Archæological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine.

By Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I.

1. Seal of the Crusading Period, from the Leper Hospital of St. Lazarus at Jerusalem.—Father Paul de S. Aignan, of the Jerusalem province of the Franciscan order, has lately acquired from a fellâh a very curious bulla of lead of the Crusading period. He has been good enough to send me casts and photographs of it. He believes, and with good reason, that it is the hitherto unknown seal of the Leper Hospital at Jerusalem, placed under the invocation of S. Lazarus.

On one of the sides (B) is engraved the figure of a bishop or mitred abbot, holding a crosier in his left hand and giving his blessing with his right. On the other side (A) is a leper, his head encowled in a sort of bonnet with hanging ear-pieces; his face bears the marks of his terrible disease, and in his right hand he brandishes the triple clapper or rattle\(^1\) with which he was bound by the sanitary rules of the period to give warning of his approach, and put people on their guard against a dangerous contact. His left hand is placed against his breast.

The legend, which is partly defaced, seems as if it ought to read:

A. + Sigillum \[? d(omus) lepro\]sorum.
B. + S(ancti) Lazari \[? de Ihe\]rusalem.

\(^1\) Compare, for example, the "Custom" of Hainault (revised in 1483), "Coutumier Général," vol. ii, p. 36. This document speaks also of a "hat," probably of special shape.
For the restoration of the word domus I rely upon the official qualifications of the establishment, as they are given in contemporary documents, of which I shall speak hereafter. Considering the small extent of the lacuna, I suppose that the word was in the contracted form D'. Father Paul de S. Aignan, who has the advantage of having the original before him, is inclined rather to read [H](ospitii). I am unwilling to accept this reading, because the term hospitium does not appear in the official documents. On the other side he proposes to read Lazari[C]ivitat[is] Sanctae Jerusalem.

The convent of lepers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem must not be confounded with the abbey of St. Lazarus of Bethany, which was a convent for nuns founded under this invocation by Queen Melisenda, sister to Fulke I. We know the seal of this latter establishment by a copy of moderate merit made by Pauli; it is altogether different: on one side there is a representation of the Raising of Lazarus, with the legend Resuscitatio Lazari; on the other is the portrait of the Abbess Judith (Joette, sister to Melisenda?) with the legend Abatissa Juditta.

We know from the Assises de Jerusalem (p. 417) that the House of the Lepers at Jerusalem was managed by a magister, "le maistre de Saint Ladre des Mesiaux," who was a suffragan of the patriarch of the Holy City. We must suppose that he was a dignitary invested with an ecclesiastical character, like the archbishop of the Ermins (Armenians) and the archbishop of the Jacobins (Syrians), in company with whom his name appears, and who are also reckoned as suffragans of the patriarch. Perhaps it is he whom we ought to recognise in the figure with the mitre and the crozier who appears on our bulla, unless he be the capellanus of the order, who is mentioned, as well as the magister, in the documents which I am about to quote. Or is it the patriarch himself?

It should be noted that the magister of St. Lazarus is mentioned in the very last line of the Assises de Jerusalem, after even the spiritual representatives of the native religious communities.

as though he himself were in some sort put in quarantine like
the poor wretches of whom he was in charge. Nevertheless,
the establishment over which he presided was of great im­
portance, as is proved by a fragment of the Cartulary of the
Order, dating from the thirteenth century, which is preserved
among the archives of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus
at Turin. 1 This document confirms the passage in the Assises de
Jerusalem, and also gives us valuable hints as to the organisation
and resources of the institution. I quote the following para­
graphs, which may throw some light on the legends on our
bulla:—

"Domus leprosorum Sancti Lazari (No. 1); ecclesia S.
Lazari et conventus infirmorum qui miselli vocantur (No. 2);
infirmi S. Lazari secus muros Jerusalem (No. 5); domus beati
Lazari Jeresolimis—ecclesie S. Lazari capellanus (No. 6);
fratres S. Lazari extra muros Jerusalem leprosi (No. 7); leprosi
de S. Lazaro (No. 8); leprosi S. Lazari (No. 9); S. Lazari
leprosi fratres (No. 10); conventus S. Lazari infirorum de
Jerusalem, Bartholomeo ipsorum existente magistro (No. 11)
fraternitas leprosorum domus S. Lazari in Jerusalem (No. 30);
leprosi qui manent extra portam civitatis sancte Jerusalem
(No. 32); domus leprosorum S. Lazari Jerosolimitani (No. 33);
frater Gualterus de Novo Castello magister domus S. Lazari in
Jerusalem et conventus ejusdem domus (No. 34)." 2

We know already from a passage in "La Citez de Iherusalem"
(§ xv), that the House of Lepers of St. Lazarus was situated

1 Published by M. de Marsy in the "Archives de l'Orient Latin," vol. ii, B,
P. 121, seqq. It contains some forty charters and letters, ranging from 1130
to 1248.

2 We see by No. 13 that there was also at Tiberias a "house of lepers,"
organised on the plan of that at Jerusalem: "ecclesia beati Lazari de Tiberiade
et fratribus ibidem commorantibus"; the document, which is dated 1154, is
signed, "Fratre et magistro pauperum S. Lazari existente."

I take this opportunity of remarking incidentally that the editor, M. de
Marsy, has misunderstood the expression "octo ceces III rotularum," which
occurs in Nos. 37 and 38. He translates this by "eight wax candles of four
rolas of wax." Rotula in this case is not the Latin word which he imagines it
to be, but a transcript of the Arabic word rotûl, the name of a weight; it should
be "eight candles weighing four rotûls."
outside and close against the wall enclosing the city, between
the Kasr Jálůd and the Damascus Gate, near a postern which
was named after the establishment: "A main destre de la
porte Saint Estene estoit la maladrerie de Jerusalem tenant as
murs. Tenant a la maladrerie avoit une posterne, c'on apeloit
la poterne Saint Lasdre."

This notice agrees, as the reader will see, with the state­ments in the Cartulary, and likewise with the remarks of
Theoderich, although the latter does not, perhaps, speak with
the same degree of accuracy.

Another allusion, from a far less commonly known source,
is given us in the Estoire d'Eracles, p. 82. It is in the account
of the investment of Jerusalem by Saladin; the line of invest­ment reached from the Tower of David up to the Gate of St.
Stephen: "De lez la maladrerie des femes et par devant la
maladrerie des homes." We gather from an important
difference of reading in the MSS. that the women's hospital
stood beside the Tower of David (the Kal'a), while the men's
was beside St. Stephen's Gate, that is, the Damascus Gate.
This is the only evidence which we have as to the existence of
a special establishment for leprous women, distinct from that
for men and at a considerable distance from it, although,
perhaps, connected with it in the sense of being under the
same management. This fact is worth notice. It is, however,
the men's lazare house in which we are specially interested, and
the more so because it raises a topographical question of much
importance: the position of the postern of St. Ladre, otherwise
called St. Lazarus.

This question of topography has been frequently discussed
by Tobler and subsequent writers, and has been solved in
various ways. Of late it has been proposed to fix the site of

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1 Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. v (p. 43, § xxvi). According to
Theoderich's account, one must regard the establishment of the lepers as
extending to a considerable distance to the south-west, seeing that he places it
at the western angle of the city.

2 See also p. 97, "porte de Joste Saint Ladre."


4 Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1889, p. 64; 1895,
p. 30. See the plans of medieval Jerusalem in the various volumes of the
this postern, which seems to correspond, not, as has been sometimes said, to the gate Bāb er-Rahbeh of Mujir ed-Din, but rather to the gate Deir es-Serb (?) of the same author, at a point in the city wall about 540 feet from the Damascus Gate, in a south-westerly direction.

This is not the opinion of Father St. Aignan, who proposes to place this postern some 560 feet further to the south-west. He is in a peculiarly favourable position for the examination of this topographical question, for the Franciscans some years ago purchased the land to the north of their monastery up to and beyond the city wall. The result of excavations undertaken by them along the angle which the wall forms at this point, looking to the north-east, has been to establish the

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, and the new Plan of Jerusalem, on the scale of \( \frac{3}{375} \), published in October, 1900.
existence, at a depth of two metres below the surface of the ground, of an arch leading through the wall. This arch is built of stones bearing the diagonal tool-marks which I long ago proved to be characteristic of the work of Crusaders. The upper part of this arch has hitherto alone been disinterred, the space where the door once stood having been made use of at some uncertain epoch for the passage of a sewer which drains this quarter of the town. This would be the true Postern of St. Lazarus of the Crusaders.

In a charter of the year 1177 mention is made of the high road which leads from the House of the Lepers of St. Lazarus towards the “lake” of Legerius, from which another road branched off to St. Stephen’s Church. The position of this pool, on the north side of Jerusalem, has not hitherto been fixed. Its memory, however, is possibly preserved by tradition, in the form of a curious survival which has been opportunely noted by Father Paul de St. Aignan. Ancient legal Arabic documents, or kuchans, give the singularly suggestive name of Háret el-Birkeh, “the street” or “quarter of the pool,” to a piece of ground situated about 1,000 feet due north of the supposed site of the postern of St. Lazarus. Here, indeed, is a piece of evidence which may perhaps lead to the solution of this little topographical problem.

I must add that I have sometimes been tempted to ask whether the Lacus Legerii may not really be identical with the “great cistern of the Hospitallers,” mentioned by Theoderich (§ xxvi), which lay just between the hospital for lepers on one side and St. Stephen’s Church on the other, before one came to the north (Damascus?) Gate.

2. Rhodian, and not Jewish Amphora-handles.—The two stamped amphora-handles, which Professor Wright has brought to notice, although they undoubtedly came from Palestine have no connection with the history and religion of the Jews. They are simply Rhodian jar-handles, like those that I obtained

2 Quarterly Statement, 1901, p. 62.
years ago at Jerusalem and Jaffa, and those which have been found in such numbers during the excavations of Dr. Bliss at Sandahannah and Tell ej-Judeideh. The first has in its centre the flower emblematic of Rhodes (the rose, or rather the flower of the wild pomegranate, βαλανόστιον). The legend should really read

[ἘΠ' ο ΕΦ'] ΙΕΡΕΩΣ Α(Ρ)ΜΟΣΙΛΑ
“Under the priest Harmosilas.”

It may be remarked that the name Harmosilas, with the letters complete, and the same emblematic flower, occurs on three of the Sandahannah series of Rhodian handles. We have here, then, a simple Rhodian priest acting as magistrate, and not a high priest of the Jews, Ishmael, or another.

The legend of the second handle is not a wish-for-good-luck, but another name of a Rhodian magistrate, in this case a civilian. It should read

ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΟΡ[ΜΙΟΣ]
“Under Kallistos son of Mormis.”

The name of this magistrate, qualified by the same patronymic, had already been noticed on handles notoriously Rhodian, associated with the same symbol—the bull’s head—which has consequently nothing to do with the calves of Aaron and Jeroboam.

2 Quarterly Statement, 1901, pp. 34, 35; Nos. 55, 56, 57.
3 Dumont, “Inscriptions Céramiques de Grèce,” p. 292; Nos. 127, 128. Perhaps the same patronymic ΜΟΡ[ΜΙΟΣ] should be restored on the Rhodian handle from Tell ej-Judeideh (No. 121, pp. 40, 41, of the List of the Quarterly Statement), which has also the same device, “the bull’s head.”
4 Similar criticisms on Professor Wright’s paper have been received by the Secretary of the Fund from Père Hugues Vincent, of St. Stephen’s Biblical School at Jerusalem, and one of the most constant contributors to the “Revue Biblique”; and from Mr. Macalister.—[Ed.]
3. The Inscription from the Columbarium es-Sūkh at Tell Sandahannah.—The Greek inscription\(^1\) discovered by Mr. Macalister on one of the walls of this remarkable cave is of great interest. To judge by the character of the writing, it may belong to a period before the Christian era, and this would give us a piece of chronological evidence to determine the date both of this cave and of the similar caves of this district; but with regard to this matter we must bear in mind certain counterindications which I shall mention presently.

Mr. Macalister proposes to read and translate it as follows:

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\Sigma \iota \mu \eta \kappa \alpha \lambda \nu \Delta \omicron \omicron \kappa \epsilon \iota \epsilon \mu \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \iota \Lambda \omicron \epsilon \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron
\]

\[
\text{I, D. [or L.] Nikateidēs think this a beautiful cave.'}
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According to him, it is a sort of visiting-card, in the style of "Ego Januarius vidi et miravi," which is scrawled all over the Tombs of the Kings at Luxor. I do not think that this interpretation is tenable. The Greek word \(\Sigma \iota \mu \eta\) never has the meaning of "cave" which Mr. Macalister attributes to it.

\(^1\) For \(\text{ft.}\) in the scale in the cut read \(\text{in.}\)
Σιμή is a female proper name, well known from other sources, and meaning etymologically, "snub-nose." The true translation of this little inscription is "Sime seems pretty to me, &c." It is nothing more than a lover's greeting, written according to a form of which Greek epigraphy furnishes numerous examples: ὃ δεῖνα καλόν; ἥ δεῖνα καλῆ, καλῆ δοκεῖ, &c. I even find on a painted vase in the Campana collection (Corpus Inscr. Graec. No. 8035) a greeting in exactly the same fashion, and actually in honour of a namesake of our Sime (the letters and spelling are archaic): ΣΙΜΕ ΚΑΒΕ, Σιμή καλῆ.

The personage who felt himself thus impelled to write the name of his sweetheart on the subterranean cavern which he visited, and to proclaim his passion in a place which does not seem very suitable for such a purpose, was perhaps some soldier on his travels, or it may be in a garrison in the country. The simple sentimentality of "Tommy" belongs to all ages alike. The name borne by our man offers certain difficulties, Λ. ΝΙΚΑ-ΤΕΙΔΙΩ.

We have here obviously a name of patronymic form, as shown by the termination εἰδῆς = ἴδης. Νικατείδης (derived from Νικήτας) seems, certainly, a very plausible reading; only, I doubt whether it would be written Νικατείδ[(e)]τ in the dative, as Mr. Macalister, not indeed without hesitation, reads it. I should prefer to read either Νικατείδης, regarding the final ι as the right hand limb of an Η; or even Νικατείδης, with the iota ascript. This latter reading would imply a sufficiently remote date, but still one which, on the whole, would not be out of harmony with the period to which the writing apparently belongs (compare, for instance, the archaic form of the Σ and the Ms).

A more important matter, because of the chronological inferences which it may imply, is the question raised by the group Λ., which precedes ΝΙΚΑΤΕΙΔΙΩ. If the actual reading were certain, one could only interpret this siglum as an abbreviation for some Roman praenomen such as Λούκιος. This would tend considerably to bring down the date of the inscription, and might perhaps disagree with the palæographic evidence which it contains; but, on the other hand, it might
suit the archaeological view of the matter better, for the internal arrangement of the cave strongly reminds one of the Roman *columbaria*. We may, however, remark that the reading Α. is anything but sure. Mr. Macalister himself does not seem certain as to whether the dot is intentional or accidental, and, as to the letter, he hesitates as to whether it be Α or Δ. Under these circumstances it is permissible to enquire whether *ANIKATEIAI* might not be the proper reading, regarding the Α as an integral part of the proper name; 'Ανικατειδής (≡ 'Ανικητίδης) would be derived quite regularly from the proper name 'Ανικήτως (≡ Ανίκατος), which actually exists. The question evidently is not without importance, and it is greatly to be wished that one could have a good squeeze which would enable it to be decided.

If it were decided according to my second hypothesis, that is, if we are to read 'Ανικατειδής without any prænomen after the Roman fashion, and if we can get over the objection, which I admit is a serious one, of the Roman origin of the *columbaria*, one would be led, considering the palæographic character of the text, which might easily go as far back as the end of the third century b.c., to admit that Anikatides may have belonged to one of the armies which met at the battle of Raphia in 217 b.c., who are proved to have visited Sandahanna by the official Ptolemaic inscriptions whose true date and meaning I have lately been endeavouring to establish (*cf. Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 54 ff.).

4. Roman Inscriptions on a Jerusalem Aqueduct.—Father Germer-Durand, of the convent of Augustin monks of the Assumption of our Lady of France, at Jerusalem, who has already rendered such great services to the epigraphy of the Holy Land, has just discovered a series of Roman inscriptions, carved along an ancient Jerusalem aqueduct, whose construction has been successively attributed to Solomon, Pontius Pilate, and Herod. It follows from these inscriptions that this aqueduct, which is remarkable from an engineering point of view as containing a siphon, was really, at any rate for a certain portion of its extent, constructed in 195 A.D., in the reign of
Septimius Severus, by the military engineers of the Tenth Legion, at that time quartered in Jerusalem. I can do no better than reproduce the interesting letter which he has been good enough to write to me upon this subject:—

**JERUSALEM, December 3rd, 1900.**

... We have just discovered a series of Latin inscriptions on a conduit which in former times brought spring water to Jerusalem. This conduit appears in the English map under the name of the “high level aqueduct,” to distinguish it from another on a lower level, which has been frequently restored in times more nearly approaching our own.

In one part of its course this aqueduct formed a siphon, and consisted of a series of perforated blocks of stone, firmly fitted together so as to form a tube with an interior diameter of no less than 0·40 metre (15½ inches). This fine work, which has long ago been allowed to fall into ruin, has been broken at several points, and many of the perforated stones have been utilised as cistern mouths. Such as have been broken have either been left where they lay or built into dry stone walls.

It was in one of these walls that we found by chance our first inscription. Its interpretation offered some difficulties. I have, not without hesitation, published a version of it in the *Echos d'Orient* for October, 1900, of which I send you a copy. I should be glad to have this version approved or corrected by competent scholars. Convinced by this discovery that the Titianus inscription was not the only one, we examined the whole length of the conduit, and found more than we had ventured to hope for.

Our most precious discovery is that which gives the date of the work, which we can find from the consulate. This inscription runs thus—its style is cursive rather than lapidary:—

**COB. ICLEMENT**
Co(n)sule I(ulio) Clement(e).

It was in 195, in the reign of Septimius Severus, that Julius Tineius Clemens held the post of consul, together with Scapula Tertullus. The *cursus honorum* of this personage is known to us from an inscription carved on the Memnon colossal. The aqueduct with the siphon, then, was built about 80 years after the founding of Aelia Capitolina, and this

1 In the vicinity of Rachel's so-called Tomb, which perhaps only represents, as I have tried to show (“Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.,” vol. ii, p. 134 ff.) the tomb of Archelaus mentioned by St. Jerome.—[CL.-G.]

2 That is for drawing water.—[Ed.]

3 On p. 9 Father Germer-Durand proposes to read *STITIANI* *s(umptibus) or s(umptus) Titiani pr(efecti)*. A photograph of this inscription accompanies his letter. Comparison with other inscriptions of the same character subsequently discovered suggest a different reading to him now—*c(enturionis) Titiani prapositi ?*—[CL.-G.]
fine work must not be attributed either to the kings of Judah, or Herod, or Pontius Pilate, but to the engineers of the Tenth Legion (Fretensis), who were in charge of the public works of the colony.

As a subsidiary proof, here are three other inscriptions, discovered at various points along the conduit. Each of them bears the name of a centurion, who, no doubt, was the gang-master in charge of a body of workmen. The first inscription is carefully carved, and, although mutilated, confirms the date given by the consulate by the shape of its letters. It runs thus:

7 CLO · SAT
C(enturionis) Clo(dii) Sat(urnini).

The two other names are carved with less care: the shape of the letters reminds one of the inscription which mentions the consulate. One need not be surprised at this, for all these inscriptions were intended to be buried in a thick mass of rubble masonry. None of them were originally visible, and their discovery is due to the partial destruction of the conduit. Here is a copy of them:

7 SEVERI
C(enturionis) Severi.

The third name had been so badly written that it was repeated lower down, in a more correct fashion.

7 VERI
C(enturionis) Veri.

It looks as if the stonemason had at first made use of Greek letters, as did some stonemasons in the catacombs at Rome.

It has been impossible to obtain the originals of these two last inscriptions, but the first three have been placed in the Museum of Notre-Dame de France, which already contains a number of valuable pieces of evidence which throw light upon both historic and prehistoric times in Palestine.

Father Germer-Durand’s important discovery reminds me of certain facts which seem to have an interesting connection with it.

I will remark, in the first place, that in 1850 M. de Saulcy, when examining the ruins of this same aqueduct, which is

1 Perhaps we ought to emend this, as in the preceding inscription, into (Severi)?—[Cl.-G.]
called by the Arabs Kanât el-Chuffar, "the Aqueduct of the Infidels," discovered in this same region, close to Rachel's so-called Tomb, on one of the blocks forming the casing of the conduit, the solitary word STROI, cut in Latin letters 10 centimetres high (3.9 inches). The shape of the letters seemed to him to point to the twelfth century, and he was disposed to see in it the name of some Italian Crusader, belonging perhaps to the illustrious Strozzi family. To-day it is permissible to ask whether this brief inscription, which is susceptible of quite a different interpretation, may not be one of the group discovered by Father Germer-Durand, whose cursive writing is capable at first sight of deceiving one as to their real age.

In any case, it is to this group without doubt that we must refer another inscription, on the subject of which I have found in one of my old note books the following note:

Bethlehem—on a fragment of stone from the aqueduct. From a rough copy sent in 1877 to M. Arsène Darmesteter, which he sent on to me in that year: some letters out of which I think I can make—

7 QVART... (centuria) quarta?
One might also read (centurionis) Quart(um) ?

Moreover, it may be that the fragments of hewn stone seen by Berggren on the road from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, in the vicinity of Rachel's Tomb, that is to say, on the line of this same aqueduct, on which he traced the words TITI, and EL... AVREL, belong to this same epigraphic group.

With regard to the very elaborate system of aqueducts of various periods, which brought water to Jerusalem from the plenteous springs which lie to the south of the Holy City (Wâdy el-'Arrûb and Wâdy el-Biâr), and especially with regard to the aqueduct which has just given us this series of Roman inscriptions, the reader is referred to the plans and technical

1 قنات الكفăr, with the countrified pronunciation لـ = ch.


As I pointed out some time ago,¹ it is this truly remarkable system of waterworks, extending as far as Tekû'a—the ancient Tekoa—some 15 kilometres south of Jerusalem, that Bela ed-Din, in his account of the council of war held by the Crusaders under Richard, Cœur de Lion, speaks of under the name, at first sight rather surprising, of "the river (nahr) of Tekû'a."

5. A Greek Inscription from Beersheba and the Gerar Question.—During a recent journey in Palestine, M. Sellin ² obtained a short Greek inscription which seems to deserve special attention from the certainty of its provenance. It came, in fact, from excavations made at the famous Beersheba in the extreme south of Palestine, by natives in search of building material for the steam mill, barrack, hotel,³ &c., which are being erected on the patriarchal site. It is a small fragment of a fine quadrangular slab of white alabaster. M. Sellin copied the following characters, but only gives them typographically:—

On the small side:

KAI H

On the large side:

ΣΕΨΕΙΛΟΥΑΝΟΣ

I propose to read

...... καὶ η........ [? ἰπτὲρ ἀναπαύς](σ)εως Σιλ(ο)νανοῦ...... η? ......

The one point certain is the name Σιλονανός, which is not without interest, for it at once reminds us of the celebrated Silvanus, "the father of the monks," who founded an important monastery at Gerar, "in the torrent." Now, as I tried to show ⁴

¹ "Études d'archéologie orientale," ii, pp. 135, 136.
⁴ "Rec. d'arch. or.," iii, pp. 237–240.
some time ago, Gerar should be looked for, not as is usually done in the vicinity of Gaza, at Umm Jerar, but in the direction of, and, perhaps, close to, Bir es-Seba'. Without going so far as to identify the Silouanos of the inscription with the founder of the monastery, whose epitaph we should then have, we may ask whether we have not here a namesake, either one of his successors or a simple monk belonging to the community. Possibly we should restore the first line: και ἦ[γειμένων]. In any case, the numerous remains, columns, slabs of marble, &c., turned up with this fragment, during the recent excavations to the north of the Bir es-Seba' wells, might well be explained by the hypothesis that they are the ruins of the Monastery of Silvanus. That would have an important bearing on the obscure question of the site of Gerar. To make the matter certain it would be necessary, as I have pointed out, to find in that district a name representing Aphta, a village near the Monastery of Silvanus, and consequently of Gerar. I recommend this desideratum to the attention of future explorers in that region.