

THE MEDIAEVAL ABBEY OF ST. MARGARET OF MOUNT CARMEL

In Crusading times, the Abbey of St. Margaret of Mount Carmel attracted many pilgrims on account of the relics of the saint which were preserved in the church¹. It belonged to the class of minor sanctuaries, such as those of St. George of Labaene, St. Anne of Sepphoris and St. Euphemia of Athlit².

If the existence of the abbey is certain, its location has been in dispute. Three sites have been proposed:

a) the terrace or esplanade of the promontory of Mount Carmel overlooking the town of Haifa, on the site where stands today the Monastery of the Carmelite Fathers, « Stella Maris »: Kopp³, Rohrbach⁴, Delaye⁵.

b) ed-Deir, the ruined monastery in Wadi es-Siah (Nahal Siah): Mariti⁶, Mülinen⁷, the Survey of Western Palestine⁸, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society⁹, Meistermann¹⁰, Luke¹¹.

c) Tirat el-Karmel: Florencio del Niño-Jesus OCD¹², Marie-Joseph OCD¹³, Giambattista di S. Alessio OCD¹⁴.

The identity of St. Margaret has also been unclear: was she the celebrated St. Margaret of Antioch (Pisidia, Asia Minor), or a local saint, whose cult was limited to the region of Haifa?¹⁵

¹ H. MICHELAN et G. RAYNAUD, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, Genève 1882, p. 189.

² H. REY, *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie*, Paris 1883, p. 285.

³ CL. KOPP, *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel*, Paderborn 1929, pp. 106-122.

⁴ P.-TH. ROHRBACH OCD, *Journey to Carith*, N. Y. 1966, p. 38.

⁵ A. DELAYE, *Le Mont Carmel et ses sanctuaires* (inédit) Carmes, La Plesse (49) Avrillé, France.

⁶ G. MARITI, *Viaggi*, Florence 1769, II, p. 138.

⁷ E. MÜLINEN, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels*, Leipzig 1908, p. 17.

⁸ C. R. CONDER and H. H. KITCHENER, *The Survey of Western Palestine* (SWP) London 1881, Memoirs, I, p. 301.

⁹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (PPTS) London 1897, The City of Jerusalem, VI, p. 31 footnote.

¹⁰ B. MEISTERMANN, *Guide de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1923, p. 445.

¹¹ H. C. LUKE, *The Travellers' Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, London 1924, p. 261.

¹² FLORENCIO DEL NIÑO-JESÚS OCD, *El Monte Carmelo*, Madrid 1924, pp. 181-183.

¹³ MARIE-JOSEPH OCD, in *Etudes Carmélitaines*, Juillet 1912, p. 228.

¹⁴ GIAMBATTISTA DI S. ALESSIO, *Compendio Istorico*, 1780, p. 154.

¹⁵ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 121.

Finally there has been confusion in fixing the relation between the Abbey of St. Margaret and the mosque, Sa'ad ed-Daulat, mentioned by Yakūt, as well as between the Abbey and the Monastery of St. Brocard.

In spite of the diversity of opinions, few of the aforementioned authors can be said to have treated the subject *ex professo*. Since the excavations of Bagatti in Wadi es-Siah¹⁶ introduce a new factor into the discussion, it has been thought opportune to re-open the dossier concerning the Abbey of St. Margaret, with a view to clarifying, if possible, the existing difficulties.

The present study follows the line of argument adopted by Kopp, with reservations which will be indicated in the course of the exposé.

The material is presented under two headings, documentary and archaeological, notwithstanding that the latter itself is mainly based on a document of the 18th century, the *Compendio Istórico* of Giambattista. The documentary evidence alone is considered sufficient to localize the Abbey of St. Margaret to the terrace of the promontory of Mount Carmel; the archeological evidence supplied by Giambattista is adduced in confirmation of the conclusion. (Kopp, *ibidem* p. 114).

I. - DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Jacques de Vitry (1217-1229).

De Vitry describes the wave of monks who arrived in Palestine after the initial victories of the Crusaders on the battlefield, to found monasteries and hermitages in the Holy Land. Some hermits established themselves in the desert of Judaea, others « following the example and in imitation of the holy man and solitary, Elijah the Prophet, led a life of solitude on Mount Carmel, especially in that part which overlooked the town of Porphyry which is today called Haifa, near the fountain known as that of Elijah, not far

¹⁶ B. BAGATTI, *Relatio de Excavationibus Archeologicis in Monte Carmelo*, in *Acta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, Romae a) 1958 fasc. 3-4, p. 70; fasc. 10, pp. 277-288; b) 1961 fasc. 1-3, pp. 66-70; c) 1962 fasc. 1-2, pp. 128-130.

from the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Margaret »¹⁷.

The Fountain of Elijah is found marked on a mediaeval map from c. 1300¹⁸, in a valley corresponding to Wadi es-Siah¹⁹.

Another map from c 1235²⁰ indicates a « *Fons vivus* » flowing down to the sea from a site in a valley just south of Haifa. This is evidently the Fountain of Elijah. In the valley there is a « *heremitorium* » and a « *habitacio Elisei* ». Here is, clearly, the hermitage to which de Vitry is referring. As the hermitage of St. Brocard is known to have been founded near the Fountain of Elijah (« *juxta fontem* » cf. Carmelite Rule), it is generally accepted that de Vitry was describing the origins of the Carmelite settlement in Wadi es-Siah.

On the same map a fort is indicated standing on the promontory of Mount Carmel facing Haifa, labelled « *S. Margaretha Castellum* »²¹. The name suggests that the Abbey of St. Margaret is to be sought for in the neighbourhood of the fort.

The Itineraries.

The principal itineraries which make mention of the Abbey of St. Margaret are:

- a) *La Citez de Jherusalem* (c 1220-1229)²².
- b) *Les Sains Pélerinages que l'on doit requerre en la Terre Sainte*²³.
- c) *Les Chemins et les Pélerinages de la Terre Sainte* (c 1265)²⁴.
- d) *Pélerinages et Pardouns de Acre* (c 1280)²⁵.

¹⁷ *Les Plus Vieux Textes du Carmel*, Paris 1944, pp. 60-61; *Historia Hierosolomitana*, cap. 52-53: *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, Hanoviae 1611.

¹⁸ R. RÖHRICHT. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (ZDPV), Leipzig 1891; *Karten und Pläne zur Palästina*, p. 8.

¹⁹ NAHAL SIAH: The fountain is called 'Ain es-Siah = fountain of the Pilgrims cf. *Beiträge*, p. 107, footnote; in Hebrew = 'Ain-Siah.

²⁰ R. RÖHRICHT. ZDPV 1895 t. VI; *Elias und Christentum*, v. appendix.

²¹ *Elias und Christentum*, pp. 95-100: *Die Festung der Kreuzfahrer*, for a discussion of the Crusader fort on the terrace, together with the archeological findings; C. ENLART. *Les Monuments des Croisés*, Paris 1925, II, pp. 83-85: *Monuments du Carmel*; for a detailed study of the marble fragment from the fort preserved in the « *Stella Maris* » Museum.

²² H. MICHELANT - G. RAYNAUD. *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, Genève 1882: *Les Pélerinages par Aler en Jherusalem*, pp. 89-90; cf. PPTS vol. VI, pp. 29-31.

²³ *Itinéraires...* *ibidem* pp. 104 (2), 104 (3).

²⁴ *Ibidem* p. 189.

²⁵ *Ibidem* p. 229.

La Citez de Jherusalem (c 1220-1229).

The anonymous author, setting out from Acre for Haifa four leagues away, encounters Mount Carmel, where he visits Francheville on one of its heights. He goes on to describe the subsequent journey south in the following words:

« On this same mountain is the Abbey of St. Margaret, which is of Greek monks, which is also a fair place. In this Abbey are good relics and on the slope is the place where St. Elias dwelt, at which place there is a chapel in the rock. Near this Abbey of St. Margaret on the slope of this same mountain, is a very fair and delicious place, where dwell the Latin hermits who are called Brethren of Carmel, and throughout this part, there is plenty of good water, which issues from the very rock of the mountain. It is a league and a half from the abbey of the Greeks to the Latin hermits. Between St. Margaret and the Latin hermits is a place above the sea called *Anne* ».

The text places the home, where Elijah dwelt in a rock-chapel, on the slope of the mountain. If we assume that the rock-chapel in question is El-Ḥadr²⁶, at the foot the promontory, an assumption which is practically certain, the natural place to look for the abbey would be on the terrace overlooking the cave.

Thietmar.

The conclusion is confirmed by Thietmar, whose testimony dates from the same period (c 1217):

« Above this town, namely Haifa, on the slope of Mount Carmel is the Cave of Elias and Eliseus, prophets. There a sort of chapel has been built. On the top of Mount Carmel is a monastery where Greek and Syrian cenobites continue to live »²⁷.

The circumstance that « a sort of chapel » had been built near the cave, certifies that the cave in question is indeed El-Ḥadr. In

²⁶ Ma'arat Elijahu - known to Christian tradition as the « School of the Prophets »: at present it is generally called the Cave of Elijah.

²⁷*Elias und Christentum* p. 82.

A Domus S. Margarethae Graecorum is mentioned in connection with a deed of transfer that took place in Acre, May 1st, 1255. It appears that the Greek monks from Mount Carmel had a property in Acre also. cf. R. RÖHRICHT, *Regesta Regni Hierosolomitani*, 1893, no. 1234.

fact both Phocas (c. 1174)²⁸ and Benjamin of Tudela (1165)²⁹ testify to the existence of a community of monks who had built a chapel near the Cave of Elijah. The Greek monastery is « on the top of Mount Carmel » with respect to the Cave.

The natural inference is that the Greek monastery stood on the terrace.

Following Kopp we consider the topographical relation of the Abbey of St. Margaret to the Cave of Elijah of decisive importance for the correct localization of the former.

PPTS offers an alternative reading of the text³⁰. Having first identified the Abbey of St. Margaret with ed-Deir, the ruined monastery in Wadi es-Siah, it goes on to identify the rock-chapel with the double-storied grotto on the northern slope of the valley, known commonly as « the Stable »; but this interpretation contradicts the texts by placing the rock-chapel above and not below the monastery³¹.

Les Sains Pélerinages que l'on doit requerre en la Terre Sainte.

This text follows the same itinerary from Acre to Haifa as in the preceding document.

« On this same mountain is the Abbey of Saint Margaret which belongs to the black monks, where there is also a beautiful place and in that Abbey are good relics. Below this Abbey (*desoz cele abaie*), on the slope (*en pendant*) is the place where Saint Elias dwelt. In that place there is a fine chapel in the rock »³².

²⁸ JOHN PHOCAS. *Les Plus Vieux Textes du Carmel*, Paris 1944, pp. 60-61; PPTS vol. V, p. 35; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Grecs*, Paris 1875, t. I, p. 558 SS.: J. SMET dates his visit to the Holy Land 1174, earlier than the usually assigned date 1185, cf. *An Outline of Carmelite History*, Washington D. C. 1966, p. 4.

²⁹ BENJAMIN OF TUDELA. *Masa'oth: in Otsar Masa'oth*, Hebrew edition. J. D. Eisenstein, Tel-Aviv, 1969, p. 25;

Neither Phocas nor Benjamin mention St. Margaret; their silence suggests that the abbey had not yet been constructed at the time of their visit.

³⁰ PPTS. *La Citéz de Jherusalem*, VI, p. 31, footnote.

³¹ The double-storied grotto in Wadi es-Siah overlooks the ruins in the valley (*Elias und Christentum*, p. 123). It is generally believed to have been the rock-chapel of a Byzantine laura (KOPP, *ibidem*, pp. 87-88: p. 123; MÜLINEN, *Beiträge*, p. 108, footnote). The lower grotto was probably used by the Carmelite hermits as their chapel, before the erection of the oratory mentioned in the Primitive Rule. It was probably converted into a stable after the construction of the oratory by St. Brocard.

³² *Itinéraires*, *ibidem* pp. 104 (2), 104 (3).

The additional precision furnished by the above passage is that the slope on which the rock-chapel of Saint Elias is to be found is below the abbey, whereas in Wadi es-Siah the rock-chapel is on a slope above the ruined monastery. The abbey is on a height with respect to the home of Elijah, a detail which invalidates the hypothesis that St. Margaret's Church could be identified with ed-Deir. The ruins of ed-Deir are, conspicuously enough, found in the bottom of the wadi on the south bank of the torrent. The following text brings out the point forcefully:

Les Chemins et les Pélerinages de la Terre Sainte (Text B).

Once again the pilgrim sets out from Acre to Haifa. He encounters Mount Carmel and mentions Francheville situated on one height of the mountain (*en l'un chef de la montagne*); he then goes on to say: « on the other height of the mountain (*à l'autre chef haut de cele montagne*) is an abbey of Griffons, black monks, where St. Margaret performed many miracles. On the descent from this abbey is a chapel in the rock named after Saint Elias the Prophet »³³.

The Distances.

The preceding sources amplify the brief remark of Jacques de Vitry to the effect that the hermits of Mount Carmel lived not far (*non longe*) from St. Margaret's. They estimate the distance between the two institutions at one league and a half. Since the texts reckon the distance from Acre to Haifa to be four leagues, the league in use must have been the equivalent of 5 or 6 Km³⁴.

The distance between the terrace of Mount Carmel, presumed site of the Abbey of St. Margaret and the Monastery of St. Brocard in Wadi es-Siah is 3 to 3½ Km. as the crow flies, but the pilgrim-route was double that distance. The pilgrim-path led down from the terrace to the Cave of Elijah below, turning at the Chapel of the Sacred Heart near the lighthouse; its antiquity has been lately confirmed by Mr. Olami of the Governmental Archeological Survey

³³ *Itinéraires*. p. 189.

³⁴ A measure corresponding to the French nautical league = 5 K. 555 cf. *Petit Larousse*; or I parasang cf. *Topographie Sacrée du Mont Carmel: Etudes Carmelitaines*, 1911, p. 278, footnote (I); or 2 Gallic leagues cf. *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et Liturgie*, IX (I), col. 990.

of Mount Carmel. From the Cave of Elijah, the pilgrims followed the coastal road past Shikmonah to the entrance of Wadi es-Siah (Mahane David), thereafter they climbed up the wadi to the Latin hermitage.

It should be recalled in this connection, that the two roads leading up to the terrace from the east are relatively recent. The first road, on the lower level, was prepared by Giambattista after his return to Mount Carmel in 1774³⁵; the higher-level road, now macadamized, is modern. A narrow track, zig-zagging up from El-Ḥadr to the terrace, is for the use of foresters.

That the approach to the terrace in medieval times was from the west is confirmed by Calciuri. Mistaking the Crusader fortress on the terrace for an old Carmelite convent, he writes: « e la porta del convento è al ocidente »³⁶.

The *Pélerinages et Pardouns de Acre* estimates the distance from the Cave of Elijah to the Carmelites at one league³⁷.

Burchard of Mount Sion gives the same distance for the journey from Haifa to the Carmelite friars, with whom he stayed for a while (c 1283)³⁸. Sanutus (c 1311) accounts for the residual half-league from the main-road up to the hermitage in the wadi.

« Super montem Carmeli quasi ad dimidiam leucam est spelunca Helye et mansio Helisei et fons ubi habitabunt filii prophetarum »³⁹.

Sanutus is describing the main-road from Ancient Haifa to Athlit (« the way which leads to Castrum Peregrinorum »); the path leading to the place where the Sons of the Prophets once lived, evidently branched off from the main-road: it was half a league in length. By the Cave of Elijah and the Home of Elisha, Sanutus means the double-storied grotto in the wadi. His expression « mansio Elisei » corresponds to the « habitacio Elisei » on Röhricht's map from c 1235. The « fons » is the Fountain of Elias at the entrance to the hermitage. There is no spring of a similar nature near El-Ḥadr, only an ancient cistern dating from Byzantine times, now closed. One can only regret, in passing, the facility with which the monks attached the names of Elijah and Elisha to grottoes: the two names

³⁵ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 337.

³⁶ GRAZIANO DI S. TERESA OCD. *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 1955 p. 386: *Vita Fratrum dei Sancto Monte Carmelo*.

³⁷ *Itinéraires*, p. 229.

³⁸ *Itinéraires*, p. 229.

³⁹ R. RÖHRICHT: « Marina Sanuda » ZDPV 1898, p. 118, footnote 6, where the second name Helie should be corrected to Helisei; *Elias und Christentum*, p. 128.

were attached to grottoes on the terrace, to the cave of El-Ḥadr and to « the Stable » in Wadi es-Siah.

By locating the Abbey of St. Margaret on the terrace of the promontory of Mount Carmel, the distance between the Greek monks and the Latin hermits is exactly accounted for, thus confirming the correctness of the location.

Anne.

An index of some help in localizing the abbey is the place ANNE, mentioned in *La Citez de Jherusalem*:

« Between Saint Margaret and the Brethren of Carmel » is a place above the sea which has the name ANNE.

Röhricht's map from c 1235 indicates the name in a cartouche, on the sea-coast between the hermitage in the wadi and Haifa (Cayfas).

Philippus knows of a casale HANNA between the Capharnaum of Crusader times and Haifa⁴⁰.

Kopp's suggestion that ANNE should be displaced to Kabubir is superfluous and his arguments unconvincing⁴¹.

St. Margaret's, therefore, lay to the north of ANNE and, *a fortiori*, of the Carmelites.

The Donation of Garcia Alvarez.

The proximity of the Abbey of St. Margaret to the Templar fort of the same name is suggested in a legal document from the Crusader period⁴².

Garcia Alvarez, lord of Haifa, with the consent of his wife, Louise, donates a piece of land in Haifa to the Church of Mount Thabor. The boundaries of the property are not entirely clear for us today, but the indications suffice to suggest that the Templars and the Greek monks were near neighbours⁴³.

Garcia Alvarez is known to us as the « dominus » of Haifa from his seal⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ W. A. NEUMANN. *Descriptio Philippi, Oesterr. Kathol. Vierteljahrschrift*, 1872, p. 77.

⁴¹ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 113.

⁴² R. RÖHRICHT. *Regesta Reg. Hier.* 4th May 1250, no. 1189.

⁴³ *Elias und Christentum*, pp. 115-117.

⁴⁴ Z. VILNAI. *Guide-Book to Israel*, Jerusalem 1970, p. 340.

The boundaries of the property extended from the old vineyard of the house of St. Elijah of Carmel below, to the valley of the Brothers of the Temple, from whence they rose towards St. Margaret of Carmel.

The « old vineyard » recalls the name Râs-Kerum (Rosh-Keranim), which designates the tongue of land lying below El-Ḥadr, on which ancient Haifa stood⁴⁵. The « house of St. Elijah » is the Cave of Elijah (El-Ḥadr) at the foot of the promontory of Mount Carmel. The « valley of the Brothers of the Temple » is probably the wadi of the būstan which runs down from the terrace past the lighthouse to join the coastal road.

In spite of genuine obscurities, the text does appear to place St. Margaret's in immediate relation to the Templar fort on the terrace and to the Cave of Elijah (El-Ḥadr). Kopp is therefore justified in rejecting the argument of Florencio, who locates St. Margaret's at Tirat el-Karmel, south of Wadi es-Siah, on the basis of the donation⁴⁶.

It is wrong to place St. Margaret's south of the Carmelites in Wadi es-Siah. Philippus, journeying northwards from Caesarea, first passes Merle (Tanturah), next the Monastery of St. Mary of Carmel in Wadi es-Siah (« monasterium S. Mariae de Carmelo »), then the Monastery of St. Margaret (« monasterium S. Margarethe »), the latter name being associated with the names of Haifa, Carmel and the Cave of Elijah⁴⁷.

The treaty of 1283.

We believe the Abbey of St. Margaret to be mentioned in the agreement of 1283, concluded between Kalun and the Crusaders⁴⁸, as Kopp also surmised⁴⁹.

By the terms of the treaty, the Crusaders were left in possession of the monastery of SAYAG and MAR ELIAS on Carmel, and « MARINA cum terra ». The villages of MANSURAH and EFA were ceded to the Sultan.

Prawer surmises that EFA is Esfiyah. The two villages ceded to the Sultan would then be two well-known places on the eastern side

⁴⁵ Tahanat Ha-Karmel and Bat Galim.

⁴⁶ *Elias und Christentum*, pp. 117-118.

⁴⁷ ZDPV 1898, p. 119, footnote.

⁴⁸ RÖHRICHT, *Regesta Reg. Hier.*, 1893, 13th June 1283, no. 1450.

⁴⁹ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 163.

of Mount Carmel. Since the Crusaders retained the coastal strip only, the other names should be sought for on the western slope. Prawer identifies SAYAG (or SAYASJ) with SIAH, a reference then to the Carmelites in Wadi es-Siah. MAR ELIAS is in all probability El-Ḥadr, the Cave of Elijah at the foot of the promontory of Mount Carmel. As for MARINA Prawer says the place is unknown, though it could refer to the coastal region⁵⁰, but this is unlikely since the coastal region had already been included in the mention of Haifa, Athlit and their cantons (cf. Kopp, *ibidem* p. 163).

According to John Nepomucenus « the monastery of Saint Margaret was called by the Greeks, Saint Marina »⁵¹.

The identification of Margaret with Marina is confirmed by the Catholic Encyclopaedia, where we read: « MARGARET, saint, virgin and martyr, also called MARINA. Marina is the name used by the Greeks, who feast the saint on the 17th July; the Latins feast her under the name of Margaret, on the 20th July ».

The coincidence of the feast of St. Margaret and the feast of St. Elias, both the 20th July, is worthy of attention.

Marina is the Latin for the original Greek name of the Saint Pelagia. Margaret (pearl) is an epithet adopted as the proper name of the saint in the West⁵². The cult of St. Margaret was widespread, especially in England, where more than two hundred and fifty churches were placed under her protection. As Marina, her cult was equally widespread in countries of the Byzantine rite. She was invoked as patroness of women in labour.

Presuming that MARINA in the treaty of 1283 indicates the Abbey of St. Margaret, we can read the treaty as presenting a list of three monasteries, all on the western slope of Mount Carmel, all important sites of pilgrimage, which the Crusaders were naturally anxious to retain.

An incidental consequence of the identification of St. Marina with St. Margaret, is to solve a minor problem raised by the description of de Lannoy (1399-1450). He writes of Athlit as the birthplace of St. Margaret and Mount Carmel as the place where she was martyred⁵³.

⁵⁰ Y. PRAWER. *History of the Crusader Kingdom in Erets-Yisrael*, Hebrew edition, Jerusalem 1963, II, p. 510, footnote 68.

⁵¹ Anonymous author of « *Histoire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel dans la Terre Sainte sous ses neuf premiers prieurs-généraux*, Maestricht 1798; cf. also FLORENCIO DEL NIÑO-JESÚS, *El Monte Carmelo*, p. 183. For JOHN NEPOMUCENUS, cfr. *Etudes Carmélitaines*, 1956, *Elie le Prophète*, II, p. 76.

⁵² *Elias und Christentum*, p. 120.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

St. Marina, however, is St. Margaret of Antioch (in Pisidia, Asia Minor), not any other of the several saints who bear the name Margaret. The sources speak of her relics being kept in the abbey on Mount Carmel, just as we know relics of the same saint were venerated in many parts of Europe: at Rome, Montepascone, Brussels, Bourges, Paris, Froidmont, Troyes, and various other places.

De Lannoy's report is therefore a legend, invented by people who ignored the traditional story of St. Margaret. The existence of such a local legend can be taken as an index of the decadence of the original tradition in the Region of Haifa, due, no doubt, to the destruction of the abbey and the departure of the Greek monks, when Crusader rule came to an end in 1291.

After the Crusades.

De Lannoy is himself one of the witnesses to the fact that the Abbey of St. Margaret was not entirely forgotten after the fall of Acre.

Christian travellers visiting the terrace of the promontory of Mount Carmel distinguished two sets of ruins. The first set were those of a square fort with a tower at each of the four angles. This was situated on the very edge of the terrace overlooking El-Ḥadr (lower Cave of Elijah) and the town of Haifa. The second set of ruins were nearby, a hundred metres or so to the south-east; their most conspicuous feature was a small quadrangular domed edifice, blocking the entrance into a sepulchral chamber carved out of the mountain rock. This chamber remains as the crypt under the high altar of « Stella Maris » Church.

To perpetuate the confusion, the crypt is called the Cave of Elijah by the Carmelites.

Calciuri thought the first set of ruins to be those of a Carmelite monastery, but the description he gives of them is clearly applicable only to a fort:

« Lo sancto convento è edificato quadro e da ogni canto dello convento a una torre »⁵⁴. His successors until 1631, generally refer to the ruins as belonging to a castle Zuallardo (1586), Rocchetta (1599), Cotovicus (1598/99)⁵⁵. After 1631, under the influence of their Carmelite hosts, Christian travellers write of the ruins as belonging to the medieval monastery of the Carmelites; but the assumption

⁵⁴ *Ephemerides Carmeliticæ*, 1955, fasc. 2, p. 385.

⁵⁵ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 99.

that the Carmelites possessed a monastery on the terrace in Crusader times is unfounded⁵⁶.

The second set of ruins, in particular the quadrangular edifice was generally understood by the travellers to have been an old chapel or church. Their opinions echo Carmelite tradition⁵⁷.

The Carmelites in Europe were aware that their predecessors had built a chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Mount Carmel. From this it does not follow that it was plain to Christian travellers where that chapel was to be found. The itineraries testify that the Carmelite chapel in Wadi es-Siah had been placed under the protection of St. Mary, but the wadi was off the main road and difficult of access.

By contrast, the ruins on the terrace were conspicuous and fairly easy of access. The natural tendency was for travellers to see in the latter the remain of a Carmelite establishment in the Holy Land.

Carmelite legend integrated the chapel of the Virgin into a systematic explanation of the antiquity of the Carmelite Order. Its construction was attributed, sometimes to Elijah himself, sometimes to his successors, the Sons of the Prophets. But where on Mount Carmel had Elijah lived, where had the chapel been built? Evidently on the terrace! Local Greek tradition conveniently stepped in to confirm the Carmelites in their views: the Greeks were accustomed to call the grotto on the terrace the Cave of Elijah, and to bring their children to it for baptism. It is to be noted, however, that the Greek custom of placing their newly-baptized under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary is no proof that they had formally dedicated the chapel to her. The accounts of Christian travellers represent a fusion of Carmelite and local legend (Kopp, *ibidem* p. 17).

With these preliminary remarks in mind, we turn to a selection of post-Crusader witnesses. They confirm the pre-cited documentary evidence to the effect that a Greek religious institution once stood on the terrace of the promontory of Mount Carmel.

Marinus Sanutus, c 1300.

He recalls Mount Carmel «cujus montis caput quod est supra mare, versus magistrum respicit, in cujus sommitate una est eccle-

⁵⁶ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 99.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 167-168 for a summary of Carmelite traditions.

sia, que Sancta Margarita vocitatur »⁵⁸.

The circumstantial details can fairly be claimed to refer to the terrace: Sanutus describes the promontory which dominates the bay of Haifa. On its top is the Church of Saint Margaret.

Equally certain, is that his description is incompatible with a church hidden in Wadi es-Siah or placed at Tirah. Sanutus' description has the force of an eye-witness account.

Pierre de Pennis c 1325

Employing earlier sources, this author, who did not personally visit the Holy Land, briefly mentions « Mount Carmel, on which there is a church called Saint Margaret of Mount Carmel »⁵⁹.

F. Suriano, c 1485, tells us of the dedication of the quadrangular chapel to the Prophet Elijah. It stands on the site where the Carmelite Order had been founded. The quadrangular chapel was « all painted and historied » (« tuta depincto et hystoriata »)⁶⁰.

William of Harlem, 1489, records that inner surface of the dome was decorated with mosaic (« testudo interior opere mosaico est depincta »)⁶¹.

J. Cotovicus, c 1598, visited « an old sanctuary dedicated according to some, to the Virgin, today in ruins and abandoned »⁶².

A. Rocchetta, 1599, also gives the dedication of the chapel as being to the Madonna⁶³.

Philip of the Trinity OCD, 1639, gives a precise description of the quadrangular chapel on the terrace:

« It is perfectly quadrangular in shape, covered by a dome reposing on four arcades of which two are still extant; beneath is a cistern, adjacent to which is a small underground chamber on the eastern side, where our Discalced Carmelite Fathers have established an altar, where they sometimes celebrate Holy Mass, and which is

⁵⁸ ZDPV 1898. R. RÖHRICHT, « Marino Sanudo », p. 118.

⁵⁹ *Libellus de Pierre de Pennis de Locis Ultramarinis: Revue de l'Orient Latin*, Paris 1902, IX, nn. 1-2, p. 378.

⁶⁰ *Trattato di Terra Sancta e dell'Oriente*, Milano 1900, p. 163; *Elias und Christentum*, pp. 31-32.

⁶¹ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 101.

⁶² *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*, Antwerp 1619, p. 128.

⁶³ *Peregrinatione di Terra Sancta*, Palermo 1630, p. 369.

used as a place of burial for our religious »⁶⁴. Philip confirms the dedication of the chapel to the Blessed Virgin and records the dimensions as being about « ten paces in measure »⁶⁵.

M. Nau, 1665, entered the grotto on the terrace « by a narrow hole above, which when closed by a stone made it impossible to notice that there was a cavern »⁶⁶. His information is corroborated by an anonymous writer of 1699⁶⁷.

L. D'Arvieux, 1660, also descended through a hole in the roof⁶⁸. A little path led to the window of which a door had been made (« on a pratiqué un petit chemin dans le précipice qui conduit à la fenêtre dont on a fait une porte »). D'Arvieux inspected the « bed of the Prophet » inside the grotto and then turned his attention to the little chapel, the inside of which served as a cemetery where Fr. Prosper, several other religious and several Christians from the neighbourhood were buried (« le dedans sert à présent de cimetièrre, où le Père Prosper et plusieurs autres religieus sont enterrés, aussi bien que plusieurs autres Chrétiens qui s'y font porter par dévotion »)⁶⁹.

B. Surius, 1646, recounts the legend of the grotto on the terrace: it was the place where Elijah took refuge and hid himself when he was pursued by the wicked queen Jezebel. To the west of the grotto one could still see the hole by which the Prophet used to enter the grotto, now decorated by a lamp: to the east stood his bed of rock⁷⁰.

J. Doubdan, 1652, sought for the monastery of St. Margaret on the terrace and thought to have found it in the ruins of the Templar fort (« du Monastère de Sainte Marguerite ce qui se doit entendre de ce dernier monastère (i.e. the Crusader fort) sur le faiste de la montagne au dessus de Cayphas »)⁷¹. His error is excusable. The Greek monastery had long been destroyed; only Giambattista di S. Alessio was successful in unearthing its remains in the area of the

⁶⁴ PHILIPPE DE LA TRINITÉ, *Voyage d'Orient*, Lyon 1669, pp. 153-154; *Itinerarium Orientale*, Lugduni 1649, p. 120.

⁶⁵ *Id.*, *Historia C. O. Lugduni*, 1665, III, cap. 8, pp. 178-79.

⁶⁶ *Voyage Nouveau de la Terre-Sainte*, Paris 1679, p. 657.

⁶⁷ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 102.

⁶⁸ *Mémoires*, Paris, édition 1735, II, p. 305.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 306.

⁷⁰ *Den Gottvruchtigen Pelgrim of de Jerusalemse Reise*, Brussel 1661, p. 417; *Le Pieux Pélerin*, French édition, Bruxelles 1666; cf. also B. ZIMMERMANN OCD. *Analecta OCD*, 1931, p. 94 ss.

⁷¹ *Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, Paris 1657, p. 528.

quadrangular chapel, though he in turn failed to recognize in them the ruins of the Abbey of St. Margaret.

Doubdan knew that the Prophet used to enter the grotto by a hole in the roof (« il y descendait par soupirail qui est à la voûte »); but he himself entered by a little door over which was suspended a picture (« mais à present on y entre par une petite porte sur laquelle est un tableau »)⁷².

G. Brémond, 1666, puts on record that the quadrangular chapel was called in Arabic « masalia » (oratory)⁷³.

D. Laffi, 1679, provides the same information; he writes that the edifice is thought to have been the first built in honour of the Virgin Mary⁷⁴.

From the description of travellers it transpires that the upper grotto of Elijah, now the crypt under the high altar of « Stella Maris » Church, has undergone serious structural alterations.

In its original form it was a cistern-like cavity the opening of which might have been covered by a stone, so that the cavity itself was unrecognizable to a passer-by. It is this appearance that prompted the legend according to which Elijah had hidden in the cavity when pursued by Jezebel.

Kopp thought that in an earlier period the grotto had no independent entry. His opinion was that one entered the grotto by climbing up to its opening from the chapel (« Die Höhle besass also in früherer Zeit keinen eigentlichen Eingang, aber sie war nicht durch eine Wand von der Kirche getrennt, sondern man kletterte vom Inner der Kirche in sie hinein »)⁷⁵. The idea is possible, but it is extremely difficult to imagine where such an entrance should be situated in the plan of the chapel drawn by Giambattista.

According to T. Canaan, this particular arrangement is typical of a certain class of Muslim sanctuaries; « Sacred caves » he writes « sometimes lie inside the maqâm and appear rather like a shallow cistern with a wide opening »⁷⁶.

The quadrangular chapel had no independent wall of its own separating it from the adjacent grotto, but shared a common wall for-

⁷² *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte*, Paris 1657, p. 529.

⁷³ *Viaggi d'Oriente*, (Italian edition) Roma, 1679, p. 208.

⁷⁴ *Viaggio in Levante*, Bologne, 1683, p. 463.

⁷⁵ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 103.

⁷⁶ *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society: Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, Jerusalem 1924, p. 42.

med by the mountain rock. In this wall a window and a door were carved — when exactly it is rather difficult to say.

In 1634 Fr. Prosper closed the door to the grotto with a key (« la puerta la cerro con llavè »)⁷⁷. Doubdan in 1652 entered by a little door (footnote 72). D'Arvieux's account is cryptic: « on a pratiqué un petit chemin dans le précipice qui conduit à la fenêtre dont on a fait une porte » (footnote 69). In fact, the quadrangular chapel abutted on a low cliff in which the grotto was to be found. From D'Arvieux's words, it would seem that, firstly, a little window had been cut in the common wall between the grotto and the chapel: this had been subsequently enlarged to form a door which provided an alternative, easier entrance into the grotto. The fact that D'Arvieux knew of this modification suggests that it had been recent. Kopp dates the door and the window in G.'s plan to later than 1700⁷⁸. This statement could be true only of the window not of the door.

In Giambattista's plan the door between the grotto and chapel lies to the left facing the grotto, a window to the right. This window is not mentioned by the Christian travellers before 1700. It is mentioned in 1741, by the Jewish pilgrim Abraham Sanjovanisti⁷⁹.

The next significant structural alteration in the grotto was the destruction of the common wall between the chapel and the grotto. With it disappeared the Greek altar on the outer side, the baptismal font on the inner side, and, apparently, the hole in the roof through which the Prophet Elijah used to descend.

At any rate there is no trace of the hole in the roof today. The destruction of the common wall was the work of Giambattista⁸⁰. It took place during the building of his new church over the grotto (1767-1774).

II. THE JEWISH TRADITION - TOMB OF ELISHA

The interest of Jewish visitors to the terrace was concentrated on the grotto adjoining the quadrangular chapel. They believed it to be the tomb of Elisha; some Jewish sources name it « the Cave of Elisha ». The origin of the Jewish legend is unknown; the cult is an obvious counterpart to the cult of Elijah in El-Ḥadr. From a late

⁷⁷ FLORENCIO DEL NIÑO-JESÚS OCD., *El Monte Carmelo*, p. 327, footnote.

⁷⁸ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 102.

⁷⁹ A. YA'ARI CARMELIT (Hebrew) Haifa 1956, p. 142: *The Cave of Elijah on Mount Carmel*.

⁸⁰ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 362.

Jewish source cited by Dalman, we learn that the Muslims shared the Jewish devotion to Elisha in the grotto (« Juden und Moslems halten sie für das Grab Elisas »)⁸¹. The Jewish legend is in contradiction with the Christian one, which places the tomb of Elisha in Sebastia.

The Anonymous Pupil of the Ramban (Rabbi Moses ben Nachman) c 1300.

After describing his pilgrimage to the Cave of Elijah at the foot of Mount Carmel (El-Ḥadr), he writes:

« On the top of the mountain is the Cave of Elisha »⁸².

This text is of particular importance in view of its early date. The tradition must have dated from pre-Crusader times. It suggests that a parallel Christian legend concerning Elijah already coexisted with the Jewish one.

Anonymous letter-writer from Safed, 1535.

He informs his correspondent about « Mount Carmel: there is the Cave of Elijah, the Prophet of blessed memory, and there is buried Elisha ben Shafat »⁸³.

Anonymous letter-writer of 1625-26.

After describing the Cave of Elijah at the foot of the promontory (El-Ḥadr), he turns his attention to the top of the mountain where

⁸¹ *Palästinajahrbuch* XVII-XIX, 1922-23, p. 20: *Chibbat Jeruschalayim*, Wilna, 1875, p. II a.

⁸² A. YAARI, *Masa'oth Erets Yisrael*, Hebrew edition, Tel-Aviv 1945, p. 83; cf. S. ASSAF for the complete text with introduction, in JERUSALEM, *Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* edited by A. L. SUKENIK and Y. PRESS, Jerusalem 1928, p. 54. The journal is Hebrew; the above sub-title is an approximate translation of the original.

The Cairo Genizah delivers a text from the years preceding the Crusaders. The author, Rabbi Shelah ben Nahum (c 1094) travelled to Haifa to pray on the top of Mount Carmel. Unfortunately the words « Mount Carmel » are conjectural, cf. Z. Vilnai. Haifa. Past and Present. Hebrew edition, Tel-Aviv 1936, p. 30.

⁸³ Yihus Avoth, Safed 1535; cf. A. YA'ARI, CARMELIT (Hebrew) Haifa, 1956, p. 139: *The Cave of Elijah on Mount Carmel*. A. M. LUNZ dates the letter 1537, cf. HAME'AMER, vol. 3, Jerusalem 1920, p. 217.

stands the « tower of Mar Elias » (the ruined Crusader fort); he then continues:

« nearby there is a cave, and inside it the tomb of Elisha ben Shafat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah of happy memory »⁸⁴.

Abraham Sanjovanisti, 1741.

In a letter to his father in Venice the son, Abraham, describes the pilgrimage of his master, the famous Kabbalist, Rabbi Hayim Z. Atar, to Mount Carmel:

« The day following Yom Kippur, we climbed to the top of Mount Carmel to prostrate ourselves on the tomb of Elisha ben Shafat, who is buried on the top of Mount Carmel... We found a small cave and a wall with a window and the window was perforated to [enable people to] look at the tomb of Elisha ben Shafat »⁸⁵.

*The Christian Cave of Elisha on the terrace*⁸⁶.

The Carmelites could not of course admit the Jewish tradition, which pretended that their grotto on the terrace, containing the « bed of Elijah » was really the tomb of Elisha. They managed to find a cave in the vicinity to satisfy the alternative tradition. The Christian Cave of Elisha stood above the grotto (now the crypt of « Stella Maris » Church) somewhere in the region of the choir-room. It was destroyed when the choir-room was built (1908).

Corneille le Bruyn (Cornelis de Bruyn) 1681, is the first witness we know to testify to the existence of a Christian Cave of Elisha on the terrace:

« On y montre aussi une autre grotte du Prophète Elie et une du Prophète Elisée »⁸⁷.

« Sur la grotte est adossée une chapelle que l'on regarde comme la plus ancienne de toutes celles qui ont été érigées en l'honneur de la Sainte Vierge. Elle porte le nom de Notre Dame du Mont Carmel. D'après la tradition elle remonte à l'an 83 de Jésus-Christ.

⁸⁴ A. CARMEL, *History of Haifa in the days of the Turks*. Hebrew edition, Haifa, 1969, p. 37, footnote 51.

⁸⁵ A. YA'ARI, CARMELIT, Haifa 1956, p. 142.

⁸⁶ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 93.

⁸⁷ *Voyage au Levant*, Paris, 1725, II, p. 308.

« A quelque pas au-dessus est la grotte d'Elisée, disciple d'Elie: elle est taillée dans le roc et tout près se trouve une citerne »⁸⁸.

G.H. Von Schubert, 1836 visited the Carmelite monastery on Mount Carmel; he observes:

« Apart from the cloister, another grotto is shown as the abode of Elisha »⁸⁹.

The medieval itineraries connected the names of Elijah and Elisha with El-Ḥadr and Wadi es-Siah: in the valley there was a « mansio Heliae » and a « habitacio Helisei ».

Distinct from these associations is the grotto of Elisha mentioned by Mülinen:

« To Elisha, disciple of Elijah, who also lived on Carmel, a grotto is dedicated above the Cave of Elijah (= El-Ḥadr) »⁹⁰.

Where exactly Mülinen's Cave of Elisha is to be found is hard to say; but it is sufficient for our purposes to know that there is more than one grotto in the neighbourhood of El-Ḥadr, any one of which could meet the purpose.

III. THE GREEK TRADITION

The Greek tradition on the terrace is long and persistent. It is an indisputable fact that the Byzantines built a monastery on the site of the lighthouse, probably in the 5th or 6th centuries. A collection of marble fragments from the site is housed in « Stella Maris » museum. Kopp⁹¹ consistently identifies this monastery with the « Monastery of Elisha » mentioned by the Pseudo-Antoninus of Placencia⁹², but his arguments are unconvincing. The identification of Castra Samaritanorum with Et-tin'amé cannot be sustained either. The Samaritan settlement could not have been so close to ancient Haifa. The identification with Kafr es-Samir, four miles south brings us to the vicinity of Wadi es-Siah. The obvious step would then be to identify the Monastery of Elisha with the Byzantine *laura* in the wadi. Confirmation for this view may be found in the Vatican text of the Pseudo-Antoninus (cod. Vatic. 636 A), which adds the following note to the topographical details: « Ibiq̄e est petra modica rotunda, quan-

⁸⁸ *Pélerinage à Jérusalem*, Paris 1840, vol. II, p. 288.

⁸⁹ *Reise in das Morgenland*, Erlangen, 1839, III, p. 216.

⁹⁰ *Beiträge*, p. 97.

⁹¹ *Elias und Christentum*, pp. 83-93.

⁹² P. GEYER, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, Leipzig 1888, p. 160.

do exagitur sonat ». Kopp does not quote this sentence. In Geyer's text the word « ibique » is replaced by « in Carmelo monte ». The allusion, however can only be to the « Field of the Melons of Elijah » in Wadi es-Siah⁹³, so making it more than probable that the Monastery of Elisha was none other than the old laura in Wadi es-Siah.

In Crusader times, the Greeks returned to the terrace and erected there, as we believe, the Abbey of St. Margaret.

When the Carmelites returned to Mount Carmel in 1631, they found the Greek-Orthodox community tenaciously attached to the quadrangular chapel on the terrace and to the adjacent grotto. In the Act of Possession signed between Fr. Prosper and the Emir Tarabei, the little quadrangular chapel is named « the Church of the Greeks »⁹⁴. The Carmelites found that the Greek priests were accustomed to say Mass on the stone-altar inside the chapel and to baptize children in the grotto, placing them under the protection of Elijah and the Madonna⁹⁵. All memory of St. Margaret had been lost. The interruption of local tradition is easily accounted for by the departure of the Greek monks from the terrace and the unfavourable conditions prevailing in Palestine in the centuries following the collapse of the Crusader kingdom (1291).

At what date the Greeks introduced the cult into the grotto and under what circumstances, is unknown. The Jewish cult of Elisha, attested for Crusading times, suggests, as we have said, a coexisting parallel Christian cult of Elijah.

Kopp conjectures that the Greeks transferred the cult of Elijah from El-Ḥadr at the foot of the mountain to the cave in the terrace, because they were denied access to the former by the Muslims (« die Griechen wenigstens seit der Kreuzfahrzeit aus El-Chadr verdrängt waren »); but he thinks it equally plausible that the cult had wandered up to the terrace from the lower cave even during the Crusades (« schon in den Kreuzzügen den Propheten nach oben gezogen haben »)⁹⁶. Were the Greeks then forced out of El-Ḥadr by the Crusaders also? In either case, there are no real grounds for the conjecture. The elianic cult in El-Ḥadr must surely have had some influence on the cult in the grotto on the terrace. Its legend that Elijah hid in the grotto from Jezebel suggests that the cistern-like, original

⁹³ FLORENCIO DEL NIÑO-JESÚS, *El Monte Carmelo*, Madrid 1924, p. 5; F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, t. I, p. 188.

⁹⁴ FLORENCIO DEL NIÑO-JESÚS, *ibidem*, p. 309.

⁹⁵ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 305.

⁹⁶ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 122.

form of the upper cave impressed some imaginative monk and inspired the association between Elijah and the cave. In turn, the legend gave birth to a painting of Elijah on the wall of the cave⁹⁷. Similar rock-tomb paintings have been found in Christian tombs in the necropolis of Shikmonah below the terrace. They are dated back to the Byzantine Period, from information supplied by the Museum of Fine Arts, Haifa. It is probable, in consequence, that the association between Elijah and the grotto on the terrace was initiated by the Byzantine monks who lived in the monastery on the site.

The cult of Elijah seems to have dictated the introduction into the grotto of the baptismal font (fig. 1, n. 4), for it is hard to conceive of children being baptized there in honour of any lesser saint. When the baptismal font was introduced is unknown, but it is not unreasonable to see it as belonging to the same period of architectural activity as the quadrangular chapel.

Kopp professes himself to be in complete darkness as to the original destination of the cave on the terrace (« Am dunkelsten bleibt der ursprüngliche Zweck der Höle »)⁹⁸. From its original shape it might very well have been a cistern: there are several in the neighbourhood. In that case the cistern was transformed into a sepulchre and painted, very likely, in Byzantine times. A second tomb was introduced into the grotto and covered by a stone slab on which a Greek inscription was carved⁹⁹. As we believe, the quadrangular edifice which stood in front of the grotto was a mortuary chapel, and so would date from the time when the grotto was transformed into a tomb, i.e. from the Byzantine period. It contained an altar and a side-altar carved out of rock, for use in the Byzantine rite¹⁰⁰. The foregoing details abundantly illustrate the Greek identity, if not origin, of the monument on the terrace.

The Greek tradition has never really died out on the terrace. In the contract between, Fr. Prosper and the Emir Tarabei (1631), the Carmelites received permission to build *near* but not *on* the site of the « church of the Greeks », which is what they desired to do. Their struggle with the opposition of the Greeks lasted for nearly a hundred and fifty years, until it finally fell to their lot to obtain permission from Daer el-Omar to build a new monastery on the site of the quadrangular chapel. In 1765, a Carmelite placed a statue in the

⁹⁷ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 305.

⁹⁸ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 122.

⁹⁹ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 304.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem* p. 362.

grotto and locked the door as a gesture of possession; the Greeks, having come to celebrate Mass, broke open the door and threw down the statue¹⁰¹. Forbidden the use of the site by the Carmelites, the Greeks built a new chapel at a short distance from the Carmelite monastery¹⁰². Early in the 19th century, they tried to acquire the site of the lighthouse from Abdallah Pasha, but were outmanoeuvred by the Carmelites. Kopp sees the present Russian chapel of St. Elias on Mount Carmel as an affirmation of the Greek tradition¹⁰³.

Without conceding that the Greeks owned the quadrangular chapel and grotto on the terrace, it is only just to recognize that they possessed customary rights in it, which were denied to them by the Carmelites. These were restored by the late Patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert Gori, following the petition of a Greek-Orthodox family to be allowed to have their child baptized in the grotto.

The strong Greek tradition which we find attached to the terrace in post-Crusader times, is an argument of weight in favour of their having occupied the same site during the Crusades.

Ralph of Coggeshall and the Cult of Elijah.

The problem of the date of introduction of the cult of Elijah into the grotto on the terrace, is complicated by a passage in the *Chronicon Terrae Sanctae*, generally, but mistakenly, attributed to Ralph of Coggeshall.

According to the text, the troops of Saladin after their victory at Hattin (1187) poured over the country, plundering the coast « from Mount Carmel known also as Haifa, on the top of which is situated a Church of St. Elias the Prophet on a high rock looking towards Ptolemaïs, facing the sea, a useful sign therefore to sailors »¹⁰⁴.

Theodoricus makes a similar remark about the usefulness of the site to sailors but refers to the Crusader fort on the terrace and not to any church: « montana Caiphas... in cujus etiam summo cacumine templariorum exstat castrum, quod procul navigantibus continentem facit esse cognoscibilem »¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰¹ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 372.

¹⁰² *Elias und Christentum*, p. 173.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 173.

¹⁰⁴ *Cronicon Terrae Sanctae: De Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum Libellus*, London 1875, p. 231, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series 66.

¹⁰⁵ *Theodorici Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, ed. T. Tobler, St. Gallen-Paris 1865, p. 90.

Kopp comes to the conclusion that author of the *De Expugnatione* is mistaken, speaking in one breath of the Templar fort on the terrace and the Monastery of Elijah at El-Ḥadr. Both Phocas and Benjamin of Tudela witness to the presence of a community of monks at El-Ḥadr. Benjamin states explicitly that the monks built a little church which they named after Elijah. He transcribes the European name into Hebrew characters; *SANT ELIAS* ¹⁰⁶.

Kopp puts forward the suggestion that the Church of St. Margaret was known alternatively as the Church of Elijah, as, today, one calls the Carmelite Church on the terrace, indifferently, either the Basilica of Our Lady of Mount Carmel or the Church of Elijah (*Mar Elias*) ¹⁰⁷; but the suggestion is unlikely since a church of Elijah already existed at El-Ḥadr at the bottom of the hill.

The Village of Mar Elias and the Cult of Elijah.

After the Crusades the ruins of the Templar fort on the terrace came to be inhabited by Druses and Persians, who called their little settlement *MAR ELIAS*.

Nicola Calciuri. As early as c 1450, he informs us of a « village » of St. Elias » (« Vila di Sancto Elia ») in the ruins of the castle on the promontory ¹⁰⁸.

His testimony is confirmed by the later Christian visitors, i.e. *Surius*, 1646 ¹⁰⁹.

We have already quoted the anonymous writer of a Hebrew letter from c 1625, for whom « *MAR ELIAS* is a tower on the top of the mountain above the Cave of Elijah » (= El-Ḥadr) ¹¹⁰.

Giambattista notes carefully that « *Mar Elias* is a village established in the ruins of the promontory near the town by certain rustic Persians and Druses ». The hamlet had been wiped out by the plague a century before and since then the place had been abandoned ¹¹¹.

Tönnemann drew the conclusion from these texts that the Tem-

¹⁰⁶ *Masa'oth*: J. D. EISENSTEIN, *Otsar Masa'oth*, Hebrew edition, Tel-Aviv 1969, p. 25.

¹⁰⁷ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁸ GRAZIANO DI S. TERESA OCD., *Vita Fratrum del Sancto Monte Carmelo: Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, fasc. 2, 1955, p. 386.

¹⁰⁹ B. SURIUS, *Den Gottvruchtigen Pelgrim*, Brussel 1661, p. 417.

¹¹⁰ A. CARMEL, *History of Haifa...*, p. 37.

¹¹¹ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 7.

plar fort on the terrace and its private chapel had been named after Elijah, so that the report of the author of *De Expugnacione* was to be accepted as correct « the » Church of St. Elias would have been the private chapel of the castle (« St. Elias war der Name von Festung und Festungskirche »)¹¹². Tönnesmann does not consider that the fort labelled S. MARGARETHE CASTELLUM on Röhricht's map from c 1235, is intended by the author of the map to represent a castle on the terrace, but a fort situated at Chirbet Rushmia (« Auf den gezackten Höhen des Karmels ist ein castellum S. Margaretha eingetragen, dass sehr gut der Lage der Chirbet Rushmia entspricht »)¹¹³. What is more surprising, for Tönnesmann the Castle of St. Margaret is none other than the Monastery of St. Margaret (« ein wehrhaftes Kloster wurde von den Kreuzfahren ohne weiteres castellum genannt »)¹¹⁴. Tönnesmann was led to identify the two institutions by the evident impossibility of demonstrating the remains of two different institutions in Chirbet Rushmia. That the ruins in the Chirbet are those of a little fort is beyond doubt¹¹⁵. Its function was to control the pass over Mount Carmel. Its main parts were a tower 6 x 4 m. and a hall 12 x 15 m.¹¹⁶. The little fort is therefore insignificant in size and invisible from the coast. Supposing that the author of the Röhricht map c 1235 had indeed intended to mark this edifice, of no value to pilgrims for whom the map was meant, it would follow that he had failed to inscribe on his map the more prominent building on the terrace, a supposition which is quite untenable.

Tönnesmann's reading of Röhricht's map must be rejected as gravely tendentious. It assumes a degree of topographical exactitude to which the medieval cartographer did not pretend. There is no reasonable doubt that the castle is portrayed in the map as standing on the terrace of Mount Carmel, nor that it is a castle and not a monastery.

Our conclusion from this long but unavoidable digression is that the name of Elijah became attached to the ruined fort on the terrace, sometime after 1291, without the fact being able to throw any light on the date of entry of the Prophet's cult into the grotto nearby.

¹¹² *Zur Lage und Geschichte der Ersten Karmelitenklosters am berge Karmel: Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 1961, fasc. 2, p. 301.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 316.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 317.

¹¹⁵ *Elias und Christentum*, pp. 95-100.

¹¹⁶ M. ZAHARONI and A. WAGER. *Lamettayel ba-Karmel*, (Hebrew edition) Jerusalem 1968, p. 50.

IV. THE MOSLEM TRADITION

L. Surius, (1666), reported seeing a niche (« een doode venster ») in the southern wall of the quadrangular chapel, showing that the edifice was in use by Muslims: « In a part of the wall facing south, one sees a niche, which is used by the Turks as a mosque »¹¹⁷.

The mosque of Yakut.

The existence of a small mosque on the terrace had been recognized since Yakūt (1225), but Kopp strangely failed to identify it with the quadrangular chapel, which was the obvious thing to do, on account of the niche in the southern wall (mihrab) and the Muslim tradition still alive to this day¹¹⁸. He realized that the quadrangular chapel had all the appearances of a Muslim shrine (« kaum anders als ein Weli ausgeschaut haben »¹¹⁹; nevertheless he thought that Yakūt's mosque had stood on the site of the fort of the Templars. His opinion followed from a defective interpretation of Yakūt's text.

The extreme point of the terrace of Mount Carmel overlooking the town of Haifa is a site of great antiquity; it has pagan associations of importance¹²⁰. Numerous marble fragments collected in the field adjacent to the lighthouse now occupying the site, prove beyond a shadow of doubt that a Byzantine monastery had once been erected there¹²¹. The monastery was destroyed by fire, probably during the invasion of the Persians in 614. Kopp, on insufficient grounds identifies it with the Monastery of Elisha mentioned by Pseudo-Antoninus of Placencia. In the 12th century, the Templars erected a fort on the site of the old monastery, attested by Theodoricus¹²².

Kopp imagined that the mosque of Yakūt had been intercalated between the Byzantine monastery and the Templar fort, succeeding the former; only to be displaced by the latter (« es ist

¹¹⁷ *Den Gottvruchtigen Pelgrim*, Brussel, 1661, p. 418; *Le Pieux Pèlerin*, Bruxelles 1666 (French translation), p. 316.

¹¹⁸ *Elias und Christentum: Die Moschee* pp. 93-95.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, *Heidnischer kult auf dem Karmel*, pp. 44-49.

¹²¹ P. FLORIAN, *Fouilles opérées au Mont Carmel: Etudes Carmelitaines* 1914, pp. 108-114:

¹²² cf. footnote 105.

also sicher, dass die Moschee Nachfolgerin der Eliasukloster ist » — « weil die Moschee durch eine Festung verdrängt wurde »)¹²³.

The text of Yakut.

Kopp relied on Wüstenfeld's translation which reads as follows:

« Karmel, welcher (hat) eine Festung auf dem Berg, der herabblickt auf Haifa in der Ebene am Syrischen Meere; und sie war bekannt von alters in Islam also Moschee des Sa'ad ed-Daulat »¹²⁴.

A Carmel which « has » a fortress is not an easy reading: a Carmel which was known as a mosque is equally unsatisfactory. The word « Kadiman » means « formerly » and not « long ago ». On this latter point A.S. Mardmaji translates the word correctly by « jadis »¹²⁵.

The translation of Guy Le Strange is equally unclear:

« Carmel — a fortress on the high mountain above Haifa on the Syrian coast. It was known in the early days of Islam as the masjid (mosque) of Sa'ad ed-Daulat »¹²⁶.

For a correct understanding of the text, it should be recalled that Yakut was compiling a lexicon. Having reached the name Carmel, he first notes the vowels to be read with the consonants: he is concerned with the word, before being concerned with the thing. Thereafter, he writes: « It » (hua) i.e. the name Carmel.

The passage should therefore be read as follows: « Carmel — it [the name, refers to] a citadel on the mountain overlooking Haifa; previously, under Islam. it [referred to] the mosque, Sa'ad ed-Daulat ».

It is consequently quite unnecessary to draw the conclusion from the text that the mosque stood on the same site as the fort and therefore had been displaced by it or even incorporated into it, an opinion expressed in an otherwise irreproachable article on Mount Carmel, where we find the following lines:

« On the ruins of the Monastery of St. Eliseus (Elisha), the Templars utilising old material, especially columns, built a robust

¹²³ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 94.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 94; cf. YAKUT, *Mu'djam al-buldan*, t. IV, Beyrouth, 1957: AL-KARMIL.

¹²⁵ *Textes Géographiques Arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, p. 174.

¹²⁶ *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 487.

fortress, embellished with four towers, which enclosed, *it seems* the mosque transformed into a chapel »¹²⁷.

Yakūt's text leaves us quite free to identify the mosque with the quadrangular chapel on the terrace, which is by far the simpler and more natural thing to do. In turn, the identification renders possible a first step in the direction of a dating for the quadrangular chapel, since Yakūt informs us that it existed *under* Islam, that is, before the Crusades, in the Early Arabic period of Palestinian history.

The mihrāb.

Kopp raised the difficult question as to whether the mihrab had been part of the original structure of the chapel. The question was not devoid of importance. If the mihrab was to be conceived as part of the original structure, the likelihood was that the quadrangular edifice had been Muslim from the beginning, though the conclusion is not absolutely necessary. If the mihrab had been a Muslim addition, then the original structure could be thought of as having been raised by Christian hands. A decision either way would influence any attempt to date the monument.

Kopp was inclined to believe that the mihrab had been part of the original edifice and so committed himself to the view that it had been built by Muslims (« ob dieser mihrab gleich von Anfang an mitgebaut ist man is geneigt die Frage zu bejahen »¹²⁸). The conclusion was drawn from the slenderest evidence. If we turn our attention to the plan of Giambattista (fig. 1, no. 12), we observe that the line of dots representing the wall of the quadrangular edifice is interrupted at the mihrab (« da G. die westöstliche Baulinie hier unterbricht und sie als mihrab weiterführt »)¹²⁹. The argument is weak. The problem of the mihrab did not pose itself at all for Giambattista. Though Kopp recognized that the monument had the appearance of a Weli or Muslim shrine, he was unable to offer any date for its construction. Kopp was then confronted by the problem as to when and how a Muslim shrine could have acquired such a strong Christian — indeed Byzantine — character.

¹²⁷ AMÉDÉE BRUNOT S.C.J., *La Montée du Carmel: Bible et Terre Sainte* no. 108, Février 1969, p. 8; the fact that the author calls the monastery by the name of Elisha indicates his dependance on Kopp.

¹²⁸ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 104.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 104.

He could do no more than evasively remark that both Muslims and Greeks had used the quadrangular edifice at least from late medieval times. (« hatten Muhammedaner und Griechen hier wenigstens seit dem späten Mittelalter eine gemeinsame Verehrungsstätte »)¹³⁰, but his remark was insufficient to account for the presence not only of the Greek customs but of a Greek altar in the chapel. When would Muslims have permitted the Christians to erect an altar in one of their mosques?

Tönnemann quotes approvingly Kopp's remark that the quadrangular monument appeared to be a Weli and follows him in arguing that the mihrab had been built in from the beginning. The edifice was therefore of Muslim origin and to be identified with the mosque of Yakūt: it dated back to pre-Crusader times¹³¹.

We agree that quadrangular chapel should be identified unhesitatingly with Yakūt's mosque, but not that the mihrāb was part of the original structure, nor that the chapel had been originally a Muslim shrine. We believe the mihrāb to have been a Muslim modification of an original Christian oratory. Many Muslim welis or makams of the kind encountered on the terrace are known to be ancient churches¹³². The signs of Christian identity in the monument on the terrace are so strong as to call for a Christian origin, but we defer the discussion to the chapter on the dating of the grotto-tomb and chapel, in order to avoid repetition.

The Muslim Shrine on the terrace.

Conder¹³³ studied the type of sanctuary known to Muslims as mazar (shrine), jamia (mosque), weli (a favourite saint, the name being applied to the sanctuary by ellipsis). Some of these shrines possess a building to which the name *makam* is applied. It is usually a little square edifice, some 10 x 10 x 8 foot, surmounted by a dome¹³⁴.

¹³⁰ *Elias und Christentum* p. 104.

¹³¹ *Zu Lage... Ephemerides Carmeliticae* fasc. 2, Romae 1961. p. 300.

¹³² T. CANAAN, *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society: Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, Jerusalem 1924, p. 17.

¹³³ *Palestine Exploration Fund*, April, London 1877: *The Moslem Makams*, pp. 89-103; cf. also *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Special Papers, London 1881, p. 258.

¹³⁴ According to H. Leclercq, the architectural form, cube, cupola, subterranean grotto, is an inheritance from pagan antiquity. One prepared for the divinity « une chambre carrée ou plutôt cubique, surmontée d'une coupole

In the south wall a miḥrāb is to be found. Nearby a large tree grows, carob, oak or some other species. The site is usually of great antiquity and bears the imprint of successive races and religions. The Arabic names are sometimes flamboyant e. g. « the sun of the faith »; « the honour of the faith »; they illustrate the virtues of the saint or martyr, whose tomb is contained in the weli. Some shrines are named after women, whose identity is not always clear. There is a possibility that they are forms of the Astarte. In general the pagan background to these places is very strong.

With the shrines are associated characteristic customs: feasts, rites, dances, chants¹³⁵.

T. Canaan established numerous additional criteria in an even more exhaustive study of the same theme¹³⁶. The greater number of these sanctuaries lie at some distance from a town or village, situated on an elevated place, such as the top of a mountain or hill. Forty five per cent of them are associated with a built makam. The shrines of holy men are found in or near cemeteries. In most cases the cemetery is more recent than the shrine. A great number of sacred sites lie in or near a ruin, which certainly existed long before the shrine. The makam is, in all the simpler cases, a quadrangular building, also known as qubbeh, the dome being a characteristic feature. Many makams are in a pitiful state of disrepair. Many have a miḥrāb, which takes the usual form and points southwards. Some djawāmi and awlia (other names for the makam) are certainly ancient churches. Tombs are often associated with the shrine and equally often are found outside it. It often happens that in addition to the main tomb or tombs there are more in the vicinity. One of the tombs, generally the largest, is of more importance than the others. It contains the weli from whom the sanctuary takes its name. The tomb is generally orientated E to W, but exceptions occur. Not only oaks and carobs, but also fig and olive trees may be found in the vicinity of the shrine. Most holy places are near water, if only rain water stored in cisterns. Sacred caves are con-

hémisphérique ». The adjacent grotte served as an oracle. cf. *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (DACL) t. XII, 2de partie, col. 2084: Omm es-Zeitoun. To suggest that the quadrangular monument on the terrace of Mount Carmel was of pagan origin would be pure conjecture. Kopp dismisses the idea: *Elias und Christentum*, p. 103.

¹³⁵ P. J. BALDENSPERGER, PEF July 1893, p. 314-315: *The Religion of the Fellahin of Palestine*, question 13.

¹³⁶ *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1924, pp. 1-84: *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*.

nected with some sanctuaries. They may lie near the makam and are either natural or hewn in the rock. The latter are mostly ancient rocktombs. Oil-lamps are lighted and incense burned in the caves. The most complete and highly developed sanctuary is the one with makam and tomb.

Applying the foregoing criteria to the quadrangular monument on the terrace, it transpires immediately that there is hardly a single feature of the typical makam which may not be verified in it: the cubic form, the dimensions, the hemispherical dome, the miḥrāb, the trees in the vicinity, the imprint of successive races and religions, the pagan background, the flamboyant name Sa'ad ed-Daulat » (« fortune of the state »), the adjoining sacred cave, entered from within, containing two tombs, one central, one lateral, the feminine note in the consecration to St. Margaret, the cemetery, the situation on a hill-top at some distance from the town of Ḥaifa, near the ruins of an old castle and monastery, in the neighbourhood of several ancient cisterns. Modern authors give vivid descriptions of the feasts, rites and ceremonies attached to the grotto on the terrace, especially on the occasion of the famous Feast of Elijah on the 20th July¹³⁷.

A period therefore existed when the quadrangular chapel served as a typical makam. It is to this that the term masjid in Yakūt's text refers, not to a public mosque; but the admission is far from signifying automatically that the edifice had been of Musiim origin. Canaan remarks, as we have pointed out, that many shrines of this category are ancient churches converted to Muslim use and the adjacent man-made grottoes are usually ancient rock-tombs. We prefer to discuss the dating of the monument after having described the findings of Giambattista. The strength of the Christian character of the edifice and its antiquity will then be more apparent.

Whom the Muslims first venerated in the grotto on the terrace is unknown. The name of the mosque Sa'ad ed-Daulat could be a proper name. An Arab general of that name fell in battle against the Crusaders¹³⁸. Dalman cited a late Jewish source which claimed that the Muslims prayed to Elisha in the cave. Today, Muslims and Christians unite there in a common devotion to Elijah. Sa'ad ed-Daulat, whoever he was, has been forgotten.

¹³⁷ J. N. SEPP. *Neue hochwichtige Entdeckungen Hünchen*, 1896, pp. 23-30; J. A. JAUSSEN. *Revue Biblique*, Paris 1924, pp. 249-259: *La Fête de S. Elie au Mont Carmel*.

¹³⁸ R. RÖHRICHT, *Königreich Jerusalem*, Berlin 1897, p. 1067.

V. - THE CARMELITE TRADITION¹³⁹

The interpretation the Carmelites gave to the ruins they found on the terrace and the interest they took in it, are to be understood in the light of their traditions. Following their expulsion from the Holy Land in 1291, these traditions were overgrown by a flourishing crop of legends. Florencio del Niño Jesus gives a fervent, partisan account of them in his book, *El Monte Carmelo*. As late, therefore, as 1924, the Carmelite legend was still accepted currency in the Catholic world. Kopp, roused to ire, undertook to prune the exuberant overgrowth in his *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel* (1929). The *Compendio Istorico* by Giambattista di S. Alessio OCD is an extreme, even fanatical systematization of the Carmelite historical legend. It claims to derive the Carmelite Order from the Prophet Elijah himself, conceived as the founder of the Elianic Institute, through a chain of intermediaries, which include the Sons of the Prophets, the Rechabites, the Essenes, the Therapeutes.

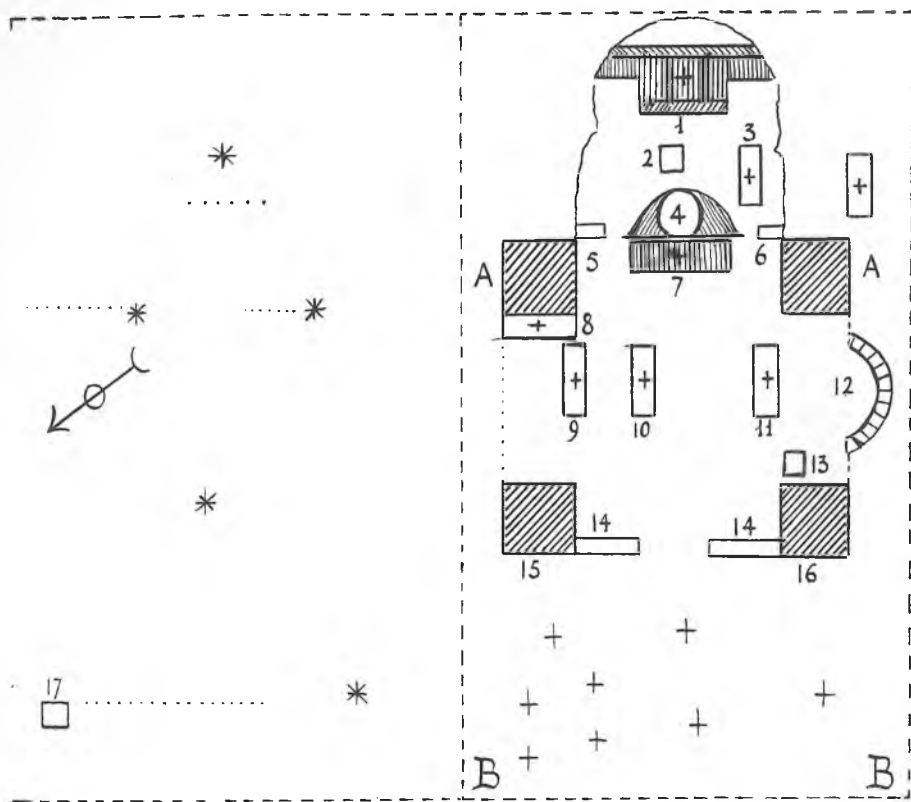
To limit ourselves to the ruins on the terrace, we find G. uttering his credo « that the vestiges and monuments described in the figure on page 306 (the quadrangular chapel and annexes), were really and truly those of the chapel erected by St. Elias, preserved by the Sons of the Prophets until the descent of the Holy Spirit, entrusted to the said Hermits, successors and imitators of Elias, and by them restored in the year of Christ 83, and which was truly the first in the world dedicated to God in honour of the Blessed Virgin, being the same which the Holy Church mentions in its office of Our Lady of Carmel. The said chapel was then restored and enlarged by St. Helena. It was restored again and embellished by the Emperor Basil in the year 885 »¹⁴⁰.

Such then was the history of the humble quadrangular chapel on the terrace of Mount Carmel, seen through the distorting lenses of the Carmelite theory of hereditary succession. Through the lines penetrates the sentiment of pride, which swelled the heart of Giambattista at the thought that destiny had reserved for him the task of restoring the primitive sanctuary of the Carmelite Order. In the

¹³⁹ R. HENDRIKS. *Etudes Carmélitaines*, vols. I and II, 1956; *Elie le Prophète: La Succession Héritaire*, vol. II, p. 34-81; *ibidem*, LOUISE-MARIE DU CHRIST: *La Succession Elianique devant la critique*, vol. II, pp. 117-133, for a critical assessment.

¹⁴⁰ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 364.

Fig. 1: Plan of Giambattista di S. Alessio : 1767
Ruins of grotto-tomb and annexes on the
terrace of the promontory of Mt. Carmel.



1) The rock on which St. Elias slept, now an altar. 2) A natural trench into which water flowed from the Baptistery and the sacrarium. 3) A burial space dug into the rock, now sealed off. 4) The Baptismal font. 5) Entrance to grotto of St. Elias. 6) Window of this grotto. Numerous bones buried here. 7) Altar, cut into the rock in apostolic times by the first Christians monks. A. A.) Pillars, six spans high, cut into the rock. 8) Miniature altar, adjacent to the pillar, likewise cut into the rock. 9, 10, 11) Burial sites of Sts. Berthold, Brocard and Cyril. 12) Niche of cut stone. 13) Cistern of the sons of the Prophets. 14) Ledges (seats) cut into the rock. 15, 16) Bases of pillars cut into the rock, one a single span, the other two spans in height. 17) Cistern.

The various crosses indicate tombs. The asterisks and dotted lines indicate traces of the Church and the ancient monastery, discovered in 1766, 1767. The four pillars, the main altar and the miniature one, formed part of the ancient Chapel of the Virgin Mary. Further evidence has also been found but is not mentioned here.

(From FRA GIAMBATTISTA'S, *Compendio storico dello stato antico e moderno del Carmelo*, Turin, 1780, p. 307).

face of so much single-minded zeal, the rights of the Greeks were, ominously enough, going to count for very little.

Prior to commencing the work of construction of a large church and monastery on the site of the quadrangular chapel, G. was inspired to excavate the area, with a view to discovering confirmation of his historical ideology, notably in what concerned the Byzantine predecessors of the Latin Carmelites. The excavations were a complete success from his point of view. Numerous features were brought to light which made it plain that the monument had a Greek past. That the vestiges he revealed might have belonged to the Abbey of St. Margaret never crossed G. 's mind: St. Margaret's he localized near Tirat el-Karmel. For G., the Greeks, who had left so prominent a mark on the monuments, were none other than the Byzantine predecessors of the Carmelites. Though G. leaves us with what we feel to be a limited description of his findings, his archeological efforts, unusual for the time, were not casually undertaken; only their aim and scope were dictated by pious zeal rather than by the exigencies of science. Again, it should be remembered that G. was a trained, competent architect. His findings are sufficient to confirm the documentary evidence advanced in defense of the view that the Abbey of St. Margaret stood on the terrace, where, in fact, the Carmelite monastery « Stella Maris » stands today. In addition to a description of his work, G. has furnished us with an invaluable plan of the ruins, but one which calls for considerable interpretation¹⁴¹.

VI - THE ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The plan of Giambattista (fig. 1)

The plan represents a complex of ruins on the terrace of the promontory of Mount Carmel, on the site actually occupied by the « Stella Maris » Monastery. The most striking feature of the ruins was the small quadrangular, domed edifice, abutting a grotto carved in the edge of a low cliff.

G. 's plan indicates the following constituent elements:

- a) a grotto
- b) the quadrangular chapel
- c) a church
- d) a monastery

¹⁴¹ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 306 (fig. 4).

a) *the Grotto - the first tomb.*

As mentioned, the grotto is situated on the edge of a low cliff, beyond which the terrain rises gently. The plan indicates inside the grotto an altar, lateral shelves, an altar-step and two gradines, all carved out of the mountain-rock in one piece (« tutto di un pezzo »)¹⁴². The statement can be verified by inspection of the altar in the crypt of « Stella Maris » Church. The marble work which covers the gradines and frames the altar is recent; it does not disguise the fact that the altar is continuous with the mountain-rock.

The plan does not, however, reflect the original structure inside the grotto, which G. encountered when he first entered it and which had been known to Christian travellers as the « bed of Elijah ».

The « bed of Elijah » had been a carved block of rock, four to five spans in height¹⁴³. It stretched across the bottom of the grotto. Elsewhere G. estimates the height at six spans¹⁴⁴, which corresponds better to the height of the actual altar plus the two gradines (120 cms). The upper surface of the block was horizontal and flat; it was used by the Carmelites for celebrating Mass. The vault-like inner surface of the cave arched over it. Down the middle of the flat upper surface ran a little wall in the direction of the breadth¹⁴⁵. G. demolished the wall to reveal behind it the bones of a person with the remains of a little chain of iron¹⁴⁶.

G. had evidently opened a tomb in the grotto, resembling in structure the sort known as « arcosolium ».

The so-called « bed of the Prophet » turned out to be the mensa of the tomb. After removing the skeleton found behind the wall to another, unspecified place, G. adapted the « bed of the Prophet » for use as an altar for the Latins. The new altar allowed for two gradines, lateral shelves and an altar-step. These elements are still discernible in the altar of the crypt of « Stella Maris » Church. It follows from the structural modifications that the horizontal surface of the upper gradine marks the upper level of the original « bed of Elijah », and not the table of the present altar (against Kopp, *ibidem*, p. 31).

¹⁴² *Compendio Istorico*, pp. 304-305.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 367.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*; p. 304.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 304; so we interpret the words « che la dimezzava ».

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 304.

The cavity.

A square cavity is indicated in front of the altar-step in the centre of the grotto (fig. 1, no 2). G. calls it a natural cavity (« fossa naturale »)¹⁴⁷. It was used for the disposal of baptismal water. Today the cavity in the crypt used for the same purpose is not centrally situated, but is found to the right side. We surmise that when the altarstep was lengthened, it covered the original cavity and a fresh one had to be opened.

The second tomb.

A second tomb was discovered in the grotto near the window (fig. 1, no 3): it was covered by a stone slab on which was engraved a Greek inscription. The inscription was not copied. The tomb was emptied and the bones transferred elsewhere¹⁴⁸.

In addition there were other undescribed vestiges which convinced G. that the Church had once been served by Greek religious¹⁴⁹.

No trace of the second tomb exists today. Was it raised above the floor-level? Was it a loculus in the wall which disappeared when the grotto was widened? Has the floor-level of the grotto been so deepened as to entail its disappearance? We have no means of knowing.

Orientation.

The long axis of the grotto is orientated SE-NW, in the direction of the crest of the promontory, pointing towards the site of the light-house where once stood the Byzantine monastery. The orientation is suggestive of a causal link between the two places. The orientation of the grotto-tomb determined the orientation of the quadrangular chapel which abuts it. Subsequently it determined the orientation of the church and monastery built around it, as we surmise, in Crusaders times.

On the other hand the present « Stella Maris » Church and monastery form a rectangular block facing due west. The two orienta-

¹⁴⁷ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 307.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 304.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 167.

tions are very noticeable on inspection of the actual site. The western orientation of « Stella Maris » has led to the SW wall of the grotto being sliced off, so that the two walls of the grotto are no longer equal in length as they are represented in G. 's plan.

Dimensions.

G. found the grotto square in the middle (« nel mezzo »), 18 spans in length, 8 in breadth and 12 spans in height. Taking a span for 20 cms, the middle of the grotto was 3,6 x 3,6 x 2,4 m. With the « bed of Elijah » included, the grotto was longer than it was broad. Today the breadth is 4,2 m, so the grotto has been widened on both sides. The result is that in its actual form the grotto makes a square rather than an oblong impression. The sides of the grotto in G. 's plan are parallel, re-inforcing the feeling that it was man-made (against Kopp's view¹⁵⁰). He measured the cave in several directions, giving the middle breadth (« mittel Breite ») as 6¼ m., which is too large.

Decoration.

G. reports that he read in the annals of Fr. Prosper of a time when a painting of Elijah (« una pittura di S. Elia ») was visible on the wall of the grotto; he himself claimed to have discerned the residual vestiges of the painting¹⁵¹. We consider this finding to be of great importance for the dating of the monument.

The baptismal font.

A striking feature of the grotto was a baptismal font carved out of the rocky wall which separated the grotto from the adjacent chapel. (fig. 1, no. 4). G. at first restored it for the use of the Greeks who were accustomed to bring their children to the place for baptism¹⁵². It is not known when the baptismal font was first introduced into the grotto. Before a door was opened in the wall

¹⁵⁰ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 31.

¹⁵¹ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 305.

¹⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 305.

of the grotto, children must have been let down through the hole in the roof. The baptismal font disappeared when G. demolished the wall, so as to make the grotto more easily accessible ¹⁵³.

b) *the quadrangular chapel.*

The quadrangular chapel adjoins the grotto-tomb so that they share a common wall.

G. 's plan shows a communicating door between the chapel and the grotto to the left of the Greek altar (fig. 1, no. 5) and a window to the right (fig. 4, no. 6). The door could be locked. We presume that the floor-level of the chapel was approximately the same as that of the grotto. G. renewed the door and placed an iron grating in the window ¹⁵⁴.

Structure.

The plan gives the chapel a perfectly quadrilateral shape, which corresponds with the description of travellers. There were four pillars at the corners (fig. 1, nos. 15, 16, A. A.), supporting a hemispherical dome resting on four arches. The presence of the latter is discernible on sketches left by Prosper and Doubdan ¹⁵⁵. The pilasters A, A were hewn out of the mountain-rock, their lower part remained to a height of six spans. The pillars nos. 15, 16, were also of mountain-rock and remained to a height of one and two spans respectively. The chapel contained a central altar likewise of rock (fig. 1 no. 7); it had been carved out of the common wall separating the chapel from the grotto. The altar was seven spans in length and in the pilaster A to the left of the altar was a small side altar (« altario »), hewn out of the rock of the pilaster (fig. 1, no. 8). G. destroyed the central altar of the Greeks when he demolished the intervening wall between grotto and chapel, in preparation for the new building he intended to raise on the site ¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵³ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 362.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 304.

¹⁵⁵ Z. VILNAI. *The Holy Land in Old Prints and Maps*, Jerusalem, 2nd edition, 1965, pp. 199-200; cf. also R. HECHT. *The Saga of Haifa*, Haifa, 2nd edition 1969, pictures nos. 158-183.

¹⁵⁶ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 362.

The niche (miḥrāb) (fig. 1 no. 12) was built of cut stones (« *pietre intagliate* »)¹⁵⁷.

The walls were probably built of white cut stones (« *rinnovarono le mura con bianche pietre* »)¹⁵⁸. The two benches near the entrance (fig. 1, nos, 14, 14) were of stone.

G. attributes the walls to Carmelite hermits of Jewish origin, who renewed the original chapel built by Elijah (the Seunion or Semnion) in the year 83 A. D.

Dimensions.

In G. 's plan, the chapel is about a third longer than the grotto. We estimate it to have been about 6 m. These dimensions are practically identical with those for the Kabylé of Omm ez-Zeinat (Syria) (5m.80)¹⁵⁹.

The Cemetery.

The identity of the persons buried in the grotto is unknown. Brémond writes as if the members of Fr. Prosper's community had been buried in the grotto: « *une picciola Capella sotterranea con Altare, dove per esse sepoltura dei Carmelitani, che vi dimorano si dice spesse volte messa di requie* »¹⁶⁰.

Philip of the Trinity writes in the same vein¹⁶¹.

D'Arvieux, on the other hand, clearly indicates the chapel as the cemetery:

« *La petite chapelle qui est au dessus (?) de la grotte lui avait été dédiée dès son vivant; et quarante ans après son assumption au ciel, on y avait fait bâtir une Eglise dont on voit encore quelques restes. Elle avait environ six toises de longueur sur quatre de largeur. La muraille demeure; l'autel est encore assez entier, tout le reste est tombé; le dedans sert à present de cimetièrre où le Père Prosper et plusieurs autres religieux sont enterrés, aussi bien que plusieurs autres Chrétiens qui s'y font porter par dévotion* »¹⁶².

¹⁵⁷ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 307.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 363.

¹⁵⁹ DACL, t. XII, 2^{de} partie, col. 2084-2087.

¹⁶⁰ *Viaggi d'Oriente*, p. 208.

¹⁶¹ *Voyage d'Orient*, p. 154.

¹⁶² *Mémoires*, Paris, édition 1735, II, p. 306.

Since there are only two tombs inside the grotto, the persons referred to by D'Arvieux could only have been buried in and around the chapel. Brémond and Philip were probably referring to the site in general.

G. found three rock-carved tombs in the floor of the quadrangular chapel (fig. 1, nos. 9, 10, 11). He was of the opinion that they contained the bones of the first three Priors General of the Carmelite Order, SS. Berthold, Brocard and Cyril, but this is unfounded. In one of the three tombs G. brought to light a tin crucifix¹⁶³. G. repeats the tradition, which confirms the report of D'Arvieux, that Fr. Prosper had been interred in one of the tombs in front of the grotto¹⁶⁴.

In front and around the chapel, G. unearthed several more graves. He learnt from the register of the Carmelite community, that Christians from Haifa and other nearby places, had been brought there for burial¹⁶⁵. The site had evidently been a cemetery for the inhabitants of the district. It is probable that at one time or another the Muslims and the Greeks had made use of the place for the same purpose.

c) *the Church* (fig. 1, no. 17).

G. enclosed the plan of the grotto-tomb and quadrangular chapel in a rectangular pattern of dots; these represented, he explains, the foundations of a church and monastery, which he had revealed, but of which he did not leave a description. He believed the church (and, we suppose, the adjacent monastery) to have been built by St. Helena. He imagined the church to have enclosed the quadrangular chapel under its roof (« ha chiusa la predetta antichissima capella »)¹⁶⁶. To judge of its dimensions proportionately to those of the quadrangular chapel, the church must have been about 15 x 7 m.

Kopp raises the question as to how far one can rely on G's conclusions; he makes the alternative suggestion that G. had discovered the foundations of a portico running around the quadrangular chapel¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶³ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 305.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 275.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 306.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 364.

¹⁶⁷ *Elias and Christentum*, p. 105.

In effect, the inequality of the terrain makes it rather difficult to understand how a small church could have been constructed over the quadrangular chapel. The floor level of the present church « Stella Maris » has been considerably raised; that of the quadrangular chapel was at a lower level, probably more or less at the level of the floor of the grotto.

The quadrangular chapel stood against the face of a low cliff, so that its two eastern pillars could be hewn out of the mountain-rock. On either side, the level rose. Today, for instance, a staircase on both sides is needed to conduct the visitor from the level of the grotto-tomb to the level of the sacristy.

Nevertheless we are prepared to take G. on trust and accept his word that he had revealed the foundations of a church, in view of his indubitable competence as an architect. In support of G. is the observation of D'Arvieux, who claimed to have seen the remains of a church on the site of the chapel (footnote 162).

d) *the monastery* (fig. 1, no. 17).

According to G. the second part of the rectangle of dots, lying to the north of the church, represents the remains of a monastery. G. had no doubt about it, though, unfortunately, he was not interested in leaving us a detailed description. He calls it an « antichissimo convento »¹⁶⁸. To judge from the plan it may have been about 15 x 10 m. in dimension.

Kopp was convinced that this structure corresponded with the Monastery of St. Margaret, occupied in Crusader times by Greek and Syrian monks¹⁶⁹. We agree, except to remark that the term monastery should not be confined to the northern structure, but to the entire complex. The term « abbey » connotes a monastery in the narrow sense of the cloister of the monks, together with a church. In G. 's plan the monastery (cloister) and church clearly form a single architectural unit. These enclose the grotto and quadrangular chapel. It is the entire building which in our opinion was known to the Crusaders as the Abbey of St. Margaret.

The documentary evidence postulates a Greek monastery on the terrace; the archeological findings of G. reveal a Greek monastery on the terrace. The conclusion is inescapable: the Abbey of

¹⁶⁸ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 307.

¹⁶⁹ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 106.

St. Margaret stood on the site now occupied by « Stella Maris » Church. On this score, Kopp seems to have been perfectly justified.

The evolution of the monument on the terrace.

A full comprehension of G. 's plan is only possible once we accept the principle that the structure represented in the plan is composite and is the product of an historical evolution. The problem then arises of dating the various parts.

The principle of an historical evolution was spontaneously adopted by Giambattista and expressed in terms of his own ideology in the passage quoted above (footnote 140). G. gave priority to the quadrangular chapel. It impressed him as being of great antiquity (« della rovinata antichissima capella »)¹⁷⁰; indeed, it went back to Elijah himself, at least in those parts constituted of mountain-rock. G. was not ingenuous enough to believe that the walls of white cut stone could also be so ancient. He therefore makes a distinction and attributes the latter to a renovation of the ancient SEUNION of Elijah by the Carmelite hermits in the year 83 A. D. (footnote 158). He next proposed to see in the ruins an extension by St. Helena, therefore, a work of the 4th century (« ristorata ed allungata da S. Elena »)¹⁷¹; but he changed his mind and adopted the view that she had built a new church on Mount Carmel which enclosed the quadrangular chapel (« S. Elena fabricò in quel Monte una nuova chiesa, in cui vi ha chiusa la predetta antichissima capella della SS. Vergine »)¹⁷². G. was evidently referring to the church (and we suppose, monastery) marked on his plan by the rectangle of dots.

Making abstraction of G.'s ideological excesses which account for his fantastic dating, it remains that he recognized in the monument before him the vestiges of three distinct epochs: a very early one, to which the grotto and part of the chapel belonged, an early one, for the walls of the chapel, and a later one for the rectangular church (and monastery).

¹⁷⁰ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 305.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 364.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 364, second footnote.

Kopp and the problem of historical evolution.

Kopp's handling of the problem is distinctly hesitant and confused¹⁷³. Since he identified the monastery in G. 's plan with the Abbey of St. Margaret, that part of the ruin stood, if it had not been built, during the Crusades.

Kopp's fundamental mistake lay in his failure to identify the quadrangular chapel with the mosque of Yaküt. In so doing he lost an important clue to the former's age, since Yaküt affirms expressly that the mosque had existed formerly, under Islam, that is, during the pre-Crusader period. Kopp also failed to give full weight to G. 's repeated assertion that the quadrangular chapel appeared to be of great antiquity. His suggestion, in consequence, that the rectangular church and monastery were anterior to the quadrangular chapel, was, on the face of it, a most improbable one (« Möglich is doch dass die rechteckige Linie den Umfang des ersten Baues angibt, während erst in einer Zeit des Verfalles das Gotteshaus auf die notwendigsten Masse verkürzt würde »)¹⁷⁴.

As for the rectangular church and monastery, Kopp was not able to offer a definite date for their construction (« so können wir nur feststellen, das wir hier eine griechische Kirche von unbestimmter Alter vor uns haben »)¹⁷⁵. What he did divine, was that the rectangular church and monastery were, in all probability, posterior to the old Byzantine monastery on the site of the lighthouse (« hier verkörpert sich ein wohlhabendes ungebrochenes Christentum in einer glanzvollen Basilika, dort ein durch den Islam gedrucktes und veramtes Christentum in einen bescheidenen Gotteshaus »)¹⁷⁶. By these words Kopp appears to commit himself to the view that the rectangular church and monastery were built during the Early Arabic Period, that is, before the Crusades; but if the mosque of Yaküt stood on the site, the probability that the Greeks could have constructed a church on the terrace in the Early Arabic Period becomes remote.

Proposed solution to the problem.

Our solution to the problem of the historical evolution in the monument on the terrace implies the following assumptions:

¹⁷³ *Elias und Christentum*, pp. 104-106.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 106.

a) the grotto-tomb and quadrangular chapel constitute a single architectural unit (Kopp, *ibidem* p. 103).

b) the rectangular church and monastery constitute a second architectural unit (against Kopp, *ibidem* p. 106).

c) the mihrāb is a Muslim modification of an original Christian edifice.

Discussion.

The proposed solution follows, in its broad lines, the views of G. insofar as it allots the quadrangular chapel to an earlier period and the rectangular church and monastery to a later period.

The dating of the grotto-tomb and chapel.

The grotto, as we have seen, had the form, originally, of a shallow cistern. It may therefore very well have been in the beginning one of the several cisterns in the immediate neighbourhood. The situation, at the bottom of a gentle rocky slope is admirably suited for collecting rain-water, but its shallowness made it of little use for the purpose. Perhaps the original intention had been abandoned half-way and the projected cistern converted into a tomb. In any case, it became a tomb. The mensa of rock is very suggestive of the Byzantine period. The impression is reinforced by the painting of Elijah which once decorated the inner surface of the cave. Similar paintings in Christian tombs from the Byzantine period have been discovered in the necropolis of Shikmonah nearby, at the foot of Mount Carmel (information furnished by the Museum of Fine Arts, Haifa). The Greek inscription on the secondary tomb in the grotto might date, speculatively speaking, from the Crusader period, when the Greeks re-occupied the site, or even, in theory, from the post-Crusader period; but it is more reasonable to take it in conjunction with the other features of the grotto, notably the mensa and the painting and to date it also to Byzantine times.

The quadrangular chapel was evidently a mortuary chapel built in connection with the tomb. From its construction it should be judged to be from the same period. That the grotto and chapel form an architectural unit is strongly suggested by the fact that the pilasters of the chapel are carved out of the mountain rock. That so much of the chapel is of rock (pillars, altar, floor, seats) is

an index of genuine antiquity, which G. clearly perceived. The mosaic decoration in the chapel is Greek; whether it dates from Byzantine or Crusader times, when, as we believe, the Greeks returned to the terrace, is hard to say. The tin crucifix, which G. discovered in one of the tombs, might well be from a more recent period¹⁷⁷.

We know that a Byzantine monastery once stood on the terrace. The most reasonable and obvious explanation of the strong Christian character of the tomb and chapel is to attribute them to the monks. The orientation of the grotto-tomb, the long axis of which is directed towards the site of the old monastery, suggests a causal relation between the two monuments.

Dating of the rectangular church and monastery.

G. 's spontaneous judgment was to date the rectangular church and monastery to a later period than the quadrangular chapel. If we accept his opinion, then the best historical framework for this new phase of monastic architectural activity would be the Crusades. The establishment of a Christian polity opened the way for a renewal of Byzantine traditions: so we see a chapel being built by a priest from Calabria in the ruins of an old monastery near El-Ḥadr; we witness the return of hermits to Wadi es-Siah, desirous of reviving the laura of Elisha which it had contained in Byzantine times; now, on the terrace, we can imagine the return of Greek monks anxious to restore their monastic tradition to that part of the mountain.

The Greek identity of the grotto-tomb and the quadrangular chapel on the terrace is clear; what of the rectangular church and monastery?

We must confess that G. has left us no concrete archeological indication to confirm his expressed opinion that the vestiges he had found in this part of the monument were indeed Greek, rather than, say, Latin.

We should recall, however, in this connection, the tenacious tradition of the local Greek Orthodox community and their profound attachment to the grotto and chapel throughout post-Crusader times down to the present day. From this tradition it can and should be concluded that they had possessed the site in Crusader times.

¹⁷⁷ *Compendio Istorico*, p. 305.

Date of the Foundation of the Abbey of St. Margaret.

PPTS affirms that St. Margaret's Church was built in A. D. 1209, but does not cite the sources¹⁷⁸. We have been unsuccessful in our efforts to confirm the date. Since PPTS identifies St. Margaret's Church with ed-Deir, we suspect that confusion has taken place with the Monastery of St. Brocard. It is commonly accepted that St. Albert wrote the Primitive Rule for the Carmelites in Wadi es-Siah, in 1209. The rule contains a paragraph permitting the hermits to construct an oratory in the midst of the cells: this is the chapel of St. Brocard, the remains of which were successfully unearthed by Bagatti in Wadi es-Siah. It follows that the chapel of St. Brocard has the same date as the Primitive Rule, i. e. 1209.

Neither Phocas nor Benjamin mention the Abbey of St. Margaret. Does their silence mean that the Abbey had not been built at the time of their respective visits (c 1174, 1165)?

J. Baudry surmises that the community at El-Hadr founded the Church of St. Margaret, but there is no basis for the conjecture¹⁷⁹.

In 1217, Thietmar could write about the abbey as if it had existed already for a certain time:

« in vertice montis Carmeli est quoddam coenobium ubi adhuc cohabitant coenobitae Graeci et Suriani »¹⁸⁰. The word « adhuc » makes one wonder whether Thietmar had some catastrophe in mind when he wrote the word. Was he perhaps referring to the defeat of Hattin (1187), which led to the destruction of Haifa and its surroundings?

A tentative date could be found for the building of St. Margaret's, taking the visit of Phocas as a *terminus a quo* and that of Thietmar as a *terminus ad quem*.

A hypothetical reconstruction of the relevant history of the terrace of Mount Carmel.

From time immemorial, a pagan cult was practised on the terrace of the promontory: it was still active in Roman times as testifies the votive foot dedicated to Zeus (Jupiter) Carmelus Heliopolitanus,

¹⁷⁸ PPTS, vol. VI, *Citez de Jherusalem*, p. 31 footnote.

¹⁷⁹ CARMEL, Mars 1971, p. 87: *Solitude et Fraternité aux origines du Carmel*.

¹⁸⁰ *Elias und Christentum*, p. 82.

found in the garden of the monastery¹⁸¹.

The Christian history of the terrace opens with the building of a Byzantine monastery on the edge of the terrace in the 5th or 6th centuries. The institution was destroyed by fire during the Persian invasion (614), the monks massacred or dispersed, undergoing the fate of their brethren throughout Palestine.

For the needs of the monastery several cisterns were dug on the slope of the mountain facing the monastery; one was converted into a tomb for one of the members of the community. At the same time a modest mortuary chapel was built abutting the new tomb and an altar constructed where Mass could be said for the dead. The tomb was decorated with a painting and the chapel with mosaics depicting historical scenes, no doubt from the Bible. When the baptismal font was introduced is unknown. The cult of Elijah was already associated with the grotto.

Owing to the destruction of the community by the Persians in 614, the survivors were not in a position to reconstruct their monastery during the short period of Byzantine rule that followed the re-conquest of Palestine by Heraclius in 629.

During the Early Arabic Period (638-1099) the quadrangular mortuary chapel was converted into a makam by the Muslims by the addition of a miḥrāb and given the name, Sa'ad ed-Daulat. Yakūt (1225) called it a mosque.

The conquest of Palestine by the Crusaders in 1099 opened the way to the Greeks for a return to the terrace. Their ambition was to reconstruct the old Byzantine monastery, but they were prevented by the Templars, who had erected a fort on the same site. The Greeks were therefore obliged to content themselves with building a modest church and monastery which enclosed the quadrangular chapel and grotto-tomb, the Greek identity of which could not be disputed. The new complex was called the Abbey of St. Margaret by the Latins and the Monastery of St. Marina by the Greeks themselves, probably the name of the old Byzantine monastery. It attracted numerous pilgrims, Christians and Jews, the latter preferring to see in the grotto the tomb of Elisha.

The community in charge of the abbey was composed of Greek and Syrian (i. e. indigenous) cenobites dressed in black robes. The relics of St. Margaret, which proved such an attraction for the

¹⁸¹ cf. AVI-YONAH, *Israel Exploration Journal* vol. 2, no. 2, Jerusalem, Israel, 1952, pp. 118-124; B. BAGATTI OFM., *Gli scavi di Nazareth*, Gerusalemme 1967, pp. 305-306; DACL, t. 14 (1) col. 1123; Piscine probatique.

pilgrims, were preserved in the church. The same community possessed a residence in Acre. The community buried its dead in and around the quadrangular chapel.

When Acre fell in 1291, the Muslims destroyed the church and monastery of St. Margaret, but spared the quadrangular chapel, which had been in use as a makam in pre-Crusader times, under the name of Sa'ad ed-Daulat.

In post-Crusader times, the quadrangular chapel continued to be used as a sanctuary by both Muslims and Greeks. The Greeks believed in the various legends that associated the grotto with the name of Elijah; the Jews, on the contrary, continued to venerate the grotto as the tomb of Elisha. Owing to the departure of the monks and the smallness of the Christian community, the name and tradition of St. Margaret was gradually forgotten; instead, the Christian community invoked the Blessed Virgin on the site and placed their newly baptized children under her protection. It is to be noted that the Muslims also forgot the name their ancestors had given to the quadrangular edifice: Sa'ad ed-Daulat.

The Carmelites returned in 1631 and amalgamated their own traditions concerning the antiquity of the Order with the local tradition of the Greeks. They professed to see in the mensa of the tomb in the grotto, the « bed of Elijah »; the quadrangular chapel was the SEUNION (or Semnion) built by Elijah and renewed by the newly-converted Jewish Carmelites in the year 83 A. D.

In 1767 G. obtained for the Order the long-desired permission to build a new church on the site of the quadrangular chapel. He destroyed the common wall between the grotto and the chapel to facilitate access into the grotto, so destroying the Greek altar, the baptismal font and the hole in the roof, through which the Prophet Elijah used to enter his narrow home, as it was believed. The quadrangular chapel was left otherwise intact, because de Géramb described it in position during his visit to the place in 1831 (footnote 88). On the other hand, von Schubert who visited the completed monastery of Casini in 1836, makes no mention of the quadrangular chapel. We must suppose that it was destroyed by Casini during the building of the second Carmelite monastery over the grotto, sometime between the two dates 1831 and 1836.

G. opened the tomb in the grotto and altered the « bed of Elijah », carving from it an altar for use by the Latins with gradines, lateral shelves and an altar-step. It is this structure framed in white marble which is still to be found in the crypt under the high altar of « Stella Maris » Church.

During the campaign of Napoleon in the Holy Land (1799), G.'s monastery was used as a military hospital for the sick and wounded soldiers of the French army. When Napoleon left the country, they were immediately massacred by the Turks. In 1821, the site, which had been abandoned by the Carmelites, was totally destroyed in a series of dynamite explosions by order of Abdallah Pasha of Acre.

In 1827, the foundations were laid of a new church and monastery over the ancient grotto: the architect was another Giambattista, this time Casini (O.C.D.), who was successful in opening the new edifice for worship in the year 1836. In modern times his church and monastery have acquired the name, transferred from the lighthouse, of « Stella Maris ».

The Excavations of Fr. B. Bagatti in Wadi es-Siah and their bearing on the problem of the localization of the Abbey of St. Margaret.

The results of the excavations in the wadi during the first season, March-April 1958, are resumed in Bagatti's relation published in the *Acta OCD*, 1958 (fasc. 10, pp. 277-288). He was successful in bringing to light the remains of a small rectangular chapel without apse, dating from the time of the Crusades. The ceramic fragments found were characteristic, in the main, of the 13th century¹⁸². Byzantine fragments were rare¹⁸³. A single graffito was encountered, scratched on a piece of local calcareous rock: it consisted of the Latin word AQUA¹⁸⁴.

Bagatti found a perfect harmony between the historical, documentary evidence concerning the Monastery of St. Brocard and the archeological remains in Wadi es-Siah (« vi troviamo un perfetto accordo »)¹⁸⁵. He was convinced that he had brought to light the chapel of the Latin hermits of Mount Carmel, founders of the Carmelite Order. He concludes his first report with the following words:

« No doubt but that the lay-out of this monastery of St. Brocard was recalled in later convents and we are able to note, for example, the same form of church without apse, simple and oblong, in the convent of Limassol in Cyprus, constructed in the 14th century: it doubtless represented an ideal »¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸² *Acta Ordinis* 1958, p. 285.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, 1961, p. 69.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 1961, p. 69.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 1958, p. 287.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 1958, p. 288.

The ruins of ed-Deir in Wadi es-Siah are those, in consequence, of a Latin establishment: no signs of a Greek monastery were brought to light. The fact deals a mortal blow to the hypothesis which situates the Church of St. Margaret in Wadi es-Siah.

It should be remarked that the construction of a monastic building at the bottom of a wadi, on the edge of a winter torrent, is most unusual. We cannot believe the Greeks would have committed the imprudence. If the Carmelites did eventually build in the Wadi, their decision to do so came after a long evolution of community life on the site, which began with a cluster of modest cells on the narrow platform below Ain Umm el-Farraj.

As we have said before these conclusions in no way invalidate the view that the wadi had been inhabited by Byzantine hermits, living in a laura consisting of a group of grottoes, one of which (« the Stable ») served as a rock-chapel for the community.

ELIAS FRIEDMAN,
« Stella Maris » Monastery,
Haifa, Israel.

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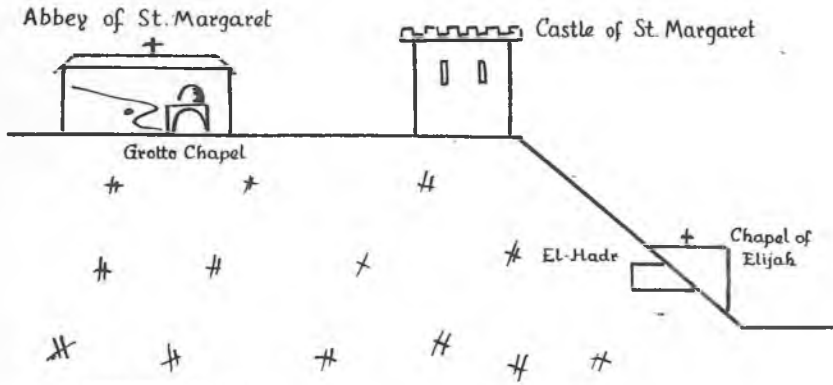
APPENDIX

PRESUMED HISTORY OF THE TERRACE OF MOUNT CARMEL: SYNOPSIS

<i>Period</i>	SITE OF « STELLA MARIS » MONASTERY	SITE OF THE LIGHTHOUSE ON EDGE OF TERRACE	SITE OF EL-HADR FOOT OF THE PROMOTORY Hebrew = Ma'arat Elijah; Carmelite « School of the prophets »
<i>Pagan</i>		? an altar to the Baal, later Jupiter Carmelus Heliopolitanus	
<i>Byzantine</i> 5th, 6th cent.	grotto-tomb and chapel: ? cemetery	monastery	monastery
<i>Early Arab period</i> 638-1099	grotto-tomb and mosque of Sa'ad ed-Daulat: ? cemetery	monastery in ruins	monastery in ruins
<i>Crusader</i> 1099-1291	Abbey of St. Margaret	Templar Castle of St. Margaret	chapel of St. Elias (Elijah) built by the priest-monk from Calabria
<i>Modern I</i>	Carmelite Church of Giambattista di S. Alessio 1774-1821: quadrangular chapel still intact		ruins only
<i>Modern II</i>	Carmelite Church of Giambattista Casini (1836-): = « Stella Maris » Monastery and Church	1) from 1821, Palace of Abdallah 2) from 1846, old « Stella Maris Hospice » 3) actually, the Lighthouse	from early 19th century, residence of guardian of El-Hadr

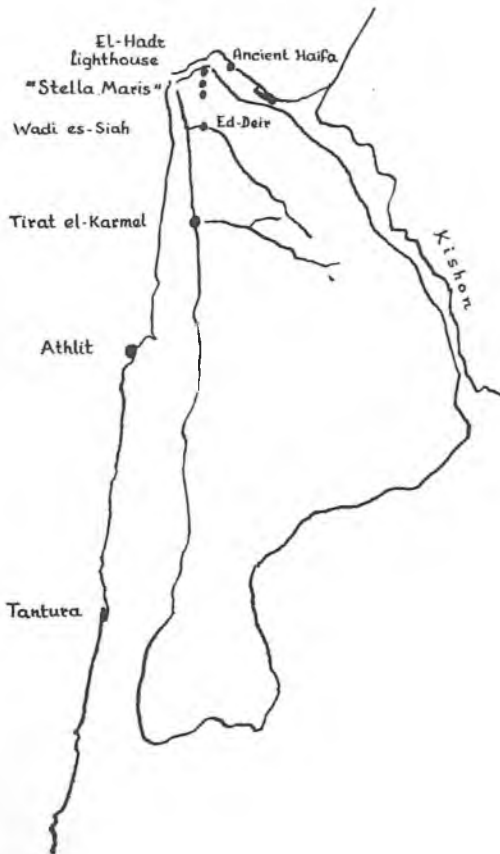
Appendix I

PROMONTORY OF MOUNT CARMEL : Crusader Period

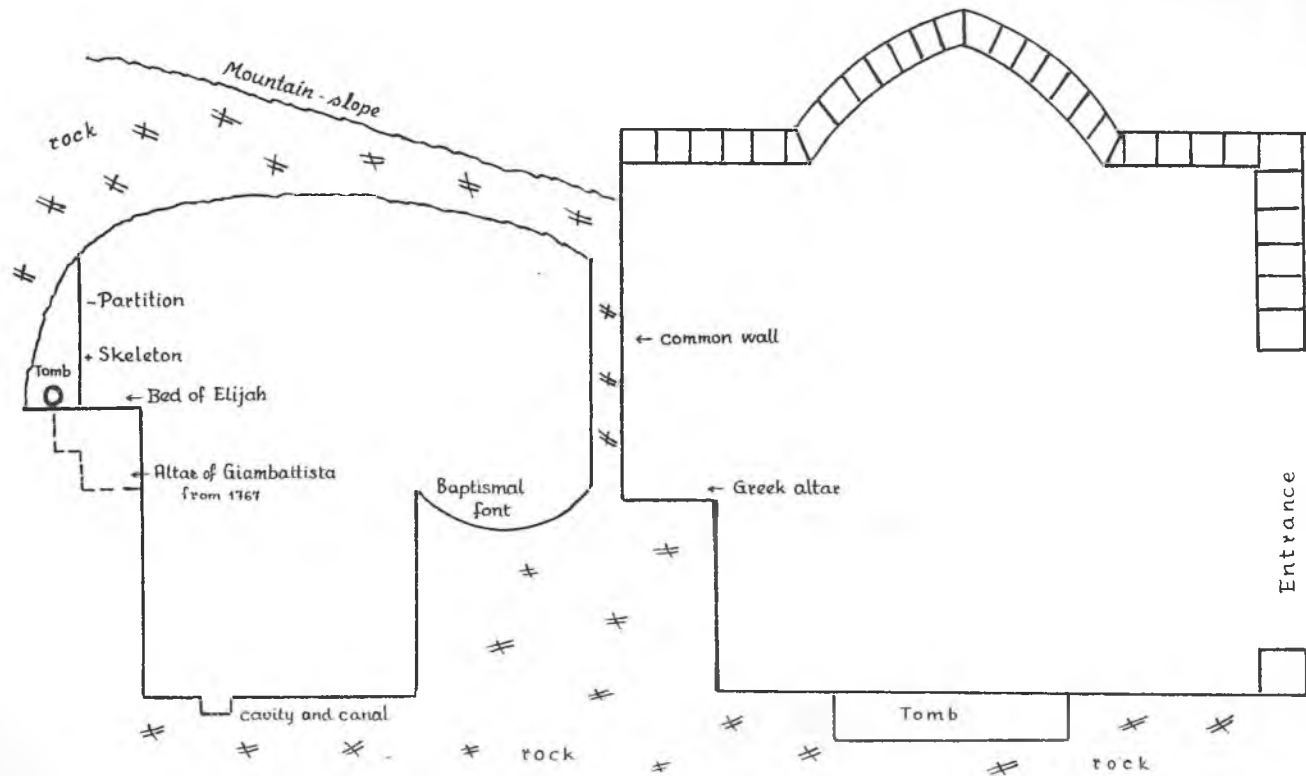


Appendix II

MOUNT CARMEL



TERRACE OF Mt. CARMEL: Grotto and Chapel,
proposed reconstruction, prior to 1767;
Schematic cross-section down longitudinal axis



GROTTO

CHAPEL