# Elijah's Cave on Mount Carmel and its Inscriptions

Asher Ovadiah and Rosario Pierri

## Part I

### Introduction[1]

The north-west ridge of Mount Carmel consists for the most part of exposed rock, dropping precipitously down to the sea. Elijah's Cave is located on the slope of the cliff, at the foot of the promontory of Mount Carmel, at a height of approx. 40 m above sea level on the western outskirts of Haifa (map ref. NIG 1974/7483; OIG 1474/2483) (Figs. 1-2). According to tradition, this is the Cave where the Prophet Elijah stayed as he was preparing to battle the prophets of Ba'al during the reign of Ahab, King of Israel, in the 9th century BCE. The Cave is also known by its Arabic name, el-Khatser or el-Khader (the Green One),[2] or the "School of the Prophets."

In 1949, the staff of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums[3] and a number of local Haifa residents noticed inscriptions engraved on the walls of Elijah's Cave, covered with a thick layer of lime and soot. The team of The Archaeological Survey of Israel, northern region, surveyed the Cave and confirmed the importance of the inscriptions.[4] The Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums launched a project to clean the inscriptions, funded with the assistance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The investigation of Elijah's Cave with the intention of uncovering, deciphering and studying the inscriptions was carried out by the author in June-October 1966.[5] An attempt was made at the time to elucidate the purpose of the Cave in the Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine periods.

The Cave and the engraved inscriptions had not been previously researched in a systematic and thorough manner. It had, however, aroused the attention of pilgrims, travellers, visitors and scholars, who had visited the site for generations, at least from the Hellenistic period and onwards. In later generations, from the beginning of the 12th century and onwards (according to extant historical and literary sources), visitors/pilgrims described Elijah's Cave briefly and concisely and, if the inscriptions caught their eye, they copied some of them.

### A. Plan, Ornamentation and Surroundings

Elijah's Cave, having the shape of a parallelogram with no right-angled corners, is oriented south-southwest to north-northeast and facing the sea. Its dimensions are: 14.50 m long, 8.70 m wide and 4.50-5 m high (Figs. 6-7). The ceiling of the Cave is rough, with pieces of the soft limestone rock having crumbled over the years. It appears primarily to have been a natural cave, and over the course of time to have been elaborated, enlarged and adapted for religious purposes. Its walls had been smoothly finished, rendering the Cave suitable for use. These alterations were carried out in ancient times, as evidenced by the inscriptions engraved on the walls.[6]

A detailed inspection revealed that the natural cave floor sloped down from the opening in the north towards the south, according to the rock stratification. This is indicated by: (a) the fracture existing in its west wall that slopes southwards from the Cave opening; and (b) the rough and irregular cuts on the sides of the wall below the fracture. It can therefore be assumed that, as the Cave was enlarged and improved, the level of the natural cave floor was lowered by approx. 50 cm.[7]

The natural entrance to the Cave is on its north side; the opening is large and irregular, 3.50 m high and approx. 4 m wide. Over time, the eastern half of this entrance became blocked, as a result of buildings being placed alongside it or abutting onto it. Thus, the width of the Cave's entrance was

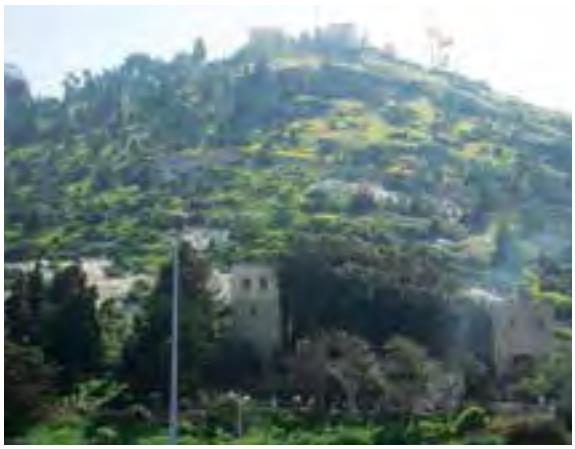

Fig. 1. The north-west ridge of Mt. Carmel with Elijah's Cave and Stella Maris monastery on the top, facing south-east.
Fig. 2. The buildings in front of Elijah's Cave, facing south-east.

halved (to approx. 2 m wide) and it has remained like this to the present day. This change to the original entrance has led the present opening to be located on the western half of the north wall of the Cave (Figs. 4-6). The inner northern side of the opening has a wall 2 m long to the west and 4.20 m to the east.[8]

A rock-hewn bench extends along the base of almost the entire length of the eastern section of the north wall (4 m). The bench is 50 cm high and 70 cm deep. Its eastern half is divided into two steps, the lower one 30 cm deep and the upper one 40 cm deep (Fig. 6).

Along the base of almost the entire length of the west wall of the Cave was another rock-hewn bench, starting 1.50 m from its north-west corner; it extended 12 m and ended approx. 60 cm before the south-western corner, where it joined the western "table," also hewn out of the rock (both no longer extant).[9] The "table" was rectangular and measured 0.60 × 2.20 m, with a height of approx. 1 m (it had a stone facing, hindering estimation of height) (Fig. 6). The eastern "table" (also no longer extant) was almost rectangular, measuring 0.70-1 × 2 m, with a height of approx. 1 m (it also had a stone facing). The two "tables"[10] were purposely left by the craftsmen for offerings to be placed on them (later, lit candles were placed on them in honour of the prophet Elijah).

The inscriptions carved on the west wall reach the height of a raised arm, or at the most a height accessible when standing on a stool. The highest inscription on this wall is 2.75 m above floor level. The accessibility of the inscriptions inscribed on the wall means that they can easily be engraved and read by visitors/pilgrims to the Cave. The marked density of the inscriptions at a uniform height is due to the ease with which this height could be reached by the engravers, which has resulted in inscriptions often being superimposed on earlier ones. The inscriptions on the east wall of the Cave are engraved in a similar manner.

The surface of the south wall does not have a smooth finish, and there is evidence that the soft rock has crumbled away. In this wall is an apsidal niche, hewn in the rock, measuring 1.18 m wide, 2.40 m high and 1.05 m deep. Its top is carved with a conch, not well preserved, with a radius of 50 cm. Above the conch there is a plastered rectangular recess (*ca.* 70 cm high and *ca.* 50 cm deep), which is an integral part of the apsidal niche.[11] The rectangular recess and the apsidal niche have a double rectangular frame on their three sides (the inner frame is 9 cm wide and the outer one 8 cm wide). The outer frame juts out a few more centimetres than the inner one, forming a double stepped frame. On both sides of the frame are the remains of carved motifs within vertical, flat panels (31 cm wide), forming another decorative frame. The eastern panels are better preserved than the western ones, but there is every indication that the decoration would have been the same on both sides (Figs. 6, 10-13). The decorative motifs are only preserved on the upper panels. The panels

are separated by carved horizontal bands (2-3 cm wide). The upper panel depicts a scale motif, forming a continuous geometric pattern. The second panel depicts a vessel (perhaps a *kylix*) (31 cm high) rendered two-dimensionally (Figs. 12-13). The vessel has three tall feet bound together in the middle by a ring or ribbon. Two of the feet are shown in side view, in an inward-leaning spiral, and the third foot, which can be seen between them, is shown frontally, in an unsuccessful attempt to render perspective. Towards the top of the feet, beneath the body of the amphora, two round stylized "buttons" are depicted. The deep, concave outline of the amphora has spiral-shaped forms on the two upper sides (possibly spiral-shaped handles). The body of the vessel is depicted in a flat, stylized manner and has ten vertical ribs represented by bold incisions. In the third panel, the scale motif is repeated, but the design has not survived here in its entirety. We may assume that below this last panel were additional ones, probably further carved and with decorative motifs similar to those described above, but they have now been completely destroyed. Of the western panels, only the top and second one are preserved, depicting the scale motif and the ribs of the body of another similar vessel. Some features, like the spirally-curved feet, the round "buttons,"[12] the ribbing on the body, the rim and the spiral handles shown on the eastern vessel, suggest that it depicts a metal vessel. In other words, the craftsman envisaged a metal vessel when copying it onto the Cave wall. The vessel (or perhaps the *kylix*) is remarkable for its shape and particularly because of the three legs bound together, the round "buttons" and the form of the body. To date, we have no comparative examples with which to compare and/or date it.

The scale motif is used very commonly in different artistic media[13] as well as in mosaic floors from the Hellenistic,[14] Roman[15] and early Byzantine periods (including early Byzantine-period mosaics in Israel).[16] This motif in Elijah's Cave can be attributed to the 1st-3rd centuries CE, based on circumstantial and epigraphic evidence, and its dissemination.

Approximately 65 cm above the double frame of the niche an architectural motif of dentils, very common in Greek and Roman architecture,[17] is carved. The motif is divided into two groups of four dentils each, with an interval of 30 cm between the groups. In the interval, and in the area between the dentils and the double frame, the rock is rough and shows signs of wear, suggesting that there may once have been some kind of relief decoration here. To the side of the dentils two rectangular depressions hewn in the rock have survived (approx. 15 × 10 × 15 cm), but they do not symmetrically match the niche. They may be later additions used to hold a beam to hang a curtain above the niche.

In addition to the decorative frames, there are two concave depressions, one on each side, hewn vertically in the rock (today partially covered with plaster) measuring 0.44 × 3 m (Fig. 14). They may both have been intended to hold a decorative pillar of stucco, wood or stone.[18]

There is no doubt that the apsidal niche with the decorative frames around it fulfilled some purpose in the Cave, most probably the placement of the cult statue (idol) of the god Ba'al Carmel, identified with Zeus/Jupiter, in the Roman period.[19] The general impression, however, based mainly on archaeological considerations, and historical and epigraphic evidence (see below), is that the decorative motifs are consistent with the Roman Imperial period.

Above each of the "tables" mentioned above, a square depressed area can be identified hewn in the rock. These depressions probably contained various decorations that have not survived. Today, the two depressions are for the most part eroded and covered with plaster and soot.

A worked-relief band, with a central groove running its entire length, forms a decorative border around the top of the south, east and west walls, reaching almost their entire length. The band is covered with soot and is virtually indistinguishable.

The decorative elements inside the Cave suggest a willingness and desire to beautify its interior and to emphasize artistic and aesthetic aspects. The main focus of decoration is on its south wall.

At a distance of 4.30 m from the north-east end of the east wall lies an opening leading to a small rectangular room, so-called the smaller or secondary grotto, attributed to the cell and oratory of the

Prophet Elijah (Figs. 6, 8). It is hewn into the rock and its floor is *ca*. 40 cm higher than the main floor of the Cave. It measures 3.40 m long, 3 m wide and 2.50 m high. The opening, which is 3.50 m wide and 2.70 m high, has three steps hewn in the rock, 90 cm wide; the steps are approx. 6 m from the north-eastern corner of the east wall of the Cave. The north and east walls of this room are fitted with rock-hewn benches. The dimensions of the northern bench are: 2.30 m long, 85 cm deep and *ca*. 90 cm high. The dimensions of the eastern bench are: 2.20 m long, 80 cm deep and *ca*. 50 cm high. The two benches form an L-shape. The south wall features a rectangular niche, hewn in the rock, lined with building stones and currently used to house Torah scrolls.[20] Many legends and stories are connected with this secondary grotto, though attested to only from the time of the return of the Carmelites to Mount Carmel in 1631. According to the belief of modern-day pilgrims, and probably also in the past it has the power to heal and save those who sleep in it for at least one night, especially the mentally ill or barren women (Fig. 9). It is not inconceivable that this reflects an ancient tradition.

In front of the Cave is a rectangular paved courtyard, which visitors use on weekdays and at festivals (Fig. 3). At a distance of 2.50 m from the north-west corner of the Cave is a rock-hewn cistern. The opening is square (1 × 1 m) and 6 m deep. The cistern was designed to store rainwater, which flowed into it from the mountain slope via a hewn channel, whose remains have been revealed close by. Elijah's Cave is today surrounded by buildings that have adjoined it at different periods and there is no trace of the complexes mentioned in various historical sources (see below).

## B. Mount Carmel and Elijah's Cave: Context, Meaning and Function

In the Bible Mount Carmel is on one occasion referred to as *Carmelus Maris* (בְּכַרְמֶל הַיָּמָּה),[21] in order to distinguish it from another mountain of the same name situated in the south of the Land of Israel. What has given this particular mountain everlasting renown is the sojourn there by the Prophet Elijah and the wonders that he wrought.

Fig. 3. The rectangular paved courtyard in front of the Cave, facing east.

Mount Carmel even received, in the local Arabic vernacular, the name of *Jebel Mar Elias*, namely the Mountain of St. Elijah. By the side of the altar to the true God built upon the top of Mount Carmel, during the reign of King Ahab in the 9th century BCE, there also stood an altar to Ba'al, whose prophets practiced his rites and who was venerated by the pagan population. Jezebel, daughter of the King of Sidon and wife of Ahab, had led the populace astray to idolatry. Consequently, the Prophet Elijah gathered on Mount Carmel "all Israel, the four hundred and fifty prophets of Ba'al, and the four hundred prophets of Asherah, who eat at Jezebel's table." After demonstrating the powerlessness of the false god, Elijah placed the sacrifice (a bull) upon the altar and called upon the Lord. Immediately fire rained down from the heavens and consumed the bull. At the site of this miracle the people again proclaimed Jehovah as their God, and, at the order of Elijah, the prophets of Ba'al were brought down to the Kishon river and were executed there.[22]

The confrontation of the Prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel, in the 9th century BCE, with the prophets of Ba'al, is additional evidence for the sanctity and religious importance of the mountain and the existence of pagan cultic places, whether as altars or temples/shrines, in Antiquity. The execution of the prophets of Ba'al also presents the confrontation of monotheism with paganism in the Land of Israel, and especially on Mount Carmel.

Despite these events, the pagans continued to practice their rites on Mount Carmel, by erecting altars and temples/shrines dedicated to Ba'al in

Fig. 4. The old double entrance to the Cave, facing south-east.

Fig. 5. The new single entrance to the Cave, facing south-east.

various places on the mountain until the Roman period.

In the second half of the 6th century BCE the Greek philosopher Pythagoras (*ca.* 570-490 BCE), on his way to Egypt, visited the mountain and spent some time there. As we are told by Iamblichus (*ca.* 250-*ca.* 330 CE), the philosopher's biographer, "…, he crossed without delay to Egypt, conveyed by Egyptian seamen who had made a timely landing on the shore below Mount Carmel in Phoenicia, where Pythagoras often went to seek solitude in the temple" (… διεπορθμεύθη ἀμελλητὶ ὑπό τινων Αἰγυπτίων πορθμέων καιριώτατα προσορμισάντων τοῖς ὑπὸ Κάρμηλον τὸ Φοινικικὸν ὄρος αἰγιαλοῖς, ἔνθα ἐμόναζε τὰ πολλὰ ὁ Πυθαγόρας κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν).[23] If this story, attributed to the 6th century BCE, is reliable it indicates the existence of a temple or perhaps a *temenos* on Mount Carmel. This suggests not only a tradition regarding the sanctity of Mount Carmel, but also echoes the existence of such a temple or *temenos* on this sacred mountain till the Roman period. Moreover, based on the description of Scylax of Caryanda's voyage, in the book *Periplus* attributed to him,[24] in the days of the Achaemenid king of Persia, Darius I (521-486 BCE), the mountain seems to have been sacred to Zeus (… καὶ Κάρμηλος ὄρος, ἱερὸν Διός).[25]

Mount Carmel, including Elijah's Cave, belonged from the geopolitical point of view to Phoenicia from the Hellenistic period onwards, as mentioned by Josephus:

> Δύο δ' οὔσας τὰς Γαλιλαίας, τήν τε ἄνω καὶ τὴν κάτω προσαγορευομένην, περιίσχει μὲν ἡ Φοινίκη τε καὶ Συρία, διορίζει δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως ἡλίου Πτολεμαὶς τοῖς τῆς χώρας τέρμασι καὶ Κάρμηλος, τὸ πάλαι μὲν Γαλιλαίων, νῦν δὲ Τυρίων ὄρος.
>
> Galilee, with its two divisions known as Upper and Lower Galilee, is enveloped by Phoenicia and Syria. Its western frontiers are the outlying territory of Ptolemais [Acre/Acco. – A.O.] and Carmel, a mountain once belonging to Galilee, and now to Tyre.[26]

According to Eusebius, Mount Carmel was in his time a border between two geopolitical regions – Eretz Israel and Phoenicia:

> <Κάρμηλος. ὄρος> ἐπὶ τὸ Φοινίκιον πέλαγος καὶ διαιροῦν Παλαιστίνην Φοινίκης. ἔνθα ἐκαθέζετο Ἠλίας.

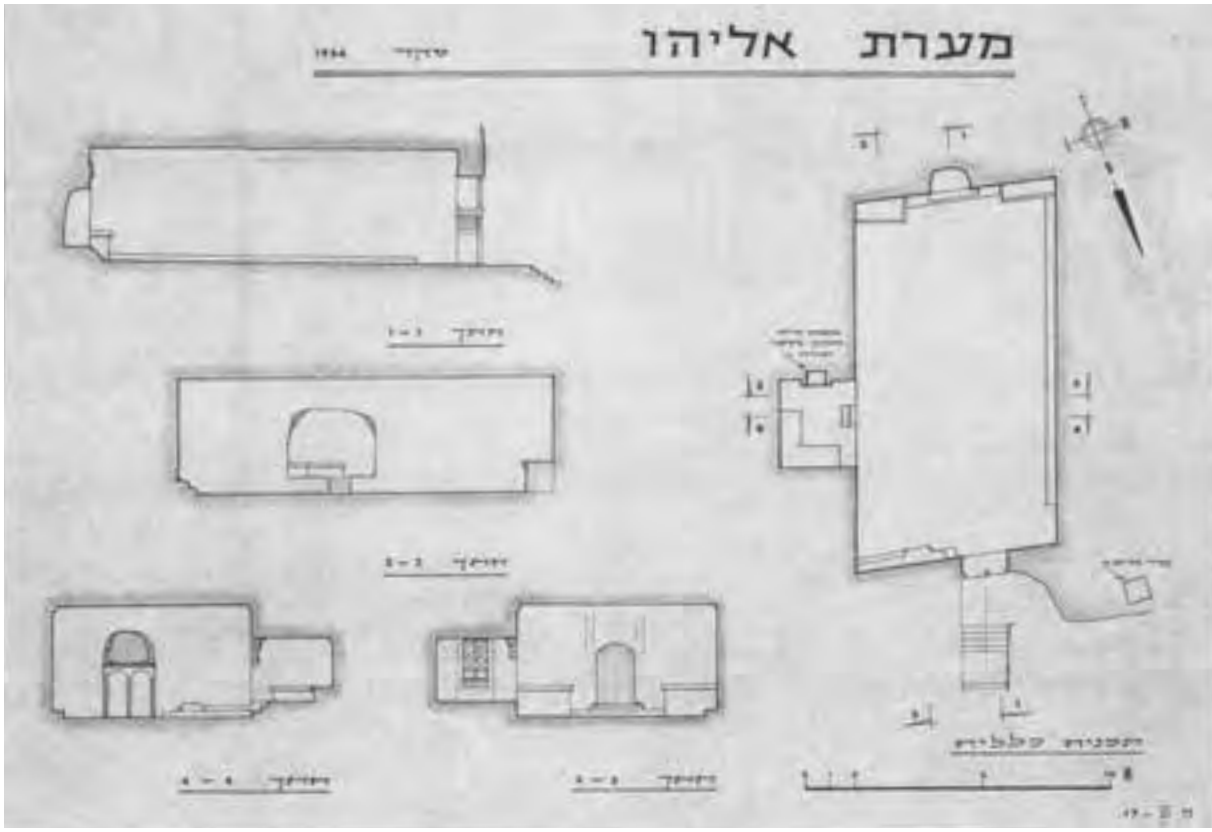


Fig. 6. Plan and sections of the Cave.

> Karmelos. A mountain on the Phoenician Sea and which divides Eretz Israel from Phoenicia. Here Elijah dwelt.[27]

However, Eusebius does not indicate to which region the mountain belonged, while Iamblichus claims unequivocally that Mount Carmel belongs to Phoenicia.[28] This geopolitical connection with Phoenicia and its main cities (Gebal/Byblos, Tyre, Sidon and Beiruth) also indicates religious links, namely with the cults that prevailed there. These cults probably served as a source of inspiration for those practiced on Mount Carmel and in Elijah's Cave.[29]

Similar caves of pagan character are to be found from the Hellenistic period on along the Phoenician coast, such as in Gebal/Byblos[30] and in the surroundings of Sidon[31] and Tyre.[32] Renan mentions the Cave of Elijah on Mount Carmel as the cultic centre of the god Ba'al Carmel: "La prétendue grotte d'Élie sur le Carmel marque peut-être le centre du vieux culte du dieu Carmel. Les pèlerins juifs du Moyen Âge vénéraient à cet endroit l'autel d'Élie."[33] Kopp[34] and Augustinović[35] had already surmised that Elijah's Cave had been originally a centre of pagan worship. Nowadays it is an attractive pilgrimage site for Jews, Christians, Muslims and Druze, as a sacred place dedicated to the Prophet Elijah.

Tacitus mentions that in an open space on Mount Carmel stood an altar for the cult of Ba'al Carmel, who was identified with Zeus/Jupiter. However, he does not mention any cult statue (idol) of Ba'al, claiming that the god had no image or temple, but only an altar:

> *Est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montemdeumque. Nec simulacrum deo aut templum – sic tradidere maiores –: ara tantum et reverentiae.*
>
> Between Judea and Syria lies Carmel: this is the name given to both the mountain and the divinity. The god has no image or temple – such is the rule handed down by

the fathers; there is only an altar and the worship of the god.[36]

Tacitus also mentions the local oracle in connection with the consultation of Vespasian:

*Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo Basilides sacerdos inspectis identidem extis "Quicquid est" inquit, "Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum."*

When Vespasian was sacrificing there and thinking over his secret hopes in his heart, the priest Basilides, after repeated inspection of the victim's vitals, said to him, "Whatever you are planning, Vespasian, whether to build a house, or to enlarge your holdings, or to increase the number of your slaves, the god grants you a mighty home, limitless bounds, and a multitude of men."[37]

Tacitus especially stresses the non-figural (aniconic) character of the god Ba'al/Zeus/Jupiter of the Carmel in his time.[38] His testimony is confirmed by Suetonius, who also states that Vespasian consulted the oracle of the god of Carmel in Judaea:

*Apud Iudaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur.*

When he consulted the oracle of the god of Carmel in Judaea, the lots were highly encouraging, promising that whatever he planned or wished, however great it might be, would come to pass.[39]

This is also confirmed by Iamblichus, who calls Mount Carmel "a mountain most holy among the others" and "inaccessible to many" (… τοῦ Καρμήλου λόφου ἱερώτατον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὀρῶν ἠπίσταντο αὐτὸ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄβατον, …]).[40] The 5th-century Christian historian Orosius is the last of the ancient writers to mention the oracle:

*…, Iudaei post passionem Christi destituti in totum gratia Dei… quibusdam in Carmelo Monte seducti sortibus… in rebellionem exarserunt.*

…, the Jews, after the Passion of Christ, being completely destitute of the grace of God and, when they were beset by all evils on all sides, being led astray by certain oracular responses on Mount Carmel which predicted that leaders coming out of Judea would take possession of things, and applying the prediction to themselves, broke out in rebellion…[41]

The fact that Orosius mentions this oracle indicates that the Cave was still being used for pagan worship at that time.

Tacitus, who mentions only the altar in an open space, does not appear to have been acquainted with the Cave and the cult statue of Ba'al Carmel, possibly placed within it, or with the cult and rites practiced there. Presumably, Tacitus received his information on the cult of Ba'al Carmel and his altar on Mount Carmel from secondary sources, since he himself had never visited this part of the Roman Empire.

The existence of the altar on Mount Carmel, without any image (idol) or temple of the god, may also have been connected with the epithet Ζεὺς Μάδβαχος, from *Madbah*, 'altar' (Zeus the Altar), who listened to prayers.[42] This is equivalent to βωμὸς ἐπήκοος,[43] namely the altar that listens to prayers.

One of the Greek inscriptions (No. 18), engraved in the south-west corner of the west wall of the Cave, most probably dated to the Roman period (1st-3rd centuries CE), indicates unequivocally the sacred nature of the Cave (see below, D.: No. 18).

On the west wall of the Cave, in the area of inscriptions Nos. 23A, 24 and 25, three *aediculae*, topped with a pediment, are carved one above the other. A relief of a defaced human figure (19 cm high), wearing a *toga* and standing on a pedestal, is discernible in the middle *aedicula*. The *toga* covers the figure's legs almost to the ankles and the feet are clearly visible. The figure stands firmly on both legs and is flanked by an obscure form (a priest kneeling before the cult statue of the god?) on its left and a libation vessel with a high stem on its right (Figs. 15-16). The representation is reminiscent of the standing or seated deities within a temple or in front of it, depicted on Roman coins.[44] The resemblance between the numismatic data and the depiction in question strengthens the possibility

that the standing figure within the *aedicula* is a cult statue of the god Ba'al Carmel. Hence, it may be assumed that the kneeling figure is a priest, supposedly practicing a libation rite.

The visual representation of the cult statue of Ba'al Carmel(?), the libation vessel and the presumed figure of the priest within the *aedicula*, as well as the above-mentioned epigraphic evidence, indicate the pagan use of the Cave in the Roman period, and perhaps even earlier, as a cultic centre (possibly a shrine) in honour of Ba'al Carmel.

The marble fragment of a foot of a colossal statue, discovered accidentally (*ca.* 1933) in the garden of the Stella Maris Carmelite monastery on Mount Carmel (currently in the collection of the monastery),[45] has been dated to the end of the 2nd century CE or perhaps the beginning of the 3rd. According to the Greek inscription, it was in honour of the Heliopolitan Zeus of the Carmel. The inscribed votive marble foot of the statue was dedicated by Gaius Iulius Eutychas, a colonist of Caesarea Maritima (Fig. 17).[46] It was probably of an extremely large size (3-3.50 m high), and may have been placed in front of the Cave.

A.B. Cook, in enumerating the various mountain sanctuaries of Zeus (Mountainous Zeus), distinguishes three types: (1) those marked by a simple altar alone; (2) those marked by an altar with a statue of the god; and (3) those marked by an altar with a cult statue enclosed in a temple.[47] Based on this typological development, M. Avi-Yonah suggested that in the time of Tacitus the Mount Carmel sanctuary clearly belonged to the first type; while the Greek inscription of Gaius Iulius Eutychas, who dedicated a statue to the Heliopolitan Zeus of the Carmel,[48] proves its later development into the second type, i.e. an altar with a statue of the god; and that it seems never to have reached the third type.[49] Contrary to Avi-Yonah's suggestions,[50] it should be pointed out that, in accordance with the literary sources, archaeological data and epigraphic evidence, Elijah's Cave functioned as a pagan temple/shrine in Antiquity and Late Antiquity, and thus presents the third type noted by Cook. In other words, the worship and rites were practiced within the Cave up to the early Byzantine period.[51] Later on, in common with other mountain sanctuaries of Zeus, the god Ba'al Carmel was superseded by Saint Elias (Elijah),[52] because of the prophet's connection with Mount Carmel and its traditional sacred nature.

Fig. 7. General view of the cave, facing south-southwest.

Fig. 8. The small rectangular room, so-called the smaller or secondary grotto, facing south-east.

Fig. 9. Sleeping people within the Cave.

Circumstantial evidence allows us to presume that the Cave had been used as a pagan cultic place,

possibly a shrine, to Ba'al Carmel, with the cult statue (the idol) of the god having been placed within it, perhaps since the Hellenistic period. The fact that Tacitus does not mention any cult statue of Ba'al, claiming that the god had no image or temple but only an altar, indirectly strengthens the notion that the idol was placed inside the Cave, and thus was invisible from the outside. The niche in the south wall of the Cave, decorated on each side with carved motifs of scales and an amphora, most probably dated to the Roman period, may have housed the cult statue of the god.[53] If correct, we may then understand the correlation between the Cave, as a shrine to Ba'al Carmel, and the altar on the mountain.[54] Consequently, it seems that Mount Carmel was a site for the veneration and worship of Ba'al Carmel and certain places on this mountain may have been used for the delivery of his oracle.

### C. Historical / Literary Sources

Elijah's Cave is frequently mentioned in later historical and literary sources, particularly by pilgrims – both Jewish and Christian – who visited the Cave and the surrounding area. Most visited the Cave to experience the site for themselves in view of its great fame, even in Antiquity, and also to satisfy their curiosity. A profound sense of the Cave's religious aura and spiritual experience must certainly have been a motivation to visit it, to absorb its unique atmosphere, and also to seek help, healing and salvation.[55]

A large number of varied sources exist, exhibiting different historical approaches: some are reliable, accurate and unequivocal, and others are exaggerated and unreliable. The different beliefs, especially the popular beliefs or superstitions that they reflect, with popular traditions and imagination woven into the different descriptions, provide a general picture that is vivid, even romantic, but that detracts considerably from the Cave's objective historical value.

Unfortunately, we have no historical or literary sources prior to the 12th century. Earlier material must have been lost over time, since it is unlikely that the Cave and its surroundings were ignored before the 12th century. All that we know about Elijah's Cave and its surroundings, therefore, and about the nearby buildings such as churches and monasteries, is from descriptions dating from the 12th century onwards. It is somewhat surprising that no earlier historical or literary references have survived, although the cult of Ba'al/Zeus/Jupiter was practiced on Mount Carmel in the 9th century BCE, continuing up to the Roman period.

Curiously, the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 CE) does not mention Elijah's Cave, despite the fact that he visited or passed by Mount Carmel. Perhaps, he had insufficient information or was too distant from the Cave itself. He writes briefly:

> … *ibi est mons Carmelus, ibi Helias sacrificium faciebat* …
>
> … there is Mount Carmel, there Elijah sacrificed …[56]

The Russian Abbot Daniel, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1106-1107, offers one of the earliest historical sources recording the existence of Elijah's Cave on Mount Carmel, although he neither goes into any detail about his impression of it nor his personal feelings about the visit. There is no indication, however, in his laconic description, of any monastic presence at the site, writing only:

> … μετὰ μεγάλης δὲ εὐχαριστήσεως ἐτελέσαμεν τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ταύτην ὁμοῦ καὶ ἤλθομεν εἰς Καίφαν, ἐξ ἧς μετέβημεν ἐπ' ἴσης εἰς τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος. Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου εὑρίσκεται τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου Ἠλία, …
>
> … after a great pleasure we finished this itinerary and arrived to Haifa, from which we moved directly to Mt. Carmel. On this mountain is the cave of the Holy Prophet Elijah, …[57]

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela arrived at Acre/Acco from Tyre in *ca.* 1165. "From Acre" – he writes – "it is three parasangs to Haifa (which is Get Hefer) along the seashore. On one side is Mount Carmel and on the mountain and at the foot of the mountain are numerous tombs of Israelites."[58] After visiting the Jewish cemetery at the foot of Mount Carmel, R. Benjamin of Tudela also relates laconically and without detail to Elijah's Cave, merely mentioning its location on the mountain (it is not clear whether he visited the Cave):

Fig. 10. The rectangular recess and the upper part of the apsidal niche.

> On the Mountain is the cave of Elijah, where the Christians have erected a structure called St. Elias.[59]

Another pilgrim, who visited Mount Carmel and Elijah's Cave in 1185, was the Cretan monk Ioannes Phokas, who briefly mentions the Cave, again without going into any detail:

> … Μετὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος, … Περὶ δὲ τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον τὸ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ ζυγοῦ, ἔστιν τὸ τοῦ προφήτου Ἠλίου σπήλαιον, …
>
> … After these (places) there is Mt. Carmel, … At the end of the ridge of Mt. Carmel facing the sea, there is the cave of the Prophet Elijah, …[60]

In addition, he contends that from ancient times there was a large monastery at this place,[61] the remains of whose buildings are still visible. The monastic complex had been entirely ruined by time and/or natural disasters, as well as by repeated attacks by foreign invaders. Some years earlier, according to his description, the place had been inhabited by a monk from Calabria, of the rank of priest, who had had a vision of the Prophet. After he built a small wall in the monastery "and erected a tower and a small church, he assembled about ten brothers, who nowadays inhabit the sacred place" (…, καὶ πύργον οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρας μικρόν, καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ὡσεὶ δέκα συνάξας, νῦν τὸν ἅγιον χῶρον ἐκεῖνον οἰκεῖ.)[62]

Fig. 11. The apsidal niche.

The German pilgrim Thietmar, who visited the Land of Israel in 1217,[63] briefly describes the Cave of Elijah, but it is unclear whether he stayed there. He writes:

> *Super hanc ciuitatem, scilicet Caypham, in procliuo montis Carmeli est spelunca Helye et Elizei prophetarum. Ibi est quedam capella constructa.*
>
> Above… Haifa, on the slope of Mount Carmel is the cave of Elijah and Elisha the prophets. There a certain chapel has been built.[64]

An anonymous Jewish pilgrim, a pupil of Nahmanides (R. Moshe b. Nahman of Gerona), visited Elijah's Cave sometime between 1270 and 1291. He describes it briefly without any commentary, writing:

> There on the slopes of Mt. Carmel is a cave, and there the synagogue dedicated to Elijah, be he remembered for good. Above the cave, on the top of the mountain there is Elisha's Cave.[65]

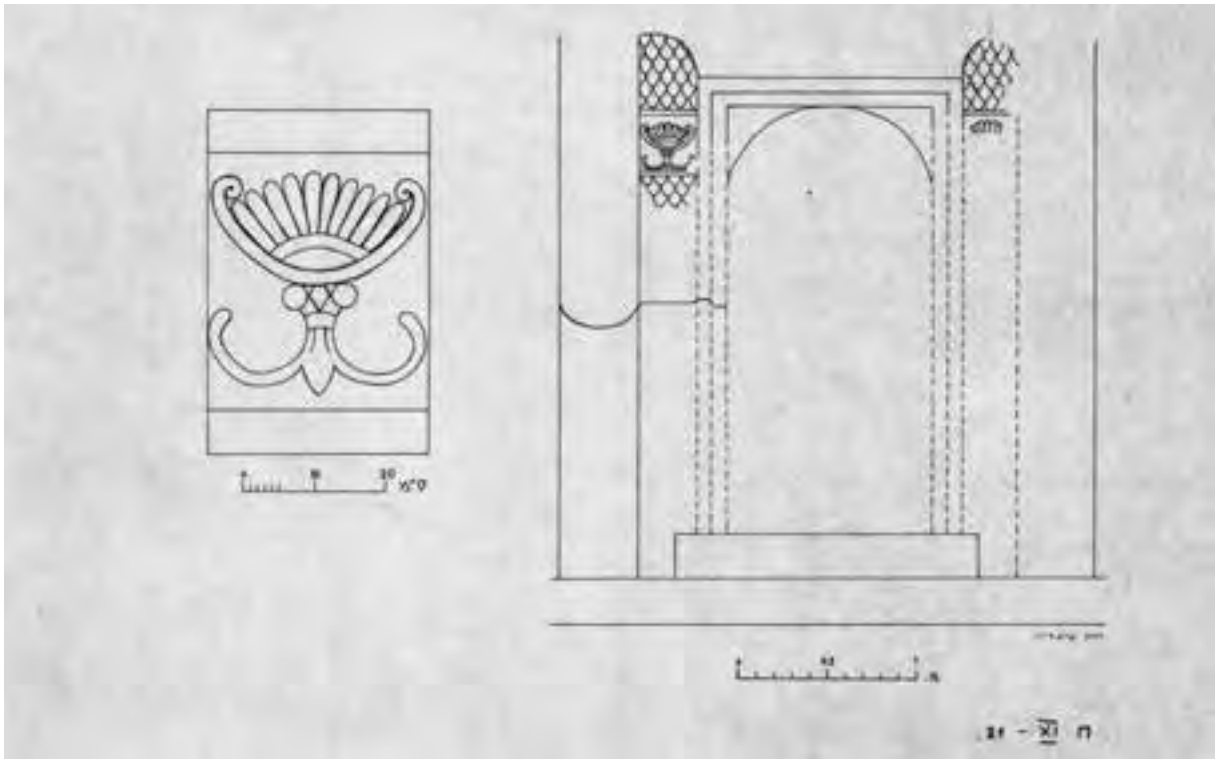

Fig. 12. Drawing of the apsidal niche and its decorations.

Burchard of Mount Sion, a German monk of the Dominican Order, who visited Mount Carmel in 1280, briefly refers to Elijah's Cave:

> A league from Haifa, on the left of the road to Pilgrims' Castle, upon Mount Carmel, is Elijah's cave and Elisha's dwelling and well, where the sons of the prophets dwelt, and the Carmelite friars now dwell. I abode with them there.[66]

The interesting point in Burchard's short description is the reference to the Cave as a small monastery, inhabited by the Carmelite monks in the second half of the 13th century.

In 1459, N. Calciuri of the Carmelite Order wrote about his visit to the grotto, which he attributed to Elijah.[67] Fr. Quaresmius of the Franciscan Order, who visited the Cave in 1626, claims that near the Cave was a "*fons*," but he probably confused this with the water-cisterns in the neighbourhood, or with that in front of the Cave.[68]

In 1635, Philip of the Most Holy Trinity visited Elijah's Cave and claimed that it was *habitatio sancti Eliae*, the place from where the Prophet saw the cloud and called down fire upon the enemy soldiers. Here the "Sons of the Prophets" assembled. The little grotto inside the big one was the *cella Sancti Eliae*. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity notes the presence of Moslem monks in the Cave, indicating that it was used by them in his time as a mosque:

> *Angulus occidentalis a parte Septentrionalis, dicitur promontorium Carmeli, … , estque sanctior pars ipsius montis, quia praecipue fuit habitatio sancti Eliae, ibi praevidit Beatam Virginem sub typo nubeculae, ibi attraxit de caelo ad comburendos duos quinquagenarios cum suis militibus, & alia mirabilia operates est; ibi est eius caverna longa circiter viginti passus lata, & alta decem, excise intra ipsum montem ad radices fere promontorij, quae est maxime devotionis, tum apud Christianos, tum Iudaeos, tum Turcas; dicitur ab incolis Arabice, el Kader, quod est epithetum sancti Eliae, …habitatur a solitariis Mahometanis, nec extranei ad ipsum admittuntur, nisi persoluto dimidio nummo: Intus ad laevam ingredentium est alia caverna, sex circiter passus longa & lata, … in hac parva caverna est altare cum imaginem eiusdem Sanctissime Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo…; creditur fuisse cella Sancti Eliae. & quod in maiori caverna congregarentur filij Prophetarum tanquam in oratorio.*[69]

Fig. 13. Decorations, details.

Fig. 14. Concave depression partially covered with plaster.

The occasion of the transformation of Elijah's Cave into a mosque is fully described by Fr. Albert, in connection with the monastic activity of Fr. Prosper on Mount Carmel, in the neighbourhood of the Cave, between 1633 and 1635. When Fr. Prosper returned to the Cave in 1635 he found it converted into a mosque, with the pagan niche having been modified to a *mihrab*.[70]

A French traveller, J. Doubdan, who visited the area and also Elijah's Cave in 1651, writes:

> These two Grottoes enjoy the great respect and awe of all the Christian Nations and also the infidels, Turks, Moors, Arabs and Jews. And they make pilgrimages to them by the thousands in certain times of the year, because tradition states that the Prophet Elijah used to live in them while he was in this place; and he used the large cave as a place of study where he would gather his disciples, known as the 'Sons of the Prophet,' and teach them, and also speak to the people who would come to consult with him; and he used the small cave as a place of prayer (oratory) where he would pray, and on finishing his prayers, he would drop in to another small cave, which can still be seen on the crest of the mountain.[71]

A. Morison, another French traveller/pilgrim, visited Elijah's Cave in 1697-1698, and noted that it is usually called "Kader." Following a short description of the Cave, its plan, measurements, function and importance, he writes:

> this cave and this oratory are held in singular (or individual) veneration, not only by Christians of all kinds of nations and rites, but also by Muslims and Jews, who come here in great numbers to sing the praises of God, and to invoke the aid of a prophet, for whom they have no less respect than ourselves.[72]

The Dutch travellers J.A. van Egmont and J. Heyman, who visited Eretz Israel in 1700-1723, write the following about Elijah's Cave:

> In this cave is a plain altar, where mass is sometimes performed. Behind it are the marks of an aperture, which has some time since been walled up. In this aperture, the priest told us that Turkish women, who were unfruitful, used to sit down, from a superstitious notion that they should afterwards bear children. But, as this gave obscenity, leave (or agreement) was obtained for closing it up. The priests pay annually to the Grand Signior [probably the Pasha] a tribute of one hundred and twenty piastres, for the privilege of performing divine worship in this cave. But the Jews, though they have repeatedly offered a thousand piastres a year for the privilege of making pilgrimages hither, never could obtain it. This place the Turks themselves reverence. The Greeks and Armenians have also a place near this cave, where they pray.[73]

The account of the prohibition on Jews making pilgrimages to Elijah's Cave, even after offering considerable sums of money, is very strange, since Doubdan describes in his book how Jews make their pilgrimage there,[74] and Morison also (in 1697-1698) was aware that both Jews and Muslims used to come to the Cave in great numbers to pray and praise their Creator.[75]

A.M. Myller, who visited the Cave in 1726, was impressed by the site and writes:

> The Jews hold this place in great reverence, since it is here that the Prophet Elijah set up twelve stones as an eternal memorial,[76] in which are inscribed many Hebrew letters.[77]

R. Pococke writes in 1738 the following about Elijah's Cave:

> Nearby, is a prayer hall in a cave where, it is said, Elijah sometimes lived there; and it is visited with great admiration by even the Turks, and also by the Christians and the Jews, on the birthday of this holy person. (It is the custom to visit the cave, especially on Sunday after the Sabbath of Consolation [the Sabbath after Tisha b'Av = the ninth of the month of Av]).[78]

Rabbi Abraham Ishmael Sanguinetti, a disciple of Rabbi Haim ben Attar, tells us that Rabbi Haim ben Attar and his disciples stayed in Elijah's Cave on Yom Kippur in 1742 together with the Jews of Haifa.[79] We find the following description of Rabbi Haim ben Attar's visit to the Cave in the same year:

> And this is Elijah's Cave, blessed be his memory. And as we entered the place, the Spirit of God rested upon us and our souls were greatly enlightened. And this is that same cave of which it is said in the Talmud that the Divine Presence never leaves it. And inside the Cave is a small cave, also hewn in the mount, in the one rock, and they say that this is the place of Elijah, blessed be his memory. And there is not a single fly to be seen in that same cave, not one. And how great is its sanctity… In front of the Cave there is a small cistern filled with rainwater. During the summer no water can be seen in it, it is dry, and we ask: O Lord Elijah, give us water, and the next day it was full of water, and there were several other miracles.[80]

Giambattista di S. Alessio of the Carmelite Order lived on Mount Carmel during the years 1765-1774. In his book, he calls the Grotto "The Synagogue of the 'Sons of the Prophets'." He claims that it contained Latin and Arabic inscriptions, as well as Hebrew and Greek. He recounts the legends of the Carmelites about the Grotto, its use by Elijah and Elisha, and how it became a sanctuary for the Carmelites where they built a church in honour of St. Mary. In particular, he expands on the legends concerning the relation between the small grotto and St. Mary. He states that the Jews and Christian Greeks, who refer to the Cave, "call it the grotto of Saint Elijah el Khader… but we usually call it the grotto of the Madonna" (*nominato la grotta di S. Elia el Keder* [= *chadr*]… *ma noi ordinariamente la nominiamo la grotta della Madonna*). According to Giambattista, Jacobus, the hermit of Porphyreon (not Haifa; a settlement near Tyre. – A.O.) lived next to the Grotto of Elijah.[81]

W. Turner, who visited Eretz Israel in 1815, writes about the Cave:

> This cave on the 20th of July, the fête of St. E(lias) used to be resorted to by at least 2,000 Catholick Greeks, Maronites, Jews,[82] and Turks, who all paid their devotions to the prophet, and gave a small offering to the convent, which pays to the Pasha of Acre an annual tribute of 110 piastres: but the Pasha has latterly forbad this assembly.[83]

J. S. Buckingham visited Elijah's Cave in January 1816 and describes it at length:

> Into this (i.e. Elijah's Cave. – A.O.) we entered, and found it to be a well-hewn chamber, cut entirely out of the rock, and squared with great care; being twenty paces long, twelve broad, and from fifteen to eighteen feet high. It has a cell on the left, on entering, nearly in the centre of its eastern side, large, but roughly hewn; and around the south end, and west side, runs a low bench of stone. A kind of altar, in a high recess, stands at its further end, immediately opposite to the door of entrance, before which there were, at this moment, a curtain and a lamp. Beneath were mats and carpets, for the accommodation of visitors. It thus forms a comfortable halt for travellers, as it affords shelter and shade, and has a cistern of excellent water, a place for horses, and a coffee-house adjoining. It is called the "School of Elias," from a notion that the prophet taught his disciples there. It was formerly in Christian hands, but it is now taken care of by Mohammedans, who have built all these convenient establishments about it. On the walls several Greek inscriptions appeared, which we had not time to copy; and we saw also, among a multitude of visitors' names, some written recently in Hebrew characters, by Jews from Accho; this place being held in equal esteem by Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians.[84]

According to Buckingham, there was "a sort of caravansera, built before a fine cave" (i.e. Elijah's Cave. – A.O.),[85] where the Muslim guardian of the Cave dwelt. At the time of the visit of V. Guérin to Elijah's Cave, he met there a dervish, guardian of the site, who lodged in the house (Buckingham's caravanserai).[86] It seems to have been a tradition to confide guardianship of the Cave to a dervish, as had been done in the days of Philip of the Most Holy Trinity and Fr. Prosper.[87]

Fig. 15. An *aedicula* with a relief of two defaced human figures and a libation vessel on the west wall of the Cave.

The Cave was visited in 1820-1821 by the German scholar and traveller J.M.A. Scholz, who copied some fifteen inscriptions, albeit incompletely and incorrectly.[88]

The Englishman J. Carne, who visited the Cave in the 1830s, describes its interior space in addition to a drawing, which seems to be inaccurate, and calls it, like other visitors, the "Cave of the School of the Prophets." He adds the following description:

> This is situated in the declivity of Mount Carmel, above the road to Caesarea; it is lofty, and appears to be a natural excavation, and not hewn out by human labour. Through its arched doorway comes the only light,… There are fragments of walls still visible where a monastery formerly stood.[89]

C.W. Wilson, who visited the Cave in 1864-1866, describes it as follows:

Fig. 16. Detail of Fig. 15.

> The grotto known as "the School of the Prophets," at the foot of Mount Carmel, was, after a long interval, purchased and tenanted for a time by a small company of Carmelites. A little chapel was built close to it by Fra Prospero, but in 1635 the monks were massacred by the Muhammedans, who took possession of the place and have held it ever since. They regard it with great reverence, and keep lamps constantly burning there in honour of Elijah, and it is visited by a great number of pilgrims of divers creeds every year. The grotto, which is partly artificial, is twenty-eight by twenty-one feet square, and eighteen feet in height. I once saw a rudely carved and painted wooden cradle here, and was told that it had been brought by a young mother who had lost two children successively in infancy, and who desired a blessing and protection for her newly-born child, and infant son. A small house, built only a few years ago, stands opposite the entrance to the grotto, where the ruins of the chapel of Fra Prospero could formerly be traced. A palm-tree grows within the enclosed Court of this sanctuary.[90]

The French scholar E. Renan mentions the Cave of Elijah on Mount Carmel as the centre of the cult of the ancient god Carmel.[91] Another French scholar/traveller, V. Guérin, who also visited Elijah's Cave in the 1860s, describes it in detail, stating that it was an ancient beautiful grotto ("une belle grotte antique"), known as *École des prophètes* or *Synagogue d'Élie*. The Cave was converted into a mosque by the Muslims after 1635, dedicated to el-Khader (Prophet Elijah). Guérin also points out its measurements and emphasizes that it was a natural cave, enlarged and adapted for human use. He mentions that the walls of the Cave feature Greek, Latin and Hebrew inscriptions engraved by numerous pilgrims, but difficult to decipher because of their bad state of preservation.[92]

C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, who carried out the Survey of Western Palestine in the 1870s, write the following about Elijah's Cave:

> At the foot of Carmel is el Khudr, or the 'Place of Elijah' – a modern house in front of a grotto, which is partly artificial, measuring about 7 yards by 8 and 6 high. This grotto is known as

Fig. 17. Inscribed votive marble foot of a colossal statue.

> the 'School of the Prophet.' The site was bought in 1631 by Fra Prospero di Spirito Santo, a native of Biscaglia, and a small Chapel erected. In 1635 a massacre of the monks occurred, and the place was seized by the Moslems. The present building is said to date from 1867. There is a palm in the courtyard.[93]

The Cave was visited by another German scholar, Lydia Einsler, in the early 1890s, repeating the same description as that by previous visitors. She states that many people visit it during the year, and Muslims, Christians and Jews participate there in popular festivities.[94]

Among the various works written in the late 19th and 20th century mentioning Elijah's Cave, of particular interest are those by J. Germer-Durand,[95] E.F. von Mülinen (1906-1907),[96] a group of Professors of Notre-Dame de France at Jerusalem,[97] B. Meistermann,[98] Cl. Kopp,[99] I. Press,[100] Z. Vilnay,[101] A. Augustinović[102] and others. The Cave was also briefly described in encyclopaedias and guide books on Eretz Israel throughout the 20th century. The frequent visits of travellers and scholars to Elijah's Cave and their interest in the site, expressed in their descriptions, show the importance that the site has retained over the generations.

None of the later historical sources mentioning the Cave are scientifically sound, and the descriptions are based on personal impressions. Each description expresses the personality and style of its author. Some are expansive, some brief, according to the interest of the author in the site, but none underestimate the importance of the Cave and its unique properties. Furthermore, local traditions and tales have added a dimension of sanctity to the Cave over the later generations. The number of pilgrims has consequently increased over the years, and over the last few centuries the Cave has become a site of pilgrimage for Jews, Christians, Muslims and Druze.

*Asher Ovadiah*

# Part II

## D. The Inscriptions

Of the total number of 180 engraved inscriptions on the west and east walls of the Cave (170 in Greek, 1 in Latin and 9 in Hebrew), approx. 90 are legible (Figs. 18-19, 38). The remaining are in a bad state of preservation and their reading and completion is difficult. These inscriptions have been eroded over the course of time, damaged or deleted by later visitors/pilgrims, who superimposed their own personal details upon the earlier ones. Most of the inscriptions are enclosed within a frame: either *tabula ansata* (29 on the west wall and 16 on the east one), rectangular or irregular. The height of the letters of the inscriptions varies from 1-1.50 cm to 14 cm. Their width also varies among the inscriptions. The size of the letters thus cannot be used as a chronological criterion. This disorder of the engravings would seem to have resulted from the lack of space on the walls, and to have occurred at a certain stage of the existence of the Cave. Those inscriptions with large and conspicuous letters perhaps attest to the intention of the visitor/pilgrim to give prominence to himself. The visitors/pilgrims undoubtedly inscribed their names and other personal details for commemoration, and to ensure prosperity and good fortune.

The epigraphic material in Elijah's Cave offers one of the most important, richest and largest repertoires of Greek inscriptions in the Land of Israel of the Roman and early Byzantine periods, like those in the Jewish cemeteries in Beth She'arim[103] and Jaffa[104] and that in an Early Christian church in Bethany.[105]

From the 4th or 5th century CE onwards, Elijah's Cave served as a pilgrimage site for both Jews and Christians (later on also for Druze and Muslims) and some of the Greek inscriptions can be dated to the early Byzantine period.

In this work, a selection of 22 of the best-preserved above-mentioned Greek inscriptions will be discussed. They are numbered according to the consecutive numbers appearing in the drawings of the inscriptions.[106] The remaining inscriptions will be dealt with in a later study.

The inscriptions present a rich and impressive *onomasticon* of 81 masculine and feminine personal names (except for those in the Hebrew and Latin inscriptions), some of which are unfamiliar. Most of the *onomasticon* consists of Greek personal names, well known throughout the Greek and Roman worlds, but a considerable number of Latin names appear in Greek transliteration or transcription, such as: Αἰμ<ί>λ[ιος] (No. 109), Γερμανός (No. 93), Δο[μιτ]τίλλα (No. 145), Δόμ(νος) or Δόμ(να) (?) (No. 10A), Ἔλιος (No. 18), Ἰουλιανός (No. 136), Ἰουλίου (No. 50), Κάνδιδα (No. 10), Λουκία (No. 142), Λουκίλλις (No. 22), Λούκιος (Nos. 1, 69A, 70, 103), Μάγνα (No. 12), Μάζιμος (No. 51), Μαριάς (No. 17), Μαρῖνος (No. 109), Οὐαλέριος (No. 135), Οὐάλης (No. 39), Οὐάπ(ι)ος (No. 16), Πούπλιος (Nos. 36, 103), Φαβιανοῦ (No. 21). It should be noted that some names of Semitic origin, Ἀλαφαῖος (No. 80), Ἀστάτρι (No. 76, sounds Semitic), Ἠλί[ας?] (No. 147), Ἰονᾶς (No. 20), Ἰούδας (No. 40), Μάλαχος (No. 92), also appear in Greek transliteration or transcription. The last four names are typically Jewish.

The following personal names, including those that will be discussed in a later article, were in use among Jews: Αἴλιος instead of Ἔλιος (No. 1), Ἀλέξανδρος (No. 19), Γερμανός (No. 93), Δάμας or Δαμᾶς (No. 108), Δημήτριος (No. 102), Διογένης (No. 5), Ζεῦξις (No. 103), Θεόδωρος (Nos. 24[?], 37, 96), Ἰουλιανός (No. 136), Κάνδιδα (No. 10), Κυρί(λ)λα (No. 94), Κύριλλος (No. 18), Λούκιος (Nos. 1, 69A, 70, 103), Μαρία (No. 17), Μνασέας (No. 10), Πέτρος (No. 146), Πτολεμαῖος (Nos. 96, 141), Cωσέας instead of Cωσίας (Nos. 48, 140).

Several personal names, including some of those that are not discussed here, appear more than once: Διόφαντος (Nos. 20, 102), Θεόδωρος (Nos. 24[?], 37, 96), Λούκιος (Nos. 1, 69A, 70, 103), Πτολεμαῖος (Nos. 96, 141), Cωσίας (Nos. 48, 140). It can be surmised that these names had acquired, for various reasons, a wide use and became frequent and popular in Antiquity and Late Antiquity.

The personal names of the men and women are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ἀγαθηνός | No. 131 |
| Ἄγιπις | No. 27 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Αἰμ<ί>λ[ιος] | No. 109 |
| Ἀλαφαῖος | No. 80 |
| Ἀλέξανδρος | No. 19 |
| Ἄνης | No. 142 |
| Ἄν[να] | No. 109 |
| Ἀπουνᾶς(?) | No. 21 |
| Ἄντι (voc. of Ἄντις) | No. 95 |
| Ἄντυ (voc. of Ἄντυς) | No. 129 |
| Ἀσία | No. 24 |
| Ἀσκληπιάδης | No. 39 |
| Ἀστάτρι | No. 76 |
| Αὐγούριπος | No. 83 |
| Γαία or Γάϊα | No. 8 |
| Γερμανός | No. 93 |
| Δάμας or Δαμᾶς | No. 108 |
| Δημητρᾶς | No. 17 |
| Δημήτριος | No. 102 |
| Διογέ[νης] | No. 5 |
| Διόφαντος | Nos. 20, 102 |
| Δο[μιτ]τίλλα | No. 145 |
| Δόμ(νος) or Δόμ(να) (?) | No. 10A |
| Δύμνη(?) | No. 88 |
| Δώδμη (voc. of Δώδμη?) | No. 86 |
| Ἔλιος | No. 18 |
| Ε[ὐτ]υκία | No. 89 |
| Ζεῦξις | No. 103 |
| Ζήνων | No. 113 |
| Ζώσυς | No. 145 |
| Ἠλί[ας] / Ἥλι[ος] | No. 147 |
| Ἡλιό[δωρος] | No. 136 |
| Θεόδωρος | Nos. 24(?), 37, 96 |
| Θή[α](?) | No. 80A |
| Θωμ[ᾶ]ν | No. 101 |
| Ἰονᾶς | No. 20 |
| Ἰούδας | No. 40 |
| Ἰουλιανός | No. 136 |
| Ἰουλίου (gen. of Ἰούλιος) | No. 50 |
| Ἰ[ού]λ[λ]ις | No. 135A |
| Ἰ[σ]αί(?) | No. 42 |
| Κάνδιδα | No. 10 |
| Κυρί(λ)λα | No. 94 |
| Κυρίλλῳ (dat. of Κύριλλος) | No. 18 |
| Λουκία | No. 142 |
| Λουκίλλις | No. 22 |
| Λούκιος | Nos. 1, 69A, 70, 103 |
| Μάγνα | No. 129 |
| Μαδαρχία | No. 147a |
| Μάζιμος | No. 51 |
| Μάλαχος | No. 92 |
| Μαρίας | No. 17 |
| Μαρῖνος | No. 109 |
| Μασ[ᾶς] | No. 69A |
| [Μ]ήνιος | No. 27 |
| Μνασέας | No. 10 |
| Μνησίσιο[ς] | No. 15 |
| Μον[ίμου] / Μον[άθου] | No. 94 |
| Μύνδος | No. 137A |
| Νανᾶς or Νανάς | No. 68 |
| Νόνα (also Νόννα) | No. 94 |
| Νομ[..]κανος | No. 136 |
| Οἰτισκήλιον | No. 136 |
| Ὀπ[.]υανη | No. 131 |
| Οὐαλέριος | No. 132 |
| Οὐαλέρις | No. 135 |
| Οὐάλης | No. 39 |
| Οὐλ[ιάδης] / Οὔλ[πιος] | No. 135 |
| Οὐάπ(ι)ος | No. 16 |
| Πέτρε (voc. of Πέτρος) | No. 146 |
| Πολε[…]ν | No. 131 |
| Πούπλιος | Nos. 36, 103 |
| Πτολεμαῖος | Nos. 96, 141 |
| Ϲατυρίου (gen. of Ϲατύριος) | No. 1 |
| Ϲάωνος | No. 41 |
| Ϲηωνᾶς | No. 108 |
| Ϲωσίας | Nos. 48, 140 |
| Ϲωσιπάτρα | No. 93 |
| Φαβιανοῦ (gen. of Φαβιανός) | No. 21 |
| Φάλις | No. 92 |
| Φιλ[ό]π[α]π(π)ος | No. 22 |

Inscription No. 18 features a title indicating respect – Μέγιστος – (the) Most Mighty, which suggests the importance and social and/or political status of the person.

The single Latin inscription (No. 28), engraved on the west wall of the Cave, yielded three proper names: Calvus (engraved Calvo in the dative case), Monicus and Met[tia] or Met[tius]. It is difficult to determine whether the third incomplete name is feminine or masculine. The date of the inscription is problematic, but the names suggest its attribution to the Roman period.

The nine Hebrew inscriptions contain nine masculine and feminine names:

יצחק בר כומה – Isaac *bar* (son of) Koma – No. 91 (on the west wall);

... יעקב - Jacob ... (incomplete, without a consecutive number, on the west wall, below inscription No. 141);

ישראל בן ראובן - Israel son of Reuben (without a consecutive number, on the west wall, below inscription No. 141);

בנימין ה"ר (הבן של רבי) או בר שלמה – Benjamin the son of (or *bar*) Shelomo (without a consecutive number, on the east wall);

חיים – Haim (without a consecutive number, on the east wall);

רבקה, ישראל, ראובן, יעקב – Rivkah, Israel, Reuben, Jacob (without a consecutive number, on the east wall).

The Hebrew names are most probably of Jews from Acre/Acco, who visited the Cave in the 18th and 19th centuries. According to some of the historical/literary sources mentioned above, Jews from Acre/Acco, who revered the prophet Elijah and his holy place, used to make a pilgrimage to the Cave, where they engraved their names as a symbol of commemoration, success, prosperity, good fortune and a plea for protection against the evil eye, disease and unexpected disaster.

The language of the Greek inscriptions is not unified, ranging from simple (most of the inscriptions) to higher (Nos. 18 and 103) and reflecting the level of education of the visitors/pilgrims. Although their formulation is uniform, some inscriptions are longer and others are shorter. Inscription No. 18 is of a commemorative character, while also containing an exceptional request – not to profane the site (the Cave).

The formulae μνησθῇ (*remembered be*)[107] and εὐτύχ<ε>ι (*succeed* or *be happy*, in the imperative)[108] are of commemorative character and prophylactic against the evil eye or any disaster. Both formulae appear repeatedly at the head of the inscriptions. In six cases (Nos. 12, 17, 31, 80, 83, 128) μνησθῇ appears, both at the head of the inscription and at its end, and seems to be exceptional. Μνησθῇ, like the Aramaic and Hebrew formulae דכיר לטב and זכור לטובה respectively,[109] was in use by different religions in various periods and geographical regions, and thus cannot serve to identify the religion of the individual mentioned in the inscription. The same applies to εὐτύχει. Another exceptional formula, which appears four times, is χαρῇ (Nos. 94, 102A, 108, 109), that is, *happy be*.

In the northern part of the east wall of the Cave two *menorahs* (seven-branched candlesticks) were engraved, one rounded and the other angular (Figs. 20, 38). According to the design of similar *menorahs*, found in ancient mosaic pavements,[110] they can probably be attributed to between the 4th and 6th centuries CE. These *menorahs* unequivocally attest to Jewish pilgrims having visited the Cave in Late Antiquity. They appear to have been engraved by skilled engravers with a trained hand, who probably worked at the site and were paid by the visitors/pilgrims. The same is true for the fine and monumental inscriptions. We can assume that the *tabulae ansatae* frames too indicate the existence of such skilled engravers.

In the north-east corner of the Cave there is a monumental cross of equal arms, engraved within a round medallion, probably of the Crusader period (Fig. 21). Another plain and smaller cross with four equal arms, standing on a triangular form, possibly a stylized and schematic representation of the hill of Golgotha, is engraved between the letters of inscription No. 69A on the west wall. This is the so-called Greek type cross (*crux immissa*) that can perhaps be dated to the early Byzantine period (although there are no grounds to confirm this date).[111]

**Inscription No. 1** (Fig. 22)

The inscription is enclosed in a rectangular frame (45 × 88 cm) and consists of four lines. The script is uniform, regular and rather monumental; some letters are round, as for example the Θ, O and C. The inscription is of high quality and in a very good state of preservation, like inscription No. 93 (see below). It seems to be the work of a skilled engraver.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῇ Λού- | *Remembered be Lou-* |
| 2. κιος Ϲατυρίο- | *kios son of Satyrios* |
| 3. υ σὺ πᾶν οἰκί- | *with all the hou-* |
| 4. αν ὀλι[..λο] | *se oli[..lo].*[112] |

Lines 1-3: Λούκιος Ϲατυρίου.- Λούκιος, in the nominative case, is a prevalent masculine Latin name in Greek transliteration,[113] widespread in

many geographical regions of the Greek and Roman worlds, such as in the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica, Attica, the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea and Coastal Asia Minor (Pontos to Ionia), from the 1st century BCE up to the 3rd century CE and even later, as well as in Syria, Moab and Egypt.[114] The name is frequent in the provinces of Palaestina and Arabia, where it is either used as a *praenomen*, mostly for Roman governors of Arabia, in cities of the Decapolis, or as a single name in Moab, Caesarea Maritima, Tyre and Hauran.[115] Λούκιος also appears among Jewish names.[116] Ϲατυρίου, the father of Λούκιος, is a masculine Greek name whose nominative form can be Ϲάτυρις[117] or Ϲατύριος (since it is very close to the personal name Ϲάτυρος,[118] perhaps the letter ι was engraved in error). Ϲάτυρος also appears among Jewish names.[119]

Lines 3-4: σὺ πᾶν οἰκίαν.- It is erroneously engraved in the accusative; the correct reading should be σὺν πάσῃ οἰκίᾳ, in the dative; namely, *with all the house*. The intention is probably to commemorate the members of the house of Loukios, son of Satyris or Satyrios, suggesting good fortune and protection from the evil eye or any disaster.

**Inscription No. 5** (Fig. 23)

The inscription is enclosed in a rectangular frame (39 × 59 cm) and consists of two lines. The script is rather regular and uniform, but is poorly engraved. Some letters are round, as for example the Θ, O, C and Φ.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησ[θῇ] | *Remembered be* |
| 2. Διογέ[νης] | *Dioge[nes]*. |

Line 2: Διογέ[νης].- A frequent masculine Greek name, in the nominative, widespread in the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica, Attica, the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia, Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea and Coastal Asia Minor (Pontus to Ionia), continuously from the 6th century BCE up to the 6th century CE.[120] The name also appears among Jewish names.[121]

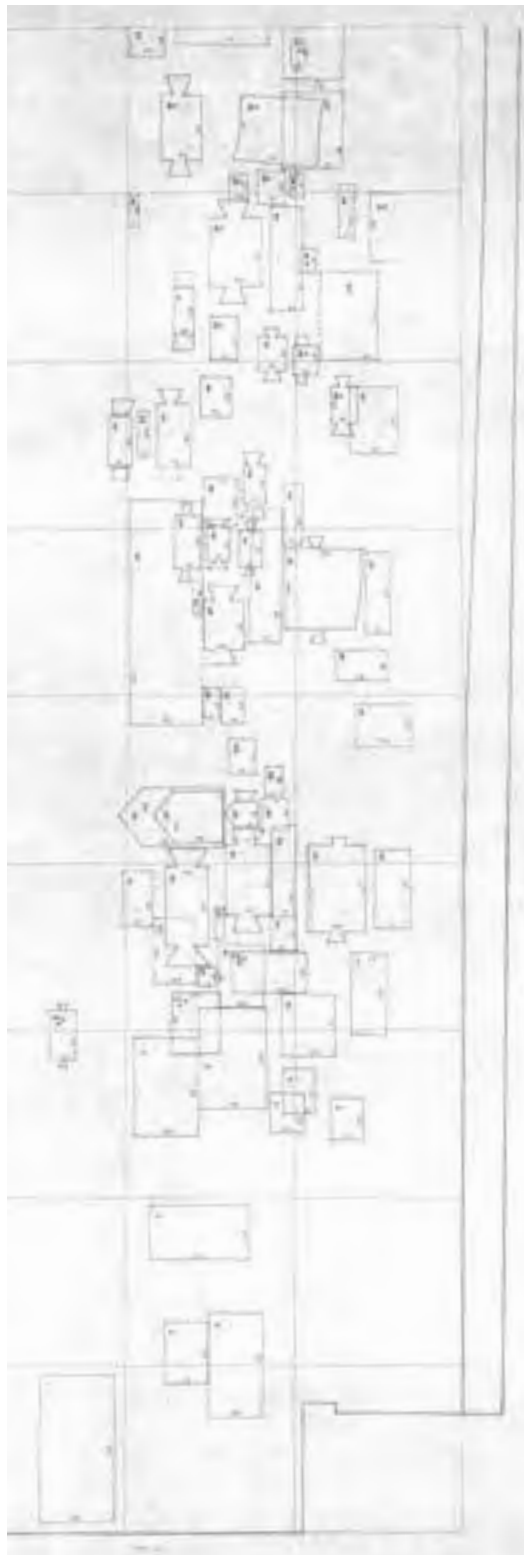

Fig. 18. Diagram recording the location of the inscriptions on the west wall of the Cave.

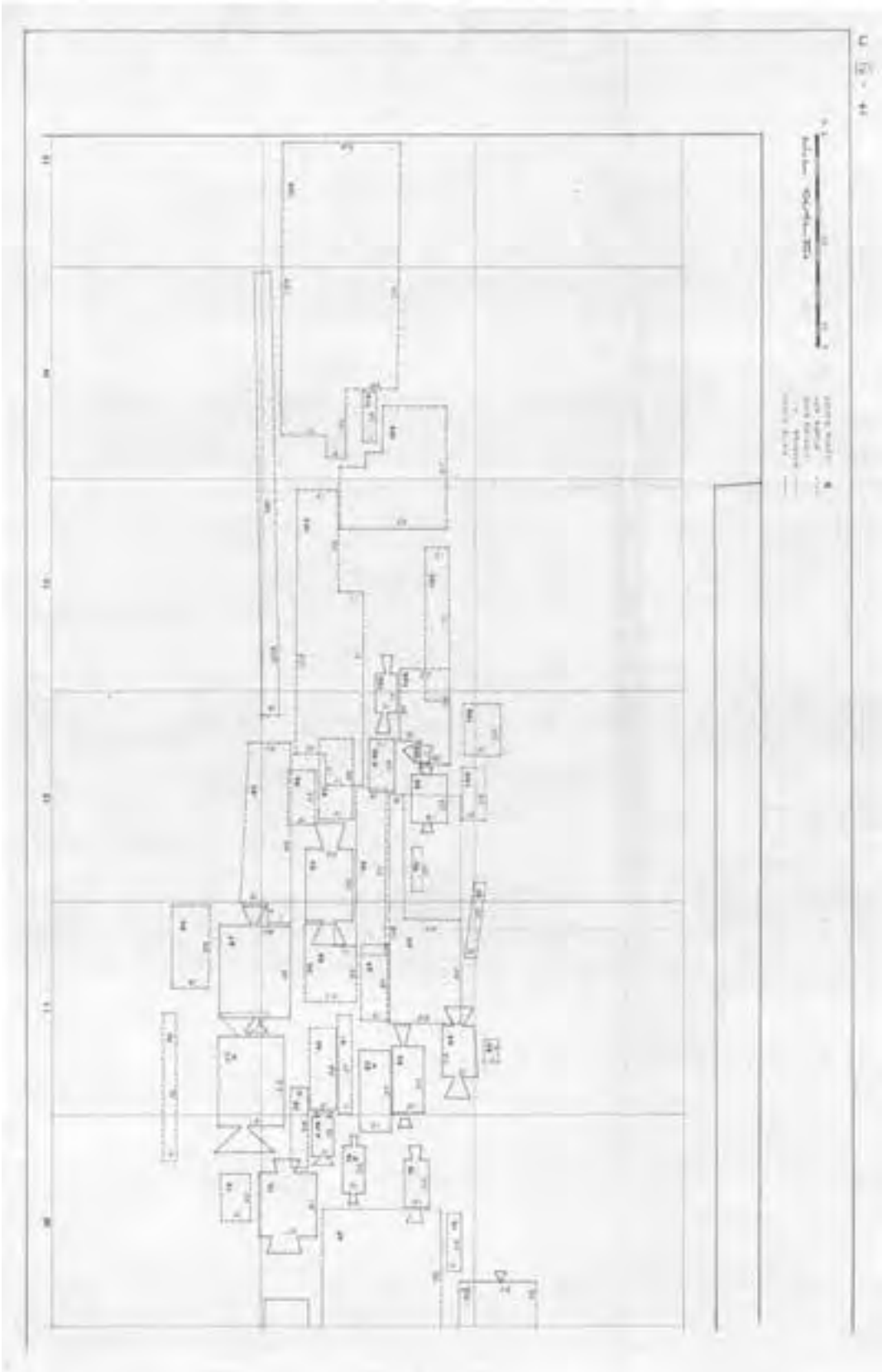

Fig. 19. Diagram recording the location of the inscriptions on the west wall of the Cave.


Fig. 20. Two menorahs on the east wall of the Cave.

Fig. 21. A monumental cross engraved within a round medallion in the north-east corner of the Cave.

**Inscription No. 10** (Fig. 24)

The inscription (32 × 37 cm) consists of five lines. The script is regular and uniform and some letters are square, as for example the E, Θ and C. This is a complete inscription and the engraver appears to have been skilled.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνη- | *Remember-* |
| 2. σθῆ Κάν- | *ed be Kan-* |
| 3. διδα | *dida* |
| 4. καὶ Μνασέ- | *and Mnase-* |
| 5. ας | *as.*[122] |

Lines 2-3: Κάνδιδα.- A feminine name, in the nominative, adopted from the Latin to the Greek *onomasticon*.[123] Variants of Κάνδιδα are Κανδέδας (in the genitive), ε instead of ι[124] and Κανδίδεα (in the nominative).[125] Its masculine counterpart is Κάνδιδος (= Candidus).[126] Κάνδιδα also appears among Jewish names.[127]

Lines 4-5: Μνασέας.- A masculine Greek name, in the nominative, prevailed in the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica, Attica, the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace and Coastal Asia Minor, from the 5th century BCE up to the 4th century CE,[128] as well as in Syria in the Roman period.[129] Two very close names – Μνασήας and Μνασίας – appear in Attica in the Hellenistic period, possibly variants of Μνασέας.[130] Μνασίας is also found in Central Greece in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods (there is one exception from the 2nd century CE).[131] Μνασέας also appears among Jewish names.[132]

**Inscription No. 17** (Fig. 25)

The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame (no measurements) and consists of three lines. The script is regular and uniform and seems to have been engraved by a trained hand. Some letters, Θ, O and C, are round; the foot of the Y is exceptionally short and angular.

The formula μνησθῆ was engraved twice, at the head of the inscription and at its end (line 3), as in inscriptions Nos. 80, 83.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῆ Δημητρᾶς | *Remembered be Demetras* |
| 2. Μαρίας υἱὸς πᾶν | *son of Maria, all* |
| 3. [μνησ]θῆ [.]ι[.....] | *remembered be* [.] i.....]. |

Fig. 22. Inscription No. 1.


Fig. 23. Inscription No. 5.

Fig. 24. Inscription No. 10.

Fig. 25. Inscription No. 17.

Line 1: Δημητρᾶς.- A masculine Greek name in the nominative, probably a hypocoristic form of Δημητριάδης, like Ἀσκληπᾶς for Ἀσκληπιάδης.[133]

Line 2: Μαρίας.- A Greek transliteration, in the genitive, of the feminine Latin name Maria. It also appears in Greek in Jewish inscriptions from the Jewish catacombs in Rome.[134] The name is frequent in various geographical regions in the Roman and early Byzantine periods.[135] Μαρία or Μαρίας also appears among Jews.[136]

Line 3: [μνησ]θῇ.- The letters θ and η are joined together and form a ligature.

**Inscription No. 18** (Fig. 26)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (27 × 41 cm) and consists of six lines. In each *ansa* is an ivy leaf, which often appears in inscriptions of the Roman period. The script is usually regular and uniform and has been skillfully engraved. Some letters are round, like the E (another E is square), Θ, M, O, C and ω. This is a dedicatory inscription by Elios, the *decurio*, to his son Kyrillos, with a prohibition against profaning the Cave.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησ[θ]ῇ Ἔλι- | *Remembered be Eli-* |
| 2. ος Μ[έ]γιστος | *os M*[*e*]*gistos* ([*the*] *Most Mighty*), |
| 3. δεκου[ρί]ων κολ(ωνίας) | *decu*[*ri*]*o of the col*[*ony*] |
| 4. Πτολαιμα(ΐ̈δος) Κυρ[ί]λλῳ | *of Ptolema*[*is*], *to* (*my*) *son Kyr*[*i*]*llos.* |
| 5. υἱῷ. Εἰαέσ[θ]ο τῷ μὴ | *It is forbidden* |
| 6. λιένοντι ὁ τόπος | *to profane the place.*[137] |

Lines 1-2: Ἔλιος Μ[έ]γιστος.- The letter A in the name Ἔλιος is missing, probably a distortion of Ἀέλιος, the Greek transcription of the Latin name Aelius,[138] or Αἴλιος.[139] Αἴλιος was also in use among Jews.[140] Μ[έ]γιστος ([the] Most Mighty) is the superlative of μέγας, a title of respect that indicates the authoritative, supreme and dominant personality of Elios.

Line 3: δεκου[ρί]ων.- This title, in the nominative, is a Greek transliteration of the Latin *decurio* and is identical with the Greek title δεκάδαρχος or δεκαδάρχης. This may indicate one of three positions known mainly from other Greek inscriptions discovered in the eastern Roman empire: a) a civilian municipal position – member of a city council or council of some other type of settlement; b) a position in a *collegium*, as a council member; and c) a military position, namely a cavalry officer. Latin inscriptions from the Roman eastern provinces frequently include the title *decurio* with references to the positions suggested above. The first position

Fig. 26. Inscriptions Nos. 18-19.

Fig. 27. Inscription No. 36.

would appear to be the most probably for this inscription.[141]

Line 4: Πτολαιμα(ΐδος) Κυρ[ί]λλῳ.- The letters λ and α in the word Πτολαιμα(ΐδος) form a ligature through engraving of the α within the λ. The diphthong αι was erroneously engraved, instead of ε, or perhaps this is in phonetic spelling. Thus the correct spelling should be Πτολεμα(ΐδος), in the genitive, the Greek name of Acre/Acco. Κυρ[ί]λλῳ, in the dative, is a masculine Greek name for Κύριλλος (Kyrillos). It prevailed in the Aegean islands (Crete) and Cyprus,[142] Central Greece,[143] Macedonia, Skythia Minor and Thrace,[144] and Coastal Asia Minor,[145] as well as in Syria[146] in the Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine periods. The name is well documented in Palaestina and Arabia both in pagan and Christian epigraphic material. The pagan examples, which date to between the late 2nd and the late 3rd centuries CE, come from the Golan Heights, Gerasa and Bostra in Hauran. The name Κύριλλος was also in use among Jews in the Land of Israel; it is mentioned in two inscriptions from Jaffa and in three epitaphs from the cemetery at Beth She'arim. The Christian occurrences are encountered mainly at Kerak in Moab, Nessana in the Negev and Wadi Haggag in Sinai.[147] Its feminine counterpart – Κύρι(λ)λα – is engraved

Fig. 28. Inscription No. 37.

in inscription No. 94 (and will be discussed in the forthcoming article).

Line 5: Ειαέσ[θ]ο τῷ μή.- Ειαέσ[θ]ο is mistakenly engraved; the correct spelling should be ειάσ[θ]<ω> (= ἐάσθω), third person singular, in the present imperative passive, from the verb ἐάω; when the verb is connected with a negative word (τῷ μή, as in our case) its connotation is to forbid.[148] This word may also be read as εἵλεως (= ἵλεως) – favourable –, the present optative εἴη or the present imperative ἔστω from εἰμί.

Line 6: λιένοντι ὁ τόπος.- Perhaps, the engraver misspelled λιένοντι instead of <μ>ι<αί>νοντι, in the dative singular, of the verb μιαίνω - to defile, sully, profane.[149] Its connection with the words in line 5 means avoidance, profanation or defilement of the place (ὁ τόπος), i.e. the Cave. If correct, it indicates that the Cave was sacred as a cultic place or shrine in the Roman period, at the time that the dedicatory inscription was engraved on the wall by Elios the *decurio*, presumably an educated person. Another possibility is that the engraver misspelled λιένοντι, or engraved it in phonetic spelling, instead of λι<αί>νοντι (present participle), the singular dative masculine of λιαίνω <χλιαίνω - to warm; in this case the verb may indicate fever.[150] Consequently, the alternative reading of lines 4-6 will be as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. … Κυρ[ί]λλῳ | *The place should be favourable* |
| 5. υἱῷ, εἵλεως τῷ μὴ | *to (my) son Kyrillos,* |
| 6. λι<αί>νοντι ὁ τόπος | *who will not be affected any more by fever.* |

In this case, too, the Cave can be regarded as a sacred site due of its healing qualities.

The inscription in question, similar to No. 103 (see below), is unusual among those discovered in Elijah's Cave because of its particular linguistic expressions. In addition, it evinces the strong connections, especially religious ones, between Elijah's Cave and Phoenicia in general, and Ptolemais (Acre/Acco) in particular.

**Inscription No. 19** (Fig. 26)

The inscription (16 × 20 cm) consists of three lines. The script is regular and uniform, and some letters are round, such as Θ, O, P and C. The inscription was engraved by a trained hand.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῇ | *Remembered be* |
| 2. Ἀλέξαν- | *Alexan-* |
| 3. δρος | *dros.* |

Lines 2-3: Ἀλέξανδρος.- A very common masculine Greek name, in the nominative, spread throughout the Greek and Roman worlds, even in later periods.[151] The name is also very frequent among Jews.[152]

**Inscription No. 36** (Fig. 27)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (46 × 48 cm) and consists of four lines. The script is regular and uniform, and some letters are round, such as Θ, O, P, C and Φ. The foot of the P, in the third line, is angular, like the Y in inscription No. 17. The inscription was engraved by a trained hand.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῇ | *Remembered be* |
| 2. Πούπλιος | *Pouplios* |
| 3. κ[αὶ] [..]ηρ | *and [..]er* |
| 4. καὶ οἱ φίλοι | *and the friends.* |

Line 2: Πούπλιος.- A Greek transcription, in the nominative, of the masculine Latin name Publius.[153] It also appears in the form of Πόπλιος;[154] interestingly, this name was also in use among Jews, as for example, in Teos, Asia Minor.[155]

Line 3: κ[αὶ] [..]ηρ.- And a certain one (ὁ δεῖνα); the name is damaged and is difficult to reconstruct.

Line 4: καὶ οἱ φίλοι.- (*Remembered be*) also the friends of Πούπλιος and the certain one (ὁ δεῖνα) (in line 3).

**Inscription No. 37** (Fig. 28)

The inscription (15 × 47 cm) consists of two lines. The script is quite regular and uniform, with square (E and Ω) and oval/round (E, Θ, O, P and C) letters. The letters E and O in Theodoros' name form a ligature, through the E engraved within the O. The inscription was not engraved by a trained hand.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Κὲ Θεόδωρ- | *And Theodor-* |
| 2. ος μνη[σθῇ] | *os remembered be.* |

Lines 1-2: Κὲ Θεόδωρος.- Κέ is instead of κ<αί>, either a common mistake or phonetic spelling in

Greek inscriptions, especially in the Roman and early Byzantine periods (see also inscriptions Nos. 21, 24, 92, 94, 108, 113, 140, 149).

Θεόδωρος is a popular pagan theophoric Greek name, widespread in the Greek and Roman worlds (see below inscription No. 96).[156] It survived in the Christian nomenclature, acquiring a new "Christian" meaning.[157] Use of Θεόδωρος is frequent in Palaestina and Arabia, where the name appears mostly in the Christian context but also occasionally in the pagan one.[158] The name was also in use among Jews.[159]

The position of the present inscription, below No. 36, makes it possible to consider that the formula μνησθῆ, at the head of inscription No. 36, served both inscriptions simultaneously, despite its appearance also at the end of the inscription in question (for a similar case, with the formula χαρῆ, see below inscriptions Nos. 108 and 109). If this suggestion is correct, the reading should be as follows: Μνησθῆ … κ<αὶ> Θεόδωρος μνησθῆ.

Use of the same formula as that of No. 36 but a different script, both indicate that the present inscription was engraved at a later stage by another hand.

Fig. 29. Inscription No. 39.

**Inscription No. 39** (Fig. 29)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (15 × 32 cm) and consists of four lines. The script is regular and uniform, with oval/round letters (Θ, O, and C). It was engraved by a trained hand.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῆ Οὐάλης | *Remembered be Ouales* |
| 2. καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδ- | *and Asklepiad-* |
| 3. ης καὶ Θ[…]υσ[…] | *es and Th*[…]*ys*[…] |
| 4. πᾶς αγ[……] | *every one ag*[……]. |

Line 1: Οὐάλης.- A Greek transcription of the masculine Latin name Valens. The name is frequent in the first-third centuries CE and later in various geographical regions.[160]

Lines 2-3: Ἀσκληπιάδης.- A very common masculine Greek name, in the nominative, that prevailed in the Greek and Roman worlds, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[161] According to some scholars, since the bearer of this name as a rule practiced medicine, which was hereditary from father to son, the name Ἀσκληπιάδης gradually came to be the equivalent of physician.[162] In fact, several well-known medical doctors of the Roman period bore the name Ἀσκληπιάδης.[163]

**Inscription No. 48** (Fig. 30)

The inscription is enclosed in a rectangular frame (18 × 24 cm) and consists of five lines (the fifth line is missing). The script is irregular, with some round letters (E, Θ, C and ω) and an angular letter (C) in the second line. The inscription was carelessly engraved.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῆ | *Remembered be* |
| 2. Cωσίας | *Sosias* |
| 3. μετὰ τέκ- | *with our* |
| 4. να ἡμ[ᾶ]ς | *children* |
| 5. [……] | [……]. |

Line 2: Cωσίας.- A masculine Greek name in the nominative, found frequently in the Greek world from the 6th century BCE up to the 3rd century CE.[164] Its feminine counterpart is probably Cωσέας (Soseas), a name also appearing among Jews.[165]

Fig. 30. Inscription No. 48.

Fig. 31. Inscriptions Nos. 76, 86.

Lines 3-4: τέκνα ἡμ[ᾶ]ς.- The word τέκνα was mistakenly engraved in the accusative instead of τέκνων in the genitive, namely μετὰ τέκνων. Ἡμᾶς - a pronoun, first person plural in the accusative, instead of ἡμῶν in the genitive.

**Inscription No. 76** (Fig. 31)

The inscription (7 × 70 cm) consists of only one line. It seems reasonable to complete the formula μνησθῇ before the proper name; the letter C is rather square.

Fig. 32. Inscriptions Nos. 80, 83.

[Μνησθῇ] Ἀστάτρι [*Remembered be*] *Astatri*.

If the reading is correct, however, the name is unfamiliar.

**Inscription No. 80** (Fig. 32)

A graffito enclosed in an incomplete rectangular frame (14 × 38 cm) and consisting of three lines. The script is regular, with some oval/round letters (Θ, O, C and Φ). The inscription was not engraved by a trained hand. An unclear Greek graffito of three lines (No. 81) was engraved above line 1 of the present inscription and in between its letters. It is unclear which inscription is the earlier one.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. [M]νησθῇ | *Remembered be* |
| 2. Ἀλαφαῖος N, | *Alaphaios (the younger)*, |
| 3. μνησθῇ | *remembered be*. |

Line 1: Μνησθῇ. - The formula appears twice, at the head of the inscription and at its end (line 3), as in inscriptions Nos. 17, 83.

Line 2: Ἀλαφαῖος N.- A rare masculine name in the nominative; the same name, but with ε

Fig. 33. Inscription No. 93.

instead αι – Ἀλαφέος (Alapheos) – was found on a Jewish tombstone in the Golan Heights (its date is obscure, either 1st or 4th century CE).[166] It is unclear whether the correct spelling is Ἀλαφαῖος or Ἀλαφέος. The two versions of the name are of Semitic origin, possibly a variant of Ἄλαφος. The latter, derived from the Nabataean root *hlfw*, is a Greek transcription of *Khalaf*, that is, successor (of Allah – God).[167] The letter N may be an abbreviation of N(εώτερος), that is, *the younger*.[168]

**Inscription No. 83** (Fig. 32)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (16 × 32 cm) and consists of three lines. The script is regular and rather monumental, with some round letters (Θ, O, P and C). The inscription was engraved by a skilled engraver and the letters of the personal name are embellished with small horizontal lines.

The formula μνησθῇ was engraved twice, at the head of the inscription and at its end (line 3), as in inscriptions Nos. 17, 80.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῇ | *Remembered be* |
| 2. Αὐγούρι- | *Augouri-* |
| 3. πος, μνησθῇ | *pos, remembered be.* |

Lines 2-3: Αὐγούριπος, μνησθῇ.- An unfamiliar masculine Latin(?) name, in the nominative, in Greek transliteration(?). It sounds like Αὐγορῖνος / Αὐγουρῖνος;[169] perhaps the engraver was mistaken when he engraved the name on the wall, and the intention was actually to engrave Αὐγουρῖνος. The two last letters of μνησθῇ are joined together, forming a ligature.

**Inscription No. 86** (Fig. 31)

The inscription (18 × 38 cm) consists of two lines. The script is regular and the letters were meticulously engraved. The E is oval/round and the letters C and ω are square.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Εὐτύχ(ε)ι | *Succeed* or *be happy* |
| 2. σύ, Δώδμη | *you, Dodme.* |

Line 1: Εὐτύχ(ε)ι.- This formula appears, like μνησθῇ, at the head of the inscription and is the second person singular imperative of εὐτυχέω (the ε is mistakenly omitted or the word was engraved in phonetic spelling); it means succeed or be happy, with prophylactic intention (see also inscriptions Nos. 4, 33, 38, 87, 95, 101, 106, 129, 146).

Line 2: σύ, Δώδμη.- If the reading is correct, however, the name (in the vocative) is unfamiliar.

**Inscription No. 93** (Fig. 33)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (22 × 35 cm) and consists of five lines. The script is regular and rather monumental; the letters were meticulously engraved. The E is oval/round and the letters C and ω are square. It is one of the finest and most preserved inscriptions.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῇ (ivy leaf) | *Remembered be* (ivy leaf) |
| 2. Γερμανὸς | *Germanos* |
| 3. στρατιώτης τὰ τέκνα | *the soldier, his children* |
| 4. καὶ ἡ σύνβιος | *and his wife* |
| 5. αὐτοῦ Cωσιπάτρα | *Sosipatra.*[170] |

Line 1: Μνησθῇ.- Is the word erroneously engraved in the singular instead of the plural, or perhaps the singular form is in accordance with the first, senior or most important name?

Line 2: Γερμανός.- A Greek transliteration of a typical masculine Latin name, in the nominative;[171] it was very common in Syria, Palaestina, Transjordan and Egypt in the Roman period (1st-3rd centuries CE).[172] The name also prevailed in Attica (Athens), Central Greece (Thessaly), Macedonia, Scythia Minor, Skythia, Thrace and Coastal Asia Minor between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE;[173] it was also frequent in the early Byzantine period.[174] This name was also in use among Jews.[175]

Lines 3-4: στρατιώτης τὰ τέκνα καὶ ἡ σύνβιος.- According to the inscription Germanos was a soldier, married with children, and possibly served in one of the Roman legions in Palaestina. Following his marital and paternal status, we may assume that he was not a young soldier, but rather a veteran. The words τὰ τέκνα were engraved separately, each one within the *ansa* (handle) of the *tabula*.[176] It would seem that Germanos and the engraver added the words after completion of the engraving of the inscription, when there was no room left within the frame. It may be assumed that the engraver

Fig. 34. Inscription No. 95.

had mistaken or forgotten to include τὰ τέκνα within the frame and he added these two words later, when he discovered his error. Cύνβιος, in the nominative, for σύ<μ>βιος.

Line 5: Cωσιπάτρα.- A feminine Greek name in the nominative, appearing in the Aegean islands (Rhodes and Kos in the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE respectively),[177] Attica (Athens – Hellenistic and Roman periods),[178] the Peloponnese, Western Greece and Magna Graecia (Hellenistic and Roman periods),[179] Central Greece (Thessaly – from the 4th century BCE up to the 2nd century CE),[180] Macedonia and Thrace[181] and Coastal Asia Minor (Mysia: Pergamon and Ionia: Ephesos – Hellenistic and Roman periods);[182] its masculine counterpart is Cωσίπατρος.[183]

**Inscription No. 95** (Fig. 34)

The inscription is enclosed in a rectangular frame (length – 20 cm) and consists of one line. The script is regular, the E is square and the right diagonal line of the A is extended upwards calligraphically.

| | |
|---|---|
| Εὐτύχ(ε)ι Ἄντι | *Succeed* or *be happy Anti*. |

Εὐτύχ(ε)ι.- See inscriptions Nos. 4, 33, 38, 86, 87, 101, 106, 129, 146. Ἄντι.-[184] A rare masculine Greek name in the vocative. It appears in Thasos (4th century BCE) and Crete (2nd century BCE),[185] as well as in Lydia (first quarter of the 2nd century CE).[186] It should be noted that Ἀντι is the prefix of many Greek names, as for example Ἀντιάναξ, Ἀντίβιος, Ἀντιγένης, Ἀντιγόνη, Ἀντίγονος, Ἀντίοχος, Ἀντίπατρος, etc.

**Inscription No. 96** (Fig. 35)

The inscription (14 × 26 cm) consists of three lines. The script is regular and the letters E, Θ, O, P, C and ω are oval/round.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῇ | *Remembered be* |
| 2. Πτολεμα[ῖος] | *Ptolema[ios]* |
| 3. [Θε]όδωρος | (*and*) (*The*)*odoros.* |

Line 2: Πτολεμα[ῖος].- A very common masculine Greek name in the nominative, prevailing in the Greek and Roman worlds (4th century BCE-3rd century CE).[187] The name was also in use among Jews.[188]

Line 3: [Θε]όδωρος.- See above inscription No. 37.

Fig. 35. Inscription No. 96.

**Inscription No. 103** (Fig. 36)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (10 × 19 cm) and consists of four lines. The script is regular and the letters E, Θ, O and C are oval/round.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῆ Ζεῦξις | *Remembered be Zeuxis* |
| 2. μετὰ αἴθ'α[ὐ]τοῦ | *with him, oh(!),* |
| 3. καὶ Πούπ[λιο]ς | *also Poup[lio]s.* |
| 4. (καὶ) Λούκιος [….] | *(and) Loukios* [….]. |

Line 1: Μνησθῆ Ζεῦξις.- The letter C in μνησθῆ is smaller than the other letters of the word and is engraved above the letters H and Θ. The engraver had probably forgotten to engrave this letter and added it later in a smaller size. Ζεῦξις is a masculine Greek name in the nominative, frequent in the Greek world in Antiquity (since the 5th century BCE and onwards) and also appears in the Roman period.[189] The name also features among Jews, but it is accented as Ζευξίς.[190]

Line 2: μετὰ αἴθ'α[ὐ]τοῦ.- This linguistic idiom is enigmatic, but presumably the word αἴθε substitutes εἴθε,[191] an exclamation – oh(!).

Line 3-4: Πούπ[λιο]ς (καὶ) Λούκιος [….].- For these names, see also inscriptions Nos. 36 and 1, 69A, 70 respectively.

**Inscription No. 108** (Fig. 37)

The inscription (50 × 57 cm) consists of four lines. The script is regular and its letters are large; the form of E, P, C and ω is round.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Χαρῆ | *Happy be* |
| 2. Cηω- | *Seo-* |
| 3. νᾶς κὲ | *nas and* |
| 4. Δαμᾶς | *Damas.*[192] |

Line 1: Χαρῆ.- This formula, engraved at the head of the present inscription, is exceptional and to the best of our knowledge does not exist elsewhere in Greek epigraphy. Interestingly, χαρῆ was also reused for inscription No. 109 (not included in the present article), by engraving it horizontally after the formula. Thus, it may be assumed that inscription No. 109, engraved by another hand, is of a later stage than that of No. 108, and the formula served both inscriptions simultaneously. The formula also appears in inscriptions Nos. 94, 102A.

Lines 2-3: Cηωνᾶς κέ.- This appears to be the nominative case of an unfamiliar masculine name,[193] like Ἀσκληπᾶς, Δημητρᾶς, Νανᾶς / Ναννᾶς or Νανάς, etc; κέ appears instead of κ<αί> (= and),

Fig. 36. Inscription No. 103.


Fig. 37. Inscription No. 108.

either a common mistake or phonetic spelling in Greek inscriptions, especially in the Roman and early Byzantine periods (see also inscriptions Nos. 21, 24, 37, 92, 94, 113, 140, 149).

Line 4: Δάμας or Δαμᾶς.- A masculine Greek name in the nominative, found frequently in The Aegean islands from the 4th century BCE up to the 2nd century CE;[194] Attica (Athens) from the Archaic up to the Roman period;[195] the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia from the 7th century BCE up to the Roman Imperial period;[196] Central Greece (Boiotia, Western Lokris, Phokis and Thessaly);[197] Macedonia, Thrace and the Northern Regions of the Black Sea from the 2nd century BCE-3rd century CE,[198] as well as in Coastal Asia Minor (Pontos to Ionia)[199] in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The name also appears, in the genitive (Δάματος or Δαμᾶτος), in a Greek inscription dated to 117-118 CE from the Roman Temple of Baalshamin at Kedesh in the Upper Galilee.[200] Δάμας is also found among Jews.[201]

**Inscription No. 129** (Fig. 39)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (27 × 43 cm) and consists of three lines. The inscription was meticulously engraved by a skilled engraver, the script is monumental and the letters E and C are round.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Εὐτύχ(ε)ι | *Succeed* or *be happy* |
| 2. Ἄντυ καὶ | *Anty and* |
| 3. σὺ, Μάγνα | *you, Magna.*[202] |

Line 1: Εὐτύχ(ε)ι. - See also inscriptions Nos. 4, 33, 38, 86, 87, 95, 101, 106, 146.

Line 2: Ἄντυ.- A rare masculine Greek name, probably in the vocative. It appears in four 5th-century CE epitaphs, found in early Byzantine Zoora (Ghor es-Safi) *Palaestina Tertia*.[203] The name is also rare in Greek inscriptions from Syria.[204]

Line 3: Μάγνα.- A Greek transliteration of a feminine Latin name, in the vocative case, parallel to Μαξίμα.[205] It is equivalent to the masculine Latin name Μάγνος (*Magnus*),[206] both of which were frequent personal names in Egypt in Antiquity. Μάγνα appears in Coastal Asia Minor (Pontos to Ionia) from the 1st century BCE up to the 3rd century CE.[207] The name is encountered once in the Greek inscriptions at the Jewish cemetery in Beth She'arim (2nd-3rd century CE), as a personal name of a Jewess;[208] it is also found in inscriptions of the Late Roman period from Hauran,[209] but rarely appears in other regions of Syria.[210]

**Inscription No. 137A** (Fig. 40)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (22 × 27-32 cm) and consists of two lines. The script is regular and the form of the letters Θ, O and C is square. Two ligatures can be observed: the letters N and H in ΜΝΗCΘΗ, and O and C in ΜΥΝΔΟC, are joined together.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Μνησθῇ | *Remembered be* |
| 2. Μύνδος | *Myndos.* |

Line 2: Μύνδος.- A very rare masculine Greek name in the nominative. It has been found only once elsewhere, in an inscription of uncertain date from Thasos(?).[211] The name Μύνδιος, found in an inscription from the Aegean island of Astypalaia (Hellenistic age or Roman Imperial period)[212] and in Coastal Asia Minor (Ionia: Ephesos – 1st century CE),[213] closely resembles the name Μύνδος.

**Inscription No. 146** (Fig. 41)

The inscription is enclosed in a *tabula ansata* (12 × 20 cm) and consists of two lines. The script is regular and the letter E is oval/round.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. [Ε]ὐτ[ύχ(ε)ι] | [*Su*]*ccee*[*d*] or *be happy* |
| 2. [Π]έτ[ρε] | *Pet*[*ros*]. |

Line 1: [Ε]ὐτ[ύχ(ε)ι]. - See also inscriptions Nos. 4, 33, 38, 86, 87, 95, 101, 106, 129.

Line 2: [Π]έτ[ρε].- If the completion is correct, this masculine Greek name in the vocative prevailed in various geographical regions in the Roman and early Byzantine periods.[214] Πέτρος, derived from the Greek word πέτρα (stone), is a translation of the Aramaic Κηφᾶς (John 1:43).[215] Due to its allusion to the Apostle Peter, it became a favoured and popular name in Christian Palaestina and Arabia.[216] The name was also in use among Jews.[217]

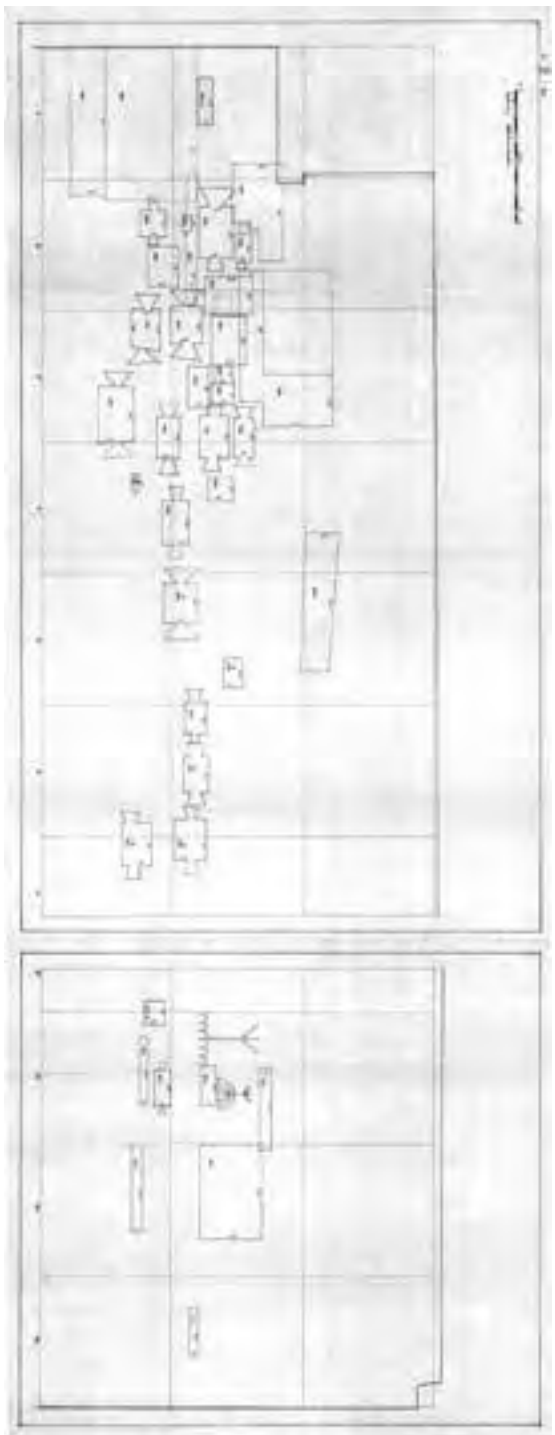

Fig. 38. Diagram recording the location of the inscriptions on the east wall of the Cave.

## E. Epilogue

Scholars who dealt with the Greek inscriptions in Elijah's Cave dated them from the first centuries of the Common Era to the 6th century CE. Due to the absence of solid evidence, the task of dating the inscriptions more precisely is difficult. Scholz attributed the earliest inscriptions to the first centuries CE;[218] Marie-Joseph dated them to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE;[219] Germer-Durand established a flexible dating between the 4th and 6th centuries CE;[220] Leclercq[221] and the Professors of Notre-Dame de France in Jerusalem[222] considered that the earliest inscriptions in the Cave may be dated to the 4th century CE, with a *terminus ante quem* of the 6th century CE; Kopp writes that the inscriptions of the pilgrims are of various centuries of the Common Era (very obscure! – A.O.), but that the Greek inscriptions are the earliest and raise interest.[223]

A careful re-appraisal of most of the Greek inscriptions in question and some of those that are not included in this work raises the possibility that they can be attributed to the 1st-3rd centuries CE.[224] The re-appraisal can be based on the *onomasticon*; the content of the inscriptions and their linguistic idioms (this is especially conspicuous in inscriptions Nos. 18 and 103); the shape of the letters (oval, round and square);[225] the decorative motifs carved around the apsidal niche (the dentils, vessels and scale motif); the reliefs of the presumed cult statue of Ba'al Carmel and the figure of the priest within the *aedicula*; the literary sources and historical evidence when the Cave functioned as a pagan cultic place, possibly a shrine, to Ba'al Carmel in Antiquity and Late Antiquity (see above, B.).

It is not inconceivable that the monumental statue, dated to the end of the 2nd century CE or perhaps to the beginning of the 3rd, of which only the marble foot survives in the Stella Maris Carmelite monastery collection,[226] once stood outside, in front of the Cave, because of its exceptional size. It may be that a smaller statue of the same god was placed in the niche inside the Cave for ritual and oracular purposes, in Tacitus' time (d. 120 CE),[227] and continued its existence at the time of the above-mentioned colossal statue. This is consistent with the dating of a considerable part of the Greek inscriptions and the decorative motifs carved around the apsidal niche. In any event, a correlation can be found between

Fig. 39. Inscription No. 129.

the literary sources, the archaeological/sculptural evidence and the epigraphic material in the Cave.

Some scholars have claimed, albeit without any evidence, that the Cave was originally a shrine of Adonis, the god of fecundity and spring revival.[228] When the Cave ceased to be used for pagan worship of Ba'al Carmel and as the site of his oracle, it continued to be regarded as a holy site and was dedicated to the Prophet Elijah and his commemoration, presumably in the early Byzantine period. Following the tradition linking Elijah (el-Khader) with Mount Carmel, it became sacred to the Prophet and was used by supplicants to Elijah for aid, healing and salvation, a tradition that still persists to this day. This resulted in the custom of pilgrimages to the Cave in his honour. Hebrew inscriptions and the two seven-branched *menorahs* engraved on the east wall show that, from the early Byzantine period, Jews too regarded the Cave as sacred to Elijah and visited it to ask for help and salvation. The custom was also practiced by Christians, as is clearly evident from two crosses – one on the west wall and the other on the north wall (see above, D.).

Over the course of time, the Cave began to be regarded as a holy place also by Muslims and Druze, who continue to visit it to this day (although it contains no Arabic inscriptions). We cannot tell when the custom was adopted by the latter two faiths, but we do know that the Cave was under the patronage of the Muslim Waqf for about 250 years, at least from the year 1635. In that year, according to the records of several travellers and pilgrims, the Cave was under the protection of Muslim monks who had turned it into a mosque and place of study, and called it el-Khader (literally "the Green One"), after the Muslim name for Elijah. Elijah's Cave and the buildings surrounding it belonged to the Elhaj Ibrahim family, Muslim Arabs. From about 1867, the family began to build rooms adjacent to the Cave's entrance to accommodate visitors and pilgrims.

In recent generations, Jews have set aside a certain day on which to visit Elijah's Cave: the first Sunday following the Sabbath of Consolation in the Hebrew month of 'Av, when it is now the custom to pray in the Cave and spend time there.

*Asher Ovadiah and Rosario Pierri*

Fig. 40. Inscription No. 137A.

Fig. 41. Inscription No. 146.

## NOTES

1. The task of cleaning, revealing and deciphering the inscriptions in Elijah's Cave was made possible thanks to the aid of various institutions and people who assisted in the work. The former Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (now the IAA) and the Association of Archaeological Survey in Israel, which initiated the project and assisted in the difficult task. I am grateful to the late Prof. Avraham Biran, head of the former Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, who entrusted me with this important undertaking. I am deeply indebted to Mr. Raphael Floresheim, surveyor for the Archaeological Survey of Israel Association, who spent many long and tedious hours with me in the heat of the cave, preparing its plan and section, as well as the precise detailed diagrams recording the location of the inscriptions on the walls of the Cave and numbering them consecutively. I would also like to thank Mr. Micha Pan, Jerusalem, who photographed the inscriptions published here. I am grateful too to the late Mr. Ya'akov Olami, Haifa, engineer and head of the northern branch of the Archaeological Survey and to the late Dr. Moshe Prausnitz, archaeologist for the coastal district in the former Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, who assisted me during all the stages of work in the Cave. My sincere thanks also to the late Fr. Elias Friedman of the Stella Maris Carmelite Monastery on Mount Carmel, Haifa, with whom, while collecting and preparing the material for publication, I exchanged ideas in fruitful talks and in extensive correspondence. I wish to convey my thanks for their kind assistance to Mrs. Rimma Tulenkov and Mr. Leonid Rankov, librarians of the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, where I spent a long period of time using the rich collection of its library. My gratitude to Ms. Naomi Paz for her linguistic editing. Finally, I want to express my appreciation for the considerable help given me by Ruth, my wife, who stood by me during the long, difficult and tiring field work in the Cave's average temperature of 40 degrees centigrade.
2. Press 1952: *s.vv.* "Carmel," "The Carmel," "Mount Carmel," 507-508.
3. R. Amiran and Y. Landau (see the archives of the Department of Antiquities and Museums [now the IAA]).
4. See the archives of The Archaeological Survey of Israel, IAA.
5. See Ovadiah 1966: 284-285; Ovadiah 1969: 99-101.
6. Guérin (1875, II: 273) and Meistermann (1923: 435) also held the view that the Cave was primarily natural: "Si elle était d'abord naturelle, elle a été ensuite agrandie et régularisée par la main de l'homme;" "An artificial regularity has been given to its shape, and its walls are covered with a coating upon which innumerable pilgrims – Greek, Latin, Arabian, etc. – have cut their names and invocations" (Guérin and Meistermann respectively). This is contrary to the opinion that the Cave is an artificial one (see Friedman 1979: 139, 145).
7. Trial archaeological excavations were conducted inside Elijah's Cave as part of its conservation and the development of the surrounding area by Haifa Municipality, the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The excavation was led by A. Zemer and A. Ziegelman in January 1983 (License No. 1193). During the excavation, a 50 cm-deep fill was revealed under the modern floor level that contained a mixture of pottery finds dating from the Middle Bronze Age to the late Islamic period, as well as a coin from the 4th century CE (my thanks to A. Zemer, who was kind enough to give me this valuable information in writing and in person). On removing the fill, the excavators exposed the cave's natural rock floor, which can still be seen today along the walls.
8. Cf. Friedman 1979: 140.
9. Cf. Friedman 1979: 142.
10. The "tables" may represent the altar set up by the prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel, according to tradition, in his battle against the prophets of Ba'al.
11. For the opinion that the niche has two stages of carving, a) the original rectangular recess, perfectly regular in shape, to house a cult statue (idol), and b) the superimposed niche, far from being regularly prepared, to be used as a *mihrab*, see Friedman 1979: 142.
12. See the two points shown beneath the border, on the sides of cups, depicted on two coins from the First Revolt (66-70 CE) (Meshorer 1966: 113, Pl. XIX [148-150]).
13. Cf. Ovadiah 1980: 154-157.
14. Cf. Ovadiah 1980: 154.
15. Cf. Ovadiah 1980: 154.
16. Cf. Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: 206 (J3 – Imbrication [Scale Pattern]).
17. Robertson 1969: 47-48, 159, 383; MacDonald 1986: Ills. 80, 97, 135, 153, 159, 195, 196 (on pp. 85, 98, 150, 169, 186, 240, 242).
18. See the rock-hewn niches topped with conches at Paneas/Banias, flanked by false pillars giving them the appearance of a temple façade (*aedicula*) (Ovadiah and Turnheim 2011: Pls. IIIa, IVb, V).
19. At Gebal/Byblos there is a cave with a similar niche flanked with side pillars, with cornices in its upper part and a conch (see Renan 1864: 204, Pl. XXVIII).
20. Cf. Kopp 1929: 35-36; Friedman 1979: 140-142.
21. Joshua 19:26; see also Septuagint, Joshua 19:26 (τῷ Καρμήλῳ κατὰ θάλασσαν).
22. See 1 Kings 18:15-40; Ap-Thomas 1960: 146-155; see also the wall paintings of the 3rd century CE in the synagogue at Dura-Europos, based on Biblical, Midrashic (Jewish legends) and Christian (Fathers of the Church) sources (Sukenik 1947: 138-142, Figs. 50-51; Kraeling 1956: 137-143, Pls. LXI-LXII).
23. Iamblichus, *De Vita* 3.14; see also Clark 1989: 6-7.
24. Scylax of Caryanda or Pseudo-Scylax, by order of Darius I, is said to have sailed down the Indus to its mouth, and thence, in a voyage of thirty months, to have reached the Isthmus of Suez. Though the voyage has been doubted, the book that he wrote is quoted by various ancient authors. The *Periplus* that bears his name was written in the 4th century BCE (see *OCD*: *s.v.* "Scylax," 968).
25. Scylax (or Pseudo-Scylax), *Periplus* #87 (Peretti, p. 529).
26. Josephus, *War* III.iii.1.
27. Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 118. 8-9.
28. See above, n. 23. In the annals of Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, referring to his invasion to Eretz Israel in 841

BCE, the western edge of Mt. Carmel, where Elijah's Cave is located, is mentioned as Ba'al-Rosh (*Mount Ba'alira'asi, which is a cape* [*jutting out into*] *the sea before the land of Tyre*) (see Aharoni 1965: 56-62; Kirk Grayson 1996: 54). It seems that in the Biblical period Mt. Carmel was the border between Israel and Phoenicia, but it is unclear to which region the mountain belonged. I thank Prof. Israel Eph'al of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, who called my attention to this issue.

29. See below, nn. 30-33.
30. Renan (1864: 204, Pl. XXVIII) writes: "Climbing a ravine, one finds one of the most curious remains of old Byblos. It is a structured grotto, very fine, forming a hall, surrounded by a kind of a bench cut out of the rock. The bottom extends like a cavern. This grotto was probably used for religious reunions. It is called 'Ma'arat Sahen.' The remains of stalls are seen near the entrance. The external opening was once capped by a crown of plaster, which has been thrown into the bottom of the ravine. In the middle of the eastern wall a niche was opened in the form of a shell, analogous to the niches one sees at Baalbek, at Banias and so forth." The general resemblance between the cave in Gebal/Byblos and Elijah's Cave (the impressive size of the hall, the benches along its walls, the niche with the conch atop, similar to those in Baalbek and Paneas/Banias, for the cult statue of the god, and the geopolitical connection to the Syro-Phoenician region), strengthens the pagan character of the latter during the Hellenistic and Roman periods and its role as a cultic place or shrine.
31. Renan 1871: 517-519, Pl. LXV: a description of ancient caves in the vicinity of Sidon, in some of which was practiced the cult of Astarte. Over the course of time, these caves were converted into Christian chapels or were used for other purposes.
32. Renan 1871: 647-648, 653-654, 753-754: a description of ancient caves in the neighbourhood of Tyre. These caves were dedicated to Astarte and were most probably in use also from the Hellenistic period and onwards. Renan (p. 653) described the ancient caves in the surroundings of Tyre, probably for sacred prostitution, as follows: "En general, ces caverns à prostitution (cf. l'aventure de Quartilla dans Pétrone) (reste d'un primitive état de promiscuité, où l'homme, comme l'animal, cherchait les caverns pour l'accouplement) sont signalées par une fenêtre grossière à côté de l'entrée (prevue que la porte se fermait), par des sieges on des echelons à l'intérieur et par les signes V on O à l'entrée. Dans la caverne de Gébeil et dans celle don't nous parlons en ce moment, il y a une niche pour la statue de la déesse."
33. Renan 1871: 753-754.
34. Kopp 1929: 76.
35. Augustinović 1972: 29-32.
36. Tacitus, *Historiae* II.lxxviii.
37. Tacitus, *Historiae* II.lxxviii.
38. Avi-Yonah (1952: 119) considered that the passage by Tacitus proves that the colossal statue of Ba'al/Zeus/Jupiter of the Carmel, of which only a small fragment still exists, was erected after the time Tacitus wrote the *Historiae*, and thus he provides us with a useful *terminus a quo*.
39. Suetonius, VIII.v.6 (*Vespasian*).
40. Iamblichus, *De Vita* 3.15.
41. Orosius, VII.9 (transl. Deferrari 1981: 301); see also Baudissin 1911: 234-235 and n. 6.
42. Weinreich 1912: 34.
43. Weinreich 1912: 30.
44. Ovadiah and Mucznik 2009: *passim*.
45. See Friedman 1979: 147.
46. Avi-Yonah 1952: 118; see also Galling 1953: 110-121; Eissfeldt 1954: 7-25; Ap-Thomas 1960: 146.
47. Cook 1964: 117.
48. See above, nn. 45-46.
49. Avi-Yonah 1952: 120.
50. Avi-Yonah 1952: 120. It should be noted that Avi-Yonah could not have been aware of this point, since at the time he wrote and published his article (in 1952), the Cave had not yet been investigated systematically.
51. Since the Christian historian Orosius (5th century CE) is the last of the ancient writers to mention the oracle on Mount Carmel, this may indicate that the Cave was still being used for pagan cults and rites at that time (see above, n. 41).
52. Cook 1964: 163-186; see also Avi-Yonah 1952: 120.
53. When the Cave was converted into a mosque in the 17th century (1635), the niche was modified to a mihrab, since it faces south-southwest, generally to Mecca and Medina. See Philip of the Most Holy Trinity 1649: 119-120; Guérin 1875, II: 272; Wilson 1880: 99; *SWP* I: 284-285; Albert du Saint-Sauveur 1897: 139-144; Meistermann 1923: 435; Friedman 1979: 82, 136, 142-143; Giordano 1994: 92-105.
54. Similar to the sacred complex at Tell er-Ras on Mount Gerizim (see Ovadiah and Turnheim 2007: 21-35; Ovadiah and Turnheim 2011: 75-80).
55. For a general description of Mount Carmel (with historical sources and bibliography), see Heidet 1926: esp. cols. 298-299 for Elijah's Cave; see also Leclercq 1925: col. 1496.
56. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 585.1.
57. Koikylides and Phokylides 1912: 341 (#95: Life and Itinerary of the Russian Hegoumenos Daniel, 1106-1107).
58. See Friedman 1979: 151; Prawer 1988: 253, n. 3.
59. Adler n.d.: 21 (#31).
60. Koikylides and Phokylides 1912: 461 (#31).
61. Most probably, an early Byzantine monastery was erected beside the cave.
62. See above, n. 60.
63. See also below, n. 99.
64. Laurent 1857: 21 (ch. VIII,13-14).
65. Asaf 1928: 54 (lines 17-18 in the manuscript); see also Prawer 1988: 235-236.
66. Burchard, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*; transl. Stewart 1896: 94.
67. Graziano 1955: 384-386.
68. Quaresmius 1639: 67.
69. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity 1649: 119-120.
70. See Albert du Saint-Sauveur 1897: 139-144; see also Friedman 1979: 82, 136, 142-143; Giordano 1994: 92-105.
71. Doubdan 1657: 521-522; Ish-Shalom 1979: 345 and nn. 2-3.
72. Morison 1704: 567; see also Ish-Shalom 1979: 383.
73. See van Egmont and Heyman 1759: 7-8; see also Ish-Shalom 1979: 385-386.
74. See above, n. 71.
75. See above, n. 72.

76. 1 Kings 18:31.
77. Ish-Shalom 1979: 393.
78. Pococke 1745: 56 (= Pococke 1754: 83); Ish-Shalom 1979: 397 and n. 7.
79. Ish-Shalom 1979: 140-141.
80. Mann 1936: 93-94.
81. Giambattista di S. Alessio 1780: 375-382.
82. It is unclear whether these were only among the inhabitants of the city, or among those people who came from other places (see Ish-Shalom 1979: 194).
83. Turner 1820: 118; Ish-Shalom 1979: 411 and nn. 8-9.
84. Buckingham 1821: 120-121.
85. See Buckingham 1821: 120; see also Friedman 1979: 139-140.
86. Guérin 1875, II: 272-273.
87. See above, nn. 69-70.
88. Scholz 1822: 150-153.
89. Carne 1838: 47-49 (Ill. of the Cave facing p. 47).
90. Wilson 1880: 85 (engraving), 99 (text).
91. See Renan 1871: 753-754.
92. Guérin 1875, II: 272-273.
93. *SWP* I: 284-285.
94. Einsler 1894: 68-69.
95. Germer-Durand 1898: 272-273.
96. Von Mülinen 1908: 5ff.
97. N.-D. de France 1922: 476-478. This group of professors describes the Cave and mentions the many inscriptions, most of them in Greek, engraved on the walls by visitors and pilgrims.
98. Meistermann 1923: 432-435.
99. Kopp 1929: 33-36, 40-49, 68-83, Figs. 1-3. According to Kopp (1929: 34, 68-74), the niche in the south wall of the Cave became a mihrab, as a prayer niche for the Muslims, since it faces Mecca and Medina and the site was actually used for Muslim prayer and rituals, namely serving as a mosque (A.O.). In addition, he contends that the identification of the Prophet Elijah with el-Khader locates the latter on Mount Carmel, where members of the different faiths, Jews, Christians, Muslims and Druze, used to congregate there on the prophet's holy days between the 17th and the 19th of July. Kopp also mentions the German pilgrim Thietmar, visited the Holy Land in 1217, who points out a festival celebrated by Christians and Muslims together in the area of the Cave at the time of the Crusaders.
100. See Press 1952: 507-508: "On the Carmel was a sycamore tree, which was used for idolatry. At the time of the Second Temple, the mount was held for a long time by the Tyrians (Josephus, *War* III.35). Therefore, Eusebius considers it the border between Phoenicia and Eretz Israel. Alexander Jannaeus conquered the Carmel and restored it to the Jews. Because of its many caves and crevices, Mount Carmel always provided a refuge and a haven for the persecuted and for hermits. Settlement on the Carmel and in its ravines over the ages is testified to by the many ruins, the remains of buildings, broken columns and sculptures, caves, winepresses, cisterns and mosaic fragments. In ancient times, Christian monks settled in the caves and the rocky crevices on the mount. In 355 CE, Basilius (Basil of Caesarea in Cappadocia) visited them and amended the guidelines of their monastic life, … Jews and Muslims regard Elijah's Cave as sacred (in Arabic, el-Khatsar), on the steep mountain-slope, facing the Haifa neighborhood of Bat-Galim on the sea front. The people of Haifa go up to the cave on set days (Jews go in great numbers on the Sunday after the Sabbath of Consolation) and spend time praying in the cave or in the adjoining buildings. A lot of people believe the cave has special powers to cure different illnesses, in particular putting the mentally ill there, shutting them up in the cave."
101. See Vilnay 1936: 35-36 ("Rabbi Menachem of Hebron, whose words are not reliable, writes in 1215: 'And I went from Jaffa to Caesarea … and facing the sea is Mount Carmel – I went up Mount Carmel and saw a pool and drank from its water, and I went into Elijah's Cave, and I saw a gutter made by the Prophet Elijah, and I went out and ascended to the top of the mount …' "); 45 (map of Haifa and the Carmel from 1663 on which Elijah's Cave is marked); 50-51 ("A pupil of the famous Kabbalist Rabbi Haim ben Attar visited the cave [together with the Rabbi] in 1742 and he writes to his father: '… There [on Mount Carmel. – A.O.] is a house and inside a large and high cave … all hewn in the mount, of one rock … and this is the Cave of Elijah, blessed be his memory … and inside the cave is a small cave, also hewn in the mount, in the one rock, and they say that this is the place of Elijah, blessed be his memory. And there is not a single fly to be seen in that same cave, not one. And how great is its sanctity … and in front of the cave there is a small cistern that is fed by rainwater. During the summer no water can be seen in it, it is dry, and we ask: O Lord Elijah, give us water, and the next day it was full of water, and there were several other miracles'. From this same letter, we learn that the village of Haifa was at the time a small Jewish settlement. Mount Carmel with Elijah's Cave and the tomb of his pupil Elisha, inspired Jews to want to live in the small village of Haifa, and to enjoy the splendid memory of these holy places"); 155 (Plate 38: Interior of Prophet Elijah's Cave); 156-157 ("Elijah's Cave, on the slopes of Mount Carmel, near Haifa, was already famous in previous generations. Folk tradition holds that Prophet Elijah stayed in it when he fled from the Kings of Israel, while he was wandering on Mount Carmel. Medieval pilgrims mention it and recount different tales about it. The cave is hewn in the rock in the form of a large hall, its length reaching 14 m, its width 8 m, and its height 5 m. On its east wall, another, smaller cave is hewn out. Elijah's Cave was an important factor in the creation of a small Jewish community in Haifa in earlier generations. They attributed great importance to the Cave in curing mental illness. Often, even today, the mentally ill are brought here from different parts of the country, and sometimes also from neighbouring countries. The sick are left in the Cave in the hope that the 'devil' will leave them and they will be cured by the grace of the Prophet Elijah. Barren women often come there in the belief that, by the grace of Elijah, the Lord will have mercy on them and give them offspring. Sometimes, expectant mothers hoping to have a boy come there in the belief that the Lord will then fulfil their desire. In recent generations, the Jews have allocated a special day to visit Elijah's cave in the month of 'Av, on the Sunday

after the Sabbath of Consolation. They hang parochot [curtains] on the walls, light candles and pray in the cave. There are special prayers in honour of this place. Today, Elijah's Cave and all the surrounding buildings belong to Moslem Arabs [the Elhaj Ibrahim family]. In about 1867, they began to build rooms adjoining the entrance to the cave, for the benefit of those visiting the site. The cave is also sacred to the Christians, who call it the School of the Prophets. In Arabic, it is called el-Khader, meaning 'green', which is the name for Prophet Elijah, 'eternally green,' according to folk tradition"); see also Vilnay 1954: 24; Vilnay 1975: cols. 2290-2366 (esp. cols. 2311-2312, 2315, 2317), *s.v.* "Haifa;" Vilnay 1976: cols. 3881-3887 (esp. cols. 3883, 3885-3886), *s.v.* "Carmel (Mount)."

It seems that Elijah's Cave, mentioned in the fragments of *midrash* (legend) and *haggadah* (saga) in the *Schechter Archives*, in its connection with Christ, is that on Mount Carmel. These fragments ("Jesus' Deeds") mention that Jesus Christ "went and stayed in Elijah's Cave…," probably on Mount Carmel (טורא דכרמלא) (see Ginzberg 1928: 332, 336).

102. Augustinović (1972: 30) writes: "Carmel: the grotto commonly called 'the School of the Prophets' or 'the Synagogue of Elijah,' held in great veneration by Jews, Christians and Moslems. Originally it was, perhaps, a shrine of Adonis, the god of fecundity and spring revival, but as a shrine of Elijah it was well known at the time of the Crusades. It is not known whether in the pre-Crusader Arab period it had been used as a Moslem shrine: it certainly was after the Islamic reoccupation of Palestine. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity (1649: 119) wrote: … *dicitur ab incolis Arabice, El Kader, quod est epithetum S. Eliae, et idem est ac Latine viridis: hoc nomine insignitur, quia in florenti et viridi persistit aetate, non declinans ad flaccidam senectutem: habitatur a solitariis Mahometanis*… ("On Mount Carmel, in the church of the Carmelites is the grotto of Elias. In Carmel, therefore, El Khadr is inseparable from Elijah, the undisturbed patron of this mountain.")
103. Schwabe and Lifshitz 1967.
104. Klein 1939: 80-88.
105. See Benoit and Boismard 1951: 200-251. The small church is hewn out of the rock and the pilgrims engraved inscriptions on the walls with their names, together with *Christograms*, monograms and the name of the Lord, namely Christ.
106. These drawings were prepared during Asher Ovadiah's work in Elijah's Cave in the summer and autumn of 1966.
107. This formula is the most frequent among the inscriptions discussed here and appears eighteen times.
108. This formula appears four times among the inscriptions in question.
109. These formulae appear in the mosaic pavements of ancient synagogues in Israel (see, for example, Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: 36-37 (No. 31B), 55-56 (No. 73), 59 (No. 78), 72 (No. 103), 75 (No. 108), 101-102 (No. 170), 106-107 (No. 176).
110. Cf. Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: 157 and *passim*. Similar *menorahs* of an earlier period (3rd-4th centuries CE) are engraved on the walls of the Jewish cemetery in Beth She'arim (see Mazar 1957: 156); for a general discussion on the *menorah*, see Goodenough 1954: 71-98; Goodenough 1965: 79-83; for the symbolic meaning of the *menorah*, see Ovadiah and Mucznik 2001: 299-306.
111. Christians had developed an extensive symbolism about this form of the Cross. Its four points were compared with the four cardinal points of the horizon, a theme constantly repeated in the Christian literature of the Church Fathers (see PG 62: cols. 747-754).
112. Scholz (1822: 152) was the first to copy and publish the inscription, albeit inaccurately, mistakenly and without discussion.
113. See Canova 1954: LXXXIV.
114. *LGPN* I: 289; *LGPN* II: 286; *LGPN* IIIA: 276; *LGPN* IIIB: 261; *LGPN* IV: 212; *LGPN* VA: 271; for Syria, Moab and Egypt, see *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 1890, 2316, 2557d, 2581; Milne 1905: No. 9242; Prentice 1908: Nos. 392, 394, 432c; *IGLS* I: Nos. 171, 173, 233; *IGLS* II: No. 647; Canova 1954: LXXXIV, 361-362; *IGLS* IV: No. 1689(?); *IGLS* VII: No. 4012.
115. See Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2008: 104 (with references).
116. See *LJN* I: 334; *LJN* III: 511-514. The name is also engraved in inscriptions Nos. 69A, 70, 103.
117. See *LGPN* I: 402 (Lesbos – Hellenistic period); *LGPN* IV: 305 (Scythia Minor – 3rd century BCE).
118. See *LGPN* I: 402; *LGPN* II: 394-395; *LGPN* IIIA: 389-390; *LGPN* IIIB: 374-375; *LGPN* IV: 305-306; *LGPN* VA: 399.
119. See *LJN* III: 369.
120. See *LGPN* I: 132-133; *LGPN* II: 116-117; *LGPN* IIIA: 126; *LGPN* IIIB: 116; *LGPN* IV: 98-99; *LGPN* VA: 130-132.
121. See *LJN* I: 272; *LJN* III: 243-244.
122. Scholz (1822: 152) was the first to copy and publish the inscription, but incompletely and without discussion. For its correct reading, see Germer-Durand 1898: 271-274.
123. See Lewis and Short 1951: *s.v.* "Candidus –a –um" (adjective, meaning shining, dazzling or glittering white, clear, bright), 277; *LGPN* IIIA: 237 (Sicily: Syracuse – 3rd-5th century CE); see also *SEG* XXXI: No. 895; LVI: No. 1076(?).
124. *IGLS* III/1: No. 1854c (a feminine Jewish name, adopted from the Latin *onomasticon*).
125. *LGPN* IV: 185 (Thrace – 2nd-3rd century CE).
126. *IGLS* VI: Nos. 2818, 2940, 2946 (Candidus); *LGPN* IV: 185.
127. See *LJN* III: 573.
128. *LGPN* I: 316; *LGPN* II: 315; *LGPN* IIIA: 302; *LGPN* IIIB: 287; *LGPN* IV: 237; *LGPN* VA: 319.
129. *IGLS* V: No. 2228 (Μνασέας); *IGLS* VII: Nos. 4014, 4028 (line 21), also p. 89 (No. 30).
130. *LGPN* II: 315.
131. *LGPN* IIIB: 288.
132. See *LJN* III: 336.
133. For Δημητρᾶς, see *SEG* XXXIII: No. 1204(?); for its hypocoristic form, cf. *SEG* XLII: No. 932.
134. See Cohen 1974: 170-180.
135. *LGPN* II: 297; *LGPN* IIIA: 288; *LGPN* IIIB: 270; *LGPN* IV: 221; *LGPN* VA: 280; cf. also *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 1901, 1988, 2067; Prentice 1908: Nos. 31, 120, 254, 313, 314, 334, 337, 391, 438; *IGLS* I: No. 246; *IGLS* II: Nos. 274, 319, 339, 340, 402, 424, 429(?), 489, 494, 603(?), 608, 678(?), 698; *IGLS* IV: No. 1282; *IGLS* V: Nos. 2108, 2236, 2611, 2710.

136. See *LJN* I: 242-244; *LJN* III: 179-184.
137. Scholz (1822: 152) was the first to copy and publish the inscription, albeit incompletely, erroneously and without discussion. For its correct reading, see Germer-Durand 1898: 272; Leclercq 1925: *s.v.* "Graffites," col. 1496.
138. See Pape and Benseler 1911: *s.v.* "Ἀέλιος," 21; Welles 1938: 448 (Nos. 203-204), 464 (No. 263) – Gerasa, first half of 2nd century CE and 3rd century CE respectively.
139. See Welles 1938: 413 (No. 102), 416 (No. 110) – Gerasa, 2nd century CE; it also appears in Macedonia, Skythia and Thrace in the 2nd-3rd centuries CE (see *LGPN* IV: 11) and Coastal Asia Minor (Bithynia, Ionia and Mysia) in the first-third centuries CE (see *LGPN* VA: 12).
140. See *LJN* III: 452; *LJN* IV: 155.
141. See Ovadiah *et alii* 1986-1987: 62-63.
142. See *LGPN* I: 279.
143. See *LGPN* IIIB: 251.
144. See *LGPN* IV: 205.
145. See *LGPN* VA: 261.
146. *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 1909, 2412p.
147. Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2005: 190-191 (No. 96; see esp. p. 191 for examples and references), 315-316 (No. 226). For the appearance of the name among Jews, see also *LJN* III: 321.
148. See Liddell *et alii* 1973: *s.v.* "ἐάω," 466.
149. See Liddell *et alii* 1973: *s.v.* "μιαίνω," 1132.
150. Cf. Liddell *et alii* 1973: *s.v.* "λιαίνω," 1046; *s.v.* "χλιαίνω," 1994 (of persons affected by fever).
151. *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 1833, 1913, 1984b, 1989, 1999, 2072, 2143, 2144, 2168, 2189, 2192, 2218, 2232, 2302, 2382, 2383, 2445, 2547, 2592, 2610, 2687; Milne 1905: *passim*; Prentice 1908: Nos. 26, 64, 87, 274, 282, 382, 386, 387, 395; Littmann *et alii* 1921: Nos. 115, 156, 157, 281, 282, 311, 484, 560, 656, 661, 765, 787, 788; Prentice 1922: Nos. 1043, 1092, 1115; *IGLS* I: No. 235; *IGLS* II: Nos. 257, 279, 503(?), 519, 556, 616, 685(?); *IGLS* IIIA: Nos. 730, 840, 892, 893; *IGLS* IIIB: No. 1034; *IGLS* IV: Nos. 1257(?), 1528, 1558; *IGLS* V: Nos. 2213, 2214, 2302, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2334, 2610; *IGLS* VII: No. 4011(?); *LGPN* I: 24-25 (the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica); *LGPN* II: 18-20 (Attica); *LGPN* IIIA: 23-25 (the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia); *LGPN* IIIB: 21-22 (Central Greece from the Megarid to Thessaly); *LGPN* IV: 14-17; *LGPN* VA: 16-20 (Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia).
152. See *LJN* I: 258; *LJN* III: 203-208.
153. *IGLS* III/1: No. 2339; Prentice 1908: No. 413a (on p. 321); *LGPN* IIIA: 373 (Peloponnese – Korinthia: Korinth, 2nd century CE); *LGPN* IV: 289 (Macedonia and Thrace – 1st-3rd centuries CE); *LGPN* VA: 378 (Lydia and Mysia – late Hellenistic and Roman periods); see also *s.v.* "Πούβλιος," in *LGPN* VA: 378.
154. *LGPN* I: 382 (the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods); *LGPN* VA: 374-375 (Coastal Asia Minor, especially in the Roman period – 1st-3rd centuries CE).
155. See Lifshitz 1967: 23-24 (No. 16); see also *LJN* IV: 159.
156. *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 2093, 2127, 2160a, 2323, 2412a, 2467, 2499, 2522, 2568e; Milne 1905: 16-17 (No. 9290), 25-27 (No. 9296), 35-37 (No. 9283); Prentice 1908: Nos. 383, 435; Littmann *et alii* 1921: Nos. 43, 109, 589, 669, 796, 803; Prentice 1922: Nos. 867, 926, 1202; *IGLS* I: Nos. 211, 270, 323, 332, 653, 696, 906, 919, 1078; *IGLS* IIIB: No. 1078; *IGLS* IV: Nos. 1246, 1319, 1334, 1339, 1675*bis*, 1750, 1781, 1809, 1860(?); *IGLS* V: No. 2155; *IGLS* VI: Nos. 2980, 2982(?); *IGLS* VII: No. 4037; *LGPN* I: 214-215 (the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica – since the end of the 5th century BCE); *LGPN* II: 215-217 (Attica – since the end of the 6th century BCE up to the 2nd century CE); *LGPN* IIIA: 202-203 (the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia – from the 6th century BCE up to the Roman Imperial period); *LGPN* IIIB: 190-191 (Central Greece – from the 6th century BCE up to the Roman Imperial period); *LGPN* IV: 164-165 (Macedonia, Thrace and Northern Regions of the Black Sea – from the 5th century BCE up to the 6th century CE); *LGPN* VA: 213-214 (Coastal Asia Minor – from the Archaic up to the early Byzantine periods).
157. Kajanto 1963: 103.
158. See Welles 1938: Nos. 94, 95, 150, 154, 306, 315, 316, 317, 336; Canova 1954: LXXXIII, 57, 59, 86, 103, 104, 107, 136, 236, 239, 246, 278, 338, 360, 374, 384; Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2005: 206-208 (No. 112), 268-269 (No. 173), 273-274 (No. 179), 297 (No. 206), 322-323 (No. 233), 347-349 (No. 260), 350-351 (No. 262), 364-365 (No. 281); Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2008: 141-142 (No. 65), 160-161 (No. 80); see also Negev 1977: Nos. 45, 101, 104 (for Wadi Haggag, Sinai); Gregg and Urman 1996: Nos. 128, 138 (for the Golan Heights).
159. See *LJN* I: 286-287; *LJN* III: 299-304; *LJN* IV: 148.
160. *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 2022a, 2203a, 2374c; Canova 1954: LXXXIV-LXXXV, 135, 249, 296, 337, 363, 364, 371, 383, 398; *IGLS* IV: No. 1797; *IGLS* V: No. 2487; *IGLS* VI: No. 2893; *IGLS* VII: No. 4043; *LGPN* I: 355 (the Aegean Islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica); *LGPN* II: 355 (Attica); *LGPN* IIIA: 346 (Sicily: Zankle-Messana – 3rd-5th century CE); *LGPN* IV: 265-266 (Macedonia, Thrace and Northern Regions of the Black Sea); *LGPN* VA: 349-350 (Coastal Asia Minor).
161. Milne 1905: 24 (No. 9201), 25-27 (No. 9296), 35-37 (No. 9283); Pape and Benseler 1911: 158; Littmann *et alii* 1921: No. 651; *IGLS* IV: No. 1261; *IGLS* VII: No. 4012; *LGPN* I: 90-91; *LGPN* II: 73-75; *LGPN* IIIA: 80; *LGPN* IIIB: 74-75; *LGPN* IV: 54-55; *LGPN* VA: 80-83. See also above, n. 133.
162. See Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2005: 97-98 (No. 5).
163. Wellmann 1896: cols. 1632-1634 (Nos. 37-46) (esp. No. 39: a famous physician from Prusa ad Mare or Kios in Bithynia, who lived in the early 1st century BCE; No. 40: C. Calpurnius Asclepiades from Prusa, 88-158 CE, probably the head physician, ἀρχιατρός, of Trajan; No. 41: Titus Aelius Asclepiades, a distinguished medical doctor (surgeon - χειρουργός) in the time of the Flavian dynasty; and No. 42: L. Arruntius Sempronianus Asclepiades, medical doctor of Domitian).
164. *LGPN* I: 420; *LGPN* II: 415; *LGPN* IIIA: 412; *LGPN* IIIB: 392; *LGPN* IV: 323; *LGPN* VA: 418.

165. See *LJN* III: 378.
166. See Gregg and Urman 1996: 222 (No. 176); see also *SEG* LIII: No. 2126.
167. For this name, see Littmann *et alii* 1921: Nos. 90, 174, 185, 191; Wuthnow 1930: 16, 141; Dunand 1939: 565 (No. 268); Sartre 1985: *s.v.* "Ἄλαφος," 172-173 (with instances from Hauran and parallels in various Semitic languages); Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoupou 2005: 154-155 (No. 60), 225-226 (No. 130); Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoupou 2008: 82-83 (No. 20), 104-106 (No. 36); cf. also Gregg and Urman 1996: 169-170 (No. 136), 194 (No. 160), 255 (No. 213); *SEG* XXXVII: No. 1555 (Ἀλαφα); XXXVIII: No. 1627B (Ἀλαφαλ[λος?]).
168. Avi-Yonah 1940: 87-88; see also inscription No. 78.
169. *LGPN* I: 94 (Αὐγορῖνος, Cyrenaica – 1st century CE); *LGPN* VA: 90 (Αὐγουρῖνος, Ionia: Ephesos – Roman Imperial period). See also *SEG* XXV: No. $779b_4$ (for Αὐγουρῖνος); XXXIX: No. 1515 (for Αὐγουρεῖνος).
170. Scholz (1822: 152) was the first to copy and publish the inscription, albeit inaccurately and without discussion. For its correct reading, see Germer-Durand 1898: 273, n. 2; Leclercq 1925: *s.v.* "Graffites," col. 1496.
171. See Cassell's Latin Dictionary, *s.vv.* "germanus," "germen" (perhaps from "geno" = "gigno"), 240; Lewis and Short 1951: *s.vv.* "germanus," "germen," 811.
172. See *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 1910, 1984b, 1984c, 2220, 2292, 2339, 2385, 2402, 2413f, 2433, 2520, 2715; Milne 1905: 87 (No. 9343); Prentice 1908: Nos. 371, 413a; Littmann *et alii* 1921: Nos. 44, 189, 547, 631, 652, 688, 795, 803; *IGLS* I: Nos. 108, 153c, 252; Welles 1938: 413 (No. 102), 451-452 (No. 219); *IGLS* IIIB: No. 1145; *IGLS* V: Nos. 2304(?), 2486, 2505, 2554; *IGLS* VI : No. 2985; Schwabe and Lifshitz 1967: 37-38 (No. 100) and n. 33; Ovadiah 1975: 122-123 and n. 84 (Inscription No. 6).
173. See *LGPN* II: 92; *LGPN* IIIB: 91; *LGPN* IV: 79; *LGPN* VA: 108.
174. See, for example, the Greek inscriptions from the Negev, Negev 1981: 29 (No. 16), 32-34 (No. 19), 44-45 (No. 46a); see also a Greek inscription from the Golan Heights, Gregg and Urman 1996: 209 (No. 171); and from the early Byzantine Zoora (Ghor es-Safî), see Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2005: 213-214 (No. 118); Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2008: 89-90 (No. 26), 113-114 (No. 42); see also *LGPN* IIIB: 91.
175. See *LJN* I: 332; *LJN* IV: 157.
176. For a similar case, see *IGLS* III/1: No. 432c.
177. See *LGPN* I: 423.
178. See *LGPN* II: 417.
179. See *LGPN* IIIA: 414.
180. See *LGPN* IIIB: 394.
181. See *LGPN* IV: 324.
182. See *LGPN* VA: 419; see also *SEG* XXIII: No. $330_{5,7,11,15}$; XXVII: No. 948; XXXI: No. 201; XXXIII: No. 428; XXXVIII: Nos. 486. II.20, 554; LII: No. 618.
183. See *LGPN* I: 423; *LGPN* II: 417; *LGPN* IIIA: 414; *LGPN* IIIB: 394-395; *LGPN* IV: 324; *LGPN* VA: 419.
184. The reconstruction of the name could be also Ἄντιος, who was a mythological figure, son of Ulysses and Circe and founder of the city Antium (Ἄντιον) in Latium. The name Antius (Ἄντιος) was used as a Roman gentilicium (see Pape and Benseler 1911: *s.v.* "Ἄντιος," 98; *KP* 1979: *s.v.* "Antius," col. 406).
185. *LGPN* I: 47; see also *SEG* XLIII: No. 345B. Close personal names to Ἄντις are: a) Ἄνθις – see *SEG* XXIV: No. $780_2$; XXVIII: Nos. 723, 892, 1005; b) Ἄνθις – see *SEG* XXXIV: No. 478.
186. *LGPN* VA: 38.
187. *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 2698, 2700; Milne 1905: Nos. 9201, 9205, 9206, 9234, 9262, 9283, 9284, 9296, 33037; Prentice 1908: Nos. 110, 112; Prentice 1922: No. 1152; *IGLS* I: No. 46(?); *IGLS* II: Nos. 438, 448; *LGPN* I: 390-391; *LGPN* II: 384-385; *LGPN* IIIA: 379-380; *LGPN* IIIB: 365; *LGPN* IV: 293-294; *LGPN* VA: 385.
188. See *LJN* I: 304; *LJN* III: 363.
189. *LGPN* I: 193; *LGPN* II: 192; *LGPN* IIIA: 187; *LGPN* IIIB: 175; *LGPN* IV: 142; *LGPN* VA: 189.
190. See *LJN* III: 281.
191. See Liddell *et alii* 1973: 37 (in the epic dialect αἴθε is for εἴθε, as αι for ει in Homer, *Iliad* I.415 [αἴθ' ὄφελες]).
192. Scholz (1822: 151) was the first to copy and publish the inscription, albeit erroneously and without discussion.
193. Perhaps the name Σίων, found in Peloponnese and Sicily between the 5th and 1st centuries BCE, and Central Greece (Boiotia and Phokis) in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, is the shortened form of Σηωνᾶς? (see *LGPN* IIIA: 397; *LGPN* IIIB: 380 respectively).
194. *LGPN* I: 114.
195. *LGPN* II: 98.
196. *LGPN* IIIA: 107-108.
197. *LGPN* IIIB: 97.
198. *LGPN* IV: 85.
199. *LGPN* VA: 116; see also *SEG* XLI: No. 364 (the name may be accented as Δάμας or Δαμᾶς, but not Δαμάς).
200. See Ovadiah *et alii* 1986-1987: 61; Ovadiah 2002: 43-44.
201. See *LJN* III: 669.
202. Scholz (1822: 152) was the first to copy and publish the inscription, albeit inaccurately and without discussion.
203. See Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2005: 257-258 (No. 162), 278-279 (No. 184), 320-322 (No. 231); Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2008: 110-113 (No. 41).
204. See *IGLS* I: No. 230.
205. See, for example, the Greek inscriptions from the Jewish catacombs in Beth She'arim, where the name appears twice as that of a Jewess – Schwabe and Lifshitz 1967: 38 (Nos. 101, 102).
206. See Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2005: 266 (No. 170); *LGPN* VA: 276.
207. *LGPN* VA: 276.
208. See Schwabe and Lifshitz 1967: 25 (No. 78).
209. See *IGLS* XIII/1: Nos. 9230, 9310.
210. See *IGLS* VII: No. 4023.
211. See *LGPN* I: 321.
212. See *LGPN* I: 321.
213. See *LGPN* VA: 326; see also *SEG* XLI: No. 1200(?).
214. See *IGLS* III/1: Nos. 1909, 2327, 2361, 2667; Lefebvre 1907: Nos. 27, 71, 93, 216, 372, 398, 425, 437, 470, 471, 498, 531, 604, 609, 610, 618, 640, 649, 717, 731, 734, 775; Prentice 1908: Nos. 270, 273; Littmann *et alii* 1921: No. 546; Prentice 1922: Nos. 1017, 1032, 1118, 1143; *IGLS* II: Nos. 436, 460, 682, 684; Canova 1954:

LXXXIII, 121-122; *IGLS* IV: No. 1599; *IGLS* V: No. 2098; Negev 1977: Nos. 46, 79, 170; *LGPN* I: 371 (Crete, Delos, Syros and Cyrenaica); *LGPN* IIIA: 361 (Peloponnese, Sicily and Magna Graecia); *LGPN* IIIB: 345 (Central Greece); *LGPN* IV: 279 (Macedonia, Thrace and Northern Regions of the Black Sea); Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2005: Nos. 40, 58, 70, 83, 88, 100, 122, 149, 154, 162, 163, 175, 177, 180, 188, 217, 231, 235, 254, 306; Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2008: Nos. 3, 24b, 31, 35, 43, 45; *LGPN* VA: 365 (Coastal Asia Minor).

215. See Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2005: 137. For the few pagan instances of Πέτρος, see Kajanto 1963: 96, 97, 117.
216. See Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou 2008: 58.
217. See *LJN* I: 303; *LJN* III: 356.
218. Scholz 1822: 153.
219. Marie-Joseph 1911: 271.
220. Germer-Durand 1898: 272ff.
221. Leclercq 1925: col. 1496.
222. N.-D. de France 1922: 477.
223. Kopp 1929: 34.
224. The date of some inscriptions in question (Nos. 76, 80, 137A) is obscure; inscription No. 146 may be dated to the early Byzantine period.
225. For a careful observation, cf. Kaufmann 1917: 450, 457 (various shapes of the Greek pagan alphabet attributed to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE); Welles 1938: 359 (Fig. 8), 361 (Fig. 9), 362 (Fig. 10), 363 (Fig. 12), 364 (Fig. 13) (various shapes of Greek letters from inscriptions found in Gerasa, which have been dated to the 1st-3rd centuries CE).
226. See above, nn. 45-46.
227. This, despite the fact that Tacitus does not mention any cult statue (idol) of Ba'al, claiming that the god had no image or temple, but only an altar (see above, n. 36).
228. See above, n. 102.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY


Adler M.N. n.d. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, New York.

Aharoni Y. 1965. "The Carmel as the Israel-Tyre Border," in *Western Galilee and the Coast of Galilee (The Nineteenth Archaelogical Convention, October 1963)*, Jerusalem, 56-62 (Hebrew).

Albert du Saint-Sauveur 1897. *Le Sanctuaire du Mont-Carmel depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours. Notice historique*, Lille, 2nd ed.

Ap-Thomas D.R. 1960. "Elijah on Mount Carmel," *PEQ* 92: 146-155.

Asaf S. 1928. "The 'Totzaot Eretz-Yisrael' by an Anonymous Pupil of Nahmanides," in I. Press - E.L. Sukenik (ed.), *Yerushalayim – Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, Jerusalem, 51-66 (Hebrew).

Augustinović A. 1972. *"El-Khadr" and the Prophet Elijah* (SBF. Minor 12), Jerusalem.

Avi-Yonah M. 1940. *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions* (Supplement to QDAP 9), Jerusalem - London.

Avi-Yonah M. 1952. "Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek," *IEJ* 2: 118-124.

Baudissin W.W. 1911. *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, II, Berlin.

Benoit P. - Boismard M.E. 1951. "Un ancien sanctuaire Chrétien à Béthanie," *RB* 58: 200-251.

Buckingham J.S. 1821. *Travels in Palestine Through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan*, London.

Burchard of Mount Zion. *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae – A Description of the Holy Land, A.D.* 1280, transl. A. Stewart (PPTS 12), London 1896.

Canova R. 1954. *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab* (SSAC 4), Roma.

Carne J. 1838. *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, etc.*, III, London - Paris.

Cassell's Latin Dictionary. J.R.V. Marchant - J.F. Charles, *Cassell's Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary*, London 1952, 26th ed.

Clark G. (transl.) 1989. *Iamblichus: On the Pythagorean Life* (Translated Texts for Historians), Liverpool.

Cohen N.C. 1974. "The Proper Name 'Miriam' in Greek and Latin Transliteration," *Leshonenu* 38: 170-180 (Hebrew).

Cook A.B. 1964. *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*. I: *Zeus, God of the Bright Sky*, Cambridge, reprint.

Deferrari R.J. (transl.) 1981. *Paulus Orosius, The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* (The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, 50), Washington D.C.

Doubdan J. 1657. *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, Paris.

Dunand M. 1939. "Nouvelles inscriptions du Djebel Druze et du Hauran," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, II, Paris, 559-576.

Einsler L. 1894. "Mar Eljas, el-Chadr und Mar Dschirjis," *ZDPV* 17: 65-74.

Eissfeldt O. 1954. *Der Gott Karmel* (Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst; Jg. 1953, Nr. 1), Berlin.

Eusebius, *Onomastikon*: ed. E. Klostermann, *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*, Leipzig 1904 (reprint Hildesheim 1966).

Flusser D. 1976. "Paganisim in Palestine," in S. Safrai - M. Stern (ed.), *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*, II, Assen, 1065-1100.

Friedman E. 1979. *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel: A Study in Carmelite Origins* (Institutum Historicum Teresianum: Studia 1), Rome.

Galling K. 1953. "Der Gott Karmel und die Ächtung der Fremden Götter," in W.F. Albright (ed.), *Geschichte und Altes Testament: Albrecht Alt zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 16), Tübingen, 105-125.

Germer-Durand J. 1898. "Épigraphie chrétienne. Inscriptions grecques du Mont Carmel," *Echos d'Orient* 1: 271-274.

Giambattista di S. Alessio 1780. *Compendio Istorico dello Stato antico, e moderno del Carmelo, dei paesi Adjacenti, e dell'Ordine monastico orientale*, Torino.

Ginzberg L. 1928. *Genizah Studies in Memory of Doctor Solomon Schechter* (*Ginzei Schechter = Schechter Archives*), *Midrash and Haggadah*, I, New York (Hebrew).

Goodenough E.R. 1954. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*. IV: *The Problem of Method: Symbols from Jewish Cult*, New York.

Goodenough E.R. 1965. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*. XII: *Summary and Conclusions*, New York.

Giordano S. (ed.) 1994. *Il Carmelo in Terra Santa: dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Arenzano.

Graziano di S. Teresa 1955. "Vita Fratrum del Sancto Monte Carmelo del P. Nicola Calciuri, OC," *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 6: 242-531.

Gregg R.C. - Urman D. 1996. *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights. Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 140), Atlanta GA.

Guérin V. 1875. *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*. V: *Samarie*, vols. 1-2, Paris 1875 (reprint Amsterdam 1969).

Heidet L. 1926. "3. Carmel (Mont)," in E. Vigouroux (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, II, Paris, cols. 291-302.

Iamblichus, *De Vita*: ed. L. Deubner, *Iamblichus, De Vita Pythagorica Liber*, Stuttgart 1975.

Ish-Shalom M. 1979. *Christian Travels in the Holy Land*, Tel Aviv, 2nd ed. (Hebrew).

*Itinerarium Burdigalense*: ed. O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*. I: *Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense: accedit tabula geographica*, Stuttgardiae (1929) 1990.

Josephus, *War*: *The Jewish War*, transl. H.St.J. Thackeray, II (LCL), Cambridge MA - London 1976.

Kajanto I. 1963. *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 2/1), Helsinki.

Kaufmann C.M. 1917. *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, Freiburg i.Br.

Kirk Grayson A. 1996. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, II (858-745 BC)*, Toronto - Buffalo - London.

Klein Sh. (ed.) 1939. *Sepher Hayishuv* (*Book of the Settlement*), I, Jerusalem 1939 (photocopied Jerusalem 1977) (Hebrew).

Koikylides K.M. - Phokylides I. 1912. Κ.Μ. Κοικυλίδης - Ι. Φωκυλίδης, Ἀρχαῖα Λατινικά, Ἑλληνικά, Ῥωσσικά καὶ Γαλλικά τινα ὁδοιπορικὰ ἢ προσκυνητάρια τῆς Ἁγίας Γῆς, Ιεροσόλυμα (Greek: *Some Ancient Latin, Greek, Russian and French Itineraries or Pilgrimages of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem).

Kopp C. 1929. *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel* (Collectanea Hierosolymitana 3), Paderborn.

*KP* 1979. "Antius," in K. Ziegler - W. Sontheimer (ed.), *Der Kleine Pauly Lexikon der Antike*, I, München, col. 406.

Kraeling C.H. 1956. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report VIII. The Synagogue*, New Haven CT.

Laurent J.C.M. (ed.) 1857. *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio*, Hamburg.

Leclercq H. 1925. "Graffites," in *DACL*, VI/2: cols. 1453-1542.

Lefebvre G. 1907. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*, Le Caire.

Lewis Ch.T. - Short Ch. 1951. *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford.

Liddell H.G. - Scott R. - Jones H.S. - McKenzie R. 1973. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford.

Lifshitz B. 1967. *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives. Répertoire des dédicaces grecques relatives à la construction et à la réfection des synagogues* (Cahiers de la RB 7), Paris.

Littmann E. *et alii* 1921. *Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*, Division III: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Section A: *Southern Syria*, Leyden.

MacDonald W.L. 1986. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*. II: *An Urban Appraisal* (Yale Publications in the History of Art 35), New Haven - London.

Mann J. 1936. "The Voyage of R. Chayim ibn Attar and his Companions to Palestine and their Temporary Settlement in Acre," *Tarbiz* 7: 74-101 (Hebrew).

Marie-Joseph du Sacré Coeur 1911. "La topographie sacrée du Mont-Carmel en Palestine: à propos d'une récente découverte," *Études Carmélitaines* 1: 263-278.

Mazar B. 1957. *Beth She'arim*, I, 2nd ed., Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Meimaris Y.E. - Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou K.I. 2005. *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia*. Ia: *The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi* (*Byzantine Zoora*) (Meletēmata 41), Athens.

Meimaris Y.E. - Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou K.I. 2008. *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia*. Ib: *The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor Es-Safi* (*Byzantine Zoora*) (*Supplement*), *Khirbet Qazone and Feinan* (Meletēmata 57), Athens.

Meistermann B. 1923. *Guide to the Holy Land*, London.

Meshorer Y. 1966. *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*, Tel Aviv (Hebrew).

Milne J.G. 1905. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 9201-9400, 26001-26123, 33001-33037. Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford.

Morison A. 1704. *Relation historique, d'un voyage nouvellement fait au Mont de Sinaï et à Jerusalem*, Toul.

N.-D. de France 1922. Professeurs de Notre-Dame de France à Jérusalem, *La Palestine*, Paris.

Negev A. 1977. *The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai* (Qedem 6), Jerusalem.

Negev A. 1981. *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev* (SBF. Minor 25), Jerusalem.

Ovadiah A. 1966. "Elijah's Cave, Mount Carmel," *IEJ* 16: 284-285 (= *RB* 75 [1968]: 417-418).

Ovadiah A. 1969. "Inscriptions in Elijah's Cave," *Qadmoniot* 7: 99-101 (Hebrew).

Ovadiah A. 1975. "Greek Cults in Beth-Shean/Scythopolis in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," *EI* 12: 116-124 (Hebrew).

Ovadiah A. 1980. *Geometric and Floral Patterns in Ancient Mosaics: A Study of their Origin in the Mosaics from the Classical Period to the Age of Augustus*, Roma.

Ovadiah A. 2002. *Art and Archaeology in Israel and Neighbouring Countries: Antiquity and Late Antiquity*, London.

Ovadiah A. - Mucznik S. 2001. "Marble Reliefs with Biblical Scenes and a *Menorah* Seal at the Medieval Museum in Limassol, Cyprus," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 299-306.

Ovadiah A. - Mucznik S. 2009. *Worshipping the Gods. Art and Cult in Roman Eretz Israel*, Leiden.

Ovadiah R. - Ovadiah A. 1987. *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel* (BA 6), Roma.

Ovadiah A. - Turnheim Y. 2007. "Zeus *Hypsistos* on Mt. Gerizim (Tell er-Ras)," *Assaph* 12: 21-35.

Ovadiah A. - Turnheim Y. 2011. *Roman Temples, Shrines and Temene in Israel* (Supplementi alla Rivista di Archeologia 30), Roma.

Ovadiah A. *et alii* 1986-1987. "The Epigraphic Finds from the Roman Temple at Kedesh in the Upper Galilee," *TA* 13-14: 60-66.

Pape W. - Benseler G. 1911. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 2 vols., Braunschweig.

Philip of the Most Holy Trinity 1649. *Itinerarium Orientale*, Lugdunum 1649 (*Voyage d'Orient* [transl. from the Latin], Lyon 1669).

Pococke R. 1745 / 1754. *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, II (Part I), London 1745 (= *Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger anderer Lander*, II, Erlangen 1754).

Prawer J. 1988. *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford.

Prentice W.K. 1908. *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*. III: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, New York.

Prentice W.K. 1922. *Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*, Division III: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Section B: *Northern Syria*, Leyden.

Press I. 1952. *A Topographical-Historical Encyclopaedia of Palestine*, III, Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Quaresmius 1639. *Historica, Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, II, Antwerp 1639 (2nd ed., by Cyprianus de Tarvisio, Venice 1881).

Renan E. 1864. *Mission de Phénicie*, I-II, Paris.

Renan E. 1871. *Mission de Phénicie*, III-IV, Paris.

Robertson D.S. 1969. *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge, 2nd ed.

Sartre M. 1985. *Bostra: des origines à l'Islam* (BAH 117), Paris.

Scholz J.M.A. 1822. *Reise*, Leipzig - Sorau.

Schwabe M. - Lifshitz B. 1967. *Beth She'arim. II: The Greek Inscriptions*, Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Scylax (or Pseudo-Scylax), *Periplus*: A. Peretti, *Il Periplo di Scilace: studio sul primo portolano del Mediterraneo* (Biblioteca di studi antichi 23), Pisa 1979.

Sukenik E.L. 1947. *The Synagogue of Dura-Europos and Its Frescoes*, Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Suetonius. *De Vita Caesarum* (*The Lives of the Caesars*), transl. J.C. Rolfe, I-II (LCL), Cambridge MA - London 1970.

Tacitus. *Historiae*, transl. C.H. Moore, II (LCL), Cambridge MA - London 1962.

Turner W. 1820. *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, II, London.

Van Egmont J.A. - Heyman J. 1759. *Travels*, II, London.

Vilnay Z. 1936. *Haifa: Past and Present*, Tel Aviv (Hebrew).

Vilnay Z. 1954. *Guide to Eretz Israel. Haifa-Valleys-Galilee-Hermon*, 4th ed., Jerusalem (Hebrew).

Vilnay Z. 1975 / 1976. *Ariel: Encyclopedia for the Knowledge of Eretz Israel*, III-IV, Tel Aviv 1975-1976 (Hebrew).

Von Mülinen E. 1908. "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels," *ZDPV* 31: 1-258.

Weinreich O. 1912. "ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung* 37: 1-68.

Welles C.B. 1938. "The Inscriptions," in C.H. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*, New Haven CT, 355-494.

Wellmann M. 1896. "Asklepiades (Ἀσκληπιάδης)," in G. Wissowa *et alii* (ed.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung, II.2, Stuttgart, cols. 1622-1634.

Wilson Ch.W. 1880. *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt*, III, London.

Wuthnow H. 1930. *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* (Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde I/4), Leipzig.