, 1862, S. 380.

C. In Der Zeit nach den Kreuzfahrern.

Der katalanische Pilgerbericht aus 1323 erzählt: „Das Ende der Stadt hat eine Quelle, die man St. Gabriel nennt, und jene Quelle machte Jesus für seine Mutter und hier hielten sie sich lange Zeit auf. Und es gibt hier einen Altar der hl. Perlanguia."[1] Ist hier im Stil der Legende daran gedacht, daß Jesus die Quelle emporsprudeln ließ aus dem Schoß der Erde oder nur, daß er die Brunnenwand in der Krypta für seine Mutter machte? Will der Text weiter ein Wohnen der hl. Familie behaupten oder bezieht sich die „lange Zeit" auf die vielen Jahre, wo sie täglich sich zum Wasserholen hier aufhielt? Der Text ist doppelsinnig, wenn er auch mehr ein Haus an der Quelle begünstigt. Der Altar der hl. Perlanguia ist nur hier bezeugt. Nach dem weiteren Bericht soll sie jene Ehebrecherin sein, die der Heiland Joh. 8 2-11 freisprach. Man erwartete dann wohl von ihr ein ähnliches Büßerleben wie von der geschichtlichen Maria Magdalena, gab ihr einen Namen und einen Kult, der aber nur mit diesem Pilgerbericht auftaucht, um mit ihm gleich wieder im Dunklen zu verschwinden.

Etwa um die gleiche Zeit erfahren wir durch den englischen Ritter John Maundeville, daß alle Kirchen zerstört und Nazareth nur noch ein Dorf ist. „Item, dabei ist ein Brunnen — und heißet der Brunnen Gabel, und steht eben an der Stätte, da der große Altar stund, ehe die Kirche zerbrochen ward."[2] Der Hauptaltar hatte, das ließ sich schon aus Phocas entnehmen, seinen Platz unmittelbar am Rande der Krypta, der hl. Gabrielsquelle möglichst nahe gerückt. Er liegt nun in Trümmern, die „Kirche oder Kapelle des Erzengel Gabriel" ist aber nach Jakob von Verona (1335) nur „zum Teil zerstört."[3]

[1] „El cap de la vila ha I font que apela hom font de sant Gabriel e aquela font feu Jhesucrist per sa mara e aqui stegren lonch de temps e ay I autar de santa Perlanguia." (Pijoan, S. 379).

[2] *Reyßbuch*, S. 416. Die Übersetzung stammt aus lateinischen und französischen Handschriften, M. schrieb in französischer Sprache. Nach der Bemerkung des Herausgebers war die Reise von M. „vor 260 Jahren selbst beschrieben", dann von einem Metzer Domherrn verdeutscht worden, „jetzt wiederum aufs neue korrigiert." (S. 405). Der Teil, der von der Kirche und ihrem großen Altar spricht, fehlt in anderen Ausgaben (vgl. Wright, S. 188. u. F. Zambini, *I viaggi di G. da Mandavilla.* Bologna 1870, S. 138). Aber die Stelle enthält auf jeden Fall eine richtige Beschreibung der Kirche dieses Jahrhunderts, selbst wenn sie von M. oder einem Redaktor kompiliert sein sollte.

[3] S. 274.

NICOLÒ DA POGGIBONSI (1345) ist der erste Abendländer, der die Engelsbegrüßung an der Gabrielsquelle der Erwähnung für würdig hält, freilich fügt er mit charakteristischer Reserve hinzu, daß so „die Christen sagen, die in diesen Teilen wohnen." Wie in den Tagen des DANIEL-PHOCAS glauben aber die Einwohner noch, daß in der Verkündigungsgrotte beim zweiten Engelsbesuch das Wort Fleisch wurde. „An der erwähnten Quelle gibt es ein schönes Kloster, das man St. Gabriel nennt. Indier aus Persien, die man Alaphisi nennt, besitzen es. Und an die Quelle pflegte Christus für das Wasser zu gehen, als er seiner Mutter half. Hier ist ein Ablaß von 7 Jahren."[1] Die Lateiner haben also den Besuch der Schöpfstelle in der Krypta durch einen Ablaß gefördert,[2] ein Privileg, das doch noch auf die Kreuzfahrer zurückgehen muß. Dieser Ablaß sanktionierte aber nicht die apokryphe Engelsbegrüßung, die höchstens von Abenländern herablassend referiert wird, sonder heiligte den Glauben, daß hier die hl. Familie Wasser schöpfte. Das Gabrielskloster steht noch, während die Kirche verwüstet ist. Ein Rätsel sind die Alaphisi. Die Hypothese sei gestellt, daß georgianische Mönche gemeint sind. Sicher hat ein Hör- oder Schreibfehler diese „Alaphisi" geboren. Ein „Abessini" an ihre Stelle einzusetzen,[3] liegt nahe. Aber an sie kann unser Pilger nicht denken, da er gerade vorher von „Christiani neri Nubbini"[4] gesprochen hat, außerdem weist „Indiani di Persia" in eine ganz andere Richtung. Die Römer

[1] „Dalla detta fonte si è un bello munistero, che santo Gabriello si chiama, e tengonlo gl'Indiani di Persia, che si chiamano Alaphisi. E alla fonte, Cristo soleva andare per l'acqua, quando adiutava alla sua Madre. Ecci indulgenzia VII anni." (S. 274 f.).

[2] Von nun an ist dieser Ablaß in den folgenden Jahrhunderten oft erwähnt. ROBERT DE SANSEVERINO spricht zwar 1458 von einem vollkommenen Ablaß. („—fonte, che se dice fonte de Gabriello, ad la quale chiesia è indulgentia plenaria." CHEVALIER, S. 67). Aber einen vollkommenen Ablaß erhielt der Pilger in dieser Periode nur in der Verkündigungskirche. Wichtig ist sein Zeugnis, weil es beweist, daß der Ablaß an der Krypta, nicht am Ausfluß der Quelle im Freien haftete. Der Irrtum wird bald korrigiert durch JOHANN TUCHER (1479), der an dem „Brunnen" einen Ablaß von „7 jar und 7 karen" bezeugt. *Reyssbuch*, (S. 360). Auch COLA erwähnt um 1500, daß hier ein „perdono" von „sette anni" ist (S. 106).

[3] So J. N. SEPP, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land.* II. Bd., Regensburg, 1876, S. 119. [4] I, 269.

nannten die Provinz westlich vom Kaspischen Meer „Albania", sie reichte nahe an das Persische Reich heran. Der Name „Albanesi" ist lange an den Bewohnern dieses Gebietes haften geblieben. Gewöhnlich nannte man die Christen dieses Landes „Georgier", daneben erhielt sich bis in die Neuzeit die alte Bezeichnung. So bezeugt MARIANO DI MALEA, der 1653 Kustos des Hl. Landes war, daß der Name „Albanesi" noch gebräuchlich war.[1] Etwas später schreibt TROILO: „Andere nennen sie die Albaneser — von dem orientalischen Albanien, welches jetzt Georgia genannt wird."[2] Die geographischen Vorstellungen sind konfus. 1519 behauptet L. TSCHUDI, daß „zwischen dem Schwarzen Meer und Albania in Asia" das Land der Georgier liegt,[3] dagegen meint um die gleiche Zeit B. DE SALIGNIACO daß sie „im Gebiete der Meder, Perser und Assyrier wohnen."[4] Nach SEIGNEUR DE VILLAMONT (1588) verstehen sie die persische Sprache.[5] Verworrene Zeugnisse über die Georgier gehen in üppiger Fülle durch die Pilgerliteratur. Die angeführten reichen aber aus, um die Gleichung Alaphisi–Albanesi–Georgier wahrscheinlich zu machen. Nun sind aber auch noch georgische Christen in Nazareth bewiesen. M. K. KARAPIPERIS, Direktor der griechisch-orthodoxen Schule in Jerusalem, sah 1925 im Garten des griechischen Bischofssitzes von Nazareth zwei Grabsteine mit georgischer Inschrift, die gerade dort gefunden waren. Leider sind sie anscheinend unbeschrieben zugrunde gegangen. Georgische Mönche scheinen auch im Mittelalter für längere Zeit die Patrone der Verkündigungsgrotte gewesen zu sein.[6] Den Höhepunkt an Macht und Besitz erreichten die Georgier in Palästina im XV. Jahrhundert.[7] Nach allem fügt sich also ein georgisches Gabrielskloster in das geschichtlich Mögliche gut ein. FR. FREDERICO verwendet 1411 fast wörtlich den Text des Nicolò.[8] Ein selbständiger Zeuge für das

[1] Cp. XX. S. 116. Sein Werk-bald nach 1658 gedruckt-fand ich auf der Bibliothek der Franziskaner in St. Salvator in Jerusalem. Da das Titelblatt fehlte, kann ich Titel und Druckjahr nicht angeben. [2] S. 139.

[3] *Reyss und Bilgerfahrt.* St. Gallen, 1606, S. 144.

[4] Tomus VIII, I. Caput. „Commorantur in finibus Medorum, Persarum et Assyriorum". [5] *Les Voyages du Seigneur de Villamont,* Lyon, 1613, S. 302.

[6] Vgl. *JPOS* XIX. No. 1—2, 1939, S. 114.

[7] Vgl. KALLISTOS MELIARA, *Οἱ ἅγιοι τόποι ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ* Jerusalem, 1928. I, 448–53.

[8] *ZDPV* XIV (1891) S. 123 — Ebenso COLA um 1500 (S. 106.)

Kloster an der Quelle ist aber zwischen 1510/20 ARSENIOS. „Dort ist auch ein sehr schönes Kloster."[1] Aber schon 1563 muß LUIGI VULCANO DELLA PADULA berichten: „Oberhalb der Quelle war ein sehr schönes Kloster, errichtet zu Ehren des Erzengels, aber heute liegt alles in Trümmern, und man sieht nur noch eine kleine Grotte zur Erinnerung."[2] Das Kloster lag also oberhalb der Schöpfstelle in der Krypta[3] irgendwo auf dem erhöhten Gelände, vielleicht gehörten die entdeckten Gewölbe[4] ihm an. Ob Georgier noch bis zur Sterbestunde des Klosters seine Mönche waren, wissen wir nicht. Als selbständige Gemeinschaft verschwinden sie bald in ganz Palästina. Im folgenden Jahrhundert sind sie in die Griechen aufgegangen.[5]

Die Gabrielskirche bezw. die Krypta mit dem Brunnen findet in jedem Jahrhundert aufmerksame und andächtige Pilger.[6] Nun taucht aber nach langem unterirdischen Fließen klar und kräftig die Erinnerung an die hl. Familie wieder auf. Ein bescheidener, fast unbekannter Pilger, der Vlame ANSELME ADORNES, gibt uns 1470 die erste Nachricht. Er hat die „caverne" besucht, wo der Engel der hl. Jungfrau die frohe Botschaft brachte.

[1] "*Αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ μοναστήριον ὡραιότατον.*" (*Προςκυνητάριον.* Ausg. von G. MAUROMMATOS und G. ARBANITAKE. Alexandrien, 1899, S. 522–27).

[2] "Sopra il fonte fù un bellissimo monasterio fabricato in onore di esso arcangelo, ma hora gli è tutto in rovina, et solo si vede una piccola grotta per memoria." (Zit. von D. BALDI, *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum.* Jerusalem, 1935, S. 33).

[3] Daß „oberhalb der Quelle" nicht ihren öffentlichen Ausfluß meint, ergibt sich — der Text des L. V. DELLA PADUA liegt mir nur in dem Bruchstück des Enchiridion vor — aus MANTAGEZZA, der ihn 1610 fast ganz abschreibt. Er führt vorher an, daß der Erzengel Gabriel Maria an der Quelle erschien und fährt dann fort: „Sopra questo fonte fu fabricato un' honoratissimo Monasterio usw." (II, 384). Diese Engelserscheinung war bis auf den heutigen Tag immer in der Krypta, nie am öffentlichen Brunnen. [4] Vgl. S. 260.

[5] Nach ROGER (S. 426) sind sie schon 1631 ganz mit den Griechen verschmolzen.

[6] Im XV. Jahrh. erwähnt LANNOY um 1422 den Brunnen und „die Kirche des hl. Engels Gabriel" (S. 62). BREITENBACH lehnt sich 1483 in seinem Text an BURCHARD an, der Brunnen ist in der Kirche (*Reyssbuch*, S. 69). Der ANONYMUS LUBICENSIS schreibt gegen 1488: „In ecclesia Sancti Gabrielis habetur fons" (im Abschnitt über Nazareth). B. DE SALIGNIACO zeigt um 1518 ebenfalls in Formulierung seine Abhängigkeit von BURCHARD (tomus IX, caput VII).

In einem neuen Abschnitt fährt er ebenso kurz fort: „Wir sahen dort auch das Haus von Josef, wo er mit Maria lange Zeit wohnte, und die Quelle, wo Maria täglich schöpfte.[1]" Die Verbindung mit der Quelle ist sehr eng, er steht offenbar an dem zweiten Heiligtum Nazareths, das er auch nur mit einem Satze beschreibt. Die „Werkstatt Josefs" kann nicht gemeint sein, weil hier Josef arbeitete, aber nicht mit Maria wohnte. Außerdem tritt sie erst 150 Jahre später in das literarische Leben. Die „lange Zeit" deutet auf das Haus nach der Rückkehr aus Ägypten hin, die Zeit vor der Geburt in Bethlehem war kurz. In dieser Weise müssen die Griechen unterschieden haben, da die Verkündigungsbasilika für sie bis heute das Haus Josefs ist.

Daß diese Auffassung richtig ist, beweist BONIFACIUS. Er war zweimal Kustos des Hl. Landes, restaurierte 1555 das hl. Grab, verfügte darum über eine hervorragende Kenntnis Palästinas. Nach der Beschreibung der Verkündigungskirche fährt er fort: „Auf dem gleichen Berge ist die Kirche unter dem Namen des hl. Gabriel, in der andere Nationen beten und das Opfer feiern. Und es sind da die Fundamente des Josefshauses, in dem Christus ernährt und erzogen wurde. Ich sage die Fundamente, denn jenes Haus ist auf den Willen Gottes hin in christliche Bezirke getragen worden, und jetzt ist es in Italien und wird Sancta Maria von Loreto genannt. Daneben ist ein Quell, der sehr gutes Wasser ausströmt, der auch von den Ungläubigen die Quelle Jesu und der Jungfrau Maria genannt wird."[2] Die Ecclesia Nutritionis ist also nicht tot. Vielleicht war sie schon lange wieder lebendig, aber möglich, daß abendländische Pilger ihre Ohren diesen griechischen Erzählungen verschlossen. Warum öffnet

[1] "Wij zaghen daer ooc thuus van Joseph, daer hij met Maria langhe tijt woende, ende de fonteyne daer Maria daghelicx huer water haelde." (*Voyage d'Anselme Adornes au mont Sinai et à Jérusalem*, herausg. v. E. FEYS. Auf dem Exemplar, das ich einsehen konnte, fehlte das Titelblatt. Ort und Jahr des Drucks dieser Ausgabe sind mir darum unbekannt).

[2] „In eodem monte est Ecclesia sub invocatione sancti Gabrielis, in qua aliae nationes orant, et sacrum faciunt, et sunt fundamenta domus Joseph, in qua Christus nutritus et educatus fuit. Fundamenta dico, quia domus illa Dei voluntate delata ad Christianas partes fuit; et nunc est in Italia et Sancta Maria de Loreto vocatur. Juxta est fons optimas emanans aquas, qui etiam ab infidelibus fons Maria et Virginis Mariae dicitur" (S. 263).

sie Bonifacius? Vermutlich ist folgendes der Grund: Der Loretoglaube, der alle Geheimnisse gern in seinen Raum ziehen wollte, drohte das Heiligtum der Verkündigung zu entleeren. Eine Ablenkung der Engel auf die Trümmer der griechischen Oberkirche versprach eine feste, friedliche Abgrenzung. Die Stelle ist völlig eindeutig,[1] unklar bleibt nur, ob B. mit fons die Schöpfstelle in der Krypta meint. Sie lag ja „neben" den Fundamenten des Josefhauses, d.h. den Kirchenruinen, die sich auf der Terrasse erhoben. Vielleicht faßt er aber die Kryptakirche und die Fundamente als ein Ganzes, dann wiese das „neben" schon auf den öffentlichen Ausfluß hin, der bald allein nur noch die Andacht der lateinischen Pilger fesselt.

GIOVANNI ZUALLARDO (1586) bietet fast wörtlich den Text des BONIFACIUS.[2] Galiläa hat er gar nicht besucht, er fuhr mit dem Schiff gleich von Jaffa nach Tripoli. Immerhin hat sein Zeugnis einen bescheidenen Wert, man hörte und las damals nur von dem Josefshaus an der Quelle.

In Palästina muß in diesen Jahrzehnten die Meinung des Bonifacius die herrschende Ansicht der Franziskaner gewesen sein. Denn 1598 besucht COTOVICUS aus Utrecht Nazareth, er ist begleitet vom Kustos selbst und vier Patres. Die Reisegesellschaft ist auf Schritt und Tritt eingeengt durch die bösartige Bevölkerung, sein Bericht über Nazareth kann sich darum wohl nur auf seine hilfreichen Begleiter stützen, sicher fehlte ihre Approbation nicht. Zuerst spricht er von der Verkündigungskirche, dann: „Ein Steinwurf nach Norden hin, sieht man die Ruinen von Bögen, einst ein Tempel der orientalischen Christen, dem Erzengel

[1] VIAUD sieht hier eine „singulière confusion" (S. 13), da der Loretoglaube sich immer an die Verkündigungskirche angelehnt habe. Aber in den Tagen des Bonifacius war die genaue Lage des Loretohauses eben noch nicht geklärt, darum konnte er wagen, es mit dem griechischen Josefshaus zu identifizieren. Als Hypothese ging seine Auffassung durch die Literatur, (vgl. GIOVANNI DI CALAORA, *Historia Cronologica della Provincia di Syria et Terra Santa die Gierusalemme*. Venedig 1694, S. 652.)—BALDI (S. 238f.) möchte den Text des BONIFACIUS auf die „Werkstatt des hl. Josef" beziehen. Aber allein der Name Gabrielskirche charakterisiert den Platz völlig klar, dazu noch die Wendung, daß in ihr „die anderen Nationen beten und das Opfer feiern." Die „Werkstatt" lag damals noch unter Trümmern, keinerlei Gottesdienst war möglich an dieser Stelle. Schließlich macht auch noch die Nähe der Quelle diese Hypothese unmöglich.

[2] *Il devotissimo Viaggio di Gierusalemme*, Roma 1595, S. 248.

Gabriel (wie sie sagen) geweiht, und über den Fundamenten des Josefhauses, des Ernährers unseren Herrn, errichtet. Neben dieser Stelle ist eine Quelle, die sehr gutes Wasser gibt, die man gewöhnlich die Quelle Mariens nennt."[1] Die Oberkirche auf der Terrasse lag längst in Ruinen, aber man suchte hier noch wie in der Zeit des Arkulf das Haus, „ubi erat nutritus". (Lk. 4[16]). Die Erwähnung des „Erzengel Gabriel", der „Quelle", der „orientalischen Christen" lokalisieren auch diesen Text so klar, daß der eine Steinwurf, der bloß diese Stätte von der Verkündigungsgrotte trennen soll, nicht als Waffe gegen ihn benutzt werden darf.[2]

CASTELA bezeichnet sich als „Observant". Ob er 1600 vom Tabor aus Nazareth selbst besucht hat, ist nicht sicher, da diesem Abschnitt das Persönliche und Lebendige fehlt. Wie dem auch sei, seine Darstellung bringt in Einzelheiten einiges Neue,[3] eine bloße Abschrift ist sein Kapitel über Nazareth nicht. „Der größte Teil der andern hält seinen Gottesdienst nach der Art der Griechen ab: Dort sind die Fundamente des Josefhauses, in dem unser Herr erzogen und ernährt wurde, als er noch ein kleines Kind war. Dieses Haus ist durch den Dienst der Engel nach Italien getragen worden an einen Ort, der unsere Frau von Loreto genannt wird."[4] Anschließend nennt er die Quelle nach Jesus und Maria. Auch das beweist, daß er bei diesen Sätzen BONIFACIUS benutzt hat, beweist aber auch, daß seine Hypothese noch um 1600 der Leitfaden für die Pilger war.

[1] "Ad jactum lapidis, Septentrionem versus, ruinae conspiciuntur arcuati operis, orientalium Christianorum quondam Delubri, Gabrieli Archangelo (ut ferunt) dicati, et super fundamenta domus Josephi, nutritoris Domini exstructi." (S. 349).

[2] Weil die „Werkstatt des hl. Josef" nur um Steinwurfsweite nördlich von der Verkündigungskirche liegt, möchte BALDI (*a.a.O.*) auch aus diesem Grunde die Gabrielskirche und die Fundamente des Josefhauses hier suchen (vgl. auch VIAUD, S. 13f). Aber Ruinen von "arcuati operis" waren nicht sichtbar, zudem war die Kirche von Kreuzfahrern, nicht von „orientalischen Christen" gebaut. Die Steinwurfsweite ist natürlich falsch, aber sie will, wie so oft bei Pilgern, nur eine kurze Entfernung ausdrücken.

[3] Vgl. *JPOS* XIX, No. 1–2, 1939, S. 114.

[4] "La plus part des autres est pour faire l'office à la façon des Grecs: la sont les fondements de la maison de Joseph, en laquelle notre Seigneur a été élevé et nourri étant petit enfant: laquelle maison a été transportée par le ministère des Anges en Italie, au lieu nommé Notre Dame de Lorette" (S. 482).

Um 1620 wird dann in den offiziellen Kreisen der Lateiner anerkannt, daß südlich von der Verkündigungsgrotte die Fundamente des Loretohauses liegen.[1] Das Interesse an dem Josefshaus der Griechen erlischt. Daß aber dort noch Pilgern diese Tradition weiter erzählt wurde, beweist 1636 NEITZSCHITZ. Sein Zeugnis wiegt umso schwerer, weil inzwischen die „Werkstatt des hl. Josef" aus dem Schweigen der Jahrhunderte erweckt war. Franziskaner nehmen ihn, den Protestanten, in ihrem Kloster an der Verkündigungskirche gastfreundlich auf. „Allhier hat die Jungfrau Marie die Botschaft vom Engel Gabriel bekommen, und wird die Stelle noch gezeigt, wo dieses Haus Mariä soll gestanden sein, darinnen diese Geschichte geschehen ist, zu dessen Gedächtnis vordessen eine Kirche dahin erbaut worden. Allda ist hernach Christus auch erzogen worden, an welchem Orte vor Zeiten auch eine Kirche erbaut worden, wie hiervon im folgenden 11. Kapitel am Ende soll weiter gedacht werden."[2] Wo ist diese zweite Kirche, die Ecclesia Nutritionis? Im 11. Kapitel berichtet er nun nach zweitägigen Ausflügen: „Auch hat man mir den Brunn gezeigt, bei dem die Jungfrau Maria und das Kindlein Jesus, weil sie in Nazareth gewohnt, pflegten, Wasser zu holen, wie denn auch den Ort, da sie gewohnet und den Herrn Jesus erzogen, worauf jetzt ein altes griechisches Kirchlein stehet, desgleichen auch, wo ihr der Engel Gabriel die Botschaft gebracht, daß sie eine Mutter werden sollte des ewigen Sohnes Gottes, an welcher Stelle auch eine kleine Kirche gebaut ist, so aber jetzt zerstöret und verwüstet ist."[3] Unmißverständlich bezeugt N. im Heiligtum an der Quelle die zwei alten Traditionen: Hier brachte der Engel Maria die frohe Botschaft, hier wuchs der Heiland im Hause seiner Eltern zum Manne heran. In der Lokalisierung der beiden Stätten unterläuft ihm aber ein Irrtum. Die Krypta mit ihrer Quelle galt immer als Ort des Engelgrußes, dagegen bedeckten die Ruinen der Terrasse das Wohnhaus der hl. Familie. Er begnügt sich kühl mit der nackten Registrierung der Verkündigung bei den Lateinern und Griechen, wie er auch ohne kritische Bemerkung sich das doppelte Kana—

[1] Vgl. *JPOS* XIX, No. 1–2, 1939, S. 113, Anm. 3.
[2] S. 223. [3] S. 234.

chirbet ḳāna[1] und kafr kenna[2]—vorführen läßt.

1679 entrüstet sich der Abt GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE BURGO in starken Worten über die Traditionen der Griechen. „Die durchtriebenen schismatischen Griechen bauten eine andere Kapelle und verbreiten unter den griechischen Pilgern, daß sie die wahre echte Stätte des hl. Hauses sei. Das tun sie, um Geld aus den Pilgern ihrer Nation herauszuholen, die nach dort in großer Zahl kommen. Wo immer die katholischen Franken ein echtes Heiligtum haben, bauen sie ein anders in der Nähe."[3] Seine Bemerkungen sind von jeder Geschichtskenntnis verlassen. Sie zeigen aber, daß die Griechen noch ungeschwächt an den alten Traditionen festhalten.

Dann scheint aber langsam die Erinnerung an dieses Wohnhaus zu verblassen. 1767 hören wir noch, daß der griechische Gottesdienst sich beschränkt auf „die kleine unterirdische Kirche, die dem Erzengel Gabriel geweiht ist."[4] Noch in dem gleichen Jahre wurde mit dem Bau der heutigen Kirche begonnen. Schon ihre Anlage beweist, daß keine gefühlsstarke Tradition an das Wohnhaus der hl. Familie mehr bestand. Denn sie verläßt die Terrasse, lehnt sich unten an sie an. Die Krypta als natürliche Wasserader zwischen Hügeln widerstand auch dieses Mal dem Wandel der Zeiten, ihre Heiligkeitsgrade wuchsen noch. In sie wird 1770 der Russe PLESCHTSCHEJEW nach dem Gottesdienst hineingeführt, „an den Ort, wo die Mutter Gottes, als sie eben aus einem Brunnen Wasser schöpfte, mit dem englischen Gruß begrüßet und beehret worden ist. Der Brunnen ist rundum mit Bildern eingefaßt, vor denen eine Menge Lampen brennt, und über welche ein Altar erhoben ist."[5] Die orthodoxen Griechen kennen nur noch die Verkündigung am Nordende der

[1] S. 222.

[2] S. 232. Tatsächlich war damals in beiden Kana eine lebendige Tradition. QUARESMIUS (II, 641) wagt darum nicht, sich mit Sicherheit zu entscheiden.

[3] „Fabricarono gli furbi Scismatici Greci un'altra Capella, pubblicando agli pellegrini Greci, che quello sia il vero originale sito della Santa Casa; e ciò fanno, per cavare danari dagli pellegrini della sua natione, gli quali vi vengono in gran numero; così fanno per tutta la Terra Santa; duunque gli Franchi Cattolici hanno qualche originale santuario, essi ne fabricano un'altro appresso." *(Viaggio di cinque anni in Asia, Africa, et Europa del Turco.* Milano, 1686, S. 241f.).

[4] MARITI II, 182.

[5] S. 67.

Krypta über dem Brunnen, die apokryphe und die biblische sind zu einer verschmolzen. PLESCHTSCHEJEW erwähnt darum bei der Schilderung der Verkündigungsgrotte[1] nicht den zweiten englischen Gruß, sie ist für ihn aber „die Höhle oder Wohnung der Mutter Gottes." Er bezeugt als erster, daß der Altar der Krypta in der Gabrielskirche von der Mitte der Ostwand[2] nach Norden über den hl. Brunnen gerückt ist, vermutlich weil nunmehr die Hauptkirche einen östlich gerichteten Altar erhalten hatte.

1764—1778 war GIUSEPPE in Palästina. Er besucht „die neue Kirche in Form eines Kreuzes." Die Quelle in ihr „trägt den Namen nach der Madonna", die Bezeichnung nach Gabriel ist also verschwunden. Mit Entrüstung vernimmt er, daß „hier die Jungfrau vom Erzengel Gabriel die Botschaft erhielt, Mutter Gottes zu werden." Er kann sich das nur so erklären, daß auf diese Weise die Griechen „Verehrung an ihre Kirche heften wollen."[3] Wir entnehmen auch diesem Zeugnisse, daß spätestens mit dem Neubau die griechische Verkündigungskirche im Vollsinne fertig wurde.

Um 1835 referiert der gebildete russische Minister VON NOROFF über die Ansprüche der zwei Verkündigungskirchen. Er spricht nicht parteiisch seiner Konfession das Recht zu, sondern sucht aus den Quellen die Wahrheit zu finden. Er zitiert ARKULF und schließt aus ihm: „Aus diesen Worten geht klar hervor, daß die griechisch-arabische Kirche an der Stelle steht, wo, wie BONIFACIUS sagt,[4] Christus erzogen wurde—denn die Bezeichnung des Brunnens ist deutlich und das Wasser wird noch jetzt aus dem Brunnen heraufgepumpt—die lateinische Kirche aber an der Stelle der Verkündigung."[5] Leider hinterläßt er keine Notiz, ob er noch eine lebendige Tradition über die Erziehungskirche antraf. Vielleicht schimmert ein Rest darin durch, daß der hl. Brunnen in der Krypta damals „Quell der hl. Familie"[6] genannt wurde.

[1] Vgl. S. 67f.

[2] QUARESMIUS findet um 1620 den Altar in „der Mitte nach Osten," den Brunnen „am äußersten Ende der Kapelle." ("In ejus medio ad orientem est altare ad missam celebrandum.——In extrema sacelli parte est os fontis." II, 634).

[3] S. 164. "Ma essi, ad accattare veneratione a questa lor chiesa spacciano ridicolmente che quive la Vergine fosse annunziata dall' Arcangelo Gabriele Madre di Dio per non averla egli trovata in casa."

[4] In der Anmerkung S. 163 fügt er an: „COTOVICUS scheint der gleichen Ansicht zu sein." [5] S. 162f.

[6] S. 162. Aus ihm schöpften (vgl. ADLERBERG, S. 181) und schöpfen die

1845 erfahren wir durch den russischen Grafen ADLERBERG, daß die Tradition über das Wohnen an der Quelle doch noch nicht versickert ist. Er genoß allerdings den Vorzug, von dem griechischen Bischof selbst geführt zu werden. „Wir besuchten zuerst die kleine griechische Kirche, die über dem Platze gebaut ist, wo nach zeitgenössischen, unbezweifelbaren Angaben und Beschreibungen sich die Wohnung der hl. Jungfrau befand. Die Grotte, die in den Felsen gehauen ist, präsentiert sich noch immer in den bescheidenen Ausmaßen, so wie sie die Mutter des Erlösers der Welt bewohnte."[1] Über dem Altar, der den Brunnen bedeckt, brennt eine ewige Lampe, ein Bild stellt die Verkündigung dar, die an diesem Orte war. In der Verkündigungsgrotte berichtet er referierend, daß die Lateiner in ihr die Menschwerdung sehen, aber nach ihm „beherbergte sie einst Jesus Christus als Kind, seine Mutter und den hl. Josef."[2] Wie bei dem ANONYMUS DES PETRUS DIACONUS ist also die Krypta wieder Wohnraum geworden. Bei ihm erklärte es sich dadurch, daß die Oberkirche zerstört war. Jetzt hatte in dem neuen Kirchengebäude die hl. Grotte allein noch historische Erinnerungen, darum konzentrierte sich alles in ihr. Wie bei den Lateinern wird aber angenommen, daß andere Teile der Wohnung Mariens auf dem Kirchengelände lagen. Wie ist dieser Wandel der Tradition zu erklären? Die volle Verkündigung an der Quelle zog allmählich das Marienhaus nach sich, dadurch erleichtert, daß die Überlieferung von einem Wohnen der hl. Familie an dieser Stätte nie ganz versickert war. Den Lateinern überließ man nunmehr die Ecclesia Nutritionis.

In diesen Irrweg mündet in der Tat die Geschichte dieser Kirche aus. Der offizielle Pilgerführer der orthodoxen Griechen zitiert alle Verse von Lk. 1 [26-28] und verlegt die ganze Verkündigung nach hier.[3] Das schließt das biblische Marienhaus ein, wie man auch tatsächlich noch von orthodoxen Bewohnern Nazareths statt der offiziellen Bezeichnung „kenīset el-bischāra" (Verkündigungskirche) den Ausdruck „bēt Marjam" (Haus Mariens) hören kann. Dagegen ist

Pilger aus Gefäßen, die an einer Kette herabgelassen werden. „Heraufgepumpt" wurde das Wasser nicht, das muß eine ungeschickte Übersetzung des Russischen sein.

[1] S. 181. [2] S. 191.

[3] JOANNIDES u. SERAPHIM. S. 343.—So auch TAKOS in seinem Pilgerführer; die lateinische Verkündigungskirche übergeht er ganz mit Schweigen (S. 244).

die lateinische Verkündigungskirche auch im Volksmunde der Griechen das Haus Josefs geworden, nicht in dem ursprünglichen apokryphen Sinne, daß hier Maria nach ihrer Heimführung den zweiten Engelsgruß empfing, sondern im Sinne der Ecclesia Nutritionis.[1] Von jeder Verkündigung entleert, kann es bei logischem Denken nur das biblische Josefshaus sein, es wird dann stillschweigend vorausgesetzt, daß es nach der Rückkehr aus Ägypten wieder bezogen wurde. So haben die Griechen die alten Traditionen in falsche Geleise hineingeschoben. Die erste apokryphe Engelsbegrüßung hat die zweite, biblische nach sich gezogen. Die tiefe Entfremdung zwischen Ost- und Westkirche hat zweifellos diesen historischen Fehltritt verursacht, man erträgt es nicht, ein Geheimnis in dem Heiligtum der andern zu verehren. Darüber hat die Kirche an der Quelle ihren eigentlichen Edelstein verloren, die alte Tradition, daß hier, im Zentrum des jüdischen Nazareth, der Heiland im Elternhaus zum Manne heranwuchs.

IV. DIE WERKSTATT DES HL. JOSEPH.

QUARESMIUS ist der erste, der dieses Heiligtum erwähnt, THOMAS VON NOVARIA, der 1620 für die Franziskaner die Verkündigungskirche erwarb, weist noch mit keiner Silbe auf es hin. „Geht man von der Kirche der Verkündigung einen Steinwurf weit nach Norden, so findet man den Ort, der von altersher bis auf den gegenwärtigen Tag Haus und Werkstatt Josefs genannt wird, arabisch „ducan" und verderbt „chania", was im Lateinischen „officina" heißt."[2] Q. meint das arabische Wort *dukkān*, das zunächst Laden bedeutet. In den Bazaren des Orients ist aber bei Handwerkern Verkaufs- und Arbeitsraum dasselbe. „Chania" ist aber wohl nicht aus *dukkān* verderbt, sondern von *khān* abzuleiten, das zunächst Einkehrhaus bedeutet, aber auch einen Laden bezeichnen kann. Es scheint mithin, daß die Nazarethaner damals in erster Linie an den Geschäftsladen Josefs dachten, in dem er den Fleiß seiner Hände verkaufte, sie aber auch vor aller Augen rührte. Aber der Akzent rückte von Anfang an auf die „Werkstatt", wohl weil Abendländern diese

[1] JOANNIDES u. SERAPHIM nennen es „das Haus Josefs, des Bräutigams" (S.344).

[2] "A sacra aede Annuntiationis B. Virginis Mariae procedendo quantum jactus est lapidis ad aquilonem versus, invenitur locus ab antiquo usque ad praesentem diem ab incolis appellatus domus et officina Joseph, arabice ducan et corrupte chania quod latine officinam significat." (II, 632).

Verbindung von Verkaufs- und Arbeitsstätte etwas fremdartig war.

1627 erklärt ANTONIO: „Es war sein Haus und er arbeitete in ihm."[1] Hier war aber nur seine Werkstätte, denn die hl. Familie wohnte nach ihm an der Stätte der Verkündigung, als sie aus Ägypten zurückgekehrt war. FRANCESCO äußert sich um 1630 skeptisch über diese Tradition.[2] ROGER bekräftigt sie aber um dieselbe Zeit durch die Nachricht, daß die Moslims dieses Haus als Moschee benutzen als Josefsheiligtum steht sie in Verehrung, „alle aus dem Lande besuchen sie deswegen aus Frömmigkeit,"[3] dem Besitzer ist sie darum auch für eine hohe Summe nicht feil. Der Ausdruck „Moschee" ist aber für diese Gebetsstätte sicher zu großartig, denn es stand hier „ein Bauernhaus wie andere auch,"[4] sogar ein „schlechtes."[5] Für längere Zeit liegt nun Schweigen um dieses Heiligtum. Seit DOUBDAN (1652) fließen die Zeugnisse aber ohne Unterbrechung. „Das Haus des hl. Josef, von dem die Tradition behauptet, daß er hier seine Werkstatt hatte, wo er sein Handwerk ausübte, ehe er die Jungfrau heiratete."[6] Der Ausdruck „Haus Josefs" wird auch von andern Pilgern gebraucht, aber nie umschließt er den Gedankeninhalt der Ecclesia Nutritionis, immer meint es den „Zimmerhof des hl. Josef,"[7] die Werkstatt, in der er die Mittel für die Ernährung verdiente. Die Farben in der Ausmalung wechseln natürlich. So meint 1697 MORISON, daß auch Maria sich hier widmete „den Arbeiten, die sie im Tempel in Jerusalem gelernt hatte."[8] Die hl. Familie wird gerne in diesem Arbeitsraum vereint gedacht. LADOIRE 1719: „Wir können nicht zweifeln, daß Jesus Christus und seine hl. Mutter diese Werkstatt oft mit ihrer Gegenwart geheiligt haben."[9] Der Kern wird bei wechselnden Oberschichten aber nie angetastet, die Tradition in ihrer ersten Form wird noch einmal bekräftigt vor der Jahrhundertwende durch den Pilgerführer des Franziskaners LIEVIN: „Der hl. Josef hatte hier seine Werkstatt, wo er mit Jesus arbeitete."[10]

[1] S. 319. "Esta era su Casa, y trabajaba en ella." [2] S. 210.

[3] S. 63. "Tous ceux du pays la vont visiter par devotion."

[4] "Hic est rusticana domus ad instar aliarum." (QUARESMIUS, II, 632).

[5] GONZALES, I, 777. [6] S. 494. [7] v. NOROFF, S. 154.

[8] S. 185. "que la très sainte Vierge travaillait aux ouvrages dont elle avait fait l'aprentissage dans le temple de Jerusalem."

[9] S. 331. "Nous ne pouvons pas douter que Jesus-Christ et sa sainte mère n'ayent souvent honoré de leur presence cette boutique."

[10] *Guide de Terre Sainte.* Jerusalem, 1897, III, 102.

Welchen geschichtlichen Wert hat diese Überlieferung über eine vom Wohnhaus gesonderte Werkstatt des hl. Josef? In den Städten des Orients schließen sich die Handwerker gerne nach ihren Berufen in den Marktstraßen zusammen. Diese Sitte ist für Jerusalem schon im A. T. bezeugt.[1] Das Nazareth Christi besaß aber keine Geschäftsstraßen, die Nachbarstädte Sepphoris und Japha mußten den Markt der Umgebung beherrschen.[2] Ers als die Verkündigungskirche der Lebensnerv der Stadt wurdet folgte ihr, wie immer in solchen Fällen, der Kaufmann. Der Bazar in der Nähe, die drei Apsiden der Kirchenruine, die nach Osten, den Felsen umklammernd, sichtbar blieben,[3] konnten das absichtslos dichtende Volksgemüt anregen, den Zustand der Gegenwart in die Tage Christi zurückzudatieren und die Werkstätte Josefs am Geschäftsviertel zu schaffen. Der Bazar an der heutigen Stelle kann erst gewachsen sein, als durch den Zustrom der Pilger Nazareth auch zu einem bescheidenen wirtschaftlichen Mittelpunkt erhoben wurde. Unter der Voraussetzung, daß Josef ein Zimmermann und kein bloßer Bauhandwerker war, bleibt es aber denkbar, daß er hier, losgelöst von dem Kern der Siedelung, eine Werkstatt besaß. Die Ausgrabungen der Kirche führten allerdings in einem großen Sprunge von dem ältesten Nazareth in das byzantinische. Das schließt aber wieder nicht aus, daß auf diesem Gelände sich vereinzelt und vorübergehend Häuser erhoben, deren bescheidene Lebenszeichen durch die späteren Bauten restlos vernichtet wurden. Mithin hängt, da frühere Zeugnisse fehlen, alles davon ab, welchen Wert man der Überlieferung bemißt, die QUARESMIUS „von altersher" vorfindet. Jedenfalls ist ein gewisses Alter auch durch die Notiz des ROGER bewiesen, daß die Moslims diese Stätte heilig hielten.

Um 1900 beginnen bei den Franziskanern die „Werkstatt des hl. Josef" und die „Kirche der Ernährung" sich miteinander zu verschmelzen. Bis dahin hatte spätestens seit der Kreuzfahrerzeit die Verkündigungsgrotte—im XVII. Jahrhundert trat noch die „Engelskapelle" (Loretohaus) hinzu—die hl. Familie nach ihrer Rückkehr aus Ägypten aufgenommen.[4] Das Studium der Bibel und der alten Quellen veranlaßte die Wendung, dazu trat

[1] Vgl. Belege bei J. BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*. Tübingen, 1907, S. 102. [2] Vgl. *JPOS* XVIII, 3—4, 1938, S. 210.

[3] Vgl. QUARESMIUS, II, 632. [4] Vgl. S. *JPOS* XIX, 1—2, 1939, 117 f.

der Versuch der Dames de Nazareth, der aber ohne historische und archäologische Stützen ist, die Ecclesia Nutritionis auf ihren Klostergrund ziehen. 1754 kauften die Franziskaner das Gelände an und errichteten eine bescheidene Kapelle. Ein klares Bild gaben die Ausgrabungen von 1908, die VIAUD leitete. Seinen Bericht überschreibt er: "Église de la Maison ou de l'Atelier de Saint Joseph."[1] Das „oder" verbindet nunmehr die Werkstatt von 1620 mit der Kirche der Erziehung des Arkulf von 670. Die jetzige Kirche, gebaut 1914 auf den Linien des Kreuzfahrerbaus, nennt darum MEISTERMANN: „Haus oder Werkstatt des hl. Josef, in alten Zeiten Kirche der Erziehung geheißen."[2] L. VILLUENDAS gebraucht zwar 1933 noch den alten Ausdruck: „Oficina de San José," fügt aber hinzu, daß in früherer Zeit ihr Name „Iglesia de la Nutricion" war.[3] 1936 bezeichnet sie P. LEMAIRE als „die Kirche, die auf dem traditionellen Platze des Hauses des hl. Josef" steht.[4] 1937 lautet die These von BALDI und BAGATTI in ihrer Studie: „La chiesa della Nutritione e quella Francescana di S. Giuseppe."[5] Die Franziskaner beziehen die Texte des ARKULF—BONIFACIUS—COTOVICUS auf die Werkstatt, obwohl sie, wie die Analyse zeigte, nur im Heiligtum an der Quelle ihre Heimat finden. Die andern Pilgerzeugnisse, wie etwa das von ADORNES und NEITZSCHITZ, sind anscheinend nicht bekannt gewesen. In ihrer Gesamtheit müssen sie das letzte Zweifelwölkchen zerstreuen, daß nach alter Tradition die Ecclesia Nutritionis an der Quelle stand.

Auch archäologisch genügt die Josefskirche der Franziskaner in keiner Weise den Aussagen der Quellen. Nach den Angaben VIAUDS[6] betrug die Gesamtlänge der aufgedeckten Kirche 29 m, die der Fassade 16,20 m, die entsprechenden Maße der Basilika der Verkündigung sind 75m und 30m. Das Mißverhältnis ist also beträchtlich. Die beiden Kirchen des Arkulf waren aber ungefähr von der gleichen Größe („duae pergrandes ecclesiae"). Die Ausgrabung deckte sodann keine Reste einer byzantinischen Kirche auf.[7] Der These, daß die Kreuzfahrer

[1] S. 133. [2] S. 491. [3] *Por tierras biblicas.* Madrid, 1933, S. 193.
[4] *Petit Guide de Terre Sainte.* Jerusalem, 1936, S. 229. [5] S. 238.
[6] S. 137 und S. 135.
[7] „Keine Spuren sind von ihr erhalten." (DALMAN. S. 76). Vgl. das gleiche Urteil von J. REIL (*ZDPV* XXXV, 1912, S. 156 f.). VOGÜÉ (S. 351): *„Église du temps des Croisades."*

den Linien eines Gotteshauses aus dem V. oder VI. Jahrhundert gefolgt seien,[1] fehlen die beweisenden Fundstücke. Das ist umso auffallender, als die Basilika der Verkündigung um die gleiche Zeit den einwandfreien Beweis lieferte, daß der Bau der Kreuzfahrer in einem byzantinischen seinen Vorläufer hatte.

Wo ist sodann hier die Unterkirche, aus der man das Wasser nach oben zog? Nun liegt unter der Kirche eine große Höhle, die in runden Ziffern 10 m lang, 5 m breit und 2 m hoch ist. Sie ist ein Teil der unterirdischen Höhlenstadt, die durch Gänge miteinander verbunden war. Aus der Mitte des südlichen Seitenschiffes führt eine Treppe von neun Stufen, roh in den Felsen gehauen, hinab. Ösen für das Vieh, Nischen für Lampen, Silos im Boden belegen, daß die Höhle bewohnt war. „Diese Wohnung würde nach den Spezialisten auf die primitive kanaanäische Periode zurückgehen."[2] Paßt diese Grotte auf die Schilderung des ARKULF? Mit dieser Möglichkeit rechnet DALMAN. „Man hat sich vielleicht die große, durch den Felsengang zugängliche Zisterne als die Wohnstätte Josefs gedacht."[3] Aber es fehlen die tumuli, zwischen denen der fons lag. Auf ihnen ruhte zudem die Oberkirche; auch wenn man das Wort mit Gewölbe bezw. Pilaster übersetzt, bleibt es an dieser Stelle sinnlos, da die Kirche oben auf der starken, natürlichen Felsendecke über der Grotte völlig sicher lag. Zudem gesteht VIAUD: „Spuren von Kultus haben wir keine gefunden."[4] Kein Grafitti, kein Rest einer Malerei, kein Mosaikwürfel, kein Marmorfragment, überall starrt einen die Öde einer natürlichen Höhlenwohnung an.

Unter der Südwand der Kirche ist eine Flaschenzisterne. An sie dachte MEISTERMANN. „Unter dem Mauerwerk des Gebäudes findet sich eine Zisterne in Form einer Flasche, in welche früher ein Kanal das Wasser aus der Quelle führte, das Wasser schöpfte man in die Kirche selbst hinauf."[5] Aber der Kanal ist reine Hypothese, später in seinem Führer fügt M. auch vorsichtiger ein „wahrscheinlich" hinzu.[6] Schon wegen ihrer versteckten Lage scheidet sie als der

[1] So VIAUD, S. 141.

[2] *La Palestine. Guide des professeurs de N. D. de France.* Paris, 1912, S. 453. —Nach MEISTERMANN (S. 494) haben Fachleute die Benutzung von Steinwerkzeugen in der Grotte festgestellt. [3] S. 76. [4] S. 143.

[5] Im Artikel „Nazareth", *Kalender des Hl. Landes.* Jerusalem, 1907, S. 72.

[6] S. 495.

fons lucidissimus des ARKULF aus, sie widerspricht auch seinen übrigen topographischen Forderungen.

Heute wird ein Becken im Felsen als der *fons lucidissimus* des ARKULF angesehen. Es liegt fast im Zentrum der Kirche, hat eine quadratische Form von 2 m Länge, Höhe und Breite. Eine Treppe von sieben Stufen mit Mosaikresten führt herab, der Boden war ebenfalls mit Mosaik belegt. Auf der Südseite des Beckens ist Mauerwerk aus fünf Steinen stehen geblieben. „Die Wände des Beckens sind mit einem starken Kalkbewurf bedeckt von einem unvermischt byzantinischen Typ. — Der Zweck, der dem Becken zugewiesen war, bestand offenbar darin, Wasser aufzubewahren. — Es ist gewiß, daß das Mauerwerk des Beckens und das entsprechende Mosaik uns zurücktragen in die Zeit, in welcher der Felsen der Verkündigungskirche reguliert wurde."[1] Das Becken führt uns also in das V. Jahrhundert zurück. Auch bei dieser Ausgrabung zeigte sich nichts von dem zweiten, dem jüdischen Nazareth, dem Höhlenbewohner folgte hier gleich der Byzantiner. Vermutlich gehört das Becken—es war wohl eine einfache Badeeinrichtung—zu einer größeren Anlage,[2] die entstand, als mit der Errichtung des Bischofsitzes das Gelände bis hier mit kurialen Bauten belegt wurde. Der Westseite des Beckens gegenüber ist ein Mosaikrest der gleichen Art. Er kennzeichnet die Höhe des Fußbodens, der über die Steinschicht an der Südwand des Beckens lief. In der Nähe des Mosaikstückes, einige Zentimeter höher gelegen, haben sich zwei kleine Marmorflächen erhalten.[3] Man muß den Schluß ziehen, daß sie zum Fußboden der Kreuzfahrerkirche gehörten, der also einfach die Trümmer des byzantinischen Baus zudeckte. Die Kreuzfahrer haben also das Becken nicht erhalten, mithin haftete ihm keine lebendige heilige Erinnerung an. Und doch ist in dieser Periode die andauernde Verehrung des fons bezeugt, die Rundkirche über ihm gab ihm menschliche Weihe aus Künstlerhand. Sollte

[1] BAGATTI, S. 264.

[2] Andere Bauteile hatten die gleiche Orientierung (vgl. die Aufzählung bei VIAUD, S. 144). Sie verliefen alle, abweichend von der Ostung der Kirche, in nordöstlicher Richtung. Auch das erweckt Bedenken, daß diese Teile zu einer Kirche gehörten.

[3] Es scheint der gleiche Belag wie im Fußboden der Verkündigungskirche zu sein. QUARESMIUS:" Pavimentum ex dolatis quadratis marmoribus deprehensum est." (II, 620).

der fons des ARKULF vergessen worden sein und an einer andern Stelle ein hl. Quell wieder auftauchen? Dafür müßte man dann doch schon Gründe von einem besonderem Gewicht anführen.

Aber, auch eingeengt auf die Basilika des ARKULF, widerspricht das Becken seinen Angaben. VIAUD fand 2 m nördlich des Beckens, parallel mit ihm laufend, ein Mauerstück von etwa 8 m Länge und 2 m Breite.[1] Er sieht darin „die Grundflächen eines enormen Pilasters.—Man kann also annehmen, daß er ein Gewölbe stützte, welches das Becken bedeckte."[2] BALDI entwickelt die Theorie zu Ende. „Die topographischen Angaben des ARKULF passen hier genau: Die Kirche ist im Zentrum der byzantinischen Stadt; in der Krypta sind die Spuren von Pilastern (tumuli), welche die Oberkirche stützten (super duos fundata cancros); zwischen den Pilastern gibt es ein Wasserbecken."[3] Jedoch ist diese Kirche der Basilika der Verkündigung räumlich so nahe, daß beide heute die Flügel des Klosters bilden. ARKULF sieht sie aber durch eine größere Entfernung getrennt.[4] Ohnehin liegen die beiden Kirchen der Franziskaner hart am Ostabfall des Hügels, sie sind darum Grenze, nur im weiteren Sinne Mitte der Stadt.[5] Der aufgedeckte Mauerrest braucht nicht die Grundfläche eines Pilasters gewesen zu sein, ein Gegenstück auf der Südseite verzeichnet weder Plan noch Bericht. Die Übersetzung von „tumulus" mit „Pilaster" ist schon gewagt, sie hätte darum zwei sichere Pilasterfundamente in den Funden doppelt nötig. Vor allem: Die heutige Krypta ist künstlich, sie gehörte nicht zur ursprünglichen Anlage. Wie der Mosaikrest beweist, saß der byzantinische Fußboden hart auf dem Felsen, die Kreuzfahrerkirche erhöhte ihn nur um ein geringes. Das Becken lag darum in

[1] Vgl. seinen Plan S. 134.

[2] S. 142.—KLAMETH (S. 8—10) folgt im wesentlichen VIAUD. Er sträubt sich nur dagegen, den „überaus hellen Quell" in diesem Becken wiederzufinden. Ohne Gründe greift er zu der Hypothese, daß ARKULF hier die Ecclesia Nutritionis sah, daß aber durch einen Irrtum der fons lucidissimus von seiner richtigen Lage an der Gabrielskirche in den Text hineingeriet.

[3] S. 242. [4] Vgl. S. 260.

[5] Geographisch richtig sagt QUARESMIUS, daß „die Verkündigungkirche am äußersten Abhang des Hügels liegt." (Ecclesia Annuntiationis est in ultima declivitate collis. II. 620). Er meint den südlichen Abfall. Fast um die gleiche Zeit sagt ROGER, daß sie „au milieu de la ville" ist (S. 56). Denselben Ausdruck

keiner Tiefe, wie sie die Schöpfvorrichtung des ARKULF doch verlangt. In der Kirche der Kreuzfahrer stieg man vom Hauptportal einige Stufen herab, der Unterschied zwischen Schwelle und Boden betrug nach VIAUD 1,60 m.[1] Beim Neubau 1914 wurde in der Westhälfte der Kirche der Fußboden auf die gleiche Höhe wie die Türschwelle gelegt, mithin vertiefte sich das Becken um 1,60 m; 13 Stufen führen heute zu ihm herab, denen in Abständen nochmals je eine Stufe folgt. Also brachte die Nivellierung des Felsbodens—wie das auch durch den Vergleich mit Plan und Bericht der Ausgrabung erhärtet wird—noch eine weitere Senkung. Über der so vertieften Osthälfte erhebt sich heute nach fünf Stufen die Oberkirche. Selbst einmal vorausgesetzt, um 670 habe hier eine Kirche in ähnlicher Form gestanden, ARKULF hat sie bestimmt nicht in seinem Texte beschrieben. Man denke sich einmal in der Oberkirche über dem Becken eine Öffnung und versuche sich vorzustellen, wie „die ganze Einwohnerschaft" erscheint, um mit einer Winde die Eimer nach unten zu lassen und wieder heraufzuziehen! Das alles, um ein Becken von 2×2 m auszuschöpfen, das vom Fußboden der Unterkirche viel bequemer zu erreichen ist, in dessen Inneres zudem noch Treppenstufen herabführen? Wie man sie auch wendet und dreht, diese Hypothese reibt sich wund nach jeder Seite. Noch gar nicht gedacht ist des Textes von PETRUS DIACONUS.[2] Er spricht von einer Höhle mit Wasser, die man sich zugleich als Wohnraum denken konnte, dazu enthielt sie einen Altar. Dieser Text verbindet ausgezeichnet ARKULF mit den späteren Pilgerzeugnissen für die Krypta in der Gabrielskirche. Dagegen flattert er an der Werkstatt des hl. Josef als hilfloses Fragezeichen in der Luft, da natürlich niemand daran denken kann, ihn in dem kleinen Becken zu lokalisieren.

Unter welchem Titel erbauten die Kreuzfahrer die Kirche? Ihre Einfachheit erschwert die Annahme, daß sie in ihr ein Geheimnis der Heilsgeschichte verehren wollten. Beim Bau des jetzigen Klosters entdeckte man gegenüber ihrem südlichen Eingang—am Platze des heutigen Franziskanermuseums—eine kleine

gebraucht SURIUS, S. 306. Sie müssen an die ideale Mitte denken. Solche abweichende Bestimmungen der Pilger zeigen, daß sie allein zu Lokalisierungen nicht ausreichen.

[1] S. 137. [2] Vgl. S. 262.

Gebetskapelle, über die ein Fundbericht nicht vorliegt. Vielleicht ist die Kirche ihre Nachfolgerin. DOUBDAN sah noch 1652 die Ruinen von dem Palaste des Erzbischofs und von den Häusern der Domherren sich weithin erstrecken.[1] Ihr Gefolge an Dienern überstieg natürlich ihre Zahl beträchtlich. Die große Marienbasilika war für die gewöhnlichen Gottesdienste zu geräumig und zu festlich. Ähnlich wie bei vielen Kathedralen Europas entstand darum wohl das Bedürfnis, eine kleinere Volkskirche in der Nähe zu bauen. Ob sie dem hl. Josef geweiht war,[2] ob sie insbesondere das Gedächtnis an seine Werkstatt pflegte, können wir aus literarischen Zeugnissen nicht nachweisen. Alles hängt von der Treue der Überlieferung ab, die QUARESMIUS bald nach 1620 aufzeichnete.

[1] S. 497.

[2] Die erste Josefskapelle im Abendlande ist 1129 in Bologna bezeugt (vgl. J. SEITZ, *Die Verehrung des hl. Joseph.* Freiburg 1908, S. 290 f.). Der Boden Nazareths könnte natürlich ohne Vorgänger spontan eine Josefskirche schon früher erbaut haben. Man könnte sich auch denken, daß die griechische Bezeichnung der Verkündigungskirche als „Haus Josefs" aneifernd auf die Kreuzfahrer wirkte.

ANCIENT JEWISH COINS

(Concluded)

A. REIFENBERG

(JERUSALEM)

8. AGRIPPA II (A.D. 50–100).

Agrippa's II rule did not extend over a wholly Jewish district; in 50 A.D. he was entrusted with the government of Chalcis, which he in A.D. 53 exchanged for the Tetrarchy of Philip and several other non-Jewish districts. By the favour of Nero some parts of Galilaea and Peraea were added to his state. During the whole of his life Agrippa II was a weak and loyal Roman satellite. From the Roman camp he phlegmatically watched the destruction of the town of his birth. Solely in his youth did he dare to strike coins bearing his likeness. Subsequently, Rome apparently forbade any such practice, so that all his later coins show the portrait of the Roman Emperor.

The portrait corresponds to the description of the King found in literary sources. The face is insignificant, the expression effeminate and unintelligent (Nos. 74 and 75). (Contrary to the opinion held by MADDEN,[1] the likeness on No. 74 shows the portrait to be of Agrippa II).[2]

The various dates occurring on Agrippa's coins are discussed by MADDEN,[3] MACDONALD,[4] SCHÜRER[5] and HILL.[6] On coins Nos. 104–106 the 26th year of Agrippa's reign is equated to the twelfth consulship of Domitian, whereas on No. 103 the 25th year is equated to the tenth consulship.[7] Since however the reading COS X may be due to the bad preservation of the coin,[8] only coins Nos. 104–106 should be considered; since the twelfth consulship of Domitian

[1] MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 134.

[2] A. REIFENBERG, *Portrait Coins of the Herodian Kings.*

[3] *l.c.* pp. 144 *et seq.*

[4] MACDONALD, *Hunter Catal.* III, p. 291.

[5] SCHÜRER, *Gesch. des Jüdischen Volkes*, Vol. I. pp. 589 and 597/8.

[6] HILL, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Palestine*, pp. xcviii and xxix.

[7] TH. MOMMSEN, *Wiener Num. Ztschr.* III, pp. 451 *et seq.*, 1871.

[8] A. REIFENBERG, *P.E.F. Quart, Stat.*, 1935, pp. 81/82.

falls into the year of A.D. 86, the era should be fixed to A.D. 61. Coins Nos. 76 and 77 equate year 6 to year 11 of Agrippa's reign. If the lesser figure corresponds[1] to the era of year 61 A.D., we are able to fix the earlier era to A.D. 56. To this era belong both coins with his portrait, which were therefore struck in A.D. 60 and 65 respectively. It cannot be assumed, that the nomenclature on Agrippa's coins is strictly accurate[2,3,4] and all the Flavian coins should be dated in the later era, the first year of which is 61 A.D.

The coins (Nos. 103–106 of the years 85 and 86 A.D.) show the letters SC (*senatus consulto*) and may be connected with Agrippa's loss of his purely Jewish dominions[1] and the coincident confirmation of his rule over other districts. According to HILL,[3] Mr. ROBINSON points out that these coins have the inverted die-position, which was the rule in Rome at the time. It may therefore be possible, that they were not actually struck in Judaea, or by Agrippa's authority (?) The legend SALUTI AUGUSTI occurs, as MADDEN remarks, on the coins issued at Rome in the 10th and 11th consulship and on a very rare coin of the 12th consulship.

Coin No. 90 published here for the first time clearly shows, that the base on which the goddess stands is, in reality, the prow of a vessel. Whether or not the coins published by HILL (*l. c.* p. 239, No. 5 and p. 247, No. 62) should be attributed to Agrippa, is doubtful.

THE PROCURATORS.

The Procurators sent to Judaea after the deposition of Archelaus and those who came to the country after the death of Herod Agrippa I, did not strike any coins with signs offensive to Judaism. We only meet with fruits of the country, vessels, arms etc. and instead of the portrait of the ruling Emperor, only his name is given. The coins were struck according to the Actian era as shown by PICK[5] and HILL.[6] Since the first coins were struck in the 36th year of

[1] SCHÜRER, *l.c.* p. 599.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 589 and 597–8.

[3] HILL, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Palestine*, pp. xcviii and xxix.

[4] TH. MOMMSEN, *Wiener Num. Ztschr.* III, pp. 451 *et seq.*, 1871.

[5] PICK, *Ztschr. f. Numismatik*, XIV, 1887, pp. 306—308. [6] HILL, *l.c.* p. ci.

Augustus (No. 118), which equals 758/759 a.u.c. or A.D. 5/6, they may have been issued by Coponius, who arrived in Caesarea in the autumn of the year 6 A.D.[1] KENNEDY[1] proposes to connect a certain number of the issues with the arrival of a new governor. Thus the second set of coins suggests the arrival of Marcus Ambibulus (or Ambivius), the coins of A.D. 15/16 that of Valerius Gratus and the coin struck in the fifth year of Nero may (No. 136) indicate the arrival of Porcius Festus before October A.D. 59. It may be mentioned that there is apparently no evidence for coins struck in the 33rd year of Augustus,[2] an assumption which misled MOMMSEN[3] and MADDEN[4] into believing that these coins were struck according to the era of the "Anni Augusti".

THE FIRST REVOLT (66–70 A.D.).

Whereas, with the exception of WILLRICH,[5] it is generally accepted that the bronze-shekels (Nos. 4–6) should be attributed to Simon, the dating of the silver shekels has remained the "crux" of Jewish numismatics.

DE SAULCY[6] at first attributed these coins to the period of Alexander the Great and later[7] even to the time of Ezra and Nehemia. REINACH[8] thought them first to belong to the First Revolt but later retracted in favour of the Maccabean period,[9] LEVY,[10] MADDEN,[11] MERZBACHER,[12] and ROGERS,[13] assigned the shekels to the Maccabean period. HILL,[14] following the suggestion put

1 A.R.S. KENNEDY, *P.E.F. Quart. St.* 1915, p. 198.
2 PICK, *Ztschr. f. Numismatik*, XIV, 1887, pp. 306—398.
3 TH. MOMMSEN, *Gesch. d. römischen Münzwesens*, 1860. p. 719.
4 MADDEN, *l.c.* p. 174.
5 WILLRICH: *Ztschr. F. Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1933, p. 79.
6 F. DE SAULCY: *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaique* 1854.
7 F. DE SAULCY: *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 1872, p. 1.
8 TH. REINACH: *Les Monnaies Juives*, 1887.
9 TH. REINACH: *Jewish Coins*, 1903.
10 M.A. LEVY: *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*, 1826.
11 F.W. MADDEN: *Coins of the Jews*, 1881.
12 E. MERZBACHER; *Z. f. Num.*, Vol. V, 1878, p. 151, and p. 292.
13 E. ROGERS: *A Handy Guide to Jewish Coins*, 1914.
14 G.F. HILL: *Cat. of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Palestine*, 1914, p. xciii.

forward by EWALD[1] and SCHÜRER,[2] attributes the shekels to the First Revolt against Rome A.D. 66–70, basing his conclusion mainly on epigraphic grounds. He tries to show, but only with regard to the letters "aleph", "beth" "he" and "waw", that if Jewish coins be arranged in the probable sequence of epigraphic development, the shekels could best be placed in the period of the First Revolt. This is surely not correct as far as the letter "he" is concerned. There are many coins of John Hyrcanus with the same form of "he" which we find on the shekels (cf. No. 18a). As we have pointed out before,[3] the ancient script was still used for coinage and similar special purposes, although the so-called square script had already come into general use for ordinary purposes. One should therefore speak not of an epigraphic development but only of an imitation of earlier forms. There is, in fact, a close epigraphic resemblance between these shekels and inscriptions of the 8th to 6th centuries B.C.

In a paper published in 1927 the author has tried to show for what archaeological and historical reasons the shekels should be attributed to the Maccabean period.[4] On the other hand G. F. HILL[5] was kind enough to draw the author's attention to a find made by Père GERMER-DURAND[6] during excavations in Jerusalem. Unfortunately, P. GERMER-DURAND died before a detailed account of the find was given, but undoubtedly shekels were found here in association with Herodian and Procuratorial coins. Discounting possibilities of intrusion, the shekels should more likely be attributed to the First Revolt. Another find which G. HILL has described[7,8] is unhappily not conclusive. Here shekels of the year 3 are said to have been found in association with a Ptolemaic tetradrachm of 285 B. C. (!) and Tyrian shekels dating from between B.C. 126/125 to A. D. 19/20. Both Jewish and Tyrian shekels were offered for sale at about the

[1] EWALD: *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1855, p. 109.
[2] E. SCHÜRER: *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, I, 1901, p. 761.
[3] A. REIFENBERG: *PEF. Qu. St.* 1927, p. 47.
[4] A. REIFENBERG, *l.c.*
[5] G. F. HILL, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1922, p. 133–4.
[6] R. P. GERMER-DURAND, *Revue Biblique*, 1914, pp. 234 *et seq.*
[7] G. HILL, *QDAP*, VI, 1936, pp. 78 *et seq.*
[8] G. HILL, *Num. Chron.* XVII, Ser. V., 1937, pp. 143–4, and *QDAP*, VII, 1938, p. 63.

same time, but there is no evidence whatsoever that they were actually found together.[1] All the available evidence is against this assumption, a fact further strengthened by the complete difference of the patina, to which also HILL draws due attention.

Without entering again here into a discussion about the date of the shekels, we nevertheless now prefer to attribute them to the First Revolt until new and decisive archaeological evidence shall definitely decide their classification.

On the shekels of the first year the name of Jerusalem is rendered ירושלם as against ירושלים on the later shekels. No conclusions can be drawn from this fact, since both ways of writing occur in the Bible. The chalice on the obverse of the shekels has, of course, nothing to do with the "pot of manna" as supposed by former writers, but in all probability represents the chalice used in the temple, and should be compared to the cup on the famous relief in the arc of Titus and a similar representation on a door-lintel of a Jewish-Roman house at Nawe.[2] In all probability the chalice used in the Holy Communion of the Church is derived from this cup.

It may be mentioned that the shekel of year 5 is of the utmost rarity and badly struck, probably owing to the precarious situation of the insurgents. The weight of these shekels according to the find of uncirculated coins published by HILL is 14.02 gr. on the average and represents the so-called Phoenician unit,[3] in accordance with the tradition of the Tosephta, which expressly states that: "all the money of which the law speaks is Tyrian money." Not only was the "Half Shekel" for the temple-dues to be paid in Tyrian money,[4] but as the Talmud especially orders, the five shekels which had to be paid as redemption of the first-born were also to be of Tyrian weight.[5]

A coin, No. 146, published by HILL,[6] but said to be not of absolutely undoubted authenticity, may represent a quarter shekel of the fourth year; it clearly shows the influence of the Herodian and Procuratorial coinage.

[1] This view is confirmed by the Rev. PÈRE N. VAN DER VLIET of St Anne's, Jerusalem, who told me quite definitely that the coins were not found together.

[2] A. REIFENBERG, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike*, 1937, Pls. 23 and 33,1.

[3] HEAD, *Historia Nummorum*, pp. 797 and 800.

[4] *Ketuboth*, XII, *fin.*

[5] *Bechoroth*, VIII, 7.

[6] HILL, *l.c.* p. cij.

The small bronze coins (Nos. 147 and 148) are usually attributed to the First Revolt, although no conclusive evidence has hitherto been available. Coin No. 147a, which is overstruck over a coin of Herod Agrippa I (No. 59), clearly shows that it was struck after A.D. 44, i.e. at the time of the First Revolt.[1] It may be mentioned, that the representation of an amphora very similar to that on the coins also occurs on a Jewish ossuary found in Jerusalem.[2]

JUDAEA CAPTA.

Although not strictly belonging to Jewish series, the coins commemorating the subjection of Judaea are given here for reasons of convenience, but only so far as they seem to have been issued in Palestine.

It will be observed that the coins of Vespasian and Titus are struck in Greek, whereas the coins of Domitian show Latin inscriptions. One coin (Nos. 157) describes Domitian as IMP. XXIII COS. XVI in the twelfth year of his tribunician power, which is never the case on coins struck in Rome. As pointed out by HILL[3] these coins were probably struck in the year after the coins with the twenty-second imperatorship under the assumption that a twenty-third acclamation would ensue in that year. It is noticeable that on these coins, as on the coins struck in Rome, there appears the palm-tree, the symbol of Judaea. An unknown variety of the *Judaea capta* coins (No. 158) was published by the author in 1935.[1]

SECOND REVOLT OF THE JEWS. (A.D. 132—135).

We know since HAMBURGER'S[4] publication of the hoard found at Dura, near Hebron (not Bittir, as HILL[5] erroneously states), that all the coins with the names of Simon, Eleasar or Jerusalem have to be attributed to the Second Revolt. Quite apart from other reasons, this is proved by the mere fact that these coins are fre-

[1] A. REIFENEBRG, *P. E. F. Quart. Stat.*, 1935, p. 83,
[2] A. REIFENBERG, *Denkmäler der jüd. Antike*, 1937, Plate 18.
[3] HILL, *l.c.* p. ciij.
[4] L. HAMBURGER, *Ztschr. f. Num.*, XVIII, 1892, pp. 241 *et seq.*
[5] HILL, *l.c.*, pp. civ *et seq.*

quently overstruck over Roman coins ranging from Nero to Hadrian.

DE SAULCY was the first to assign these coins to Simon the son of the Patriarch Gamliel II, the Simon Nasi mentioned on the coins, and not to Bar-Kochba, the leader of the revolt. (The personal name of Bar-Kochba is not known to us). Simon, son of Gamliel, was president of the Beth-Din and died in A.D. about 163. HAMBURGER agrees with this view, whereas SCHÜRER[1] considers HAMBURGER's combinations to be absolutely false, inasmuch as Simon's alleged dignity of Nasi is but a legend.

Although the representative of the House of Hillel was already called Nasi in very early times, nevertheless the title of "Nasi" as a title of office was probably introduced by Simon ben Gamliel II only after the revolt had been suppressed.[2] A legend[2] makes it nevertheless quite probable that popularly Simon was already called "Nasi" during the time of the revolt. This Simon had taken part in the rebellion and fled the country, but he was undoubtedly the legitimate leader of the Jewish people; it may be mentioned in this connection, that his father has already been regarded the legitimate leader not only by the Jews, but also by the Roman authorities.[3] It is therefore quite possible that the coins were struck not by Bar-Kochba, the leader of the rebellion, but by Simon, son of Gamliel II, the successor to his father's dignity. HILL[4] is justified in pointing out that Simon's youth is no objection to this theory, the dignity of the highest authority being hereditary in the dynasty of Hillel. The Talmud, mentioning "coins of Bar-Kosiba",[5] refers in this way not to the highest authority of that time, but to the most characteristic leader of the revolt.

It is much more difficult to identify the Priest Eleazar, mentioned alone or in combination with Simon on some of the coins. Without recording all the suggested identifications, we agree with HAMBURGER,[6] that most probably R. Eleazar ben Azaria is the "Eleazar ha Cohen," found on the coins. This Eleazar was for some time President of the Beth-Din in place of Gamliel II, father of Simon, and we

[1] SCHÜRER, *l.c.*, p. 684.
[2] H. ZUCKER, *Studien zur jüdischen Selbsterwaltung*, 1936, pp. 99–100.
[3] H. ZUCKER, *l.c.*, p. 149. [4] HILL, *l.c.*, pp. civ *et seq.*
[5] *Tosephta, Maasser sheni*, I,6; *Baba kamma*, 97, etc. [6] HAMBURGER *l.c.*,

know him to have been the descendant of an old and noble priestly family. It is quite possible that Eleazar served for some time as Simon's guardian, the latter being too young to act *de facto* as representative of the house of Hillel. We have been able to show[1] however, that SCHÜRER'S[2] explanation, shared by HILL,[3] as to the changes of the names Simon and Eleazar occurring on these coins can no longer be accepted. There exist coins of Eleazar of the first and second year and without date (Nos. 169, 170, 189, 196). The same is true of the coins of Simon Nasi (Nos. 190, 192, 193, 199 with regard to the first and second year) and of the coins bearing the name of Jerusalem. A hitherto unpublished coin of the first year of the palm-tree and bunch-of.grapes type with the name of Jerusalem is given under No. 195.

The chronological sequence of these coins is most difficult to determine, though most authors agree however that the undated coins were the last to be struck. This view is furthermore supported by the fact that there exist hybrid coins of years 1 and 2 (Nos. 171 and 172) and that there is equally a hybrid coin showing on the obv. Year 2 and on the rv. "l'cheruth Jerushalem" (No. 201). It may well have happened that at the beginning of the new year a die of the preceding year was erroneously employed. This would explain the presence of both hybrid types and prove in addition that the undated coins were issued in the third year of the revolt. This view is further strengthened by the fact that there exist no hybrid coins of the presumed year 3 and year 1.

Let us now consider the motives for issuing undated coins bearing the name of Jerusalem, instead of Israel. It is known that Jerusalem was captured by the insurgents[4] and probably recaptured by the Romans at the end of the revolt, the insurgents withdrawing to Bethar (Bittir), situated nearby. Now there could only have been an era of freedom during the time the insurgents were in actual possession of Jerusalem. We therefore find the inscription "Redemption (or Freedom) of Israel" only on coins of the first and second year. There was no "freedom of Israel" after the loss of Jerusalem, for all the energies of the insurgents were concentrated on the recapture of

[1] A. REIFENBERG, *P. E. F. Qu. Stat.*, 1935, pp. 83–84.
[2] SCHÜRER, *l.c.*, p. 769.
[3] HILL, *l.c.*, p. cvi.
[4] SCHÜRER, *l.c.*, p. 691.

the city. For this reason there is no date on the coins of the third year, but only an inscription pointing to the most essential object of the war. The inscription "l'cheruth Jerusalem" means: "For the Freedom of Jerusalem," so commemorating the ardent desire of the insurgents.

Simply for reasons of convenience we follow Hill in dividing the coins into tetradrachms, denarii and bronze-coins in the catalogue.

The reverse of the tetradrachms shows lulab and ethrog, used in the feast of Tabernacles. We previously met with these symbols on the coins attributed to Simon Maccabi, and it may be pointed out that they are frequently represented in ancient synagogual art. We meet with representations of lulab and ethrog on paintings and mosaics of synagogues, on lamps and glasses.[1] Especially should the representation of a lulab found on a column of the ancient synagogue at Nave[2] be compared with the lulab on the coins.

The representation on the obverse of the tetradrachms has caused many discussions. LEVY[3] and MERZBACHER[4] thought the building represented the Temple, whereas GRAETZ[5] considered it to be a tabernacle. CAVEDONI[6] first thought the building represented the "Beautiful Gate of the Temple", a view in which MADDEN and others agree.[7] ROGERS[8] suggested that the building represented the four pillars for the veil before the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle, with a conventionalised representation within of the Ark and Mercy Seat, an identification with which HILL[9] agrees. LAMBERT[10] draws attention to the fact that the chest between the columns is of a type known in Egypt from the Old Kingdom onwards and quite recently H. ROSENAU[11] considered this chest to be a representation of the Mercy Seat in the Temple. Some eighty years ago however CAVEDONI[12]

1 A. REIFENBERG, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike*, Berlin, 1937.
2 L. A. MAYER and A. REIFENBERG, *The Synagogue of Eshtemoa* (forthcoming).
3 A. LEVY, *Jüdische Münzen*, Leipzig, 1862, p. 92.
4 *Ztschr. f. Num.*, I, 1874, pp. 219 *et seq.*
5 GRAETZ, *Num. Chron.* Vol. VIII, Ser. 3, pp. 166 *et seq.*
6 CAVEDONI, *Bibl. Numismatik* I, Hannover 1855, p. 34.
7 MADDEN, *l.c.*, p. 202. 8 E. ROGERS, *Num. Chron.*, 1911, pp. 205 *et seq.*
9 HILL, *l.c.*, p. cvi. 10 *QDAP*, I, p. 69.
11 H. ROSENAU, *P.E.F. Quart. Stat.*, 1936, p. 158.
12 CAVEDONI, *l.c.*, II, 1856, p. 65.

proposed to see in the type the sacrarium of a synagogue, the middle being the ark containing the sacred books, an identification which comes remarkably near the truth.

Comparing the coin with representations of "Thora-shrines" on synagogue mosaics, ossuaries, gilt glasses, etc. the author has come to the only possible[1] conclusion, that Cavedoni was absolutely right in his identification. We see on this coin the front of a synagogue, or the Temple Bar-Kochba's followers intended to build, into the interior of which is put a shrine containing the scrolls of the Law, in the same way as heathen images are represented on contemporary Roman coins. The horizontal lines inside the shrine probably indicate the shelves and the two points are meant to represent the scrolls of the Law. J.C. SLOANE[2] by comparing it with a fresco from Dura-Europos came to similar conclusions, but considers the two points to be door-knobs.

On the denars we meet with representations of vessels and musical instruments, such as had probably been used in the Second Temple. The trumpets on Nos. 174, 182, and 186 should be compared with those represented on the Ark of Titus. Besides, fruits of the country such as grapes, palm-branches, palm-trees and vine-leaves are depicted on the coins of the Second Revolt. The amphora with fluted body, narrow neck and curved handles (Nos. 190, 191, 197 and 198) occurs frequently in the decoration of the synagogues. We not only find it sculptured in stone on capitals etc., but also on lamps, gilt glasses, etc.[3]

Always showing a character *sui generis* at times of revolt, Jewish coinage reaches its highest standard of workmanship at the very time when the last serious rising was being brutally crushed. But the modest designs, showing the intensity of national feeling, not only survived in the synagogue art of the first Christian centuries, but also influenced Jewish art during the Middle Ages and have survived in popular Jewish art even down to our days.

A. REIFENBERG, *JPOS*, XI, 1931, pp. 51 *et seq.*

[2] J. C. SLOANE, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, Vol. XXV, 1934, pp. 1 *et seq.* [3] A. REIFENBERG, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike*, Berlin, 1937

AGRIPPA II (A.D. 50–100)

No. 74 Obv.

Head of the youthful Agrippa, to l. Inscr. around beg. on l. (before bust date: Year 5 – A.D. 60):

[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ
ΑΓΡΙΠΠ[ΕΩΝ or [ΑΥΙΟΥ]
L E

Rv.

Two cornucopiae with a taenia. Inscr. around:

[ΒΑΣΑΓΡΙΠΠ] Α ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ
[ΟΣ]

No. 75 Obv.

Head of Agrippa II., Inscr. around, beg. below on l.:

ΒΑCΙΛ [Ε] ΩC ΑΓΡΙΠ [Π] Ο [Υ]

Rv.

Anchor, at both sides of which date: (Year 10 – A.D. 65):

L I

No. 76 Obv.

Head of City-Goddess to r. Inscr. around, beg. on l. below:

ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑC ΚΑΙCA[ΡΙΑΓΡΙΠΑ]

Rv.

Two cornucopiae, between which caduceus. Date: Year 11 – Year 6 – A.D. 66. Inscr. around beg. on l. below:

ΒΑC ΑΓΡ. ΕΤΟVC ΑΙ ΤΟV ΚΑΙ¤

No. 77 Obv.

Hand holding ears and poppy-head. Inscr. beg. above on r.:

ΒΑCΙΛΕΟC ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ

Rv.

Within a circle monogram (date). Around, inscr. beg. on r. above (date: year 6 year 11 – A.D. 66):

ΕΤΟΥC ΑΙΤΟΥ (Κ¤=ΚΑΙ¤)

No. 78 Obv.

Head, of Nero r., laureate; in front of nead crescent. Inscr. beg. on r. above:

ΝΕΡΩ· ΝΚ[ΑΙCΑΡCΕΒΑC] ΤΟ [C]

Rv.

Within a circle, surrounded by wreath:

ΕΠΙ
ΒΑCΙΛΕ
ΑΓΡΙΠΠ
ΝΕΡΩ
ΝΙΕ

No. 79 Obv.

Head of Nero r., laureate; in front of head lituus. Inscr. around beg. on r. above: ΝΕΡΩ [ΝΚΑΙΣΑΡ] ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ

Rv.

Within a circle, surrounded by a wreath:

ΕΠΙ
ΒΑCΙΛΕ
ΑΓΡΙΠΠ
ΝΕΡΩ
ΝΙΕ

No. 80 Obv.

Bust of Vespasian r., laureate; around, beg. above on r. inscr.:

.ΑVΤΟΚΡΑΟ [VEC] ΠΑCΙ-ΚΑΙCΑΡΙC
ΒΑCΤΩ. (Sic!)

Rv.

Tyche or City-goddess, wearing kalathos, standing l., holding cornucopiae in l., ears of barley in r.; across field inscr. (date: Year 14–A.D. 74):

ΕΤΔΙ ΒΑ
ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ

No. 81 Obv.

Bust of Vespasian etc. as above. Inscription as above:

ΑVΤΚΟΡΑVΕCΠΑCΙ-ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ
CΒΑCΤΩ-(Sic!)

Rv.

Tyche etc. as above, but date Year 15–A.D. 75:

ΕΤ ΙΕ ΒΑ
ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ

No. 82 Obv.

Bust of Vespasian etc. as above. Inscr.:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ.ΟΥΕCΠΑ.ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ
CΕΒΑCΤ.

Rv.

Tyche etc. as above, but date year 18–A.D. 78:

ΕΤΟΥ ΗΙΒΑ
ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ

No. 83 Obv.
Bust of Vespasian etc. as above.
A [YTOKPAO VECΠA]
KAICAPI [CEBACTΩ]
Rv.
Tyche etc. as above, but date: year 26—A.D. 86:
ETOV KϛBA
AΓPI ΠΠA

No. 84 Obv.
Bust of Vespasian etc. as above.
.AVTOKP AOVECΠA
CIKAICA PICEBACTΩ
Rv.
Tyche etc. as above, but date: Year 27—A.D. 87. In field l. above, star.
ETOV KZBA
AΓPI ΠΠA

No. 85 Obv.
Bust of Vespasian etc. as above.
- - - VECΠACI - -
Rv.
Tyche etc. as above, but date: Year 29—A.D. 86.
ETOY KΘ BA
AΓPI ΠΠA

No. 86 Obv.
Bust of Titus r. Inscr. beg. above on r.:
- - - AYTO - -
Rv.
Tyche or City-goddess, standing l., holding cornucopiae in l., ears of barley in r. Date: Year 14—A.D. 74. Across field inscr.:
LIΔ BA
AΓPI ΠOY

No. 87 Obv.
Bust of Titus, laureate to r.; around, beg. on r. above, inscr.:
AYTOKPATITOC
[KAICCEB]
Rv.
Nike to r., holding wreath in r., palm-branch over shoulder in l. Across field date (Year 14—A.D. 74) and inscr.:
LIΔ BAC
AΓP ΙΠOY

No. 88 Obv.
Bust of Titus etc. as above.
- AVTOKP.TITOC
KAIC APCEBAC
Rv.
Nike to r. etc. as above, but date: Year 18 — A.D. 78.
ET HIBA
AΓPI ΠΠA

No. 89 Obv.
Bust of Titus, laureate to r. Inscr. around beg. in r. above:
AYTOKPATITOC - -
Rv.
Tyche or City-goddess, wearing kalathos, standing l., holding cornucopiae in l., ears of barley in r.; across field date (Year 19 — A.D. 79) and inscr.:
ETOY IΘBA
AΓPI ΠΠA

No. 90 Obv.
Bust of Titus, laureate to r. Inscr. beg. above on r.:
AYT - - - PCEBACTΩ
Rv.
Tyche or City-goddess as above, but standing on prow of vessel. Across field date (Year 26—A.D. 86) and inscr:
ETO Kϛ BA
- ΓPIΠ ΠA

No. 91 Obv.
Bust of Titus to r. as on No. 86, but bust clothed.
AYTOKPTITO[C]
KAICAPCEBAC
Rv.
Nike to r. etc. as on No. 94, but date: Year 26—A.D. 86 and in field to r., star.
ETO Kϛ BA
AΓPI ΠΠA

No. 92 Obv.
Bust of Titus etc. as above. Inscr.:
AYTOKP.T - - KAICAP
CEBAC
Rv.
Nike etc. as above, but in field crescent and date: Year 27 — A.D. 87.

ΕΤΟ ΚΖ ΒΑ
ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ

No. 93 Obv.
Bust of Titus, laureate and clothed to r.; inscr. beg. above on r.:
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΤΙΤΟC - - -
Rv.
Nike to r. as on No. 86, but date: Year 29 — A.D. 89.
ΕΤ ΚΘΡΑ
ΑΓ ΡΙΠΠΑ

No. 94 Obv.
Head of Titus r. laureate. Inscr.:
ΑΥΤΟ - - CTOC
Rv.
Galley with oars to l.; inscr. above:
(cf. HILL, *l. c.* p. c)
ΒΑΑ ΓΡΙΠΠΑ

No. 95 Obv.
Head of Domitian to r., laureate; around, beg. on r. above, inscr.:
ΔΟΥΜΙ - - ΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ
Rv.
Nike to r., writing on shield, which she supports on her r. knee. Across field date (Year 14 — A.D. 74) and inscr.:
ΛΙΔ ΒΑC
ΑΓ ΡΙΠΟ
Υ

No. 96 Obv.
Head of Domitian as above etc. Inscr.:
ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC
Rv.
Nike to l. as above, but date: Year 18— A.D. 78, and inscr. around beg. below on l.:
ΕΤΟΥ ΗΙΒΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ

No. 97 Obv.
Head of Domitian, laureate to r.; around, beg. above on r., inscr.:
ΔΟΜ - - - ΚΑΙCΑΡ
Rv.
Galley with oars to l. Above date (Year 19 — A.D. 79) and inscr.:
ΕΤΟ
ΙΘΒΑΑ
ΓΡΙΠΠ

No. 98 Obv.
Bust of Domitian, laureate, wearing cuirass to r.; around, beg. on r. above, inscr.:
ΔΟΜΕΤ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ
Rv.
Nike advancing r., holding wreath in r. and palm-branch over shoulderi n l. Across field date (Year 19? — A.D. 79) and inscr.:
ΙΘ(?) ΒΑC
- ΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ

No. 99 Obv.
Bust of Domitian etc. as above. Inscr.:
- - - ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΓΕΡΜ - -
Rv.
Nike to r. etc. as above, but date: Year 24—A.D. 84. Inscr.:
ΕΤΟ ΚΔΒΑ
- - - ΠΠΑ

No. 100 Obv.
Head of Domitian r., laureate; around, beg. above on r. inscr.:
ΔΟΜΕΤ[ΚΑΙCΓ]ΕΡΜΑ
Rv.
Nike to r., l. foot on a helmet, writing on shield supported on l. knee; behind her a crescent; around, beg. below on l., date (Year 24 — A.D. 84) and inscr.:
ΕΤΟ ΚΔΒΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠ[Α[

No. 101 Obv.
Bust of Domitian, laureate to r. Around, beg. on r. above above, inscr.
ΔΟΜΕΤ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑ
Rv.
Within a wreath date (Year 24—A.D. 84) and inscr.:
ΕΤΟ
ΚΔΒΑ
ΑΓΡΙΠΠ
Α

No. 102 Obv.
Head of Domitian to r. Around, beg. on r. above, inscr.: ΔΟΜΕΤ ΚΑΙCΓΕΡΜ
Rv.
Palm-tree. In field date (Year 25 — A.D. 85) and inscr.:

ET KE
BAC AΓ[P]
IΠ

No. 103 Obv
Bust of Domitian, laureate. Around, beg. on l. below, inscr.:
--IVI VEPSF DOMIT
AVG GER COSX(?)

Rv.
Large square altar with ornaments on the compartments of the door. Above and in the field date (Year 25 — A. D. 85) and inscr.:

EΠI[BA]A[Γ]P
ET KE
SALVTI AVGUSTI
S C

No. 104 Obv.
Bust of Domitian etc. as above. Inscr.:
IM.CA--OM AVG
GER COS XII

Rv.
Altar etc. as above, but date: Year 26 — A. D. 86. Inscr.:

EΠI BA AΓP
ET Kϛ
SALVTI AVGUSTI
[S C]

No. 105 Obv.
Head of Domitian r., laureate. Around, beg. on l. below, inscr.:
IMCADVESFDO
MAVGERCOSXII

Rv.
S C; in arc above beg. on l. inscr. In field below date (Year 26 — A. D. 86).

EΠIBAAΓPI
ET Kϛ

No. 106 Obv.
Head of Domitian to r., laureate. Around, beg. below on l. inscr.:
[IMCAD]VEFDO MAVGER COS XII

Rv.
Two cornucopiae crossed, between them winged caduceus; in arc above, beg. on l. inscr.; across field date (Year 26— A.D.. 86) and below S C:

EΠI BAAΓPI
ET Kϛ
S C

No. 107 Obv.
Head of Domitian r., laureate; around beg. above on r., inscr.:
ΔOMITIANOC KAICAP

Rv.
Nike to r., l. foot on a helmet, writing on shield supported on l. knee; around beg. below on l. date (Year 26 — A. D. 86) and inscr.:
(In field above r. star)

ETOKϛBA
AΓPIΠΠA

No. 108 Obv.
Head of Domitian as above. Inscr.:
---KAICAP

Rv.
Nike to r. as above, but date: Year 27— A. D. 87.

ETOKZBA--ΠΠA

No. 109 Obv.
Head of Domitian to r., laureate; beg. above on r. inscr.:
[Δ]OMIT[TANOCKA]ICA[P]

Rv.
Two cornucopiae crossed, between them BA. In arc below, date and inscr. (Year 27 — A. D. 87):

B A
[AΓ] PIΠΠA [ET]OKZ

No. 110 Obv.
Head of Domitian, laureate to r. Inscr. beg. above on r.:
ΔOMITIANNOC KAICAP

Rv.
Nike etc. as on No. 113, but shield not supported and date: Year 29 — A. D. 89.

-TKΘ BA - ΓPIΠΠA

No. 111 Obv.
Bust of Domitian, laureate to r. Inscr. beg. above on r.:
AYTOKP---PMANIK

Rv.

Tyche standing r. holding cornucopiae in l., ears of barley in r.; across field date (Year 29 — A. D. 89) and inscr.:

ETO KΘ
ΑΓΡΙ ---

No. 112 Obv.

Bust of Domitian, laureate, with cuirass to r. --ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ

Rv.

Nike to r. holding wreath in r. and palm-branch over shoulder in l. Date (Year 31—A. D. 91) in field and inscr. below:

ETO ΑΛΒΑ
ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ

No. 113 Obv.

Bust of Domitian r. Around, inscr. beg. on r. above: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΔΟΜ--ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ

Rv.

Tyche, wearing kalathos, standing r. on base (prow of vessel?), holding in r. ears of barley, in l. cornucopiae. Across field date (Year 35—A.D. 95) and inscr.:

ETOY ΕΛΒΑ
ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ

No. 114 Obv.

Head of Domitian r., laureate; inscr. obliterated.

Rv.

Nike to r. as on No. 100, but date: Year 35—A.D. 95. --ΕΛΒΑ--

No. 115 Obv.

Bust of Domitian etc. as on No. 112,
ΑΥΤΟΚΡ--ΣΑΡΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ

Rv.

Nike advancing r. etc. as on No. 112, but date: Year 35—A.D. 95.
ETOY ΕΛ ΒΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ

No. 116 Obv.

Head of Domitian r. inscr.:
[Α]ΥΤΟΚΡ--

Rv.

Within a wreath date (Year 35—A.D. 95) and inscr.:

ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ
ΕΤ. ΕΛ

No. 117 Obv.

Bust of City-goddess r., wearing turreted crown; around, beg. on r. above, inscr.:

ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ

Rv.

Cornucopiae: across field date (Year 34—A.D. 94).

ET ΔΛ

THE PROCURATORS

UNDER AUGUSTUS

Procurators: COPONIUS ca. A.D. 6—9
M. AMBIBULUS, ca. A.D. 9—12
ANNIUS RUFUS, ca. A.D. 12—15

No. 118 Obv.

Ear or barley; around, beg. below, inscr.:
KAICA POC

Rv.

Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field date (Year 36—A.D. 5/6):

L Λ ϛ

No. 119 Obv.

Ear of barley etc. as above.

Rv.

Palm-tree etc. as above but date: Year 39— A.D. 8/9:

L Λ Θ

No. 120 Obv.

Ear of barley etc. as above.

Rv.

Palm-tree etc. as above, but date: Year 40— A.D. 9/10:

L M

No. 121 Obv.

Ear of barley etc. as above.

Rv.

Palm-tree etc. as above, but date: Year 41— A.D. 10/11:

L M A

UNDER TIBERIUS

Procurators: ANNIUS RUFUS, ca. A.D. 12—15
VALERIUS GRATUS, A.D. 15—26
PONTIUS PILATUS, A.D. 26—36
MARCELLUS, A.D. 36—37

No. 122 Obv.
Within a wreath inscr.:
KAI
CAP

Rv.
Double cornucopiae, filleted; above and between horns, inscr. and date (Year 2—A.D. 15/16):
TIB
L B

No. 123 Obv.
Within a wreath inscr.:
IOY
ΛIA

Rv.
Branch with eight leaves; across field, date (Year 2—A.D. 15/16):
L B

No. 124 Obv.
Within a wreath formed of two branches, inscr.:
KAI
CAP
(A coin published by Lambert, *Q.D.A.P.*, I, p. 70, shows the inscr.:
IOYΛIA
on the obverse).

Rv.
Two cornucopiae, crossed, with caduceus between: across field date (Year 3— A.D. 16/17) and above, inscr.:
TIBEPIOY

No. 125 Obv.
Within a wreath formed of two branches:
IOΛ
ΛIA
(A coin published by Lambert, *Q.D.A.P.*, I, p. 71 and by de Saulcy, *Num. de la Terre Sainte*, Pl. III, No. 10 shows on the obv. the inscr.:
KAICAP

Rv.
Three lilies: across field date (Year 3—A.D. 16/17):
L Γ

No. 126 Obv.
Branch of vine, with leaf, tendril and small bunch of grapes; inscr. above:
[TIB]EP[IOC[

Rv.
Kantharos with scroll handles and lid (lid sometimes missing); across field date (Year 4 — A.D. 17/18) and above, inscr: KAICAP
L Δ

No. 127 Obv.
Branch of vine, with two leaves and tendril; above, inscr.: IOY[ΛIA]

Rv.
Amphora with lid and scroll handles; across field date (Year 4 — A.D. 17/18):
L Δ

No. 128 Obv.
Within a wreath, inscr.:
TIB
KAI
CAP

Rv.
Palm-branch; across field inscr. and date (Year 4—A.D. 17/18):
IOY ΛIA
L Δ

No. 129 Obv.
Similar to preceding:
TIB
KAI
CAP

Rv.
Similar to preceding, but date: Year 5—A.D. 18/19:
IOY ΛIA
L E

No. 130 Obv.
Similar to preceding:

TIB
KAI
CAP

Rv.

Similar to preceding, but date: Year 11—A.D. 24/25:

IOY ΛIA
L IA

No. 131 Obv.

Three ears of barley, bound together; around, beg. below on l. inscr.:

IOYΛIAKAICAPOC

Rv.

Simpulum; around, beg. below. on l., inscr. and date (Year 16—A.D. 29/30):

TIBEPIOYKAICAPOCLIϛ

No. 132 Obv.

Lituus; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:

TIBE PIOY KAICAPOC

Rv.

Within a wreath the date (Year 17—A.D. 30/31): L IZ

No. 133 Obv.

Similar to preceding.

Rv.

Similar to preceding, but date: Year 18—A.D. 31/32: L IH

UNDER CLAUDIUS

Procurators: CUSPIUS FADUS, A.D. 41—(?)
TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, A.D. (?)—48
VENTIDIUS CUMANUS A.D. 52—60

No. 134 Obv.

Within a wreath inscr.:

IOY
ΛIAAΓ
PIΠΠ
INA

Rv.

Two palm-branches, crossed; between stalks, date (Year 14 — A.D. 54); around, beg. above on r. inscr.:

TIKΛΑΥΔIOC KAICA
PΓEPM LIΔ

No. 135 Obv.

Two shields and spears crossed: around, beg. above on r. inscr.:

[N]EPΩKΛAYKA
[ICAP]

Rv.

Palm-tree with two bunches of grapes; across field date (Year 14—A.D. 54); above and below, inscr.:

BPIT
L IΔ
KAI

UNDER NERO

Procurators: ANTONIUS FELIX, A.D. 52—60
PORCIUS FESTUS, A.D. 60—62
ALBINUS, A.D. 62—64
GESSIUS FLORUS, A.D. 64—66

No. 136 Obv.

Palm-branch; around, beg. below on l., date (Year 5—A.D. 58/59) and inscr.:

LE KAIC APOC

Rv.

Within olive wreath inscr.:

NEP
ΩNO
C

FIRST REVOLT OF THE JEWS
(A.D. 66—70)

A. SILVER SHEKELS AND HALF-SHEKELS
Years 1—5

No. 137 Obv.

Chalice with knop on stem, on either side a pellet (pearl?); above it, date (year 1); inscr. around from r. below:

שקל ישראל
א
"Shekel of Israel"
"1"

Rv.

Stem with three conventionalized flowers (lilies?); inscr. around from r. below:

ירושלם קדשה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

No. 138 Obv.

Chalice etc. as above

חצי השקל
א
"Half Shekel"
"1"
Rv.
Stem etc. as above
ירושלם קדשה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

No. 139 Obv.
Chalice as above, but with pearled rim and without pellets; above it date; inscr. from r. below:
שקל ישראל
שב
"Shekel of Israel"
"Year 2"
Rv.
Stem etc, as above
ירושלים הקדושה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

No. 140 Obv.
Chalice etc. as above
חצי השקל
שב
"Half Shekel"
"Year 2"
Rv.
Stem etc. as above
ירושלים הקדושה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

No. 141 Obv.
Chalice etc. as above
שקל ישראל
שג
"Shekel of Israel"
"Year 3"
Rv.
Stem etc. as above
ירושלים הקדושה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

No. 142 Obv.
Chalice etc. as above
חצי השקל
שג
"Half Shekel"
"Year 3"
Rv.
Stem etc. as above
ירושלים הקדושה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

No. 143 Obv.
Chalice etc. above
שקל ישראל
שד
"Shekel of Israel"
"Year 4"
Rv.
Stem etc. as above
ירושלים הקדושה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

No. 144 Obv.
Chalice etc. as above
חצי השקל
שד
"Half Shekel"
"Year 4"
Rv.
Stem etc. as above
ירושלים הקדושה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

No. 145 Obv.
Chalice etc. as above
שקל ישראל
שה
"Shekel of Israel"
"Year 5"
Rv.
Stem etc. as above
ירושלים הקדושה
"Jerusalem the Holy"

B. SILVER QUARTER SHEKEL
Year 4 – A.D. 69/70

No. 146 Obv.
Three palm-branches (?) or ears of barley, tied together; in arc below, beg. on 1. inscr.:
רבע הש [קל]
"Quarter Shekel"

Rv.

Within a wreath of palm-branches (?):

ד

"4"

C. BRONZE

Year 2 (A.D. 67–68)

No. 147 Obv.

Narrow-necked amphora; around, beg. above on 1. inscr.:

שנת שתים

"Year Two"

Rv.

Vine-branch with leaf and tendril; around, beg. above on r. inscr. (sometimes without ן):

חרות ציון

"Deliverance of Zion"

No. 147 a Obv.

Similar to preceding, but restruck on the obv. of a coin of Herod Agrippa (No. 59), the letters -- BACI -- still visible. Inscr. beg. above on l.:

שנת - - ים

"Year Two"

Rv.

Similar to preceding, but restruck on rv. of coin No. 59, the two ears of barley still visible. Inscr. around beg. above on l.:

ח - י - ו - ן

"Deliverance of Zion"

Year 3 (A.D. 69—70)

No. 148 Obv.

Narrow-necked amphora with lid; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

שנת שלוש

"Year Three"

Vine-branch with leaf and tendril; around, beg. above on l. inscr.:

חר[ות][צ]יון

"Deliverance of Zion"

No. 149 Obv.

Narrow-necked amphora; around, inscr. mainly illegible:

שג . . . לש

"Year 3"

Rv.

Cut vine-branch with leaf; inscr. if any illegible.

No. 149 a Obv.

Similar to preceding, but inscr.:

שג

"Year 3"

Rv.

Similar to preceding.

No. 150 Obv.

Narrow-necked amphora; inscr. if any illegible.

Rv.

Palm-branch: no inscr.

No. 151 Obv.

Palm-tree; below to r. and 1. of it inscr.:

שג

"Year [3]" (?)

Rv.

Vine-leaf; no inscr.

JUDAEA CAPTA

(Coins struck in Palestine)

A. VESPASIAN

No. 152 Obv.

Head of Vespasian r., laureate; around, beg. on l. below, inscr.:

AVTOK POVEΣΠ KAI[ΣΣEB]

Rv.

Nike to r., writing on a shield supported on a column; around, beg. below on l. inscr.:

[IO]VΔAIAC EAΛ[ΩKVIAC]

B. TITUS

No. 153 Obv.

Head of Titus, r., laureate; around, beg. above on r. inscr.:

AVTO[KPTITO]Σ KAIΣAP

Rv.

Trophy, at the foot of which to l. a crouching captive (Jew), to r. a shield. Around, beg. below on l. inscr.:

ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑC[ΕΑΛ]ΩΚΥΙΑC

No. 154 Obv.
Head of Titus r., laureate; around, beg. above on r. inscr.:
[ΑΥΤΟΚΡΤΙΤ]ΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡ

Rv.
Nike to r., her l. foot on helmet, supporting shield on her l. knee and writing on it with her r. hand; on r. a palm-tree; around, beg. below on l. inscr.: ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣΕΑ ΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ

No. 155 Obv.
Head of Titus etc. and inscription as above: --ΑΥΤΟΚΡ---ΑΙCΑΡ

Rv.
Nike etc. as above, but shield hung on palm-tree; around, beg. below on l.
ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑCΕΑ ΛΩΚΥΙΑC
(on shield; usually illeg.)
AVT
T
KAIC

C. DOMITIAN

No. 156 Obv.
Bust of Domitian r., radiate; around, beg. below on l. inscr:
IMPCAESDOMITAUG
GERMPMTRPXI

Rv.
Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; around, beg. below on l. inscr.:
IMPXXICOS XVICENSPPP
(TR. P. XI. IMP. XXI. COS. XVI—A.D. 92)

No. 157. Obv.
Similar to preceding, but head laureate: inscr. beg. below on l.:
IMPCAES DOMITAVG
GERMTRPXII

Rv.
Victory to l., holding in r. wreath in l. trophy; around, beg. below on l. inscr.:
IMPXXIIICOS XVICENSPPP
(TR. P. XII, IMP. XXIII. COS. XVI—A.D. 93)

No. 158 Obv.
Head of Domitian r.; inscr. beg. below on l.:
--MITIANVS CAESAR DIVIF--

Rv.
Victory to l., holding wreath in r.; inscr. beg. above on r.:
VICTORIA AVG

No. 159 Obv.
Bust of Domitian, laureate, to r.; around, beg. below on l. inscr.:
IMPDOMITIANVS.

Rv.
Victory to l., holding wreath in r. and trophy in l. hand; no inscr.

No. 160 Obv.
Bust of Domitian, laureate; around, beg. below on l. inscr.:
DOMITIANVSCAESAVG
GERMAN[ICVS]

Rv.
Athena, helmeted to r. on a galley, at prow of which is an owl. She holds javelin in r. and shield in l. hand; behind her a trophy and before her a palm-branch; no inscr.

No. 161 Obv.
Bust of Domitian, laureate, l.; around, beg. below on l. inscr.:
DOMITIANVSCAESAUG
GERMANICVS

Rv.
Athena to l. holding shield and spear in l. and placing r. hand on a trophy; no inscr.

No. 162 Obv.
Bust of Domitian r., laureate; around, beg. below on l. inscr.:
IMPDOMIT AVGGERM

Rv.
Trophy; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:
VICTOR AVG

SECOND REVOLT OF THE JEWS
(A.D. 132—135).

A. Tetradrachms

No. 163 Obv.
Front of synagogue, showing four fluted columbs and architrave; within, in background thora-shrine with shelves and two scrolls of the law; around, beg. on r. inscr.:

יר וש לם
"Jerusalem"

Rv.
Lulab and ethrog; around, beg. on r. inscr.:

שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

No. 164 Obv.
Similar to preceding, but star above; in field to r. and l. inscr.:

שם עון
"Simon"

Rv.
Similar to preceding; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:

ש ב לח ר ישראל
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 165 Obv.
Similar to preceding but small cross above; inscr. in field to r. and l.:

ירו שלם
"Jerusalem"

Rv.
Similar to preceding.

ש ב לחר ישראל
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 166 Obv.
Similar to preceding, but wavy line above; in field to r. and l. inscr.:

שם עון
"Simon"

Rv.
Similar to preceding, but inscr.:

לחרות ירושלם
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 167 Obv.
Similar to preceding but star above:

שם עון
"Simon"

Rv.
Similar to preceding.

לחרות ירושלם
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 168 Obv.
Similar to preceding.

שם עון
"Simon"

Rv.
Similar to preceding, but no ethrog.

לחרות[ירו]שלם
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

B. Denarii

No. 169 Obv.
Within a wreath inscr.:

שמע
"Simon"

Rv.
Jug to r.; on r. palm-branches; inscr. beg. above on l.:

אלעזר הכוהן
"Eleazar the Priest"

No. 170 Obv.
Bunch of grapes; inscr. beg. above on l.:

שנת אחת לגאלת ישר
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

Rv.
Jug to r.; on r. palm-branch; inscr. beg. above on l.:

אלעזר הכוהן
"Eleazar the Priest"

No. 171 Obv.
Bunch of grapes with leaf; inscr. beg. above on l.:

שנת אחת לגאלתישר

"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

Rv.

Palm-branch; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

שכלחר ישראל

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 172 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

[שנת]אחת לג[אל]תישר

"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

Rv.

Lyre (chelys-shaped) with three strings; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

שכ[ל]חר ישראל

"Second year of the Deliverance of Israel"

No. 173 Obv.

Within a wreath inscr.:

שמע

"Simon"

Rv.

Jug to r.; on r. palm-branch; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:

ש ב לחר ישראל (Sic!)

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 174 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שמע

[trace of original type]

"Simon"

Rv.

Two trumpets; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:

ש ב לח[ר] ישר

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 175 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שמעון

"Simon"

Rv.

Palm-branch; around, beg. on r. inscr.:

ש ב לחר ישראל

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

[Traces of previous inscr.:

--KAICNERTRAI--]

No. 176 Obv.

Similar to preceding, inscr.:

שמעון

"Simon"

Rv.

Lyre (chelys-shaped) with four strings; around beg. below on r. inscr.:

ש ב לחר ישראל

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 177 Obv.

Bunch of grapes with leaf and tendril: beg. on l. inscr.:

שמעון

"Simon"

Rv.

Lyre (chelys-shaped); around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

ש ב לחר ישראל

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 178 Obv.

Brunch of grapes etc. as above:

שמע[ו]ן

"Simon"

Rv.

Lyre (kithara) with three strings; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:

(sic!) ש ב לחר ישאל

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 179 Obv.

Bunch of grapes etc. as above:

שמעון

"Simon"

Rv.

Palm-branch; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

ש ב לחר ישראל

[--O C-- traces of head of Vespasian?]

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 180 Obv.

Bunch of grapes etc. as above;

שמעון

"Simon"

Rv.

Jug to r.; on r. palm-branch; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:

ש ב לחר ישראל

"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 181 Obv.

Within a wreath inscr.:

שמעון

[traces of original type]

"Simon"

Rv.

Jug. to r.; on r. palm-branch (sometimes missing); inscr. beg. from r. below:

לחרות ירושלם

[Traces of previous inscr.:

--GER DAC PMT---]

"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 182 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שמעון

"Simon"

Rv.

Two trumpets; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

לחרות ירושלם

"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 183 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שמעון

"Simon"

[Traces of previous inscr.:

--NERTRAI -]

Rv.

Palm-branch; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

לחרות ירוש[לם]

[traces of previous type]

"For tbe Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 184 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שמעון

[-- AUGERM PMTR-- and head of Domitian to r.]

"Simon"

Rv.

Lyre (kithara) with three strings; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:

לחרות ירוש[לם]

"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 185 Obv.

Bunch of grapes with leaf and tendril; in field to l. and r. inscr.:

שמעון

[traces of previous type]

"Simon"

Rv.

Jug. to r. with palm-branch on r. (sometimes missing); inscr. around beg. on r. below:

לחרות ירושלם

"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 186 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

[ש]מעון

[-- MR-- NO--)

"Simon"

Rv.

Two trumpets between which pellet; inscr. from r. below:

לחרות ירושלם

[-- ORO --]

"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 187 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שמעון

"Simon"

Rv.

Palm-branch; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

לחרות ירושלם

[traces of previous inscription]

"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

No. 188 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שמעון

"Simon"

Rv.

Lyre (kithara) with three strings; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:

לחרות ירושלם
[-- RVESP --]
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

C. BRONZE

No. 189 Obv.

Bunch of grapes with leaf; around, beg. above on l. inscr.:

שנת אחת לגאלת ישר[אל]
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

Rv.

Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field inscr.:

אלעזר הכהן
"Eleazar the Priest"

No. 189a Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שנת אחת לגאלת ישר [אל]
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

Rv.

Similar to preceding; inscr. (rectograde):

אלעזר הכהן
"Eleazar the Priest"

No. 190 Obv.

Within a wreath inscr.:

שמעון נשיא ישראל
"Simon Nasi Israel"

Rv.

Amphora; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:

שנת אחת [לג]אלת ישראל
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

No. 191 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

ירושלם
"Jerusalem"

Rv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

No. 192 Obv.

Wreath, in the centre of which palm-branch; around, beg. below, inscr.:

שמעון נשיא ישראל
"Simon Nasi Israel"

Rv.

Lyra (chelys-shaped) with six strings; around, beg. below, inscr.:

שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

No. 193 Obv.

Vine-leaf; above, beg. on l., inscription:

שנת [אחת לג]אלת ישראל
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

Rv.

Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field inscr.:

שמעון נשיא ישראל
"Simon Nasi Israel"

No. 194 Obv.

Similar to preceding; inscr.:

[שנת א]חת לגאלת ישראל
[traces of previous type]
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

Rv.

Similar to preceding, but inscr.:

ש ם
[traces of previous type]
"Simon"

No. 195 Obv.

Bunch of grapes with leaf and tendril; around, beg. above on l., inscr.:

שנת אחת לגאלת ישר[אל]
"First year of the Redemption of Israel"

Rv.

Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit, across field inscr.:

ירושלם
"Jerusalem"

No. 196 Obv.

Bunch of grapes with leaf; inscr. around:

ש ב לחר ישראל
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

Rv.
Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field inscr.:
אלעזר הכהן
"Eleazar the Priest"

No. 197 Obv.
Within a wreath inscr.:
שמעון
[traces of previous type]
"Simon"

Rv.
Amphora, around, beg. below on r. inscr.:
ש ב לחר ישראל
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 198 Obv.
Similar to preceding; inscr.:
ירושלם
"Jerusalem"

Rv.
Similar to preceding; inscr.:
ש ב לחר ישראל
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 199 Obv.
Wreath, in the centre of which palm-branch; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:
שמעון שניא ישראל
"Simon Nasi Israel"

Rv.
Lyre (chelys-shaped) with four strings; around, beg. on r. below, inscr.:
ש ב לחר ישאל (Sic!)
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 200 Obv.
Vine-leaf; around, beg. above on r. inscr.:
ש ב לחר ישראל
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

Rv.
Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field inscr.:
שמע[ון]
"Simon"

No. 200a Obv.
Similar to preceding; inscr.:
[ש ב] לחר ישראל
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

Rv.
Similar to preceding; overstruck over a coin of Ascalon; inscr.:
ש[מעון]
[- ACKA -]
"Simon"

No. 201 Obv.
Wreath in centre of which palm-branch; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:
לחרות ירושלם
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

Rv.
Lyre (chelys-shaped) with five strings; around, beg. below on r., inscr.:
ש ב לחר ישרא[ל]
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

No. 202 Obv.
Bunch of grapes; around, beg. on l. above, inscr.:
ש ב לחר יש[ר] אל
"Second year of the Freedom of Israel"

Rv.
Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field inscr.:
ירושלם
"Jerusalem"

No. 203 Obv.
Bunch of grapes; around, beg. on l. above, inscr.:
לחרות ירוש[לם]
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

Rv.
Palm-tree; across field inscr.:
אלעזר הכהן
"Eleazar the Priest"

No. 204 Obv.
Vine-leaf; around, beg. above on l. inscr.:
לחרות ירושלם
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

Rv.
Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field inscr.:
שמעו[ן]
"Simon"

No. 204 a Obv.
Similar to preceding; inscr.:
[לחרות ירושלם
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

Rv.
Similar to preceding; inscr.:
שמעון
"Simon"

No. 204 b and c
Obv.
Similar to preceding, but barbaric in style; inscr.:
לחרות ירושלם
(Only traces of inscription)

Rv.
Similar to preceding, but barbaric in style; inscr.:
שמעון
(Only traces of inscription)

No. 205 Obv.
Wreath in centre of which palm-branch; around, beg. below on r. inscr.:
לחרות יר[ו]שלם
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

Rv.
Lyre (kithara) with three strings; in field to r. and l. inscr.:
שמעון
"Simon"

No. 206 Obv.
Bunch of grapes with tendril; around, beg. on l. above, inscr.:
לחרות ירושל[ם]
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem"

Rv.
Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; across field inscr.:
שמעון
"Simon"

No. 207 Obv.
Similar to preceding; inscr.:
לחרות ירושל[ם]
"For the Freedom of Jerusalem

Rv.
Similar to preceding; inscr.:
ירושלם
"Jerusalem"

The author is greatly indebted to the curators of various collections for their kindness in placing plaster casts at his disposal.

Coin No. 1 is in the possession of Dr. M. Salzberger of Jerusalem. Coins Nos. 2, 44 and 163 are in the collection of the Department of Antiquities at the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Nos. 7, 24, 53, 95, 144, 145, 146, 153, 171, 172, 174 and 191 are in the British Museum, London. No. 58 is in the Hunterian Collection, Glasgow. No. 61 is in the collection of the Franciscan Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem. No. 74 is in the Munich and No. 97 in the Naples Museum. Nos. 39, 50, 149a and 176 are in the Berlin Museum. Nos. 42, 63, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73 and 77 are in the Coin Cabinet of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

All the other coins are illustrated from specimens in the author's collection.

(The following completes the section on "Herod Agrippa I" in the previous instalment of this article, pp. 69–70 of this Volume.

The reverse of No. 62 was struck in Caesarea on the occasion of the contests mentioned by JOSEPHUS.[1] On this coin we find not merely an indication of the place where it was struck, but also the date, the 8th (and last) year of his reign, which is in keeping with it. (It will be recalled that the King died in the course of these contests).[2] The figure on the reverse holds a rudder and palm-branch, the latter probably being a symbol of the contests. The date is legible only on our specimen, and so far as the London specimen is concerned, there seems to be question of a different coin altogether.[3,4,5] The date "8" corresponding to 44/45 A. D., also found on another hitherto unpublished coin (No. 61), does not contradict Josephus, according to whom Agrippa ruled 7 years, since the first year of his reign need not necessarily have been a full year.

Despite his Hellenistic leanings Agrippa took a keen interest in everything concerning the Jewish people, who held the King in grateful memory. Not only does Josephus repeatedly refer to his loyalty towards the Jewish religion; the Mishnah also relates that, in common with every pious Jew, the King brought his offering of firstlings to the Temple. When Agrippa burst into tears at the reading of the Bible words: "Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee which is not thy brother", the Jews assembled in the Temple called out: "Do not be sad Agrippa, our brother art thou, our brother art thou". To brand Agrippa as a hypocrite pure and simple seems wholly unjustified, as will also be seen by Nos. 60/61 which have formerly not been adequately described.[6,7,8] Here an event in Agrippa's life is commemorated, as again on coin No. 63, on which the King is seen crowned by two females.[9,10] The legend on this latter coin bears allusion "to some connexion between Agrippa I, the Roman people and the Senate".[10] It is therefore

[1] *Ant.* xix 8,2. [2] JOSEPHUS, *l.c.* and Acts of the Apostles 12[21].

[3] HILL, *l.c.*, p. 237, No. 20.

[4] A. REIFENBERG, *P.E.F. Quart. Statement*, 1935, p. 80.

[5] A. REIFENBERG, *Portrait Coins of the Herodian Kings*, London 1935 – reprinted from the *Num. Circ.* 1935. [6] MADDEN, *l.c.* 137, No, 2.

[7] HILL, *l.c.* p. xcviii.

[8] A. REIFENBERG, *Num. Circ.*, Vol. XLVI, 1938, pp. 173/174.

[9] MADDEN, *l.c.*, p. 136, No. 11. [10] HILL, *l.c.* xcvii, *seq.* and Pl. XLII, 10.

to be expected that on Nos. 60 and 61 too some such event of Agrippa's life is depicted. We now find the following story in JOSEPHUS:[1]

"And for the golden chain, which had been given him by Caius of equal weight with the iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the Temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down; for this chain, thus dedicated, offered a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in chains for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again, and a little while afterwards got out of his bounds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before". Coins Nos. 60 and 61 commemorate this event and give support to the view,[2] that JOSEPHUS' version of King Agrippa's life was the "officially" approved one.[3] King Agrippa, naked, as prisoners are usually represented, is crowned in the presence of the Emperor. The unrecognisable object may represent the golden chain, which Agrippa hung in the Temple (?). The representation of the cowering naked king shows how "God sometimes raises up what is fallen down", from which in the words of JOSEPHUS,[4] "men may understand, that all that partake of human nature, how great however they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again".

Some coins attributed to Agrippa by MADDEN,[5] HILL,[6] and NARKISS,[7] are not included in this monograph since there is no proof whatsoever that they were issued by Agrippa. The inscription on the reverse of No. 63 was read in six different ways.[8] We give the reading of MOMMSEN,[9] which, according to HILL,[10] is the best.

1 *Ant.* XXIX, 6, 1. (from the translation of WILLIAM WHISTON, London, 1825).
2 HÖLSCHER in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realenzyklopädie*, col. 1987.
3 I owe this suggestion to my friend Dr. H. LEVY of the Hebrew University.
4 *Ant.* xxix, 6,1. 5 MADDEN, *l.c.*, p. 136, No. 3 and 4.
6 HILL, *l.c.*, p. 238, Nos. 21 and 22.
7 NARKISS, *l.c.*, p. 107, Nos. 43 and 44. 8 MADDEN, *l.c.* p. 137.
9 TH. MOMMSEN, *Num. Ztschr.*, Vol. III, 1872, p. 449.
10 HILL, *l.c.*, p. xcviii.

THE SYNAGOGUE OF ESHTEMOʿA

PRELIMINARY REPORT

L. A. MAYER and A. REIFENBERG

(JERUSALEM)

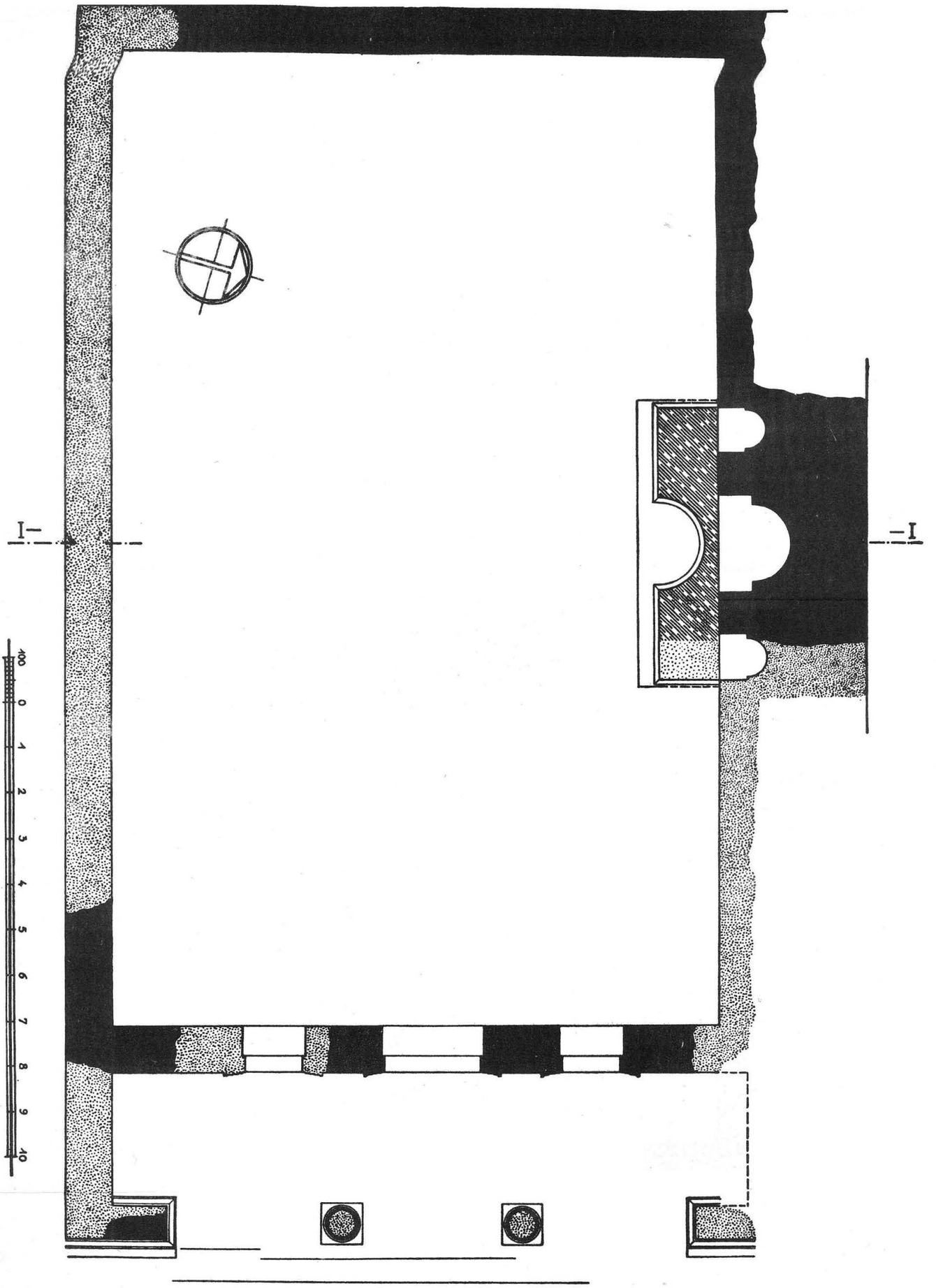
As-Samūʿ is a little village about 6 kms. to the south of Yaṭṭa in the Hebron district. Its distance from the Mamluk postal and main commercial routes, as well as the absence of any renowned shrine, may well account for the fact that medieval Arab chroniclers and Christian and Jewish pilgrims alike pass over it in silence. According to later descriptions as-Samūʿ was little more than a ruin with but few inhabited houses, so that we may safely assume that it shared the fate of the whole of the Negeb, which flourished under Byzantine rule, but, neglected from the seventh century onward, was very soon depopulated and turned into a heap of ruins. Only since RELAND[1] wrote his fundamental work on the topography of Palestine has some attention been paid to it. Even then such attentive travellers as SEETZEN did not realise that it was a biblical site. The first to identify as-Samūʿ with the biblical Eshtemoʿa[2] was ROBINSON, and this identification, frequently repeated, has never been contested.[3]

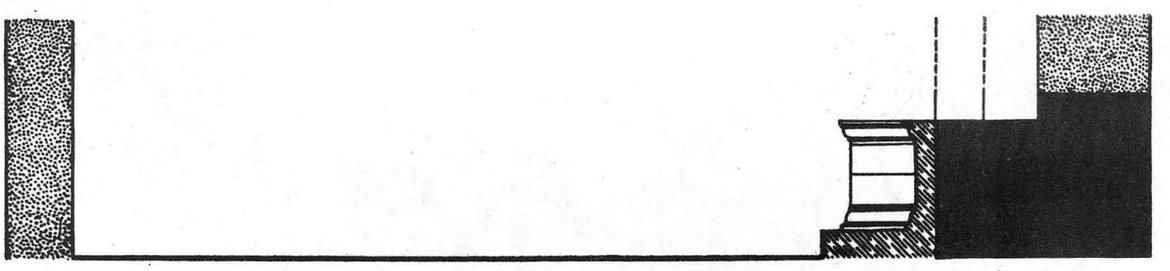
It was only from the beginning of the 19th century that as-

[1] *Palaestina*, 1714, vol. II, p. 767, *s.vv.* Estemo and Estemoa.

[2] Jos. 15^{50}, 21^{14}; I Sam. 30^{28}; I Chron. $4^{17,19}$, 6^{42}.

[3] J. KINNEAR, *Cairo, Petra etc.* London 1841, p. 191; KEIL, *Comment. zu Josua*, p. 301 (both quoted by RITTER); RITTER, *Erdkunde*, XIV, p. 1096, 1103, XV, p. 641, XVI, p. 197 ff.; *Survey of Western Palestine*, 1884, III, p. 403, 412; BUHL, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 1896, p. 163; GUTHE, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, 1903, p. 171; THOMSEN, *Loca Sancta*, 1907, p. 27; *Palästinajahrbuch* IX (1913), p. 31; A. SAPPIR, *Ha-Areṣ*, No. 83, p. 7; KLEIN, *Palästina-Studien*, II 5, p. 22, 27; ḤAYYIM YOSEF DAWID AZULAI, *Maʿgal tob hash-shalem*, ed. A. FREIMANN 1921, I, p. 49, n. (the identification is the editor's; Azulai passed through as-Samūʿ in October 1772, on his way from Hebron to El-ʿArish, without realising that it was a biblical site); A. J. BRAWER, *Ha-Areṣ* (2nd ed.), Tel-Aviv, 1929, p. 276; KLEIN, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1930, s.v., vol. VI, col. 773; id. 24 *Bulaoth she-bi-Yehuda* (Chajes Memorial Volume), p. 9 and pp. i, ii (of the offprint); MANN,





I–I

THE SYNAGOGUE OF ESHTEMOʿA

First Period Second Period Destroyed or invisible.

Samūʿ was more frequently visited. SEETZEN[1] passed through it on the 21st March 1807, ROBINSON[2] on the 4th June 1838, but saw neither synagogue nor church; in 1845 the painter ROBERTS included it in his itinerary[3] and gave us a distant view of the village.

A more thorough search was made by the DUC DE LUYNES[4] and his party, who realised the importance of the ruins for the history of Jewish art, although no actual mention is made by him of the synagogue. Several Jewish reliefs, among them a fine seven-branched candlestick, were discovered by DALMAN[5] in 1913. About the same time, during the last few years before the Great War, Dr. A.E. MADER[6] made a thorough survey of the Christian monuments of Southern Palestine, came to as-Samūʿ and—unless we are very much mistaken—was the first to notice, although not the first to publish, the three seven-branched candlesticks built into the walls of the modern houses scattered over the village. When the best of them was brought to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in 1929, a further and more exhaustive search for others was made by the Dominican Fathers ABEL and BARROIS,[7] who prepared photographs and sketches of eight pieces of sculpture to be found all over the village.

Eshtemoʿa, considered in the fourth century to be *κώμη μεγίστη Ἰουδαίων*,[8] is bound to have had a synagogue; the candlesticks and lintels with symbols so frequently found in Jewish synagogues in other parts of Palestine must have belonged to at least one Jewish place of worship. Where could it have stood? Ancient Jewish synagogues were usually built in conspicuous places, on tops of hills, or in pleasant spots near the water. There is no water in as-Samūʿ, and the highest point of the village is dominated by

Texts and Studies, vol. I, Cincinnati, 1931, p. 618; Biblical Encyclopaedias and commentaries to Joshua, Negeb and its travellers; ABEL, *Géographie*, II, p. 321; I. S. HOROWITZ, *Ereṣ Yisrael* (Palestine and the adjacent countries), 1923, I, p. 99 f.

1 *Reisen*, Berlin 1855, vol. III, p. 28.

2 *Biblical Researches*, Boston 1874, (11th ed.) II, p. 204.

3 *The Holy Land*, London 1855, vol. II, pl. 56.

4 *Voyage*, Paris 1874, vol. I, pp. 53 f., 118, 231-235, pl. 42,43 (lintel and doorposts).

5 *Palästinajahrbuch*, IX, 1913, p. 31, reproduced in XIII, 1917, pl. 2, fig. 3.

6 *Altchristliche Basiliken*, 1918, p. 217.

7 'Sculptures du Sud de la Judée' in *Revue Biblique*, 1929, p. 585 f.

8 EUSEBIUS, *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, 26, 11; 86, 20.

a much later building[1] (Pl. XXIII). When the present writers made a survey of the village in November 1934, they saw right behind this structure another and far older wall (Pl. XXIV) forming the western side of a building in the north side of which there was a niche (Pl. XXV), the adjacent stones showing two lines of Hebrew script. Obviously, we stood in the nave of a synagogue facing Jerusalem.

The Hebrew University immediately applied for permission to excavate this monument, and the licence was granted in December 1934. But the excavation could not be started at once, in the beginning owing to the obstinate refusal of the owner of the land, and subsequently, because of the prolonged absence of one of the present writers. It was carried out during the winter season 1935/36[2] but was not quite finished when the riots broke out and further work had to be postponed.

II. The Original Synagogue

The original building (see plan after p. 318) forms a broad-house 13,33 m. by 21,30 m., of which the western, the northern and the eastern walls are largely preserved; of the southern wall there is only the eastern corner left. The missing portions have either disappeared or are now hidden below modern houses erected by the villagers about two generations ago. As we had no means to pull these houses down, this section had to remain unexcavated.

The Walls. The highest and best preserved is the western wall, still more than 8,35 m. high. On the living rock there is a socle with a plinth and above it there are four rows of stones, serving as a basis. The remainder of the wall shows alternating courses of stones of great and medium height (46–48 cms. and 67–71 cms.) with headers and stretchers distributed irregularly over the whole masonry.

On the inner side the west wall presents a slightly different

[1] Probably the same which Ritter, *l.c.*, called a Crusading castle.

[2] It is a pleasant duty to thank both Mr. E. T. Richmond, then Director of Antiquities, and Mr. R. W. Hamilton, the present Director of Antiquities, for all the help given us in connexion with this excavation, as well as ʿAbdallah Eff. Kardus, District Officer of Hebron, for his energetic and successful mediation. We are equally grateful to our architect, Mr. H. Reifenberg, for advice and measured drawings, and to Mr. J. Pinkerfeld for the plans.

aspect. To every layer of big stones on the outer side, there is a corresponding double layer of small stones with only here and there a header to tie the two faces of the wall together. Between the two faces there is a rubble filling set without mortar. The whole wall is 1 m. thick. At the north-western corner, some of the courses of the western wall are bonded into the northern and vice versa.

The outer side of the northern wall is built on exactly the same principle as the western wall, except for the lowest section. Above the plinth of the socle there are five courses of stones, a layer of small ones resting on and followed by two courses of stones of medium size, all five forming a basis upon which the main part of the wall rested with its sequence of big and medium stones. On the inner side, the stones are almost entirely of medium size, of varying height, mainly stretchers with only here and there a few headers among them. The northern wall was 3, 32 m. thick, leaving ample space for the niches, to be described presently. Originally the eastern wall must have looked very much the same as the others. Today it presents a different aspect, as such sections of it as have been laid bare are occupied by the three doors of the synagogue, socle and basis being still covered up and the southern half hidden by a modern structure. From the socle upwards all stones on the outside are fairly smooth; on the inside of the western wall there are three with slight bosses.

THE NICHES. At a height of 208 cms. there were three niches, a big one flanked by two smaller ones. The former is 173 cms. wide and 86 cms. deep, opening into a rectangle 211 cms. wide and 73 cms. deep, thus of a total depth of nearly 160 cms. The western niche is 47 cms. deep, 85 cms. wide, opening into a rectangle 81 cms. wide and 63 cms. deep, with a total depth of 110 cms. A corresponding small niche on the eastern side has disappeared during the building of a new house and only the beginning of it can be traced. These niches were built of most carefully worked stones. In the central niche one course only was found intact, but the three layers of the side niche possibly represent its original height up to its proper ceiling.

THE DOORS. There were three doors in the eastern wall. The middle door must have been originally 212 cms. wide and considerably higher. The present lintel is, of course, a later addition and has

nothing to do with the original building. The flat moulding of the door-jambs continues horizontally in the course above the level of the threshold and rises again on both sides, thus forming the right jamb of the southern and the left jamb of the northern door. The latter is 124 cms. wide; its original height is not ascertainable in the present circumstances. Of the southern door only the right-hand jamb is visible. (Pl XXVI).

THE PORTICO. In front of the doors, covering the whole width of the synagogue, there was a portico 4,10 m. wide with two antae and two columns between, 67 cms. in diameter, standing on square bases of 90 cms. each way and 59 cms. high. There are some indications that several steps led up to the portico. The base of the southern column is preserved almost *in situ*.

THE FLOOR. The original synagogue had a mosaic pavement, of which, owing to the very thorough destruction mentioned above, only a few tesserae were left.

III. LATER ADDITIONS.

Some time later a thorough restoration of the synagogue took place, and 48,5 cms. above the original floor, another floor was laid of which slightly more is left than of the previous one. The fact that it is made of rough tesserae and that even the biggest patch of it—at the edge of the pavement near the northern wall—is quite plain seems to suggest that the entire floor must have been very simple, with the exception, perhaps, of a small panel in the middle. But the most important addition of that restoration period is a new niche on the lower floor. Abutting on the northern wall a small projection was built, 148 cms. deep and 430 cms. long, in the centre of which appears a niche, 203 cms. wide and 102 cms. deep (Pl. XXV). In front of this projection there is a bench 35 cms. deep and 42 cms. high. The uppermost and lowermost courses of the niche are decorated with a moulding which in its upper part ran along the niche and its arms, whereas on the bottom part it stopped short at the curvature. To judge by the dressing, the stones of the niche were originally meant to be seen, but at some later date they were covered with plaster, a few patches of which still adhere to the stones. The

floor of the niche was covered with cement. This floor, too, was completely destroyed at the time of our excavation. The stones of the upper moulding show curious cuttings in two places. The second stones from right and left each show a quadrangular hole, its broad side turned to the niche, and behind them two grooves 8 cms. wide and 28 cms. long, the whole obviously meant to support some sort of crown. The first two stones of the upper course of the western side of the niche bear an inscription in two lines incised in Hebrew characters. Between the western wall and this projection there was a second wall of very bad masonry above the restoration floor. It contained a sort of cupboard in the middle with grooves for shelves (Pl. XXVIII).

THE ROOF. Although there is no proof whatsoever that the restoration had anything to do with the roof of the synagogue, it is conceivable that such fragments of tiles as we have discovered belong to the second period. In any case they are sufficient proof that the synagogue was covered with a gable roof and red tiles. The columns on which the ceiling must have rested have disappeared entirely, only a few bases and drums having been found embedded in the modern masonry of some houses in the neighbourhood.

THE MIHRAB. This seems to be the last change in the architectural life of this synagogue, before it was turned into a mosque. Judging by the quality of the stones and by its stilted shape, we are inclined to attribute the miḥrāb to the Umayyad period. It is important to note that it is built against the southern part of the present enclosure—its face 365 cms. away from the original southern wall—which may be an indication that the southern wall of the synagogue was already in ruins at that time, whether as a result of the Arab conquest, or owing to some other causes, must be left an open question. What the fate of the building was during the following centuries we shall probably never know. Not later than the 19th century it was abandoned even as a mosque and a local *maqām* was used in its stead.

THE NICHE

In the original synagogue the niche was placed 208 cms. above the floor and was flanked on both sides by small niches, an arrangement

which at once recalls numerous Roman buildings in Syria, Palestine and Transjordan, where the main entrance gate is flanked by niches, sometimes in two rows, at other times in a single row above small doors[1]. In pagan Roman buildings such niches were intended to contain statues but this is unlikely in the case of a Jewish synagogue. It is safer to assume that in the small niches seven-branched candlesticks were placed, in the way suggested by an ancient Jewish carving,[2] and that the middle one served as a thora-shrine.

Assuming this to be the original arrangement in all Palestinian synagogues of the Roman period, it at once becomes self-evident why no thora-shrine appears on the plans of the synagogues of Capernaum, Naʿaran, Khorazin, Gischala and others among their contemporaries, for solely the ruins of their lowest courses have been preserved. This high position of the niche was maintained in a number of other Oriental synagogues, such as in Nawa,[3] in Cairo,[4] and at least in some Spanish communities, as can be inferred from a miniature in the Haggadah of Sarajevo,[5] and in several European synagogues, about which more presently. The synagogue in Dura-Europos presents a slightly modified type, the thora-shrine being placed on the fourth step above the ground at a height of 106 cms.[6] Even in this case its position is too high to have appeared on the plan, if only two or three layers of stone remained after destruction as was the case with the Palestinian synagogues. Whether the thora-shrine at Eshtemoʿa—and other Roman synagogues—was accessible only with the help of a flight of steps, as in Dura-Europos, is another problem. In Nawa, where it stands even higher (221 cms. above the present floor), there are no traces of any steps. Of course these may have been made of a perishable material, like wood, or they may have been removed during structural repairs after the Moslem occupation.

[1] De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, t. II, pl. 107 and often elsewhere.

[2] L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg, 'Three Ancient Jewish Reliefs' in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1937, pl. vii.

[3] L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg, 'Binyane Nawe hay-Yehudiyim' in *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, vol. IV, p. 8, pl. iii, fig. 8.

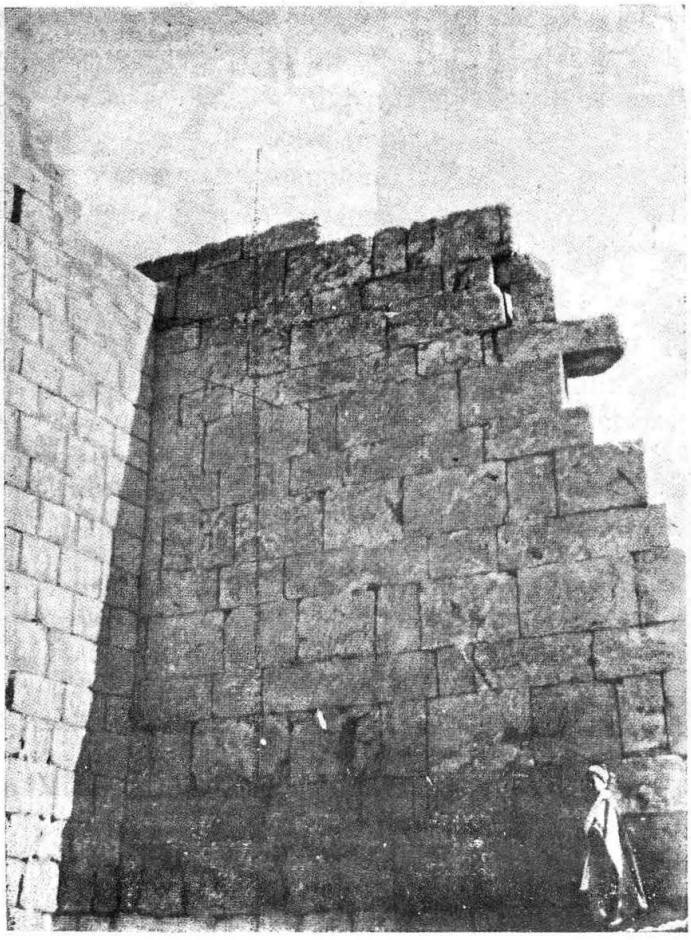
[4] Joseph Sambari in A.D. Neubauer's *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, Oxford, 1887, p. 118.

[5] Müller und Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, pl. 34.

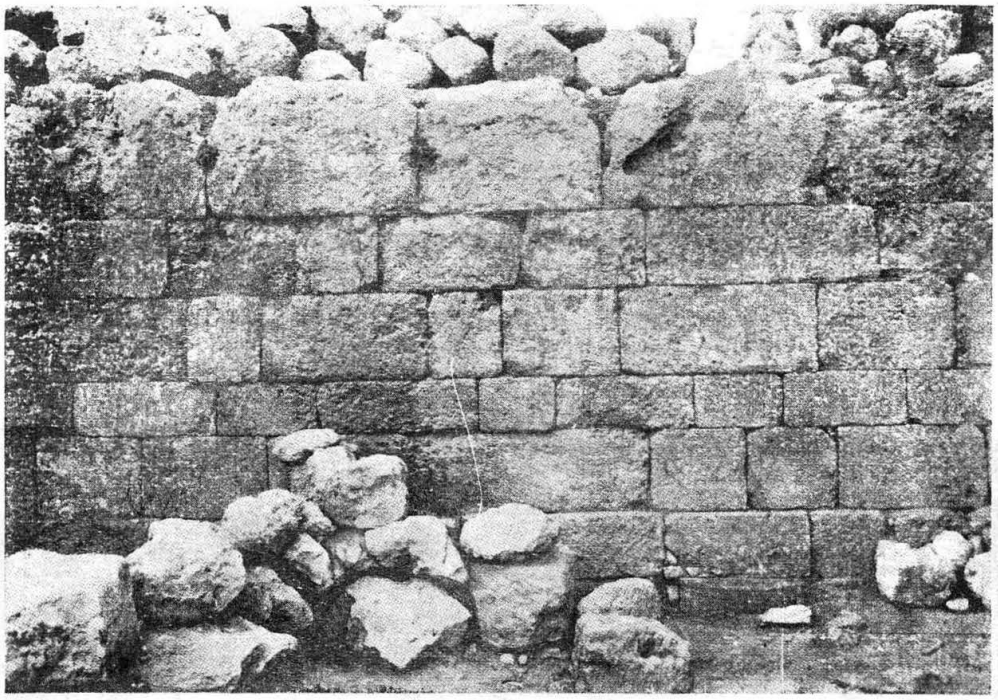
[6] *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Sixth Season*, 1936, p. 320.

The Synagogue of Eshtemoʿa: from the West

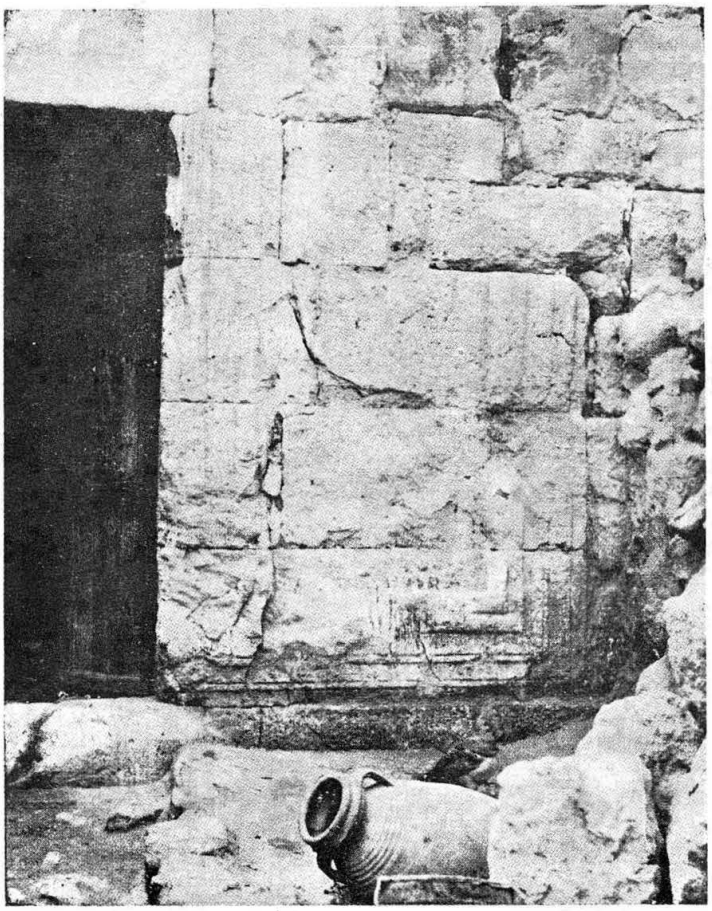
The West Wall from the inside



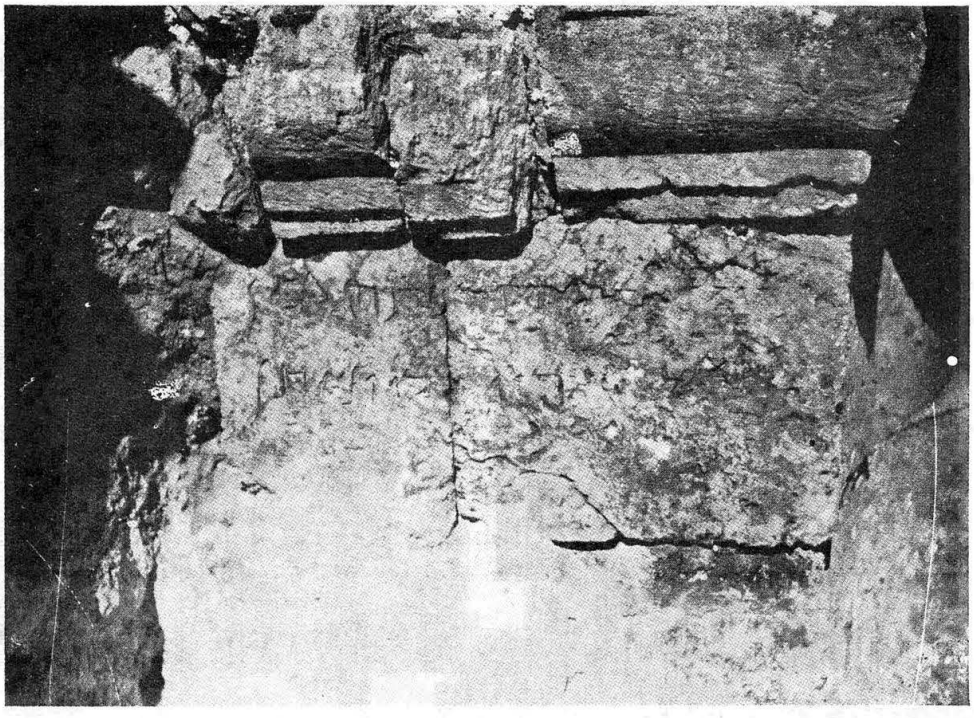
The Niche



The North Wall from the outside



The Doors

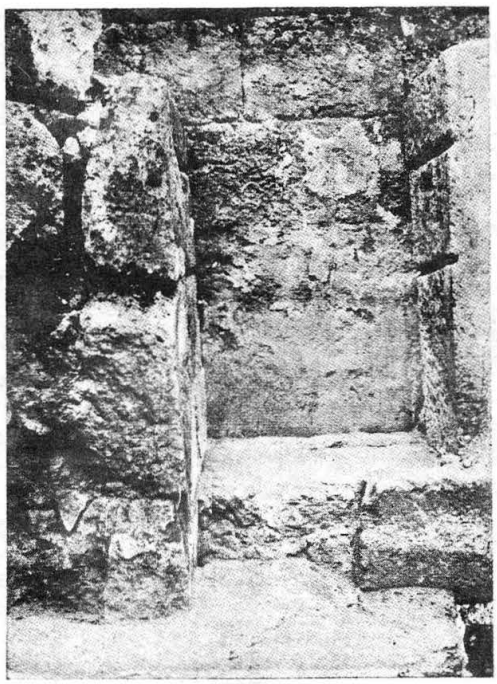


The Inscription

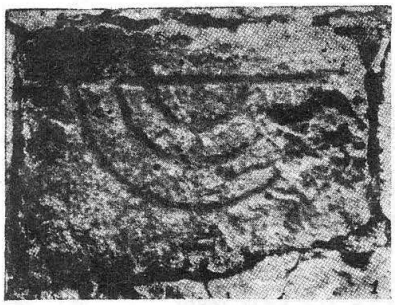
The Niche seen from above

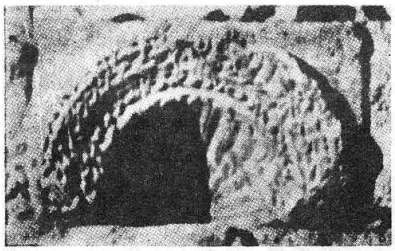
The Miḥrâb

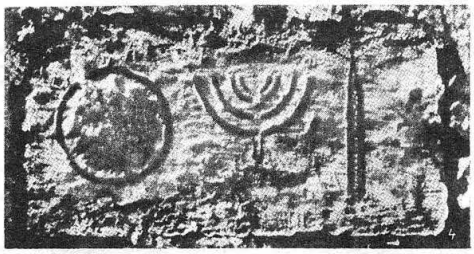
The Foot of the West Wall (outside)

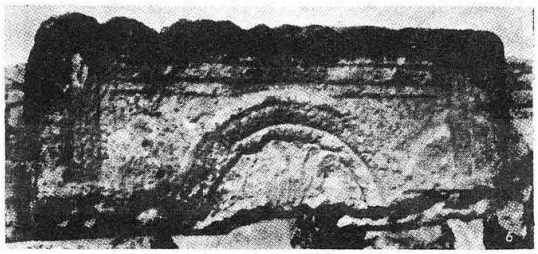


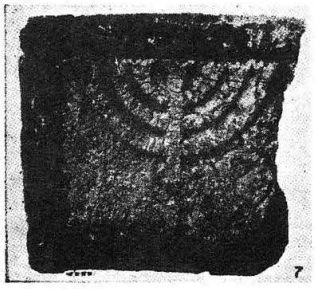
Late Additions at the North Wall (on the inside)

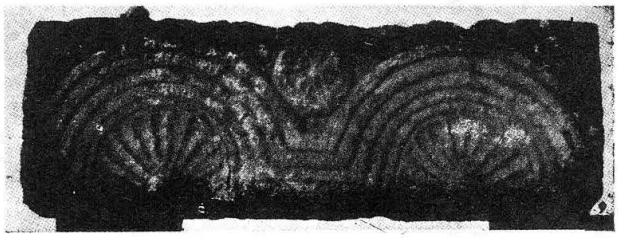




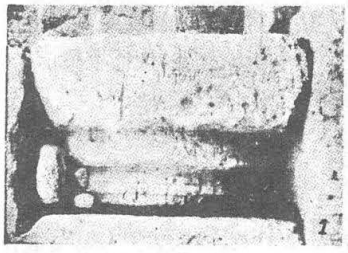


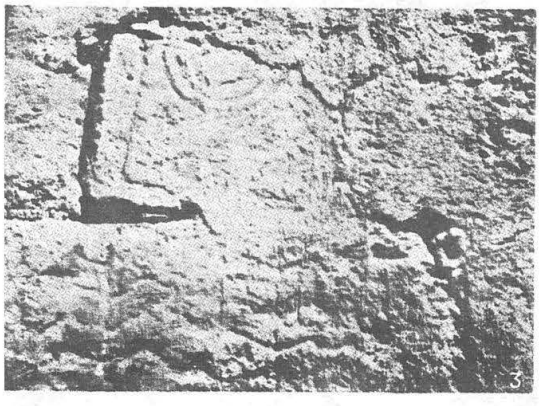


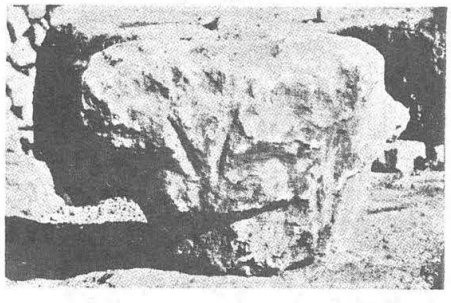




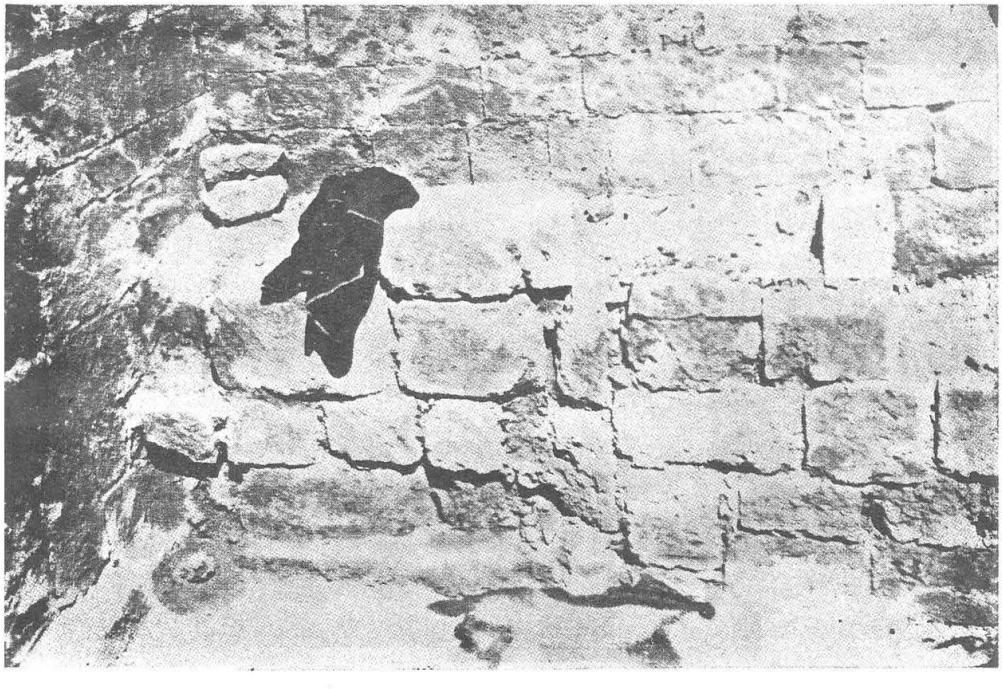
Architectural Fragments







Architectural Fragments



The North-west Corner with late additions

On the plans of Byzantine synagogues in Palestine, especially those of the fifth century, we find a niche on the ground floor, as a rule one or two steps above the floor. Such niches have always been assumed to be identical with the thora-shrine, although there is one important reason militating against this theory. If, during the Roman period, we find the thora-shrine higher than a very tall man's height above the floor, and if from the Arab conquest onward throughout the Middle Ages we again find it high up in the wall, there is a good reason to enquire whether during the Byzantine period alone the thora-shrine was on the ground floor. The question arises, therefore, whether we shall not have to reconsider this identification of the thora-shrine with the niche on the ground floor. Without exception we find the latter connected with the bench of the elders, so that one may ask whether this niche was not meant to receive the Chair of Moses,[1] two specimens of which have been found in Palestine: one at Khorazin and another at el-Ḥammeh-by-Tiberias.[2] The position of the former has been vaguely indicated as in the neighbourhood of the southern wall of the synagogue,[3] that is of the wall facing Jerusalem; in el-Ḥammeh it was marked on the plan prepared by Père L. H. VINCENT[4] as standing in the east aisle in front of a niche which has no obvious *raison d'être* as it could have served neither as a thora-shrine nor as any other accessory of the synagogue. It may perhaps be not too bold to suggest that at el-Ḥammeh the Chair of Moses was originally placed not on the floor, as it is reported to have been found by Dr. SLOUSCHZ,[4] but in the niche behind. On the other hand, it has still to be proved that all ancient Jewish synagogues had a Chair of Moses, and that a special architectural feature was provided for it. In Dura-Europos, for instance, there can be no question about the niche serving as a thora-shrine, there being no other place provided for the latter. In this—so far the finest ancient synagogue—the orientation wall is entirely covered with

[1] W. BACHER, 'Le Siège de Moise' in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. XXXIV, 1897, p. 299 ff.; SUKENIK, 'Kathedra shel Moshe' in *Tarbiz*, vol. I, No. 1, p. 145 ff.

[2] We may safely disregard Delos, as the researches of BELLA MAZUR have satisfactorily proved that the so-called 'synagogue' is not a Jewish building at all.

[3] SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues*, p. 60, n. 1.

[4] *Revue Biblique*, t. XXXI, 1922, p 117, fig. 6.

frescoes; for this reason we cannot assume that a thora-shrine—even a cupboard-shaped wooden structure—was placed against them. Towards the end of the first millennium C. E., the Chair of Moses disappeared from the synagogues altogether, being replaced by a movable Chair of Elijah serving of course quite different purposes, and with the former the niche on the ground floor disappeared as well. The thora-shrine became a cupboard, and the floor in front of the orientation wall was normally raised by an additional platform.

As was to be expected, the wall with the thora-shrine faces north, i.e. towards Jerusalem. The thora-shrine in the Roman part of the synagogue was flanked by two smaller niches on either side, placed 208 cms. above floor-level. We may be justified in assuming that thora-shrines in the Roman synagogues in Palestine were generally built high up in the wall, although this fact did not emerge from the plans as the upper storey was nowhere preserved. Consequently, the oldest Galilean synagogues without thora-shrines (as at Capernaum, Khorazin, etc.) should be reconstructed on the model of Eshtemoʿa. Some time later, in the Byzantine period, a second niche was constructed, two steps above the ground level, similar to those habitually met with in Palestine.

Dispersed Fragments[1]

All over the village there are ancient lintels and other fragments built into the walls of the houses. Though it is hardly possible to pick out any of these dressed stones as having belonged to the synagogue, they do convey an idea of the ornamentation used by ancient Jewry. It goes without saying that not every lintel decorated with a seven-branched candlestick must needs have formed part of a synagogue; this would not merely run counter to our experience in Nawa,[2] but is likewise borne out by the relatively large number (four) of these objects and, frequently enough, the carelessness of their workmanship. Many of the private houses we found in Nawa have Jewish objects of ornamentation other than seven-branched

[1] For Jewish ornament in general, cf. A Reifenberg, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike*, Berlin 1937.

[2] L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg, 'Binyane Nawe hay-Yehudiyim' in *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, vol. IV, 1936, pp. 1 ff.

candlesticks, such as amphorae, vine leaves, shells, etc. Though the artistic and manual level of the objects in the village of Eshtemoʿa is far below that of the city of Nawa, nevertheless the remains discovered in Eshtemoʿa show that the villagers tried to give their houses an impress of their own. And in this attempt the seven-branched candlestick, the most striking Jewish symbol, played a prominent rôle.

The candlestick on the lintel shown in Pl. XXIX, 7, now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, has already been published by DALMAN[1] and by ABEL and BARROIS.[2] The lamps on the branches are distinctly visible. To the left is a pillar carrying a ball wreathed with garlands. The careful finish of the work points to the probability that this lintel originally formed part of a synagogue. Considerably more primitive is the candlestick shown in Pl. XXIX, 1 the branches of which are connected by a crossbar, whilst Pl. XXX, 3 can only be designated as grafitti. Pl. XXIX, 4 even shows eight instead of seven branches! Next to it, on the right, is a Shofar and to the left, a firepan. On the extreme right we have a palm tree and to the left a circular object which no longer allows of definite classification (unleavened bread?). The candlestick in combination with the Shofar and the firepan is found not only in Capernaum,[3] Peqiʿin[4] and Nawa,[5] but likewise on mosaics and on lamps.[6,7,8,9] In 1922, ORFALI[10] had already described the object we call a firepan as an incense-burner; CROWFOOT and HAMILTON[11] saw

[1] DALMAN, 'Die Juden in Palästina und die Zukunft des Landes' in *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 1917, p. 36, pl. 2, fig. 3.

[2] F.-M. ABEL et A. BARROIS, 'Sculptures du sud de la Judée' in *Revue Biblique*, XXXVIII, 1929, p. 588, fig. 6.

[3] G. ORFALI, *Capharnaüm et ses ruines*, Paris 1922, p. 94, fig. 124.

[4] E. L. SUKENIK, 'Designs of the Thorah-Shrine in Ancient Synagogues in Palestine' in *QSt. PEF.* 1931, pp. 22 ff.

[5] L. A. MAYER and A. REIFENBERG, 'Binyane Nawe', *op. cit.*, pl. 3.

[6] E. L. SUKENIK, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem 1932, pl. 8.

[7] J. W. CROWFOOT and R. W. HAMILTON, 'The Discovery of the Synagogue at Jerash' in *QSt. PEF.* 1929, pp. 21 ff. and pl. iii, 1.

[8] M. AVI-YONAH, 'A Sixth-century Synagogue at 'Isfiyā' in *Quarterly, Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. III, pl. xlii.

[9] A. REIFENBERG, 'Jüdische Lampen' in *JPOS.*, vol. XVI, pp. 166 ff., pl. ix,

[10] *Capharnaum*, p. 93: 'brûle parfum'.

[11] J. W. CROWFOOT and R. W. HAMILTON, *QSt. PEF.* 1929, pp. 215 ff.

in it a thora-case; SUKENIK[1] first a thora-case, subsequently[2] a reading desk; KLEIN[3] regarded it as an alms-box; NARKISS[4] prefers to see in it a pan used in connection with the candlestick.

In our opinion ORFALI's interpretation was the correct one, though it does not explain the ritual significance of the object. One of us[5] has already pointed out the fact that the firepan is almost always found together with the Shofar. When other objects appear simultaneously, as, for instance, on the synagogue mosaics, the pan is still in close proximity to the Shofar. Seeing that the Shofar plays a particularly prominent rôle at the New Year, we may, assume that the firepan had its special part in connection with the Day of Atonement. Actually a reference to that effect is found in the Mishnah. The firepan used on the Day of Atonement was of superior quality gold, was lighter and had a longer handle than the one ordinarily used.[6] Tis would naturally preclude the notion that these objects were exclusively used in the synagogue, and at the same time disprove the theory that they are meant illustrate synagogual objects, as does also the frequent appearance of unleavened bread as a motive. Reasoning on these lines one of us came to the conclusion that these objects were meant to symbolize the Jewish Holy Days, Ethrog and Lulab standing for the Feast of Tabernacles, the unleavened bread for Passover, the Shofar for the New Year, and the firepan for the Day of Atonement.

The palm tree, too, is well known to us in connection with synagogual art, in the first place at Capernaum,[7] and, furthermore, on Jewish coins. Fig. 5 shows a lintel built into the mosque above the entrance door which has been already published[8] (Pl. XXX, 2). On it we see a vase, a star with six points (Star of David), as well as a shell; to the extreme right, and hardly discernible, there is another six-pointed star. The upper ledge of the stone is ornamented

[1] E. L. SUKENIK, *Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem, 1932, p. 25.

[2] E. L. SUKENIK, *JPOS*, XIII, 1933, pp. 22 ff.

[3] S. KLEIN, *Zion* II, p. 19 ff.

[4] M. NARKISS, 'This Snuff-shovel as a Jewish Symbol' in *JPOS*, XV, 1935, pp. 14—28, 2 pls.

[5] A. REIFENBERG, 'Jüdische Lampen', *op. cit.*, p. 168.

[6] *Yoma* 4,[4] ff.

[7] KHOL und WATZINGER, *Antike Synagogen*, p. 13, fig. 20.

[8] ABEL and BARROIS, *l. c.*, fig. 4a.

with a garland formed of grapes and vine leaves. The vase shows certain similarities with the amphorae, which will be referred to later on. The Star of Dạvid and the shells are familiar to us in Jewish ornamentation, in which connection we may refer to Capernaum,[1] Nawa,[2] etc. A hexagram is also to be found on a tombstone of the third century in Taranto.[3]

The lintel (Pl. XXIX, 9) with two shells and a rich profile, has also been published by ABEL and BARROIS[4] (fig. 7); possibly it comes from above one of the entrances to the synagogue, an assumption supported by its monumental character and the similarity of the profile. In the centre, between them, there is a wheel with spokes, such as we know from coins, lamps, ossuaries, etc.[5] On the other hand, comparison can be made with a similar double shell on the reconstructed thora-shrine of Capernaum.[6] The small shell (Pl.XXIX, 3) has been described by ABEL and BARROIS[7] as the "vestige le plus ornamental". To-day it is fixed into the stone wall above the ancient entrance to the synagogue; presumably it crowned one of the windows of the synagogue. Quite similar shells were found at Khorazin[8] and er-Rafid.[9]

The two side pillars of the lintel, (Pl. XXIX, 8) show its relationship with the lintel of fig. 7, even though the work is far less carefully done.

Amphorae of the type shown here are frequently met with in synagogual art and were found, among other places, in Capernaum, en-Nabratēn, Umm al-ʿAmed, Seilūn[10] and Nawa.[11] They also appear on Jewish coins of the Second Revolt and on lamps. The latter[12]

1 KOHL und WATZINGER, *loc. cit.*, p. 15, fig. 25.

2 L. A. MAYER and A. REIFENBERG, *l. c.*, plates 2, 4.

3 ADLER, 'The Jews in Southern Italy' in *JQR.*, XIV, 1902, pp. 111-119.

4 *L. c.*, p. 589 ff.

5 A. REIFENBERG, 'Vergleichende Beschreibung einiger jüdisch-palästinensischen Lampen' in *JPOS*, XI, 1931, pp. 63-67, 2 pls.

6 KOHL und WATZINGER, *l. c.*, p. 37, fig. 73.

7 *L. c.*, fig. 5 B.

8 KOHL und WATZINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 55, fig. 103.

9 E. L. SUKENIK, *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh*, Plate xxiii.

10 KOHL und WATZINGER, *l. c.*, p. 12, fig. 15; p. 73, fig. 139; p. 104, fig. 199; p. 192, fig. 300 and plate 2.

11 L. A. MAYER and A. REIFENBERG, *l. c.*

12 A. REIFENBERG, 'Vergleichende Beschreibung', *JPOS*, XI, 1931, pl. III.

often show next to the base of the amphora two circles similar to that on our lintel. So far as the symbol of a wheel with spokes in the centre is concerned, comparison should be made with what has been said above on this point.

Pl. XXIX, 2 and 5 show the fragments of a frieze of grapes and vine leaves, which are also favourite ornaments in synagogual art.

Finally, we illustrate a badly damaged capital with the usual ornamentation of acanthus leaves (Pl. XXX, 4). Remains of capitals of the acanthus-leaf type, as well as fragments of columns and arches, are to be found in the house adjoining the synagogue as well as outside the excavation area.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Manuel d'Archéologie Biblique par A.-G. BARROIS, O.P. Tome I. 8⁰ de viii—521 p. avec 199 illustrations et une carte. Paris, Picard, 1939. Prix: 85 frcs.

La délimitation du sujet est d'une importance capitale dans la composition d'un manuel, surtout d'un manuel d'archéologie à cause de l'élasticité de ce dernier terme. La mesure s'impose en ce cas aussi bien que dans la confection d'un dictionnaire. Il serait aussi désagréable de n'y pas trouver ce qu'on y cherche que d'avoir à parcourir des pages et des pages pour y glaner le renseignement désiré. L'auteur du présent volume nous dispense de ce double inconvénient grâce à une méthode exempte de spéculations sur le niveau mental des hommes du pays biblique ou d'incursions dans le domaine purement géographique ou racial, mais appliquée avant tout à l'étude des faits. Aussi bien serait-il difficile de ne pas approuver la division de son oeuvre: 1. *Les faits d'habitat*, 2. *Les activités de production*, qui se partagent le premier volume; 3. *Les faits sociaux*, 4. *Les faits religieux*, qui seront l'objet du second volume, en préparation.

Sous le titre de la première partie se groupent normalement l'architecture privée, la disposition et l'étendue des villes et des villages, les palais, les fortifications, les installations hydrauliques, ensemble que précèdent une vue sur le nomade et son habitation, sur la toponymie des agglomérations primitives et un exposé de la technique architecturale: appareils de briques et de pierres, maçonneries, enduits, couvertures etc. L'abondance de la documentation sortie des nombreux champs de fouilles explorés durant ces dernières années a permis au P. BARROIS d'ajouter des traits nouveaux à l'esquisse tracée en 1907 par le P. VINCENT dans *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* et de fournir ainsi une synthèse très étoffée en particulier sur l'évolution de l'architecture militaire en Palestine suivant les âges archéologiques et les régions qui se partagent les pays: la plaine maritime, la zone des collines et la montagne.

Le contact direct avec les sites et les vestiges découverts se manifeste dans l'accent vivant de la présentation des types, non seulement des fortifications, mais aussi des galeries de puisement, une des caractéristiques de l'urbanisme palestinien, et des maisons antiques depuis la case absidale des débuts du premier Bronze, jusqu'au palais de 'Aï, de Samarie et de Megiddo, sans parler des résidences spacieuses, que, "par une extension abusive du sacré, fréquente dans la domaine de l'archéologie palestinienne", certains ont tenu pour des sanctuaires.

Les activités de production se répartissent entre cinq chapitres qui nous introduisent chez le cultivateur, l'homme adonné à la chasse ou à la pêche, le tailleur de silex, le fondeur de métaux, le potier, l'orfèvre, le tisserand, l'artiste peintre ou sculpteur d'ivoire. Dans ce domaine, les rapprochements, entre les faits archéologiques et la littérature biblique sont plus nombreux que dans la partie consacrée au monument. Celle-ci en acquiert d'ailleurs une importance d'autant plus considérable qu'elle comble la lacune des textes. Mais il ne faut pas méconnaître qu'en ce qui concerne l'outillage agricole ou industriel, les armes et les ustensiles domestiques, nous serions loin de nous former une idée adéquate des allusions littéraires à ces objets, si nous étions privés de la vue concrète des instruments, des vases et des milliers de productions exhumées des tells ou des sépultures. Là, comme à propos des faits d'habitat, l'auteur s'est appliqué à dégager le travail indigène de l'apport étranger et à illustrer sa démonstration d'une copieuse série de gravures où les objets de silex et de métal, les types de céramique et les ivoires sculptés ont une large part. La *Palestine Oriental Society* accueille avec faveur un ouvrage qui rentre si bien dans la sphère de ses études et lui souhaite une grande diffusion.

F.-M. ABEL.

Numbers, with commentary by JULIUS H. GREENSTONE. Pp. xxxviii—373. The Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 5699—1939. Price: 2 doll.50.

Ce commentaire fait partie de la même série que le *Deuteronomy* du prof. J. Reider recensé dans *JPOS.*, 1938, p. 301. C'est dire qu'il est composé dans le même esprit et suivant la même méthode: présenter au lecteur juif une sobre explication des pages inspirées apte à procurer réconfort et encouragement au milieu des circonstances pénibles que traverse actuellement le peuple d'Israël, et, pour ce but parénétique, s'inspirer de l'interprétation traditionnelle fournie par la littérature orthodoxe juive du moyen-âge et des temps modernes. Un léger tempérament est néanmoins apporté à la théorie absolue de l'authenticité mosaique du Pentateuque et, par conséquent, des *Nombres*, qui domine cette littérature: Ce livre est composé de matériaux émanant de Moïse et de l'époque où il vivait. Les changements et corrections qui ont pu s'y introduire au cours des âges étaient dans l'esprit des documents originaux et s'harmonisaient avec eux. L'exégète se réserve d'apprécier suivant les cas la validité des conclusions de la critique. En fait, it dissimule plutôt l'opinion, qu'il pourrait avoir, derrière la diversité des explications rabbiniques. Ainsi pour XII, 3, où l'on trouve étrange que Moïse se soit décerné un brevet de douceur. La difficulté disparait aux yeux de ceux qui tiennent la Thora pour l'œuvre, non de Moïse, mais de Dieu lui-même. Au sujet de la nature de la faute de Moïse et d'Aaron (xx, 12), on nous fait part du sentiment traditionnel des savants juifs: Au lieu de frapper le rocher, le coup étant capable de dégager naturellement une source obstruée, les deux hommes de Dieu auraient dû parler au rocher et lui enjoindre de donner de l'eau.

Le principal mérite de ce commentaire est de nous introduire dans les ingénieux détours de l'exégese israélite. Mais il est permis de douter qu'il soit suffisant «for the teacher, the interested pupil and the general reader», car la concision qu'il affecte par rapport aux réalités de l'histoire et de la géographie (par example xxvi, 30-33 et les *ostraca* de Samarie) en font un instrument de travail pratiquement inutile.

F.-M. ABEL.

A Guide to Bethlehem by R.W. HAMILTON, brochure de ix—106 pages ornée de 7 planches et de 2 figures hors texte. Government of Palestine: Department of Antiquities. Jerusalem, 1939. Price 50 mils.

Dans le style du guide historique de Sébastieh, le Directeur du Service des Antiquités de Palestine nous offre un nouveau guide, sous la forme d'une monographie, de Bethléem. Il va sans dire que la Basilique de la Nativité est la pièce maîtresse de ce guide, car en dehors de ce monument, les vestiges de l'antiquité de cette bourgade sont négligeables, surtout pour le grand public. Son histoire préchrétienne tient en quatre pages, même si l'on y insère l'appartenance de Beth-Laḥmu au territoire de Urusalimu à l'époque des lettres d'el-Amarna. De la notice historique qui devient plus nourrie à partir de Constantin, l'auteur passe à la description des monuments: Tombeau de Rachel, aqueducs, village actuel, église de la Nativité, avec tous ses éléments architecturaux et décoratifs, de telle sorte que le visiteur, muni de cet opuscule, peut consacrer une bonne journée á scruter le détail d'un des plus augustes et des plus anciens sanctuaires de la chrétienté. Ce guide lui sera même indispensable s'il veut se rendre compte des restes importants de la basilique primitive découverts par le Département des Antiquités, en 1934—36, et se garantir de l'interprétation fantaisiste qu'on pourrait lui en donner. M. HAMILTON, qui a pris part aux expertises touchant l'assiette originale du monument, conclut à la fondation par Cons

tantin d'un édifice octogonal au dessus de la grotte sacrée, restée dans son état naturel jusqu'au IVe siècle, et d'une église attenante sur plan basilical, groupe architectural remanié sous Justinien à la suite des déprédations samaritaines, d'où l'état actuel du monument. C'est à bon droit également que l'auteur maintient l'origine médiévale des mosaïques murales dont il demeure quelques panneaux. L'histoire du sanctuaire, les signatures et autres inscriptions latines s'opposent à l'attribution de cette décoration à l'ère des califes antérieure aux Croisades.

Une discussion très serrée et loyale du problème de l'authenticité de la grotte et de la naissance du Christ à Bethléem parachève heureusement ce guide aussi sûr que pratique.

F.-M. ABEL.

Development of the Canaanite Dialects. An investigation in linguistic history, by Zellig S. HARRIS (American Oriental Series, vol. 16). In-8⁰, x—108 p. American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn., 1939.

M. Zellig S. HARRIS a déjà publié une importante Grammaire Phénicienne (cf. *JPOS*, XVII, 1937, p 145) et plusieurs travaux sur les textes de Râs Shamrā. Il était bien préparé pour aborder l'étude de linguistique historique sur le développement des dialectes cananéens, dont il donne aujourd'hui les résultats. Il étudie les différents changements qui se sont produits dans la langue parlée en Syrie-Palestine entre 1500 et 200 av. J.C. et la formation des frontières linguistiques. L'auteur établit (ch. 2) que les groupes sémitiques qui se sont installés dans cette région parlaient une même langue, distincte de celle des Sémites de l'Est et probablement déjà différenciée de l'Araméen. Il appelle cette langue le Cananéen. L'évolution linguistique en Syrie-Palestine est commandée par la situation géographique et les facteurs sociaux et politiques (ch. 3). Le Chap. 4, le plus important, étudie plus de soixante changements linguistiques, rangés suivant leur ordre chronologique approximatif. Ce classement permet de schématiser (ch. 5) l'évolution du Cananéen, et finalement (ch. 6) de déterminer un certain nombre de dialectes. L'auteur les qualifie ainsi: *langue d'Ugarit; langue de Hamat* (très mal connue); *Phénicien*, qui se distingue en plusieurs parlers: Ya'udi, Byblos, Sud de la Phénicie; *Hébreu*, avec ses divisions: Nord de la Palestine, plus étroitement rattaché à la Phénicie, et dialecte de Jérusalem, plus conservateur; enfin le *Moabite*. Ces langues peuvent se répartir en deux groupes: le Cananéen de la côte (Phénicien, Ugarit), et le Cananéen de l'intérieur (Hamat, Hébreu, Moabite).

Après avoir lu cette étude très intéressante, on se demandera, peut-être, si elle n'est pas un peu prématurée. Elle devrait se baser sur de nombreux textes, provenant de toutes les parties du territoire et de toutes les époques. Or les documents dont on dispose actuellement sont très inégalement distribués: ils sont nombreux pour Ugarit et nous donnent une idée remarquablement complète du dialecte de cette région vers 1400[1], mais les autres dialectes contemporains ne nous sont connus que par les cananéismes et les gloses des Lettres d'Amarna, ce qui rend la comparaison difficile. Les parlers cananéens de Ya'udi, de Hamat, de Moab ne sont connus chacun que par une inscription. L'hébreu biblique représente ordinairement le parler de Jérusalem, mais la révision massorétique a obscurci certains phénomènes[2]. Dans ces conditions difficiles,

[1] M. HARRIS donne 1500 comme date approximative des textes d'Ugarit, mais la date de 1400 se déduit avec sécurité des dernières campagnes de fouilles: le roi *NQMD* qui est cité dans les colophons des grands poèmes, est contemporain de Subbiluliuma.

[2] Par exemple, l'accent massorétique n'est plus l'accent de l'ancien Hébreu, ce qui oblige à réviser certaines théories sur les changements vocaliques, cf. A. GOETZE, *Accent and vocalism in Hebrew*, dans *JAOS*, 59 (1939), p. 431—459.

il faut louer M. Harris de son travail extrêmement sérieux. La longue liste des changements linguistiques qu'il donne, p. 29—80, et qui est résumée par un tableau ingénieux, sera toujours consultée avec fruit. Il est naturel qu'on ne soit pas toujours d'accord avec l'auteur sur les explications qu'il propose, mais ce n'est pas le lieu d'entrer dans une discussion de détail. On s'étonne qu'il ne cite jamais les pages importantes où M. Albright a exposé comment il concevait le développement des langues sémitiques du Nord-Ouest avant l'an 1000[8].

R. DE VAUX.

SAMUEL A.B. MERCER, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets.* 2 vols. in—8⁰ de xxiv, 908 pp., avec 2 frontispices et 1 carte. Toronto, 1939, Macmillan Company of Canada. Price £4 4s.

Commencée dès 1918 à la demande du Professeur CLAY, la première traduction anglaise des tablettes de Tell el-Amarna vient enfin de paraître. A vrai dire, le manuscrit était achevé en 1929, mais ne put être imprimé que beaucoup plus tard. L'intérêt d'une telle publication est manifeste. En effet, depuis l'édition classique de KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1908, douze nouvelles tablettes ont été découvertes et publiées; de nombreuses améliorations ont été apportées, tant dans la lecture que dans l'interprétation des documents, (en particulier grâce au fac-simile des tablettes du Musée de Berlin, que O. SCHROEDER publia en 1915); toute une littérature a vu le jour autour de ces textes si précieux. Bref, un traducteur anglais se devait, non seulement de rendre accessible à son public l'oeuvre de KNUDTZON, mais aussi d'incorporer à son travail l'essentiel des résultats acquis et le lot de documents récemment découverts. L'auteur, qui occupe la chaire de langues sémitiques et d'égyptologie à l'Université de Toronto, était specialement désigné pour accomplir cette tâche importante. Non qu'il prétende évincer l'ancienne édition à laquelle, au contraire, il se réfère constamment et dont il adopte la classification. L'auteur utilise pour la transcription le système d'accentuation de C.E. KEISER (*A System of Accentuation for Sumero-Akkadian Signs*, New Haven, 1919), de sept ans anterieur à celui de F. THUREAU-DANGIN et n'a pas cru devoir l'abandonner lorsque le second système eut prevalu. La traduction tient suffisamment compte des études récentes sans apporter de nouveautés appréciables. Les annotations sont délibèrément réduites au strict minimum. L'auteur a su profiter du travail de N. D. MIRONOV (*Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millenary B.C.*, 1933, extrait de *Acta Oriental.* xi, 140—217). Pour la lettre de Tušratta, il reproduit la transcription de J. FRIEDRICH. Quelques brèves notices rassemblent à la fin du second volume les données historiques éparses dans les lettres, pour donner un petit aperçu general sur l'époque d'el-Amarna. Un glossaire sommaire, suivi d'index onomastique, termine ce second tome (le tout ne dépassant pas 50 pages). Comme on doit s'y attendre, la présente édition, volontairement réduite aux proportions les plus simples, n'apporte pas de nouvelles clartés sur tant de points encore obscurs, mais fournit un texte assuré aux lecteurs de langue anglaise.

Voici pour terminer quelques remarques de detail. Page 54 (Tabl. 14, III, l. 65) —THUREAU-DANGIN traduit *iškilladu* par "jarre" (*Une relation de la 8e campagne de Sargon*, p. 36, n. 3).

p. 60 (Tabl. 16, l. 30)—Le mot *idi* peut se rendre par "salaire" (cf. *Archiv f. Orientforschung*, 1939, p. 371).

p. 76 (Tabl. 20, l. 73)—Le terme *uparutu* se retrouve à Nuzi (*AASOR*, XVI, p. 124).

[8] *The Northwest-Semitic Tongues before 1000* B.C., dans *XIX⁰ Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti* (Rome, 1938), p. 445—450.

p. 180 (Tabl. 29, l. 184) et page 208 (Tabl. 41, l. 39 ss.)—Consulter *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XI, N.F., p. 70.

p. 194 (Tabl. 34, l. 50 etc.) — On a rapproché *ḫabanatu* de l'égyptien *hbnt* "cruche" (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VIII, 2, p. 78).

p. 260 (Tabl. 68, l. 3)—L'exiguité de la lacune ne permet, semble-t-il, que la restitution *šamaš (mâtâti)*, conforme d'ailleurs à la formule protocolaire giblite (cf. *JPOS.* XVII, p. 304).

p. 506 (Tabl. 155, l. 46) et p. 524 (Tabl. 162, l. 74)—Les termes *panimu* et *pamaḫa* peuvent être expliqués par l'égyptien (voir ALBRIGHT, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXIII, pp. 197 et 200). Le même auteur voit Amenophis IV dans le pharaon (lu *Nam-ḫur-ia*) des Tablettes 53, l. 1, et 55, l. 1 (*ibid.*, p. 195).

p. 616 (Tabl. 224, l. 8)—La lecture *aḫni* (retenue dans le glossaire, p. 852) semble préférable (cf. KNUDTZON, *op. cit.* II, p. 1414).

p. 854—*As(s)iru* signifie peut-être "noble, riche", comme l'hebreu עשיר. Cf. *M.V.A.G.*, 1927 (XXXII), p. 128.

Certaines inexactitudes de l'édition KNUDTZON ont été reproduites. Ainsi, p. 896, lire: *Ḫazura* . . . 228, 4 (et non 288, 4). Le mot *zariam* "cuirasse" est mitannien (ḫourrite); l'hebreu שריון est un emprunt. Le verbe *ḫaraš*, glosant *ereśu* (Tabl. 226, l. 11) signifie "labourer"—comme dans la Tabl. 248a, ll. 11 et 20. Cf. *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XIX, p. 97; *Revue Biblique*, 1924 (XXXIII), p. 17.

R. TOURNAY

Hesperides, A History of the Culture and Use of Citrus Fruits. BY S. TOLKOWSKY, 371 pp. 113 plates and 10 text figures. London, John Bale Sons & Curnow, 1938. Price 21/-

It is not easy within the confines of a review to describe adequately the scope of this volume. It will appeal as much to those who are interested in history as to the agronomist whose primary interest lies in the early origins of Citrus culture. This work is more than a history of Citrus for it incorporates much information on the life and habits of the peoples who were mainly responsible for the early development and diffusion of citrus culture. The author has brought together in this volume the fruits of a far-reaching exploration of literary records combined with a personal knowledge of the living citrus tree. Years of residence in Palestine, during which time he has been closely associated with the Citrus industry, have given him a unique insight of the ways and sayings of Eastern Peoples. This insight has been deftly applied to the interpretation of the historical record as it exists in sculpture painting, and writing, and the results are often striking.

The chapters are arranged in chronological order and deal first with the earliest known records of Citrus fruits in the Far East. Later chapters trace the introduction of Citrus to Asia and North Africa, to Mediterranean Lands and eventually to Europe. The author closes with a brief survey of the present World production of Citrus fruits. Statistical data are given which relate to the principal exporting and importing countries and demonstrate the remarkable extension of this industry which has taken place in recent years.

The records of citrus which survive from ancient times are often in the form of sculpture but may also be depicted on coins or in mosaics. From Greek and Roman times there exist also literary records. In later times written records become more certain and from the time of the Renaissance there are paintings which provide evidence of the use of various varieties of Citrus fruits. The author gives very complete reference to these records and the bibliography of over four hundred entries is well indexed in the text. The plates which illustrate this work have been very carefully chosen and

consist of finely produced reproductions of paintings, drawings and photographs.

It is perhaps hardly surprising that all the evidence points to China as the home of citrus culture. Horticulture has been practised with a high degree of skill by the Chinese for a very long period of time and many plants now cultivated the world over owe their early development to Chinese gardeners. Not all varieties of Citrus reached Near Eastern countries from China at the same time nor by the same route. The first to arrive was probably the Citron or Etrog and it may have come via India and Persia. There is evidence that the fruit of the citron was known to and used by the Assyrians for medicinal purposes, but the actual cultivation of the tree seems not have been known in Babylonia previous to about 300 B.C.

The author shows that the use of the Citron or Etrog in the Jewish Feast of the Tabernacles was possibly initiated by Simon the Maccabee about the year 136 B. C. He is the only Jewish ruler who has ever caused the Etrog to be represented on coinage. The representations occur associated with myrtle, willow and palm branches, all of which are prescribed for use at the Feast of the Tabernacles. It may be that Simon ordered the substitution of the Cedar cone, which was used by the early Jews in their ritual, by the Etrog. This substitution, in whatever manner it was accomplished, subsequently led to the greatest confusion as to the true nature of the citron. There is reason for thinking that when living trees were introduced into Italy, possibly sometime in the first century A. D., that Roman gardeners were not at first successful in inducing the trees to bear fruit under their new climatic conditions. The association of the citron fruit with the citron tree was therefore not commonly known and writers of that period, still thinking of the cedar cone of the Assyrians and early Jews, seem to have believed that the citron was the fruit of a coniferous tree akin to the cedar. Thus the derivation of Citrus from the Greek *kedros* 'a cedar', through *kitron* or *citrum*. In time a considerable trade in citron fruit grew up. The fruits were cultivated in Palestine and exported to Jewish communities settled in Europe.

In China the culture and use of oranges and lemons is possibly coeval with that of the citron, but these varieties seem to have reached Mediterranean Lands by a different route and may have arrived at a later date than the citron. The author indicates that these fruits were probably carried southwards from China by the trading junks which sailed to Malaya, Ceylon and India. Doubtless Citrus fruits were later carried from India and Ceylon by Arab vessels across the Indian Ocean and up the Red Sea. Further transport to Imperial Rome would follow naturally along with other products of the East.

The author describes how the Romans eventually learned to make the journey to India and Ceylon themselves instead of leaving this part of the great trade route in the hands of the Arab merchants and sailors. Evidence is adduced to show that citrus fruits were certainly known in Italy at a much earlier date than has been generally recognized. There is at Pompeii a mosaic depicting an orange apparently attached to a branch also bearing leaves. This mosaic was laid with great skill and attention to detail and so faithful is the reproduction that the branch and foliage is clearly recognizable as that of a citron and not an orange. This evidence is interpreted by the author to show that orange fruits and citron trees were both known in Pompeii by the year 10 A.D. when the town was destroyed. The oranges had probably been imported as fruit and the appearance of orange foliage was unknown. The artist, however, was familiar with the living citron tree and used this foliage, believing, perhaps, that the orange was a variety of citron. It is of course possible that orange trees were growing in Italy at that time but that the technique of fruiting them had not been discovered, so that the connection between the orange tree and orange fruit was not generally known.

It is probable that a knowledge of Citrus cultivation was soon disseminated

from Italy to other Mediterranean countries which had trade relations with Rome. With the invasion of Italy by the Lombards in 568 A.D. economic life and activities were reduced to a low level and the culture of Citrus fell into neglect.

The next great development of Citrus culture took place in Spain in the 8th century. Here, under the influence of the Moslem rulers, large ornamental gardens and groves were constructed and these became a special feature of the mosques and palaces. Citrus trees were much planted in these gardens for the sake of their ornamental appearance and their shade-giving foliage, scented blossoms and palatable fruit.

With the coming of the Renaissance in Spain and Italy, Citrus culture became still more widespread. Cultivation was carried into more northern climates. As the cultivation spread northwards the rigours of the colder climate became more pronounced, and Citrus trees could only be grown with some protection from the weather. This led to the design and building of great orangeries. European Kings and Nobles outrivalled each other in the building of larger and more magnificent houses in which citrus fruits could be grown.

During the 15th and 16th centuries citrus trees were carried to the New World by the early Spanish and Portuguese colonists thus laying the foundations for the present-day industry in Brazil, California and Florida.

R. E. HUNTER

HANS RHOTERT, *Transjordanien. Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen.* Stuttgart, 1938, (Strecker & Schroeder), ix—251 S., 30 Kunstdrucktafeln, 33 Rasterdruche, 294 Federzeichnungen, 3 Karten.

Prof. LEO FROBENIUS, der nun verstorbene Präsident des Forschungsinstitutes für Kulturmorphologie in Frankfurt a.M., ließ die „xii Deutsche innerafrikanische Forschungsexpedition" in Transjordanien beginnen bei dem östlich des Toten Meeres gelegenen Kilwa. Der Leiter derselben, HANS RHOTERT legt nun seinen flott geschriebenen Reisebericht mit den Ergebnissen bei Kilwa vor. Er selbst behandelt eingehend die Steinwerkzeuge, die alle Oberflächenfunde sind, aber durch die Umgebung der Felsbilder eine eigenartige Zeitlage verraten. Damit rückt das Problem einer syrisch-palästinensischen Kernstückkultur, auf die schon MENGHIN und auch andere hinwiesen, eine neue Stütze. RHOTERT nennt die Kultur „Kilwa—Kultur" und hat sie vorzüglich abgebildet. Dr. K. WILLMANN, Wiesbaden, gibt eine erstmalige, ausgezeichnete petrographische Analyse der Gesteine, die in Kilwa das Material der Artefacte lieferten. Neu und eigenartig sind die fachmännisch abgebildeten und beschriebenen Felsbilder vom Steinbock, Bezoarziege, Ichneumon. Schon 1932 hatte sie der Director des Department of Antiquities in Transjordanien, Herr G. HORSFIELD und Herr NELSON GLÜCK entdeckt, nun sind sie eingehend der Öffentlichkeit übergeben. Das mitgefundene Inschriftenmaterial ist von M. TH. BÖHL in Leiden untersucht worden. „Soweit ich sehe, liegt unter den hier veröffentlichten thamudisch—safatenischen Graffiti zur Annahme vorchristlichen Materials kein ausreichender Grund vor" (196).

Möge auch anderwärts die Mühe und Kosten solch eingehender Untersuchungen an trockenem Stoff nicht gescheut werden. Dann wird das Dunkel, das noch über der Mesolithischen Zeit im Orient ruht, immer mehr verschwinden.

ROBERT KÖPPEL.

GRANT, E. and WRIGHT, G.E.: *Ain Shems Excavations (Palestine)*, Part V (Text). Biblical and Kindred Studies No. 8. Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1939. In—8vo de 172 p. et 2 planches en couleurs.

L'ancienne Beth-Šemeš, célèbre par le séjour qu'y fit l'Arche d'Alliance, gisait sous le *tell el Rumeileh*, lui-même voisin des ruines du village d'Aïn Šems. Les fouilles dirigées par Mackenzie de 1911 à 1913 pour le compte du Palestine Exploration Fund furent reprises, de 1928 à 1933, par MM. Fisher et E. Grant. La publication définitive qui synthétise les résultats des différentes campagnes est due au Pr. E. Grant que s'est adjoint, comme collaborateur, le Dr G.E. Wright, déjà connu par son étude de la poterie palestinienne.[1]

On retrouve dans la division stratigraphique de cette synthèse et dans la distinction des périodes la même clarté, la même précision, les mêmes raffinements, pourrait-on dire, qui caractérisent l'étude de la poterie.

L'ouvrage comprend deux sections. La première étudie: la stratification du tell; les fortifications et traite de la ville aux differentes périodes de son histoire. La deuxième passe en revue les produits de l'industrie humaine: poterie, instruments de métal, d'os; objets de terre cuite et de pierre.

Nous ne saurions entrer dans le détail de cette synthèse ni analyser chacune des sections. Nous nous bornerons à suivre l'auteur dans sa description de la cité aux différentes époques.

La stratification proposée par Mackenzie. qui avait distingué quatre couches, a été élargie, précisée et la date assignée par lui à certaines tombes rectifiée. La publication définitive s'arrête à six niveaux dont le *IV* et le *II* sont eux-même subdivisés respectivement en deux ou trois sous-niveaux donnant des approximations de 75 et même de 50 ans, ce qui paraîtra peut-être un peu précis en de telles matières!

On a cru longtemps, depuis Mackenzie, que la cité de Beth Šemeš avait été fondée aux environs de 1700. Il semble bien qu'il faille faire remonter beaucoup plus haut, dans le temps, la première installation sur ce site. La poterie. les objects de pierre et les silex, seuls vestiges de cette première période qui aient été découverts, justifient l'adoption d'une fondation aux environs de l'an 2200.

La ville fut-elle fortifiée dès sa fondation? On ne saurait l'affirmer car, des vestiges de défenses retrouvés, aucun ne saurait être daté d'avant 1700.

Aux environs de cette date une autre période s'ouvre dont les témoins ne sont malheureusement pas très nombreux. Un seul édifice est bien conservé. Parmi les tombes, la plus importante et la plus ancienne est celle que Mackenzie a fouillée et dénommée *High Place Grotto Sepulchre* où furent retrouvés plus de soixante vases. C'est à cette époque— vers la fin de la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle ou au début du XVIe que furent construites les premières défenses, ce qui concorderait bien avec les dates assignées aux remparts de construction similaire dans les autres sites palestiniens: On ne peut conjecturer que par la poterie la date à laquelle le niveau *V* prit fin. A s'en tenir à ce critère, on serait reporté à la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle, aux environs des règnes d'Aménophis I ou de Thouthmès I.

Si le niveau *V* est celui des Hyksos, le *IV* est celui de la XVIIIe dynastie égyptienne. A cette époque Beth Šemeš connut l'une de ses périodes les plus prospères. Elle fut vraisemblament sous contrôle égyptien durant une grande partie de son existence, comment le prouvent les scarabées découverts dans ce niveau (Scar. commémorant le mariage d'Aménophis III; scara. de Ramsès I et de Ramsès II ainsi que des amulettes, des bijoux, des albâtres importés d'Egypte).

C'est encore de ce niveau que proviennent deux fragments épigraphiques des plus intéressants et des plus énigmatiques. Le premier est une tablette d'argile sur laquelle sont tracées des lettres d'un alphabet se rapprochant de

[1] *The Pottery of Palestine from the earliest Times to the end of the Early Bronze Age.*

celui de Ras Šamrā. Cette inscription, dit-on, devrait être lue à l'aide d'un miroir mais, même par ce moyen, on n'a encore pas réussi à élucider ce texte.

L'autre document est un *ostracon* inscrit en alphabet sinaïtique. Mais à son sujet encore les avis sont partagés et là où les uns voient du sinaïtique les autres déchiffrent par le phénicien[2]. On notera à cette époque la présence de poterie importée de Chypre notamment d'un type de vase sur lequel est représenté un char et son conducteur.

Ce stade de la ville semble avoir pris fin vers 1200, peut être un peu après. Cette destruction pourrait être portée au compte des Israëlites, des Égyptiens ou des Philistins mais si la date à laquelle on s'arrête est exacte, c'est plus probablement les Philistins qui doivent être tenus responsables de cette ruine.

La cité du *Ier* Fer (niv. *III*) dura un peu moins de deux siècles. Il ressort de la comparaison avec les périodes précédentes et suivantes– surtout d'après les constructions— que cette période fut loin d'être aussi prospère que les autres. On connaissait déjà, par l'état de Beth Mirsim et de Béthel au même moment, cet "âge sombre de la Palestine". Les défenses de la ville, dont le périmètre diminua, furent réparées vaille que vaille. De nombreuses traces de l'indusrie du métal apparaissent. Si l'on a des installations pour le traitement du bronze, le fer aussi est connu et l'on en fait des armes mais ce n'est que plus tard que ce dernier métal remplacera les silex encore utilisés pour les faucilles. C'est aussi l'époque de la poterie philistine, à condition de s'entendre sur ce terme et de le mettre entre guillemets comme le demande M. Heurtley[3].

C'est une véritable catastrophe qui mit fin à la ville du Fer, dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle. La dévastation fut si complète que toutes les maisons durent être reconstruites à la période suivante.

Ce dernier stade de la ville (niv. *II*), s'étend de 1000 à 586, date de sa destruction par les troupes de Nabuchodonosor. C'est la Beth Šemeš israëlite comme le prouvent les sceaux hébreux (au nombre de 11) découverts dans ce niveau où l'auteur voit trois phases aux distinctions d'ailleurs assez imprécises. La "poterie philistine" fait place à une poterie plus grossière. Les constructions sont du même type que celles de la période précédente mais se caractérisent par l'usage extensif de piliers soit pour soutenir le plafond des salles soit simplement encastrés dans les murs. L'industrie du bronze et du fer continue de s'exercer dans la ville mais l'emploi du fer s'est maintenant étendu aux instruments agricoles.

La ville ne fut jamais reconstruite comme telle après sa destruction de 586. Seules de petites agglomérations se constituèrent temporairement (niv. *I*) sur le tell ou aux alentours comme le prouve la découverte de monnaies d'Antiochus IV, Jean Hyrcan etc... C'est ainsi qu'aux temps byzantins un monastère s'y établit dont M. Johns place la fondation au cours du Ve siècle et que le P. Abel a retrouvé mentionné dans J. Mosch (début du VIIe s.)[4].

Il y a, dans cet ouvrage, bien d'autres renseignements sur l'urbanisme, les cultures etc. que nous avons du passer sous silence. Ces omissions de notre part engageront certainement à lire cet intéressant volume illustré au surplus de deux magnifiques planches en couleurs représentant quelques tessons caractéristiques des niveaux *IV* et *III*.

B. COUROYER.

[2] A la bibliographie ajouter: MAISLER: *JPOS*, 1938, p. 290 ss.
[3] *QDAP.*, V, pp. 90 ss.
[4] *R. Biblique*, 1936, p. 538—542.

IN MEMORIAM

The Reverend Father Mauritius Gisler, O. S. B.

13th September 1853—15th March 1940.

I still cannot picture that venerable old figure without seing him working at one of his many-sided interests: archaeology, prehistory, ecclesiastical history, topography, rural names, maps, or Biblical researches connected with present-day localities: what a great variety, yet in each of these studies he contributed his well-measured share, often anonymously out of his modesty. Always with a smile on his lips, he had for every one an encouraging thought, an appreciative, sympathetic and open heart. For his many friends and acquaintances from the various sections of Jerusalem's international community he always had a welcome.

Even in his eighty-fifth year he was working at a plan of Jerusalem in the time of our Lord. A fortnight before his passing away he wrote to me that he hoped to complete it this summer. He was still vigorous and his alpenstock gave him the air of a medieval missionary of Western Europe rather than an ordinary octogenarian. Even to the last he had a clear vision, and his mind worked as exactly, as logically and as quickly as that of a person half his age. During the disturbances he walked alone on a hot summer day for twenty kilometres through the Shephelah. Surely his winning personality must have made him many friends among the simple folk at Beit Shaʿar and wherever he went.

The late Reverend Father Mauritius Gisler, sub-prior of the Dormition Abbey on Mount Zion, was born on the 13th September 1853 in Cernek (Agram), Yugoslavia. He was descended from an ancient Swiss family of Altdorf (Uri). From 1873 to 1876 he studied architecture at the cantonal gymnasium of Winterthur. After having practiced for seven years he accepted a call as professor of the cantonal gymnasium of Altdorf (1883—88) and afterwards supervised the construction of the Theresianum in Ingebohl (1888—91), the church in Gruyère and the restoration of the Swiss national shrine, the "Tellskapelle" on Lake Uri. He was well described as the "most ideal citizen of Uri" on account of the many-sided life he lived there.

In 1891 he joined the Benedictine Order at Beuron and he celebrated his first Mass on the 20th August 1895 in Maria Laach.

When the German Society of the Holy Land decided to build

the present Church on Mount Zion, he was selected as architect. He arrived in Jerusalem in March 1906, started the work half a year later, and thenceforward lived in the Holy City.

He gave technical advice to the International Commission which was formed to report to the British Government on the condition of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. His advice was often sought by the architects of the mosque el-Aqṣa. He also took an active part in the excavation of the Ḥaram Rāmet el-Khalīl near Hebron (a good section of the final report being from his pen). He built or restored the Latin churches in Ramallah, Rāfāt, al-Karak, Mādaba, Rafaḥ and Sharfeh (Mount Lebanon), reconditioned the Armenian Catholic Church of Our Lady of the Spasm, Third Station of the Via Dolorosa, and built the Main Mosque in Haifa.

His many scientific and popular contributions are scattered in various publications. He often insisted that he should not be mentioned in contributions of which he was joint–author. . His best known work is that on the excavation of Beit Jimāl and its identification with the Byzantine Caphar Gamala, on which he published a small illustrated monograph in English, French and German. It is reported that when His Holiness Pope Benedict XV learned that Father Gisler was in charge of those excavations he expressed his satisfaction to have it in such good hands. Father Gisler spoke and wrote fluently in French, English and Italian besides German. His readiness to help wherever, whenever and as much as he could, gained him many friends and earned him the admiration of a great number of acquaintances. Work was his motto throughout his life.

On the southern slope of Mount Zion, flooded by the first rays of the rising sun, his mortal remains have been laid to rest till the Last Day. May he rest in peace and may his memory be cherished amongst all who knew him!

Jerusalem, 21st March 1940. ST. H. STEPHAN.