

ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

RESEARCH CENTRE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY
THE NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

2

YIANNIS E. MEIMARIS

SACRED NAMES, SAINTS, MARTYRS
AND CHURCH OFFICIALS
IN THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS AND PAPYRI
PERTAINING TO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH
OF PALESTINE

ATHENS 1986

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Δωρεά εν συγγράμῳ

*To my most patient reader
an d most charitable critic,
my beloved wife,
this volume is affectionately inscribed*

This work has been completed within the project 'Palestine' incorporating all Greek inscriptions from the area, undertaken by the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity of the National Hellenic Research Foundation.

This is based on the thesis submitted by the author for the degree 'Doctor of Philosophy' to the Senate of Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in 1976.

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MAP

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum</i> . Ed. E. Schwartz (Strassburg 1914 ff).
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i> .
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> .
AE	'Αρχαιολογική 'Εφημερίς. Περιοδικόν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.
Alon	<i>Alon</i> . Bulletin of the Israel Department of Antiquities (in Hebrew).
A. Alt, GIPT	A. Alt, <i>Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der 'Araba</i> , Berlin und Leipzig 1921.
Anal. Boll.	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Paris-Brussels 1882ff).
'ATIQT	'ATIQT Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> .
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> (Brussels 1909).
BHO	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> (Subsidia Hagiographica, X; Brussels 1910).
BIES	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i> .
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> .
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 4 vols. (Berlin 1828-1877).
CL	A. Baumstark, <i>Comparative Liturgy</i> (revised by B. Botte; E.T.F.L. Cross), London 1958.
CNI	<i>Christian News from Israel</i> .
Clermont-Ganneau	C. Clermont-Ganneau, <i>Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874</i> , 1 (London 1899), 2 (London 1896).
Cod. Just.	P. Krüger (ed.), <i>Corpus Juris Civilis</i> . Vol. 2 <i>Codex Justinianus</i> , 12th ed., Berlin 1959.
Cod. Theod.	T. Mommsen and P.M. Meyer (eds.), <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> , Berlin 1895; ed. P. Krüger, Berlin 1923.
Conybeare	<i>Rituale Armenorum</i> , edited from the oldest mss. by F.C. Conybeare, Oxford 1905.

CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i> .
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> (Paris 1903ff).
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> (Bonn 1828-1878).
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i> , eds. F. Cabrol-H. Leclercq, Paris 1903-1937.
Dept. of Antiq. Files	<i>Files from the Archives of the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the State of Israel</i> .
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> .
Echos d'Orient	<i>Echos d'Orient</i> .
Eus. MP	Eusebius, <i>De Martyribus Palestinae</i> , PG 20.1457-1536.
Eretz-Israel	<i>Eretz-Israel</i> . Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (in Hebrew).
Geyer	<i>Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi recensuit et commentario critico instruxit Paulus Geyer</i> (CSEL XXXIX, Vindobonae 1898).
Guérin	V. Guérin, <i>Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine</i> (Paris 1868-1880); <i>Judée</i> 1 (1868); 2/3 (1869); <i>Samarie</i> 1 (1874); 2 (1875); <i>Galilée</i> 1/2 (1880).
Hadashot Archaeologiot	<i>Hadashot Archaeologiot</i> . Archaeological News, Department of Antiquities, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem (in Hebrew).
Hardouin	J. Hardouin (Harduinus), <i>Acta Conciliorum et Epistolae Decretales, ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificum</i> , 12 vols., Paris 1714-15.
Hefele-Leclercq	Hefele-Leclercq, <i>Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux</i> (1907 ff).
HE or EH	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiae</i> (transl. by K. Lake and J.E.L. Oulton, Loeb Classical Library).
HThR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> .
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> .
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i> .
LA	<i>Liber Annuus</i> .
Levant	<i>Levant</i> . Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History.
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> , 31 vols., Florence 1759-1798.
ND	<i>Notitia dignitatum</i> , ed. O. Seeck, Berlin 1876.
National Geographic	<i>National Geographic Magazine</i>

NE	<i>Néa Siwv</i> . Periodical of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem.
On.	<i>Onomasticon of Eusebius</i> , ed. Klostermann, Leipzig 1904.
PAES or AAES	<i>Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria</i> .
PEF QSt	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i> .
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> .
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , 162 vols., Paris 1857-1866.
PJB	<i>Palästina – Jahrbuch</i> .
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris 1857-1866.
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris 1907 ff).
QADMONIOT	<i>QADMONIOT</i> . Quarterly for the Antiquities of Eretz-Israel and Bible Lands (in Hebrew).
QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i> .
ΠΠ	Α.Γ. Πάλλη και Μ. Ποτλή, <i>Σύνταγμα τῶν Θεῶν καὶ Ἱερῶν Κανόνων</i> , τόμοι 6, Ἀθήναι 1852/9.
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i> .
REG	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i> .
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i> .
RQ	<i>Römische Quartalschrift</i> .
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i> .
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
Socr.	<i>Socrates, Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, PG LXVII.
Soz.	<i>Sozomenus, Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, PG LXVII.
TS	<i>La Terra Santa</i> .
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> .

BIBLICAL BOOKS

OT	<i>Old Testament:</i>	Gen.-Genesis	<i>Apocrypha:</i>
		Ex. - Exodus	Macc.- Maccabees
		Ps. - Psalms	
NT	<i>New Testament:</i>	Mt. - Matthew	Act.- Acts of the Apostles
		Mk. - Mark	Cor. - Corinthians
		Lk. - Luke	Gal. - Galatians
		Jn. - John	Rom. - Romans
			Revl. - Revelation

PREFACE

The purpose of this Thesis was to study the life of the Church in the Palestine of the Byzantine Period on the basis of the epigraphical material, mainly in the form of Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in the region.

For a long time I have been greatly attracted by the richness and interest contained in the numerous Greek inscriptions of the period from the IVth to the VIIth century A.D. Since 1973, when I registered as a Research Student at the Hebrew University, I have been involved in the tracing, copying and studying of every available inscription. As the work progressed, I was obliged to limit the work to those inscriptions which referred to sacred names, Saints, martyrs and Church officials. I have tried to substantiate my findings with the theological and historical references of that period.

In concluding the study, I am aware of its limitations due in large measure to the fact that new material from current excavations is continually being brought to light. After three years of hard but very satisfying work, I wish to extend my thanks to those who have encouraged and helped me throughout this research, and in particular I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Professor D. Flusser, but especially to Professor A. Negev who has guided me since the first year of my studies at Hebrew University.

My sincere thanks are also due to the Senate of the Hebrew University for giving me a scholarship; to the Department of Antiquities for granting me access to the Library and its Files, and to all those who have been helpful in so many ways.

It would be an omission if I did not express my gratitude to the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity for including this book among its publications.

Y.E.M.

INTRODUCTION

The Holy Land of the Byzantine period¹ is part of a region which has been thoroughly studied, yet it remains a fertile ground for further research.

The numerous Greek inscriptions of this period continue to come to light everyday giving new material for a more accurate study of the origin, history and evolution of the Christian Church in this country.

These inscriptions record the sacred names, names of venerated champions of the Christian faith; of civil, military, clerical and monastic figures and officials; of artisans and individuals from every walk of life, all of which offer data whence different historical, cultural and social conclusions may be drawn. The inscriptions also record much about the use of the Greek language at that period, but most of these aspects go beyond the scope of this study.

The subject of this work has been limited to those inscriptions which include sacred names, names of champions of the Christian Church, titles and terms referring to clerical and monastic orders, offices and ranks, with the objective of studying the origin and development of the Church in this country, clarifying the more obscure findings from the theological, historical and literary sources available.

The sources used in this work are: a) Greek Inscriptions, b) Literary Documents.

A. The Greek Inscriptions

The published inscriptions are available in different periodicals and books; the unpublished inscriptions in the Department of Antiquities' Files and in private epigraphical collections. I have referred to almost all the extant inscriptions which include the above mentioned names, titles and terms.

All the inscriptions, with very few exceptions, are in Greek, executed in mosaics or cut in marble, local stone or wood, or in graffiti and wall paintings. Only that part of the inscription has been given which includes the names or terms relevant to the

1. Geographically speaking this refers to the boundaries of Palestine of the late Roman and Byzantine period, or more specifically, the lands under the sphere of influence of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem from its early days down to the Arab occupation of the country in the VIIIth century A.D.

subject of this work. They are presented in their original form in capital letters without any corrections, and below is given the same word or phrase in small letters. In some cases I have made a personal comment or interpretation.

Some of the inscriptions have guide lines, border decoration as well as various symbols such as crosses of different types, palm branches, ivy leaves, running spirals, the cross and rho 'P', chi-rho 'X', the letters alpha and omega, anchors, etc.

Many of the words are abbreviated in the following manner:

i – by using the first and last letters; the first two letters or the first two and last letters and in each case either with or without a horizontal line over them.

ii – by omitting one or more letters without any sign, by superscription of the final letter or suspension of the letters followed by a sign in the form of the roman 'S' varying in size and cut, above or below the letters or in a separate space.

iii – by using other abbreviated signs such as a diagonal stroke slanting to the left across the lower part of certain consonants as for example, K P. In many cases the sign 'S' represents καί = and. In addition to the abbreviations and in order to save space, ligatures were used to join two or more letters to each other, e.g., 'Ö' or letters were written one above the other or one within the other, Π̄, K̄. The abbreviation is indicated by parentheses (), corrections by square brackets [], and the end of a line by a diagonal stroke '/'.

The date is given when this is known directly from the inscription or the published report, but in cases of doubt through lack of sufficient evidence, then the date is referred to under the general term 'Byzantine period'. The published inscriptions are followed by the bibliographical reference, while the source and catalogue number is given for those as yet unpublished. A number of inscriptions lacking precise confirmation of date and origin has been omitted.

In this study, the reference material and data used have been kept within the administrative, geographical boundaries and jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. In some cases where clarification was needed, I referred to inscriptions of a later period or to those on movable objects or papyri located on sites outside the boundaries of the Palestinian Church of the Byzantine period. The names of these sites have been given in the most accepted form regardless of language variations and political divisions.

B. *Literary Documents*

The sources used are:

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Orientalis, the *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum*, the Codexes of Justinian, *Corpus Juris Civilis* and *Codex Theodosianus*. The *Patrologiae Graeca, Latina, Orientalis*. The *Church Histories* of Eusebius, Sozomenus and Socrates. Πάλλη Α. Γ. – Ποτλή Μ., *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Ἱερῶν κανόνων*, τόμοι 6, Ἀθήναι 1852-1959 and the Biblical Books of the *Old Testament, Apocrypha* and *New Testament*.

Plan

The study is presented in four parts:

Part I gives an outline history of the Palestinian Church during the Byzantine period, and Part II, the origin, use and application of the sacred word "Αγιος in the Greek inscriptions. Part III follows with an introductory history of Church administration with the origins and functions of clerical and monastic orders and offices, and this is supported in Part IV by epigraphical evidence.

PART I

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE EARLY CHURCH IN PALESTINE, ITS STRUGGLES FOR INDEPENDENCE AND ITS ADMINISTRATIVE AND GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES AFTER A.D. 451

Geographically, our subject is limited to the Province of Palestine during the late Roman and Byzantine period. Since the civil and ecclesiastical boundaries did not always coincide, in the history of the Palestinian Church, its ecclesiastical rather than civil boundaries will be followed, from the days of its creation down to the occupation of the country by the Arabs, emphasizing its struggles for independence. Likewise the efforts of the See of Jerusalem to regain its lost primacy over Palestine will be equally emphasized.

During the first century A.D., Jerusalem, whence Christianity had its genesis, was the religious and administrative centre of the Church, as it was for Judaism. Jerusalem was regarded not only as the mother of the Palestinian Christian communities but also as the mother Church of all the Churches of the Roman Empire. It was in Jerusalem that the Apostles reassembled after their missionary journeys to Samaria, to the Jewish communities of the diaspora, and to the pagan world in order to discuss their problems and difficulties, and to draw up a common line of action. For relations between Christians of pagan and Jewish background, see *Acts 15, Gal. 2*.

This traditional religious leadership of Jerusalem was lost after the destruction of the city by the Romans in A.D. 70 because of the imposed exile on all its population, including the Christians who found a refuge in the city of Pella in Transjordan. Although the Christian Church returned to Jerusalem from its exile in A.D. 134, it returned to a city called 'Aelia Capitolina' and as the Church of the Gentiles, since the Jews were not allowed to re-enter the city.

The leadership of the Church of Palestine had already been transferred to the bishopric of the provincial metropolis of Caesarea. The bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) was subordinate to the bishop of Caesarea who in turn, was subordinate to the Church of Antioch, according to the civil division of the province. Thus, in Palestine the Church lost its independence and its traditional leadership. The bishopric of Jerusalem began a continuous struggle to regain its lost rights. It never ceased claim-

ing to be the mother Church and the representative of the Church of Palestine according to the apostolic canons.

While considering the history of the Church of Palestine, the most important acts between the bishopric of Jerusalem and the metropolis of Caesarea will be mentioned.

Their struggle which lasted three and a half centuries, ended with victory for the bishopric of Jerusalem, a victory recognized by both state and ecclesiastical authorities at the Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451. According to this Council, Jerusalem was recognized as an independent, patriarchal See, having authority over the three Palestines, namely Palaestina Prima, Secunda, Tertia.

The ecclesiastical leaders of Aelia (Jerusalem) and Caesarea tried to interfere with each other's affairs during this long period of dispute. They often invoked secular authority in order to have their claims confirmed by imperial constitutional sanctions. They always tried to establish their own authority in the marginal communities of the other bishoprics by installing one of their own adherents as bishop. It was only in a few cases that they concluded a temporary treaty when faced by a common danger. These events and the influence they had upon the neighbouring bishoprics will be emphasized in order to show how difficult it was to draw up ecclesiastical, territorial boundaries during the Byzantine period.

The leadership of the Churches of Antioch over that of Palestine and Caesarea over Jerusalem was noted in the following two synods:

- a) The Synod of the Bishops of Palestine and Phoenicia which took place in Caesarea in A.D. 196 in order to discuss the problem of the feast of Easter¹, and
- b) the Synod of Antioch, A.D. 252², which dealt with the problem of temporary apostatization caused by fear of persecution. In these two synods, the bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) signed as a common local bishop.

The leadership of Jerusalem over Caesarea was noted in the two synods which took place in Antioch in A.D. 264 and 268, which were called to discuss the heresy of the Archbishop of Antioch, Paul the Samosatean. In these two synods, the bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem), signed before the Metropolitan bishop of Caesarea³.

The bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) ignored both the Metropolitan bishop of Caesarea and the Archbishop of Antioch in the argument between Rufinus and Jerome concerning the prudentialities of Origen. When they addressed the matter to Ioannes, Bishop of Jerusalem, he forwarded the affair to Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, instead of to the Archbishop of Antioch. Jerome complained that this was not canonical. He pointed out that the right and orthodox way was to address

1. Eusebius, *Church History* 5. 25 or 4. 24, 25.

2. Eusebius, *Church History* 4. 46, 7. 25, 45.

3. Eusebius, *Church History* 7. 28-30.

the matter first to the Metropolitan bishop of Caesarea and then, if there was doubt about his impartialities, to address the matter to the Archbishop of Antioch as the higher authority, but not to the Archbishop of Alexandria.

THE RECOGNITION OF CHRISTIANITY AS THE
OFFICIAL RELIGION OF THE EMPIRE AND THE
CONSEQUENT IMPERIAL INTEREST FOCUSED ON
JERUSALEM, FAVOURING THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF
THE BISHOPRIC OF AELIA (JERUSALEM) OVER THAT
OF CAESAREA.

MACARIUS, BISHOP OF AELIA (JERUSALEM) AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

Macarius, present at the First Oecumenical Council which took place in Nicaea in A.D. 325, attracted the admiration and gratitude of the Council for his vigorous struggle against Arianism. He was officially thanked by the Council and honoured by a synodical canon (canon no. 7) which stated that he and the future bishops of Aelia (Jerusalem) would have first rank among all the Palestinian bishops, although the bishop of Caesarea would continue to keep his Metropolitan office, “Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος”.

On his return to Jerusalem he showed great independence from the Metropolitan of Caesarea by calling together a synod, and by ordaining many bishops, a right which he did not possess. During his days Aelia was renamed Jerusalem, and the Emperor Constantine in a letter to Macarius, called him Bishop of Jerusalem and of Palestine¹. The example of Macarius was followed by the Bishop of Jerusalem, Maximus, who also ignored Acacius, the Metropolitan of Caesarea, by calling together a synod in A.D. 346.

ACACIUS, THE METROPOLITAN OF CAESAREA, BANISHED THE BISHOP
OF JERUSALEM, CYRILLUS

In A.D. 357, the Arian Metropolitan of Caesarea applied his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Jerusalem by banishing Cyrillus, the Bishop of Jerusalem, from his Episcopal See on the ground that he was opposed to Arianism.

CYRILLUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS OVER
CAESAREA

In the Second Oecumenical Council, Cyrillus, Bishop of Jerusalem, signed first even before the Metropolitan of Caesarea, and later succeeded in placing Gelasius, his nephew, upon the metropolitan throne of Caesarea.

1. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* III 30-2 and 52f.

IOANNES AND EULOGIUS, METROPOLITANS OF CAESAREA, APPLIED THEIR ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION OVER THE BISHOPRIC OF JERUSALEM

In A.D. 395, Ioannes, Metropolitan of Caesarea, ordained Porphyrius, the staurophylax – guardian of the Cross – of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to be bishop of Gaza without consulting the Bishop of Jerusalem. In A.D. 415, Eulogius, the Metropolitan of Caesarea, presided over the synod of Diospolis, although the Bishop of Jerusalem was present. In acting this way, Ioannes and Eulogius ignored canon 7 of the First Oecumenical Council that had honoured the Bishop of Jerusalem, giving him the right to be the first among the bishops of Palestine.

THE WEAKENING OF CAESAREA, THE CREATION OF TWO MORE METROPOLES AND THE STRENGTHENING OF JERUSALEM

Caesarea became progressively weaker in civil and in ecclesiastical administration from the time the Province of Palestine was split into two districts in A.D. 358, and into three districts at about A.D. 400.

In A.D. 358, Palestine was split into northern and southern districts. The northern district retained the name of Palaestina, having Caesarea as its capital, and the southern took the name of Palaestina Salutaris, having Petra as its capital.

In A.D. 400, the northern part was divided into two provinces:

a) The Palaestina Prima, which retained Judaea, Idumaea, Samaria and Peraea with its capital at Caesarea, which was formerly that of the united province, and

b) The Palaestina Secunda, to which were assigned Galilee, those cities of Decapolis which had remained in Palaestina, and Gaulan, its capital being set up at Scythopolis (Beth Shean). In consequence of these changes, the province of Palaestina Salutaris was now called Palaestina Tertia.¹ These divisions resulted in the creation of two additional Metropolitan Sees, namely Petra and Scythopolis. To the bishop of Jerusalem, this seemed to be the right time to try to obtain from the state and the ecclesiastical authorities, the recognition of Jerusalem as the leading centre of an independent Church in Palestine.

JUVENALIUS, BISHOP AND FIRST PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM A.D. 422-458

Juvenalius, Bishop of Jerusalem, proved to be the most qualified man in this historical period of the Palestinian Church. It was he who achieved the three and a

1. See Hierocles: *Synecdemus*, ed. Burckhardt (Teubner) 1893, 717, 8, 9, 12, 721. Georgius Cyprius: *Descriptio orbis romani*, ed. Gelzer (Teubner) 1890 and *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum*, ed. E. Schwartz, in particular the conciliar list of Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451) and the two provincial synods of Jerusalem held in A.D. 518 and 536.

half centuries old dream of the Church of Jerusalem to become independent of the Church of Antioch, and to regain the leadership over Caesarea and Palestine in general.

JUVENALIUS AND THE THIRD OECUMENICAL COUNCIL

In the Third Oecumenical Council assembled by the Emperor Theodosius II at Ephesus in A.D. 431, the Metropolitan of Caesarea was absent and Juvenalius, Bishop of Jerusalem, appeared as the representative of the three Palestines, accompanied by the bishops¹ Romanus of Raphia, Paulinus of Maiouma, Paulus of Anthedon, Pheidus of Joppe, Ioannes of Sykamazon, Theodorus of Gadara, Theodorus of Helusa, Petrus of Parembolon, Saïda of Phaenus and Eunapius of Maximianoupolis.

From two letters, one from Pope Leo the Great, A.D. 440-461, to Maximus, the Patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 449-452,² and the second from Cyrillus, the Patriarch of Alexandria³ to a certain archimandrite, Gennadius, one notes that Cyrillus, the Patriarch of Alexandria speaks of Juvenalius, Bishop of Jerusalem, as being an ambitious man: "Ὁν (Ἰουβενάλιον) οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμοὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἡγούμενον οὐκ ἴσασι, ἐγείρει δὲ πρὸς ἀχάλινον τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμίαν φιλοδοξία διάκενος πικρὸν ἔχουσα τό τέλος." Further, from what Juvenalius had been doing since his return to Jerusalem, where he had ruled and ordained bishops in the three Palestines, plus Arabia and Phoenicia, it can be assumed that he requested the Third Oecumenical Council to give him the right to rule over all three Palestines. Evidently he got the impression that in a certain way the Council had approved his demands⁴, though in the minutes of the Council, nothing had been mentioned about such an approval.

During the Council, Cyrillus, Archbishop of Alexandria and president of the Council, was ordered to stay in Ephesus together with Nestorius and Ioannes of Ephesus⁵ by the Emperor's representative to the Council. Nestorius, Archbishop of Constantinople, was up for trial and Ioannes, Archbishop of Antioch, disagreed with the Council.

THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS II, A.D. 449

The only one who stood by the Emperor's representative was Juvenalius, Bishop of Jerusalem, who as a reward for his support of Dioscorus, the president of the Council,⁶ received from the Emperor Theodosius II, the ecclesiastical leadership over the three Palestines, Arabia and Phoenicia, thus achieving his goal.

1 Socr. *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, XXXIV; Fliche Martin, III, p. 178.

2. *PL Migne*, Vol. 54, 1044.

3. *PG Migne*, Vol. 77, 320.

4. Hefele, *Hist. des Conc.*, Vol. 11, part 2, p. 739.

5. Fliche Martin III, p. 189.

6. Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria in A.D. 449 presided over the Latrocinium in Ephesus. After the death of Emperor Theodosius II in A.D. 450, his theological policy was reversed, and during the third ses-

In this Council, Juvenalius asked Archbishop Ioannes of Antioch to apologize to him, for in doing so he would honour the bishops of Rome and Jerusalem, since according to the Apostolic precedents and tradition, it was the custom that the Bishop of Antioch himself should be guided by the Apostolic throne of Jerusalem: "Ὅπως ὁ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων θρόνος ἰθύνεται καὶ δικάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων."¹

After the Council, Maximus, Patriarch of Antioch, protested against this act of the Emperor Theodosius who granted Juvenalius such great jurisdiction, and the whole matter was thus forwarded to the Fourth Oecumenical Council A.D. 451, as a dispute between the two bishops rather than as a demand of the Bishop of Jerusalem only.

JUVENALIUS IN THE FOURTH OECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON IN A.D. 451²

The best move of Juvenalius in this Council was the renouncing of Dioscorus and the monophysites, and his re-establishment of ties with the Orthodox bishops. This movement enabled him not only to avoid the accusation of being a monophysite, but to ask for the ecclesiastical confirmation of whatever the Emperor had granted him previously.

The whole matter which had appeared as a dispute between Maximus, Patriarch of Antioch and Juvenalius, Bishop of Jerusalem, was settled by a compromise between them. Thus, in the Fourth Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, Juvenalius received by Church confirmation, the three Palestines and a complete independent Palestinian Church under the leadership of Jerusalem. To the Bishop of Jerusalem was given the title of 'Patriarch', the fourth in line, equal to the other three Patriarchs of the East, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch³. The Act of the Fourth Oecumenical Council referring to this matter has as follows: Act 7, "Ἔργον καὶ τοῦτο γεγένηται τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος καὶ τῆς τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν Βασιλέως προθέσεως, ὥστε τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν φιλονεικεῖν δοκούντων ὁμογνώμονι τέμνεσθαι προθέσει. Ἡ κατὰ σύμβασιν τοίνυν Μαξίμου τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείων καὶ Ἰουβενάλιου τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενομένη συναίνεσις, ἣν ἡ ἐκατέρου κατάθεσις ἐδήλωσε, βεβαία καὶ ἐξ ἡμετέρας ἀποφάσεως ἀπὸ τῆς ψήφου τῆς ἁγίας Συνόδου, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμένει, τοῦτέστιν, ὥστε Μάξιμόν τε τὸν ὀσιώτατον Ἐπίσκοπον, ἦτουν τὴν ἁγιωτάτην Ἀντιοχείων Ἐκκλησίαν, τὰς δύο Φοινίκας καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἔχειν ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν, Ἰουβενάλιον δὲ τὸν ὀσιώτατον Ἐπίσκοπον τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ἦτουν τὴν

sion of the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, he was deposed, excommunicated and banished to Gangra in Paphlagonia by the civil authorities.

1. Mansi IV 1312, Labbe et Gossart III 641.

2. See W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972, p. 149.

3. E. Schwartz, *ACO II*, I, pp. 362-366 and Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conc.*, Vol. II, part II, p. 766; see also S. Vaihle, *L'erection du Patriarcat de Jérusalem*, p. 56f; Labbe et Gossart, *Concilia IV*, p. 28; Hefele-Leclercq II, pp. 477-502; T. Θέμελη, *ΝΣ* 1937, p. 989.

ὕπ' αὐτόν ἀγιωτάτην Ἐκκλησίαν, τὰς τρεῖς Παλαιστίνας ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἀργούντων κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν Δεσπότης πάντων τῶν πραγματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλως πορισθέντων τοῖς μέρεσι θείων γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν περιεχομένων αὐτοῖς προστίμων ταύτης ἕνεκεν τῆς ὑποθέσεως.' The Patriarch of Jerusalem had the right to call together local Councils and preside over them.

According to G. Parthey, *Hierocles Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatum accendunt Nili Doxapatrii Notitia Patriarchatum*, Berolini 1866, pp. 43-45, Palaestina Prima had 21 bishoprics, Palaestina Secunda 11, and Palaestina Tertia 11. While according to H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümer Verzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche*,¹ the number of bishoprics was greater.

Although the decision of A.D. 451, had been received by both the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, the events that followed indicated dissatisfaction and misinterpretation by both sides. On the part of the Church of Antioch, that she had given up too much, and on the part of Jerusalem that her demands were not fully satisfied. Thus the first tried to regain part of what she had agreed to give, and the second to include within her boundaries, parts of Arabia and Phoenicia given to her by Theodosius II, but never confirmed by the Church. Thus the ecclesiastical boundaries of the two Patriarchates were not firmly fixed, since many bishoprics were transferred from their original ecclesiastical districts according to the sympathies and antipathies of their bishops towards old and new patriarchal thrones².

To Palaestina Tertia belonged also the bishoprics of Pharan³, the greatest among the Sees of the Sinai Peninsula, and the bishopric of Aila. Under these two bishoprics were all the monasteries of Sinai including the monastery known today as St. Catherine's⁴ and the Holy Mountain⁵. During Justinian's reign, St. Catherine's

1. *BZ* I (1892), p. 251f.

2. See Asseman, *Bibliotheca Orient.*, tom. III, part II, 595.

3. Tillemont, *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire eccles.*, Vol. X, pp. 448, 453-4, and Philip Labb. et Gabr. Gosart, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, Vol. IV, pp. 877-881. A.S. Atiya, *The Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai*, Cairo 1950, p. 18.

4. H.B. Dewing and G. Downey, *Procopius VII, Buildings*, pp. 355, 357 (Loeb Classical Library 1954); see also M.L. Quien, p. 752, who concludes from the letter of the Emperor Marcianus A.D. 454 against the monk Theodosius, that Sinai belonged to the bishopric of Pharan, whose bishop was Macarius: 'Palam est Macario huic Coenobium Montis Sinai ut suo episcopo subjacuisse, qui subinde fuerit episcopus Pharan, vel ejusdem Montis' (Theodosius was a monk installed as a bishop in Jerusalem by the monks who rebelled against Juvenalis in A.D. 452. Juvenalis was restored to his throne in 453). In the Acts of the First Oecumenical Council, A.D. 325, Petrus, bishop of Aila, signs also as Bishop of Sinai.

5. Casper J. Kraemer Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958. Papyrus No. 72, 7-8 March 684(?) and Papyrus No. 89.23-25.

...θέλησον παρασχεῖν / αἰὶτῷ ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ Νεσάνων ἀφελόντα / ὀδιγίσαι αὐτόν τὴν στρατὸν τοῦ ἁγίου / ὁρους.....

...ἐμᾶς ἐς τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος...ἀνέλθαμεν ἐς εὐχὴν ἐς τὸ / ἅγιον ὄρος...

Monastery gained a special status among all monasteries. In the Council of A.D. 536, which took place at Constantinople, St. Catherine's Monastery was represented by its own delegate, the presbyter Theonas¹. The bishopric of Pharan disappeared during the middle of the seventh century A.D. as the result of a religious controversy. From that time on, the superior of St. Catherine's Monastery became the leader of the monastic institutions in the whole of the Peninsula, and in A.D. 869-870, in the Council of Constantinople, Constantinus, the superior of the monastery signed as the Bishop of Sinai². Thus the superior of St. Catherine's Monastery became also the Bishop of the Sinai Peninsula. Since Palaestina Tertia was officially given to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in A.D. 451, and Sinai belonged to Palaestina Tertia, the inscriptions found in Sinai will be included in this work.

Summary

THE CHURCH OF PALESTINE

a) *From the First to the beginning of the Second Century A.D.*

An autonomous Church existed with a limited number of Christian communities throughout the province. In every Christian community, regardless of the number of Christians, a bishop presided.

b) *From the Second to the first half of the Fifth Century A.D.*

It became a Church subordinate to the Church of Antioch, its centre being in the provincial metropolis of Caesarea.

This period is characterized by continuous disputes between the Bishops of Jerusalem and the Metropolitans of Caesarea.

c) *From the second half of the Fifth Century down to early Seventh Century A.D.*

It became an autonomous Patriarchal Church, with its ecclesiastical centre in Jerusalem, and a wide jurisdiction over the three Palestines. Its ecclesiastical boundaries and spiritual influence extended to the marginal bishoprics of Phoenicia and Arabia³.

1. Mansi, vol. VIII, pp. 884, 889.

2. Mansi, vol. XVI, p. 194.

3. See *Tactikon* (MS. 326 Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem, ed. in Greek by Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς, 'Ιεροσολυμάς 1862 and translated in English by Palmer in his book *'The Desert of the Exodus'* 1871. II, pp. 550-554).

This period was characterized by many dogmatic disputes in which the Palestinian monasticism played a very important role. During this period, Church hymnography, hagiography and ritual were flourishing in the monastic centres of Judaea and Sinai.

To the readers of this work, I would like to underline the following:

- i) That in every ecclesiastical dispute, the customs of the ancient Church and councilar canons were the important, determining factors.
- ii) That the boundaries of a city and a bishopric did not necessarily coincide.
- iii) That the bishoprics were not confined only to cities, in the legal sense of the word, but were also found attached to villages, κῶμαι, mostly in the province of Arabia, where the village was the normal unit of government¹, to Saltus, Regiones, Castra and military stations which, although technically they might lie within the boundary of a city, were administered separately having rights of their own; finally to monasteries², centres of population within the territory of a city e.g., the village of Bagatha which, although in the territory of Philadelphia in Arabia, belonged to Palaestina Prima.

1. Soz. VII. 19, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ἔθνεσιν ἔστιν ὅπου καὶ ἐν Κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἱεροῦνται ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίους καὶ Κυπρίους ἔγνω.

2. See footnote No. 3, p. 12.

PART II

ORIGIN OF THE SACRED WORD HOLY, ΑΓΙΟΣ, AND ITS USE IN THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD EXTANT IN PALESTINE

The word 'Holy' 'Saint', *ἅγιος*, -a, in the singular and plural, has come to mean in present day Christianity, in the singular, a specific champion of the Christian faith, and in the plural, a specific group of such champions. On account of their holy virtue, Christians, people and clergy, place them close to God and by praying to them, use them as mediators between themselves and God. An additional group of holy champions of the Christian faith under the name of Saints, *ἅγιοι*, has actually been created in addition to the many other groups of selected and righteous people who are respected, venerated and used as mediators in their prayers. Such are the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Fathers of the Desert and other holy and righteous forefathers of their faith. In fact such a separate group under the name of Saints, *ἅγιοι*, never existed, as will be seen in the progress of this work. The word Saint, *ἅγιος*, used as a name or as an epithet was never limited to a specific group of holy people but was given:

- i) to God the Father, Christ the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the Virgin Mary,
- ii) to some people of the *Old* and *New Testament* such as, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, the Righteous, Confessors, Fathers of the Desert, distinguished Bishops and State Officials who helped Christianity during their lives, and
- iii) to everything related to the worship of God and to the Christian faith in general, such as to objects, places, time, relics, etc., with a difference only in degree of veneration attributed to them according to the above order.

In this work, after a careful examination of the meaning and usage of the word Holy, *ἅγιος*, in the pre-Christian and Christian literary sources, reference will be made to the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period found till now in Palestine or more specifically, inside the ecclesiastical boundaries of the Church of Palestine, in which the word appears.

The procedure will be as follows: first reference will be made to the inscriptions

where the word Holy, ἅγιος, appears in the plural, and then to those in which the word appears in the singular, for example, where the word is attributed to all holy persons in general, and then to those in which the word is attributed to God the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and the Patriarchs, Judges, Apostles, Martyrs, Righteous people, Fathers of the Desert, Church and State Officials, as well as to Angels. At the end of the work, a list will be given of the most venerated persons to whom the word Holy, ἅγιος, was attributed in Palestine.

To the readers of this work, I wish to make it clear that I examined everything connected with this subject mainly from a historical, archaeological and literary point of view, and that I tried to avoid entering into any deep involvement in dogmatic matters.

ΑΓΙΟΣ, -Α, -ΟΝ

The word Holy, ἅγιος, appears in the Greek language in the fifth century B.C. as an epithet in the worship vocabulary of the Ionic and Attic dialects. It was used instead of the epithet ἁγνός, meaning pure, full of religious awe, which was in common use. In this early period, the word Holy, ἅγιος, referred to things connected with the worship of divinities¹ but never to the divinities or persons related to them. During the Hellenistic period this word was used by the Egyptians and Syrians in reference to the divinities, and as a result of contact of the Greek language and civilization with the Near Eastern languages and religious vocabulary, the word was also used as an epithet for the Greek divinities, and mostly those related to the mysteries². In the Greek translation of the *Old Testament* (known as the *Septuagint* version) the word Holy, ἅγιος, was used to translate the Hebrew word *Kadosh* which referred to God³ and human beings⁴, and everything related to worship: objects⁵, places, and time⁶, which was considered holy and separated from common use.

Because of this steady use of the word Holy, ἅγιος, and the adoption by Christianity of the *Old Testament*, this word in Christianity acquired the same meaning as the Hebrew word '*Kadosh*'. During the first century A.D. its usage in the *New Testament* was entirely based on the meaning it had had in the *Old Testament*. During the first century A.D., in addition to this meaning, the word Holy, ἅγιος, was given even

1. Herodotus 2. 41,44, ἅγιον ἱερόν, 5.119 ἅγιον ἄλσος, Plato *Crito* 116c, ἅγιος τόπος, Demosthenes 25. 11 25.35, ἀγιώταται τελεταί, ἀγιώτατοι βωμοί.

2. Julianus 378c τόν Θεόν τόν μέγαν τόν ἀγιώτατον Σάραπιν, 389a τῆς ἀγιωτάτης Θεᾶς Δήμητρος, 407a Ἑρμῇ ἅγιε.

3. *Psalms* 32: 21, 102: 1; 1 *Chronicles* 16, 10, 35.

4. *Leviticus* 11: 43-44, *Deutoronomy* 10: 6, 26: 19, *Macc. II*, 14: 36.

5. 1 *Kings* 6: 26, *Macc. II*, 15: 16.

6. *Job* 13: 9, *Macc.* 12: 7. *Macc.* 11, 1: 12, *Ezra A* α 53.

to the members of the Christian communities, living¹ or dead², until the word 'Christian',³ *Χριστιανός*, entered into the Christian vocabulary and replaced the word Holy, *ἅγιος*. From now on, the use of the word Holy, Saint, *ἅγιος*, was limited to Martyrs, Confessors and other persons of outstanding virtue of the Christian faith.

Schematically the word Holy, *ἅγιος*, from its appearance in the Greek language down to the Byzantine period was used as follows:

In the Greek Classical period, as an epithet which replaced the word 'pure', *ἀγνός*, referring to things connected with the worship of divinities.

In the Hellenistic period, as an epithet attributed to holy places, religious ceremonies and objects, and also to Egyptian, Syrian and Greek divinities. In the *Septuagint* version of the *Old Testament*, the word Holy, *ἅγιος*, translates the word *Kadosh*, and refers to God and everything related to the worship of God.

In the Early Christian period, the word Holy, *ἅγιος*, brought into Christianity its *Old Testament* usage and in addition was attributed to Christ, the members of Christian communities and holy places of the *New Testament*.

In the Byzantine period, the word Holy, *ἅγιος*, was invariably attributed to everything that related to the Christian faith, even to distinguished officials of the Church and the State.

The word ἅγιος, in the plural

The word *ἅγιος* as a noun in the plural, refers to all the champions of the *Old* and *New Testament* venerated by the Christians. It appears in the following inscriptions in the genitive and dative cases:

Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscriptions, VIth Century A.D.

1 No. I ...ΕΥ [ΧΑΙC ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ]ΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ +

...Εὐ[χαῖς τῶν ἁγίων]ων ἀμήν +

2 No. II ...ΕΥΧΕC ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ + ΑΜΗΝ

...εὐχές τῶν ἁγίων + ἀμήν

3 No. III...ΕΥΧΑΙC ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΜΙΝ

...Εὐχαῖς πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἀμίν

Bibl. G. M. Fitzgerald, *Beth Shean*, Vol. IV, pp. 13, 14, inser. Nos. I, II, III.

4 *Gaza*, house of Abdallah es Serraj, marble slab from Ashkelon, Byzantine period

+ Η ΤΟΥ ΧΥ Κ ΤΩΝ / ΑΓΙΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΗ ΑΝΑ/CTΑCΙΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ / ...

+ 'Η τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ(αί) τῶν / ἁγίων δούλη 'Ανα/στασία 'Ιωάννου / ...

Bibl. C. Clermont – Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 413.

1. *Rom.* 1, 7, 12, 13, 15, 25, 26, *Cor.* 15, 34, 16, 1, 15, *Cor.* 11, 1, *Rom.* 15, 25, 26.

2. *Math.* 27, 52, *Revel.* 5, 8.

3. *Acts* 11, 26.

- 5 *Gaza*, house of Jiries Naamat, marble slab, A.D. 541
 + ΕΝΘΑΔΕ / ΚΙΤΕ Ο ΤΟΥ / ΧΥ ΔΟΥ / ΛΟΣ Κ / ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ / ΑΒΡΑΑΜΙ / ΟC...
 + Ἐνθάδε / κίτε ὁ τοῦ / Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦ/λος κ(αί) / ἐν ἀγίοις / Ἀβραάμ/ος...
 Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. VI, p. 408.
- 6 *Kh. Juhzum* or *Kh. Johdum*, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΑΝ[Α]/ΠΑΥCΟΝ ΤΟΝ Δ[ΟΥΛΟΝ] / CΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΟΥ[ΛΟΝ] / ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩ[Ν].
 ...ἀν[ά]/παυσον τόν δ[ούλον] / σου Θεόδου[λον] / μετά τῶν ἀγίω[ν]
 Bibl. V. Corbo, *Gli Scavi di Kh. Siyar el-Ghanam*, pp. 156-159.
- 7 *Khirbet es-Samrah*, Eastern shore of Lake Tiberias, Byzantine church, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 .../ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΠΙCΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΑC ἸCΟΔΟΥC/...
 .../καί ἐν πίcτι τόν ἀγίων τάc ἰσόδους/...
 Dept. of Antiq. files, No. 168.
- 8 *Oboda*, St. Theodorus Church, marble inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ / ΑΓΙΩΝ CΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ
 ...μετά τῶν / ἀγίων σου ἀμήν
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev, Jerusalem 1981*, pp. 31-32 inscr. No. 18.
- 9 *Rihab*, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ... + ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΤΗΓ ΑΓC ΜΑΡΙΑC ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝ/ΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΕΛΕΗ-
 CΟΝ...
 ... + Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός) τῆ(ς) ἀγ(ίας) Μαρίας καί πάν/των τῶν ἀγίων ἐλέησον...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 86-87.
- 10 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistry, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ ΕΝ ΧΡΙCΤΩ / Ο ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙC ΑΝΑΠΑΥΟΜΕ/ΝΟC Ο
 ΤΡΙCΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC/...
 + Κατετέθη ἐν Χριcτῷ / ὁ ἐν ἀγίοιc ἀναπαυόμε/νοc ὁ τριcμακάριοc/...
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev, Jerusalem 1981*, pp. 56-57, inscr. No. 60.
- 11 *Umm el-Jimal*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + / ΧΕ ΕΥΧΗC ΑΓΝ ΦΛΞΝ ΗΜΑC
 + / Χ(ριcτ)έ εὐχῆc ἀγ(ίω)ν φ(ύ)λ(α)ξ(ο)ν ἡμᾶc
 Bibl. *AAES* II, A, 3, 170; *AAES* III, A, 3, 143-148; M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 59.

The word ἅγιος in the singular

The word Holy, ἅγιος, attributed to God the Father, as the Essence and source

of holiness, and the Son, as the second person of the Holy Trinity, does not appear in the Greek inscriptions found in Palestine. Instead, other sacred names appear to designate the Divinity in its many forms. For 'God' appear the names, Θεός, Εἷς Θεός, Κύριος, ὁ ὢν, Πατήρ, Ὑψιστος, Παντοκράτωρ, and for Jesus the names: Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Κύριος, Υἱός, Σωτήρ, Δεσπότης, Παμβασιλεύς, Ἐμμανουήλ, Θεός, Ἀμνός τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The sacred words appear a few times in complete form, but otherwise in an abbreviated form. The practice of abbreviating the sacred names was taken from the *Old Testament*, where the scribes had the habit of not writing out the sacred names in full in the Hebrew original. The same practice was transferred into the Greek language when it was used for Christian writings.

Sacred words designating the Divinity in its many forms

Sacred names attributed to God the Father, the first Person of the Holy Trinity.

a) God, Θεός, the word was found expressed in complete or abbreviated form in almost all the cases of the singular. When abbreviated, it was expressed by the first and last letters of the nominative, genitive and dative cases with or without a horizontal line over it.

The sacred word God, Θεός, was found in the following inscriptions:

- 12 *Ain-Douq* (now in Jerusalem, Museum of the Ecole Biblique), mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΣ / ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΑ / ...ΘΩ ΕΑΥΤΗΝ / ΑΝΑΘΕΙCΑ ΕΚΙ/Μ-
ΗΘΗ...
Ἐνθάδε κῖτ(αι) / Ἀνατολία / ... Θ(ε)ῶ ἑαυτήν / ἀναθεῖσα ἐκ/μήθη...
Ecole Biblique Museum
- 13 *Amman*, now in Jerusalem, marble inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΘΕΛΗΜΑΤΙ ΘΥ ΒΟΥΛΗCΙ ΤΟΥ ἩΤΤΟΝC / ΠΡΕCΒC ΤΟΥ ΑΓC...
+ Θελήματι Θε(ε)ῶ, βουλήC(ε)ι τοῦ Ἡττον(ος) / πρεCβ(υτέρου) τοῦ ἀγ(ίου)...
Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* N.S. 5 (1908), p. 568; B. Bagatti, *LA* 23 (1973), pp. 261-283, Dept. of Antiq., inscription No. S. 913.
- 14 *Arraba*, Upper Galilee, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥ +/ +ΝΑΜΙ ΧΥ ΒΟ/ +ΗΘΙΑ.....
+ Θεοῦ δυ +/ +νάμι Χ(ριστο)ῦ βο/ +ηθία.....
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971), p. 244.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana¹, inscriptions

1. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.

Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.

- 15 Inscr. No. 32, chalk block, Byzantine period
+ Ο ΘΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...
+ ὁ Θε(ός) τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου...
- 16 Inscr. No. 52, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
Ω ΘΕ ΠΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ Μ(Ν)ΗCΘΕΤΗ...
ὦ Θε(ός) πάντων τόν ἁγίον μ(ν)ήσθετη...
- 17 Inscr. No. 69
+ ΚΥΡΙΕ Ω ΘΕΩC Τ(Ο)Υ ΑΓ(Ι)Ο(Υ) CΕΡΓΙΟ(Υ)...
+ Κύριε ὦ Θεῶς τ(ο)ῦ ἁγ(ί)ο(υ) Σεργίου(υ)...
- 18 Inscr. No. 109
ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...
Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ός) τοῦ ἁγίου / Στεφάνου...
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri
- 19 Papyrus No. 15. 12 May 30, A.D. 512
...καί [ὁμνῶ Θεόν] Παντοκράτορα...
- 20 Papyrus No. 30. 1 Sept. 13, A.D. 596
...Υ[ιοῦ] Θεοῦ καί Σω[τῆ]ρος / ἡμῶν...
- 21 Papyrus No. 47. 6 before A.D. 605
...μ(ε)τά τ(όν) Θε(όν) φ(ί)λ(ω) + ...
- 22 Papyrus No. 49. 5 VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...ἐρχομένου μου σὺν Θε(ε)ῷ πληρῶ μετὰ χάριτος.
- 23 Papyrus No. 50. 12 Early VIIth Century A.D.
...Γεώργιος ἐλέει Θε(οῦ) ἐπίσκοπος
- 24 Papyrus No. 51. 1 Aela, Early VIIth Century A.D.
+ Μωϋσῆς ἐ[λ]έει Θε(ο)ῦ ἐπίσκ(οπος) τοῦ Ἀϊλάν[ου]...
- 25 Papyrus No. 52. 8 Early VIIth Century A.D.
...Ἐάν οὖν ἐστίν θέλημα Θε(ο)ῦ...
- 26 Papyrus No. 53. 7, 15 before A.D. 608 ?
7. ...]το γάρ μετὰ τῶν Θεῶν / παρακαλῶ σε...
15. ...ἀξι(φ) μ(ε)τά Θε(όν)
- 27 Papyrus No. 56. 7 January 18, A.D. 687
Ἐν ὀ(νό)ματι τοῦ Θεοῦ.
- 28 Papyrus No. 57, 1, 2, 18, 24, 26, 27 September 1-17, A.D. 689
line 1. ...Σέργιος Γεωργίου ἐλέει Θε(ο)ῦ πρεσβ(ύ)τ(ερος)...
» 2. ...Βίκτορος ἐλέει Θε(ο)ῦ ἀρχιδιάκ(ος)..
» 18.ἐνόπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ.....
» 24. + Σέργιος Γεωργίου ἐλέι Θεοῦ πρεσβ(ύ)τ(ερος)...
» 26. + Γ[ε]ώργιο Βίκτορος ἐλέι Θε(ο)ῦ [ἀρ]χεδιάκ(ων)...
» 27. ...Σέργις Π[α]λλαδίου ἐλέει Θεοῦ διάκων...

- 29 Papyrus No. 60. 10 October / November A.D. 674
Ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ
- 30 Papyrus No. 61. 10 August A.D. 675
Ἐν ὀνόμ(α)τ(ι) τοῦ Θεοῦ...
- 31 Papyrus No. 62. 11 October A.D. 675
Ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ...
- 32 Papyrus No. 63. 5 October A.D. 675
Ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ...
- 33 Papyrus No. 64. 7 February A.D. 676
Ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ...
- 34 Papyrus No. 65. 5 A.D. 675/676
Ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ...
- 35 Papyrus No. 66. 5 February A.D. 677
Ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ...
- 36 Papyrus No. 67. 9 August / September A.D. 689
Ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ...
- 37 Papyrus No. 68. 6 about A.D. 680
...καί] ε[ίρ]ή[ν]η σοι ἀπό τοῦ Θεοῦ +
- 38 Papyrus No. 71. 1 VIIth Century A.D.
+ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ Παντ[οκράτορος]...
- 39 Papyrus No. 72. 1, 3 March A.D. 684
1. ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ Πα(ντοκράτορος)...
2. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ...
- 40 Papyrus No. 73. 1, 3 December A.D. 683
1. Ἐν [ὀνό]μ(ατι) τοῦ Θ[εοῦ] Πα(ντοκράτορος)...
3. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ...
- 41 Papyrus No. 84. 1 VIIth Century A.D.
+ λ(ό)γ(ος) σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ ἐπὶ τ(ῆς)...
- 42 Papyrus No. 89. 3, 39 Late VI – Early VIIth Century A.D.
3. ...λ)όγος σὺν Θεῷ καὶ τόν...
39. ...καὶ ὑμῖν ἀναλόματα Θ(ε)ο(ῦ)...
- 43 Papyrus No. 90. 1, 141 VI – VIIth Century A.D.
1. λόγος σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ πράσεως φυνικίων...
141. σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ πρᾶ[σις] φοιν(ικίων) Φ]...
- 44 Papyrus No. 91. 1 VI – VIIth Century A.D.
+ λ(ό)γ(ος) σ]ὺν Θ(ε)ῷ...
- 45 Papyrus No. 107. 3 VI – VIIth Century A.D.
...Γεόργι[ος] βοηθός ἐλέει Θ(εο)ῦ πρεσβ[ύτερος]...

- 46 Papyrus No. 145. 3, 10, 12 VI – VIIth Century A.D.
 3. ...διά τίς Θεοῦ χάριτ[ος]
 10. ...διά τίς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος
 12. Κυρ]ίου καί δεσπότου [Εί]σοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.
- 47 Papyrus No. 146. 3 VI – VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ἐχθρός τοῦ Θεοῦ...
- 48 Papyrus No. 156. 5 VI – VIIth Century A.D.
 Κ(υρί)ω...Θ(εό)ς ἡμῶ[ν]
- 49 Papyrus No. 171. 3
]έτατον Θεόν μ...[
- 50 *Beit-Jimal* a) mosaic inscription, V – VIth Century A.D.
 Remains of a Greek inscription of at least five lines placed within a circular frame.
 ...ΘΕ / ...ΟΥ / ...ΟΥ / ...ΟΥΜΕ / ...ΕΟ / ...
 ...Θε / ...ου / ...ου / ...ουμε / ...εο / ...
 Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 16(1919), pp. 244 – 248.
- 51 b) inscription on a stone capital, V – VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΙC / ΘΕΟC / Ο ΒΟΗ/ΘΩΝ / ΤΟΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΑ /// ΑΝΤΩΧΙΑΝΟΥ
 Εἷς / Θεός / ὁ βοη/θῶν / τόν ΔέCποτα /// Ἀντωχianoῦ
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 2 (1893), p. 213.
- 52 *Bethany*, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, wall graffiti, Late Roman – Early Byzantine period
 ΘΕΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗC/ΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ / ΑΝΑΜΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΜΑΡ/Τ-[ΩΛ]ΟΝ...
 Θεαί τῶν ΧρηC/τιανῶν ἐλέηCον / Ἀναμον τόν ἀμαρ/τ[ωλ]όν...
 Bibl. P. Benoit and M.E. Boissard, *RB* 59 (1951), pp. 200-251.
- 53 *Bethlehem*, Church of the Nativity, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
 ΙΧΘΥC the compendium used by the early Christians for concealing their faith. The letters stand for the words Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ), expressing the nature of Christ as the Son of God, and his role as Redeemer. In the Greek language, the word means ‘fish’, which as a sign symbolized Jesus in early Christian times. The sacred name ‘Theos’ as indicated by the letter ‘theta’, is placed in the middle of the compendium and suggests the genitive singular case.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 236.
- 54 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ CΥΝ ΘΕΩ...
 + ἐτελιώθη Cύν Θεῷ...
 The sacred name is abbreviated, expressed by the first and last letters of the dative singular, with a horizontal line over the letters.

- 55 *Beth-Shean, Monastery*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΓΩ / ΗΛΙΑΣ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ ΕΝΚΛΗΚΤΟC ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ /...
 ...'Εγώ / 'Ηλίας ἐλέει Θεοῦ ἐκ(λει)στος ἐν ὀνόματι /...
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shean*, Vol. IV, Philadelphia 1933, pp. 14-15, inscr. No. IV.
- 56 *Caesarea Maritima*, City Museum Haifa, sandstone inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΦΩΝΗ ΚΥ / ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ / ΥΔΑΤΩΝ / Ο Θ ΤΗΣ ΔΟ/ΞΗΣ ΕΒΡΟΝΤΗ-
 /CEN
 + Φωνή Κυ(υρίου) / ἐπὶ τῶν / ὑδάτων / ὁ Θεός τῆς δό/ξης ἐβρόντη/σεν
 Bibl. B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 78 (1962), p. 82, inscr. No. V.
- 57 *Deir el Qilt*, monastery, wall painting, VIth Century A.D.
 Hermitage of the Archimandrite Gabriel.
 ΘΟΥ [YC] Θεοῦ [Y(ιό)ς]
 Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 28 (1978), pp. 171-192, pls. 35-46.
- 58 *Ein Karim*, mosaic inscription, V – VIth Century A.D.
 ΧΑΙ/ΡΕCΘΕ ΘΥ / ΜΑΡΤΥ/ΡΕC
 Χαί/ρεσθε Θεοῦ / Μάρτυ/ρες
 Bibl. S.J. Saller, *Discoveries at St. John's, Ein Kârim, 1941-42*, Jerusalem 1946.
- 59 *El Haditha*, 5 km east of Lydda, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + /ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΤΩΝ ΔΥ/ΝΑΜΕΩΝ ΠΟΙΗCΟΝ Ε/ΛΕΟC...
 + /Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός τῶν δυ/νάμεων ποιήσον ἔ/λεος...
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 22 (1972), pp. 118-122.
- 60 *El-Jish*, bronze amulet (movable object), Byzantine period
 ΕΙC ΘΕΟC Ο ΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΚΑ¹
 Εἰς Θεός ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά
 Bibl. N. Makhoul, *QDAP* 8 (1939), pp. 31-32, 48-49.
- 61 *El Murassas* (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΗΜΩΝ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ / ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑ CΟΥ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν μνήσθητι ἐν τῇ / βασιλείᾳ σου...
 Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 62 *El-Qunaitra*, Church of St. Theodorus, VIth Century A.D.
 ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘΗ [ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ / ΜΑ]ΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ...
 χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐθεμελιώθη [τοῦτο τό / μα]ρτύριον.
 Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 865 a.

1. A similar inscription was found on a ring in Alexandria, Egypt; see Erik Peterson, *EIC ΘΕΟC*, Göttingen 1926, p. 82 § 2, No. 1.

- 63 *El-Quweisme*, S.E. of Amman, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΘΥ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ...
 + Θ(εο)ῦ προνοία...
 Bibl. S. J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 258-9; S. J. Saller, *JPOS* 21, p. 138f.
- 64 *El-Quweisme*, Church of St. Cirycus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΕΥΛΟΓΗCO ΑΥΤΟΥC KC O ΘC ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗΝ...
 ...εὐλόγησο(ν) αὐτούς Κ(ύριο)ς ὁ Θ(εός) εὐλογίαν πνευματικὴν...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Le chiese di Quweismeh - Amman,' *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 329-340.
- 65 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 7, Vth Century A.D.
 Θ]ΕΟC /..ΤΟΥ Α]ΓΙΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ...
 Θ]εός /...τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου..
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 66 *Gaza*, marble inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 ...ΤΩ ΔΕ ΠΙΝΑ ΠΑΡΑ / ΤΩ ΘΩ ΑΜΗΝ +
 ...τῷ δέ πν(εῦμ)α παρά/τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ ἀμήν +
 Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 34 (1925), pp. 579-80 m 6, fig. 2 A, pp. 449-50; F. Bleckmann, *ZDPV* 38(1915), pp. 229-239; F. Becker, *ZDPV* 36 (1913), pp. 198-202.
- 67 *Gaza*, marble inscription, A.D. 562
 ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤ/ΕΤΗΘΗ Η ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΔΟ/ΥΛΗ Η ΟΥCΙΑ ΘΥΓΑΤ/ΗΡ ΤΙ-
 ΜΟΘΕΟΥ...
 + ἐνθάδε κατ/ετήθη ἡ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ δο/ύλη ἡ Οὐσία θυγάτ/ηρ Τιμοθέου...
 Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, vol. II.
- 68 *Gaza*, city walls, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΑΝΕΝΕΟΘΗ CYN ΘΩ/ ΤΟ ΤΗΧΟC ΓΑΖΗC...
 + ἀνενεόθη σύν Θ(ε)ῷ / τό τῆχος Γάζης...
 Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 40(1931), p. 94; Dept. of Antiq. files, No. 55.
- 69 *Gerasa*, the Baths of Placcus, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 ...CYN ΘΕΩ ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΒΑΛΑΝΙΟΝ ΕΚ ΘΕ/ΜΕΛΙΩΝ...
 ...σύν Θεῷ τόδε τό βαλανίον ἐκ θε/μελίων...
 Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 871.
- 70 *Gerasa*, the Propylaea Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 565
 a) ...CΩCON ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ COY Ο ΘΕΟC...
 ...σῶσον τόν δοῦλον σου ὁ Θεός...
 b) + ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΘΕΟΥ CΥΝΕCΤΗ Η ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ...
 + Εὐδοκία Θεοῦ συνέστη ἡ διακονία...
 Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 875.

- 71 *Gerasa*, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
 ...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ Κ ΕCΤΕΓΑCΘΗ CΥΝ ΘΕΩ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ...
 Ἐψηφώθη κ(αί) ἐστεγάσθη σύν Θεῷ τό πᾶν ἔργον...
 Bibl. C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 479, inscr. No. 306.
- 72 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΙΧΘΥC...
 + Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)...
 Bibl. J. I. Lawlor, *RB* 86(1979), p. 117; *SEG* XXIX (1979), inscr. No. 1611;
SEG XXX (1980), inscr. No. 1694.
- 73 *Jerusalem*, Notre Dame de France, Archaeological Museum, a marble bread seal, Byzantine period
 ...ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ Κ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΗΝ ΠΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΝ.
 ...ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος κ(αί) ὁ λόγος ἦν π(ρ)ὸς τόν Θ(εό)ν.
 (John I: 1).
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *Un Musée Palestinien. Notice sur le Musée Archéologique de Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem*, Paris n.d.
- 74 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sih), mosaic inscriptions, A.D. 526/7
 ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός) ἀνάπαισον...
 Κ[]C Ο ΘC
 Κ[ύριο]ς ὁ Θ(εός)
 Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 75 *Khirbet Alya*, Acre District, stone inscription, A.D. 539
 [Κ]Ε Ο ΘC ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC ΜΑΡΙ/[Α]C ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ...
 [Κ](ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός) τῆς ἁγίας Μαρί/[α]ς ἐλέησον...
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 1.
- 76 *Khirbet el-Hadadiye*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 A quotation from Ps. 41. 1.
 ...ΠΡΟC CΕ Ο ΘC
 ...πρὸς σέ ὁ Θ(εός)
 Dept. of Antiq. Files.
- 77 *Khirbet El Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...Ο ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΛΟΤ...
 ...ὁ Θ(εός) τοῦ ἁγίου Λότ...
 ...Ο ΘC ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΝ ΠΡΟCΔΕΞΕ
 ...ὁ Θ(εός) τόν ἅγιον μαρτύρον πρόσδεξε
 Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 336.
- 78 *Khirbet Es-Samrah*, Eastern shore of Lake Tiberias, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

- ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΕΙ / + ΚΥΒΕΡΝΟΥΜΕΝΗ +
 τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτει / + Κυβερνουμένη +
 Dept. of Antiq. File, No. 168.
- 79 *Khirbet Es-Samrah*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 + Ω ΘC ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΗ ΕΛΠΙΔΙΟΥ S NONNA/...
 + ὦ Θεός ἀναπαύσῃ Ἐλπιδίου (καί) Νόννα/
 Bibl. J. B. Humbert - A. Desreumaux, *Khirbet Es-Samra, Première Campagne 1981*, p. 37, No. 0465.
- 80 *Kh. Maffar*, Greek inscribed fragments, VIIIth Century A.D.
 a) a fragment of red limestone
 ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΗ ΤΟ ΘΕ ΟΥΡΑ[ΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΗΣ]
 ἐν ὀνόματι το(ῦ) Θε(οῦ) οὔρα[νοῦ καί γῆς]
- 81 b) marble slab fragment
 [Ε] ΟΝΟΜΑΤΗ ΤΟ ΘΕΟΥ
 [ἐ] ὀνόματι το(ῦ) Θεοῦ.
 Bibl. M. Schwabe, *QDAP* 12 (1946), p. 22.
- 82 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3
 ...ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΤΙΚΚΕΝ/ ΧΝ ΠΑΜΒΑCΙΛΗΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΥΙΕΑ ΜΟΥΝΟΝ...
 ...καί ὄν ἐτικκεν / Χ(ριστό)ν παμβασιλῆα Θεοῦ μόνον υἱέα μουνον...
 Bibl. Claudine Dauphin, *PEQ* 1975, pp. 155-157.
- 83 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3
 ...ΕΤΑΙΛΙΩ/ΘΗ [ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ] ΘΕΟΥ...
 ...ἐταιλιώ/θη [προνοία] Θεοῦ...
 Bibl. E. Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia* III, p. 360.
- 84 *Magen*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΗΓΙΑCΕΝ ΤΟ / CΚΗΝΩΜΑ / ΑΥΤΟΥ Ο ΥΨΙ/CΤΟC Ο ΘΕΟC / ΕΝ ΜΕCΩ ΑΥΤΗC
 Ἦγίασεν τό / σκήνωμα / αὐτοῦ ὁ Ὑψι/στος ὁ Θεός / ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς.
 V. Tzaferis, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 85 *Mahaiy*, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΘΕ/. ΕΚΥΜΗ...
 ...(ἐν) Θε/[ῶ] ἐκυμή[θη]...
 Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 410.
Mampsis, East Church, stone inscription, IV-Vth Century A.D.
 The sacred name Θεός, is indicated by the letter 'theta', third letter of the compendium ΙΧΘΥC.
- 86 a) a door-post capital
 ΙΧΘΥC Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θε(οῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)

- 87 b) part of a lintel
IXΘ/YC Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) / Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)
Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 72, inscrs. No. 90 and 91.
- 88 Nazareth, the Church of the Annunciation, graffiti, Late Roman period
Fig. No. 99.
Θεός τό Ναυκίδα καί τοῖς τέκνοις
- 89 Fig. No. 154
ε Θεο
- 90 Fig. Nos. 157, 158
Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ υἱέ Θεοῦ βοηθό...
Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Gli Scavi di Nazaret*, Vol. I, Fig. Nos. 99, 154, 157, 158.
- 91 Petra, stone inscription, Byzantine period
...ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΘΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ...
...Ἐπισκόπου Θεοῦ χάριτι...
Bibl. E. Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia* III, p. 345.
- 92 Petra, marble inscription, Byzantine period
...ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΓΩ ΘΕΩ ΕΟΝΤΙ / ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΠΑΝΒΑΣΙΛΗΙ ΟΜΟΟΥ-
CΙΩ...
...Θεοῦ λόγῳ Θεῷ ἐόντι / Χριστῷ πανβασίλῃ ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδι...
Dept. of Antiq. Cat. No. 43, 15.
- 93 Ras Siyagha, in a sunken panel on the baptismal font, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ CΕΡΓΙΟC Ο / ΑΓΙΩΤ ΕΠΙCΚΟ / ΤΟ ΘΩ ΤΑ CΑ /... +
+ Σέργιος ὁ / ἀγιώτ(ατος) ἐπίσκο(πος) / τό Θε(ε)ῷ τά σά /... +
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 319.
- 94 Rihab, West of the nave, mosaic inscription, A.D. 594
ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΘΥ ΕΘΕΜ[ΕΛΙΩΘ]Η Κ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ-
ΔΟΞΕC./...
Προνοία Θεοῦ ἐθεμ[ελιώθ]η κ(αί) ἐτελιώθη ὁ ναός τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου)/...
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 69, inscr. No. 4.
- 95 Rihab, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΤΗΓ ΑΓC ΜΑΡΙΑC...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ός) τῆ(ς) ἀγ(ίας) Μαρίας...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 86-87.
- 96 Sinci, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica
a) Board attached to ceiling beam No. 1, pine wood, A.D. 548-565
ΚΕ Ο ΘC Ο ΟΦΘΕΙC ΕΝ ΤΩ ΤΟΠΩ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ...
Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ός) ὁ ὀφθεῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτου...

- 97 b) Lintel over the main entrance, pine wood inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Ο ΘC ΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ COY...
 ...'Εγώ εἰμί ὁ Θεός τῶν πατέρων σου...
- 98 c) Chapel of the Holy Fathers, South wall, marble slab, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΔΙ ΩΝ Ο ΘΕΟC CΩCON ΗΜΑC...
 ...δι' ὧν ὁ Θεός σῶσον ἡμᾶς...
- 99 d) Inscr. No. 12, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 Ω ΘΕ EN
 ὠ(φθεῖς) Θε(ε)έ ἐν...
- 100 e) Top of Moses mountain, cave of Moses, S.E. corner of the mosque, granite stone inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 Ω ΘΩC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΟΥ
 ὠ Θε(ε)ώς τοῦ ἁγίου Μοῦ(σῆ)
- 101 f) Inscr. No. 15, Old Library, pine wood, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΤΟΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ...
 ...τόν Θεῶν ἡμῶν...
 The sacred name appears in the accusative singular with a grammatical mistake (ω) instead of (ο).
- 102 g) Icons, gallery of the Monastery, votive bronze cross (movable object), VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 Upright: ...Κ ΕΞ/ΙΓΑΓΕΝ / ΜΟΥΨHC / ΤΟΝ ΛΑ/ΟΝ.../ΕΙC ΤΗΝ
 C/ΥΝΑΝΤΙ/CΙΝ ΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟΥ /...
 ...κ(αί) ἐξ/ίγαγεν / Μοῦσῆς /τόν λα/όν.../ εἰς τήν σ/υνάντι/σιν τοῦ /
 Θεοῦ/..
 Arms: ...ΚΑΤΑΒΕΒΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΘΝ ΕΠ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΝ ΠΥΡΙ /...
 ...καταβέβηκεναι τόν Θεόν ἐπ' αὐτό ἐν πυρί /..
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), inscra. No. 2, 6, 12, 15, 16, p. 264, No. 17, pp. 391-392.
- 103 *Suhmata*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΓΗΝΕΤΩ CYN ΘC Η ΨΕΦΟCIC...
 + ἐγήνετω σύν Θεός ἡ ψέφοσις...
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 96, pl. XXX, fig. 3.
- 104 *Tiberias*, Synagogue, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 Η ΘΕΟΥ ΧΑΡΙC / ΜΕΤΑ...
 ἡ Θεοῦ χάρις / μετά...
 Bibl. M. Schwabe, *BIES* 1954, pp. 160-163, pl. V, 6.
- 105 *Umm-el-Jimal*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ΔΞC Ο ΘC ΑΒΡΑΜ S ICK S ΙΑΚΟΒ

Δ(ό)ξ(α) σ(οι) ὁ Θεός Ἀβρ(αά)μ (καί) Ἰσ(αά)κ (καί) Ἰακώβ
Bibl. *AAES* II, A, 3, 170; *AAES* III, A, 3, 143-148; M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 60.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period

106 No. 36. II / 113.

+ ΕΛΕΗCON / Ο ΘC ΤON ΔΟΥ/ΛΟ COY /...

+ Ἐλέησον / ὁ Θεός τόν δοῦ/λο(ν) σου /...

107 No. 107. III / 239.

+ ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΜΝΗ / ΔΟΥΛON COY / ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑC / ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός μνή(σθητι) / δοῦλον σου / Οὐαβάλλας / ἀμήν Κ(ύρι)ε.

108 No. 140. III / 272.

ΚΕ Ο ΘC / ΕΛΕΗCON ΤΟΥC ΔΟΥΛΟΥC COY /...

Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός / ἐλέησον τοὺς δούλους σου /...

Bibl. A. Negev, 'The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai,' *QEDem* 6(1977).

b) 'One God' Εἷς Θεός¹. Another title attributed to God is the expression Εἷς (Θεός) meaning 'one' emphasizing the uniqueness of God. The term appears in the following inscriptions:

109 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIIth Century A.D.

ΕΙC ΘΕOC / Ω ΒΟΗΘΩΝ /...

Εἷς Θεός / ὦ βοηθῶν /...

Bibl. *SEG* XXVI (1976-77), inscr. No. 1662.

110 *Ascalon*, marble inscription, Byzantine period

ΕΙC Θ /...

Εἷς Θ[εός] /...

Dept. of Antiq. File, No. 11.

111 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscription No. 27, Byzantine period

ΕΙC ΘΕOC Ο / Β[ΟΗΘΩΝ]

Εἷς Θεός ὁ / β[οηθῶν]

Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.

112 *Belah (Bala)*, tomb inscription, Byzantine period

ΕΙC ΘΕ/OC ΜΟ/ΝOC / ΧΜΓ

Εἷς Θε/ός μό/νος / ΧΜΓ

Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria*, Gerusalemme 1979, p. 136.

113 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 8, Vth Century A.D.

ΕΙC ΘΕOC / Ο ΒΟΗΘΩΝ / ΟΥΑΛΕΝ / ΤΙΝΟΝ...

¹ See Erik Peterson, *ΕΙC ΘΕOC*, *Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Göttingen 1926.

- Εἰς Θεός / ὁ βοηθῶν / Οὐαλεν / τῖνον...
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 114 *Rishpon*, Apollonia, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΙC ΘΕΟC Ο ΖΩΝ
 Εἰς Θεός ὁ ζῶν
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
Wadi Haggag, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period
- 115 No. 86. III / 218.
 ΕΙC ΘΕΟC / Ω ΒΟΗΘΩΝ / ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟC / COY...
 Εἰς Θεός / ὦ βοηθῶν / τόν δοῦλος / σου...
- 116 No. 198. III / 133.
 + + / ΕΙC ΘΕΟC / Ο ΒΟΗΘΩΝ / ...
 + + / Εἰς Θεός / ὁ βοηθῶν / ...
- 117 No. 242.V / 551.
 ΕΙC ΘΕΟC / Ο ΒΟΗΘΩΝ / ...
 Εἰς Θεός / ὁ βοηθῶν / ...
 Bibl. A. Negev, 'The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai,' *QEDM* 6 (1977).
 In all six inscriptions, the sacred name is given in complete form in the nominative singular.

c) 'Lord' Κύριος. A sacred word attributed to God the Father. In the inscriptions extant in Palestine, the term is generally abbreviated, using the first and last letters with a horizontal line over them in all cases of the singular. In a few cases the complete form is given.

- 118 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ΚΕ ΕΥΛΟΓΗCΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ / ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε εὐλόγησον τόν δοῦλον / ...
 Bibl. *SEG* XXVI (1976-77), inscr. No. 1656.
- 119 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ / COY ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τόν δοῦλον / σου Τιμόθεον...
 Bibl. *SEG* XXVI (1976-77), inscr. No. 1657.
- 120 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗCΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ COY ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙC...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον τόν δοῦλον σου Ἐπιφάνις...
 Bibl. *SEG* XXVI (1976-77), inscr. No. 1659.
- 121 *Ain Fit*, near Banias, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 .../ΕΠΕΔΗΜΗCΕΝ ΠΡΟC / ΚΝ Ο ΤΗC ΟCΙΑC ΜΝΗΜΗC / ...
 .../ἐπεδήμησεν πρὸς / Κ(ύρι)ον ὁ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης / ...
 Bibl. P.M. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), pp. 126-128.

- 122 *Ashkelon, Barnea*, mosaic inscription, A.D. 493-499
 i. ΤΩ ΟΙΚΩ CO[Υ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ] / ΑΓΙΑCΜΑ Κ[(ΥΡΙ)Ε ΕΙC ΜΑ]ΚΡΟΤΗ-
 ΤΑ ΗΜ[ΕΡΩΝ] /...
 τῷ οἰκῷ σο[υ πρέπει] / ἁγίασμα Κ[(ὕρι)ε εἰς μα]κρότητα ἡμ[ερῶν] /...
 ii. ΚC ΠΟΙΜΕΝΙ ΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΜΕ ΥCΤΕΡΗCΗ
 Κ(ὕριος) ποιμενί με καί οὐδέν μέ ὑστερήσῃ.
 Both are quotations from the *Old Testament*.
 Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971) p. 245, inscr. No. 3.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscriptions
- 123 Inscr. No. 4, fragment of the upper edge of a marble screen, Byzantine period
 + ΚΕ ΜΝ[
 + Κ(ὕρι)ε μν[ήσθητι...
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.
- 124 Inscr. No. 28, limestone slab, Byzantine period
 + ΦΩΝΗ ΚΥΡΙΟ[Υ]
 + Φωνή Κυρίου[υ]
- 125 Inscr. No. 30, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
 j. ΚΕ Κ· ΑΓΙΕ CΤΕΦΑΝΕ... Κ(ὕρι)ε κ(αί) ἅγιε Στέφανε...
 l. ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ(ΙΟΥ)... τοῦ Κυρ(ίου)...
- 126 Inscr. No. 31, chalk wall block, Byzantine period
 ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε
 μνήσθητι Κ(ὕρι)ε
- 127 Inscr. No. 38, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
 ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΕΘΙΕ / CΤ(Ε)ΦΑΝΟC
 Κύριε βοέθιε / Στ(έ)φανος
- 128 Inscr. No. 59, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
 a. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΜΝΙC(ΘΗ)/ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΥ CΟΥ
 Κύριε μνίσ(θη)/τη τοῦ δού/λου σου...
 b. ΚΥ[ΡΙΕ ΦΥΛΑ]ΞΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ CΟΥ ΑΙΝΙΑΝΗ
 Κύ[ριε φύλα]ξον τόν δοῦλον σου Αἰνιάνη
- 129 Inscr. No. 61, chalk block, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ
 Κ(ὕρι)ε ἐλέησον
- 130 Inscr. No. 63, column drum, Byzantine period
 Κ[ΥΡΙΕ] CΕΡΓΙΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ (ΚΑΙ) ΑΓΙΕ CΕΡΓΙΕ
 Κ[ύριε] Σέργιε, Κύριε (καί) ἅγιε Σέργιε.
- 131 Inscr. No. 67, limestone fragment, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ ΜΝΗ(C)ΘΗΤΙ ΩΝ / (ΤΟ) ΟΝΟΜΑ / CΥ ΓΙΝΩΧ(C)ΚΗC

- Κ(ύρι)ε μνή(σ)θητι ὧν / (τό) ὄνομα / σύ γινώ(σ)κης
 132 Inscr. No. 69, chalk block, Byzantine period
 + ΚΥΡΙΕ Ω ΘΕΩC Τ(Ο)Υ ΑΓ(Ι)Ο(Υ) CΕΡΓΙΟ(Υ)
 + Κύριε ὦ Θεὸς τ(ο)ῦ ἀγ(ι)ο(υ) Σεργίου(υ)
- 133 Inscr. No. 103, limestone block, Byzantine period
 ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟ(Υ) / COY ΙΩCΕΦ...
 μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ δούλο(υ) / σου Ἰωσέφ...
- 134 Inscr. No. 109, Byzantine period
 a. ΚΕ Ο ΘΕ... Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ός)..
 b. ΚΕ Ο ΘΕ[ΟC ... Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε[ός]..
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri
- 135 Papyrus No. 47. 5, before A.D. 605
 ...ὅτι ἐδέξου αὐτά καὶ εὐχου ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διὰ τῶν Κύριων +
- 136 Papyrus No. 52. 16, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...οι διὰ τόν Κύριον...
 Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 137 *Bahan*, inscr. No. 4, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 Τ/Ω / ΟΙΚΩ / COY ΠΡΕ/ΠΙ ΑΓΙΑCΜΑ / ΚΕ ΕΙC ΜΑΚ/ΡΟΤΗΤΑ /
 ΗΜΕ/ΡΩ/Ν
 τ/ῷ / οἴκῳ / σου πρέ/πι ἀγίασμα / Κ(ύρι)ε εἰς μακ/ρότητα / ἡμε/ρῶν
 It is a quotation from the *Old Testament* (see *Psalms* 63:5).
 Dept. of Antiq. Files 3; Bibl. M.J. Lagrange, *RB* 4 (1895), p. 625 f.
- 138 *Beersheba*, marble inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 + ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ / ΕΙCΕΛΕΥCΩΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ
 ΑΥΤΗ/...
 + αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ δίκαιοι / εἰσελεύσωνται ἐν αὐτῇ/...
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* N.S. 4 (1907), pp. 607-11; Π. Λούβαρι, *ΝΣ* 3 (1906), pp. 247-249 and M. Spyridonides, *PEF QS* 1907, pp. 137-9.
- 139 *Beersheba*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΟΥ Ο ΚC ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ /...
 Προσφορά οὗ ὁ Κ(ύρι)ος τό ὄνομα /...
 Bibl. A. Alt, 'Die neuen Inschriften aus der Palästina Tertia,' *ZDPV* 46(1923), p. 57, No. 3.
- 140 *Belah (Bala)*, tomb inscription, Byzantine period
 ΕΙC ΘΕ/ΟC ΜΟ/ΝΟC / ΧΜΓ
 Εἰς Θε/ός μόνος / Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα).
 Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria*, Gerusalemme 1979, p. 136

- 141 *Bethlehem*, mosaic inscription, IV-VIth Century A.D.
 ANYΞATE MOI ΠΥΛΑΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟCYNHC EICEΛ/ΘΩN EN AYTAIC
 ΕΞΟ/ΜΟΛΟΓΗCΟΜΑΙ ΤΩ ΚΩ / ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ
 ΕΙCΕΛΕΥ/CΟΝΤΑΙ EN ΑΥΤΗ ΧΧΑΧΩΧΧ/.
 ἀνύξατέ μοι πύλας / ...ἐξο/μολογήσομαι τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ / αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κ(υρ-
 ίου) δίκαιοι εἰσελεύ/σονται ἐν αὐτῇ/...
 It is a quotation from the *Old Testament* (see Ps. 117: 19-20)
 Bibl. M.J. Lagrange, *RB* 4 (1895), p. 625f.
- 142 *Beth Shean*, the House of Leontis, mosaic inscription No. 2, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ ΒΟ ΛΕΟΝΤΙ/ΟΥ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ήθει) Λεοντί/ου...
 Bibl. N. Zori, *IEJ* 16, 2 (1966), pp. 123-134.
- 143 *Beth Shean*, Synagogue, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΠΦ ΩΝ ΚC Γ/ΙΝΟCΚΙ ΤΑ / ΟΝΟΜΑΤ/Α...
 Π(ροσ)φ(ορά) ὧν Κ(ύρι)ος γ/ινόσκι τά / ὀνόματ/α...
 Bibl. B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6 (1974), pp. 27-29; *SEG* XXVI (1976-77).
- 144 *Caesarea Maritima*, sandstone inscription, City Museum Haifa, Byzantine period
 + ΦΩΝΗ ΚΥ / ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ / ΥΔΑΤΩΝ /...
 + Φωνή Κ(υρί)ου / ἐπὶ τῶν / ὑδάτων /...
 Bibl. B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 78 (1962), p. 82, inscr. No. V.
- 145 *Caesarea Maritima*, mosaic inscription, Late Vth Century A.D.
 + ΚC Ο ΘC ΕΥΛΟ/ΓΗCΕΙ ΤΟΝ CΙΤΟΝ / CΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΝΟΝ /
 CΟΥ...
 + Κ(ύρι)ος ὁ Θ(εός) εὐλο/γήσει τὸν σῖτον / σου καὶ τὸν οἶνον / σου...
 Quotation from the *Old Testament* (see *Deut.* VII, 13, 14).
 Bibl. A. Siegelman, *IEJ* 24 (1974), pp. 216-221.
- 146 *El-Haditha*, 5 km east of Lod, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΤΩΝ ΔΥ/ΝΑΜΕΩΝ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός) τῶν δυ/νάμεων...
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 22 (1972), pp. 118-122.
- 147 *El Murassas* (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΗΜΩΝ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ EN TH / ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑ CΟΥ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός) ἡμῶν μνήσθητι ἐν τῇ / βασιλείᾳ σου...
 Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 148 *El-Quweisme*, Church of St. Cirycus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΕΥΛΟΓΗCΟ ΑΥΤΟΥC ΚC Ο ΘC ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗΝ...
 ...εὐλόγησο(ν) αὐτοῦς Κ(ύρι)ος ὁ Θ(εός) εὐλογίαν πνευματικὴν...

- 149 *El-Quweisme*, Church of St. Cirycus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ COY ΜΑΓΝΩ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ δούλῳ σου Μάγνῳ...
- 150 *El-Quweisme*, Church of St. Cirycus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΚΕ CYNΧΩΡΗCΑΝ ΤΑC ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗ
 ...Κ(ύρι)ε συνχώρησαν τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ, ἀμή(ν)
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Le chiese di Quweismeh-Amman,' *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 329-340.
- 151 *Gaza* (Maiuma, port of Gaza), limestone slab, Byzantine period
 + ΤΟΥ ΚΥ Η ΓΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ + / ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΑΥΤΗΣ / ...
 + τοῦ Κ(υρίου)ς ἡ γῆ καὶ τό + / πλήρωμα αὐτῆς / ...
Ps. XIII. XIV, *Septuagint* version.
 Bibl. C. Clermont – Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, London 1896, p. 405.
- 152 *Gaza*, inscription No. 18, Byzantine period
 + ΚΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ / ΤΗΝ ΔΟΥΛΗΝ COY / ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙΑΝ...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε ἀνάπαυσον / τὴν δούλην σου / Ἀναστασίαν...
 Bibl. C. Clermont – Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 405.
- 153 *Gerasa*, the Propylaea Church, mosaic inscription, May-June A.D. 565
 + ΚΛΙΝΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΤΟ ΟΥ[Σ Σ]ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΚΟΥCΟΝ ΜΟΙ ΟΤΙ ΠΤΩΧΟC...ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ ΜΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΟΤΙ ΠΡΟC CΕ...
 + κλῖνον Κύριε τό οὐ[ς σ]ου...ἐλέησόν με Κύριε ὅτι πρὸς σέ...
 Quotation from the *Psalm* 86, verses 1-3.
 Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 875.
- 154 *Gerasa*, Church of Elias, Mary and Soreg, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 + Κ(ΥΡΙΟ)C Φ[ΥΛΑΞΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙCΟΔΟΝ] / COY...
 + Κ(ύρι)ος φυλάξει τὴν εἰσοδόν] / σου...
Ps. 120:8
 Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 287-8.
- 155 *Gerasa*, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
 ...Ο ΚΥΡΙΟC ΟΥΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΛΩΝ Ο ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC...
 ...Ὁ Κύριος οὖν τῶν ὅλων ὁ Δεσπότης...
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 479, inscr. No. 306.
- 156 *Gerasa*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription A.D. 529/30
 ...ΕΚ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑC ΟΥ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟC ΟΙΔΕΝ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ...
 ... ἐκ προcφορᾶς οὐ ὁ Κύριος οἶδεν τό ὄνομα...
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 481, inscr. No. 309.

- 157 *Jerusalem*, St. Etienne, graffiti, V-VIIIth Century A.D.
 a) ΕΠΙ CΥ ΚΕ / ΗΛΠΙC / ΜΗ ΚΑΤS /
 ἐπί σύ Κ(ύρι)ε / ἡλπ(ισα) / μὴ κατ...
 b) ΚC ΦΩ/ΤS ΜS/...
 Κ(ύρι)ος φω/τ(ισμός) μ(ου)/...
 Bibl. M.J. Lagrange, *St. Etienne et son sanctuaire*, Paris 1894, pp. 118-122.
- 158 *Jerusalem*, Gallicanto, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚC ΦΥΛΑΞΗ Τ[ΗΝ ΕΙ]CΟΔΟΝ CΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΗΝ ΕΞΟΔΟΝ CΟΥ.
 Κ(ύρι)ος φυλάξη τ[ήν εἰ]σοδόν σου κ(αί) τήν ἐξοδόν σου.
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* N.S. 5 (1908), p. 409.
- 159 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΑΝΟΙΞΑΤΕ ΜΟΙ...ΕΞΟ/ΜΟΛΟΓΗCΟΜΑΙ ΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ
 ἀνοίξατέ μοι...ἐξο/μολογήσομαι τῷ Κυρίῳ
 ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ / ΚΥ...
 αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ / Κ(υρί)ου...
 Bibl. K. Καρναπᾶ, *Ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὁρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ τῆς Ἀναλήψεως*, pp. 75-6.
- 160 *Jerusalem*, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, cistern, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + / ΦΩΝΗ Κ(ΥΡΙΟΥ) ΕΠΙ / ΤΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ
 + / Φωνή Κ(υρίου) ἐπὶ / τῶν ὑδάτων.
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 586, No. 51.
- 161 *Jerusalem*, Mount Sion, Eastern slope, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚC ΦΥΛΑΞΗ ΤΗΝ ΕΙ/CΟΔΟΝ CΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) / ΤΗΝ ΕΞΟΔΟΝ CΟΥ
 Κ(ύρι)ος φυλάξη τήν εἰ/σοδόν σου κ(αί) / τήν ἐξοδόν σου.
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* N.S. 5 (1908), p. 409, pl. 1, No. 2.
- 162 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Carmelite Sisters, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ... ΚC ΦΥΛΑΞΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙCΟ/ΔΟΝ CΟΥ...
 Αὕτη ἡ πύλη Κυρίου..., Κ(ύρι)ος φυλάξει τήν εἰσο/δόν σου..
Ps. 117:20, *Ps.* 120:8.
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 585, No. 48.
- 163 *Jerusalem*, Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΤΟΝ / ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΩ / ΤΕΛΕCΑΝΤΟC/...
 ...τόν / δρόμον ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ / τελέσαντος/...
 Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum.
- 164 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sih), mosaic inscriptions, A.D. 526/7
 a) ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(ε)ός ἀνάπαυσον...

- b) ΚΙ]C O ΘC
Κ[ύριο]ς ὁ Θεός
Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 165 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sîh), mosaic inscription, A.D. 526/7
ΚΕ ΜΝΗCΤΗ/ΘΙ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ /ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ/ΥΤΕΡΟΥ
Κ(ύρι)ε μνήστη/θι Μαξίμου / τοῦ πρεσβ/υτέρου
Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 166 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sîh), mosaic inscription, A.D. 526/7
ΚΕ ΜΝΗCΤΗ/ΘΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛ/ΟΥ CΟΥ ΠΡΟΚ/ΟΠΙΟΥ...
Κ(ύρι)ε μνήστη/θι τοῦ δούλ/ου σου Προκ/οπίου...
Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 167 *Khirbet Alya*, Acre District, stone inscription, Nov. A.D. 539
[Κ](ΥΡΙ)Ε Ο Θ(ΕΟ)C ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC ΜΑΡΙ/[Α]C ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ...
[Κ](ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός τῆς ἁγίας Μαρί/[α]ς ἐλέησον...
Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 1.
- 168 *Khirbet ed Deir* (between Hebron and Gaza), lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
...[ΑΥΤ]Η Ε Π[Υ]ΛΗ Κ(ΥΡΙΟ)Υ..., ΚC ΦΥ[ΛΑ]ΞΙ ΤΗΝ ΙCΟΔΟΝ CΟΥ...
...[αὐτ]ῇ ἐ π[ύ]λῃ Κ(υρίο)υ, Κ(ύριο)ς φυ[λά]ξι τὴν ἰσοδὸν σου...
Bibl. A.-M. Steve, *RB* 43 (1946), pp. 559-575, pl. X 2, fig. 8.
- 169 *Khirbet Es Samrah*, Eastern shore of lake Tiberias, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΞΟΔΟΥC ΥΜΩΝ ΕΝ ΚΥΡΙΩ / ΑΜΗΝ...
...ἐξόδους ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ / ἀμήν...
Ps. 120:8
Dept. of Antiq. Files, No. 168.
- 170 *Khirbet Khureisa*, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
.ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥ/ΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ/ΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙ(Ο)Ι ΕΙCΕΛΕΥC(Ο)/..
.αὕτῃ ἡ πύ/λῃ τοῦ Κυρ/ίου δίκαι(ο)ι εἰσελεύc(ο)/..
Ps. 117:20.
Bibl. E.R. Conder – H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs* III, 1883, pp. 356-7.
- 171 *Kissufim*, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
ΚC ΦΥΛ.../ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΠΟ...
Κ(ύριο)ς φυλ(άξη) / τὴν καρπο(φορίαν)..
Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12, 1 (1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG* XXX (1980).
- 172 *Madaba*, Church of the Apostles, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΚΕ Ο ΘC Ο ΠΟΙΗCΑC ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ...
Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός ὁ ποιήcας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν..
Bibl. U. Lux, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 106-129, pl. XVI-XXXIV.

- 173 *Magen*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ / ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ
 Αὕτη ἡ πύλη Κυρίου δίκαιοι / εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ.
 V. Tzaferis, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 174 *Rehovot* (Negev), tomb inscription, A.D. 542
 + ΚΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ / ΟΥ ΗΛΙΑΝ...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦλ(ον) / σου Ἡλίαν...
 Bibl. Y. Tsafir, *RB* 84 (1977), pp. 422-426, pl. XXIX.
- 175 *Rihab*, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΚΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΑΖΙΖΕΟΥ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ἀνάπαυσον Ἰωάννην Ἀζιζέου...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 86-87.
- 176 *Rihab*, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός τῆς ἁγ(ίας) Μαρίας...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 86-87.
- 177 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery
 i. Refectory, lintel over the N. W. window, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 + Ο ΕΓΕΙΡΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΓΗΣ ΠΤΩΧΟΝ ... ΟΙ ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙΟ(Ν)...
 + ὁ ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν ... σοί Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθισο(ν)...
Ps. 117:20.
- 178 ii. Basilica, board attached to ceiling No. 1, A.D. 548-565
 ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ Ο ΟΦΘΕΙΣ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός ὁ ὀφθείς...
- 179 iii. Monastery, lintel over main entrance, pine wood, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΚΑΙ ΕΛΑΛΗΣΕΝ ΚΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΩΥΣΗΝ ΕΝ Τῷ ΤΟΠῳ ΤΟΥΤῳ ΛΕΓΩΝ...
 + καὶ ἐλάλησεν Κ(ύρι)ς πρὸς Μωϋσῆν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ λέγων...
Exod. 3:14.
- 180 iv. Picture Gallery, votive bronze cross (movable object), VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 upright .../ ΚΕ ΜΝΗC/ΘΗΤΙ Τ ΓΡΑ/ΨΑΝΤ[Ι]
 .../ Κ(ύρι)ε μνήσ/θητι τ(ῷ) γρά/ψαντ[ι]
 arms .../ ΤΑ CΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ CΩΝ ΟΙ ΠΡΟCΦΕΡΟΜΕΝ ΚΕ
 .../ τὰ σά ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοί προσφέρομεν Κ(ύρι)ε.
- 181 v. N. W. wall over the ancient main gate, granite inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ...

- + αὕτη ἡ πύλη Κυρίου / δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ...
Ps. 117:20.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264, inscrs. i, ii, iii and v, inscr. No. iv, I. Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), inscr. No. 16, p. 214 and K. Weitzmann and I. Ševčenco, *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 391-2.
- 182 *Sinai* (Oasis in Wady el Pheiran), stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΚΕ ΒΩΕΘΙC/ΟΝ ΑΡΩΝ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΗΟΥ / ΤΟΠΟΥ +
 + Κ(ύρι)ε βωέθισ/ον Ἀρών δοῦ/λος τοῦ ἀγίου / τόπου +
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* 11 (1902), p. 440.
- 183 *Siyar el-Ghanam*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚΥ ΒΟ(Η)Θ(ΕΙ)
 Κύ(ριε) βο(ή)θ(ει)
 ΚC ΦΥΛΑC(A)Ι CΕ / ΑΠΟ ΠΑΝ[ΤΟC] / ΚΑΚΟ[Υ]
 Κ(ύριο)ς φυλάσ(α)ι σε / ἀπό παν[τός] / κακο[ῦ].
 Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme*, p. 268, fig. 104.
- 184 *Taiyibeh*, Greek Orthodox Church, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι...
 Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villagi cristiani di Samaria*, Gerusalemme 1979, p. 33, pl. 9, l.
- 185 *Tell Basul*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚC Φ.../ ΤΗΝ ἸC.../
 Κ(ύριο)ς φυλάξῃ / τὴν ἰσ(οδον)/...
 N. Tsori, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 186 *Umm es Surab*, Provincia Arabia, East Jordan, lintel, stone inscription, 489
 + Κ Φ (Α)ΜΕΡΑC ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΟC ΥΙΟΙ ΟΥΛΠΙΑ(ΝΟ)Υ
 + Κ(ύριε) φυλάττε ('Α)μερᾶς καὶ Κῦρος υἱοὶ Οὐλπια(νοῦ)
 Bibl. *Publication of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped. to Syria in 1904-1905*.
 Div. II, Section A, Part 2, Leyden 1909, p. 57, inscr. No. 51.
- 187 *Um idj-Djimal*, stone inscriptions, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΔΙΚΑCΕ ΤΟΥC ΑΔΙΚΟΥΝΤΑC ΥΜΑC...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός)ς δίκασε τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ὑμᾶς...
 + ΚΥΡΙΕ ΤΟ ΗΛΕΟC (C)ΟΥ ΚΕ ΔΙΟΞΟΝ ΤΟΥC ΕΧΘΡΟΥC
 + Κύριε τὸ ἡλεός (σ)ου, Κ(ύρι)ε δίοξον τοὺς ἐχθρούς
 Bibl. E. Littmann, D. Magie and D.R. Stuart, *Greek and Latin inscriptions*, Sect. A, Div. III, p. 145 No. 146, p. 146 No. 152.
- Wadi Haggag*, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period
 No. 107. III / 239.
 + ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΜΝΗ / ΔΟΥΛΟΝ CΟΥ / ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑC / ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ
 + Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός)ς μνή(σθητι) / δοῦλον σου / Οὐαβάλλας / ἀμήν Κ(ύρι)ε.

- 189 No. 108. III / 240.
+ KE XACETOY ABΔAΛΛAC
+ Κ(ύρι)ε Χασέτου 'Αβδάλλας
- 190 No. 117. III / 249.
+ KE ΔOC MOI AΦECIN AMPATIΩN...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε δός μοι ἄφεσιν ἀμ(αρ)τιῶν...
- 191 No. 140. III / 272.
KE O ΘC / EΛEHCON TOYC ΔOYΛOYC COY / ...
Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός / ἐλέησον τοὺς δούλους σου / ...
- 192 No. 168. III / 300.
+ KE...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε...
- 193 No. 2. I / 2a.
+ KYPIE BOHΘEI...
+ Κύριε βοήθει...
The same invocation 'Κύριε βοήθει' appears also in the inscriptions No. 6. I/6, 8. I/8, 29. II/107, 72. III/204, 78. III/210, 80. III/212, 122. III/254, 135. III/267, 144. III/276, 149. III/281, 152. III/284, 171. III/303 and 176. III/309 from Wadi Haggag.
- 194 No. 2. I/2b
+ KYP BOHΘ-CON TON ΔOY...
+ Κύρ(ι)ε βοήθ[η]σον τόν δοῦ[λον σου]...
The same invocation 'Κύριε βοήθησον' appears also in the inscriptions No. 74. III/206, 75. III/207, 145. III/277 and 156. III/288 from Wadi Haggag.
- 195 No. 25. II/103.
+ MNHCΘH KE TOIC ΔOYΛOIC COY
+ Μνήσθη(τι) Κ(ύρι)ε τοῖς δούλοις σου
The same invocation 'Μνήσθητι Κύριε' appears also in the inscriptions No. 98. III/230, 138. III/270, 153. III/285 and 170. III/302 from Wadi Haggag.
- 196 No. 96. III/228
+ KE ΦΥΛΑΞON ΥΠO TΗN CKEΠHΝ COY...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε φύλαξον ὑπό τήν σκέπην σου....
The same invocation 'Κύριε φύλαξον' appears also in the inscription No. 112. III / 224 from Wadi Haggag.
- 197 No. 100. III / 232
+ KE CΩCON TON ΔOYΛON COY...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον τόν δοῦλον σου...
The same invocation 'Κύριε σῶσον' appears also in the inscriptions No. 102. III/234, 104. III/326, 131. III/263, 148. III/280 and 162. III/294 from Wadi Haggag.

- 198 No. 101. III/233.
 + ΚΕ ΕΥΛΟΓΗCON ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟ COY...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε εὐλόγησον τόν δοῦλο(ν) σου...
 The same invocation 'Κύριε εὐλόγησον' appears also in the inscription No. 139. III/271 from Wadi Haggag.
- 199 No. 111. III / 243.
 ΚΕ ΕΛΕHC...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέησ[ον]...
 The same invocation 'Κύριε ἐλέησον' appears also in the inscriptions No. 113. III/225, 116. III/248, 170. III/302 and 188. III/322 from Wadi Haggag.
 Bibl. A. Negev, 'The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai', *QEDem* 6 (1977).
- 200 *Yatta*, Hebron area, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 [ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥ]/ΛΗ Τ[Ο]Υ ΚΥ/ΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙ/ΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥC/ΟΝΤΕ ΕΝ ΑΥ...
 [αὕτη ἡ πύ]/λη τ[ο]ῦ Κυ/ρίου δίκαι/οι εἰσελεύσ/οντε ἐν αὐ...
 Bibl. J. Marta, *RB* 4 (1895), p. 66.
- d) 'I Am', ὁ Ὡν. A revealed title of God, expressing His eternal existence, ὁ ὦν is the present participle of the verb εἰμί meaning 'to be'. It appears in the following inscription:
- 201 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, lintel over the main entrance, pine wood, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΓΩ / ΕΙΜΙ / Ο ΩΝ.
 + Ἐγώ / εἰμί / ὁ ὦν
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.
- e) 'Father' (God) Πατήρ. A title attributed to God, which, in the existing inscriptions, appears abbreviated by the first two and the last letters of the genitive and dative singular.
- 202 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 37, chalk voussoir, Dec. 1st, A.D. 475
 ...ΤΩ ΔΕ ΠΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΙ...
 ...τῷ δέ Π(ατ)ρί καί Υἱῷ / καί Ἀγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι...
 Bibl. E. Kirk and C.B. Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.
- 203 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ / ΠΡC Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝC
 ...ἐν ὀνόματι / Π(ατ)ρ(ός) κ(αί) Υ(ι)ῷ κ(αί) Ἀγίου Πν(εύματος)ι...
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shean*, Vol. IV, Philadelphia 1939, pp. 14-15, inscr. No. IV.

- 204 *Jerusalem*, stone inscription, A.D. 589
 ...ΑΝΑΘΕ/ΜΑ ΔΕ ΕΣΤΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ / ΠΡΟ Κ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ Κ ΤΟΥ /
 ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΟ...
 ...ἀνάθε/μα δέ ἔστω ἀπό τοῦ / Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς κ(αί) τοῦ Υἱοῦ κ(αί) τοῦ / Ἀγίου
 Πν(εύματος)...
- Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB N.S.* 1 (1904), pp. 266-7; Greek Orthodox Patriarchate
 Museum Epigraphical Collection.
- 205 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic, A.D. 565/6
 + ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ Π(ΑΤ)Ρ(Ο)Σ Κ(ΑΙ) Υ(ΙΟ)Υ Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝ(ΕΥΜΑ-
 ΤΟ)Σ...
 + ἐν ὀνόματι Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς κ(αί) Υ(ιο)ῦ κ(αί) Ἀγίου Πν(εύματος)...
- Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.
- f) 'The Most High' Ὑψιστος. A title attributed to God, adopted by Christianity
 from the *Old Testament*. It appears in an abbreviated form in the following in-
 scription:
- 206 *Jerusalem*, St. Etienne, stone inscription, V-VIIIth Century A.D.
 Ο ΚΑ+ΤΟΙΚΣ / ΕΝ ΒΟΣ ΤΟΥ/ ΥΥΣ.
 ὁ κα+τοικ(ῶν) / ἐν βο(ηθεία) τοῦ / Ὑ(ψίστο)υ.
Ps. 90:1.
- Bibl. M.J. Lagrange, *St. Etienne*...; P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), p. 107.
- 207 *Magen*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΗΓΙΑΣΕΝ ΤΟ / ΣΚΗΝΩΜΑ / ΑΥΤΟΥ Ο ΥΨΙ/ΣΤΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ / ΕΝ
 ΜΕΣΩ ΑΥΤΗΣ
 Ἦγάσεν τό / σκήνωμα / αὐτοῦ ὁ Ὑψι/στος ὁ Θεός / ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς.
- V. Tzaferis, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- g) 'Almighty' Παντοκράτωρ. Another title attributive to God. It appears in the fol-
 lowing inscriptions:
- Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri
- 208 Papyrus No. 15, 12, Rhinocorura, May 30th, A.D. 512
 ..καί [ὀμνύω Θεόν] Παντοκράτορα καί νίκην καί [εὐσέβ]ειαν...
- 209 Papyrus No. 73, 1 December A.D. 683?
 ἐν [ὀνό]μ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ πα(ντοκράτορος)...
- The title 'Almighty' Παντοκράτωρ is suggested here.
- 210 Papyrus No. 63, 5 October A.D. 675
 ἐν ὀνόμ(ατι) τοῦ Θεοῦ Πα(ντοκράτορος)...
- 211 Papyrus No. 71 VIIth Century A.D.
 + ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ Παντ[οκράτορος]...
- Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3.
 Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.

Sacred names attributed to Jesus Christ

They signify his divinity as the Son of God and as the second person of the Holy Trinity. Such appellations are the names of, Jesus, Christ, Son of God, Lord, Saviour, God, Lamb of God, Emmanuel, or *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Υἱός Θεοῦ, Κύριος, Σωτήρ, Θεός, Ἀμνός τοῦ Θεοῦ, Ἐμμανουήλ*.

These names appear both in complete and abbreviated forms, and with a single initial letter when they appear in the compendia X M Γ, INBI.

a) The name Jesus, Ἰησοῦς

In the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine and given below, the name Jesus, *Ἰησοῦς*, appears either alone or together with other sacred names in complete or abbreviated form.

- 212 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE MNECΘETI KAI BΩHΘECON
Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ μνέσθετι καί βωήθεσον...
Bibl. *SEG XXVI* (1976-77), inscr. No. 1661.
- 213 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE ...
Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ...
Bibl. *SEG XXVI* (1976-77), inscr. No. 1664.
- 214 *Ain Karim*, fragment of a plate (movable object), ceramic inscription, Byzantine period
Text in the quarters of a cross
IC XC YC ΘΥ
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς Υ(ιό)ς Θ(εο)ῦ
Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Il Santuario della Visitazione*, Jerusalem 1948, p. 82.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscriptions
- 215 Inscr. No. 5, fragments of a marble screen, Byzantine period
I(HC)OY K(YPI)E BOH(ΘHCON)
Ἰ(ησ)οῦ Κ(ύρι)ε βοή(θησον).
- 216 Inscr. No. 55, Byzantine period
KY IC XC CΩCON
Κύ(ριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς σῶσον
- 217 Inscr. No. 108, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
IC XC
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
- 218 Inscr. No. 111, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
Text in the quarters of a cross (see above)

1 G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, s.v.

- IC XP
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστός)
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri
- 219 Papyrus No. 30. 1, September 13, A.D. 596
 † ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)...
- 220 Papyrus No. 145. 8, 9, 11-13, 15, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 line 8 ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ καὶ δεσπότης Εἰσοῦ Χρηστοῦ
 » 9 ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Εἰσοῦ Χρηστοῦ
 » 11 ...καὶ δεσπότης Εἰσοῦ
 » 12 Κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης [Εἰ]σοῦ Χρηστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.
 » 13 Εἰσοῦ Χρηστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 » 15 Εἰσοῦ
- 221 Papyrus No. 185, VIIth Century A.D.
 The only legible word is : IC, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 222 *Bahan Nahalaim*, inscr. No. 1, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 KE IY XE, Κυρίε Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστ)έ. KE IC XE, Κυρίε Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστ)έ
 Dept. of Antiq. Files, Neg. Nos. 11935, 11937.
- 223 *Bethany*, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti in a small cave, Byzantine period
 KE IE XP BOHΘHCON
 Κυρίε Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστέ) βοήθησον
 The sacred name is abbreviated by the first and second letters of the genitive singular (by mistake, instead of 'H' eta, 'E' epsilon has been written).
 Bibl. P. Benoit and M.E. Boissard, *RB* 59 (1951), pp. 200-251.
- 224 *Bethlehem*, Church of the Nativity, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
 Mosaic pavement of the central nave
 ΙΧΘΥC Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ
 A compendium, see p. 21
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 236.
- 225 *Capernaum*, St. Peter's Home, graffiti, Late Roman period
 a) K IE XP BOHΘI
 Κυρίε Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστέ) βοήθη
 b) IE
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)
 In both cases the sacred name is abbreviated. In a, by the first and second letters of the genitive singular with the same mistake as above, and in b, by the first and last letters of the nominative singular.

- Bibl. E. Testa, I graffiti della Casa Di S. Pietro, *Cafarnao IV*, Jerusalem 1972.
- 226 *Capernaum*, St. Peter's House, graffiti, Late Roman period
(I)XΘYC
Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)
From this inscription the first initial letter of the compendium is missing.
That is the letter 'I' iota of the sacred name.
Bibl. E. Testa, I graffiti della Casa Di S. Pietro, *Cafarnao IV*, Jerusalem 1972, inscr. No. 77.
- 227 *Deir Dosi*, St. Theodosius' Monastery, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε Ι(ΕC)ΟΥ Χ(ΠΙCΤ)Ε
Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(εc)οῦ Χ(ριστ)έ
The abbreviated sacred name is expressed by the first and last two letters of the genitive singular, with a horizontal line over them.
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 2 (1933), p. 152.
- 228 *Elateia*, Phocis, stone inscription originating in Cana, Galilee, probably Vth Century A.D.
+ ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ / Ο ΛΙΘΟC ΑΠΟ / ΚΑΝΑ ΤΗC ΓΑ / ΛΙΛΕΑC ΟΠΙΟΥ /
ΤΟ ΥΔΩΡ ΟΙΝΟΝ / ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ Ο ΚC / ΗΜΩΝ ΙC ΧC +
+ Οὗτοc ἐcτίν / ὁ λίθοc ἀπό / Κανᾶ τῆc Γα/λιλέαc ὅπου / τό ὕδωρ οἶνον /
ἐποίηcεν ὁ Κ(ύρι)οc / ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ)c Χ(ριστό)c +
Bibl. Σπυρ. Λάμπρου, 'Ο ἐξ Ἐλατείας λίθοc ἀπό Κανᾶ τῆc Γαλιλαίας,' *Νέοc Ἑλληνομνήμων* 1 (1904), pp. 172-185.
- 229 *El-Kerak*, tomb stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
IC + XC /...
Ἰ(ησοῦ)c + Χ(ριστό)c /...
Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 36. The same appellation appears also in the inscriptions No. 104, 133, 296 and 315 in the above mentioned book.
- 230 *Evron*, mosaic inscription near the baptistery, Vth Century A.D.
line No. 5 Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε Ι(ΗCΟ)Υ ΧΡ(ΙCΤ)Ε ΜΝ(ΗCΘΗΤΙ)
Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ηcο)ῦ Χρ(ιcτ)έ μν(ήcθητι)
The sacred name is abbreviated by the first and last letters of the genitive singular, with a horizontal line over them.
Dept. of Antiq. Files.
- 231 *Herodion*, the lower, mosaic pavement, V-VIth Century A.D.
ΚΕ ΥC ΧC ΚΕ ΑΓΙΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΡΟCΔΕΞΕ...
Κ(ύρι)ε Ὑ(εcοῦ)c Χ(ριστό)c κέ ἅγιε Μιχαήλ πρόcδεξε...
The sacred name is abbreviated by the first and third letters in the genitive singular.

- Bibl. G. Foerster, *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. II, Jerusalem 1976, p. 509.
- 232 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + IXΘYC...
 + Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)...
 Bibl. J.I. Lawlor, *RB* 86 (1979), p. 117; *SEG* XXIX (1979), inscr. No. 1611; *SEG* XXX (1980), inscr. No. 1694.
- 233 *Horvat Midras*, wall inscription, Byzantine period
 Α Ω
 Ι Χ ΙΧ
 Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)
 Bibl. A. Kloner, *QADMONIOT* 11, 4 (1978).
- 234 *Jaffa*, inscription on a marble column in a house at Jaffa, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧC Β(OHΘ)Ε(I)
 Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστό)ς β(οήθ)ε(ι)
 The sacred name is abbreviated by the first and last letters in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 151.
- 235 *Jerusalem*, the Citadel, door lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 Ι]C XC
 [Ι] (ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
 The sacred name appears abbreviated by the first and last letters in the nominative singular (the first letter is missing).
 Bibl. C.N. Johnes, *QDAP* 14 (1950), pp. 159-160, pl. LVIII, 1.
- 236 *Jerusalem*, Notre Dame de France, Archaeological Museum, marble bread stamp, Byzantine period
 IC + XC EN APXH HN O ΛΟΓΟΣ Κ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ HN Π[Ρ]ΟC ΤΟΝ ΘΝ...
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς + Χ(ριστό)ς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν π(ρ)ὸς τὸν Θεόν...
 (*John* 1:1).
 The name is abbreviated by the first and last letters in the nominative singular.
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *Un Musée Palestinien. Notice sur le Musée Archéologique de Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem*, Paris n.d.
- 237 *Khirbet ed-Deir*, between Hebron and Gaza, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 IC XC
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς

The name is abbreviated by the first and last letters in the nominative singular.

Bibl. A.M. Steve, *RB* 43 (1946), pp. 559 ff, pl. X 2, fig. 8.

- 238 *Khirbet Juhzum*, near Bethlehem, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.

KE IY XE EAE/HCON

Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ ἐλέ/ησον

The sacred name appears abbreviated by the first and last letters in the genitive singular.

Bibl. *SEG* XVI (1959), No. 851.

Mampsis, East Church, stone inscription, IV-Vth Century A.D.

- 239 a) a door-post capital

IXΘYC, Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)...

- 240 b) part of a lintel

IXΘ/YC, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) /...

The sacred name 'Ἰησοῦς' is represented by the first letter of the compendium IXΘYC.

Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 72, inscs. No. 90, 91.

- 241 *Nazareth*, the Sanctuary of the Annunciation, graffiti, Vth Century A.D.

IHCOY XPICTE / YYE ΘEOY BOHΘO(C)...

Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ / Υῦέ Θεοῦ βοηθός(ς)...

The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.

Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*, Vol. I, Jerusalem 1969, p. 201.

- 242 *Ozem*, Kh. Beit Mamin, 15 km East of Ashkelon, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

KYPIE / IECOY BOH[Θ]/ICON

Κύριε / Ἰεσοῦ βοη[θ]/ισον...

The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular. The way the word 'Ἰεσοῦ' is written with 'E' epsilon, instead of 'H' eta, is a reminder of the inscriptions from Bethany and Capernaum.

Dept. of Antiq. Files.

- 243 *Ras Siyagha*, Baptistery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...TOY KY HM [IH]C(OY)XY

...τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡμ(ῶν) [Ἰη]σ(οῦ) Χ(ριστο)ῦ

The place where the sacred name appears in the inscription is partially damaged. It suggests an abbreviated form consisting of the first three letters of the name of which only the third is preserved. It is in the genitive singular.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 318.

- 244 *Rihab*, St. Menas' Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635

XAPITI IHCOY PICTOY TOY ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ...

Χάριτι Ἰησοῦ (Χ)ριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 76-77.

- 245 *Sinai*, Faran, a marble inscription, now in the newly built chapel in Wady-Faran, Byzantine period

+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ Κ ΗΓΙΑ / ΜΑΡΙΑ / Η Θ+ΩΤΩΚΟΣ...

+ Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ κ(αί) (ἀ)γία / Μαρία / ἡ Θ+ωτῶκος...

The name is abbreviated by the first and last letters of the genitive singular with a horizontal line over them.

Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 30 (1980), pp. 225-232.

- 246 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, Old Library, pine wood, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

ΚΥΡΙΕ / ΕΙ(Ε)COY / ΧΡΙCΤΕ / ΒΟ[Η]ΘΙ

Κύριε / Εἰ(ε)σοῦ / Χριστέ / βο[ή]θι

The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular and is misspelled.

Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.

- 247 *Suhmata*, mosaic inscription No. 2, VIth Century A.D.

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙΗCOY ΒΟΗΘΗCΟΝ ΤΗ ΚΩΜΗ ΤΑΥΤΗ

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ βοήθησον τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ

The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 96.

- 248 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

...ΚΑΙ Ο ΚC IC XC ΠΡΟCΔΕΞ/ΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΗCΙ/Ν ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ

...καὶ ὁ Κ(ύρι)ος Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς προσδέξ/ηται τὴν δέησι/ν αὐτοῦ, ἀμήν

Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period

- 249 No. 1. I/1a

IC XC XC

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς Χ(ριστό)ς

- 250 No. 37. II/114

IC XC/...

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς/...

- 251 No. 71. III/203

ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΕΓ

Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ Μέγ(ιστε)

- 252 No. 79. III/211

+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΕCΘΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΩΗΘΕCΟΝ...

+ Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ μνέσθετι καὶ βωήθεσον..

- 253 No. 99. III/231
 + KE IY XE EΛEHC ON / TON ΔΟΥΛΟΝ COY /...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ ἐλέησον / τόν δοῦλον σου /...
- 254 No. 103. III/235
 + KYPIE ICOY XPICTE / BOHΘI TOY ΔΟΥΛΟΥ COY...
 Κύριε Ἰ(η)σοῦ Χριστέ/ βοήθι τοῦ δούλου σου...
- 255 No. 106. III/238
 + KE IY XE XE KAI ΛΩΓΕ / TOY ΘΥ Ο ΘC CΥΝΟΔΕΥ/CEN CY...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ, Χ(ριστ)έ καί Λώγε / τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ, ὁ Θ(εό)ς συνό-
 δευ/σεν σύ...
- 256 No. 118. III/250
 HC XC
 Ἡ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
- 257 No. 138. III/270
 + MNHCΘHTI K / IECOY XPICOY / NONNA / KYPIAKOY
 + Μνήσθητι Κ(ύριε) / Ἰεσοῦ Χρισ(τ)οῦ / Νόννα / Κυριακοῦ
- 258 No. 141. III/273
 IXC / IXC /...
 Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστό)ς / Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστό)ς...
- 259 No. 151. III/283
 + KE IY XE MNHC/ΘHTI TON ΓΡΑΨΑΝ/ΤΑ...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνήσ/θητι τόν γράψαν/τα...
- 260 No. 158. III/289
 + KE IY XE BOHΘI /...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ βοήθι /...
- 261 No. 187. III/312
 + KE IY XE MNHCΘ / AICIKIOC...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνήσθ(ητι) / Αἰσίκιος...
- 262 No. 194. III/329
 + IC XP
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χρ(ιστός)
 Bibl. A. Negev, 'The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai,' *QEDem* 6 (1977).

b) *The Sacred Name Ἰησοῦς in the compendium INBI.*

This compendium was the first abbreviated Christian inscription placed on the Cross of Jesus at the time of his crucifixion. It refers to Jesus of Nazareth as king of the Jews; it does not signify the divinity of Jesus. According to *John* 19:19–20, it was written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin.¹

¹ *John* 19: 19-22 ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τίτλον πολλοὶ ἀνέγνωσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὅτι ἐγγύς

This has not been found in any recent archaeological excavations, but according to the Christian tradition, it was found by Saint Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 326 when she was searching for the Cross of Jesus.¹

c) *The sacred name Christ, Χριστός*

The sacred name 'Christ' in the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine, alone or together with the sacred words 'God' *Θεός*, 'Saviour' *Σωτήρ*, and the secular titles 'sovereign' *ἄναξ*, 'universal monarch' *Παμβασιλεύς* and 'absolute monarch' *Δεσπότης*, appears in complete or abbreviated form. When abbreviated, it is inscribed by the interscription 'XP', that is, with the first two letters of the word; the monogram *✠*; by the first and last letters; the first two and last letters with or without a horizontal line over the letters, regardless of the case; by the single initial 'X' when it appears in the compendia IXΘYC and XMΓ.

The sacred name Christ, Χριστός, appears in the following inscriptions:

- 263 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE MNECΘETI KAI BΩHΘECON
Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνέσθεται καὶ βωήθесον...
Bibl. *SEG XXVI* (1976-77), inscr. No. 1661.
- 264 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE ...
Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ...
Bibl. *SEG XXVI* (1976-77), inscr. No. 1664.
- 265 *Arraba*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥ +/+ΝΑΜΙ ΧΥ ΒΟ/+ΗΘΙΑ
+ Θεοῦ δυ +/+νάμι Χ(ριστο)ῦ βο/+ηθία...
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971), p. 244.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscriptions
- 266 Inscr. No. 30, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
...KYP IY XE MNIC(ΘΗ)ΤΙ
...Κύρ(ι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνίσ(θη)τι
- 267 Inscr. No. 35. 6, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
...ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΧΥ ΒΑCΙΑΙ(Α) ΤΙ/ΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟC...
...τοῦ δέ Χ(ριστο)ῦ βασιλί(α) τι/μή καὶ τό κράτος...

ἦν τῆς πόλεως ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἦν γεγραμμένον Ἑβραϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί, Ῥωμαϊστί ἔλεγον οὖν τῷ Πιλάτῳ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ γράφῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος εἶπε βασιλεὺς εἰμὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πιλάτος, ὃ γέγραφα γέγραφα'.

¹ Euthymios Zegabenos, in A.D. 1050-1120 says that: 'the Cross of Jesus, when discovered, was distinguished from the other two crosses by means of its inscription'. PG 129, 729 A. 'Τῶν τριῶν γάρ ἅμα τότε καταχωσθέντων, χρόνοις ὕστερον ὁ Δεσποτικός ἀναζητηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τίτλου μᾶλλον γέγονε γνῶριμος'.

- 268 Inscr. No. 47, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
 ΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΣΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΒΟΗΘΗ(ΤΕ)
 Χ(ριστ)έ καί ἅγιε Σέργι(ε) βοηθῇ(τε)
- 269 Inscr. No. 53, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
 Ο ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ CΥΝΟΔΕΥCΩΝ ΗΜΑC
 ὁ Χριστός συνοδεύσων ἡμᾶς
- 270 Inscr. No. 55, chalk block, Byzantine period
 ΚΥ ΙC ΧC CΩC(ΟΝ)
 Κύ(ριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς σῶσ(ον)
- 271 Inscr. No. 106, Byzantine period
 + ΧC ΝΙΚΑ ΧC ΒΑCΙΑ[ΕΥΕΙ]
 + Χ(ριστό)ς νικᾷ Χ(ριστό)ς βασιλ[εύει]
- 272 Inscr. No. 108, Byzantine period
 ΙC Χ[
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ[(ριστό)ς
- 273 Inscr. No. 111, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
 ΙC] ΧC ΝΙΚΑ
 [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς] Χ(ριστό)ς νικᾷ
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri
- 274 Papyrus 24. 1, November 26, A.D. 569
 ...δεσπότη [Φ]λ(αοῦ)ου Ἰουστίν[ο]υ πιστοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ...
- 275 Papyrus 26.1, January 12, A.D. 570
 ...πιστοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ...
- 276 Papyrus 27. 1, A.D. 570-571
 ...ἐ[ν Χ(ριστ)ῷ]
- 277 Papyrus 29. 1, Elusa, December 23, A.D. 590
 ...πιστοῦ ἐ[ν] Χ(ριστ)ῷ...
- 278 Papyrus 30. 1, September 13, A.D. 596
 + Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡμῶν δεσπότη Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ)...
- 279 Papyrus 52. 17, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...δούλῳ Χ(ριστοῦ) [...]
- 280 Papyrus 90, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 Column II. χ μ γ
- 281 Papyrus 120. 1, Late VI-Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...πιστοῦ ἐν] Χριστ[ῷ]...
- 282 Papyrus 145. 8.9.11.12.13, Byzantine period
 line 8. Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ καὶ δεσπότη Εἰσοῦ Χρηστοῦ

» 9. Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Εἰσοῦ Χριστοῦ

» 11. καὶ δεσπότου Εἰσοῦ

» 12. Κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου [Εἰ]σοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ

» 13. ...] Εἰσοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ [Θεοῦ

- 283 Papyrus 152, VIIth Century A.D.

At the bottom of the text and in an upside down position, one notes the compendium + ΧΜΓ + between two crosses.

The name Χριστός is represented by the first letter 'X' in the compendium X Μ Γ, which has been interpreted as 'Christ born to Mary' Χ(ριστόν) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννᾷ) or 'Christ, childbirth of Mary' Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα). For more details about the compendium see W.K. Prentice, *CPh* 9 (1924), pp. 410-416.

Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literari Papyri, Princeton University Press 1958.

- 284 *Bahan*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

+ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ

+Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ

The inscription is not clear and from the negatives available, can be read +ΧΕ instead of ΚΕ. If this is so, the name was abbreviated by the first and last letters of the vocative singular.

See Dept. of Antiq. File, *Bahan Nahalaim*, Neg. No. 11935, 11937.

- 285 *Beersheba* (new Bedouin market), mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

ΧΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ /...

Χ(ριστ)έ βοήθει /...

Dept. of Antiq. Files.

- 286 *Beit Jibrin*, Eleutheropolis, mosaic inscription, about A.D. 500

ΧΡΙCTΟΥ ΠΑΜΒΑCΙΑΗOC /...

Χριστοῦ παμβασιλῆος /...

The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular, with the title 'the universal monarch', Παμβασιλεύς.

Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 33 (1924), pp. 596-8.

- 287 *Bethany*, Les Filles de la Charité de Saint Vincent de Paul, graffiti, Byzantine period

.ΧΡΙCΤΕ ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΟΝ... ΧΕ ΕΛΕΗ[CΟΝ] ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥ-ΛΟΝ...

.Χριστέ ἐλέησον Φλαβιανόν... Χ(ριστ)έ ἐλέη[σον] τόν δοῦλον...

Bibl. P. Benoit and M.E. Boissard, *RB* 59 (1951), pp. 200-251.

- 288 *Bethlehem*, Church of the Nativity, mosaic pavement inscription, IVth Century A.D.

.ΙΧΘΥ /C

.Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) / Σ(ωτήρ)

The sacred name is indicated by the second initial of the compendium 'ΙΧΘΥC' suggesting the nominative singular, and is accompanied by the sacred names 'Ιησοῦς Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ'.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 236.

- 289 *Bethphage or Beersheba*, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΑΙ Η ΔΟΥΛΗ / ΚΑΙ ΝΥΜΦΗ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ / ΣΟΦΙΑ
 Η ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC...
 + ἐνθάδε κῖται ἡ δούλη / καὶ νύμφη τοῦ Χριστοῦ / Σοφία ἡ διάκονος...
 Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* N.S. 1 (1904), pp. 260-2.
- 290 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscriptions
 No. I, VIth Century A.D.
 ... Κ ΤΕΛΙΑC / ΕΝ ΧΩ ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΕΩC
 ... κ(αί) τελίας / ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῳ ἀναπαύσεως.
- 291 No. II, V-VIth Century A.D.
 + ΧΕ Ο ΘC ΗΜΩΝ...
 + Χ(ριστ)έ ὁ Θ(εό)ς ἡμῶν...
 The sacred name 'Christ' is accompanied by the title 'God', Θεός, attributed to Jesus Christ in a dogmatic context as being consubstantial with God the Father, being the second person of the Holy Trinity.
- 292 No. III, V-VIth Century A.D.
 . ΧΕ Ο ΘC CΩΤΗΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ/...
 .Χ(ριστ)έ ὁ Θ(εό)ς Σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον/...
 The name 'Christ' is accompanied with the names 'God', Θεός, and 'Saviour', Σωτήρ.
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth Shean* Vol. IV, pp. 13-14, inscrs. No. I, II & III.
- 293 *Bir El Qutt*, near Bethlehem, Georgian monastery, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 English translation: 'it was made by the aid of Christ and through the intercession of St. Theodorus...'
 Bibl. V. Corbo, *Kh. Siyar, El-Ghanam e i Monasteri dei Dintorni*, Gerusalemme 1955, p. 135.
- 294 *Capernaum*, wall graffiti, Late Roman period
 59. ΧΕ 73. ΧΕ 78. ΧΟ
 Χ(ριστέ) Χ(ριστ)έ Χ(ριστ)ό
 Bibl. Emm. Testa, I graffiti della casa di S. Pietro, *Cafarnao* IV, 1972.
- 295 *Deir Dosi*, St. Theodosius, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 . ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ ΤΑC ΨΥΧΑC ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ CΟΥ
 . Κ(ύρι)ε Ι(ησοῦ) Χρ(ιστέ) ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 2 (1933), p. 152.

- Deir el Qilt*, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period
- 296 Inscr. No. 9
+ Μη(νί) Ἀπρ(ιλίω) κθ' / ✠ Νέσταβος / Ἀσκαλω(νίτης)
- 297 Inscr. No. 27
✠ ἐνθάδε κεῖται / ὁ μακάριος Μᾶρκος...
- 298 Inscr. No. 20
✠ Ἀρμένιος / πρεσβύτερος
- 299 Inscr. No. 30
✠ ἐνθάδε κῆτε / Λονγίνος Καπ/πάδοξ κοιμηθίς /...
- 300 Inscr. No. 60
✠ Θεώδορ[ος] / Βίβλειος /...
- 301 Father Gabriel's Hermitage, Fresco in the Chapel, V-VIth Century A.D.
IC XC Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστός)
ΘΟΥ [YC] Θ(ε)οῦ [Υ(ιό)ς]
Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 28 (1978), pp. 171-192.
- 302 Inscr. No. 74
✠ Ἰωάννης / Σῦρος
- 303 Inscr. No. 80
✠ Κυπρο.../ ἀρχιδιάκονος ἐτε/λεῦθι μη(νί) Ἀπρ(ιλίω).. / Ἰνδ. γ'.
- 304 Inscr. No. 89
Διάκον/ ✠ Παῦλος / τήκτων.
- 305 Inscr. No. 170
✠ ἐκμῆθ(η) ὁ ἀ/δελφός Κασίου /.../
- 306 Inscr. No. 206
✠ Βίκτωρ / Ἑγύπτιος
Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, Taf. V-VIII, pp. 297-332.
The term 'Christ', Χριστός, abbreviated, appears also on oil lamps of the Byzantine period, in the common Greek inscription:
'Φῶς Χ(ριστοῦ) Φέν(ε)ι Πᾶσιν'.
'The light of Christ shines on all'
See Dept. of Antiq. Cat. Nos. 1671, 1672.
- 307 *Elateia*, Phocis, stone inscription originating in Cana, Galilee, probably Vth Century A.D.
+ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ / Ο ΛΙΘΟΣ ΑΠΟ / ΚΑΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΑ / ΛΙΛΕΑΣ ΟΠΟΥ /
ΤΟ ΥΔΩΡ ΟΙΝΟΝ / ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ Ο ΚΣ / ΗΜΩΝ IC XC +
+ Οὗτος ἐστίν / ὁ λίθος ἀπό / Κανᾶ τῆς Γα/λιλέας ὅπου / τό ὕδωρ οἶνον /
ἐποίησεν ὁ Κ(ύριος)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστός)ς +

- Bibl. Σπυρ. Λάμπρου, 'Ο ἐξ Ἑλατείας λίθος ἀπὸ Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν* I (1904), pp. 172-185.
- 308 *El Boberiye*, Samaria, lintel, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 . ΧΕ ΑΝΑΞ Χ(ριστ)έ ἀναξ...
 The name 'Christ' is accompanied by the secular title 'sovereign', ἀναξ.
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* 35 (1926), p. 471.
- 309 *El-Kerak*, tomb stone inscription, A.D. 569/570
 ΧΕCΩΡ / ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ...
 Χ(ριστ)έ Σῶ(τε)ρ / ἀνάπαυσον...
 Bibl. R. Canova, *Inscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 19.
- 310 *El-Kerak*, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΧΜΓ /...
 + Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) γ(έννα) /...
 Bibl. R. Canova, *Inscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 82.
- 311 *El Murassas* (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscriptions, Byzantine period
 ...ΚS ΠΑCΗC / ΤΗC ΕΝ ΧΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ CΥΝΟΔΙΑC
 ...κ(αί) πάσης/ τῆς ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ αὐτῶν συνοδίας
 ...ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤΗΡΙΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ Κ ΤΗC ΕΝ / ΧΩ CΥΝΟΔΙΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ...
 ...ὑπέρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κ(αί) τῆς ἐν / Χ(ριστ)ῷ συνοδίας αὐτοῦ...
 Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 312 *El-Tireh*, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 Η ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ/ΞΑΜΕΝΗ ΔΙΜΑΤΟ ΟΙΚΟΝ / ΧΡΙC-
 ΤΟΥ ΤΟΙC ΙΧΝΕCΙ ΔΩΡΟΝ / ΠΟΡΙCΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ
 Ἡ χρημάτων καὶ βίου ἀλλὰ/ξαμένη δίματο οἶκον / Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἵχνεσι
 δῶρον / πόρισα τοῦτο
 Bibl. A. M. Schneider, *Oriens Christianus* 1934, pp. 219-221; B. Bagatti, *Antichi villagi cristiani di Samaria*, Gerusalemme 1979, pp. 103-105, fig. 40.
- 313 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No.6, Vth Century A.D.
 ...ΧΡΕ ΜΝΗCΚΟΥ
 ...] Χρ(ιστ)έ μνήσκου.
 Dept. of Antiq. Files.
Gaza, inscriptions
- 314 Inscr. No. 9, house of Jiries, marble slab, A.D. 540
 + ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ Ο ΤΟΥ / ΧΥ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟC Κ ΕΝ / ΑΓΙΟΙC / ΑΒΡΑ-
 ΜΙ/ΟC...
 + ἐνθάδε κίτε ὁ τοῦ / Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦ/λος κ(αί) ἐν / ἀγίοις / Ἀβράμ/ος...

- 315 Inscr. No. 14, house of Yusef Saba, marble slab, A.D. 602
 a. ...] / ΔΟΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΑ...
 ...] / δούλη τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Θεο/δώρα...
- 316 b. ΚΑΤΕΤΗΘΗ Ο ΤΟΥ / ΧΥ ΔΟΥΛΟC ΗΛΙΑC /... A.D. 610
 κατετήθη ὁ τοῦ / Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦλος Ἡλίας /...
- 317 Inscr. No. 15, house of the Greek vicar of Gaza, white marble slab, Byzantine period
 + ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΑΙ Η ΤΟΥ ΧΥ / ΔΟΥΛΗ ΜΕΓΙCΤΗΡΙΑ...
 + Ἐνθάδε κ(ε)ῖται ἡ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ / δούλη Μεγιστηρία...
- 318 Inscr. No. 17, house of Abdallah es Serraj, marble slab from Ascalon, Byzantine period
 + Η ΤΟΥ ΧΥ Κ ΤΩΝ / ΑΓΙΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΗ ΑΝΑ/CTACIA ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ /...
 + ἡ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ(αί) τῶν / ἀγίων δούλη Ἀνα/σταςία Ἰωάννου / ...
 Bibl. C. Clermont - Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 411 for inscr. No. 14 a and b, pp. 411-2 for inscr. No. 15, p. 413 for inscr. No. 17 and p. 408 for inscr. No. 9
- 319 *Gerasa*, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533
 ΧΡΙCΤΕ / ΒΟΗΘΙ / ΚΑΛΛΟΙΩ/ΝΙCΤΩ
 Χριστέ / βοήθι / Καλλοιω/νίστω
 ΧΡΙCΤΕ / ΒΟΗΘΙ / ΙΩΑΝΝΗ ΑCΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ
 Χριστέ / βοήθι / Ἰωάννη Ἀστρικίου
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, pp. 481-2, Nos. 312, 313.
- 320 *Hazor Ashdod*, mosaic inscription No. 3, A.D. 556/7
 + ΧΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ / ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ / ΕΡΓΟΝ...
 + Χ(ριστο)ῦ χάριτι / ἐτελιώθη τό πᾶν / ἔργον...
 Dept. of Antiq. Files.
- 321 *Heshban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΙΧΘΥC...
 + Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)...
 Bibl. J. I. Lawlor, *RB* 86(1979), p. 117; *SEG* XXIX (1979), inscr. No. 1611; *SEG* XXX (1980), inscr. No. 1694.
- 322 *Horvat Midras*, wall inscription, Byzantine period
 Α Ω
 Ι Χ Ι Χ
 Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)
 Bibl. A. Kloner, *QADMONIOT* 11, 4 (1978).
- 323 *Jericho*, Church of St. Andrew, Al Riha Sabiha, house of Zaka al Ashar, Coptic property, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΤΡΥΦΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟC ΤΟ/Υ ΧΥ...

- ...Τρύφον δοῦλος τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ...
- Bibl. A. Augustinović, *Gerico e Dintorni*, Gerusalemme 1951, pp. 80-1; E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig 1939, p. 346.
- 324 *Jerusalem*, Dominus Flevit, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΤΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΗΜΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ...
 ...τῷ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Χριστῷ...
 The sacred name 'Christ' appears together with the secular title 'absolute monarch', Δεσπότης.
 Bibl. *SEG* XVII (1960), No. 786.
- 325 *Jerusalem*, the Citadel, door lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 IC XC
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
 Bibl. C.N. Johnes, *QDAP* 14 (1950), pp. 159-160, pl. LXIII, 1.
- 326 *Jerusalem*, Notre Dame de France Archaeological Museum, marble bread stamp, Byzantine period
 . IC + XC EN APXH HN O ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΗΝ...
 . Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς + Χ(ριστό)ς. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν...
John. I: 1.
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *Un Musée Palestinien. Notice sur le Musée Archéologique de Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem*, Paris n.d.
- 327 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Russian property, marble inscription, A.D. 592
 ...TON / CΤΑΥΡΩΘ]ΕΝΤΙ ΧΩ ΤΩ ΘΩ Η / ΑΝΗΛΘΕ]...
 ...τόν / σταυρωθ]έντι Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ ἡ / ἀνῆλθε]...
 Bibl. C. Clermont - Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 338-9.
- 328 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Karm es Saiyad, Orthodox Viri Galilaei, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 . ΧΕ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΤΗC / ΔΟΥΛΗC CΟΥCΑΝΗC
 . Χ(ριστ)έ μνήσθητι τῆς / δούλης (σου) Σουσάνης
 Bibl. K. Καρναᾶ, *Ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ τῆς Ἀναλήψεως*, Ἱερουσαλὴμ 1908.
- 329 *Jerusalem*, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙ/ΤΑΙ ΧΝ ΑΓΑΠΩCΑ...
ἐνθάδε κί/ται Χ(ριστό)ν ἀγαπῶσα...
- 330 *Jerusalem*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 . Ο ΧC ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΗCΕ ΟΡΦΑΝΕ ΜΟΥ
 . Ὁ Χ(ριστό)ς ἀναπαύσῃ σέ ὀρφανέ μου.
 Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum Epigraphical Collection.

- 331 *Khirbet ed Deir*, between Hebron and Gaza, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 .IC XC / BOHΘI TON ΔΟΥ[ΛΟ]Ν COY /
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς / βοήθ(η)ι τόν δοῦ[λο]ν σου /
 Bibl. A. M. Steve, *RB* 43 (1946), pp. 559 ff, pl. X2, fig. 8.
- 332 *Khirbet es Samrah*, Eastern Shore of Lake Tiberias, within the courtyard of Abdalah el Hamad, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 + Η ΙΡΗΝΗ ΤΟΥ CΩΤΗΡΟC ΗΜΩΝ ΧΡ
 + ἡ ἱρήνη τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χρ(ιστοῦ)
 The sacred name is accompanied by the title 'Saviour', Σωτήρ.
 Dept. of Antiq. File, No. 168.
- 333 *Madaba*, Transjordan, Aelianus Crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
 . XC / Ο ΘC ΤΟΝ ΟΙ/ΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ / ΑΝΗΓΕΙ/ΡΕΝ...
 . Χ(ριστό)ς / ὁ Θ(εός) τόν οἶ/κον τοῦτον / ἀνήγει/ρεν...
 Bibl. P.M. Séjourné, *RB* 6 (1897), p. 659.
- 334 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/663
 .ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗΝ ΜΑΡΙΗΝ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΟΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΤΙΚΚΕΝ / ΧΝ...
 . Παρθενικὴν Μαρίην Θεομήτορα καὶ ὃν ἐτικκεν / Χ(ριστό)ν...
 Bibl. Claudine Dauphin, *PEQ* 107 (1975), pp. 155-157.
- Mampsis*, East Church, IV-Vth Century A.D.
- 335 a) A door-post capital IXΘYC Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός)...
- 336 b) Part of a lintel IXΘ/YC Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) / Υ(ιός)...
- The sacred name 'Christ' Χριστός, is indicated by the initial 'X' in the compendium IXΘYC.
- Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 72, inscs. No. 90, 91.
- 337 *Masouh*, near Madaba, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 . ΧΕ Ο ΘC / ΗΜΩΝ ΒΟΗΘC...
 Χ(ριστ)έ ὁ Θ(εός) / ἡμῶν βοήθ(η)σον...
 The sacred name is accompanied by the name 'God' Θεός.
 Bibl. Yousef Alami, *ADAJ* 15 (1970), p. 35, pl. II; M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa di Massuh e il territorio della diocesi di Esbous,' *LA* 33 (1983), pp. 335-346.
- 338 *Nazareth*, the Shrine of the Annunciation, wall painting inscription, Byzantine period
 line 4. / ΚΥΡ ΧΡ CΩCON ΤΗΝ ΔΟ(ΥΛΗ)Ν /...
 / Κύρ(ι)ς Χρ(ιστέ) σῶσον τήν δο(ύλη)ν /...
 line 7. / Ν ΧΡΙC.../
 / ν(ω) Χρ(ιστῷ).../
 Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*, Vol. I, Jerusalem 1969, p. 197.

- 339 *Pella of Decapolis*, Tabagat Fahl, lintel, stone inscription, second half of the Vth Century A.D.
 + ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΜΕΝ Σ[ΟΙ ΧΕ Ο Θ]/ΕΟC ΟΤΙ ΕΞΗΓΑΓΕC Η[ΜΑC ΕΚ...
 + Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σο[ι Χ(ριστ)έ ο Θ]/εός ὅτι ἐξήγαγες ἡ[μᾶς ἐκ...
 1. *Peter*. 2 : 9.
 Bibl. Robert Houston Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis*, Vol. I, 1973, pp. 63-4, No. 69.
- 340 *Petra*, Transjordan, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΓΩ ΘΕΩ ΕΟΝΤΙ / ΧΡΙCΤΩ ΠΑΝΒΑCΙΑΗΙ ΟΜΟΟΥCΙΩ ΤΡΙΑΔΙ CΕΠΤΗ.
 ...Θεοῦ λόγῳ Θεῷ ἐόντι / Χριστῷ πανβασιλῆι ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδι σεπτῇ.
 The sacred name appears in complete form in the dative case, singular, and is dogmatically unique in the context of sacred names, according to which Christ is 'God', universal monarch, consubstantial with the venerable Trinity, 'ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδι σεπτῇ'.
- 341 *Petra*, Transjordan, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΕΜΕΩC ΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΩΝ.
 ...Χριστοῦ διάκονος μεγάλου τέμεως Ἱεροσολύμων.
 Dept. of Antiq. file, No. 43.15.
- 342 *Ras Siyagha*, North of the Baptismal font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597
 ...ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΗΜ/[ΩΝ ΙΥ] ΧΥ ΕΤΕΛΕΙ/ΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ...
 ...τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμ/[ῶν Ἰησοῦ] Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐτελεῖ/ώθη τό ἔργον...
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 318.
- 343 *Ras Siyagha*, Theotokos Chapel, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 .Ο ΚΤΙCΤΗC Κ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC ΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧC Ο ΘC
 .Ὁ κτίστης κ(αί) δημιουργός τῶν ἀπάντων Χ(ριστό)ς ο Θ(εό)ς...
 Bibl. *SEG VIII*(1937), No. 332.
- 344 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalil Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604
 .ΑΜΗΝ [Χ] Μ Γ
 Ἀμήν [Χ](ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα).
 The first letter of the compendium which expresses the sacred name 'Christ' Χριστός, is missing but easily suggested. A characteristic of this inscription is the word 'Amen' Ἀμήν, which comes before the compendium.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 68, inscr. No. I; W.K. Prentice, *CPh* 9 (1924), pp. 410, 116.
- 345 *Rihab*, St. Menas' Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635
 ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΙΗCΟΥ ΡΙCΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ CΩΤΗΡΟC ΗΜΩΝ...
 Χάριτι Ἰησοῦ (Χ)ριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καί σωτῆρος ἡμῶν...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 76-77.

- 346 *Shefa 'Amr*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 KE XPE BOHΘI...
 Κ(ύρι)ε Χρ(ιστ)έ βοήθι...
 Bibl. J. P. van Kasteren, 'Neuentdeckte Grabkammern,' *ZDPV* 12(1889), p. 30, No. II; B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea*, Gerusalemme 1971, pp. 125-134.
- 347 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistry, marble inscription, A.D. 614
 ...ΔΟΥΛΕΥCΑC TH EKΛHC EN XΩ
 ...δουλεύσας τῇ Ἐκ(κ)λησ(ία) ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 58, inscr. No. 62.
- 348 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistry, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ EN ΧΡΙCΤΩ...
 + κατετέθη ἐν Χριστῷ...
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 56-57, inscr. No. 60.
- 349 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistry, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΧΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥC...
 ...Χ(ριστ)έ ἀνάπαυσ(ον)...
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 57-58, inscr. No. 61.
- 350 *Susita*, Hippos, south apse, a mosaic pavement inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 .ΛΟ ΧΥ.
 .λο Χ(ριστο)ῦ.
 Dept. of Antiq. files; Bibl. E. Anati, *Bulletin of the Dept. of Antiq. of the State of Israel* V-VI (Sept. 1957), p. 32.
- 351 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΚΑΙ Ο ΚC IC ΧC ΠΡΟCΔΕΞ/ΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΗCΙ/Ν ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ
 ...καὶ ὁ Κ(ύρι)ος Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς προσδέξ/ηται τήν δέησι/ν αὐτοῦ, ἀμήν.
 Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 352 *Umm el-Jimal*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + / ΧΕ ΕΥΧΗC ΑΓΝ ΦΛΞΝ ΗΜΑC
 + / Χ(ριστ)έ εὐχῆς ἀγ(ί)ων φ(ύ)λ(α)ξ(ο)ν ἡμᾶς
 Bibl. *AAES* II, A, 3, p. 170; *AAES* III, A, 3, pp. 143-148; M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 59.
- 353 *Umm el-Maqati* (djebel Ajlun), mosaic inscription, A.D. 482
 ΧΜΓ / ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/CEBS ΑΙΩΝΟC ΠΙΕCΣ/...
 Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα) / ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο/σεβ(εστάτου) Αἰῶνος πρεσ(βυτέρου)/...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 23-25; M. Piccirillo, 'Jordanie: L'Apogée Byzantine,' *Le Monde de la Bible* (Sept.-Oct. 1984), pp. 23, 52.

- 354 *Wadi Haggag*, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period
No. 1. I/1a.
IC XC XC
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
- 355 No. 5. I/5.
+ ABPAAMIC KYPKOC XP
+ Ἀβραάμης Κυρ(ια)κός Χρ(ιστός)
- 356 No. 37. II/114.
IC XP /...
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χρ(ιστός) /...
- 357 No. 71. III/203.
KE IY XE MEG
Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ Μέγ(ιστε)
- 358 No. 79. III/211.
+ KE IY XE MNECΘETI KAI BΩHΘECON...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνέσθετι καί βωήθесον...
- 359 No. 87. III/219.
+ XC NIKA + / XE BOHΘI / MAPKEΛΛON
+ Χ(ριστό)ς νικᾷ + / Χ(ριστ)έ βοήθι / Μάρκελλον
- 360 No. 99. III/231.
+ KE IY XE ELEHCON / TON ΔΟΥΛON COY /..
+ Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ ἐλέησον / τόν δοῦλον σου /...
- 361 No. 103. III/235.
+ KYPIE ICOY XPICTE / BOHΘI TOY ΔΟΥΛΟΥ COY...
+ Κύριε Ἰ(η)σοῦ Χριστέ / βοήθι τοῦ δούλου σου...
- 362 No. 106. III/238.
+ KE IY XE XE KAI ΛΩΓE / TOY ΘY O ΘC CYNODEY/CEN CY...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ, Χ(ριστ)έ καί Λώγε / τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Θεός συνό-
δευ/σεν σύ...
- 363 No. 109. III/241.
+ XE ΦΥΛΑΞON / TON KYPIAΛON
+ Χ(ριστ)έ φύλαξον / τόν Κύριλλον
- 364 No. 110. III/242.
EYXH / KYPIA / XPICTO /...
Εὐχή / Κυρια(κός) / Χριστός /...

- 365 No. 118. III/250.
HC XC
Ἡ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
- 366 No. 138. III/270.
+ MNHCΘHTI K / IECOY XPICOY / NONNA / KYPIAKOY
+ Μνήσθητι Κ(ύριε) / Ἰεσοῦ Χρισ(τ)οῦ / Νόννα / Κυριακοῦ
- 367 No. 141. III/273.
IXC / IXC/...
Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστό)ς / Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστό)ς
- 368 No. 151. III/283.
+ KE IY XE MNHC/ΘHTI TON ΓΡΑΨΑΝ/ΤΑ
+ Κ(ύριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνήσ/θητι τόν γράψαν/τα..
- 369 No. 158. III/289.
+ KE IY XE BOHΘI /...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ βοήθι /...
- 370 No. 161. III/293.
XE EYΛO...N...
Χ(ριστ)έ εὐλό[γησο]ν
- 371 No. 187. III/312.
+ KE IY XE MNHCΘ/ AICIKIOC...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνήσθ(ητι) / Αἰσίκιος...
- 372 No. 193. III/328.
XP
Χρ(ιστός)
- 373 No. 194. III/329.
IC XP
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χρ(ιστός)
Bibl. A. Negev, 'The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai,' *QEDem* 6(1977).

d) *The title 'Son', Υἱός.*

In the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine, the title 'Son', *Υἱός*, referring to Jesus Christ as the only Son of God, appears in the following places:

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana

- 374 Inscr. No. 37, chalk voussoir, 1st December, A.D. 475
...Τ ΔΕ ΠΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΙ.
...τῷ δέ Π(ατ)ρί καί Υἱῷ / καί ἀγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι.
- 375 Papyrus No. 30. 1, 13th September, A.D. 596
...Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) Υ[ιοῦ] Θεοῦ καί Σω[τῆ]ρος ἡμῶν

- 376 Papyrus No. 46. 1, 16th July, A.D. 605
 ...Πατρός και Υιού καί τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος...
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 377 *Bethlehem*, Church of the Nativity, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
 . IXΘY/C, Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) / Σ(ωτήρ)
 The title appears as the fourth initial of the compendium 'IXΘYC' suggesting the nominative singular.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 236.
- 378 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
 ...EN ONOMATI / TOY ΠPC K YY K AΓIOY...
 ...ἐν ὀνόματι / τοῦ Π(ατ)ρ(ός)ς καί) Υ(ιοῦ) καί) ἁγίου...
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shean*, Vol. IV, Philadelphia 1939, pp. 14-15, inscr. No. IV.
- 379 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + IXΘYC
 + Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)...
 Bibl. J. I. Lawlor, *RB* 86 (1979), p. 117; *SEG XXIX* (1979), inscr. No. 1611; *SEG XXX* (1980), inscr. No. 1694.
- 380 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3
 ...ΧΝ ΠΑΜΒΑCΙΑΗΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΥΙΕΑ ΜΟΥΝΟΝ.
 ...Χ(ριστό)ν Παμβασιλῆα Θεοῦ μόνον Υἱέα μούνον.
 The sacred name appears in a complete, uncontracted form in the accusative singular. The inscription emphasizes that Christ is the only Son of the only One God.
 Bibl. Claudine Dauphin, *PEQ* 107 (1975), pp. 155-157.
- 381 *Mamphis*, East Church, stone inscription, IV-Vth Century A.D.
 a) a door-post capital
 IXΘYC
 Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός)...
- 382 b) part of a lintel
 IXΘ/YC
 Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) / Υ(ιός)..
 The sacred name appears as the fourth initial letter of the compendium 'IXΘYC' suggesting the nominative singular.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 72, inscs. No. 90, 91.

- 383 *Jerusalem*, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum Epigraphical Collection, marble inscription, A.D. 589
 ...ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΡC Κ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ Κ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠNC...
 ...ἀπό τοῦ Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς κ(αί) τοῦ Υἱοῦ κ(αί) τοῦ ἁγίου Πν(εύματος)ς..
 The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.
 Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Epigraphical Collection; Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* N.S. 1 (1904), pp. 266-7.
- 384 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic inscription, A.D. 565-566
 + EN ONOMATI ΠΡC Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠNC...
 + ἐν ὀνόματι Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς κ(αί) Υ(ιο)ῦ κ(αί) ἁγίου Πν(εύματος)ς..
 The sacred name is abbreviated, expressed by the first and last letters of the genitive singular.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.

e) *The title 'Lord'*

The sacred word Lord, *Kύριος*, came into the Christian vocabulary from the Greek pagan world. In the masculine, *Kύριος* was attributed to God the Father and Jesus Christ the Son, while in the feminine *Κυρία*, to the Virgin Mary. It was never given to martyrs or other venerated champions of the Christian faith. The sacred word *Kύριος* attributed to Jesus Christ in the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine, appears both in complete and abbreviated forms. In the complete form, it appears mainly in the vocative singular. In its abbreviated form, the term is always indicated by the first letter 'K'; the first and last letters of all cases KC, KY, KΩ, KN, KE; the first two letters KY; and the first three letters KYP with or without a horizontal line over them. It appears in the following inscriptions:

- 385 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 KE IY XE MNECΘETI KAI BΩHΘECON...
 Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ μνέσθετι καί βωήθεσον...
 Bibl. *SEG XXVI* (1976-77), inscr. No. 1661.
- 386 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 KE IY XE ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ...
 Bibl. *SEG XXVI* (1976-77), inscr. No. 1664.
- 387 *Ain-Aroueh*, Hebron Area or Beersheba, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ...TON / ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΩ / ΤΕΛΕCΑΝΤΟC / ΤΗ...
 ...τόν / δρόμον ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ / τελέσαντος / τῆ...
 Bibl. C. Clermont - Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. VI, pp. 185-186.

- 388 *Ain et Tabgha*, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 ...MNHCTH KE...
 ...Μνησθι Κ(ύρι)ε...
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), inscr. No. 5.
- 389 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 55, chalk block, Byzantine period
 .KY IC XC
 . Κύ(ριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.
- 390 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 30. 1, September 13th, A.D. 596
 + ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡ[μῶν] δεσπότου Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ)...
 Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 391 *Bahan*, mosaic inscriptions No. 1, 2, V-VIth Century A.D.
 . KC / ... MNHCTH...
 . Κ(ύρι)ς / ...μνησθι...
 The inscription is broken and it is not sure whether the title 'Κύριος' refers to Jesus, or to God the Father.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 392 *Beersheba* or *Ain Dirue*, Byzantine period
 + ...TON ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΩ ΤΕΛΕCΑΝΤΟC ΤΗ...
 + ...τόν δρόμον ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ τελέσαντος τη...
 Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale VI*, Paris 1905, pp. 186-187.
- 393 *Beersheba*, marble inscription, A.D. 606
 . ANEΠAH EN ΚΩ
 . ἀνεπάη ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ
 Bibl. C. Clermont - Ganneau, *RB N.S.* 3 (1906), pp. 84-91.
- 394 *Beit Shahur*, Shepherd's Field, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . MNHCΘHTI K[E]
 . Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)[ε]
 The last letter of the abbreviated word 'Κύριος' is missing but can be easily presumed within the context of the inscription.
 Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *LA* 25 (1975), pp. 1-2.
- 395 *Bethany*, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti, Byzantine period
 . KE IY XE BOHΘHCON KE MN[H]C...
 . Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ βοήθησον, Κ(ύρι)ε μν[ή]σ...

- 396 *Bethany*, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti, Byzantine period
 a) . KE BOHΘHCON
 . Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον
 b) . KE ELEHCON
 . Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέησον
 c) . KEPHE ELEHCON
 . Κέριε ἐλέησον.
- 397 *Bethany*, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti, Byzantine period
 . KE O ΘC O EΓIPAC TON ΛAZAPON E[K] NEKPΩN
 . Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός ὁ ἐγίρας τόν Λάζαρον ἐ[κ] νεκρῶν
 Bibl. P. Benoit and M.E. Boissard, *RB* 59 (1951), pp. 200-251.
- 398 *Bethlehem*, Church of the Nativity, baptismal font, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΩN KC ΓHNOCKI TA ON[OMATA]
 ...ὦν Κ(ύρι)ος γηνόσκι τά ὄν[όματα]
 Bibl. R.W. Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, Jerusalem* 1968, p. 81.
- 399 *Beth Shean*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . KE BOH[ΘHCO]N
 . Κ(ύρι)ε βοή[θησο]ν
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), inscr. No. 37.
- 400 *Bir El Qutt*, near Bethlehem, Georgian Monastery, Georgian mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 English Translation: "...Lord have mercy on the Abbot Antony and the mosaicist Josias..."
 Bibl. V. Corbo, *Gli scavi di Khirbet Siyar el Ghanam (Campo dei Pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni*, Gerusalemme 1955, p. 135.
- 401 *Capernaum*, house of St. Peter, graffiti, Late Roman period
 . K[E] IE XE BOHΘH
 . Κ(ύρι)[ε] Ἰε(σοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ βοήθη.
 Bibl. E. Testa, I graffiti della casa di S. Pietro. *Cafarnao* IV, Jerusalem 1972, pp. 73-75.
- 402 *Deir Dosi*, St. Theodosius, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 . KE I[HC]OY XE
 . Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ[ησ]οῦ Χ(ριστ)έ
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 2 (1933), p. 152.
- 403 *Deir Main*, marble inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 . KE [MNHC]ΘHTI TΩ CΩ ELEEI IΩANNOY TOY AMAPTΩΛΟΥ...

- . Κ(ύρι)ε [μνήσ]θητι τῷ σῶ ἐλέει Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Studia Hierosolymitana*. In onore di P.B. Bagatti, I Studi Archeologici, Jerusalem 1976, pp. 129 – 154.
- 404 *Der-Rumsaniyeh*, Golan, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 . ΚΥΡΙΕ ΠΡΟCΔΗΞΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟC/ΦΟΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΡΟ/...
 . Κύριε πρόσδεξε τήν προσ/φοράν τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου)/...
 . ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡ/ΙΕ ΒΩΗΘΙ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ Ο(Ι)ΚΟΔΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑ-
 ΨΑΝΤ(ΟC)
 ...καί Κύρ/ιε βωήθι Μαξίμου ο(ι)κοδόμου τοῦ καί γράψαντ(ος).
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* N.S. 6 (1909), pp. 277-8.
- 405 *Elateia*, Phocis, stone inscription originating in Cana, Galilee, probably Vth Century A.D.
 + ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ / Ο ΛΙΘΟC ΑΠΟ / ΚΑΝΑ ΤΗC ΓΑ/ΛΙΛΕΑC ΟΠΟΥ /
 ΤΟ ΥΔΩΡ ΟΙΝΟΝ / ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ Ο ΚC / ΗΜΩΝ ΙC ΧC +
 + Οὗτοc ἐcτίν / ὁ λίθοc ἀπό / Κανᾶ τῆc Γα/λιλέαc ὅπου / τό ὕδωρ οἶνον /
 ἐποίησεν ὁ Κ(ύρι)οc / ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ)c Χ(ριστό)c +
 Bibl. Σπυρ. Λάμπρου, “Ὁ ἐξ Ἐλατείας λίθοc ἀπό Κανᾶ τῆc Γαλιλαίας,” *Νέοc Ἑλληνομνήμων* 1 (1904), pp. 172-185.
- 406 *El-Kerak*, tomb stone inscription, A.D. 634
 + ΚΡ ἸΥ Χ [...]
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)[έ]...
 Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 40. The same appellation appears also in the inscription 261 in the above mentioned book.
- 407 *Evron*, mosaic inscription by the baptistery, Vth Century A.D.
 a) . ΚΕ ΜΝΗCΚΟΥ
 . Κ(ύρι)ε μνήcκου.
 b) . ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝ(ΗCΘΗΤΙ)
 . Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μν(ήcθητι).
- 408 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 10
 ...ΜΝΗC ΚΥ(ΡΙΕ) ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ CΟΥ...
 μνήc(θητι) Κύ(ριε) τοῦ δούλου σου...
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 409 *Faran*, Oasis Sinai, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΚΕ ΒΩΕΘΙC/ΟΝ Α(Α)ΡΩΝ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΤΟΠΟΥ +
 + Κ(ύρι)ε βωέθιc/ον Ἀ(α)ράων δοῦ/λοc τοῦ ἀγίου / τόπου +
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* 11 (1902), pp. 437-441.
- 410 *Faran*, in the newly built Chapel, granite inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ Κ ΑΓΙΑ/ ΜΑΡΙΑ / Η Θ+ΩΤΩΚΟC ΕΛΕ/...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ κ(αί) ἀγία / Μαρία / ἡ Θ+ωτῶκοc ἐλέ/...
 Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 30 (1980), pp. 225-232, pls. 7-8.

- 411 *Gerasa*, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533
 + / KYPIE / O ΘC TOY AΓIOY / KOCMA K ΔAMIANOY /...
 + / Κύριε / ό Θ(εό)ς τοῦ ἁγίου / Κοσμᾶ κ(αί) Δαμιανοῦ /...
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, p. 421, inscr. No. 331.
- 412 *Herodion the lower*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 . KE YC XC KE AΓIE MIXAHA ΠPOCΔEΞE...
 . Κ(ύρι)ε Ὑ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς κέ ἅγιε Μιχαήλ πρόσδεξε...
 Bibl. *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. II, article by G. Foerster, p. 509.
- 413 *Jerusalem*, Gesthemane, wall graffiti, VIIth Century A.D.
 MN(H)C(ΘH)T(I) KE / TOY ΔOYΛOY COY ΠAEMOY
 . Μν(ή)σ(θη)τ(ι) Κ(ύρι)ε / τοῦ δούλου σου Παέμου.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 607.
- 414 *Jerusalem*, Givat Ram: Sheikh Bader, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . KE O ΘC TOY AΓIOY ΓE[ΩPΓI]OY...
 . Κ(ύρι)ε ό Θ(εό)ς τοῦ ἁγίου Γε[ωργί]ου...
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *Actes du Ve Congrès Intern. d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, 1957; Dept. of Antiq. files, Neg. No. 6, 866.
- 415 *Jerusalem*, Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem (Archaeological Museum), marble inscription from Gaza, Byzantine period
 + EYΛOΓHTOC KC
 + Εὐλογητός Κ(ύρι)ς
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *Un Musée Palestinien. Notice sur le Musée Archéologique de Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem*, Paris, p. 27, fig. 11.
- 416 *Jerusalem*, Department of Antiquities, pottery inscription, Byzantine period
 . KY(PIE) EΛEHC ON
 Κύ(ριε) ἐλέησον
 Dept. of Antiq. Cat. No. 1681.
- 417 *Kafr Kama*, inscr. No. 1, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
 . KE KAI TEKNΩN AMHN
 . Κ(ύρι)ε καί τέκνων ἀμήν
- 418 *Kafr Kama*, South Church, inscr. No. 2, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
 + KE IY XE ΔEΞE THN ΠPOCΦOPAN APIANOY ΔIAK...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ δέξε τήν προσφοράν Ἀριανοῦ διακ(όνου)...
 Bibl. A. Saaristo – H. Palva, *Studia Orientalia*, Societas Orientalis Fennica XXI.

- 419 *Khirbet El Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...Κ ΥΠΕΡ [Ω]Ν ΠΡΟΣ[Η]Ν[ΕΓ]Κ[Α]Ν ΚC ΓΙΝ[Ω]CΚ[Ε]Ι...
 ...κ(αί) ὑπέρ [ῶ]ν προσ[ή]ν[εγ]κ[α]ν Κ(ύριο)ς γιν[ώ]σκ[ε]ι...
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 336.
- 420 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, stone inscription, chancel post, VIth Century A.D.
 a) ΚΥΡ ΒΟΕΘΗ Κύρ(ιε) βοέθη b) ΚΥΡ ΒΩ(ΗΘΗ) Κύρ(ιε) βω(ήθη)
 Bibl. S. J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, Jerusalem (1949), pp. 180-182.
- 421 *Khirbet Juhzum*, near Bethlehem, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΕΛΕ/ΗCΟΝ
 . Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ ἐλέ/ησον
 Bibl. *SEG XVI* (1959), No. 851.
- 422 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3
 ...ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ
 ...ἀμήν Κ(ύρι)ε
 Bibl. R.E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia III*, p. 360.
- 423 *Madaba*, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . ΚΥΡΙΕ ΠΡΟCΔΕΞΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟC/ΦΟΡΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙ-
 CΑΝΤΩΝ...
 . Κύριε πρόσδεξε τήν προσ/φοράν τῶν καρποφορισάντων...
 Bibl. U. Lux, *RB* 76 (1969), pp. 398-402.
- 424 *Mampsis*, mosaic inscriptions, IV-Vth Century A.D.
 a) ΚΕ CΟCΟΝ Κ(ύρι)ε σόσον
 b) ΚΕ CΟCΟΝ Κ(ύρι)ε σόσον
 c) ΚC CΟCΟΝ Κ(ύριο)ς σόσον
 d) ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗCΟΝ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον
 e) ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗCΟΝ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 69-71, inscs. No.81, 82, 83, 84, 85.
- 425 *Mukhmas*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . ΚΥΡΙΕ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΥ / ΔΟΥΛΟΥ CΟΥ
 . Κύριε μνήσθητι τοῦ / δούλου σου.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 150.
- 426 *Nazareth*, the Sanctuary of the Annunciation, graffiti, Late Roman period
 . ΚΥΡ(ΙΕ) ΧΡ(ΙCΤΕ) CΩCΟΝ...
 ...Κύρ(ιε) Χρ(ιστέ) σῶσον...
 Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*, Vol. I, Jerusalem 1969.

- 427 *Oboda*, inscription on a large pithos found *in situ*, pottery inscription, Byzantine period
 . ΚΥ(ΡΙΕ) Β(ΟΗΘΙ) ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩ ΔΙΑΚ / ΥΠΟ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΓΕΡΟΝΤ(ΟC).
 . Κύ(ριε) β(οήθι) Γερμανῶ διακ(όνου) / ὑπό Θεοδοσίου γέροντ(ος).
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 44-45, inscr. No. 46.
- 428 *Ozem*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 . ΚΥΡΙΕ / ΙΕCΟΥ ΒΟΗ[Θ]/(Η)CΟN...
 . Κύριε / Ἰεσοῦ βοή[θ]/(η)σον...
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 429 *Ras Siyagha*, North of the Baptismal font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597
 a) ...ΒΟΗ/[ΘΕΙΑ] ΤΟΥ ΚΥ(ΡΙΟΥ) ΗΜ/[ΩΝ ΙΥ] ΧΥ
 ...βοη/[θεία] τοῦ Κυ(ρίου) ἡμ/[ὼν Ἰησοῦ] Χ(ριστοῦ)
- 430 *Ras Siyagha*, a stone found behind the apse of the Basilica, graffiti, VIth Century A.D.
 b) ΚΥ(ΡΙΕ) ΕΛΗΙCΩΝ ΜΗ ΤΟΝ / ΔΟΥΛΩΝ CΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝ / ΤΩΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑ.
 . Κύ(ριε) ἐλήιCῳν μὴ τόν / δούλων σου Ἰωάννιν / τῶν γράψαντα.
 Bibl. a) *SEG* III (1927), No. 318 b) *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 328.
- 431 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalid el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604
 + ΚΕ ΠΡΟCΔΕΞΕ ΑΜΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ (Χ) Μ Γ +
 + Κ(ύρι)ε πρόCδεξε, ἀμήν Κύριε (Χ) Μ Γ +
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 68, No. I.
- 432 *Sameh* (Prov. Arabia), Transjordan, lintel, stone inscription, A.D. 624/5
 + ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΒΩΗΘΙCΟΝ
 + Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός) τοῦ ἀγίου Γεωρ/γίου βωήθισον...
 Bibl. S. J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet El-Mekhayat) with a Brief Survey of Other Ancient Christian Monuments in Transjordan*, Jerusalem 1949, p. 223.
- 433 *Seilun*, Shiloh, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 + ΚΕ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ CΟΥ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ / ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟC... +
 + Κ(ύρι)ε μνήCθητι τοῦ δούλου σου Ζαχαρία / καὶ τοῦ γράψαντος... +
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 149; J. Starr, *BASOR* 57 (1935), pp. 26-7.
- 434 *Shefa 'Amr*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚΕ ΧΡΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε Χρ(ιστ)έ βοήθι...
 Bibl. J. P. van Kasteren, 'Neuentdeckte Grabkammern,' *ZDPV* 12 (1889), p.

- 30, No. II; B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea*, Gerusalemme 1971, pp. 125-134.
- 435 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistery, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 ... / Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ / ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙ ΑΜΗΝ /
 ... / ὁ Κύριος τῆς δόξης / αὐτόν ἀναπαῦσι, ἀμήν /
 To the Lord is attributed the title, 'Lord of Glory'.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 56-57, inscr. No. 60.
- 436 *Sinai*, pine wood, inscr. No. 15, VIth Century A.D.
 . ΚΥΡΙΕ / ΕΙ(Ε)ΣΟΥ / ΧΡΙΣΤΕ / ΒΟ[Η]ΘΙ.
 . Κύριε / Εἰ(ε)σοῦ / Χριστέ / βο[ή]θι.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.
- 437 *Suhmata*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΒΟΗΘΗCON ΤΗ ΚΩΜΗ ΤΑΥΤΗ...
 . Κύριε Ἰησοῦ βοήθησον τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ...
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 96.
- 438 *Susita*, Qalat el-Hism (Hippos), Baptistery Church, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 + ΠΡΩCΦΩΡΑ ΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΟC ΓΗΝΟC/ΚΗ ΤΑ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ, ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ
 + Πρωσφωρά ὃν Κύριος γηνόσ/κη τά ὀνόματα, Ἀμήν Κ(ύρι)ε.
 Bibl. *SEG* XVI(1959), No. 826.
- 439 *Tell Shochō*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΚΑΙ Ο ΚC IC XC ΠΡΟCΔΕΞ/ΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΗCΙ/Ν ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ
 ...καὶ ὁ Κ(ύρι)ος Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς προσδέξ/ηται τὴν δέησι/ν αὐτοῦ, ἀμήν.
 Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
Wadi Haggag, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period
- 440 No. 171. III/203
 ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΕΓ
 Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ Μέγ(ιστε)
- 441 No. 79. III/211.
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΕCΘΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΩΗΘΕCON
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ μνέσθετι καὶ βωήθεσον...
- 442 No. 99. III/235.
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΕΛΕΗCON/ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ CΟΥ /...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ ἐλέησον / τὸν δοῦλον σου /...
- 443 No. 103. III/235
 + ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙCΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΕ / ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ CΟΥ
 + Κύριε Ἰ(η)σοῦ Χριστέ / βοήθι τοῦ δούλου σου...

- 444 No. 106. III/238.
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΩΓΕ / ΤΟΥ ΘΥ Ο ΘC CΥΝΟΔΕΥ/CEN CY...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ, Χ(ριστ)έ καί Λώγε / τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ, ὁ Θ(εό)ς συνό-
 δευ/σεν σύ...
- 445 No. 138. III/270.
 + ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ Κ / ΙΕCΟΥ ΧΡΙCΟΥ / NONNA / ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ
 + Μνήσθητι Κ(ύριε) / Ἰεσοῦ Χρισ(τ)οῦ / Νόννα / Κυριακοῦ.
- 446 No. 151. III/283.
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΗC/ΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝ/ΤΑ...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνήσ/θητι τόν γράψαν/τα...
- 447 No. 158. III/289.
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ /...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ βοήθι /...
- 448 No. 187. III/312.
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΗCΘ / ΑΙCΙΚΙΟC..
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ μνήσθ(ητι) / Αἰσίκιος...
 Bibl. A. Negev, 'The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai,' *QEDM* 6 (1977).
- 449 *Wady el Hesa*, Ghor es safi, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + / + ΚΕ Ο ΘC/ ΤΟ[Υ] ΑΓΙΟΥ [ΤΟ]ΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ/ΤΟΥ [ΒΟ]ΗΘΗCΟΝ /...
 + / + Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εό)ς / το[ῦ] ἀγίου [τό]που τοῦ/του [βο]ήθησον /...
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 344.

f) *The sacred name 'Saviour' Σωτήρ*

This term was given as a title to the kings and was usually reserved for them. In the *New Testament* and in the early Christian Church, it was applied to Jesus Christ as the Saviour of humanity.

The title Saviour, Σωτήρ, in the inscriptions extant in Palestine, is to be found in the following places:

- 450 *Bethlehem*, Church of the Nativity, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
 . ΙΧΘΥ/C
 . Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός)/ Σ(ωτήρ)..
 The sacred title is represented by the last letter of the compendium 'ΙΧΘΥC'.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 236.
- 451 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . ΧΕ Ο ΘC CΩΤΗΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ...
 . Χ(ριστ)έ ὁ Θ(εό)ς Σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου...
 The sacred title appears in complete form in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shean* (Vol. IV), p. 14, inscr. III.

- 452 *Capernaum*, St. Peter's House, wall graffiti, Late Roman period
a. (I)XΘYC 'Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)...
- 453 b. ΥΨICT(Ω) ΧΟ CΩT 'Υψίστ(ω) Χ(ριστ)ό Σωτ(ήρ)
Bibl. E. Testa, *I graffiti della casa di S. Pietro, Cafarnao IV*, Jerusalem 1972.
- 454 *El-Kerak*, tomb inscription, A.D. 569/570
XE CΩP / ANAΠAYCON...
Χ(ριστ)έ Σῶ(τε)ρ / ἀνάπauσον...
Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 19.
- 455 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ IXΘYC...
+ 'Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)...
Bibl. J. I. Lawlor, *RB* 86(1979), p. 117; *SEG XXIX* (1979), inscr. No. 1611; *SEG XXX* (1980), inscr. No. 1694.
- 456 *Irbid*, Byzantine period. There is only a copy of this inscription in the Dept. of Antiquities' files, which reads as follows:
...KA(I)CΩTHP MOY / ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΕ MOY / ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ /...
...κα(ί) Σωτήρ μου / παράλαβέ μου / τό πνεῦμα /...
Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 457 *Khirbet es Samrah*, Eastern Shore of Lake Tiberias, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
...ΤΟΥ CΩTHPOC HMΩN
...τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν
The sacred title appears in complete form in the genitive singular.
Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 458 *Mampsis*, East Church, IV-Vth Century A.D.
a) a door-post capital, IXΘYC, 'Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ).
- 459 b) part of a lintel, IXΘ/YC, 'Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) / Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ).
Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 72, inscs. No. 90,91.
- 460 *Rihab*, St. Menas' Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635
ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΙΗCΟΥ ΠΙCΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ CΩTHPOC HMΩN...
Χάριτι 'Ιησοῦ (Χ)ριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καί σωτήρος ἡμῶν...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 76-77.

g) *The Name 'God' Θεός, with reference to Christ*

This name is dogmatically referred to Jesus Christ as the second person of the consubstantial Trinity. It appears in the following inscriptions extant in Palestine:

- 461 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscriptions, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΧΕ Ο ΘC ΗΜΩΝ
 Χ(ριστ)έ ό Θ(εό)ς ήμῶν.
- 462 + ΧΕ Ο ΘC CΩΤ(ΗΡ)(Τ)ΟΥ...
 Χ(ριστ)έ ό Θ(εό)ς Σωτ(ήρ) (τ)οῦ...
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth Shean*, Vol. IV, p. 14, inscra. No. 2,3.
- 463 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Russian property, marble inscription, A.D. 592
 ...ΤΟΝ / CΤΑΥΡΩΘ]ΕΝΤΙ ΧΩ ΤΩ ΘΩ / ...
 ...τόν / σταυρωθ]έντι Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῷ Θ(ε)ῶ / ...
 Bibl. C. Clermont - Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 338-9.
- 464 *Madaba*, Aelianus Crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
 . ΧC / Ο ΘC ΤΟΝ ΟΙ/ΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ / ΑΝΗΓΕΙ/ΡΕΝ...
 .Χ(ριστό)ς / ό Θ(εό)ς τόν οἶ/κον τοῦτον / ἀνήγει/ρεν...
 Bibl. P.M. Séjourné, *RB* 6 (1897), p. 652.
- 465 *Masouh*, near Madaba, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 . ΧΕ Ο ΘC / ΗΜΩΝ ΒΟΗΘ...
 . Χ(ριστ)έ ό Θ(εό)ς / ήμῶν βοήθ(ησον)...
 Bibl. Yousef Alami, *ADAJ* 15 (1970), p. 35, pl. II; M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa di Massuh e il territorio della diocesi di Esbous,' *LA* 33 (1983), pp. 335-346.
- 466 *Pella of Decapolis*, Tabagat Fahl, lintel, stone inscription, second half of the Vth Century A.D.
 + ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟΥΜΕΝ C[ΟΙ ΧΡΙCΤΕ Ο Θ]/ΕΟC ΟΤΙ ΕΞΗΓΑΓΕC Η[ΜΑC ΕΚ CΚ/ΟΤΟΥC...
 + Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σ[οι Χριστέ ό Θ]/εός ότι ἐξήγαγες ή[μᾶς ἐκ σκ/ότους...
 I. *Pet.* 2 : 9.
 Bibl. Robert Houston Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis*, Vol. I, 1973, pp. 63-4, inscr. No. 69.
- 467 *Petra*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΓΩ ΘΕΩ ΕΟΝΤΙ / ΧΡΙCΤΩ ΠΑΝΒΑCΙΑΗ ΟΜΟΟΥCΙΩ ΤΡΙΑΔΙ CΕΠΤΗ...
 ...Θεοῦ λόγῳ Θεῶ ἐόντι / Χριστῶ πανβασίλῃ ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδι σεπτῇ...
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 468 *Ras Siyagha*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . Ο ΚΤΙCΤΗC Κ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC ΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧC Ο ΘC...
 . 'Ο κτίcτης κ(αί) δημιουργός τῶν ἀπάντων Χ(ριστό)ς ό Θ(εό)ς...
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 322.
- 469 *Rihab*, St. Menas' Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635
 ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΗCΟΥ ΡΙCΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ CΩΤΗΡΟC ΗΜΩΝ...

Χάριτι Ἰησοῦ (Χ)ριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 76-77.

- 470 *Umm idj Djimal*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 . ΕΚ ΓΑΣΤΡΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΘΣ ΗΜΩ(N) CY (E) I MH ENNATAΛΙΠΗΣ +
ἐκ γαστρός μητρός Θ(εός) ἡμῶ(ν) σύ (ε) ἴ μὴ ἐνναταλίπης +
Ps. 21: 11
 Bibl. E. Littmann, D. Magie and D.R. Stuart, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Sect. A., Div. III, pp. 145, 250.

h) *The Lamb of God*

Another term applied to Christ, is the Lamb of God, Ἀμνός τοῦ Θεοῦ. The term is used in *Acts* 8: 33, *John* 1: 29, 36, *Pet.* 1: 1, and appears on an ampulla¹ from Bobbio, originating in Jerusalem in the VIth Century A.D.

- 471 *Bobbio*, Ampulla No. 20
 . ΙΔΕ Ο ΑΜΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ Ο ΕΡΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ.
 . Ἴδε ὁ Ἀμνός τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἔρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου.
 Bibl. André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958.

i) *Emmanuel*

Finally, it appears as the appellation Emmanuel, God with us. This appellation appears in the following inscriptions either extant or originating in Palestine:

- 472 *Beth Shean*, monastery, VIth Century A.D.
 A rectangular lead plaque, on one side of which is the figure of Christ with the inscription:
 EM/M/A/N/OY/ΗΛ ΜΕ/Θ/ Η/Μ/Ω/Ν..
 Ἐμ/μ/α/ν/ου/ήλ με/θ'/ ἡ/μ/ῶ/ν..
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shean*, Philadelphia 1939, p. II, pl. IV, figs. 3, 4.
- 473 *Bobbio*, ampulla No. 14 originating in Palestine, VIth Century A.D.
 (+ EMM)ANOYΗΛ ΜΕΘ ΗΜΩΝ Ο Θ(C)
 (+ Ἐμμ)ανουήλ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός
 Bibl. André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958.

1. *Ampulla*: It is a small, globular flask for holding liquids such as holy water and holy oil. The early Christians made a habit of taking away a little holy water from the River Jordan, Jacob's Well or any other sacred spring; or oil from the oil lamps of the Holy Shrines or martyrs' tombs. For this purpose they used the globular flask bottles known as ampullae. See examples of the Palestinian ampullae at the Palestine Museum Catalogue No. 1679, 1680, 1681, and from Monza and Bobbio, most of them inscribed with Greek inscriptions

- 474 *Es-Shuneh el-Janubiyeh*, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 + MEΘ HMΩN Ω ΘC
 + Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Es-Shuneh el-Janubiyeh: Archaeological Survey in the Holy Land,' *Illustrated Quarterly of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land* 1(Spring 1981).
Monza, ampullae originating in Palestine, a metal resembling tin, VIth Century A.D.
- 475 No. 1 EMMANOYHA MEΘ IMΩN O ΘC 'Εμμανουήλ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός
- 476 No. 2 E(MMANOY)HA M(EΘ H)MΩ(N O ΘC) 'Ε(μμανου)ήλ μ(εθ' ἡ)μῶ(ν ὁ Θεός)
- 477 No. 3 EMMANOYHA MEΘ HMΩN O ΘC 'Εμμανουήλ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός
- 478 No. 4 +EMMANOYHA MEΘ (H)MON Ω ΘEΩC + 'Εμμανουήλ μεθ' (ἡ)μόν ὁ Θεός.
- 479 No. 6 +EMMANOYHA MEΘ HMΩN Ω ΘEΩC + 'Εμμανουήλ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός.
 Bibl. André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958.
- 480 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, Collection of Icons. An encaustic icon of Christ of the VIIIth Century A.D.
 Emmanuel with the inscription: +E[MMA]NOYHA, + 'Ε[μμ]ανουήλ.
 Bibl. Γρηγορίου Β' 'Αρχ/σκόπου Σινᾶ, *Πανηγυρικός τόμος ἐπὶ 1400ῃ ἀμφοιτηρίδι τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ*, Ἀθῆναι 1971, p. 480.
- 481 *Umm idj-Djimal*, stone inscription built into the West wall of the monastery tower, Byzantine period
 + EMMA + NOYHA
 + 'Εμμ + νουήλ
 Bibl. E. Littmann, D. Magie and D.R. Stuart, *Greek and Latin inscriptions*, Sect. A, Div. III Southern Syria (Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909), Leyden 1907-1921.

The Holy Spirit, Τό "Αγιον Πνεῦμα

With the completion of the above mentioned sacred names, referring to the first and second persons of the Holy Trinity, God the Father and Jesus Christ the Son, reference will be made to the third person of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Spirit 'Τό "Αγιον Πνεῦμα' to whom, as will be seen from the inscriptions, is attributed the word 'Holy', "Αγιον'.

The name 'Holy Spirit', "Αγιον Πνεῦμα, always appears together with those of the first and second persons of the Holy Trinity, in complete or abbreviated forms in the following inscriptions:

- 482 *Arraba*, Upper Galilee, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥ/ +ΝΑΜΙ ΧΥ ΒΟ/ +ΗΘΙΑ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΥ/ +ΔΟ-
 ΚΙΑ...
 + Θεοῦ δυ/ +νάμι Χ(ριστο)ῦ βο/ +ηθία Ἁγίου / Πνεύματος εὐ/ +δοκία...
 The name appears in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971), p. 244.
- 483 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 37, chalk voussoir, 1st December, A.D. 475
 ...ΤΩ ΔΕ ΠΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΙ Ο Η ΔΟΞΑ / ΕΙC...
 ...τῷ δέ Π(ατ)ρί καί Υιῷ / καί Ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι ὁ ἡ δόξα / εἰς...
 484 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 46.1, 16th July, A.D. 605
 ...Πατρός καί Υιοῦ καί Ἁγίου Πνεύματος...
 The name 'Spirit', Πνεῦμα, in inscr. No. 37, is in the dative singular, and in papyrus No. 46.1, in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 485 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . ΕΓΩ / ΗΛΙΑC ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ Ε(Γ)ΚΛ(ΕΙ)CΤΟC ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ / ΠΡC
 . Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝC ΕΥΛΟΓΩ Κ ΑΝΑΘΕ/ΜΑΤΙΖΩ
 . Ἐγὼ / Ἡλίας ἐλέει Θεοῦ ἔ(γ)κλ(ει)στος ἐν ὀνόματι / Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς
 . κ(αί) Υ(ιο)ῦ κ(αί) Ἁγίου Πν(εύματος) εὐλογῶ κ(αί) ἀναθε/ματίζω
 The name is given in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery At Beth Shean*, Vol. IV, Philadelphia 1933, pp. 14-5, inscr. No. IV.
- 486 *Jerusalem*, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, marble inscription, A.D. 589
 ...ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ / ΠΡC Κ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ Κ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝC.
 ...ἀπό τοῦ / Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς κ(αί) τοῦ Υιοῦ κ(αί) τοῦ Ἁγίου Πν(εύματος).
 The name is expressed by the first two and last letters of the genitive singular with a horizontal line over them.
 Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Epigraphical Collection; Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB N.S.* 1 (1904), pp. 266-7.
- 487 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse wall, mosaic inscription, A.D. 565-566
 + ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΠΡC Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝC...
 + Ἐν ὀνόματι Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς κ(αί) Υ(ιο)ῦ κ(αί) Ἁγίου Πν(εύματος)...
- The name is expressed by the first two and last letters in the genitive singular.
- Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.

- 488 *Sirim*, Galilee, fragmentary epistylum, basalt, Byzantine period
 .[- Α]ΓΙΟΥ Π(ΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ)/...
 .[- 'Α]γίου Π(νεύματος)/...
 The name is given in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. A. Alt, *PJB* 24 (1928), p. 49, footnote No. 1.

The Holy Trinity

The term Holy Trinity, *Ἡ Ἁγία Τριάδα*, in the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine appears under the forms of 'Holy Trinity', *Ἁγία Τριάδα*, 'Father Son and Holy Spirit', *Πατήρ, Υἱός καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα* and in one example under the form of 'God, Christ and the Holy Spirit', *Θεός, Χριστός καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*. It appears together with the epithets 'Holy', *Ἁγία*, 'Life giving', *Ζωοποιός*, 'most glorious', *ἐνδοξοτάτη*, and in several cases under the dogmatic name 'consubstantial', *Ὁμοουσία*. The latter term was used for the first time in the Nicene creed to express the relation between the Father and the Son. In the inscriptions, its dogmatic meaning is used to express the relations between the three persons of the Holy Trinity, 'Holy and consubstantial Trinity'. The term is either in complete or abbreviated forms, as given in the following inscriptions:

- 489 *Arraba*, Upper Galilee, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥ + / + ΝΑΜΙ ΧΥ ΒΟ / + ΗΘΙΑ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΥΔΟ-
 ΚΙΑ...
 + Θεοῦ δυ + / + νάμι Χ(ριστο)ῦ βο / + ηθία Ἁγίου / Πνεύματος εὐδοκία...
 In this inscription, it is in the unusual form of 'God, Christ and the Holy Spirit', *Θεός, Χριστός, Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*. It is given in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971), p. 244.
- 490 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 37, chalk voussoir, 1st December, A.D. 475
 ...ΤΩ ΔΕ ΠΡΙ / ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΙ Ο Η ΔΟΞΑ / ...
 ...τῷ δέ Π(ατ)ρί / καὶ Υἱῷ / καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι ὁ ἡ δόξα / ...
 It is in the common form 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' in the dative singular.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri
- 491 Papyrus No. 21, 22, June 30th or July 1st, A.D. 562
 ..εἰς ἁγία]ν Τριάδα...
 It is given in the form 'Holy Trinity' in the accusative singular.
- 492 Papyrus No. 22, 12, December 2nd, A.D. 566
 ...εἰς ἁγίαν Τριάδα...
 It is given in the form 'Holy Trinity' in the accusative singular.
- 493 Papyrus No. 30. 13, September 13th, A.D. 596
 ...ὠρκώσαμεν κατὰ τῆς ἁγ[ί]ας Τριάδος...
 It is given in the form 'Holy Trinity' in the genitive singular.

- 494 Papyrus No. 46. 1, July 16th, A.D. 605
 + 'Εν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδοξ(οτάτης) καὶ Ζωο(πιοῦ) Τριάδος Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος...
 In this inscription it is expressed by the forms 'Holy Trinity', "Ἁγία Τριάς", 'Father, Son' 'Πατήρ, Υἱός' and 'Holy Spirit', "Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα". In both cases the genitive singular is used.
 Bibl. G.E. Kirk and C.B. Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. The Inscriptions, London 1962; C.J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 495 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 . ΕΓΩ / ΗΛΙΑΣ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ Ε(Γ)ΚΛ(ΕΙ)CΤΟC ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ / ΠΑΤΡΟC Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝC ΕΥΛΟΓΩ Κ ΑΝΑΘΕ/MATIZΩ.
 . 'Εγώ / 'Ηλίας ἐλέει Θε(ο)ῦ ἔ(γ)κλ(ει)στος ἐν ὀνόματι / Πατρὸς κ(αί) Υἱοῦ κ(αί) 'Αγίου Πν(εύματος) εὐλογῶ κ(αί) ἀναθε/ματίζω...
 It is given in the form 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit', 'Πατήρ, Υἱός, καὶ "Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα' in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shean*, Vol. IV, Philadelphia 1933, pp. 14-5, inscr. No. IV.
- 496 *El Kufr*, in a cattle shed, stone inscription, A.D. 652
 . ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑC ΖΩΟΠ(ΟΙΟΥ) ΤΡΙΑΔ(ΟC)
 . χάριτι τῆς Ἀγίας Ζωοπ(οιοῦ) Τριάδ(ος)
 It appears in the form 'Holy and life-giving Trinity' in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. W. Ewing, *PEF QSt* 1895, pp. 265-280.
- 497 *Emmaus*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΕΝ [ΟΝΟ]ΜΑΤΙ ΠΑΤΡΟC/ Κ ΥΙΟ[Υ Κ] ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥ/MAT[OC...
 + 'Εν [ὀνό]ματι Πατρὸς / κ(αί) Υἱοῦ κ(αί)] 'Αγίου Πνεύ/ματ[ος...
 It is given in the form 'Father and Son and Holy Spirit' in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB N.S.* 10 (1913), p. 100; H. Vincent - F.M. Abel, *Emmaus*, Parigi 1932, p.429.
- 498 *Jerusalem*, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum, stone inscription, A.D. 589
 ...ΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ ΔΕ ΕCΤΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ / ΠΡC ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ Κ ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ...
 ...ἀνάθεμα δέ ἐστω ἀπὸ τοῦ / Π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κ(αί) τοῦ / 'Αγίου...
 It is given in the form 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum; F.M. Abel, *RB N.S.* 1 (1904), pp. 226-7.
- 499 *Petra*, Transjordan, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΟΜΟΟΥCΙΩ ΤΡΙΑΔΙ CΕΠΤΗ.

...ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδι σεπτῇ

It appears in the form 'Holy Trinity', Τριάδι, together with the dogmatic adjective 'consubstantial', ὁμοουσίῳ. It is given in the dative singular.

Dept. of Antiq. Files.

- 500 *Rihab*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, February A.D. 604
 + EN ONOMATI THC AGIAC KAI OMOOYC(IOY) TPIADOC...
 + 'Εν ὀνόματι τῆς Ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσ(ίου) Τριάδος...
- 501 *Rihab*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, May A.D. 620
 + EN ONOMATI THC AGIAC KAI OMOOYC(IOY) TPIADOC...
 + 'Εν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσ(ίου) Τριάδος...
- In both inscriptions it appears in the form 'Holy Trinity', Ἀγία Τριάς, together with the dogmatic 'consubstantial' and in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 70, inscra. No. 2, 5.
- 502 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse, wall mosaic inscription, A.D. 565-566
 + EN ONOMATI ΠΡΟΚΥΚΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ...
 + 'Εν ὀνόματι Πατρ(ός) καὶ Υἱ(ο)ῦ καὶ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος...
- It is given in the form 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit', Πατήρ, Υἱός καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. It is in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.

The Divine Wisdom

In the *Old Testament*¹, Wisdom, whether human or divine, occupies a prominent place. In the *New Testament*, Divine Wisdom is incarnated in God the Father, who is the beginning of Wisdom; in Christ, whom St. Paul calls 'the wisdom of God',² 'in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge',³ and at the same time is intimately connected with the Holy Spirit, being one of His gifts.

To 'Divine Wisdom' venerated by the Christians, churches were dedicated. According to literary sources, such was the Church of 'Divine Wisdom', Ἀγίας Σοφίας, at Constantinople, the dedicational feast of which was also celebrated by the Church of Jerusalem,⁴ and a church in Jerusalem, Church of Divine Wisdom, in which a procession took place on the Monday after Pentecost and on August 7th, Δευτέρα τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, ἐν Ἀγία Σοφία, λιτανεία. Αὐγούστου 7, ἐν Ἀγία Σοφία, λιτανεία.

1 *Wisd.* 7: 22 ff., *Wisd.* 10:19, and *Proverbs* 8.

2 1 *Cor.* 1: 24.

3 *Col.* 2: 3.

4 See footnote No. 2, p. 80. *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον* 'Δεκεμβρίου 23 'Εν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει. Μνήμη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, ἣν ὁ Θεοφιλὴς αὐτοκράτωρ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἱδρυσεν'.

According to the inscription below, a Church dedicated to Divine Wisdom existed at Rihab, Transjordan.

- 503 *Rihab*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, February A.D. 604
 ... ΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘ(Η) Ο ΝΑΟC ΟΥΤ(ΟC) ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC COΦΙΑC (ΚΑΙ)
 ΕΤΕ/ΛΙΩΘΗ (ΚΑΙ) ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ ΕΚ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡ(ΑC)...
 ...ἐθεμελιώθη(η) ὁ ναός οὗτ(ος) τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας (καί) ἐτε/λιώθη (καί) ἐψη-
 φώθη ἐκ προσφορ(ᾶς)...
 To the term 'Wisdom' Σοφία is given the epithet 'Holy' Ἁγία, and both ap-
 pear in complete form in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 69, inscr. No. 2.
 Noteworthy is an eleventh century A.D. fresco from the Monastery of the
 Holy Cross¹, Jerusalem – today almost destroyed – in which a building is de-
 picted with seven pillars and the figurative personification of the Divine
 Wisdom, with the following Greek inscription:
 'Ἡ Σοφία οἰκοδομῇ ἐν αὐτῇ οἶκον...'
 'Wisdom has built a house for herself...'
 according to *Proverbs* 9:1-5.

The Virgin Mary

Traditionally Mary, the mother of Christ, was of the house and lineage of David. She is mentioned several times in the Gospels. The Evangelist Luke, describes her as being betrothed to Joseph, and living at Nazareth². During the public ministry of Jesus, her presence is recalled at the wedding feast of Cana, near the Cross of her Son, and as being with the Apostles in the Upper Room at Pentecost.

The Virgin Mary was considered as the most venerated person in Christianity from the beginning.

In the Palestinian literary sources³ there is evidence of churches being dedicated

1 Dept. of Antiq. File No. 113, Neg. No. 18, 323. In the frescoes of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, Jerusalem, and in wall mosaics and column images of the Basilica of the Nativity, Bethlehem, there are many images depicting the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs and Fathers of the Desert, monastic and Church figures of great importance to this work, but which I avoided because of the dispute among the different scholars concerning dates.

2 *Luke* 1: 26-38.

3 a) Eusebius, *Panegyrist to Constantine* 9. 17, ed. Heikel 221. He suggests that Helen, the mother of Constantine, built the Basilica in Bethlehem to honour the mother of God, 'Theotokos'.

b) *NS* 21 (1926), p. 167, an article referring to the wealthy lady Icelia, who built a church to the Virgin Mary, in the middle of the fifth century A.D.

c) *Echos d'Orient* 25 (1926), p. 282, in the life of St. Theodosius the coenobiarch, the memorial day of 'Theotokos' is mentioned.

d) In the *Itineraria* of Arculf, Bernard and Epiphanius the monk, the Basilica of Bethlehem is mentioned as the Church of 'Theotokos'. To 'Theotokos' were dedicated also the churches of the monasteries of St.

to her since the early days of the Byzantine period, especially in the Liturgies¹ and the Diptychs and Canonaria of Jerusalem². In these the Virgin Mary holds first place after the Holy Trinity. Then come the Angels, St. John the Baptist, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Martyrs and the Righteous people venerated by the Christian Church.

The veneration of the Virgin Mary and the saints, as well as the honouring of their icons and relics, was made obligatory by the Seventh Oecumenical Council.

In the inscriptions found in Palestine, the following names are attributed to the Virgin Mary: 'Maria', Μαρία, 'Holy Maria', 'Αγία Μαρία, and 'God-bearer', Θεοτόκος (the term 'God-bearer', Θεοτόκος, was formally accepted in A.D. 431 at the Council of Ephesus), 'Immaculate', Ἀχραντος, 'Sovereign', Δέσποινα, 'Full of Grace', Κεχαριτωμένη, 'Virgin', Παρθένος and 'Mother of God', Θεομήτωρ or Μητήρ Θεοῦ.

I. The Name 'Maria' in the compendium 'XMG' appears in the following inscriptions:

- 504 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana a) Literary Papyri (Letter of Abgar to Christ and Christ's reply), VI-VIIth Century A.D.
line 29. XNMΓ, X(ριστό)ν M(αρία) Γ(εννᾶ)
Bibl. L. Casson and E.L. Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana*, Vol. 2. Literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1950.
- 505 Papyrus No. 90, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Column II, line 40, X M Γ, X(ριστός) M(αρίας) Γ(έννα)

Sabba, Choziba, the church known as 'Nea' in Jerusalem, and the church on Mount Gerizim according to Procop. *Aedif.* 5, 7.

e) Choricus of Gaza in his third oration which was delivered in A.D. 535/6 vouches for the existence of a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary on the Island of Iotabe, in the Red Sea.

Choricus Gazaensis ed. by R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig (Teubner 1929) Oratio III, 67, (p. 65. 21) 68, p. 66, 2.

1 F.G. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, based on the work of C.E. Hammond, 1896.

2 H. Goussen, 'Über die Georgische Drucke und Handschriften der Festordnung und den Hl. Kalender des altchristlichen Jerusalems betreffend,' München-Gladbach 1923. for the periodical *Liturgie und die Kunst*, pp. 1-42; see also Peradze-Baumstark, 'Die Weihnachtsfeier Jerusalems im siebten Jahrhundert,' in *Oriens Cristianus* 1927, series III, pp. 310-318, Greek translation by Κλεόβουλος Καραπιτέρης, *1500ῆ ἐπέτειος τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων 451-1951*, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1952.

K. Kekelidze, *Jerusalimskiz Kanonar VII vjeka* (Georgian version), Tiflis, 1912. Translated into Greek by Κάλλιστος Μηλιαράς, and published in ΝΣ 1914, pp. 35-39, 202-241, 310-342. The publication was interrupted by the war of 1914-1918.

See the work of Antiochus Strategius, 'The capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in the year A.D. 614' edited by M. Marr, in Georgian and in Russian, in *Texts and Researches of the Armeno-Georgian Philology* St. Pb. 1909, Vol. IX, and translated into Greek by the Archimandrite Kallistos, see ΝΣ 1909, pp. 18ff.

See also the German review by G. Grafin, *Das Heilige Land*, Köln 1923, pp. 19-29. *Prise de Jérusalem* (Strategius), Georgian version, ed. and tr. Garitte, 'La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 615' C.S.C.O., Ser. Lb., 11-12, 1960.

- 506 Papyrus No.152, VIIth Century A.D.
line 2, ... + X M Γ + X(ριστός) M(αρίας) Γ(έννα)
It appears at the bottom of the text and in an upside down position; one notes the compendium + X M Γ + between two crosses.
Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 507 *El-Kerak*, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period
+ X M Γ / ...
4 + X(ριστός) M(αρίας) γ(έννα) / ...
Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 82.
- 508 *Nazareth*, the Shrine of the Annunciation, graffiti, Late Roman period
. XE / ΜΑΡΙΑ
X(αῖρ)ε / Μαρία or X(ριστ)έ / Μαρία
Lk. 1 : 28.
The invocation is of great importance, firstly because of the place, and secondly because of the time. For the place because it is precisely the shrine that records the house of Mary and hence the Annunciation; for the time because, as far as it is known, it is the oldest invocation and one which precedes the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, from which Maria's cult developed.
See Leclercq, 'Marie (Je vous salue)' in *DACL*, X 2043-55; C.M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, pp. 223-6.
Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*, Vol. I, pp. 156-7, Jerusalem 1969.
- 509 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalil Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604
. A M H N (X) M Γ
'Αμήν Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα)
The name 'Maria' is expressed by the middle letter of the compendium, which has been interpreted as 'Μαρία,ας' Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα) or Χ(ριστόν) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννῃ). For more details about the compendium, see W.K. Prentice, *CPh* 9 (1924), pp. 410-416.
The first interpretation is supported by a seventh century fragmentary papyrus at the Bodleian Library which contains the words 'ΧC Μαρίας Γέννα' and the second is supported by a fragmentary sepulchral inscription from Assuan, in the former Boulaq Museum in Cairo (No. 8397) which includes the words 'Χριστοῦ Μαρίας Γέννα' written in full.
Bibl. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 68, inscr. No. 1.
- 510 *Umm el-Maqati* (djabel Ajlun), mosaic inscription, A.D. 482
X M Γ / ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/CEBS ΑΙΩΝΟC ΠΡΕCΣ/...
Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα) / ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο/σεβ(εστάτου) Αἰῶνος πρεσ(βυτέρου)/...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 23-25; M. Piccirillo, *Le Monde de la Bible* (Sept. - Oct. 1984), pp. 2, 3, 52.

II. The name 'Maria' together with the epithet 'Holy', 'Αγία Μαρία.

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

511	Papyrus	No.90	line 132	Εὐσεβίου ἁγίας Μ]αρίας
512	Papyrus	»	» 143	Εὐσεβίου ἁγίας Μαρίας
513	Papyrus	»	» 148	+ Εὐσεβίου ἁγίας Μαρίας
514	Papyrus	»	» 158	Εὐσεβίου ἁγίας Μαρίας
515	Papyrus	»	» 164	Εὐσεβίου ἁγίας Μαρίας
516	Papyrus	»	» 168	Εὐσεβίου ἁγίας Μαρίας
517	Papyrus	»	» 188	Εὐσεβ[ίου ἁγί]ι[α]ς Μ[αρία]ς
518	Papyrus	»	» 198	Εὐσεβίου ἁγίας Μαρίας

Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Ajja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.

- 519 *Beth Shean*, monastery, a rectangular metal amulet, on one side of which is depicted the Virgin Mary with the following inscription:

H / A / Γ / I / A M / A / P / I / A.

Ἡ / Ἀ / γ / ι / α Μ / α / ρ / ι / α

Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shean*, Philadelphia 1939, p. 11, pl. IV, figs. 3, 4.

- 520 *Deir el Qilt*, Choziba Monastery, Hermitage of Gabriel, VIth Century A.D.
ΑΓ ΜΡ

Ἀγ(ία) Μ(α)ρ(ία)

Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 28 (1978), pp. 171-192.

- 521 *Gerasa*, a) A damaged block found near the mill by the River Chrysorhoas, VIth Century A.D.

. [ΑΓ]ΙΑ ΜΑΡΙ[Α] / [ΠΡ]ΟCΔΕΞΕ ΤΗΝ / [Π]ΡΟ[С]ΦΟΡΑΝ Τ[Ο]Υ...

. [Ἀγ]ία Μαρί[α] / [πρ]όσδεξε τήν / [πρ]ο[σ]φοράν τ[ο]ῦ...

- 522 *Gerasa*, b) The Cathedral, red painting on the conch of the niche in the shrine of the Virgin Mary at the head of the staircase of the Cathedral Propylaea. Above, traces of three painted figures.

. ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ, ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ.

. Μιχαήλ, Ἡ Ἀγία Μαρία, Γαβριήλ.

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938; a) p. 488, No. 339, b) p. 473 or 288.

- 523 *Jerusalem*, Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, stone inscription, Byzantine period

ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ.../

Ἀγία Μαρία.../

The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum.

- 524 *Kh. Alya*, now at Miilya, Acre district, stone inscription, A.D. 539
 . [K]E O ΘC THC AΓIAC MAPI/(A)C EΛEHCN...
 . [K](ύρι)ε ό Θ(εό)ς τῆς Ἀγίας Μαρί/(α)ς ἐλέησον...
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 1.
- 525 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription No. 3, A.D. 662/3
 . ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΜΗΝΑ ΤΩ Δ[ΟΥΛΩ COY]...
 . Ἀγία Μαρία βοήθι Μηνᾶ τῷ δ[ούλῳ σου]...
 Bibl. Claudine Dauphin, *PEQ* 1975, pp. 155-157.
- 526 *Rihab*, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΨΗΦΟΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΕΙΟΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΙ ΜΑΡ-
 ΙΑC...
 + Ἐψηφόθη καί ἐτελειόθη ό ναός οὔτος τῆς ἀγία(ς) Μαρίας...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusa-
 lem 1981, pp. 84-85.
- 527 *Rihab*, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ... + ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΤΗΓ ΑΓS ΜΑΡΙΑC ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝ / ΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ
 ΕΛΕHCN...
 . + Κ(ύρι)ε ό Θ(εό)ς τῆ(ς) ἀγ(ίας) Μαρίας καί πάν/των τῶν ἀγίων ἐλέησον...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusa-
 lem 1981, pp. 86-87.
- 528 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, collection of icons, an icon of the cruci-
 fixation, VIIth Century A.D.
 Among other persons, this icon depicts the Virgin Mary under the inscrip-
 tion:
 Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ
 Ἡ Ἀγία Μαρία
 According to Kurt Weitzmann the icon originated in Palestine (Jerusalem).
 Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann, *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai*, 1968.

III. The name of 'Maria' with the titles 'Virgin', Παρθένος, 'Sovereign', Δέσποινα, 'God-bearer', Θεοτόκος, 'Ever Virgin' Ἀειπάρθενος, 'Full of Grace', Κεχαριτωμένη, 'Mother of God', Θεομήτωρ, Ἀχραντος.

- 529 *Ar-Rabba*, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 + ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ CΩCON + ΤΟC ΔΘΛΟC CΘ +
 + Θεοτόκε σῶσον + τούς δούλους σου +
 Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*,

- Roma 1954, inscr. No. 218.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscriptions
- 530 Inscr. No. 52, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
 ...ΕΥΧΗ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ Κ(ΑΙ)...
 ...εὐχή τῆς Θεοτόκου Μαρίας κ(αί)...
- 531 Inscr. No. 92, limestone abacus, A.D. 601 / 602
 + ΑΓΙ[Α ΜΑΡΙΑ Θ]ΕΩΤΩΚΕ
 + Ἀγί[α Μαρία Θ]εωτῶκε
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri
- 532 Papyrus No. 46, 1, July 16th, A.D. 605
 ...καί τῆς ἐνδοξ(οτάτης) Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς Θεοτόκου καί ἀειπαρθένου Μ]αρίας...
- 533 Papyrus No. 89, 44, Late VI – Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...τῆς Δεσποίνης ἡμὸν τές Θεοτόκου καί ἀῖπαρθένου Μαρίας καί...
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 534 *Faran, Oasis* (Sinai), a marble inscription now in the Wady Faran newly built Chapel, Byzantine period
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ Κ ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ Η Θ+ΩΤΩΚΟC ΕΛΕΗCON...
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ κ(αί) Ἀγία Μαρία ἡ Θ+ωτῶκος ἐλέησον...
 In this inscription the name 'Maria' is given together with the titles 'Holy', 'Ἀγία' and 'God-bearer', Θεοτόκος.
 Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 30 (1980), pp. 225-232, pls. 7-8.
- 535 *Irbid*, bracelet, Byzantine period
 + ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΕΘΗ ΤΗ ΔΟΥΛΙ COY
 + Θεοτόκε βοέθη τῇ δούλι σου
 Bibl. B. Bagatti, 'Un anello-Transgiordania,' *TS* 54 (1978), p. 116; M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 26.
- 536 *Jericho*, Russian property, mosaic inscription, December 11th, A.D. 566
 ...ΔΩΡΗCΑΜΕ/ΝΩ ΤΗ ΑΓΙΩΤΑ(ΤΗ) / ΝΕΑ ΕΚΛΗCΙΑ ΤΗΣ / ΕΝΔΟ-
 ΞΟΥ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ / ΕΝ ΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΟΙC...
 ...δωρησαμέ/νῳ τῇ ἀγιωτά(τῃ) / Νέα ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς / ἐνδόξου Θεοτόκου / ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις...
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 315.
- 537 *Jerusalem*, City Wall, Herod's Gate, stone inscription (upside down), VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ / ΑΓΙΑC ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ...
 ...διά τῆς / Ἀγίας τῆς Θεοτόκου...

- In this inscription the name 'Maria' is omitted and instead is given the title 'Holy', Ἁγία, together with the name 'God-bearer', Θεοτόκος.
Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 583; P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), p. 6, No. 9.
- 538 *Jerusalem*, Israel Museum, a stone bread seal found near Gaza (movable object), Byzantine period
...ΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ.
...ου Μαρίας εὐλογία.
Israel Museum.
- 539 *Jerusalem*, Dept. of Antiquities, a golden enkolpion (movable object) found in the Jordan Valley between the River Jordan and Jericho, VIth Century A.D., representing the Annunciation on one side with the inscription:
. ΚΕΧΑΡΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ Κεχαριτωμένη, *Luke* 1: 28.
Bibl. J.H. Iliffe, *QDAP* 14 (1950), pp. 97-99, pls. 33, 34.
- 540 *Jerusalem*, Flagellation Museum, a gold ring, VIth Century A.D.
with the inscription : + ΧΕΡΕ ΚΑΙΧΑΡΙΤΟΜΕΝΗ Ο ΚΥ...
+ Χέρε καιχαριτομένη ὁ Κύ(ριος).
Luke 1 : 28.
There are grammatical errors : (ε) instead of αι, (αι) instead of ε, and (ο) instead of ω.
Flagellation Museum, Bibl. A. Spijkerman, *Chronicle of the Museum*, Vol. IV, p. 293, April 24, 1965 (brought to Jerusalem by a Syrian pilgrim from Damascus).
- 541 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 663
...ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΑΧΡΑΝΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ [ΘΕΟ]ΤΩΚΟΥ...
...τῆς ἁγίας ἀχράντου Δεσποίνης [Θεο]τώκου...
In this inscription the name 'Maria' is omitted and instead are given the titles ἁγία, ἄχραντος, Δέσποινα, Θεοτόκος.
Bibl. E. Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia* III, p. 360; F. Cabrol and H. Lelercq, *DACL* XI, p. 862.
- 542 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗΝ ΜΑΡΙΗΝ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΟΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΤΙΚΚΕΝ ΧΝ...
Παρθενικὴν Μαρὶν Θεομήτορα καὶ ὄν ἐτικκεν Χ(ριστό)ν...
In this inscription the name 'Maria' is mentioned together with the titles 'Παρθένος' and 'Θεομήτωρ'.
Bibl. Claudine Dauphin, *PEQ* 1975, pp. 155-157.
- 543 *Monza*, disc originating in Palestine, Byzantine period
It illustrates the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary with the Greek inscription:

. ΧΕΡΕ ΚΕΧΑΡΙΤΟΜΗΝΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΣ
(Β)ΟΥΔΙΑΝΟ...

. Χέρε Κεχαριτομήνι, Εὐλογία τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Πέτρας (Β)ουδιανο...

The disc comes from the shrine of St. Gabriel in Nazareth. See *Takiikon*, Palmer's translation '*The Desert of Exodus*' 1871. 11, p. 553.

Bibl. André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958.

- 544 *Ozem*, Kh. Beit Mamin, inscr. No. 4, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

. ΚΥΡΙΕ / ΙΕΣΟΥ ΒΟΗ[Θ]/ΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΗ ΔΟ[ΥΛΗ]/ ΣΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΕΛ[ΛΑ]/ ΤΙ
Ε.../ ΑΓ[Ι]ΑΙ...Μ[Α]ΡΙΑΙ.../ ΠΑΡΘΕ[ΝΟΥ].../...

. Κύριε / Ἰησοῦ βοή[θ]ιστον τῇ δο[ύλῃ]/ σου Μαρκέλλ[α]/ τι ε.../ Ἀγ[ί]ας
αι... Μ[α]ρίας/ Παρθέ[νου].../...

Dept. of Antiquities.

- 545 *Ras Siyagha*, Theotokos Chapel, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ...

...ἐτελιώθη τό πᾶν ἔργον τῆς Θεοτόκου...

In this inscription the title 'Theotokos' is given, while the name 'Maria' is omitted.

Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 322.

- 546 *Rishpon*, Reshef: Apollonia, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΜΑΡΙΝΟC ΕΤΕΥΞΕ ΘΕΟ/ΤΙΚΟΝ ΑΧΡΑΝΤΟΝ ΑΕΙΝ Ο-/ ΟΝΗ-
ΝΙΟΧΕΥΧΩΝ/.

...Μαρίνος ἔτευξε Θεο/τίκον ἄχραντον αἰεὶν ο-/ ονηνιοχεύχων/.

Bibl. *Hadashot Archaeologiot* 3 (July 1962), p. 11.

OLD TESTAMENT FIGURES

Patriarchs

Abraham

Abraham was the first Patriarch of the Hebrews¹. The Christian Church has always recognized in Abraham its spiritual ancestor. Abraham in the sacrifice of Isaac, furnished the Church Fathers with a model of perfect submission to the Will of God even in the most severe trials. The Evangelists emphasized the genealogy of Jesus from Abraham through David².

The Patriarch Abraham was venerated by the Christians from the beginning, especially in the Palestinian Church since he was connected with the Land of

¹ *Gen.* 11: 26..., 15: 7, 12: 1.

² *Matt.* 1: 1, 2: 17, *Luke* 3: 34.

Canaan during his life, and the region of Hebron where, by the oak of Mambre, he had built an altar to God.

The name of the Patriarch Abraham appears in the following Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine:

- 547 *Hebron*, El Khalil, stone inscription inside the Mosque of the tombs, Byzantine period
 . ΑΓΙΕ ΑΒΡΑΑΜΑ ΒΩΗΘΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΝΙΛΟΝ ΤΟΝ Δ ΜΑΡ-
 ΜΑΡΑΡΗΝ
 . "Άγιε 'Αβραάμα βώήθι τόν δοῦ/λον σου Νίλον τόν δ μαρμαράρην
 The name 'Abraham' appears in complete form in the vocative singular together with the word 'Holy', "Άγιος.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 240.
- 548 *Shivta*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 [ΦΙΛΟΘΕΪΑΝ] ΑΒΡΑΑΜ.
 [Φιλοθεΐαν] 'Αβραάμ.
 The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 63-64, inscr. No. 71.
- 549 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica
 a) lintel over the main entrance, pine wood, VI – VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Ο Θ(ΕΟ)C ΤΩ(Ν) ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΣΟΥ Ο ΘC ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΚΑΙ...
 ...'Εγώ ειμί ό Θ(εό)ς τῶ(ν) πατέρων σου, ό Θ(εό)ς 'Αβραάμ καί...
 The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.
- 550 b) panel, left of the main apse, encaustic technique, scene of the sacrificing of Isaac, VIIth Century A.D.
 – ΑΒΡΑΑΜ, ΙCΑΑΚ, ΑΜΝΟC.
 'Αβραάμ, 'Ισαάκ, 'Αμνός.
 The name is given in complete form in the nominative singular.
 Bibl. a) Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264; b) Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352.

The scene of Abraham's sacrifice became one of the most popular in Christian hagiography, as its symbolism prefigured the death of Christ. The ram that was killed signified the humanity of Christ, and Isaac who remained alive, symbolized the Divinity of Christ.

- 551 *Umm-el-Jimal*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ΔΕC Ο ΘC ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΙCΑΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΙΑΚΟΒ
 Δ(ό)ξ(α) σ(οι) ό Θ(εό)ς 'Αβρ(αά)μ (καί) 'Ισ(αά)κ (καί) 'Ιακόβ
 Bibl. *AAES* II, A, 3, 170; *AAES* III, A, 3, 143-148; M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*. Jerusalem 1981, p. 60.

The name 'Abraham' appears in the following literary source: In the *Canon* of the Church of Jerusalem¹ where it is written:

a) that the memory of the Patriarch Abraham was celebrated in the village of Bethlehem together with the righteous Lot, on October 8th, 'Ἐν κώμῃ Βηθλεέμ, μνήμη τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου Λώτ...'

b) a sanctuary for Abraham was built near the rocks of Golgotha, the inauguration of which was celebrated on the Friday after Easter. There is an oral tradition that the place where this altar was built was the place where the sacrifice of Isaac occurred. I believe that this tradition was derived from the symbolism of the sacrifice of Isaac which prefigured the sacrifice of Christ (see inscr. No. 4b above, scene of the sacrifice of Isaac).

c) the memory of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob was celebrated on Golgotha on August 21st, '21 Αὐγούστου, μνήμη τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ'.

In addition to the Christian sources, the name of the Patriarch Abraham appears in two synagogues:

552 a) *Beit Alpha*, where on the mosaic floor is depicted the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, with the names Abraham and Isaac in Hebrew, dating to the VIth Century A.D.

553 b) *Ein Gedi*, where on the mosaic floor is given an inscription including the names of all three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob in Hebrew (VIth Century A.D.)

Bibl. D. Barag, Y. Porat and E. Netzer, *RB* 79 (1972), p. 581; *QADMON-IOT* 5, 2(1972), colour pl. III

Isaac

Isaac was the divinely promised son of the Patriarch Abraham² and the second Patriarch of the Hebrews.

To test Abraham's faith, God asked him to sacrifice his son, but being satisfied with his perfect obedience, at the last moment accepted a ram instead³. This theme was developed by the Fathers of the Church who regarded his intended immolation as a symbol of the Sacrifice of Golgotha.

The name 'Isaac' is found in the following inscriptions extant in Palestine:

554 *Shivta*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
[ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΑΝ] ΙCΑΑΚ
[Φιλοπατρίαν] Ἰσαάκ.

¹ See footnote on page 80.

² *Gen.* 21:8.

³ *Gen.* 22.

The name appears in complete form.

Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 63-64, inscr. No. 71.

- 555 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica

a) lintel over the main entrance, pine wood, VI-VIIIth Century A.D.

...ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Ο ΘC ΤΩ(N) ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ COY Ο ΘC ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΚΑΙ Ο ΘC ΙCΑΑΚ...

...Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεός τῶ(ν) πατέρων σου, ὁ Θεός Ἀβραάμ, καί ὁ Θεός Ἰσαάκ...

The name appears in complete form.

- 556 b) panel, left of the main apse, encaustic technique, scene of the sacrificing of Isaac, VIIIth Century A.D.

ΑΒΡΑΑΜ, ΙCΑΑΚ, ΑΜΝΟC.

Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἀμνός.

The name 'Isaac' appears in complete form.

Bibl. a) Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264; b) Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352.

- 557 *Umm-el-Jimal*, stone inscription, Byzantine period

ΔΞC Ο ΘC ΑΒΡΜ S ICK S ΙΑΚΟΒ

Δ(ό)ξ(α) σ(οι) ὁ Θεός Ἀβρ(αά)μ (καί) Ἰσ(αά)κ (καί) Ἰακώβ

Bibl. *AAES* II, A, 3, 170; *AAES* III, A, 3, 143-148; M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 60.

The name Isaac also appears in the literary source mentioned above in connection with the name Abraham. Isaac is not called 'Holy' in any of the given sources. For the name 'Isaac' in additional mosaic inscriptions, see page 88 above in reference to Abraham.

Jacob

Jacob was the son of Isaac, grandson of Abraham and the third Patriarch of the Hebrews¹. Jacob's twelve sons were the ancestors of the twelve tribes of the Hebrews. He was also called 'Israel' after he had wrestled with a mysterious, Divine stranger.

The name 'Jacob', Ἰακώβ, appears in complete form in the following Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine:

- 558 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560-565

ΟΠΟΥ Η ΠΗΓΗ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΚΩΒ

¹ For the name 'Jacob' see also Ein Gedi, Synagogue inscription, page 88, and *Canonarion* of the Church of Jerusalem, August 21st note, p. 87.

ὅπου ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ Ἰακώβ

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 46, pl. 6.

- 559 *Main*, 8 kms S.W. of Madaba, mosaic inscription, A.D. 719 / 720
 ...[ΑΓΑΠΙΑ ΚΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΥΛΑΣ ΣΙΩΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΑ] ΣΚΙΝΟΜΑΤΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ.
 ...[ἀγαπᾷ Κ(ύριο)ς τὰς πύλας Σιών ὑπὲρ τὰ] σκινόματα Ἰακώβ.
 Bibl. R. de Vaux, *RB* 47 (1938), pp. 139-141.
- 560 *Shivta*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 / ΕΛΠΙΔΑΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ / ...
 ... / ἐλπίδαν Ἰακώβ / ...
 Bibl. A. Negev. *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 63-64, inscr. No. 71.
- 561 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, lintel over the main entrance, pine wood, VI-VIIIth Century A.D.
 ...Ο ΘΣ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ Κ Ο ΘΣ ΙΣΑΑΚ ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΣ ΙΑΚΩΒ.
 ...ὁ Θεός Ἀβραάμ καὶ ὁ Θεός Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ὁ Θεός Ἰακώβ.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.
- 562 *Umm-el-Jimal*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ΔΞΟ ΘΣ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΣΙΚΣ ΙΑΚΟΒ
 Δ(ό)ξ(α) σ(οι) ὁ Θεός Ἀβραάμ (καὶ) Ἰσαάκ (καὶ) Ἰακώβ
 Bibl. *AEES* II, A, 3, 170; *AAES* III, A, 3, 143-148; M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 60.
 The term 'Holy' is not applied to Jacob in any of the inscriptions.

Joseph

Joseph was one of the twelve sons of Jacob and one of the Patriarchs of Israel.
 The name 'Joseph' appears in the following Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine:

- 563 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560-565
 a) ΤΟ ΤΟΥ / ΙΩΣΗΦ
 Τό τοῦ / Ἰωσήφ
 The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.
- 564 b) ΙΩΣΗΦ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΕΝ ΣΕ / Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΓΗΣ / ΕΧΟΥΣΗΣ
 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ / ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΠΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΥ / Η ΓΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ.
 Ἰωσήφ εὐλόγησέν σε / ὁ Θεός εὐλογίαν γῆς / ἐχούσης πάντα καὶ / πάλιν ἀπευλογίας Κ(ύριο)υ / ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦ.
Gen. 11 : 25, *Deut.* 33 : 13.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, pl. 6, a) p. 46, commentary 34 b) p. 47, commentary 39.
 According to the *Canonarion* literary source above, his memory was celebrated on September 4th, and October 15th.

- i) On September 4th. 'Εν τῇ Μονῇ τῆς Φλαβίας, μνήμη τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἰωσήφ...
- ii) On October 15th. 'Εν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ Φλαβίας ... τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἰωσήφ.
The term 'Holy', "Ἅγιος, is not applied to Joseph in any of the inscriptions.

Judges – The Judge Jephthah

Jephthah was one of the most notable Judges in Israel. His name appears only once in the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine:

565 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, VIIth Century A.D.

Encaustic technique on marble. In the Bema of the Basilica, the conch of the main apse is decorated with a mosaic representation of the Transfiguration of Christ, and the pilasters on each side of the apse are covered with marble on which biblical scenes, worked in encaustic technique of the seventh century, are depicted. On the left is the sacrifice of Isaac, while that of the daughter of Jephthah by her father appears on the right with the inscription:

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΗΕΦΘΑΕ

ὁ Ἅγιος Ἡεφθάε

Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352.

Both the sacrifices, that of Isaac and that of the daughter of Jephthah, are pre-figurations of Christ's Eucharistic sacrifice. The sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter was rarely represented in early Christian art. As a symbolic theme it was unpopular, and thus never gained the same acceptance as that of the sacrifice of Isaac.

According to Professor Kurt Weitzmann, iconographically and stylistically both panels are related to Palestine (Jerusalem), and were executed during the seventh century A.D.

In the inscription, the name appears in complete form together with the word 'Holy', "Ἅγιος.

Moses

Moses, the founder and lawgiver of Israel, likewise holds a prominent place in the Christian tradition¹. In the Transfiguration scene he represented the law, while Elijah was seen as representing the Prophets. In the Liturgies², as well as in other literary sources³, Moses is classified with the Prophets.

¹ *Matt.* 17 : 3.

² F.G. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, on the basis of the work of C.E. Hammond, Oxford 1896.

³ Refer to page 80.

In the Liturgies of St. James and St. John Chrysostomos, according to the Byzantine rite, Moses is mentioned among the Prophets in the following order: 'Τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων Προφητῶν Μωσέως καὶ Ἀαρών, Ἡλιοῦ, Ἐλισαίου...'

In the *Canonarion*, his memory is celebrated on September 4th. '...τοῦ Μεγάλου Προφήτου Μωϋσέως...' and in the *Minaion* of September in current use, on the 4th of the month, the Church celebrates among others, the memory of Moses the Prophet, 'τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ Θεόπτου Μωϋσέως τοῦ Προφήτου'.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, Moses is referred to more in his role of 'lawgiver' than that of being a Prophet in the *Old Testament*.

The name 'Moses' appears in the following inscriptions:

- 566 *Shivta*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΠΡΑΟΤΗΤΑ ΜΟΥCHN
Πραότητα Μοῦσῃν
The name appears in complete form in the accusative singular.
Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 63-64, inscr. No. 71.
- 567 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΜΩΥCHC
+ Μωϋσῆς
The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular.
Bibl. G.H. Forsyth, *National Geographic Magazine* 125,1(1964), pp. 82-108.
- 568 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, lintel over the main entrance, pine wood inscription, VI – VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΑΛΗCEN ΚC ΠΡΟC ΜΩΥCHN ΕΝ ΤΩ ΤΟΠΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΛΕΓΩΝ...
+ καὶ ἐλάλησεν Κ(ύριος)ς πρὸς Μωϋσῆν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ λέγων...
The name appears in complete form in the accusative singular.
Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264, No. 2.
- 569 *Sinai*, Moses' Mountain Top, the Cave of Moses, S.E. corner of the Mosque, granite inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ Ο ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΟΥCH
+ ὁ Θε(ός)ς τοῦ Ἀγίου Μοῦσῃ
The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.
Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), p. 264, No. 16.
- 570 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, Picture Gallery of the Monastery, votive bronze cross (movable object), VI-VIIth Century A.D.
.Κ ΕΞ/ΙΓΑΓΕΝ / ΜΟΥCHC / ΤΟΝ ΛΑ/ΟΝ...

.Κ(αί) ἐξ/ίγαγεν / Μοῦσῃς / τόν λα/όν...

Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann and I. Ševčenco, *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 391-2.

Prophets

According to the *Old Testament*, Prophets were the inspired deliverers of God's message to the people of their time and often foretold future events. The Christians also believed that God spoke to his people through the Prophets before the coming of Jesus. They considered the Prophets as 'holy men', ἅγιοι, and saw in Christ the fulfillment of the prophetic writings. The Prophets were given the same veneration as the other champions of the Christian faith, and churches were dedicated to them either collectively or individually.

In the *New Testament* the title Prophet, in addition to the canonical Prophets of the *Old Testament*, was attributed to Moses, David and to John the Baptist.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the term 'Prophet' or the names of known Prophets, appear in the following places:

- 571 *Gerasa*, Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, mosaic inscription, A.D. 464/5

...Ε[Γ]ΕΝΕΤΟ [Η ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ] / ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΟC-
ΤΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩ[Ν...

...ἐ[γ]ένετο [ἡ ἐκκλησία] / τῶν ἁγίων Προφητῶν, Ἀποστόλων, Μαρτύρων[v...
The term is given in complete form in the genitive plural and refers to all the prophets in general who were called Holy, "ἅγιοι".

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 476, inscr. No. 289.

- 572 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, A.D. 565/6

Around the apse in mosaic medallions framing the scene of the Transfiguration, are depicted sixteen Prophets and twelve Apostles. The Prophets are equally grouped eight to the right and eight to the left of David who appears in the centre and who, in Christianity, was considered the King of the Prophets, 'Προφητῶν Ἄναξ'. The names of the Prophets are given in Greek and are as follows: Δανιήλ, Ἰερεμίας, Μαλαχίας, Ἀγγαῖος, Ἀμβακούμ, Ἰω-
νᾶς, Ἰωήλ, Ἀμώς, Δα(υί)δ, Ὡσηέ, Μιχαίας, Ἀβδιοῦ, Ναούμ, Σοφονίας, Ζαχαρίας, Ἰσαΐας, Ἰεζεκιήλ. That is, the three major Prophets of the *Old Testament* including Daniel who, in the *Septuagint* is included with them, thus forming the four major and twelve minor Prophets plus David.

Bibl. Περικλέους Γρηγοριάδου, *Ἱερὰ Μονή τοῦ Σινᾶ*, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1875, p. 14.

Elijah the Prophet, IXth Century B.C.

The prophet Elijah, traditionally held to be the greatest of the Hebrew Prophets,

was responsible for the upholding of the supremacy of the worship of Jehovah in the face of the Canaanite and Phoenician cults.

In the *New Testament*, he is shown as a prototype of all the *Old Testament* Prophets. In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the name 'Elijah' appears in the following places:

- 573 *El Boberije*, Samaria, lintel, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 ...+ ΑΓΛΑΟΝ ΔΟΜΟΝ ΗΛΙΑ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗ ΤΩ ΟΩ ΕΤΕΥΞΕ ΤΟΝΔ[Ε+]
 ...+ ἀγλαόν δόμον Ἡλία Προφήτη τῷ σῶ ἔτευξε τόνδ[ε+]
 The name appears in complete form in the dative singular together with the title 'Prophet', 'Προφήτης'.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 119.
- 574 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, 4 August A.D. 576
 ...ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ...
 ...τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλιοῦ...
 Bibl. *SEG* XXX (1980), No. 1688; R. Cohen, *QADMONIOT* 12(1979), pp. 19-24.
- 575 *Madaba*, Aelianus Crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 607
 ...ΖΗΛΩ ΗΛΙΑC Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΥΧΗ CΥΝΕΡΓΗCΑC...
 ...ζήλω Ἡλίας ὁ Προφήτης εὐχῇ συνεργήσας...
 The name is in complete form in the nominative singular together with the title 'Prophet', 'Προφήτης'.
 Bibl. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, I, p. 867; P.M. Séjourné, *RB* 6 (1897), p. 653.
- 576 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse, mosaic inscription, A.D. 560-565
 The Prophet Elijah is depicted in the scene of the Transfiguration to the left of Christ with the inscription + ΗΛΙΑC + Ἡλίας. In this example only the name of the Prophet is given.
 Bibl. K. Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352; I. Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.

The Prophet Elisha, IXth Century B.C.

Elisha was the disciple and successor of the Prophet Elijah. The name 'Elisha' in the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, appears only once:

- 577 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560/5
 . ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΕΛΙCΑΙΟΥ
 . Τό τοῦ ἁγίου / Ἐλισαίου

The name Elisha appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', "Άγιος.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 44, pl. 6.

In the *Canonarion*¹ his memory is celebrated in three different places with three different dates:

June 14th. 'Επί τοῦ Ὁρους Ρουβίλ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ἰωάννῃ (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου)
Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου Ἑλισαίου.

August 29th. 'Εν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου εἰς τήν γωνίαν τῆς πό-
λεως, Μνήμη ... καί τοῦ Προφήτου Ἑλισαίου.

November 14th. 'Εν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ (τῶν Ἀφρόνων) παρὰ τήν Γεθσημανήν,
Μνήμη ... τοῦ Προφήτου Ἑλισαίου.

The Prophet Isaiah, VIIIth Century B.C.

Isaiah as a Prophet, served the court of the kings of Judah, taking a prominent part in foreign affairs. His expectations for the future were chiefly centred on the Messiah. From *New Testament* times onwards, the Messianic passages of Isaiah's prophecies have been consistently referred to Christ by Christian writers.

Isaiah is mentioned in the following inscriptions:

- 578 *Jerusalem*, Siloe, twin chapels cut out of rock popularly called the tomb of Isaiah. The inscription is over the niche of the larger apse to the north, Byzantine period

. Κ ΤΥΤΗ ΙΕΡΩ ΙΣΑΙΑ / ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ /

. Κ(αί) τυτη Ἱερῶ Ἰσαΐα / Προφήτου /

The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Prophet', Προφήτης. Originally this complex seems to have been a burial chamber which was later adapted as a place of cult.

Bibl. B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine*, Jerusalem 1971, pp. 219-20, fig. 87.

- 579 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Hamad el Tallaq, mosaic inscription, A.D. 574/5

.../Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΗΣΑΙΟΥ ΕΚ ΚΑ[ΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΣΠΟ]ΥΔΗΣ /...

.../ὁ ναός τοῦ ἁγίου Προφήτου Ἡσαΐου ἐκ κα[ρποφορίας καί σπο]υδῆς /...

The name is in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Prophet', Προφήτης, and 'Holy', "Άγιος.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 70, inscr. No. 6.

¹ *Canonarion*, see p. 80.

- 580 Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, medallions surrounding the scene of the Transfiguration, mosaic inscription, A.D. 560/5

. ICAÏAC Ἰσαΐας

The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular.

Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352.

In literary sources, in the *Typikon* of the Church of Jerusalem¹, his memory is celebrated on May 5th: Ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τῆς Ἀγίας Βάσσης, Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου Ἡσαΐου...

June 3rd ...τοῦ Προφήτου Ἡσαΐου...

July 6th Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου Ἡσαΐου

The Prophet Jeremiah, Late VIIth-Early VIth Century B.C.

Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, belonged to a priestly family of the village Anathoth in the territory of Benjamin, who lived in the years of Josiah, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, Kings of Judah. Jeremiah was not a popular figure in his own time because he contended against kings, priests, false prophets and the nation itself. Only after his death when his prophecies were proved to be true, he grew steadily in stature.

The name of the Prophet Jeremiah in the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine appears in the following places:

- 581 Jerusalem, Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, inscription on a bronze incensory, Byzantine period

+ ΑΓΙΕ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΚΥΡΙΚΕ ΚΑΙ / + ΟΙ CYN HMIN ΑΓΙΟΙ
ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΘΕ ΤΗΝ Π/+ ΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΥΜΩΝ ΑΝΑ-
CTACIOY.

+ Ἅγιε Ἰερεμία καὶ ἅγιε Κύρικε καὶ / + οἱ σύν ἡμῖν ἅγιοι προσδέξασθε τὴν
π/+ροσφορὰν τοῦ δούλου ὑμῶν Ἀναστασίου.

Bibl. *Ἡμερολόγιον Ἱεροσολύμων* 1899, p. 93.

The Prophet, as well as his name, is also depicted at the apse mosaic of the Basilica of St. Catherine, Sinai, among the sixteen Prophets in mosaic medallions around the apse framing the scene of the Transfiguration¹. In literary sources he is mentioned in the *Typicon* of the Church of Jerusalem² on May 1st, 'τοῦ προφήτου Ἰερε-

¹ Περικλέους Γρηγοριάδου, *Ἱερά Μονὴ τοῦ Σινᾶ*, Ἱερουσαλὴμ 1875, p. 14.

² *Op. cit.* H. Goussen, 'Über die Georgische Drucke und Handschriften der Festordnung und den Hl. Kalender des Altchristlichen Jerusalem betreffend,' München-Gladbach 1923, for the periodical *Liturgie und die Kunst*, pp. 1-42; see also Peradze-Baumstark, 'Die Weihnachtsfeier Jerusalem im siebten Jahrhundert,' in *Oriens Cristianus* 1927, series III, pp. 310-318, Greek translation by Κλεόβουλος Καραπίπρης, *1500ῆ ἐπέτειος τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων 451-1951*, Ἱερουσαλὴμ 1952.

K. Kekelidze, *Jerusalimskiz Kanonar VII vjeka* (Georgian version), Tiflis, 1912. Translated into Greek by

μίου ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ 'Αναθώθ' and on July 21st, 'τοῦ προφήτου 'Ιερεμίου', as well as in the *Canonarion*, on July 21st, 'Ἐν τῇ 'Αναστάσει, Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου 'Ιερεμίου'. According to the Byzantine Calendar his memory is commemorated on May 1st.

The Prophet Micah, VIIIth Century B.C.

Micah is one of the minor Prophets. He began his work before the fall of Samaria. Micah is mentioned in the following inscriptions:

582 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560/5

a) ΜΟΡΑCΘΙ Ο/ΘΕΝ ΗΝ ΜΙ/ΧΑΙΑC Ο / ΠΡΟΦ.

. Μορασθί ὁ/θεν ἦν Μι/χαίας ὁ / Προφ(ήτης).

583 b) ΤΟ Τ[ΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΙΧΑΙΟΥ].

. Τό τ[οῦ 'Αγίου Μιχαίου].

In a) The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular together with the word 'Prophet', Προφήτης.

and in b) The name of Micah the Prophet together with the word 'holy' is presumed.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 69, pl. 8, commentary.

584 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, apse mosaic, A.D. 560/5

The Prophet is depicted in one of the medallions with his name in Greek ΜΙΧΑΙΑC

Μιχαίας

The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular.

Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352.

The Prophet Jonah, VIIIth Century B.C.

Jonah is one of the minor Prophets. His being swallowed by a whale, his deliverance after three days and nights and the final success of his mission to the Gentiles, was regarded in the *New Testament* as a prophecy of Christ's Resurrection, and that

Κάλλιστος Μηλιαράς, and published in *ΝΣ* 1914, pp. 35-39, 202-241, 310-342. The publication was interrupted by the war of 1914-1918.

See the work of Antiochus Strategius, 'The capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in the year A.D. 614' edited by M. Marr, in Georgian and in Russian, in *Texts and Researches of the Armeno-Georgian Philology* St. Pb. 1909, Vol. IX, and translated into Greek by the Archimandrite Kallistos, see *ΝΣ* 1909, pp. 8ff.

See also the German review by G. Grafin, *Das Heilige Land*, Köln 1923, pp. 19-29. *Prise de Jérusalem* (Strategius), Georgian version, ed. and tr. Garitte, 'La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 615' *C.S.C.O.*, Ser. Lb., 11-12, 1960.

through Christ's death, Gentiles as well as Jews would be converted to Christianity and be saved. Jonah is mentioned in the following inscriptions:

- 585 *Beit Jibrin*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
A mosaic depicting Jonah asleep under the plant of the gourd (*Jonah* 4: 6-7) with the inscription ΙΩΝΑC 'Ιωνᾶς
Bibl. R.Ovadia, *IEJ* 24 (1974), pp. 214-5, pl. 46.
- 586 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560/5
. [T]Ο ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΙΩΝΑ
. [T]ό τοῦ Ἀγίου / 'Ιωνᾶ.
The name is given in complete form in the genitive singular with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, pp. 67-68, pls. 7-8, commentary 67.
- 587 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic, A.D. 560/5
The Prophet is depicted in one of the medallions that frame the scene of the Transfiguration with his name in Greek ΙΩΝΑC 'Ιωνᾶς.
Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352.

The Prophet Zechariah, VIth Century B.C.

Zechariah is one of the minor Prophets and is mentioned in the following inscriptions:

- 588 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560/5
. ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΖΑΧΑΡΙΟΥ
. Τό τοῦ Ἀγίου / Ζαχαρίου
The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.
Since the word 'Prophet' is not mentioned, the question arises as to whether the name refers to the Prophet Zechariah, or to the father of St. John the Baptist, but according to the location of the place on the map, it would seem rather that the inscription refers to the Prophet.
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, pp.67-8, pls. 7-8, commentary 67.
- 589 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic, one of the medallions, A.D. 560/5
ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC Ζαχαρίας
The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular.
Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352.
Literary sources, Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανὼνάριον¹

¹ See page 80.

May 26th. 'Εν τῇ κώμῃ Βηθσφαγῇ ... καὶ τοῦ Προφήτου Ζαχαρίου

June 10th. 'Εν τῇ Μονῇ τοῦ Ἱερέως Σαββίνου ἐν τῷ Νέῳ Ζαχαρία δύο μίλια ἀπέχοντι τοῦ Προφήτου Ζαχαρία.

September 5th. 'Εν τῇ κώμῃ Βηθσφαγῇ Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου Ζαχαρίου.

October 2nd. 'Εν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Προκοπίου ... τῶν Προφητῶν ... Ζαχαρίου...

The Prophet David, XIth Century B.C.

David was the youngest son of Jesse, a Judaeen from Bethlehem, and the first King of the Judaeen Dynasty¹.

In the *New Testament*, the Davidic descent of Christ² is emphasized. Christ is called 'Son of David'³. St. Augustine draws a parallel between the victory of David over Goliath and that of Christ over Satan. To David is also applied the title of Prophet⁴. In Christian art, David is regularly depicted with a crown and a harp. The name of David appears in the following Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine from Byzantine period:

590 *Shivta*, stone inscription, Byzantine period

...ΔΟΞΑΝ ΔΑΟΥΙΔ...

...Δόξαν Δαουῖδ...

The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular, in the form 'ΔΑΟΥΙΔ'.

Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 63-64, inscr. No. 71.

591 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic, A.D. 560/5

In this wall-mosaic, David is placed in the central medallion among the Prophets as their leader. He is known as 'Προφητῶν ἄναξ', 'King of the Prophets'. He is depicted as a King with a crown on his head. His name is written in Greek in the abbreviated form 'ΔΑΔ' Δα(υί)δ.

Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18(1964), pp. 341-352.

In the literary sources in the "*Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικόν Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων*"⁵ his memory is celebrated on December 26th.

The term 'Holy', Ἅγιος, is not attributed to David in any of the inscriptions or literary sources.

1 1 Sam. 16:13, Kings 8:2.

2 Rom 1, 3:2, Tim. II 2:8 and Rev. 5:5, 22:16.

3 Matt. 21:9.

4 Acts 2:29ff.

5 see page 80.

- 592 In addition to the Greek inscriptions of the Christian tradition, David's name and figure are depicted in the mosaic floor of the Gaza Synagogue, A.D. 508. In this mosaic pavement, David is depicted as Orpheus with a harp in his hand and his name is given in Hebrew letters. Bibl. A. Ovadiah, *IEJ* 19 (1969), p. 193.

NEW TESTAMENT FIGURES

John the Baptist, the Forerunner of Christ

John the Baptist was the son of Zacharia, a priest of the Temple, and of Elizabeth, cousin of the Virgin Mary. St. Luke records that his birth had been foretold by an Angel to the Virgin Mary six months before the birth of Christ¹.

About the year A.D. 27, John appeared as a wandering preacher announcing to the people, 'Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand'. Those who confessed their sins were baptized by him in the River Jordan, and among those who submitted to his baptism was Jesus Christ himself, whom he recognized as the promised Messiah.

John was imprisoned because he had denounced Herod Agrippa for his marriage with his half-brother's wife. Herod ordered him beheaded². His body was buried at Sebastia, where his tomb was found³. He is mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII, V. 2.

In art, he is usually associated with the baptism of Christ as an ascetic preacher wearing a camel hair tunic and carrying a staff. Usually he is represented with the wings of a messenger.

Literary sources: a) *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*

January 7th. Ἡ σύναξις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου.

July 18th. Ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὴν Βηθλεέμ, ... Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ.

July 25th ... καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ...

August 29th, ... Μνήμη Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ, ἀποτομή τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ...

September 29th, ... Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ...

October 15th, ... κατάθεσις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ...

October 20th, ... κατάθεσις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ...

October 26th, ... εὑρεσις τῆς κάρας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ.

November 24th, ... κατάθεσις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ.

December 15th, ... ἐγκαίνια τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ.

b) *Liturgies*, Byzantine rite, in the intercession, it reads, 'τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Προφήτου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ', and in the Prothesis, 'τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Προφήτου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου.'

¹ Luke 1: 13-20.

² Matt. 14: 1-12.

³ *PEF QS* 1931.

These last two places are the only ones where the title 'Prophet', Προφήτης, is attributed to him and till now this title has not been found among the archaeological sources referred to in this study.

His name appears in the following Greek inscriptions found in Palestine:

- 593 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 89. 45, Late VIth – Early VIIth Century A.D.
 τοῦ ἁγίου] καὶ ἐνδόξ[ο]υ Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Προδρ(ό)μου καὶ Βαπτ[ιστο]ῦ...
 His name is abbreviated together with the titles 'forerunner', Πρόδρομος and 'Baptist', Βαπτιστής.
 Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 594 *El Boberiyeh*, Samaria, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 .../ ΟC ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ CΟΥ ΘΡΟΝΟΝ ΙΘΥΝΙΝ ΛΑΧΩΝ ΥΠΟ CΟ(Υ)/...
 .../ ὃς τοῦ Προδρόμου σου θρόνον ἰθύνιν λαχών ὑπό σο(ῦ)/...
 In this inscription only the title 'forerunner', Πρόδρομος, is mentioned.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 119.
- 595 *Gerasa*, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
 ...ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑΝ ΤΩ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΩ...
 ...προσφορὰν τῷ Προδρόμῳ
 In this inscription the title 'forerunner', Πρόδρομος, is mentioned.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 479, inscr. No.306.
- 596 *Gerasa*, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533
 ...ΟΥ ΜΑΘΗCΕΙ ΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ / ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ CΩΖΟΝΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝ/
 ...οὗ μαθήσει τοῦνομα / τοῦ Προδρόμου σώζοντα τό ἐπώνυμον/
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 482, inscr. No. 314.
- 597 *Kh. Umm er Rus*, Judaeen Hills, 20 kms S.W. of Jerusalem, mosaic inscription between the arms of a cross, VIth Century A.D.
 † ΚΥΡΟΥ / ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ † Κυροῦ / Ἰωάννου Greek inscription
 MARA YOHANA Aramaic inscription
 Bibl. R. Horning, *ZDPV* 32 (1909), p. 133f.
 It is not sure that the name refers to St. John the Baptist, it is just a possible suggestion.
- 598 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560/5
 . ΒΕΘΑΒΑΡΑ / ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑΤΟC
 . Βεθαβαρά / τό τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου / τοῦ βαπτίσματος.
 In this inscription the name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the titles 'Holy', Ἅγιος, and 'baptism', βαπτίσματος.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 38, pl. 2, commentary 7.

Apostles, Disciples

Jerusalem as the centre of Judaism, sent 'messengers', ἀποστόλους, to the Jewish communities of the Diaspora in order to inform them of any matter concerning Judaism in general, of new developments, or to advise the Jews of the Diaspora as to how to act among the pagans, in order to preserve their faith. According to Justin, *Dialogue to Tryphon* 17, messengers were also sent to inform the Jewish communities that a heresy had arisen and to keep clear of it: "Ἄνδρες χειροτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτούς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψατε κηρύσσοντες ὅτι αἴρεσις ἄθεος καὶ ἄνομος ἐγγήγερται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινος Γαλιλαίου".

In Christianity, the title 'apostle' was given mainly to the twelve disciples of Christ whom, after the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, He sent to teach the Christian faith all over the world.

The lists of names given in the *Gospels* and the *Acts* vary slightly, a fact probably explained by the custom of applying different names to the same person. After the suicide of Judas Iskarioth, his place was taken by Matthias and the term 'apostle' was also applied to him and likewise to Paul and Barnabas. In later times, the term 'apostle' was given to the leader of the first Christian mission in a country.

In the known extant inscriptions in Palestine, the Apostles are mentioned together or individually in the following places:

- 599 *Gerasa*, Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, stone inscription on two lintel blocks, A.D. 464/5
 .../ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩ[Ν ΕΚ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡ]/ΑC...
 ...τῷ ἁγίῳ προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρω[ν ἐκ προσφορ]/ᾶς...
 The title appears in complete form in the genitive plural and refers to all the Apostles. The word 'Holy', Ἅγιος which is given at the beginning of the inscription refers to them too.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 476, inscr. No. 298.
- 600 *Madaba*, mosaic inscription, A.D. 579
 ...ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΤΟΠΟC ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ/CΤΟΛΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΡ...
 ...ἐτελῶθη ὁ ἅγιος τόπος τῶν Ἀπο/στόλων ἐν χρ...
 The title appears in complete form in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, I, p. 879.
- 601 *Madaba*, Church of the Apostles, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΤΩ ΝΑΩ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΩΝ...
 ...τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων...

The title appears in complete form in the genitive singular with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος and refers to all the Apostles in general.

Bibl. U. Lux, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 106-129, pls. XIV-XXXIV; M. Noth, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 130-142, figs. 1-4, pl. XXXV.

602 Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic, A.D. 560/5

In the Transfiguration scene three of the Apostles are represented, namely Peter, James and John and in the surrounding twelve medallions the others are depicted according to the list given in the *Gospel of Matthew* 10: 2, excluding Judas Iskariot and including four more in order to keep to the number twelve. They are Matthias, Luke and Mark the Evangelists, and Paul. In the apse MATΘΙΑC, ΛΟΥΚΑC, ΜΑΡΚΟC, ΠΑΥΛΟC. In the mosaic of the Basilica therefore, are represented the following Apostles under their Greek names:

. ΙΩΑΝΝΗC, ΙΑΚΩΒΟC, ΠΕΤΡΟC
ΛΟΥΚΑC, ΙΑΚΩΒΟC, ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑ(Ι)ΟC, ΠΑΥΛΟC, ΘΩΜΑC,
ΘΑΔΔΕΟC,
CΙΜΩΝ, ΜΑΡΚΟC, ΑΝΔΡΕΑC, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC, ΜΑΤΘΕΟC, ΜΑΝΘΙΑC.

For Andrew see also page 115 of this work.

All the names of the Apostles appear in complete form in the nominative singular.

Bibl. Kurt Weitzmann, *DOP* 18 (1964), pp. 341-352.

According to the '*Κανονάριον*¹', the Palestinian Church celebrated the memory of all the Apostles on the Saturdays after the 3rd and 5th Sundays of Lent.

1. Σάββατον μετά τήν τρίτην Κυριακήν, Μνήμη τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων.
2. Σάββατον μετά τήν πέμπτην Κυριακήν, τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων.

The Apostles Peter and Paul

Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, according to the *Gospel of St. John*, was a native of Bethsaida, a town on the Lake of Tiberias². He was a fisherman and brother of St. Andrew who introduced him to Jesus. Originally he was called Simon, but Jesus gave him the Aramaic name 'Kepha'³ meaning 'rock' from which comes the Greek equivalent Πέτρα, Πέτρος.

It is known that at least John, James and Andrew were disciples of John the Baptist, and there is a possibility that Peter was also his follower. The *New Testament* shows him as a supporter of Jesus before becoming an Apostle. After being chosen as an Apostle, his position among the others was unique. In all the lists of the

¹ See page 80.

² *Jn.* 1:45.

³ *Jn.* 1:42.

Apostles, he is named first and he is present on all the occasions when only a small inner group was admitted¹, e.g., at the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus, the Transfiguration, the Agony in the garden of Gethsemane and the preparation of the Last Supper. After the Resurrection he was favoured with a special appearance of Christ² and after the Ascension, he presided over the election of a successor of Judas³ and spoke to the people on the day of Pentecost.⁴ His authority was evident in the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem⁵ where he spoke strongly against imposing obligatory circumcision on the Gentiles.

Very little is known of his mission outside of Palestine in later years. Eusebius places his death during the reign of Nero, A.D. 54-68⁶.

Paul, The Apostle of the Gentiles

Paul was born at Tarsus in Cilicia and was brought up a Pharisee⁷. He also studied in Jerusalem under the famous Rabbi, Gamaliel⁸, and he had probably received a better formal education than any of the other Apostles. He opposed Christianity and was present at the martyrdom of St. Stephen⁹. After his conversion¹⁰, he brought the Christian faith to the Gentiles undertaking three principal journeys¹¹. According to tradition, he was beheaded and buried outside the walls of Rome.

The Apostles Peter and Paul usually appear together and their feast day is celebrated on June 29th. Among the inscriptions, there is only one example of their being mentioned together, that of Gerasa.

603 *Gerasa*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

.../ΟΥΝΕΚΕΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣΤΑΤΑΙΣ / ΠΕΤΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΛΩ...

...οὐνεκεν οἶκον ἔδειμε μαθηταῖς πρωτοστάταις / Πέτρῳ καὶ Παύλῳ...

Their names are written in complete form in the dative singular. In this inscription they are called 'leading disciples', 'μαθηταί πρωτοστάται'.

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 484, inscr. No. 372.

1 *Matt.* 9: 18-26, 17: 1-8, 26: 37, *Luke* 22: 31ff.

2 *Lk.* 24: 34.

3 *Acts* 1: 15-22.

4 *Acts* 2: 14-41.

5 *Acts* 15: 7-11.

6 Eus. *HE* 11. XXV. 5-8, *HE* III.i. 2ff.

7 *Acts* 26: 5.

8 *Acts* 22: 3.

9 *Acts* 7: 58.

10 *Acts* 9: 1-19, 22: 5-16 and 26: 12-18.

11 *Acts* XII-XX.

- 604 *Capernaum*, wall graffiti, Late Roman period
ΠΕΤΡΟ[С] Πέτρο[ς]
Bibl. Emm. Testa, *Cafarnao IV*, Jerusalem 1972, p. 60, No.47.
- 605 *Rihab*, St. Paul's Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
...ΕΨΗΦΟΘΗ Κ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ / ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΥ-
ΛΟΥ...
...ἐψηφόθη κ(αί) ἐτελιώθη / οὗτος ὁ ναός τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusa-
lem 1981, pp. 78-79.
- 606 *Rihab*, St. Peter's Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 623
...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ /
ΑΠΟСТОΛΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ...
...ἐψηφώθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη ὁ ναός οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου / ἀποστόλου Πέτρου...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusa-
lem 1981, pp. 80-81.

The Apostle Thomas

St. John the Evangelist calls him 'twin'¹, δίδυμος, since the name 'Thomas' is a Hellenized form of an Aramaic word meaning twin. It is obvious that the Apostle had a proper name and Eusebius gives him the name Judas². Supposing this to be correct, it would be very natural that with two other Apostles having the same name of Judas, to take advantage of a convenient means of distinction.

In *John* 20: 25-8, Thomas doubts the Resurrection of Christ and will not believe unless he touches His Wounds. After the apparition of Christ, Thomas confesses his faith by the words 'My Lord and my God', thus becoming first to explicitly confess Christ's Divinity.

According to an early tradition³ mentioned by Eusebius, Thomas evangelized the Parthians, while another tradition asserts that he took the Gospel to India and was put to death there.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period existing in Palestine, the name 'Thomas' appears in the following places:

- 607 *Beit Jibrin*, metal cross (movable object), VIth Century A.D.
+ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΩΜΑ ΦΟΡΔΗΣΩΝ
+ 'Αγίου Θωμᾶ φορδησῶν.
Bibl. B. Bagatti, *LA* 22 (1972), p. 115.

¹ *John* 11: 16, 14: 5.

² Eusebius, *HE* I: 13.

³ Eus. *HE* III: 1.

- 608 *Jerusalem*, El Aksa Mosque, now at the Dept. of Antiquities, inscription on a wooden board, VIth Century A.D.
 ...Ο ΠΑΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΟΥΤΟ[Σ Τ]ΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΩΜΑ ΕΚ...
 ...ὁ πᾶς οἶκος οὗτο[ς τ]οῦ ἁγίου Θωμᾶ ἐκ...
 His name is given in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', "Ἅγιος.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 10 (1942), pp. 160-169; Τιμοθέου Π. Θέμελη, *ΝΣ* 37 (1942), pp. 273-6.
- 609 *Pella*, Tabagat Fahel, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟΣ] ΘΩΜΑΣ
 ὁ "Ἄγιος Θωμᾶς
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 8 (1899), p.22, no. 27.

According to *'Αγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον*¹ the memory of Thomas was celebrated by the Church of Jerusalem on November 1st. Ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Πετρεβαγόν, Μνήμη τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ, and according to *'Αρχαῖον Τυπικόν τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων* on May 26th ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Βηθσφαγῇ, Μνήμη τῶν ἀποστόλων Θωμᾶ καί Φιλίππου. May 9th... κατάθεσις Πέτρου, Φιλίππου καί Θωμᾶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, and July 20th, Μνήμη τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ.

Mark, the Evangelist

Mark was a cousin of St. Barnabas², and according to *Acts*, 13: 5, a minor official of a Synagogue. He set out with Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey³, and afterwards he was in Rome with St. Paul⁴. According to Papias, it was in Italy that he wrote his Gospel and according to Eusebius, afterwards he went to Alexandria and was the first bishop there.

His name appears in the following inscriptions:

- 610 *El Guwezi*, Golan, epistylum, basalt, Vth Century A.D.
 + EICIN TA EN/KEINIA TOY ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΜΑΡΚΟΥ Μ ΑΥΓΟΥ[Σ]ΤΟΥ ΤΕ/
 + Εἰσὶν τὰ ἐν/κείνια τοῦ ἁγίου / Μάρκου μ(ηνί) Αὐγού[σ]του τε /
 Mark's name is given in complete form in the genitive singular, with the word 'Holy', "Ἅγιος.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 29.

¹ See page 80.

² *Col.* 4: 10.

³ *Acts* 12: 25, 13-18, 15: 35ff.

⁴ *Col.* 4: 10, *Phil.* 24: 2, *Tim.* 4: 11, and *Pet.* 5: 13.

In the *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*¹ his memory is celebrated together with the other Evangelists on June 19th. Ἐν τῇ Ἀναστάσει, Μνήμη τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν Ματθαίου, Μάρκου, Λουκᾶ, Ἰωάννου and with others on October 20th.

Philip, the Deacon

Philip was one of the seven Deacons². He worked to proclaim the Gospel to the Gentiles and was successful in winning over the Samaritans to the Christian faith³.

Philip converted and baptized the Ethiopian eunuch⁴. He settled in Caesarea with his four daughters who were noted for their prophetic power. In Caesarea he gave hospitality to St. Paul⁵.

Philip's name appears in the following inscriptions:

- 611 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560/5
 ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠ/ΠΟΥ ΕΝΘΑ ΛΕΓΟΥ/ΣΙ ΒΑΠΤΙ/ΣΘΗΝΑΙ
 ΚΑΝ/ΔΑΚΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΝ.

Τό τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίπ/που ἐνθα λέγου/σι βαπτι/σθῆναι Καν/δάκην τὸν εὐνοῦ-
 χον.

Philip's name is given in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 67, pl. 8, commentary No. 81 (the Church mentioned and depicted on the mosaic map was surveyed. It is located at Ein ed-Dirveh, 6.5 km north of Hebron. Its ruins date before the Madaba Map. See A. Ovadia, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land*, No. 42).

According to the *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*⁶ his memory was celebrated on April 9th, 'Τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελιστοῦ Φιλίππου'. Here, he is also called 'Evangelist'.

Confessors and Martyrs

The word 'Confessor', Ὁμολογητής, is derived from the verb ὁμολογῶ which means to admit, to acknowledge. The word 'Martyr', Μάρτυς-ρος, comes from the verb μαρτυρέω -ήσω, which means to bear witness, to attest, to testify. A Martyr is one who has an immediate knowledge of past events derived from his actual partici-

1 See page 80.

2 Acts 6: 5.

3 Acts 8: 9-13.

4 Acts 8: 26-39.

5 Acts 21: 8.

6 See page 80.

pation in them. This immediate knowledge of his, constitutes his testimony which is based upon actual fact.

Considering the original meaning of both words, their development in the Christian Church is understandable. In the *New Testament*, both words were used as honorary titles to those who had witnessed the life and teaching of Christ, e.g., the Apostles¹. Later each word had its own specific meaning. The word 'Confessor' was attributed only to the Christians who confessed and testified orally their belief in Christ before the local authorities or people, but for several reasons were not punished by death. The word 'Martyr' was attributed and limited to those Christians only, who in addition to their oral testimony, were put to the test of grievous moral and physical torment and executed.

In this Chapter, general reference will be made to the Martyrs and the cult given them, with a more specific allusion to the ones whose names appear in the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine. From the literary sources, there is a list of the Palestinian Martyrs given by Eusebius, an eye witness of the last years of the persecutions. Eusebius gathered information on the Martyrs of the cities of Caesarea, Gaza and Ascalon, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, and in his more recent work *De Martyribus Palaestinae*².

The Christian religion as a new religious concept had a small number of followers and many adversaries. Among the adversaries were the conservative followers of the two prominent ruling religions, Judaism and Greco-Roman paganism, and in addition, the ruling authorities.

The Christian religion as a new element, disturbed the existing harmony and balance of that moment of history in that part of the world, because the sacrifice – crucifixion – of its leader influenced the new cult which took root and became a reality.

From the moment a new religious or philosophic cult is propagated, the question of martyrs does not arise automatically, but in a moment of crisis resulting from popular outburst and indignation, local magistrates often look for a scapegoat. When interested parties want to get rid of certain persons whose behaviour is embarrassing to them, as followers of a new cult, it is easy to persecute them. To openly admit being a member of the new cult, and in this case of Christianity, was sufficient to court death – hence the first Martyrs. Eusebius writes³: 'Martyrs were made Martyrs by popular riots and lynch-laws, without any judicial proceedings'.

While accepting Eusebius' testimony as one of the ways leading to martyrdom, the other was, of course, by judicial proceedings from the moment the Christian cult

1 *Acts* I: 8, I: 22.

2 *PG* 20, 1457-1536.

3 Eusebius, *HE* VI.41.

was first prohibited by law. By both means a great number of Christians were imprisoned, suffered beatings, while confessing and acknowledging their belief in the teachings of Christ. Some of them for various reasons, were set free and thus escaped the final ordeal of martyrdom. Others were put to death; some while in prison, committed suicide in order to escape the brutal tortures of their persecutors; yet others died in prison before their case was judged. Those who fled from persecution, perished in the hardships of their flight. All of them were considered as Martyrs of varying degrees if they had died, and if they remained alive, they were regarded as the elite of the Faithful.

In the early days Christians paid no special attention to their Martyrs other than the usual veneration due to all people after death, according to the local funeral rites. The bodies of the Martyrs were carried away by their relatives, friends or the members of their community to be buried with such observances as everyday usage prescribed¹. Their names, as well as the date of their death, were recorded in the books of the Church or of their community known as 'Martyrologia'. The death-day of each Martyr was observed annually by the Christians as the birthday and entry into the true life, known as 'Natale', γενέθλιος ἡμέρα. This was a pagan custom which had long been observed with the yearly commemoration of their dead heroes.

The first indication of venerating the Martyrs is to be found in the middle of the second century A.D., in the account of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp²: 'The pagans and the Jews of Smyrna wished the saint's body to be reduced to ashes lest they – the Christians – should abandon the Crucified One and begin to worship this man... Afterwards, we took up his bones which were more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold, and laid them in a suitable place, where the Lord will permit us to gather together as we are able, in gladness and joy and to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom; for the commemoration of those who have already fought in the contest, and for the training and preparation of those that shall do so hereafter'.

These passages are important in bearing witness not only to the dignity of martyrdom and to the sense of joy and triumph associated with it, but also to the idea of celebrating the sacrifice over the remains of the Martyrs, and the annual commemoration in their honour to be repeated in future years.

Very soon an elaborate cult evolved for the Martyrs, in the places associated

1 *John* 19: 38-42. Μετά δέ ταῦτα ἠρώτησε τόν Πιλάτον Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπό Ἀρμαθαίας, ὢν μαθητής τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κεκρυμμένος δέ διά τόν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα ἄρῃ τό σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καί ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Πιλάτος. ἦλθεν οὖν καί ἤρε τό σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ἦλθε δέ καί Νικόδημος ὁ ἐλθών πρός τόν Ἰησοῦν νυκτός τό πρῶτον, φέρων μίγμα σμύρνης καί ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν. ἔλαβον οὖν τό σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καί ἔδησαν αὐτό ἐν ὀθονίοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθῶς ἔθος ἐστί τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν. ἦν δέ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη κήπος, καί ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινόν, ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἐτέθη· ἐκεῖ οὖν διά τήν παρασκευήν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγύς ἦν τό μνημεῖον, ἔθηκαν τόν Ἰησοῦν.

2 *Letter to the Smyrneans* XVIII.

with their deeds, martyrdom and tombs which had been marked 'Martyria'. Structures of different types covered the Martyr's tombs and provided room for the people who came to commemorate the day of their death.

The Martyrs were considered as heroes and the Christians, proud of them, named their children after them and even with the word 'martyr'. The name 'Martyrius'¹ was given to bishops from the fifth to the seventh centuries A.D.

After the edict of Milan in A.D. 313, which granted equal rights² to the Christians, the bishop of each province, through the clergy of his district, tried to gather all valuable information relating to the Martyrs of his bishopric³, mainly through the following sources:

- a) Through state records, obtained from the archives of the state, which covered the whole case of each Martyr from the time of his arrest to the day of his appearance before the court and the day of his martyrdom. These were the most valuable and authentic records, though they were difficult to obtain.
- b) Through Church documents, i.e., those which survived, since it is known that during the persecutions, Christian books and documents were ordered to be burned in the hope of preventing further conversions.
- c) Through oral tradition in which case, legends full of fantastic details lacking any foundation were added, and this gave rise to a lot of fictitious stories and various superstitions to be connected with the cult of the Martyrs.

This effort of collecting valuable information concerning the Martyrs, proved to be successful, but it also created problems and in many cases faced the Church authorities with the dilemma:

- i) Who could be accepted in the martyrologies and who could not? To accept as 'Martyrs' those who were put to death and suffered for the name of Christ, belonging to any denomination, or to exclude them as heretics? For example, St. Augustine says⁴, 'outside the Church you will have an everlasting punishment, though you have been burnt alive for the name of Christ' and St. Cyprian⁵ says, 'He cannot be a Martyr who is not in the Church'.

1 See Khirbet el Mekhayat, St. George Church, Ras Siyagha, Theotokos Church and Photisterium. Also in the *"Αγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον"*, Ἀραβικῆς ἐποχῆς, April 13, Μνήμη τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Μαρτυρίου Ἱεροσολύμων translated by Cleoboulos Karapiperis, 1500ῆ ἐπέτειος τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων 451-1951, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1952.

2 Eusebius V.C. PG XX 905ff; Eus., HE XV. 2, 14, Lactantius, *De Morte Persecutorum* 48i.

3 See Eusebius *Ecccl. Hist.*, 'De Martyribus Palaestinae' (PG 20, cols. 1457-1536). Eusebius writes of Martyrs even outside his bishopric. St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, during the persecution under Decius sent presbyters and deacons to all the provinces under his jurisdiction in order to encourage and bury the Martyrs, and in order to collect information about the name of each Martyr, the day of his death etc., see *Epist.* 12: 2.

4 St. Augustine, *Epistle* 173 (204) c. 6.

5 St. Cyprian, *Epistle* 36.

ii) How to venerate the Martyrs? In order to avoid any heathen influence of polytheism, the Church took a stand and warned the faithful that the Martyrs should be venerated as advocates to God. Christians ask God to grant them His blessing and they ask the Martyrs to be their advocates before God. They ask God to have mercy on them while they ask the Martyrs to intercede on their behalf. In the same way they pray to the Prophets, Apostles and to all the other venerated champions of their faith to invoke their aid on their behalf. They honour them as faithful servants and true friends of God, and attribute to them as to all the others, the title 'Holy'.

iii) To venerate or not, the relics of the Martyrs, the places of martyrdom and other places associated with their earthly lives. This led to the localization of spiritual influence, e.g., visits to 'holy' places, and the danger of superstition, e.g., use of 'holy' objects such as oil, water, soil, etc.

In the early Church a Martyr or any other champion, in order to be considered as a Holy man and to be venerated by the Christians had to be recognized instinctively by his fellow Christians and the clergy. At first this recognition was local and later, depending on how bravely he had faced his martyrdom and how fast his fame had spread, it became more universal. In the early Church there was no official act of canonization. Later on several conditions were required for the recognition of a Martyr or champion of the Christian faith. These conditions were:

- a) he or she had to be a member of the Church
- b) to have been put to death for the Christian faith
- c) his or her life and deeds to have been of extraordinary virtue
- d) to have rendered extraordinary services to the Church and
- e) that the miracles performed during his or her life or after death must have been unquestionably accepted by the Church.

The classification of Martyrs into different groups according to their status while alive is not found in the Byzantine period. This classification was adopted at a later date. The Martyrs who belonged to the clergy were called 'Priest-martyrs', ἱερομάρτυρες, those who were monks, 'Saintly monk-martyrs', ὁσιομάρτυρες, those who were soldiers, 'Great martyrs', Μεγαλομάρτυρες, and women who died while still virgins, 'Virgin martyrs', Παρθενομάρτυρες. In addition the name 'silverless', Ἀνάργυροι, was given to the twin physicians, Cosmas and Damianus, because they did not charge money for the services they rendered, thus they were the 'moneyless' ones. One of the characteristic features in the popular veneration of Saints in general, was the placing of each profession under the patronage of a special Saint because he was in some way associated with that profession. In the same way there were patron Saints of countries, cities, villages, fortresses, etc. The Saints, in the popular understanding, were benevolent to the grateful and revengeful to the ungrateful. From this popular belief derived the custom of ex-votos, votives, offerings and thanksgivings.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine, the word 'Martyr' was not given to all those accepted by the Church as Martyrs. In most cases the epithet 'Holy' ἅγιος, replaced the word 'Martyr' and in other cases the specific name is given in addition to the words 'Holy' ἅγιος, 'glorious' ἑνδοξος, 'victorious' ἀθλοφόρος. There are also inscriptions in which the word 'Martyr' Μάρτυς, appears in the plural referring to all Martyrs in general. So far no inscription bearing the term 'Confessor' 'Ὁμολογητής' belonging to the Byzantine period has been found in Palestine.

The word 'Martyr' in the plural, referring to all Martyrs together, appears in the following Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine:

- 612 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 30, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
 . ΑΓΙΟΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ ΒΟΗΘ / ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.
 . Ἄγιοι Μάρτυρες βοηθ(εῖτε) / τοῦ οἴκου Στεφάνου.
 The word is in complete form in the nominative plural together with the word 'Holy' in the same case.
- 613 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 89. 45, Late VIth – Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...καὶ πάντων τὸν ἀ[γίω]ν [Μ]α[ρτύρων] +
 The papyrus is damaged, but according to the context of the script, the suggested restoration of the text sounds correct, and the term is given in the genitive plural.
 Bibl. G.E. Kirk and C.B. Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. The Inscriptions, London 1962; C.J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 614 *Beth Safafa*, mosaic inscription, A.D. 490
 ...ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚ/ΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ...
 ...τοῦ οἴκ/ου τῶν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων...
 The word is in the genitive plural together with the word 'Holy' in the same case.
 Bibl. *SEG XVI* (1959), No. 850, *XX* (1964), No. 493.
- 615 *Ein Karim*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 . ΧΑΙ/ΡΕCΘΕ ΘΥ / ΜΑΡΤΥ/ΡΕC
 . Χαί/ρεσθε Θε(ε)ῷ / Μάρτυ/ρες
 In this inscription the term is given in the nominative plural together with the word 'God', Θεός, in the genitive singular indicating that it refers to all the Martyrs of God.
 Bibl. S. J. Saller, *Discoveries at St. John's 'Ein Kârim 1941-1942*, Jerusalem 1946.
- 616 *Gerasa*, Church of Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, stone inscription on two lintel blocks, A.D. 464/5

... ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩ[N]...

...τῶν ἁγίων Προφητῶν Ἀποστόλων Μαρτύρων...

In this inscription the term is given in the genitive plural, together with the words 'Prophets' and 'Apostles' in a chronological order. The word 'Holy', ἅγιος, given in the same case, applies to all three groups mentioned.

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 476, inscr. No. 289.

- 617 *Khirbet El Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

... Ο ΘC ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ/

...ὁ Θεός τόν ἅγιον Μαρτύρον πρόσδεξε/

In this inscription there is a grammatical error. Instead of 'ω' there is 'ο' but it is obvious that the inscription refers to all the Martyrs in general, see also page 112, papyrus No. 89.45.

Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 336.

According to *Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον* on January 22nd in the Church of St. Stephen, the memory of all the Martyrs was celebrated, Μνήμη πάντων τῶν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων τῶν ἀπό Στεφάνου μέχρι...

For *Canonarion* see page 80.

The Three Children, 'Τρεῖς Παῖδες'

These three children together with Daniel were chosen from among the captive children of Judah and brought to Nebuchadnezzar according to the *Book of Daniel*, to receive a special education in the King's Court. They refused to adore the gods and the golden image of the King and so were cast into the burning, fiery furnace from which they were delivered by God. The Christians looked upon them as the prototype of the Martyrs and venerated them, dedicating churches to them. Such a church, which existed somewhere in Palestine, was mentioned in the Nessana papyri in a daily sales record of dates.

- 618 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri, VIth-VIIth Century A.D.

Papyrus No. 90. 170 Μηνᾶ Τριῶν Π[αί]δων

Papyrus No. 90. 187 Μηνᾶ Τριῶν Πέδ(ων)

Menas (Church) of the three children.

The term 'three children' appears in complete form in the genitive plural.

Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958, pp. 269, 276-7 and 282-3. Note 170, p. 285.

In addition to this Christian source, the names of the three children appear in the mosaic inscription of the Ein Gedi Synagogue.

- 619 *Ein Gedi*, Synagogue, mosaic inscription in Hebrew, VIth Century A.D. In this inscription among other names are mentioned those of the three companions of Daniel: Hananiah, Mishael, Azariah.
Bibl. D. Barag, Y. Porat and E. Netzer, *RB* 79 (1972), p. 581; *Qadmoniot* 5, 2(1972), colour pl. III.

The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert

- 620 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, Chapel of the Holy Fathers, South wall, marble slab, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΘΗC Δ ΔΕΚΑΔΟC ΘΗΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΜΑΤΟC ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΘΡΑΝ ΖΗΛΩCΑΝΤΕC ΟΙ ΙCΑΡΙΘΜΟΙ ΟCΙΟΙ Π(ΑΤΕ)Ρ(ΕC)/ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΑΚΕΙΝΤΑΙ...
+ τῆς δ' δεκάδος τὴν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος κολυμβήθραν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ισάριθμοι ὄσιοι π(ατέ)ρ(ες) / ἐνθάδε κατάκεινται...
In this inscription the reference is to the forty 'Holy Fathers' who perished in a raid of the barbarians on Mount Sinai and Raitho. To them is given the title "Οἱ Πάτερ(ες)" since they were monks.
Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), p. 263, inscr. no. 6, pl. 6; See in *Horae Semiticae* No. IX, 'The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the story of Eulogios, from a Palestinian, Syriac and Arabic palimpsest,' translated by Agnes Smith Lewis, 1912.

The word 'Martyr' referring to individual Martyrs.

First, attention will be given to some inscriptions which are partially damaged. In them is given the term 'Martyr' but the specific name of the Martyr is missing.

- 621 *Hanita*, Byzantine Church, mosaic inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥ/...ΗC ΘΗC ΚΩΜΗC / ...ΟΦΟΡΗCΑΝΤΩΝ/...
... τον τοῦ Μάρτυ(ρος)/...ης τῆς κώμης / ...[καρπ]οφορησάντων/...
The word is in the genitive singular and from the letters of the word only the first five are preserved.
Dept. of Antiq. File, No. 84.
- 622 *Madaba*, the Cathedral, mosaic inscription, A.D. 563
...Ο ΠΑΝΑΓC ΤΟΠΟC ΤΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥ /...
...ὁ πανάγ(ιος) τόπος τοῦ ἐνδόξου Μάρτυ(ρος)/...
The word 'Martyr' is given in the genitive singular together with the epithet 'glorious' ἐνδοξος, in the same case.
Bibl. S.J. Saller, *LA* 19 (1969), pp. 145-167.

Secondly: reference to the inscriptions in which the name of the Martyr is clear and well preserved. Among these inscriptions are some in which the term 'Martyr' is

attributed to the person venerated, and others in which only the name of the Martyr is given together with the word 'Holy' Ἅγιος, and can be recognized as such only because it can be traced in the literary sources, such as the local martyrologia. Since the references are numerous they will be given in alphabetical order, under each Martyr's name, likewise arranged alphabetically according to the Greek name.

Aelianus

According to literary sources¹, Aelianus was put to death in the city of Amman of Balga Transjordan. His birthday into heaven – Natale – was celebrated on August 10th and a martyrium was dedicated to him in Amman over his burial place.

According to the *Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικόν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων* his memory was celebrated on August 12th in the Church of Anastasis together with Aaron and Pantaleon, and on August 14th he is mentioned as patron of a village church together with the anchorite Eglon and the martyr Dometius. According to *Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον* his memory was celebrated on November 28th.

The name of Aelianus appears on an inscription found at Madaba.

623 *Madaba*, Aelianus Crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595

. ΣΠΟΥ/ΔΗ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ / ΠΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΙΛΙ/ΑΝΟΥ...

. Σπου/δῆ Σεργίου / πρ(εσβυτέρου) τοῦ Ἁγίου Αἰλί/ανοῦ...

The name is given in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy' Ἅγιος.

Bibl. P.M. Séjourné, *RB* 6 (1897), p. 652; F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, 1, Paris 1931, col. 876.

Andrew, the Apostle

Andrew was the brother of St. Peter (*Mk.* 1: 16-20, 29). According to Eusebius², he went to Scythia, though according to a less reliable tradition, he was martyred at Patras in Achaia, in A.D. 60.

Andrew, the Apostle is mentioned and depicted in one of the medallions framing the Transfiguration mosaic in,

624 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, mosaic inscription, A.D. 560/5

. ΑΝΔΡΕΑC

. Ἀνδρέας

Bibl. G.H. Forsyth, *National Geographic Magazine*, 125, 1 (1964), pp. 82-108; Περικλέους Γρηγοριάδου, *Ἱερά Μονή τοῦ Σινᾶ*, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1875, p. 14.

¹ See page 80 and also G. Garitte, *Calendrier*, p. 289 and J.T. Milik, *LA* 10 (1959-1960), pp. 166-7.

² See *HE* III i, 1.

Andrew, the General

Andrew the General was said to have served in the army of the Emperor Maximian, A.D. 286-305. He was sent by Field Marshal Antiochus¹ to fight against the Persians, whom he defeated in the name of Jesus Christ. He was accused of being a Christian and with all his soldiers – 2,593 men – was put to death. His memory together with that of all his soldiers, is commemorated in the Byzantine Calendar on August 19th.

In an inscription found in Jericho where only the name 'St. Andrew' appears, it is difficult to say whether it refers to 'the General' or to the 'Apostle'. I would suggest that the inscription refers to St. Andrew the General because the whole work of the mosaic pavement was an offering of a certain Magnianus, who was himself a soldier, 'στρατιώτης'; an offering of gratitude from a soldier to a military Saint.

625 *Jericho*, Deir il Akbat Orthodox, Beit Zaka al Ashar ouakouboura, al Riha Sabiha, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

. ΜΑΓΝΙΑΝΟC CΤΡΑΤΙΩΤC / ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ / ΑΝΔΡΕΑ
ΕΚΤΙCΕΝ ΚΑΙ . Ε/ΨΗΦΩCΕΝ CΠΟΥΔΗ ΗΡΑΚ/ΛΙΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒC ΚΑΙ
ΚΩCΤΑΝ/ΤΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚC ΠΟΛΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΟΥ

. Μαγνιανός στρατιώτ(ης) / εύχαριCτών τῷ άγίῳ / 'Ανδρέα έκτιCεν καί .
έ/ψηήφωCεν Cπουδῇ 'Ηρακ/λίου πρεCβ(υτέρου) καί ΚωCταν/τίνου διακ(όν-
ου) Πολλυχρονίου.

The name appears in complete form in the dative singular together with the word 'Holy', "Άγιος.

Bibl. A. Augustinovic, *Gerico e Dintorni*, Gerusalemme 1951, p. 80.

Bacchus, the Martyr

In most cases Bacchus appears together with the Martyr Sergius.

Sergius and Bacchus were traditionally officers of the Roman army. Sergius was a primicerius and Bacchus a secundicerius of a military school. They were martyred under the Emperor Maximian at Resapha in Syria². The city of Resapha was later named after Sergius, 'Sergiupolis', and became one of the greatest centres of pilgrimage in the East.

In most cases, the Martyrs appear together and their cult was widespread and popular in the Middle East. The Martyrs were considered by the desert nomads as their patron Saints.

According to the *ΆγιοCαφιτικόν Κανονάριον* the Church of Jerusalem celebrated their memorial day on October 6th. 'Οκτωβρίου 6, Τοῦ Σεργίου καί Βάκχου.

¹ See PG 115, cols. 596-609.

² See Fr. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, Vol. II, Bruxelles 1957, p. 238.

Reference will be made to the inscriptions in which:

- a) the name 'Bacchus' the Martyr appears alone.
- b) to the inscriptions in which the names of the Martyrs appear together and
- c) to the inscriptions in which the name of the Martyr 'Sergius' appears alone.

a) Inscriptions with Bacchus alone:

- 626 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 89, chalk fragment, Byzantine period

. ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΧΧΟΥ

. 'Αγίου Βάχχου

The name is in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', 'Αγιος in the same case. In this inscription Bacchus is not mentioned with Sergius, but with St. Stephen.

Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.

b) Inscriptions with the Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus together.

- 627 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri
Papyrus No. 46, 2, July 16th, A.D. 605

...τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου μάρτυρος Σεργίου καὶ Βάχχου...

In this inscription both the Martyrs are mentioned together with the epithets 'Holy', 'Αγιος and 'Glorious', 'Ενδοξος. In addition to their names, they are also called 'Martyrs', Μάρτυρες.

- 628 Papyrus No. 52, 7, Early VIIth Century A.D.

τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου καὶ Βάχχου

- 629 Papyrus No. 145, 4, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου (καὶ) Βάχχου...

- 630 Papyrus No. 147, 2, Early VIIth Century A.D.

...τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου / μάρτυρος Σεργίου καὶ Βάχχου[

Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.

- 631 *Umm es Surab*, East Jordan (belonging to Provincia Arabia), lintel inscription, A.D. 489

...ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ [Τ]ΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΧΧΟΥ...

...τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου καὶ [τ]οῦ ἁγίου Βάχχου...

Bibl. *Publication of the Princeton Univ. Archaeol. Exped. to Syria 1904-5*, Section A, Southern Syria, part 2, the Southern Hauran, Leyden 1909, inscr. No. 51, Umm es Surab, p. 57.

c) In the following inscriptions the name of the Martyr Sergius appears alone or with other Martyrs, but not with Bacchus.

- 632 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscriptions
Inscr. No. 21, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
.[ΑΓ(ΙΕ)C] ΕΡΓΙΕ...
.[ἄγ(ιε) Σ]έργιε...
- 633 Inscr. No. 22, chalk block, Byzantine period
.[ΑΓΙ]Ε CΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ(Ε)CΩCΑΤΕ...
.[ἄγι]ε Σέργι(ε) καὶ ἄγιε Γεώργι(ε) σώσατε...
- 634 Inscr. No. 30, Byzantine period
(J). Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ CΕΡΓΙ(Ε) [Κ(ΑΙ)] CΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΒΟΗΘ(ΕΙΤΕ)...
Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) [κ(αί)] Στέφανε βοηθ(εῖτε)...
- 635 Inscr. No. 32, chalk block, Byzantine period
Ο ΘΕ(ΟC) ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) [ΤΟΥ] ΑΓΙΟΥ CΕΡΓΙΟΥ
ΒΟΗ(ΘΗ)CΟΝ...
ὁ Θε(ός) τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου κ(αί) [τοῦ] ἁγίου Σεργίου βοη(θη)σον...
- 636 Inscr. No. 33, chalk block, Byzantine period
... ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ CΕΡΓ(ΙΟΥ)...
... καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργ(ίου)...
- 637 Inscr. No. 43, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
...ΑΓΙ(ΟΥ) CΕΡΓΙΟΥ...
...ἁγί(ου) Σεργίου...
- 638 Inscr. No. 45, chalk, Byzantine period
+ ΑΓΙΕ CΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΒΟΗΘΙ/CΟΝ...
+ ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) βοηθι/σον...
- 639 Inscr. No. 46, chalk block, Byzantine period
+ ΑΓΙΕ CΕΡΓΙ(Ε) Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΕ + / CΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ/...
+ ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) κ(αί) ἄγιε + / Στέφανε βοηθι/...
- 640 Inscr. No. 47, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
ΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ CΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΒΟΗΘΗ(ΤΕ)...
Χ(ριστ)έ καὶ ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) βοηθῇ(τε)...
- 641 Inscr. No. 52, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
b) lines 5,6
ΒΟΗΘΙ ΑΓΙΕ / CΕΡΓΙ(Ε)
βοήθι ἄγιε / Σέργι(ε)
- 642 Inscr. No. 60, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
... ΑΓΙΕ CΤΕΦ(Α)ΝΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙ[Ε C]ΕΡΓ[ΙΕ ΒΟ]ΗΘΩCΙΝ ΑΜΗΝ.
...ἄγιε Στέφ(α)νε καὶ ἄγι[ε Σ]έργ[ιε βο]ηθῶσιν ἀμήν.
- 643 Inscr. No. 63, column drum, Byzantine period
+ Κ[ΥΡΙΕ] CΕΡΓΙ(Ε)...
+ Κ[ύριε] Σέργι(ε)...

- 644 Inscr. No. 69, chalk block, Byzantine period
 + ΚΥΡΙΕ Ω ΘΕΩΣ Τ(Ο)Υ ΑΓ(Ι)Ο(Υ) ΣΕΡΓΙΟ(Υ)...
 + Κύριε ω Θεός τ(ο)ῦ ἀγ(ί)ο(υ) Σεργίου(υ)...
- 645 Inscr. No. 89, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
 . [Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΣΕΡΓ]ΙΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...
 . [ὁ Θεός ἀγίων Σεργ]ίου κ(αί) Στεφάνου...
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.
- 646 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri
 Papyrus No. 45, 2, March 30, A.D. 602
 ἀγίου Σεργίου Νεσάνων...
- 647 Papyrus No. 50, 3, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ ἀγίου Σεργίου...
- 648 Papyrus No. 51, 3, Aela, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...δοῦναι τῷ ἀγί[ω Σεργίω] Νεσάνω[ν] καὶ τῷ ἀγίω Σεργίω Ἑλούσης...
- 649 Papyrus No. 79, 44, 56, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...τῷ ἁγί(ου) Σεργί[ω] / ... τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Σεργίου.
- 650 Papyrus No. 80, 1, A.D. 685 ?
 ...τόν εὐλογιόν τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Σεργί(ου)...
- 651 Papyrus No. 170, 8, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ἡμῶν εἰς τόν ἅγιον Σέργιν +
 Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr. *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.

Basilus, the Martyr

Little is known of the Martyr Basilus. According to Cyril of Scythopolis, a church was dedicated in his name in Scythopolis (Life of St. Euthymius): 'Among the first monks who constituted the Laura of St. Euthymius was a certain Cyrion from Tiberias, who was a presbyter of the Church of the Holy Martyr Basilus at Scythopolis.' '...καὶ τέλος Κυρίωνα ἐκ Τιβεριάδος πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου μάρτυρος Βασιλείου ἐν Σκυθοπόλει.'

In the *Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον* on April 26th, the Church of Jerusalem celebrates the memory of Basilus of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Adrianus and Anatolius. Though no mention is made as to whether or not they were Martyrs, the probability is good that they were, because wherever Basilus of Caesarea in Cappadocia is mentioned, he is called bishop.

The name of Basilus the Martyr appears in the following inscription:

- 652 *Rihab*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, A.D. 594
 ...Ο ΝΑΟC ΤΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΞΕC / ΜΑΡΤΥΡ[(ΟC) ΤΟ]Υ ΑΓ(ΙΟΥ) ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΙΟΥ
 ΕΠ]Ι ΤΟΥ...
 ... ὁ ναός τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) / μάρτυρ[(ος) τοῦ] ἁγ(ίου) Βασιλ[ίου ἐπ]ί τοῦ...
 In this inscription which is damaged in the place where the Martyr's name appears, Basilius is called 'Martyr', Μάρτυς, 'Holy', Ἅγιος, and 'Most Glorious', Ἐνδοξος, Ἐνδοξότατος.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 69, inscr. No. 4.

Victor, the Martyr

St. Victor is mentioned by Antoninus¹, as having being buried at Maiumas of Gaza.

- 653 In the Madaba mosaic map, A.D. 560/5 there is the following inscription:
 (Τ)Ο ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΒΙΚΤΟΡΟC
 (Τ)ό τοῦ ἁγίου / Βίκτωρoς
 The mosaicist of the Madaba Map placed the church of St. Victor outside the city of Gaza, which conforms with the information given by Antoninus. In the mosaic inscription from Madaba, the name of the Martyr is given in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 74, pl. 9, commentary 117.
 In the Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον² his memory was celebrated on November 11th in the Church of the Holy Resurrection, ἐν τῇ Ἀναστάσει, Μνήμη τοῦ Βίκτωρoς³.

The Martyrs Cosmas and Damianus

Known as 'Silverless', Ἀνάργυροι, they are always named together.

There is strong evidence that there were two early Martyrs bearing these names, who suffered for their faith in Christ in the city of Cyrrhus, Syria under Diocletian in A.D. 287. After the Council at Ephesus in A.D. 431, Theodoritus, Bishop of Cyrrhus in Northern Syria, complained that opponents wanted to burn the Church of the Martyrs Cosmas and Damianus³.

According to their legend, they were twin brothers who practiced medicine, not demanding payment from their patients, hence they were known as the 'Silverless', Ἀνάργυροι. In return, they hoped for the conversion of their patients to Christianity.

¹ Antoninus 33, ed. Geyer, p. 180

² see *Canonarion*, p. 80.

³ Ed. Schwartz, *Concilium Ephesinum IV* (1922-23), p. 160.

Cosmas and Damianus were a Christianized version of the heathen 'Dioscuri', the twin sons of Zeus. Their cult was an adaptation of the heathen observance called 'incubation'. A sick person slept in the Martyr's Church, hoping to be favoured with a dream that would lead to his cure.

The Martyrs were especially venerated in Phernan or Pheremna, where their tomb was erected¹. They are the Patron Saints of physicians and pharmacists². In the *'Αρχαῖον Τυπικόν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων'*³ their memory is celebrated on March 4th, 'τῶν ἁγίων Κοσμά καὶ Δαμιανοῦ', and according to the *'Αγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*, their feast day was celebrated on March 3rd in their own Church 'τοῦ ἁγίου Κοσμά καὶ Δαμιανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἰδιαίτερᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν πάντως κατὰ Ἀντίοχον Στρατήγιον, and on October 17th 'ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Βετάρῳ, Μνήμη Κοσμά καὶ Δαμιανοῦ.'

The Martyrs Cosmas and Damianus are mentioned in the following inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine:

- 654 *Gerasa*, the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscriptions, A.D. 533

Inscr. No. 311

+ / ΚΥΡΙΕ / Ο ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΚΟΣΜΑ Κ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ / ΕΛΕΗCON
TON...

+ / Κύριε / ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἁγίου / Κοσμά καὶ Δαμιανοῦ / ἐλέησον τόν...

- 655 Inscr. No. 314

+ ΕΨ[ΗΦΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΕΥ]ΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ

+ ἐψ[ηφώθη τό εὐ]κτήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κοσμά καὶ Δαμιανοῦ.

- 656 Inscr. No. 321

...Κ] ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ Κ ΑΓ(ΙΩΝ) ΚΟ[CΜΑ...

...κ](αί) Ζαχαρία καὶ ἁγ(ίων) Κο[σμά...

In inscription No. 311 the names of the Martyrs are given in the genitive singular and in No. 314 in the vocative singular, where in two lines their medical profession is described, 'καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν ἅγιοι, τέχνην ἔχοντες τῶν παθῶν θελκτήριον'.

In both inscriptions they are called 'Holy', Ἅγιοι.

- 657 *Gerasa*, the Church of St. John the Baptist, Byzantine period

Black dipinto in four lines on the outer face of the lintel of the central doorway of the west façade.

1 L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 91-93; F. Halkin, *Anal. Boll.* 53 (1935), pp. 380-381.

2 W. Artelt, *Kosmas und Damian: Die Schutzpatrone der Ärzte und Apotheker. Eine Bildfolge*, Darmstadt 1952-54.

3 See *Canonarion*, p. 80.

...KOCM[A K(AI) / ΔAM]IANOY...

...Κοσμ[ᾱ κ(αί) / Δαμ]ιανοῦ...

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, inscr. Nos. 311 and 314, pp. 481-2, inscr. No. 321, p. 483, lintel, p. 479, No. 305.

- 658 *Jerusalem*, Veronica's House on Via Dolorosa, stone inscription, Byzantine period. This inscription is very badly damaged and the names of Cosmas and Damianus are suggested under the title 'Silverless', 'Ανάργυροι'.
Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* I (1892), p. 585.

- 659 *Susita* (Qalat el Hism), Baptistery Church, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΑΓΙΕ ΚΩCMA/S ΔΑΜΗΑΝΕ ΠΡΔΕΞΕ ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ

...ἄγιε Κωσμᾱ / (καί) Δαμηανέ πρ(ός)δεξε. Ἀμήν Κ(ύρι)ε.

The names of the Martyrs appear in the vocative singular and they are called 'Holy', Ἅγιοι.

Bibl. *SEG* XVI (1959), No. 826.

Cirycus, the Martyr

Cirycus was three years old when his mother, Julitta, was condemned as a Christian at Tarsus or Antioch and put to death. It is said that the governor of Tarsus, a certain Alexander, took the young child Cirycus from his mother's hands trying to comfort him, but the child lashed out kicking and struggling, and in a moment scratched Alexander's face who, in a rage threw the boy down the steps and killed him, but his mother rejoiced at her son being a Martyr and went cheerfully to torture and death.

The Church, according to the Byzantine Calendar, celebrates their martyrdom date together on July 15th.

In the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine of the Byzantine period, the name Cirycus is given in the following inscriptions:

- 660 *Jerusalem*, Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, inscription on a bronze incensory, Byzantine period

+ ΑΓΙΕ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΚΥΡΙΚΕ...

+ ἄγιε Ἰερεμία καί ἄγιε Κύρικε...

Bibl. *Ἡμερολόγιον Ἱεροσολύμων* 1899, p. 93.

- 661 *Magen*. Kibbutz, South of Nirim, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

+ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟC ZONAIΝΟΥ / ΑΝΑΓΝΩCΤΗC Ε[Υ]ΧΑΡΙCΤΩΝ / ΤΩ ΑΙ ΙΩ ΚΥΡΙΚΩ ΕΨΗΦΩCΑ+

+Αἰλιανός Ζοναίνου / ἀναγνώστης ε[ὺ]χαριστῶν / τῷ ἀγίῳ Κυρίκῳ ἐψήφωσα+

The Martyr's name appears in the dative singular together with the word 'Holy', "Άγιος.

Bibl. Yosef Porat and V. Tzaferis, unpublished.

- 662 *Medjdel-Yaba* near Ras el-Ain, North of Lod, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period

. ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΗΡΙΚΟΥ

. Μαρτύριον τοῦ / ἁγίου Κηρίκου.

Bibl. S. Minocchi, *RB* 12 (1903), p. 211; V. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine, Samarie*, Vol. II, p. 132; C. Clermont – Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 303.

According to John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale* ch. 92, there was a church dedicated to him at Phasilais near the Jordan. It is mentioned among the monasteries destroyed by the Arabs on March 28th, A.D. 809 between the Laura of St. Chariton and that of St. Sabas¹. In this case I think that the names Cyriacus, Κυριακός, and Cirycus, Κήρυκος, have been confused.

- 663 *El-Quweisme*, Church of St. Cirycus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
...ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΠΟΥΡΑ/ΝΙΟΙΣ ΕΥΧΑΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΗΡΥΚΟΥ
ΑΜΗΝ...

...ἐν ταῖς ἐπουρα/νίοις εὐχαῖς τοῦ ἁγίου Κηρύκου. Ἀμήν...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Le chiese di Quweismeh-Amman,' *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 329-340.

George, the Martyr

George the Martyr was said to have been born in Cappadocia during the third century A.D. He served in the Roman army as a tribune, a commander of a cohort, and was put to death under Diocletian at Nicomedia on account of his Christian faith. Another tradition has it that he was put to death near the city of Diospolis Lydda of Palestine. He is perhaps referred to, though not by name in Eusebius (*HE* VIII, V).

According to the first tradition, his relics were transferred to Diospolis in Palestine where his mother owned a property and where a church dedicated to him was erected.

He is one of the most famous of the Soldier Martyrs and has been venerated widely from early times till today in Palestine and the other Middle East countries. Legends about him exist in a great variety of forms. He is the Patron Saint of prison-

¹ de Mural, *Essai de Chronographie Byzantine I*, p. 392.

ers. His martyrdom was described by his servant Pasirates. The earliest *Synaxarion* mentioning his martyrdom belongs rather to the fifth century A.D.¹

In the *Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικόν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων* and the *Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον*² it is recorded that his memory was celebrated on April 23rd, Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, 23 Ἀπριλίου, ἐν Φλαβία Συχέμ, Nablus, Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου.

Today this church is a mosque known as Madjd El Nasser, an arabized form of the Greek title attributed to St. George Τροπαιοφόρος, 'bearing a trophy', 'victorious'.

George the Martyr is mentioned in the following inscriptions:

- 664 *Amman* (now in Jerusalem), Dept. of Antiq. Epigraphical Collection No. S. 913, marble inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

...ΠΡΕCΒC CΤΟΥ ΑΓ. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΥΠΕΡ...

...πρεσβ(υτέρου) τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) Γεωργίου ὑπέρ...

The name of the Martyr is given in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy'.

Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* N.S. 5 (1908), p. 568; B. Bagatti, *LA* 23 (1973), pp. 261-285.

- 665 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 22, chalk block, Byzantine period

. [ΑΓΙ]Ε CΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ(Ε) CΩCΑΤΕ[...]

.[ἅγι]ε Σέργι(ε) καί ἅγιε Γεώργι(ε) σώσατε[...]

- 666 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, Literary Papyri, Acts of St. George, VIIth Century A.D.

fragment 1, page 5, line 3

[ὁ δέ ἅγιος Γε]ώργιος

- 667 II leaf, lines 19, 20, 21

...τῷ ἁγ]ίῳ / [Γεωργ]ίῳ...

- 668 V leaf, p. 4 (2b), lines 125-126

εἶπεν] δέ αὐτῇ ὁ ἅγιος Γεώρ/γιος

- 669 VI sheet, p. 5 (3a), lines 136-137, 151

εἶπ]εν δέ αὐτῇ [ὁ ἅγι]ος[ς] / [Γε]ώργιος

1 F. Cumont, 'La plus ancienne légende de Saint Georges' *RHR* 114 (1936), pp. 5, 6, 41, *LTK*, IV, 6, 690; Lionel Casson and Ernest L. Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana*, Vol. 2. Literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1950, pp. 123-142; Acts of St. George; K. Krumbacher, 'Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung,' *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. hist. Klasse, 25, 3 (1911), pp. 304-17; M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, pp. 61-2: 'Ἀὐτὸς ἦτοι Λυδία Διόσπολις' (the main Basilica of the city is undoubtedly that of St. George, the cult of whom, at that particular place, was first attested by Theodosius – 4th ed. Geyer, p. 139 – 'ubi sanctus Georgius martirisatus est'). See page over. The early presence of the Martyr's cult and his traditional connection with Lydda proves that he suffered at Lydda and was buried there.

2 p. 80.

- 670 p. E (3b), line 159
ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Γεώργ[ιος]
- 671 p. 11 (3c), lines 180-183
‘Γεώρ/γιε ἡγέρθητι ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν’ καὶ εὐθέως [ἀ]νέστη ὁ ἅγιος Γεώρ/[γιος]
- 672 p. 12 (3d), line 199
ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Γεώργιος...
- 673 p. 14 (2d), lines 221-224
...ἅγιον Γ[εώργιον καὶ] λέγουσιν αὐ[τῷ] ‘Γεώργιε...
- 674 VIII leaf, p. 15 (1c), lines 234-235
ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Γεώργιος...
- 675 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, non-literary papyri
Papyrus No. 91. 12, VI-VIIIth Century A.D.
...]ἁγίου Γεωργίου
- 676 Papyrus No. 35. 11
ἁγ(ίοις) Γεωργίω...
All the above inscriptions give the name of the Martyr together with the word ‘Holy’, ἅγιος, but in none of them is mentioned the term ‘Martyr’ Μάρτυς.
Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; L. Casson and E.L. Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana*, Vol.2. Literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1950; C.J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 677 *Bahan*, mosaic inscription No. 1, V-VIth Century A.D.
...ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ
...Γεωργίου Ἀμήν
Although the inscription is damaged, the word ‘Holy’, ἅγιος, is suggested in the genitive singular case.
Dept. of Antiq. Files, Neg. No. 11935/7.
- 678 *Deir El Qilt*, Choziba Monastery, Gabriel’s Hermitage
A wall fresco of the sixth century A.D. depicting the Soldier Martyrs Theodore, George and Leontius.
Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 28 (1978), pp. 171-192.
- 679 *El Kufr*, stone inscription (in a cattle shed), A.D. 652
...ΤΟΥ ΑΓ ΕΝΔΟΞ / ΜΑΡΤ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ...
...τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) ἐνδόξ(ου) / μάρτ(υρος) Γεωργίου...
The name ‘Georgius’ appears in the genitive singular together with the term ‘Martyr’, ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος.
Bibl. W. Ewing, *PEF QS* 1895, pp. 265-280.

- 680 *Gerasa*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, A.D. 529/30
 ... Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟ[Υ ΑΓΙΟΥ] / [ΓΕ]ΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΚ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΣ...
 ...ὁ ναός τοῦ ἁγίου] / [Γε]ωργίου ἐκ προσφορᾶς...
 Though the inscription is damaged, the name of the Martyr is readable. It is given in the genitive singular.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, p. 481, inscr. No. 309.
- 681 *Gerasa*, the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, VIth Century A.D.
 Red painting on white plaster of the building blocks – the first of three which formed part of a pilaster. All are to be found in the north-east chamber of the Church.
 inscr. No. 317.
 "Ἄγιε Γεώργι ἐλέησον Θεό/δωρον τόν...
- 682 inscr. No. 320
 ..]ἄγ(ι)ε Γεώργ(ι)ε κ(αί) [..
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, p. 483, inscr. Nos. 317, 320, 321.
- 683 *Jericho*, mosaic inscription, Russian property, Dec. 31st, A.D. 566
 ... ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΜΑΡ/ΤΥΡΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ/ΟΥ...
 ... τοῦ ἁγίου / ἐνδόξου Μάρ/τυρος Γεωργί/ου...
 In this inscription the name of the saint which is given in the genitive singular, is together with the term 'Martyr' and the epithets 'Holy' ἅγιος and 'illustrious' ἐνδοξος.
 Bibl. *SEG* III (1927), No. 315.
- 684 *Jerusalem* a) Givat ha Qirya (Sheikh Badr), mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕ[ΩΡΓΙ]ΟΥ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΥ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός) τοῦ ἁγίου Γε[ωργί]ου μνήσθητι τοῦ...
 The name of the Martyr is damaged but readable and appears in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy' ἅγιος.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *Actes du Ve Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, 1957 and Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 685 b) Flagellation Museum, bronze plate (movable object), VI-VIIth Century A.D.
- | obverse | | | | reverse | |
|---------|-----|----|-----|-----------------|-----------------|
| Ο | ὁ | ΓΕ | Γε- | ΑΓΙΕ ΓΕ- | ἅγιε Γε- |
| Α | ἄ- | ΩΡ | ώρ- | ΩΡΓΙ ΠΡΟCΔ | ώργι πρόσδ- |
| ΓΙ | γι- | ΓΙ | γι- | ΕΞΕ ΤΙΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦ- | εξε τίν καρποφ- |
| Ο | ο- | С | ς | ΟΡΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ Δ- | ορίαν τοῦ δ- |
| С | ς | | | ΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ | ούλου σου |
- Bibl. B. Bagatti, *TS* 52(1976), pp. 145-8.

- 686 c) Hinnom Valley
ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙ/ΑΦΕΡ/ΟΥΣΑ ΘΕΚΛΑ / CEBA(CTH) / ΗΓΟΥΜ(ΕΝΗ) /
MONACTHP/ΙΟΥ ΒΕΝΑ [ΤΩΝ] / ΤΟΥ ΓΕ[Ο]Ρ/ΓΙΟΥ /
...ήγουμ(ένη) / Μοναστη/ρίου Βενά[τω]ν / τοῦ Γε[ο]ρ/γίου /
Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 119.
This inscription may refer to the Church of St. George outside the walls of the city, by the Tower of David 'Νίκηφορία'.
Bibl. Τ. Θέμελη, *Ἱερουσαλήμ καί τὰ μνημεῖα αὐτῆς*, vol. II, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1932, p. 1248.
- 687 *Khan Younes*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ
+ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ ἁγίῳ Γεωργίῳ
The name is given in the dative singular together with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.
Bibl. S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 140-1.
- 688 *Ramleh*, St. George Greek Orthodox Church, stone inscription, A.D. 784 and 1817.
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΙΝΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟ-
ΠΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΚΑΙ / ΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΑΡΟΥ ΣΥΝ
ΑΥΤΩ ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜΟΥ ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΙΣΘΗ ΤΩ ΘΕΙΩ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ Ο ΝΑΟΣ
/ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΩΣ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΘΟΡΑΤΑΙ ΟΝ ΔΟΣΙΘΕΟΣ ΛΥΔΔΗΣ ΕΓΚΑΙ-
ΝΙΑΖΕΙ ΤΩ ΑΩΙΖ ΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΣΤ' ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑ-
ΝΟΥΣ ΚΥΘΗΡΙΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΠΡΟΚΤΙΣΘΕΝΤΑ
ΤΩ ΨΠΔ' ΤΗ ΕΦΟΔΩ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΓΑΛΛΩΝ ΕΜΠΡΗΣΘΕΝΤΑ ΤΩ
ΑΨΛΗ'
Πατριαρχεύοντος τοῦ κλεινοῦ Πολυκάρπου ἐπιτροπεύοντος Πέτρας τοῦ Μισαήλ καί / τοῦ γεραροῦ σὺν αὐτῷ Γερασίου ἀνεκαίνισθη τῷ Θείῳ Γεωργίῳ ὁ ναός / οὗτος ὡς νῦν καθορᾶται, ὃν Δοσίθεος Λύδδης ἐγκαινιάζει τῷ αἰζ' Μαΐου κστ' ἡγουμενεύοντος Μητροφάνους Κυθηρίου. Ἐπὶ Αὐγούστης Εἰρήνης προκτισθέντα τῷ ψπδ' τῇ ἐφόδῳ δέ τῶν Γάλλων ἐμπρησθέντα τῷ αψλη'
This inscription, though dating only from 1817, mentions that the Church of St. George at Ramleh was built by the Empress Irene I, during the year A.D. 784.
In this inscription the title 'Divine', Θεῖος, is attributed to the Martyr George.
Bibl. Βενιαμίν Ἰωαννίδου, *Τό Προσκυνητάριον τῆς Ἀγίας Γῆς*, Ἱερουσαλήμ καί τὰ περὶ χωρὰ αὐτῆς, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1877.
- 689 *Sameh*, Transjordan, Monastery of St. George, stone inscription, A.D. 624/5

. ΚΕ Ω ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡ/ΓΙΟΥ ΒΩΗΘΙCΟΝ ...

. Κ(ύρι)ε ώ Θ(εό)ς τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωρ/γίου βωήθισον...

The name of the Martyr is given in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', "Ἅγιος.

Bibl. S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, p. 223.

- 690 *Mahaiy*, Transjordan, stone inscription, A.D. 600
 + ΓΕΩΡΓΙ/Α ΔΟΥΛ / ΤS ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕ/ΩΡΓS ΕΤΩ/ΪΗ ΜΗ ΔS / CS ΚΔ
 ΙΝ/ΔΓ S ΥΛΕ'

+ Γεωργί/α δ(οῦ)λ(η) / τ(οῦ) ἁγίου Γε/ωργ(ίου), ἐτῶ(ν) / ιη', μη(νός) Δ(αι)
 / σ(ίου) κδ', ιν/δ(ικτιῶνος) γ', (ἔτους) υλε'.

Bibl. Reginetta Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, pp. 366-367.

- 691 *Mahaiy*, Transjordan, stone inscription, A.D. 601
 + ΜΗΝΑC Δ[ΟΥ]/Α Τ ΑΓ S ΓΕΩΡ/ΓS ΕΤΩΝ Κ ΜΗ / ΔΑΙC ΚΔ/ ΪΝΔS
 Δ ΤΟΥ / S ΥC S'.

+ Μηνᾶς, δ(οῦ)/λ(ος) τ(οῦ) ἁγ(ίου) Γεωρ/γ[ίου], ἐτῶν κ', μη(νός) / Δαισ(ίου)
 κδ' / ινδ(ικτιῶνος) δ', τοῦ / (ἔτους) υςς'.

Bibl. Reginetta Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, p. 368.

Menas, the Martyr

A soldier Great Saint who was born in Egypt, he served as a soldier in the Roman army in Phrygia and suffered a martyrdom at Cotyaeum under the emperors Diocletian and Maximian in A.D. 296. His relics were brought to his native country and were buried south-west of Alexandria and lake Mareotis on the Libyan desert (at Karm Abu Mina), where a great shrine developed. Saint Menas has been very popular in Egypt as well as in the neighbouring countries where churches were dedicated to him. In these places, there have also been found little terracotta bottles (ampullae) for water and oil from his main shrine, brought away by pilgrims, 'τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ εὐλογία'.

According to the Byzantine Calendar his memory is celebrated on November 11th. In the *Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικόν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων*¹ his memory was celebrated on May 6th and on July 10th, 'ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τῆς μακαρίας Βάσσης...'; according to the *Ἀγιοταφικόν κανονάριον*² on May 5th, October 31st and November 12th 'Ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τῆς μακαρίας Βάσσης' and on November 13th 'Ἐν τῇ Ἀνασ-τάσει...'

In the above mentioned *Κανονάριον*, we notice that there was a church dedicated to Saint Menas on December 6th 'Δεκεμβρίου 6, Ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τῆς Βάσσης, ἐν

¹ See Ἀρχμ. Καλλίστου, *Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικόν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ Ζ' αἰῶνος*, ΝΣ 14 (1914).

² Κλεοβούλου Καραπιπέρη, *1500ῆ ἐπέτειος τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων 451-1951*, Πανηγυρικός Τόμος, τεύχος Α', Ἱερουσαλήμ 1952, pp. 100-125.

ἁγίῳ Μηνᾷ. Μνήμη τῆς μακαρίας Βάσσης'. This was the church of the monastery which the patricia Bassa founded under the name of Menas the Martyr¹. Another Church of Saint Menas was found in Rihab, Transjordan, as the following inscription indicates:

- 692 *Rihab*, St. Menas' Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635
 ...ΕΚΤΙΘΗ ΚΗ / ΕΨΗΦΟΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ
 ΜΗΝΑ...
 ...ἐκτίσθη κή/ ἐψηφόθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 76-77.

The Martyr Thecla

There are two Martyrs under this name: 1) Thecla, the Virgin Martyr from Iconium, Asia Minor, the disciple of St. Paul, and 2) Thecla, the Virgin Martyr from Palestine.

The former lived in the first century A.D. and the story of her life is drawn from the apocryphal document called *The acts of Paul and Thecla*, A.D. 170. According to this document, she was from Iconium and was converted to Christianity by St. Paul. She broke off a marriage engagement and dedicated her life to God. She was venerated from the early days and over her tomb at Meriamlik, was erected a large church. This church became a favourite place of pilgrimage.

The work *Acts of Paul and Thecla* was criticized from the early days and the presbyter who was considered to be its author was condemned and dismissed from his clerical duties². Her feast is celebrated according to the Byzantine Calendar on September 27th.

The second Thecla was from Palestine. She led an ascetic Christian life and during the days of Diocletian, because of her refusal to sacrifice to pagan divinities, she was brought before the Governor Urbanus of Gaza and condemned to be thrown to the wild animals together with two other Martyrs, Agapius and Timotheus. The Eastern Church celebrates their memory on August 19th.

In the *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*³ her day of martyrdom was celebrated on July 26th on the Mount of Olives; on October 10th in the Church of Holy Resurrection and on October 20th in the town Embeteba. In the *Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων* the 26th of July was dedicated to the Holy Virgin Thecla.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, Thecla the Martyr appears in the following places:

¹ See above ΝΣ 14 (1914), p. 56.

² Tertulian, *De Baptisma* 17.

³ See page 76.

- 693 *Kafr Kama*, mosaic inscription No.2, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΤΕΛΙΟΘΗ / ΚΑΙ ΕΨΗΦΟΘΗ Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΚΛΑ...
 ...έτελιόθη / καί ἐψηφόθη ἡ ἀγία Θέκλα...
 The name of the Martyr is given in the nominative singular together with the word 'Holy', 'Αγία.
- 694 *Kafr Kama*, mosaic inscription No.3, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
 . ΑΓΙ]Α ΘΕΚΛΑ ΒΩΗΘΙ ΑΝΑΤΑΚΙΟΥ
 . ἀγί]α Θέκλα βωήθι Ἀναστασίου.
 The name of the Martyr is given in the nominative singular together with the word 'Holy', 'Αγία.
 In neither of the inscriptions does the term 'Martyr' appear. It is not possible to know to which of the two Martyrs under the name of Thecla, the church at Kafr Kama was dedicated.
 Bibl. A. Saaristo – H. Palva, *Studia Orientalia*, Edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica XXX 1, inscription No. 2.
 In Jerusalem there is a church dedicated to St. Thecla the Martyr, inside the central Greek Orthodox Monastery, and an inscription mentioning a church of St. Thecla above a rock-cut tomb in St. Onouphrius Monastery in Hinnom Valley, both of uncertain date.
 Bibl. P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), p.59, inscription No. 117, and *NS* 3 (1906), p. 219f.

The Martyr Theodorus

There were two Martyrs by the name of Theodorus, the one was known as 'Theodore the Recruit', Θεόδωρος ὁ Τήρων and the other as 'Theodore the General', Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατηλάτης.

Theodore the Recruit. He was a soldier in the Roman army under the Emperor Maximian. He was put to death in the city of Amasea in Pontus on account of his Christian faith. St. Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 394) wrote an 'encomium' to the Martyr Theodorus¹. His *Martyrion*, written by an unknown author, was published by N. Delehay².

The Martyr Theodorus was widely venerated in the East and he was commonly known as 'Teron', Τήρων.

Theodore the General. It was believed that the stories about Theodore the Recruit were so many, that Theodore the General was invented to account for them. The legend around Theodore the General was created a little before the ninth cen-

¹ *PG* 46, pp. 736-748.

² *Les Légendes Grecques des Saints Militaires*, Paris 1909, pp. 127-135.

ture¹. According to his biographer and aid-de-camp Augarus, he was put to death during the reign of Licinius. He was from Pontus and was venerated from the fourth century at his burial place, 'Euchaita of Pontus'. Later a church was founded dedicated to both the Martyrs and known as the Church of SS. Theodoroi, "Ἅγιοι Θεόδωροι".

According to *Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικόν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων*² there was a church dedicated to Theodorus, probably the Theodorus known as 'Teron', in Jerusalem, "Ἰουλίῳ 3, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεοδώρῳ...", Μαρτίου 10, Ἰουνίου 2, Αὐγούστου 8.

According to *Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον*, 'Σάββατον τῆς α' Κυριακῆς τῆς μεγάλης τεσσαρακοστῆς, Μνήμη τοῦ Μεγαλομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου.'

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the name of the martyr Theodorus appears in the following places:

- 695 *Abud*, N. W. of Ramallah, lintel inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
A broken lintel placed upside down in a building near the ruins of a church known by the local people as the Church of Martyr Theodorus.
. ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ Θ[ΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ]
. Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Θ[εοδώρου].
The name of the Martyr is indicated only by the first letter 'th', 'Θ'. The rest of the inscription is missing.
Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 2 (1893), pp. 203-215.
- 696 *Bir el Qutt*, near Bethlehem, mosaic inscription in Georgian language, second half of the VIth Century A.D.
'it was made by the aid of Christ and through the intercession of St. Theodorus – Lord have mercy on...
Bibl. V. Corbo, *Gli scavi di Khirbet Siyar el-Ghanam e i Monasteri dei Dintorni*, Gerusalemme 1955, p. 135.
- 697 *Deir el Qelt*, Choziba Monastery, Gabriel's hermitage, wall fresco, VIth Century A.D.
Theodorus 'Θεόδωρος' the Martyr is depicted among other military Martyrs.
Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 28 (1978), pp. 171-192.
- 698 *Eilat*: Aila, Gulf of Akabah, Byzantine period
A Byzantine capital on which St. Theodorus is represented in relief in full armour and above him the inscription:
ΘΕΟΔΩΡ[ΟC] Θεόδωρ[ος]
Bibl. M. Schwabe, *HThR* 46, 1 (1953), pp. 49-55.

¹ *Anal. Boll.* 2 (1883), pp. 359-367.

² See also Βίος τοῦ Ὁσίου Σάββα τοῦ Ἁγιασμένου, *Παλαιστίνων Πατερικόν*, τεύχος Α' p. 124.

- 699 *Gérás*, Quneitra, St. Theodorus' Church, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΔΟΜΟC ΕΙΜΙ ΑΕΘΛΟΦΟ/ΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΑΘΑΝΑ-
 ΤΟΥ...
 ...δόμος είμι ἀεθλοφό/ρου Θεοδώρου μάρτυρος ἀθανάτου...
 Though it may be outside the geographical boundaries covered by this work,
 this inscription is very important for in addition to the name of the Martyr
 there is attributed to him the term 'Martyr', Μάρτυς, and the epithets 'Prize-
 winner' or 'Victorious', Ἀθλοφόρος, and 'Immortal', Ἀθάνατος.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 865a; *CIG* 8654.
- 700 *Gerasa*, the Church of Bishop Genesius, stone block found in the Church,
 VIIth Century A.D.
 . ΑΓΗΙ ΘΕΩΔΩ[Ρ]Ε ΠΡΟCΔΕΞ[Ε] ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑΝ / ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥ-
 ΛΟΥ CΟΥ...
 . ἄγηι Θεώδω[ρ]ε πρόσδεξ[ε] τήν προσφοράν / τοῦ δούλου σου...
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, p.487,
 No. 336.
- 701 *Oboda*, Martyrion of St. Theodorus, tombstone, A.D. 541
 ...ΕΤΑΦΗ ΔΕ ΕΝ / ΤΩ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΩ ΤΟΥ / ΑΓ(ΙΟΥ) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
 ...ἐτάφη δέ ἐν / τῷ Μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ / ἀγ(ίου) Θεοδώρου
 The name of the Martyr appears in the genitive singular together with the
 word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp.
 30-31, inscr. No. 17.
- 702 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, lintel inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 Refectory lintel over the N. W. window
 ...ΓΕΡΟΝΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡ / ΠΡΕCΒ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕ[ΟΔ]ΩΡΟΥ...
 ...Γερόντιον τόν φιλόχρ(ιστον) / πρεσβ(ύτερον) τοῦ ἀγίου Θε[οδ]ώρου...
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.

The Martyr Leontius

Leontius was put to death during the reign of Vespasian in Tripolis of Phoeni-
 cia. He was an officer of legion and originated from Greece.

Bibl. *Acta SS.* Inn. IV (1707), 533-568; *BHG* 3rd ed., 986-987 d.

- 703 *Deir El Qelt*, Choziba Monastery, Gabriel's hermitage, VIth Century A.D.
 A wall fresco depicting SS. Theodore, George and Leontius.
 [Ο ΑΓΙΟC] ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟC
 [ὁ ἅγιος] Λεόντιος
 Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 28 (1978), pp. 171-192.

The Martyr Longinus

Longinus was said to have been the centurion who stood by the Cross of Christ and who believed in Him. He was put to death on account of his faith. The day of his death was commemorated by the Church on October 16th, according to the Byzantine Calendar.

He is depicted in relief on a Byzantine capital found in,

704 *Eilat, Aila, Gulf of Aqabah, Byzantine period*

He is in full armour with breast plate, shield and spear and above him the inscription:

[Λ]ΟΓΓΙΝ[Ο]C [Λ]ΟΓΓΙΝ[Ο]C

He is a soldier saint and on a second Byzantine capital is depicted Theodore, also a soldier martyr.

Bibl. M. Schwabe, *HThR* 46, 1 (1953), pp. 49-55.

The Martyr Procopius

According to the Church historian Eusebius, who was bishop of Caesarea when Procopius was martyred, he was born in Aelia (Jerusalem) and lived in Scythopolis, where he served the Church as a reader, exorcist and interpreter of the Syrian language. In the first year of Diocletian's persecution in Palestine, he was accused of being a Christian, arrested and sent to Caesarea where he was beheaded under the magistrate Flavius¹.

Procopius was widely venerated as a great Martyr in Palestine and many churches were built and dedicated to him. One such church was mentioned as existing in Caesarea in the year A.D. 484 built by the Emperor Zeno; a second church was mentioned as being at Scythopolis and was visited by St. Sabas during one of his trips there in A.D. 532². The third church mentioned was in Jerusalem in the neighbourhood of Abu Tor, known at that time as 'the neighbourhood of the Church of St. Procopius'³. This means that his native city, the city where he served the Church and the city where he was put to death, honoured him by building churches in his memory. In the inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine, the Martyr's name appears in the following places:

705 *Khirbet el-Mekhayat, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, VIth Century A.D.*
 . Ο ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΛΟΤ Κ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΠΡΟCΔΕΞΕ
 ΤΙΝ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑΝ...

1 *BHG* No. 1576-82.

2 *BHG* Bruxellis 1895, p. 115 and A.Π. Κεραμέως, 'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμιτικής Σταχυολογίας Ε, 1-27.

3 Τ. Π. Θέμελη, 'Ιερουσαλήμ καί τά Μνημεῖα αὐτῆς, Vol. II, 'Ιερουσαλήμ 1932, pp. 1270-2.

. ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἁγίου Λότ καί τοῦ ἁγίου Προκοπίου πρόσδεξε τὴν προσφο-
ράν...

The Martyr's name is given in the genitive singular together with the word
'Holy', "Ἅγιος.

Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, Jerusalem 1949, pp.183-4.

Stephen, The First Martyr

According to *The Acts of the Apostles* 6 and 7, Stephen was the first of the seven deacons chosen to attend to the needs of the Christian community of Jerusalem, and the first Martyr of the Christian Church. He was stoned to death in Jerusalem in the year A.D. 35.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the Martyr appears in the following places:

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscriptions

- 706 Inscription No. 27, limestone lintel, Byzantine period
ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Ο / ΒΟ[ΗΘΩΝ] / ΑΓΙΕ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ/CON
Εἰς Θεός ὁ / βο[ηθῶν] / ἅγιε Στέφανε βοήθι/σον
- 707 Inscription No. 32, chalk block, Byzantine period
Ο ΘΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ Κ [ΤΟΥ] / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΒΟΗ(ΘΗ)-
CON
ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου καί [τοῦ] / ἁγίου Σεργίου βοή(θη)σον
- 708 Inscription No. 33, chalk block, Byzantine period
... ΜΑΡ(ΤΥΡΟΣ) ΣΤΕΦΑΝ(ΟΥ) ...
...Μάρ(τυρος) Στεφάν(ου)...
- 709 Inscription No. 43, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
(...ΑΓΙΟΥ) ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ [ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΥ] ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ).
(...ἁγίου) Σεργίου [καί ἁγίου] Στεφάνου).
- 710 Inscription No. 46, chalk block, Byzantine period
+ ΑΓΙΕ ΣΕΡΓΙ(Ε) Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΕ + / ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ/...
+ ἅγιε Σέργι(ε) καί ἅγιε + / Στέφανε βοήθι/...
- 711 Inscription No. 60, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
...ΑΓΙΕ ΣΤΕΦ[Α]ΝΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙ[Ε] ΣΕΡΓ[Ι]Ε ΒΟ[Η]ΘΩCΙΝ ΑΜΗΝ
...ἅγιε Στέφ[α]νε καί ἅγι[ε] Σέργ[ι]ε βο[η]θῶσιν ἀμήν.
- 712 Inscription No. 89, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
[Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΣΕΡΓ]ΙΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΣΤΕΦΑΝ[ΟΥ] ...
[ὁ Θεός ἁγίων Σεργίου καί] Στεφάν[ου] ...
- 713 Inscription No. 109, chalk block, Byzantine period
ΚΕ Ο ΘΕ ΤΟΥ [ΑΓΙΟΥ] ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ
Κ(ύριε) ὁ Θεός τοῦ [ἁγίου] Στεφάνου..

The name of the Martyr in all the above inscriptions appears in the genitive and vocative singular always together with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.

Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.

- 714 *Bahan*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΠΡΟΤΟΜΑ[ΡΤΥΡΟΣ] ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ
 ...προτομά[ρτυρος] Στεφάνου, ἀμήν.
 Bibl. S. Applebaum, B. Isaac and Y. Landau, *SCI 6* (1981-82), pp. 102-104.
- 715 *Beersheba*, marble inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 + ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ .../ + ΑΓΙΕ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΕΥΞΑΙΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΥ.
 + αὕτη ἡ πύλη .../ + ἅγιε Στέφανε εὐξαι Σεουήρου.
 Bibl. Πολυκράτους Λούβαρι, *ΝΣ 3* (1906), pp. 247-249; C.K. Spyridonidis, *PEF QSt* 1907, pp. 137-139; R.A. Stewart Macalister, *PEF QSt* 1907, p. 235, No. II; H. Vincent, *RB N.S.* 4 (1907), pp. 607-611.
- 716 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Saad en Nuheb, mosaic inscription, May A.D. 620
 ...ΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘ(Η) Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.
 ...ἐθεμελιώθ(η) ὁ ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 70, inscr. No. 5.
- 717 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, granite inscription, VI-VIIIth Century A.D.
 Storage room under the old library, former door lintel out of granite
 (+ΜΑΡΤ)ΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙ/(ΟΥ Σ)ΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.
 (+Μαρτ)ύριον τοῦ ἁγί/(ου Σ)τεφάνου.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264, inscription No.9.
 In the three inscriptions given above, the name of the Martyr appears in the genitive and vocative singular together with the word 'holy'. In none of them is the term 'Martyr' attributed to him.
- 718 *Wadi Haggag*, Sinai, inscription inscribed on rock, Byzantine period 84.III/216 ΑΓΙΕ ΣΤΕΦ / ΦΥΛΑΞΟΝ.../ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΘΕ/ΟΦΙΛΟΝ.
 Ἅγιε Στέφ(ανε) / φύλαξον [τόν] / δοῦλον σου Θε/όφιλον.
 Bibl. A. Negev, 'The inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai,' *QEDEM* 6(1977).

According to the *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*¹ his memory was celebrated on December 27th. A Church was also dedicated to the Martyr in Jerusalem. See *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον* January 11th and 14th, the Saturday of the first week of Lent, June 15th and 30th and September 10th.

Ἰανουαρίου 11η, ἑκτη ἡμέρα τῶν Θεοφανείων, Σύναξις ἐν ἁγίῳ Στεφάνῳ.

¹ See *Canonarion* p. 80.

Ἰανουαρίου 14η, Σύναξις ἐν ἀγίῳ Στεφάνῳ.

Ἰουνίου 15η, ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Μετόβα, ἐν τῇ Μονῇ τῆς ... ἐν ἀγίῳ Στεφάνῳ

Σεπτεμβρίου 10η, ἐν ἀγίῳ Στεφάνῳ.

Ouarus or Varus, the Martyr

A Martyr who was put to death in Egypt during the persecution of Diocletian. His body was transferred to Palestine by a lady named Cleopatra, in a place called Syre near Mount Tabor (B. Bagatti identifies it with the village Sirim near Tabor)¹.

In the *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*² his memory is celebrated by the Palestinian Church on May 20th along with Isidorus (Μαΐου 20, τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Βάρου).

His name appears in the following inscriptions:

719 *Kh. Suweikeh*, Judaeen Hills, Ramallah vicinity, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

...ΤΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ ... τοῦ ἁγίου Οὐάρου

His name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), Nos. 7, 8.

The Righteous Ones

In the *Old Testament* the term 'righteous' as a relative, not an absolute standard, was used for those who adhered loyally to the moral and religious customs of their people. Noah, for example, was a righteous man³, likewise Lot, the nephew of Abraham, because their moral standards were higher than those of their corrupt contemporaries. The Rabbis attributed the barrenness of the Matriarchs to God's desire to hear the prayers of the righteous before He blessed them with children. The case of Joachim and Anna is a Christian version of the matriarchal barrenness, since of them was to be born the mother of Christ, and therefore they were considered righteous, Ἄδικοι. The term 'righteous' was also attributed to Abel⁴, Job, Joseph the spouse of the Virgin Mary and Simeon the aged and devout priest who took the Infant Christ in his arms in the Temple at Jerusalem⁵; likewise Zechariah and Elizabeth, parents of St. John the Baptist.

1 Garitte index, p. 376: Le culte de ce martyr d'Egypte (et non de Palestine) était assez répandu dans le diocèse de Jérusalem.

B. Bagatti, *TS* 35 (1959), pp. 229-231.

B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea*, p. 281.

2 See page 80.

3 *Gen.* 6: 9.

4 *Clem. Paed.* 1. 6.

5 *Luke* 2: 25-35.

To the righteous people mentioned in the inscriptions extant in Palestine and belonging to the Byzantine period, is attributed the word 'Holy', "Άγιοι.

The term 'righteous' in the plural:

- 720 *Kh. al-Khoreisa* or Umm Tiran, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 . ΑΥΤΗ Η Π[Υ]/ΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ[Ρ]/ΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙ[Ο]Ι / ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥC[Ο]/ΝΤ[Α]Ι
 ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ
 . αὕτη ἡ πύ[υ]/λη τοῦ Κυ[ρ]/ίου Δίκαι[ο]ι/εἰσελεύσ[ο]/ντ[αι] ἐν αὐτῇ (*Ps.* 117, 20).
 Bibl. E.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, III, pp. 556-7.
- 721 *Beersheba*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ / ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥCΩΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ-/
 ΑΓΙΕ CΤΕΦΑΝΕ...
 + αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κυ(υρίο)υ Δίκαιοι / εἰσελεύσωνται ἐν αὐτῇ / ἅγιε Στέ-
 φανε...
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB N.S.* 4 (1907), pp. 607-11.
- 722 *Kh. Karmil* (today in *Yatta*), stone inscription, Byzantine period
 . ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥCΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ
 ΑΥΤΗ.
 . αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κυρίου Δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ.
 Bibl. A.E. Mader, *Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südju-
 dää*, Paderborn 1918, p. 183.

The term 'righteous' in the singular:

Lot

Lot, the son of Arrhan and nephew of Abraham, who came with his uncle from Charrhan to Canaan, is considered a righteous man. In all the inscriptions he is called 'Holy', "Άγιος.

Although there is no longer any commemoration of Lot by the Church, his memory is alive in places, names and monuments, e.g., Bahr Lût, one of the names attributed to the Dead Sea, and memorials to him at Beni Naim, 5 1/2 km East of Hebron, where at the village mosque, Mohammedans venerate the tomb of Lût (see two inscriptions referring to him: *JPOS* 4(1924) and at the Monastery of the Holy Cross, Jerusalem, where his memory is kept alive to the present day¹).

Lot's name appears in the following inscriptions:

¹ See S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayat)*, Jerusalem 1949, pp. 193-199.

- 723 *Khirbet el-Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, VIth Century A.D.
 a) mosaic inscription No. 337
 . ΑΓΙΕ ΛΩΤ ΠΡΟCΔΕΞΕ ΤΗΝ / ΠΡΟCΕΥΧΗΝ...
 . ἅγιε Λώτ πρόσδεξε τήν / προσευχήν...
- 724 b) mosaic inscription No. 336 VIth Century A.D.
 ... Ο ΘC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΛΟΤ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΟΥ...
 ... ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἁγίου Λότ κ(αί) τοῦ...
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), inscr. Nos. 337, 336.
- 725 *Madaba*, mosaic map, A.D. 560/5
 . ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ Λ[ΩΤ]
 . τό τοῦ ἁγίου Λ[ώτ].
 Lot's name appears in the genitive and vocative singular and in all three instances together with the word 'Holy', ἅγιος.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 42, pl. 4, commentary No. 17.

In the *Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον*,¹ one reads: 'on October 15th in the town of Bethlehem, the memory of the Patriarch Abraham and the righteous Lot was celebrated', ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Βηθλεέμ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ καί τοῦ δικαίου Λώτ. In this case Lot was called 'righteous', δίκαιος. From the three inscriptions above found in the Moab area, mentioning the name of Lot, and from *Genesis* 19:37, it is deduced that the Moabites derived their ancestry from Moab, son of Lot and his elder daughter. It can be concluded that Lot was especially venerated in the Moab region. It would not be surprising if more ruined churches dedicated to Lot were found in other parts of Transjordan since the Ammanites too were the descendants of Amman, son of Lot and his younger daughter (see *Gen.* 19:35)².

Anna, the Mother of the Virgin Mary

Little is known of the parents of the Virgin Mary, to whom the names of Joachim and Hannah are traditionally given, except from the early apocryphal writing known as *the Protevangelium of James*, in a story resembling that of the Biblical narrative of the childless Hannah, mother of Samuel. Both Joachim and Hannah in the Christian Church are considered 'righteous'.

In the inscriptions extant in Palestine, the name of Anna appears only once:

¹ see page 80.

² *Gen.* 19, *Bk. of Wisdom*, 10:6, 16: 16 and *II Epist of St. Peter* 2 7ff.

Lot was also considered 'Holy' by Tertullian, Augustine, Ambrose and Chrysostom who extol his justice and above all his hospitality (see Zschokke, *Die Biblischen Frauen des Alten Testaments*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1882, pp. 73-78).

- 726 *Jerusalem*, Dominus Flevit, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.

... THC ΑΓΙΑC AN[NAC]...

... τῆς ἁγίας Ἀν[νας]...

The inscription is damaged just where the name 'Anna' appears and only the first two letters have been preserved. The excavator and publisher of the inscription suggested that the name was 'ANNA', which in the genitive singular, fits exactly in the damaged space. If that is so, then this Anna must be the mother of the Virgin Mary and not the prophetess Anna, since wherever the latter is mentioned in literary sources, her name is always followed by the word 'Prophetess'.

Bibl. *SEG* XVII (1960), No. 786.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist and cousin of the Virgin Mary (*Lk.* I: 36) was also venerated in the early Church.

According to an inscription on a sixth century medallion now in Bobbio but originating in Palestine, it can be concluded that Elizabeth was venerated by the Christians in Palestine especially in her country village where a shrine was dedicated to her. From the literary sources this is further supported by the '*Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον*¹ according to which her memory was celebrated 'on the 28th August at the Church dedicated to the righteous Elizabeth in the village of Ain Karem', Αὐγούστου 28 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Ἐν Κάρει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Δικαίας Ἑλισάβετ, μνήμη αὐτῆς.

- 727 *Bobbio*, medallion originating from Palestine, VIth Century A.D.

+ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ(ΦΥΓΗΣ ΤΗΣ) ΑΓ(ΙΑ)C ΕΛΙCΑΒΕΘ.

+ εὐλογία Κυ(υρίου) ἀπό τῆς κατα(φυγῆς τῆς) ἁγ(ίας) Ἑλισάβεθ

The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', 'Ἁγία.

Bibl. André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958.

In the literary source given above the name Elizabeth appears together with the term 'Righteous', Δικαία.

Lazarus

According to the *New Testament*² Lazarus was the brother of Martha and Mary from Bethany. He was raised from the dead by his close friend Jesus.

Lazarus was venerated from early times and a church was erected over his tomb at Bethany. According to the '*Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον*³ his memory was celebrated

¹ See page 80.

² *John* 11: 1-44.

³ See page 80, *idem*.

on the Saturday before Palm Sunday in Bethany, Σάββατον πρό τῆς Κυριακῆς τῶν Βαΐων, μνήμη τοῦ Λαζάρου ἐν Βηθανίᾳ.

This is confirmed by Aetheria (Egeria) who describes a procession held on that day. His feast as well as the procession to his tomb at Bethany is still observed by the Church of Jerusalem on the same day.

728 *Bethany, les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti on the walls of a small cave, Byzantine period*

ΚΕ Ο ΘC Ο ΕΓΙΡΑC ΤΟΝ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΝ Ε[Κ] ΝΕΚΡΩΝ / ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΥ...

Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εός) ὁ ἐγίρας τόν Λάζαρον ἐ[κ] νεκρῶν / μνήσθητι τοῦ...

His name is given in the accusative singular.

Bibl. P. Benoit and M.E. Boissard, *RB* 59 (1951), pp. 200-251.

Angels and Archangels

The word 'angel' is derived from the Greek word 'messenger', ἄγγελος.

Angels appear in both the *Old* and the *New Testaments* as intermediaries between God and man. According to the teaching of Jesus the Angels are spiritual beings¹. The Angels participated in the most important moments of His life, e.g., they announced His Incarnation², His birth³; they ministered to Him in the desert⁴, strengthened Him in His agony⁵ and also were the first witnesses of His Resurrection⁶. The existence of the Angels was accepted by the Fathers of the Church as a Dogma of faith.

Dionysius, the Pseudo-Areopagite in A.D. 500, in his work, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *Περὶ τῆς Οὐρανίας Ἱεραρχίας*, classified the Angels into three hierarchies containing three choirs each:

First: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones. Second: Dominations, Virtues, Powers. Third: Principalities, Archangels, Angels. Of these only the last two choirs have an immediate mission to mankind.

The worship of the Angels in the early Church was disputable. The Council of Laodicea A.D. 336, can. 35, forbade the worship of Angels then prevalent in the country, "Ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν".

Apart from the Councilar decrees, the Fathers of the Church expressed strong opinions for and against the worship of Angels⁷. This lasted until the Second Nicene

1 *Mt.* 22:30.

2 *Mt.* 1: 20-24.

3 *Lk.* 2:9-15.

4 *Mt.* 4:11.

5 *Lk.* 22:43.

6 *Mt.* 28:2-7, *Jn.* 20:12.

7 Augustine '*De vera Religione*' 110; Vol. 1, p. 1266, ed. Gaume.

Council A.D. 787¹ when 'honorary prostration' before the figures of the Angels, as well as those of the Lord, the Virgin Mary and holy men, was ordained (See Labbe VII, 556).

The feasts of the Angels which gradually entered into the Church Calendar, represented and commemorated historic events, namely the manifestations of the Archangels on special occasions or particular places, or the dedication of a church in their honour.

Michael, The Archangel

From the beginning of Christianity, the Archangel Michael was venerated by the Christians especially in Phrygia and Pisidia¹. He was considered to be the helper of the Christian armies because he was an Archangel and leader of the heavenly hosts. He was venerated together with Gabriel², the Archangel of the Annunciation.

Michael appears in the following inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine:

- 729 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, literary papyri, 'Acts of St. George'. Late VII – Early VIIIth Century A.D.
V leaf, lines 106-108
... καὶ ἦνευ/[κεν] αὐτῷ Μιχαήλ / [ὁ ἀρχ]άγγελος ἄρτον...
In this text, the name is given together with the title 'Archangel', 'Αρχάγγελος'.
Bibl. Lionel Casson and Ernest L. Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana (Ajja Hafir)*, Vol. 2. Literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1950.
- 730 *El-Jish*, bronze amulet (movable object), Byzantine period
Obverse. ΕΙC ΘΕΟC Ο ΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΚΑ Εἰς Θεός ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά.
Reverse. ΙΑΩ CA/BAΩΘ MIX/AΗΛ ΒΟΗΘΙ Ἰαῶ Σαβαώθ Μιχ/αήλ βο-ήθι.
Bibl. N. Makhouly, *QDAP* 8 (1939), pp. 48-49, pls. 31, 32.
- 731 *Gerasa*, the Cathedral, red painting in the niche of the shrine of the Virgin Mary at the head of the staircase of the Cathedral. Above, traces of three painted figures, VIth Century A.D.
ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ, ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ Μιχαήλ, ἡ ἁγία Μαρία, Γαβριήλ.
Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, p. 473, No. 288.

¹ See Theodore (in Col) who refers to the spread of the worship of St. Michael and to its prohibition, and who mentions oratories (εὐκήρια) of St. Michael existing in the neighbourhood even after the Laodicean prohibition.

² F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* on the basis of the work of L.E. Hammond, Oxford 1896, see liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, in the Prothesis, 'εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην τῶν παμμεγίστων ταξιαρχῶν Μιχαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἐπουρανίων δυνάμεων ἁσωμάτων'.

- 732 *Herodion the Lower, North of Bethlehem – Tekoah Road, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.*
 KE YC XP KE AGIE MIXAHΛ ΠPOCΔEΞE THN KAPΠOΦΩPIAN
 TON ΔOYΛON COY ...
 Κ(ύρι)ε Ὑ(εσοῦ)ς Χρ(ιστός) κέ ἅγιε Μιχαήλ πρόσδεξε τήν καρποφωρίαν τόν
 δοῦλον σου ...
 In this inscription only the name Michael is mentioned together with the
 word 'Holy', "Ἅγιος. This could cause confusion since the name Michael
 could refer to other venerated persons, e.g., a Martyr, a Church Father or a
 distinguished monk. However it is suggested that Michael the Archangel is
 meant here because of another inscription from Gariye el Garbiye.
 Bibl. G. Foerster, *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy
 Land*, Vol. II, p. 509.
- 733 *Gariye el Garbiye (Arabia), A.D. 600*
 . Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ MIXAHΛ (ΚΑΙ) ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΕΚΤΙCΘΗ...
 . ὁ ἅγιος Μιχαήλ (καί) Γαβριήλ ἐκτίσθη...
 This inscription states that the Church of SS. Michael and Gabriel was built
 in the year... In this inscription the word 'Holy', "Ἅγιος is attributed to both
 the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, as their only title.
 Bibl. Dussaud, *Voyage*, p. 206, No. 99; E. Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia*
 III, p. 354.
- 734 *Umm idj-Djimal, Transjordan, city of Provincia Arabia rather than of
 Palestine, Byzantine period*

Inscr. Nos: 245	246	247	248
. ΓΑΒ+ΡΙΗΛ	ΡΑΦ+ΑΗΛ	ΜΙΧ+ΑΗΛ	ΟΥΡ+ΙΗΛ
. Γαβ+ριήλ	Ραφ+αήλ	Μιχ+αήλ	Οὐρ+ιήλ

The name of the Archangel Michael as well as the name of the other three
 Archangels, Gabriel, Raphael and Ouriel, appear one on each side of the monastery
 tower.

Bibl. E. Littman, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Section A, Southern Syria. Publications of the Princeton Univ. Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5.*

According to the *Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον*, his memory was celebrated by the
 Church of Jerusalem on November 29th. Νοεμβρίου 29, Μνήμη τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου
 Μιχαήλ.

A church dedicated to him according to the above source was, ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ
 ἱερέως Ἰορδάνου ἐν Λαχερνία, παρὰ τῷ ἁγίῳ Μιχαήλ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Θεοτόκου
 ἐγκαίνια. Ὀκτωβρίου 5.

Gabriel, The Archangel

Gabriel, the Archangel of the Annunciation was also venerated by the early Church. He is i, mentioned in literary sources; ii, presented together with the Virgin Mary in the scene of the Annunciation, and iii, named in several inscriptions.

i. In literary sources

a) He is mentioned in the *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον* on November 14th and on the Friday before the beginning of Lent.

Νοεμβρίου 14, ... τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ.

Παρασκευή τῆς Τυρινῆς, Συναξίς ἐν Σιών, Μνήμη τῶν Ἀρχαγγέλων.

b) In the *Tacticon*, MS. No. 326, Greek Orthodox Patriarchal Library.

A ninth century manuscript edited by Gregorios Palamas in *Ἱεροσολυμίαις* 1862 Greek, translated into English by Palmer in his book, *The Desert of the Exodus*, 1871, II, p. 550, where under the Archbishopric of Nazareth, is listed 'a great Monastery dedicated to the Arch-Captain Gabriel', ... ἡ μεγάλη μονὴ τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Γαβριήλ...

ii) In the scene of the Annunciation on movable objects:

735 *Jerusalem*, Dept. of Antiquities, a Byzantine gold enkolpion¹ found between the River Jordan and Jericho, V-VIIth Century A.D.

Inscription: ΧΕΡΕ ΚΕΧΑΡΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ,

Χέρε κεχαριτωμένη.

Dept. of Antiquities, Catalogue No. 46, 218.

736 *Monza*, a medallion of the Annunciation originating in Palestine, now in Monza, VIth Century A.D.

Inscription: ΧΕΡΕ ΚΕΧΑΡΙΤΟΜΗΝΙ

Χέρε κεχαριτομήνι

Bibl. André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958.

iii) In inscriptions extant in Palestine:

737 *Gerasa*, the Cathedral, red painting in the niche of the Shrine of the Virgin Mary at the head of the staircase of the Cathedral. The traces of three painted figures together with the names of the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Michael, Byzantine period

ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ, ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ.

Μιχαήλ, ἡ ἁγία Μαρία, Γαβριήλ.

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, p. 473, No. 288.

738 *Umm idj-Djimal* (Provincia Arabia)², stone inscription on a monastery tower, Byzantine period

¹ J.H. Iliffe, *QDAP* 14 (1950), pp. 97-99.

² This city as well as the site of *Gariye el Garbiye* belonged to Provincia Arabia rather than to Palestine.

ΓΑΒ+ΡΙΗΛ Γαβ+ριήλ

The name of the Archangel Gabriel appears on one of the sides of the tower. On the other sides are the names of the other three Archangels, Michael, Raphael and Ouriel.

Bibl. L. Littman, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions, A. Southern Syria, Publications of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped. to Syria, 1904/5 and 1907.*

Holy Places

The word 'Holy', 'Ἅγιος', in addition to the usage given above, was, according to the inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, attributed to: The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of Mount Sion, the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives in particular and to other churches and Holy Places collectively.

A. Church of the Holy Resurrection, 'Ἀγίας Ἀναστάσεως

- 739 *Jerusalem*, i) Mount of Olives, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΚΑΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ ΑΓΣ ΑΝΑΚΤΑC(E)ΩC
 ...Καλιστράτου ὑποδιακ(όνου) ἀγ(ίας) Ἀναστάσ(ε)ως
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 176.

- 740 ii) In Basilica in agro Dominicano, tomb inscription, V-VIIIth Century A.D.
 ...NON/NOY ΔΙΑ/Κ ΟΝΙC/ ΤΗC ΑΓC Τ/ΟΥ ΧΥ ΑC Κ / ...
 ...Νόν/νου Δια/κ(όνου) Ὀνισ(ίμου) / τῆς ἀγ(ίας) τ/οῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) Ἀ(ναστά-
 σεω)ς καί / ...
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 191.

- 741 iii) Mount of Olives, tomb inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 ...ΘΕΟΔΟΥΛΩ / ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩ / ΘΥΡΩΡΩ ΤΗC / ΑΓΙΑC ΤΟΥ ΧΥ /
 ΑΝΑΚΤΑCΕΩC...
 ...Θεοδούλῳ / γενομένῳ / θυρωρῷ τῆς / ἀγίας τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) / Ἀναστά-
 σεως...

All three of the above inscriptions are attributed to the Church of the 'Resurrection' Ἀνάστασις of Christ.

Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB I* (1892), p. 568; See also the literary sources, *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*, *Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικόν*, and *Ἀρμενικὸν Κανονάριον* of Conybeare, where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is called 'Holy Resurrection', Ἀγία Ἀνάστασις.

B. Church of Mount Sion – Holy Sion Ἀγίας Σιών

See section on Michael the Archangel, page 141 above.

Bibl. Dussaud, *Voyage*, p. 206, No. 99; E. Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia III*, p. 354.

- 742 *Jerusalem*, Oaudi-er-Rebâbi, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + THC ΑΓΙΑC CΙΩΝ + τῆς ἁγίας Σιών
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 561.

C. Church of the Ascension-Holy Ascension, 'Αγίας 'Αναλήψεως

743

Φ
 ΑΓΙΑC ΑΝΑΛΙΜΨΕΩC ΖΩΗ
 ἁγίας 'Αναλίμψεως C
 Bibl. B. Bagatti, *TS* 50 (1974), p. 189.

D. Holy Martyria, "Αγια Μαρτύρια

- 744 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, North Church, chalk voussoir, November 6th, A.D. 464
 ...ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΑΡ/ΤΥΡΙΟΥ...
 ...έν τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου Μαρ/τύριου...
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.
- 745 *Gerasa*, Procopius Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 526/7
 .../ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΕΠΛΗΡΩΘ[Η] ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ [ΜΑ]ΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ Α[Π]Ο / ΕΥΛΟΓΙΩΝ...
 .../ ἐπισκόπου ἐπληρώθ[η] τό ἅγιον [Μα]ρτύριον ἀ[π]ό / εὐλογιῶν...
 In the last two inscriptions the word 'ἅγιον' is attributed to a 'martyrium' building.
 Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 827.

E. Holy Temple, "Αγιος Ναός

- 746 *Beit Loya*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΑΖΙΖΟC / ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΚΟC / ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟΥ/ΝΤΕC ΑΝΕΘΗ/ΚΑΜΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ
 Ἄξιζος / καί Κύρικος / εὐχαριστοῦντες ἀνεθή/καμεν τόν ναόν
 Bibl. Yoram Tsafir, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, unpublished.
- 747 *Gerasa*, the Propylaea Church, mosaic inscription, May-June A.D. 565
 + ΑΓΙΟC / Ο ΝΑΟC CΟΥ / ΘΑΥΜΑCΤΟC / ΕΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟ/CΥΝΗ.
 + /ἅγιος / ὁ ναός σου / θαυμαστός / ἐν δικαιο/σύνῃ.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 485, inscr. No. 331.
- 748 *Ras Siyagha*, North of the Baptistery – font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597
 ...ΕΤΕΛΕΙ/ΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ CΥΝ / ΤΩ ΦΩΤΙ-
 CΤΗ/ΡΙΩ.

...ἐτελει/ώθη τό ἔργον τοῦ / ἁγίου ναοῦ σύν / τῷ Φωτιστη/ρίῳ.
Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 318.

F. Ἅγιος Οἶκος meaning a Church

- 749 *Bahan*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
. Τ/Ω / ΟΙΚΩ / COY ΠΡΕ/ΠΙ ΑΓΙΑCΜΑ / ΚΕ ΕΙC ΜΑΚ/ΡΟΤΗΤΑ...
. τ/ῷ οἴκῳ / σου πρέ/πι ἁγίαCμα / Κ(ύρι)ε εἰς μακ/ρότητα...
Dept. of Antiq. Files, Neg. No. 13. 170.
- 750 *Deir Main*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΚΤΙCΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ / Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΟΙΚΟC ΟΥΤΟC ΕΚ
CΠΟΥΔΗC/...
...ἐκτίCθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη / ὁ ἅγιος οἶκος οὗτος ἐκ σπουδῆC /...
In the last two inscriptions the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος, is attributed to 'holy buildings' meaning Churches.
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Studia Hierosolymitana in onore di P.B. Bagatti*, I Studi Archeologici, Jerusalem 1976, pp. 127-154.
- 751 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 7, Vth Century A.D.
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ἁγίου οἴκου.
Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 752 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Dominus Flevit, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΟΙΚ(ΟΝ) ΕΚΟCΜΗCΕΝ / CΥ-
ΜΕΩΝ Ο ΦΙΛΟΧΡ...
τοῦτον τόν εὐκτήριον ἅγιον οἴκ(ον) ἐκόCμηCεν / Συμεών ὁ φιλόχρ(ιστος)C...
Bibl. *SEG XVII* (1960), No. 786.
- 753 *Khisfin*, Golan, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.
...ΑΝΕΝΕΩCΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΟΙΚ...
...ἀνενέωCεν τόν ἅγιον οἴκ(ον)C...
V. Tzaferis, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

G. Holy Church (building), Ἁγία Ἐκκλησία

- 754 *El-Quweisme*, SE of Amman, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΑΝΕΝΕΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΚΤΗCΜΑ ΕΚ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ / ΤΗC ΑΓΙΩ
ΤΑΥΤΗC ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑC ΚC ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ...
...ἀνενεώθη τό πᾶν κτῆCμα ἐκ θεμελίων / τῆC ἁγιω(τάτης) ταύτης ἐκκληCίας
κ(αί) ἐψηφώθη...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Le chiese di Quweismeh-Amman,' *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 329-340.

- 755 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 4, Vth Century A.D.
 ... ΟΙΚΟ/ΔΟΜΗΘΗ Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΚ[ΚΛΗCΙΑ]...
 ...οικο/δομήθη ή αγία εκκλησία...
 Dept. of Antiq. files, Neg. No. 4342.
- 756 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 5, Vth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ Η ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΗ ΕΚΛΗCΙΑ/
 ...ἐψηφώθη ή αγιωτάτη εκκλησία/
 Dept. of Antiq. files, Neg. No. 4343.
- 757 *Gerasa*, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
 ...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ Κ ΕCΤΕΓΑCΘΗ CΥΝ ΘΕΩ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ
 ΑΓΙΟΥ ΕΥΚΤΗΡΙΟΥ...
 ...ἐψηφώθη κ(αί) ἐστεγάσθη σύν Θεῷ τό πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ ἁγίου εὐκτηρίου...
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 479, inscription No. 306.
- 758 *Jaber* (Provincia Arabia), Transjordan, home of Ahmed el-Husein, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΤΩ / ΜΕCΑΥΛΟΝ ΑΓ ΕΚΛΗCΙΑC...
 ...τώ / μέσαυλον ἀγ(ίας) εκκλησίας...
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 759 *Jericho*, Russian property, mosaic inscription, December 11th, A.D. 566
 ...ΤΗ ΑΓΙΩΤΑC / ΝΕΑ ΕΚΛΗCΙΑ ΤΗC / ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ / ΕΝ
 ΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΟΙC...
 ...τῇ αγιωτά(τῃ) / νέα εκκλησία τῆς / ἐνδόξου Θεοτόκου / ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις...
 In this inscription the sacred epithet is given in the superlative and is attributed to the Church of Theotokos in Jerusalem known as 'NEA'.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 315.
- 760 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sîh), mosaic inscription, A.D. 616/7
 + ΕΚΤΗCΘΗ Η Α[ΓΙΑ] / ΗΚΛΗCΙΑ...
 + ἐκτήσθη ή ἀ[γία] / ή εκκλησία...
 Bibl. Zeev Yeivin, Dept. of Antiq., unpublished.
- 761 *Khirbet el-Mekhayat*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...Α/ΓΙΩΤC ΕΚΛΙC ...'Α/γιω(άτης) εκλ(ισ)ίας).
 Bibl. S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 140-1, pl. 31. 3.
- 762 *Masouh*, mosaic inscription No. 2, Byzantine period
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ Ο/CΙΩC ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙCΚC ΕΨΗΦΩ/ΘΗ Η ΑΓΙ-
 ΩΤΑΤΗ ΕΚ/ΛΗCΙ...
 Ἐπί τοῦ ὁ/σιω(τάτου) Θεοδοσίου / ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐψηφώ/θη ή αγιωτάτη
 εκ/λησί[α]...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa di Massuh e il territorio della diocesi di Esbous,'
LA 33 (1983), pp. 335-346.

- 763 *Mukhmas*, 7.5 km, N.E. of Jerusalem – Ramallah Rd., mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΚΕ ΨΗΦΩΘΗΝΕ ΤΗ/Ν ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑΝ
 ...κέ ψηφωθήνε τή/ν άγιωτάτην έκκλησίαν.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 150.
- 764 *Ozem*, mosaic inscription, V-VIIth Century A.D.
 ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ.../ ΕΚΛΗCΙΑ...
 έτελιώθη .../ έκλησία...
 In the last three inscriptions, the word 'Holy', 'Αγία is attributed to a Church building.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 765 *Swafieh*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΑΓC ΕΚΛC CΠΟΥΔΗC ΚΑΙ ΚΑΜΑΤΩΝ...
 ...άγ(ίας) έκλ(ησίας) σπουδής καί καμάτων...
 Bibl. B. Van Elderen, *ADAJ* 15 (1970), pp. 25-27, pl. 1.
- 766 *Wadi Ayoun Mousa*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΕΨΗ/ΦΩΘΗ Α/ΥΤΗ Η ΑΓΙΩ / ΕΚΛC ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥ / ΚΥΡΟΥ ΕΠΙ/CKC
 Έψη/φώθη α/ύτη ή άγιω(τάτη) / έκλ(ησία) επί του εύ(λαβεστάτου) / Κύρου
 έπν/σκ(όπου)
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Una chiesa nell' Wadi Ayoun Mousa ai piedi del monte Nebo,' *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 307-318.

H. Holy Sanctuary, "Άγιον θυσιαστήριον

- 767 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΙ... ΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΑΓC ΘΥCΙΑCΤC...
 Έπί [του...έτελει]ώθη τό άγ(ιον) θυσιαστ(ήριον)...
 Bibl. *SEG* XXIX (1979), inscr. No. 1610; J.I. Lawlor, *RB* 86(1979), pp 116-117.

I. Holy Place and Places, "Άγιος Τόπος, "Άγιοι Τόποι.

- 768 *Ain el Tabgha*, mosaic inscription No. 2, Vth Century A.D.
 . ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΤΩΠΩ
 . τῷ άγίῳ τόπῳ
 + MNHCΘ(HT)I KE CAYPOY + μνήσθ(ητ)ι Κ(ύρι)ε Σαύρου.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 5.
- 769 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, chalk voussoir, December 1st, A.D. 475
 + EN ΤΟΥ/ΤΟ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΤΟΠΩ
 + έν του̃/το τῷ άγίῳ τόπῳ
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.

- 770 *Der-Rumsaniyeh*, Golan, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ...EK/TICEN TOY AG / TΩΠΟΥ...
 ...ἐκ/τισεν τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) / τώπου...
 Bibl. A. van Hoonacker, *RB* 12 (1903), pp. 177-8.
- 771 *El-Quweisme*, SE of Amman, Transjordan, Church of St. Cirycus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ ΠΡCΒ ΑΝΟΝΕΩΘΗ Α ΟΓΙΟΣ ΤΟ/ΠΙΟΣ...
 Ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαξίμου πρ(ε)σβ(υτέρου) ἀνονεώθη (ὁ) (ἅ)γιος τό/πος...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Le chiese di Quweismeh-Amman,' *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 329-340.
- 772 *El-Yadudeh*, 12 km South of Amman, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 503
 ...ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤ[ΗΡ]ΙΑC ΤΩΝ ΠΡ[ΟC]/ΕΝΙΝΚΟΝΤΩ[Ν ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ
 Τ]ΟΠΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ...
 ...ὑπέρ σωτ[ηρ]ίας τῶν πρ[οc]/ενινκόντω[ν τῷ ἀγίῳ τ]όπῳ τούτῳ...
 Bibl. A. Alt, *ZDPV* 55 (1932), p. 133; R.P. Cré, *RB* 11 (1902), p. 434.
- 773 *Gaza*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ..]ΑCΙΑΚΩ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΖΑΡ/ΟC CΥΜΒΙΟ]C ΙΝΑ ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟΝ / ΤΟΥ
 ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΑΝΕΝΕ/ΩCΑΝ ΚΤΙCΜ]Α ΤΗC ΚΟΓΧΗC CΥΝ /
 [ΑΨΙΔΙ ΑΠΟ] ΘΕΜΕΛΙ(ΩΝ)...
 ...]ασιακῶ καὶ Λάζαρ/οc σύμβιο]c ἵνα εὐχαριστόν / τοῦ ἀγίου τόπου ἀνενέ/ω-
 σαν κτίcμ]α τῆc κόγχηc σύν / [ἀψίδι ἀπό] θεμελί(ων)...
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 248, inscr. No. XI.
- 774 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of the priest John, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟ)C ΤΟΠΟC
 ...ἐτελιώθη ὁ ἅγ(ιο)c τόπος.
 Bibl. S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, p. 173.
- 775 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΤ[Ε]Λ[Ε]ΙΩ[ΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΤΟΠ]ΟC
 ἐτ[ε]λ[ε]ι[ώ]θη ὁ ἅγιος τόπος.
 Bibl. S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 140-1, pl. 31. 3.
- 776 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΚΤ[Ι]CΘΗ Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΤΕΛ[Ε]ΙΩΘΗ [Ο] ΑΓΙΟC Τ[Ο]Π[Ο]C...
 ...ἐκτ[ί]cθη κ(αί) ἐτελ[ε]ι[ώ]θη [ὁ] ἅγιος τ[ό]π[ο]c...
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 336.
- 777 *Madaba*, Suaitha Chapel, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟC) / ΤΟΠΟC...
 ...ἐψηφώθη ὁ ἅγ(ιοc) / τόπος...
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 331.

- 778 *Madaba*, the Cathedral, mosaic inscription, A.D. 563
 – ΘΗ Ο ΠΑΝΑΓ(ΙΟΣ) ΤΟΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥ/
 – θη ὁ πανάγ(ιος) τόπος τοῦ ἐνδόξου Μάρτυ/
 Bibl. S. Saller, *LA* 19 (1969), pp. 145-167.
- 779 *Madaba*, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 579
 ...ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟστοΛΩΝ...
 ...ἐτελιώθη ὁ ἅγιος τόπος τῶν Ἀποστόλων...
 Bibl. Martin Noth, 'Die Mosaikinschriften der Apostel – Kirche in Madeba,' *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 130-133.
- 780 *Madaba*, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3
 ...ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟ ΤΟΠΟ ΤΟΥΤΩ.
 ...τῶν καρποφορούντων ἐν ἁγίῳ τόπῳ τούτῳ.
 Bibl. M. Μεταξάκη, *ΝΣ* 2 (1905), p. 463.
- 781 *Masouh*, mosaic inscription No. 5, Byzantine period
 ... ΑΓΙ / ...ΤΟΠΩ/
 ...ἀγί/[ω] ...τόπῳ/
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa di Massuh e il territorio della diocesi di Esbous,' *LA* 33 (1983), pp. 335-346.
Monza, ampoullae from Monza originating in Palestine, Byzantine period
- 782 No. 1. + ΕΛΕΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ
 + ἔλεον ξύλου τῶν ἁγίων Χριστοῦ τόπων
- 783 No. 2. + ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟΥ) ΤΟΠΩΝ
 + εὐλογία Κυρίου τῶν ἁγίων Χ(ριστοῦ) τόπων
- 784 No. 3. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟΥ) ΤΟΠΩΝ
 + ἔλαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χ(ριστοῦ) τόπων
- 785 No. 4. + ΕΛΕΟΝ ΕΥΛΟ(Υ ΖΩΗΣ Τ)ΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΠΩΝ
 + ἔλεον ξύλο(υ ζωῆς τ)ῶν ἁγίων τόπων.
- 786 No. 5. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ
 (ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡ)ΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ
 + ἔλαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χ(ριστοῦ) τόπων.
 (εὐλογία Κυρ)ίου τῶν ἁγίων Χριστοῦ τόπων.
- 787 No. 6. + ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΠΩΝ.
 + εὐλογία Κυρίου τῶν ἁγίων τόπων.
- 788 No. 9. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ.
 + ἔλαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) τόπων.
- 789 No. 10. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ.
 + ἔλαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) τόπων.
- 790 No. 12. + ΕΛΕΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ
 + ἔλεον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χ(ριστοῦ) τόπων

- 791 No. 14. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗC ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΟΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ
+ ελαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χ(ριστ)οῦ τόπων.
- 792 *Bobbio*, Ampoulla of Palestinian origin, VIth Century A.D.
No. 1. (ΕΛ)Α(Ι)ΟΝ Ε(ΥΛΟΥ Ζ)ΩΗC (Ο)ΔΗΓΟ ... ΕΝ Ε(ΙΡ)Α ΚΑΙ ΘΑ(Λ)
[ACCH]
(ἐλ)α(ι)ον ξ(ύλου ζ)ωῆς (ὁ)δηγό ... ἐν ξ(ιρ)ᾷ καὶ θα(λ) [άσση]
- 793 No. 2. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗC ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΥ ΤΟ)ΠΩΝ.
+ ελαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χ(ριστο)ῦ τόπων.
- 794 No. 10. ... (Ε)ΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗC ΤΩΝ Α(ΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ)
... (Ἐ)λαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ τόπων.
Bibl. André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958.
- 795 *Nazareth*, the Shrine of the Annunciation, graffiti, plaster remaining on a column, Late Roman period
.../ ΥΠΟ ΑΓΙΩ ΤΟΠΟ Μ... .../ὕπό ἁγίῳ τόπο μ...
B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*, Vol. 1, p. 151, No. 5.
- 796 *Ras Siyagha*, Basilica, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΑΝΕΝΕΩ/ΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΠΟΣ
ἀνενεώ/θη ὁ ἅγιος τόπος
The word 'Holy', "ἅγιος, is attributed to a 'Holy Place', but referring rather to a church building in a different way.
Bibl. S.J. Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mt. Nebo*, Vol. I, p. 269, pl. 118.
1, inscription No. 8.
- 797 *Rihab*, house of Khalid el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604
...ΤΟΥΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ Χ Μ Γ +
...τοῦδε τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου ἀμήν Κύριε χ μ γ +
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 68, inscription No. 1.
- 798 *Sinai*, Faran Oasis, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΕ ΒΩΕΘΙC/ΟΝ ΑΡΩΝ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΗΟΥ / ΤΟΠΟΥ
Κ(ύρι)ε βωέθισ/ον Ἀρών δοῦ/λος τοῦ ἀγίου / τόπου
Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* 11 (1902), p. 440.
- 799 *Wady el Hesa*, Ghor es Safi, stone inscription, Byzantine period
+/+ Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε Ο Θ(ΕΟ)C / ΤΟ[Υ] ΑΓΙΟΥ [ΤΟ]ΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ/ΤΟΥ [ΒΟ]ΗΘΗ-
CON /...
+/+ Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εό)ς / το[ῦ] ἁγίου [τό]που τοῦ/του [βο]ήθησον /...
Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 344, p. 53.

J. Holy Monastery, 'Αγία Μονή

- 800 *El Kufr* (over a doorway), stone inscription, A.D. 652
ΟΙΝΟΘΗΚΗ [ΤΗ]C [Α]Γ[Ι]ΑC ΜΟ/ΝΗC ΑΤΑΟΥC...

οἰνοθήκη [τῆς] [ἁ]γ[ί]ας μο/νῆς Ἀτάους...

Bibl. W. Ewing, *PEF QSt* 1895, pp. 265-280, inscription No. 152.

- 801 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, 4 August A.D. 576
 ...ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΧΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΩΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΗΓΟ/ΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ
 ΗΛΙΟΥ...
 ...διακ(όνου) μοναχ(οῦ) παραμωναρίου κ(αί) ἡγο/υμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλιοῦ..
 Bibl. *SEG* XXX (1980), No. 1688; R. Cohen, *QADMONIOT* 12(1979),
 pp.19-24.

Additions. 'Holy Place'

K. Holy Calvary.

- 802 *Garizim*, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΛΙΘΟΣ ΕΚ/ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΗΟΥ / ΚΡΑΝΙΟΥ.
 + λίθος ἐκ / τοῦ ἀγήου / Κρανίου
 Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *Römische und Byzantinische Bauten auf dem Garizim*,
Beiträge zur Biblischen Landes und Altertumskunde, Heft 3, Stuttgart
 1951, pp. 211-234; G. Welter, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* IV, p. 329.
- 803 *Dor (Tanturah)*, marble inscription on a column, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ + / ΓΟΛΓΟΘΑ / ΛΙΘΟΣ
 + τοῦ ἁγίου + / Γολγοθᾶ / λίθος
 Bibl. J. Leibovitch, *CNI* 5 (1954), pp. 22-23.
 In the inscription from Garizim the word 'Κρανίον'¹ is given. It is a translation into the Greek of the Aramaic word 'Gulgolet' meaning skull, while in the inscription from Dor the word 'Γολγοθᾶς' is used, a hellenized form of the Aramaic word. Both the words Κρανίον and Γολγοθᾶς are accompanied by the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος, and refer to the place where Jesus was crucified known as Calvary.

Note

There are several problematic inscriptions in which it is not clear to whom the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος refers; to Martyrs, other Champions of the Christian Church or to well respected people among a Christian community, a monastic society or a family.

¹ See *Luke* 23:33, 'Καί ὅτε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίον, ἐκεῖ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν καὶ τοὺς κακούργους, ὃν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ὃν δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν'.

Such inscriptions are the following:

- 804 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscription No. 38 on a chalk voussir found *in situ*, V-VIIth Century A.D.

ἅγιος Μᾶρκος
ἅγιος Βλείφιμος
ἅγιος Μάνικος
ἅγιος Ἀμβράσιος
ἅγιος Εἰσίδορος
ἅγιος Νόνιος
ἅγιος Πάμφιλος

In this inscription the word 'Holy', "Ἄγιος is given to seven men, of a status unknown today.

Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.

- 805 *Jerusalem*, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, marble inscription, Byzantine period

ΦΛΑΙΑ Η ΑΓΙ/Α ΣΥΜΒΙΟC CΕΟΥΗ/ΡΟΥ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙ/ΤΑΙ ΧΝ
ΑΓΑΠΩCΑ / ΠΡΟC ΑΥΤΟΝ ΔΡΑ / ΜΟΥCΑ ΕΧΩΡΗ/CΕΝ ΕΤΩΝ Μ/
ΘΑΡΡΟΥCΑ ΔΕ ΕΥ/ΧΟΥ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ / CΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ.

Φλαία ἡ ἀγί/α σύμβιος Σεουή/ρου ἐνθάδε κί/ται Χ(ριστό)ν ἀγαπῶσα / πρὸς αὐτόν δρα/μοῦσα ἐχώρη/σεν ἐτῶν μ'/ θαρροῦσα δέ εὐ/χου ὑπέρ τῶν / σῶν τέκνων.

In this inscription the word 'Holy', 'Ἀγία, is given to the wife of a man called Seouerus.

Greek Orthodox Museum Epigraphical Collection.

- 806 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Viri Galilaei, stone inscription, Byzantine period

+ ΘΗΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ + / ΠΑΤΡΟC ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕ/ΟΓΕΝΟΥC ΕΠΕΙCΚ
/+/

+ Θήκη τοῦ ἀγίου + / πατρός ἡμῶν Θε/ογένους ἐπείσκ(όπου) / +/

In this inscription the word 'Holy', "Ἄγιος is given to the bishop Theogenes.

It is suggested that he could have been the leader of a monastic society.

Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 574; Κλήμεντος Καρναᾶ, *Ἡ ἐπί τοῦ Ὁρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν σταυροπηγιακὴ μονή τῆς Ἀναλήψεως*, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1908, p. 98: From a visit to the site on July 19th, 1976, I accepted the above reading.

PART III

THE BIRTH, FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH ADMINISTRATION

CLERICAL INSTITUTIONS¹

The Office of Deacon

The First Church was founded in Jerusalem by the Apostles, and consisted of Hebrews² and Hellenizers³ who had been converted.

With the formation of the First Church, complaints were expressed by the Hellenizers against the Hebrews because the widows of the former were sometimes excluded from the daily distribution of food⁴.

To deal with this problem, the Apostles appointed seven men chosen by the people from among their ranks 'to serve the tables', 'διακονεῖν τραπέζαις', at their daily supper meetings. These seven 'deacons of the tables' were presented to the Apostles who prayed and laid their hands on them and thus, chronologically speaking, the first auxiliary office in the church administration was formed.

The office of the deacons will be dealt with in detail later on in this work.

The Office of Presbyter

Immediately after the formation of the office of deacons, came the office of presbyters.

The Apostles in their missionary journeys passed through many cities teaching the Gospel. Since they stayed only a short time in each place, they realized that after their departure, there was a need for somebody to guide the local community, so they ordained presbyters in every newly created Christian community⁵.

1 In discussing the church administration of the early days of Christianity, only the ordained permanent members will be dealt with, and not the charismatic ones, 'χαρισματοῦχοι', who acted as preachers of the Gospel, missionaries and occasionally as ministers.

2 Most of the more conservative Jews spoke Aramaic.

3 Jews who had adapted to Greek customs and generally spoke Greek.

4 Acts 6: 1-6.

5 Acts 14: 23 and 1 Clem. 54: 1-3. It states that the presbyters were ordained by the Church (the people – τό

Duties of the Presbyters

The duties of the presbyters were more important than those of the deacons. They assisted the Apostles when they were present, and administered and supervised the local community in their absence. In the First Apostolic Synod which took place in Jerusalem during the years A.D. 48-49, the presbyters stood by the side of the Apostles and took part in the Synod dealing with matters concerning the whole Church¹. The duties of the presbyters expanded from celebrating Mass to church administration, community finance and church supervision. Presbyters were indicated as presbyter superiors (προϊστάμενοι), ministers (λειτουργοί), supervisors of the whole community (ἐπίσκοποι πρεσβύτεροι), etc. All these names were terms technically describing the same office.

More about this fundamental office and its development will be given later.

The Office of Bishop

One presbyter taken from among the presbyterial body as described above, was assigned the leading position of supervising a new local Church. This role was not precisely defined, but the presbyter took the place of the absent or later, deceased Apostle as presbyter director and was assisted by the presbyterial body in the administration of the local Church. During these early days he was not called bishop, but according to the existing custom he was addressed by his own name, or his name would be linked with that of the citizens whose city he supervised, e.g., Ignatius of the Antiocheans, or simply with the name of the city itself, e.g., James of Jerusalem (Ἰάκωβος Ἱεροσολύμων). Thus, although in the early Church, the term bishop did not exist, there did exist an official who fulfilled the duties of a bishop. The use of the term 'presbyter' in its plural form in early sources does not mean that the early Christian communities were ruled in a collective way. In Jerusalem for example, James² led the local Church from the year A.D. 42 to 61-62. After him, Simeon was appointed leader of the Church of Jerusalem, A.D. 62-104³. Both were assisted by presbyters⁴. The same administrative system was followed in Antioch where Ignatius succeeded Evodius from A.D. 68⁵ to 110. Thus the administrative rule and office of

πλήθος), and were assigned to their office by the Apostles and later by their successors, the great learned men (ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν).

1. Acts 15: 2, 4, 6, 23.

2. Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* III. 8 and Ἀνδρέου Κρήτης Ἱεροσολυμίτου, Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰακώβου, in Α.Π. Κεραμέως, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, τόμος Α, p. 1 ff.,

3. Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* III 22:

4. Acts 15-25.

5. Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* III 22. Ignatius in one case called himself bishop of Syria (Πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἐπιγρ. κεφ. 3).

the bishop started in the first century A.D., although the technical term 'bishop' was not used for this high, independent office until much later.

More about the office of bishop and its development will be given later.

The Office of Deaconess

Another office in the Early Church is recorded in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans 16: 1-2. This was a woman's office which came into existence mainly to serve the women members of each community and was known as the office of the deaconess. This office may have existed in the Church of Jerusalem in the early days, but there is no evidence to support it.

Summary

The organization of church administration during the first two centuries A.D. in Jerusalem was as follows:

Apostles, deacons, presbyters (before A.D. 42)

James (bishop presbyter), presbyters, deacons (until A.D. 62)

Simeon (bishop presbyter), presbyters, deacons (until A.D. 104)

In general church administration took the following form:

Bishop or bishop presbyter, presbyters, deacons, deaconesses.

During the following two centuries, significant development took place in the evolution of church administration. Christianity spread almost everywhere within the Roman Empire and the communities increased in size. Simultaneously several problems arose requiring the attention of the Church. These included such matters as worship, dogma, discipline and administration concerning the local community as well as the whole Church.

The meeting with such problems proved the indispensability of an episcopal leadership to deal with them. When a particular case overstepped the jurisdiction of a single, local bishop, a provincial council of several bishops was called. The bishop of the capital city received special distinction, since he was bishop of the metropolis, a capital city where political administration was concentrated. Thus in the office of bishop, a new higher rank appeared, namely the rank of Metropolitan Bishop, Μητροπολίτης. He was also called 'the bishop of the first episcopal see of the province', ὁ τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ πρωτεύων. He was the president of the provincial council, and the supervisor of the bishops of his province. This office made its appearance during the third century A.D.

In the same way a higher rank among bishops, namely that of the Archbishop and Patriarch, developed during the fourth and fifth centuries. This title was given to the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. The five patriarchs were independent and they ruled and represented their Churches at the Oecumenical Councils.

The numerous demands of the growing Christian communities led the Church leadership to take the following steps:

- a) to increase the number of the officials in the already existing offices.
- b) to add new auxiliary offices to the already existing ones, with more specific duties.

As mentioned above, the importance of the bishop's office depended on the importance of his episcopal See. If he was the bishop of a country community, he was called Chorepiscopus, Χωρεπίσκοπος, if of a city, a City Bishop, Ἐπίσκοπος Πόλεως, if of a district capital, Metropolitan, Μητροπολίτης, and for the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch or Jerusalem, Patriarch, Πατριάρχης. The same applied to the presbyter's office where the following ranks are noted: Presbyters of country communities, city communities and some with more specific duties such as the Periodeutes, Περιοδευτής, Photistes, Φωτιστής, Oeconomus, Οἰκονόμος, Paramonarius, Παραμονάριος. The latter were also given to clergy of lower rank.

New ranks were also added to the deacon's office, e.g., Subdeacon, Ὑποδιάκων and Archdeacon, Ἀρχιδιάκων. A new office of lower rank was instituted, that of Anagnostes, Ἀναγνώστης. Of the above clerical offices, more details will be given later.

Summary

The new clerical order of church administration was as follows:

- a) *Office of the Bishop.* Patriarch, archbishop, city-bishop, country-bishop.
- b) *Office of the Presbyter.* Presbyter of the city-community, presbyter of the country-community, perideutes, photistes, oekonomus, paramonarius.
- c) *Office of the Deacon.* Archdeacon, deacon, deaconess, subdeacon.
- d) *Office of the Anagnostes.*

MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS

The monastic system of life in the Christian Church of Palestine

In addition to the already existing groups in the Christian Church during the fourth century, namely the lay and clerical state, a new group made its appearance in the form of the monastic state, monks. This way of life was known in Palestine in the second and third centuries, but it became more important and played a more significant role in the development of the Church from the fourth century onwards.

The monastic life placed emphasis on the importance of the soul¹, and the attainment of eternal life. To achieve this goal, perfection, devotion to God, contin-

¹ Matt. 16,26,27.

uous prayer and refraining from worldly concerns such as marriage, estates and community life, were necessary. The monastic system was adopted by individuals of both sexes who devoted their lives to a continuous struggle of the spirit over the flesh, mind over matter. Some of these individuals lived in the cities in solitude.

The monks of these early days were called 'Philosophers' and their dwellings 'schools of thought'. An early example of such a monk was Narcissus, the bishop of Jerusalem, at the end of the second century. He fled his episcopal see and spent many years in solitude in the wilderness, 'καί ἄλλως ἐκ μακροῦ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἀσπαζόμενος βίον διαδρᾶς πᾶν τό τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος, ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἀγροῖς λανθάνων πλείστοις ἔτεσιν διέτριβεν'¹.

Many others fled to the country-side as a result of the persecutions. Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* VIII) describing the persecution under Licinius wrote, 'φυγαὶ δὴ αὐθις ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν θεοσεβῶν ἐγίνοντο ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάλιν ἐρημίαι νάπαι τε καὶ ὄρη τοὺς Χριστοῦ θεράποντας ὑπεδέχοντο'.

Monasticism in the proper sense of the word made its way into Palestine from Egypt and Anatolia at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The Egyptian form was introduced by two Palestinian monks, Hilarion and Epiphanius, who learned the monastic life in Egypt². Hilarion settled near Gaza, and Epiphanius near Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin). Both places became very important monastic centres and retained their link with the Egyptian monastic system³. Under this system, the monks lived in huts or cells in solitude.

From Anatolia, the monastic life was brought to the Holy Land by Anatolian monks coming on pilgrimage. Among them was St. Chariton, A.D. 276, who is believed to have established monasticism in the Judaeian wilderness. He established monasteries at Ain-Fara, seven miles N.E. of Jerusalem; at Ain-Douk⁴, north of Jericho; in Wadi Khureitun, south of Bethlehem and in the Tekoa region.

The Anatolian monastic system had its origin independent of that of Egypt, and its monks lived in individual caves but grouped together.

The three basic stages of monastic life

a) The anchorite stage

The anchorites, ἀναχωρηταί, were monks who lived in perfect solitude in the wilderness in small cells, huts or caves. To this group belonged also the so-called 'stylites', στυλίται, who had their abode on high, exposed rocks or columns. This was the most difficult and dangerous type of life a person could follow. The monks were

¹ Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* VI. 9, 6.

² Soz. *HE* VI. 32, 2-3 (Epiphanius was taken to be bishop of Salamis in Cyprus).

³ See D.J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, Oxford 1966, pp. 13-16.

⁴ Douka is mentioned in the *Lausiack History* of Palladius as the abode of a monk Elpidius. *HL* c. 48, and *V. Char.* 2, 21, 31, 5.

exposed to all kinds of difficulties; they overdid everything, prayer, fasting, watching, and as a result many of them got mentally sick, committed suicide and so failed to attain their original goal. Later on no monk was permitted to start his monastic life as an anchorite. He was first obliged to undergo a trial in a monastery (coenobium) and after that he could be permitted to become a hermit for one year to see whether he was capable of such deprivation of companionship. If he thus showed himself able for the life of an anchorite, then the superior of the monastery could grant his final consent¹.

b) The Laura, Λαύρα, and the Lauriotic stage

Lauriotes were a number of monks each of whom had his own cell, hut or cave, while being grouped together into a so-called Laura, a cluster of solitary cells round a common centre, including a church and a bakehouse, where the monks would assemble on Saturdays and Sundays to worship and eat together. They would also transact any necessary business, taking back with them to their cells, work for the coming week. The Lauriotic stage made its appearance in Palestine during the fourth century A.D. The first Laura was established by St. Chariton in Ain-Fara in A.D. 323-330. In the early days, the Lauriotic system suffered from slack supervision of the monks by their superior. The term 'Laura' in later periods was reserved only for some distinguished monasteries.

c) The Coenobitic stage, Κοινόβιον

Coenobites were those monks who in everything led a common life. The Laura's attempt in combining detached hermitages with a sort of community life, failed since there was no control over the individual isolated cells of the monks, who lived there independently, free to frame for themselves whatever rule of life seemed best adapted for the accomplishment of their objectives or goals. They sought advice from the abbot of the Laura or the other monks during their weekly meetings, but they were somehow free to follow or reject it. Thus the Lauriotic stage in early monasticism can be considered as a stepping stone towards the Coenobitic stage, which was a monastic community under one roof; one superior, fixed rules, and full control over the irregularities of the previous two stages. The monks took their meals together, had the same uniform dress and all of them worked. This form of monastic life proved to be the safest and the most disciplined way of achieving their goal.

The first Coenobium was formed by St. Pachomius in Egypt during the fourth century A.D. Pachomius, a former soldier and admirer of military discipline, founded the first Coenobium having in mind the army camp and discipline. This kind of monastic camp had an enclosing wall, a gate house, a guest house, an assembly hall, a refectory with kitchen and bakehouse, a hospital and a number of houses with cells for the monks. The monks devoted their time to prayer and work under the super-

¹ Conc. Trullo, A.D. 692, can. 41.

vision of St. Pachomius. For the Service of the Holy Eucharist, a presbyter from the neighbouring Christian community was called in, for St. Pachomius, not wishing to give a distinguishing rank to any of the monks¹, did not want any of them to assume a higher command.

In Palestine the Coenobitic system was introduced during the fifth century and some Lauras were converted into Coenobia² while new Coenobia were founded. These early Coenobia served the Lauras by preparing and training the young monks in monasticism. The Coenobitic stage coexisted with the Lauriotic stage which did well at that time since the Lauriote monks had passed the preliminary test in the Coenobium enabling them to undertake the perils of the Laura life³. The most distinguished leader of the Coenobitic life in Palestine was St. Theodosius⁴ the Coenobiarch, founder and abbot of the greatest Coenobium in Palestine.

In monastic life in general, all the members possess equal rights, except for certain officials, e.g., the superiors and ordained monks called hieromonks, or monachos and presbyteros, ἱερομόναχος, if they were ordained to the presbyter's office, and hierodeacons, or monachos diaconos, ἱεροδιάκονος, if they were ordained to the deacon's office.

As already mentioned, since monasticism played a very important role in the Christian Church of Palestine, it was necessary to give this very brief outline, by way of helping in the understanding of monastic terminology met with so often in the Christian inscriptions in Palestine, terms such as: Monachos, Monazon, Abbas, Hegoumenos, Deuterarios, Archimandrites, Adelphos, Geron, Pater, Oeconomos, Engleistos, etc.

1 *V.P. G.* c. 27.

2 *V.E.* c. 39, 43-4 (concerning St. Euthymius Monastery converted to a Coenobium). New Coenobia: St. Gerasimus, St. Theoctistus, St. Sabas Coenobia, Theodorus of Ascalon who converted the few neglected cells of St. Peter's little Laura into a Coenobium (*V. Petr.* lb. 143. 18-144. 23) and the Nicopolis Coenobium founded by Ioannes, bishop of Colonia in A.D. 471.

(See Χρυσ. Παπαδοπούλου, *Ἱστορία Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων*, Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1910, and Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, Oxford 1966).

3 Cyril. *V.S.* c 29.

4 K. Κοικυλίδης in his book, *Ἡ κατά τὴν ἔρμηνον τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως Λαύρα Θεοδοσίου τοῦ κοινοβιάρχου*, Ἱερουσαλὴμ 1901, quoted Cyril of Scythopolis as saying, 'Sallustius, the patriarch of Jerusalem after the death of Markianus, the superior of the monastery of St. Passarion and supervisor of the rest of the Palestinian monasteries, appointed St. Theodosius to be the leader archimandrite of all the Coenobia being under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and St. Sabas and Eugenius (superior of the monastery of St. Gerasimus) to be the archimandrites and legislators of all the Lauras and anchorites in Palestine 'μέ τόν τίτλον τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου καί νομοθέτου πασῶν τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ λαυρῶν καί ἀναχωρητῶν.'

Schematically, the hierarchy in the monastic institutions was as follows:

Monastic Officials

Archimandrite

Hegumen

Pater emon, Our Father

Hegumene, mother superior

Deuterarius (second in command)

Oeconomus

Honorary Titles

(among desert and monastery monks regardless of status)

Abba or Abbas

Geron

Monks with clerical orders

A monk presbyter¹

a monk deacon²

Simple monks and nuns

brother, sister

solitary

monastery and cell dweller

recluse

¹ see Shivta, p. 199 of this work.

² see Auja Hafir, inscr. No 78, p. 231 of this work.

PART IV

CLERICAL AND MONASTIC ORDERS AND OFFICES IN THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD EXTANT IN PALESTINE

Clergy

Deacon, Diakonos

The term diakonos or diakon was used in the pre-Christian era as well as in the Christian period.

In the pre-Christian period, diakonos or diakon referred to a servant¹, a messenger² and an attendant or official in a temple or religious guild³.

In the Christian period the term was first used in apostolic times and was given to the seven men⁴ appointed by the Apostles 'to serve the table', take care of the poor and to administer the alms of the Christian congregation. The term was also used in the post-apostolic period when it assumed a distinctive ecclesiastical meaning and was given to the officials of the first of the three main orders of the Christian ministry. In this study, the term will be examined according to this last meaning with reference to the inscriptions found in Palestine.

To be admitted to the diaconate according to 1 *Tim.* 3: 8-13, the candidates had to be 'serious, not double-tongued, not addicted to much wine, not greedy for gain: they must hold the mystery of the Faith with a clear conscience. And let them also be tested first; then if they prove themselves blameless let them serve as deacons. Let the deacons be the husband of one wife, and let them manage their children and their households well; for those who serve well as deacons, gain a good standing for themselves and also great confidence in the Faith which is in Christ Jesus'. A minimum age was required for admission to the diaconate which was fixed at twenty-five. This age limit was set by the Third Council of Carthage, can. 4, and the Quinisext Council, can. 14.

¹ *Hdt.* 4. 71, P. Flor. 121.3 (iii AD.);

² A. Pr. 942. S. Ph 497.

³ *Inscr. Magn.* 109, 217, *IG* 9 (i) 486 (Acarnania, ii/i B.C.), 4. 774. 12. (Troezen iii. B.C.)

⁴ *Acts* 6: 1-6.

The deacon was ordained by the bishop, and appointed to serve a particular parish where he had to stay. He was not allowed to wander from parish to parish¹.

The Early Church considered the order of deacons as originating from the seven appointed by the Apostles and so did not ordain more than seven deacons for each community². As the communities increased in number and the duties of the deacons multiplied, the Church was obliged to augment the number of deacons according to the needs of a community and also created the office of the subdeacon in order to help the deacons³.

In many cases the order of deacons, especially in later periods, served as a preliminary step for promotion to higher orders in the hierarchy of the Christian Church, though many deacons appear to have grown old and died without being promoted. The order was formed to minister to the bishop, the presbyters and the sick⁴, and if a deacon proved to be capable he was promoted to the priesthood.

Duties of the deacons

The duties of the deacons were of a varied nature. During the different services in church, the deacons were entrusted with the discipline of the people. They stood at the mens' entrance, received the people and showed them to their allotted places, being particularly careful to welcome the aged, strangers and the poor, assigning them honourable places. They saw to it that no one lingered at the entrance, or whispered, slept or misbehaved in any way during the service⁵, and at the right time they gave the signal for the departure of the catechumens. Some of these duties were transferred to the subdeacons in later periods. In the sanctuary they prepared the altar placing the holy vessels on it and assisted the bishop and the presbyters in the service of the Holy Eucharist.

One of the deacon's duties was to read the Gospel, a privilege later given to the arch-deacon, and to present the offerings of the people to the altar⁶. After the service of the Holy Eucharist, the deacons took what remained of the Sacred Elements to the sacristy, recited the post-communion prayer, dismissed the people and returned the sacred vessels to the Diaconicon. During the baptismal service⁷ which was administered by the bishop and the priests, the deacons undertook all the necessary arrangements in preparing the men candidates and performed several duties during the service. They were not allowed to perform any service alone except in cases where they were entrusted to administer a district church in the absence of a presbyter and

1 Council of Chalcedon, can. 6, First Council of Nicaea can. 15 and Quinisext Council, can. 17.

2 Council of Neocaesarea can. 15.

3 Soz. *HE* VII 19., Just. *Novell.* passim.

4 See canons of Hippolytus V. 33ff.; Test. 1,38, cf. Council of Nic. can. 18.

5 *Constitut. Apost.* II. 57, VIII. 11; Chrysost. Hom. 24 in *Acta* 'If any misbehave call the deacon'.

6 *Constitut. Apost.* VIII. 12.

7 *Constitut. Apost.* III. c. 11. See *Constitut. Apost.* II. 57. 2 (a summary of the deacon's duties and privileges).

where, under the bishop's instructions, they would be permitted to perform extra duties – such as to baptize, an act which was allowed to any Christian under extraordinary circumstances.

Aside from church duties, the deacons visited the sick and the afflicted¹ and under the direction of the bishop, distributed all the alms. In times of persecution they ministered to the confessors in the prisons and buried the bodies of the Martyrs². Another of their duties was to encourage the weak-hearted.

They were sent on embassies from one Church to another³; at times represented their bishops in Council meetings⁴ and at the Council it was the deacon's duty to read the decrees by which the proceedings were regulated; keep the doors and call those whose presence was required before the Council⁵. They also served as stewards – Oeconomi – of Church property, of funds belonging to widows and orphans, while in other cases their office was combined with further particular positions in the administration of the Church, both among the community clergy as well as in the monasteries; e.g. as head of a monastery, ὁ εὐλαβέστατος... διάκονος... καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μάξιμος⁶. As oeconomos... καὶ διάκονος καὶ οἰκονόμος⁷. As eporcistes... διάκονός τε καὶ ἐπορκιστής⁸. As iatros, διάκονος καὶ ἱατρός⁹. As paramonarios, διακόνου καὶ παραμοναρίου¹⁰. As monachos, διακόνου καὶ μοναχοῦ¹¹, and as tekton, διακόνου καὶ τέκτονα¹². The examples 'diaconos and iatros' and 'diaconos and tekton' indicate that the office of the deacons which was a purely clerical one, was sometimes combined with a secular duty.

Before dealing with the inscriptions extant in Palestine where the term 'diaconos' appears, I should like to emphasize that the order of the deacons in the Church administration was very important. No service was performed without their participation.

They served as channels of communication between the bishop and the laity¹³, and they were called 'the bishop's ears, eyes, mouth and heart'¹⁴ because of the variety of their duties in serving the bishop and the community.

1 *Const. Ap.* III, 19.

2 Euseb. *HE* VII, 11.

3 Ignat. *Philadelp.* c. 10.

4 Quinisext Counc. c. 7.

5 *Codex Eccl. Africanae*, c. 100.

6 Cyr. *ep.* 69 (p. 15, 25; 5.197A).

7 *CIG* 8822.

8 Eus. *MP* 2.1 (p. 909, 7; M. 20 1465).

9 *PLond* 1044, 38.

10 *NS* 37 (1942), p. 111; *SEG VII* (1934), No. 872; *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 252-264, inscr. No. 13.

11 *RB* 17 (1920), p. 119ff., inscr. No 9; *GIPT* 1921, 41, inscr. No. 134.

12 *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 252-264.

13 *Constitut. Apost.* II, 28.

14 *Constitut. Apost.* II, 44, III, 19.

Diaconos or diacon

The term diaconos, Διάκονος, or diacon, Διάκων, in the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine appears either in complete or abbreviated form in the following inscriptions:

- 807 *Ader*, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ACMA[]Θ/ ΔΙΑΚ ΖΗCANTS/...
 ...'Ασμά[θ]ου / διακ(όνου) ζήσαντι(ος)...
 Bibl. R. Canova, *Inscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 208.
- 808 *Ain-Aroueh*, Hebron area or *Beersheba*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ABPAMIOY TOY / ΔΙΑΚ
 ...'Αβραμίου τοῦ / διακ(όνου)
 Bibl. *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. VI, pp. 185-186.
- 809 *Ain el-Jedide*, 1.5 km S.W. of Ain Karim, mosaic inscription, Late VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΤΩΝ ΠΡΕC... / [ΔΙΑΚ]ΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΩΝ...,
 ...τῶν πρεC... / [διακ]όνου καὶ ὦν...
 The first four letters of the term are missing.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 232.
- 810 *Amman*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, A.D. 653/654
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟCΕΒ ΚΑΙ ΟCΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥ ΕΠΙCΚ ΕΨΗ-
 ΦΩΘΗ / ΤΟ ΨΗΦΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΙΑ CΠΟΥΔΗC/ CΙΛΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...
 'Επὶ τοῦ θεοCεβ(εCτάτου) καὶ ὀCιωτάτου / ΘεοδοCίου ἐπιCκ(όπου) ἐψηφώθη
 / τό ψηφιν τοῦτο διὰ CπουδῆC / Cιλανοῦ διακ(όνου)...
 Bibl. A. Alt, 'Inchriftliches zu den Ären von Skythopolis und Philadelphia,' *ZDPV* 55 (1932), p. 133, No. 2.
- 811 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, tomb stone inscription, June 20th, A.D. 570
 ...ΔΙΑΚ ΜΟΝΑΧΩC... ...διάκ(ονος) μοναχῶC...
 A deacon of a monastery, or a deacon who left his community and became a monk.
 Bibl. H. Vincent, *RB* 17 (1920), p. 119f, No. 9; A. Alt, *GIPT* 1921, p. 41, No. 134.
- 812 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 37, chalk voussoir, December 1st, A.D. 475
 ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙC / Ο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΝ ΤΟΥ/ΤΟ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΤΟΠΩ /...
 ΠαλλάδιC / ὁ διάκονοC ἐν τοῦ/το τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ /...
 In this inscription, on the eastern arch, room 14, the term is given to the deacon Palladis who was buried in that holy place.

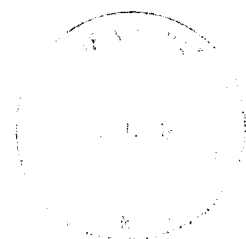
- 813 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 78, limestone block, June 20th, A.D. 570
 [+ETE]Λ(EYTHCEN) Ο ΜΑ/[ΚΑΡΙ]ΩC ΔΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟC) [Κ(ΑΙ) Μ]ΟΝ-
 ΑΧΩC/ [ΕΝ ΜΗΝ]Ι ΠΑΝΕ[ΜΟΥ] ΠΡΟΤΗ ΤΟΥ [ΕΤΟ]ΥC ΥΞΕ [ΙΝ]Δ
 (ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) Γ' +
 [+ έτε]λ(εύτησεν) ό μα/[κάρι]ως διάκ(ονος) [κ(αί) μ]οναχώς/ [έν μην]ί Πανέ-
 [μου] πρότη τοῦ [έτο]υς υξε' [ιν]δ (ικτιώνος) γ' +
- 814 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscription No. 94, mosaic inscription, Sep-
 tember 7th, A.D. 601
 .ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚS ΑΥΤΗC ΥΙΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΕΥΟΝΤ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙS ΕΜ-
 ΜΙC...
 .Ιωάννου διακ(όνου) αὐτῆς υἱοῦ πρωτεύοντι(ος) μητροπ(όλεως) Ἐμμίς(ης)...
 The term is given to the deacon Ioannes, who was first among the deacons of
 the metropolitan city of Emesa-Homs in Coele Syria, or the first archon of
 the above mentioned city, indicating a combined religious and secular office.
 (see footnotes 7 and 10, p. 198).
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 312.
- 815 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri
 Papyrus 47. 7, before A.D. 605
 ... +Στεφάνῳ Βικτωρίῳ / διακ(όνῳ)
- 816 Papyrus 57. 2, 27, September 1-17th, A.D. 689
 2 ... καί Σέρ[γ]ιος Παλλαδίου διάκο(νος) καί Ἰωάννης/
 27 ... Σέργις Π[α]λλαδίου ἐλέει Θεοῦ διάκον(ος)...
 Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Ajja Hafir)*, Vol. 3.
 Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press. 1958.
- 817 *Beersheba* or Ain Dirue, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΚΑΤΑΘΕCIC ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟΥ)...
 + κατάθεσις τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀβραμίου τοῦ διακ(όνου)...
 Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orient.* VI, Paris 1905, pp. 186-
 187.
- 818 *Beersheba*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC...
 ...διάκονος...
 Bibl. F.C. Burkitt, 'Notes on the Greek inscriptions from Beersheba,' *PEF
 QSt* 1920, p. 22, No. 7.
- 819 *Beit Surik*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΨΑΝΟΥ Δ/ΙΑΚΟ[ΝΟΥ]
 ...ψανου δ/ιακό[νου]..
 The inscription is damaged but indicates that the term was given in com-
 plete form.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 239.

- 820 *Bethlehem*, the Byzantine chapel excavated in 1962, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D. Although the inscription is damaged, the term is very clear.
...Δ[ΙΑ]ΚΟ THC... ...δ[ια]κό[νου] τῆς...
Bibl. S.J. Saller, *LA* 22 (1972), pp. 153-168.
- 821 *Bethlehem*, Christian necropolis (cemetery), inscription painted on stone above the entrance to the first chamber, VIth Century A.D.
...ΤΟΥ ΔΙ/ΑΚΟΝΟΥ / ΚΟCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ
...τοῦ δι/ακόνου / Κοσταντίνου.
It refers to a deacon called Constantinus.
Bibl. P.M. Sejourné, *RB* 4 (1895), p. 442, No. 3; B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine*, p. 337, fig. 202.
- 822 *Caesarea maritima*, wall inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΘΗΚΗ ΑΒΑ ΘΕΟΤΕΚΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ +
+ Θήκη ἀβᾶ Θεοτέκνου διακόνου παραμοναρίου +
The term is given to a deacon called Theotecnus who also held the office of paramonarius.
Bibl. *ΝΣ* 37 (1942), p. 111.
- 823 *Caesarea maritima*, sarcophagus inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΘΗΚΗ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ + / ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ +
+ Θήκη Προκοπίου + / διακόνου +
Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi di Samaria*, Gerusalemme 1979, p. 192, pl. 63.
- Deir el Qilt*, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period
- 824 No. 7
+ Ἰωάννης / διάκων Ἀρμένις /...
- 825 No. 27
✠ Ἐνθάδε κεῖται / ὁ μακάριος Μάρκος (ὁ διάκονος ἐν Χ(ριστῷ)) /...
- 826 No. 47
+ Ἐκοιμ(ήθη) ὁ μακάριος Στέφανος διάκο(νος).
- 827 No. 65
+ Σέρ[γιος] / δι[άκονος]?
- 828 No. 78
+ Βασίλις διάκο(νος)...
- 829 No. 85
+ Μαίανδρος διάκ(ονος) / Θεσσαλονικεὺς +
- 830 No. 89
διάκονος / ✠ Παῦλος / τήκτων/
- 831 No. 90
+ Κυρι/ακός διάκων / Κήληξ

- 832 No. 91
+ Λεόντις / διάκονος /...
- 833 No. 95
+ ἐκοιμήθι / ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ Γεώργις / διάκ(ονος) Κύπριος /..
- 834 No. 110
...δρ... / ισκ...Ζ / δ]ηάκ[ονος]...
- 835 No. 112
+ Ἀντίοχος δι(ά)κονος)
- 836 No. 130
+ ἐκυμήθη / ὁ μακάριος Θεό[δω]/ρος ὁ διάκο[νος] /..
- 837 No. 137
+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ (μακάριος) / Ἑρμογένης δι/άκ(ονος)
- 838 No. 138
+ Κυριακός / διάκων κ[ε]λλ[ι]ώτης /
- 839 No. 146
+ ὁ μακάριος Μάρκελος / Μεσοποταμ(ίτης) διάκ(ονος) /
- 840 No. 147
+ Ἰωάννης / (διάκων Κίλιξ) /
- 841 No. 151
Ζώσιμος διάκ(ονος) /...
- 842 No. 157
+ Ἰωάννης / διάκ(ονος) Ἐλα/δικός ἐκοι/μήθι
- 843 No. 169
+ Ἡλία διάκ(ονος) /...
Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, pp. 297-332, Taf. S-V-VIII.
- 844 *El Kerak*, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period
...ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ / CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚS ZHCAC / + ETS ΝΘ +
...Ἰωάννην / Στεφάνου / διάκ(ονον) ζήσας / + ἔτ(η) νθ' +
Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*,
Roma 1954, inscr. No. 107.
- 845 *El-Yadude*, Transjordan, between Madaba and Amman, mosaic inscription, A.D. 503
...ΔΙΑ CΠΟΥΔHC / CΙΛΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...
...διά σπουδῆς / Σιλανοῦ διακ(όνου)...
The term is given to the deacon Silanus.
Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 934.
- 846 *Es-Shuneh el-Janubiyeh*, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
Inscription No. II.
...ΑΚΟΝΟΥ /...
...(δι)ακόνου /...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Es-Shuneh el-Janubiyeh: Archaeological survey in the Holy Land,' *Illustrated Quarterly of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land* 1(Spring 1981).

- 847 Evron, 2.5 km N. of Shavei Sion, mosaic inscriptions, Vth Century A.D.
Inscription No. 2
...ΑΛΕΞΩΝΙΤΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ... ...Ἀλεξωνίτου / διακόνου...
...ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞ ΔΙΑΚΣ ...καί Ἀλεξ(ωνίτου) διακ(όνου)...
The term is given twice to the deacon Alexonitus, complete and abbreviated.
- 848 Inscription No. 4
ΕΠΙ ΣΙΛΒΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕ/ΞΩΝ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΙ ΗΓΟΡΑΣ... ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ-
ΝΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ...
ἐπὶ Σιλβανοῦ καί Ἀλε/ξων(ίτου) διάκονοι ἡγόρασ... ἐπὶ Δομνίνου διακόνου...
The term is given twice, once in the plural, once in the singular and under different names indicating that in that church there was more than one deacon, or that the church was built over a period of several years, or that several deacons helped the building of the church.
- 849 Inscription No. 5
...ΚΑΙ ΕΙΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ... ...ΕΠΙ ΑΙΩΝΟC ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ...
...καί Εἴτων διακόνου... ...ἐπὶ Αἰώνος διακόνου καί ἐπὶ...
- 850 Inscriptions No. 6 and 7
6 ... ΔΙΑΚΚ. ...διάκκ(ονοι)
7 ... ΔΙΑ]ΚΟΝΟC... ...διά]κονος...
These inscriptions are damaged. Of No. 7 only the last five letters are preserved.
The Evron inscriptions are unpublished.
Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 851 Gaza, inscription No. 7, limestone slab, now in the Louvre, No. 3266, Byzantine period
...ΕΠΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΕΠΛΑ/ΚΩΘΗ ΤΑ ΩΔΕ/...
...ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου/ διακόνου ἐπλα/κώθη τὰ ὦδε/...
- 852 Gaza, inscription No. 9, marble inscription, house of Jiries Naamat, A.D. 540/1
...ΑΒΡΑΜΙ/ΟC ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟC)...
...Ἀβράμιν/ος Πατρι/κίου διάκ(ονος)...
Bibl. C. Clermont – Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 405 ff.
- 853 Gerasa, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, Procopius Church, VIth Century A.D.
...ΚΑ[Ι] CΑΩΛΑ ΕΥΛ[ΑΒΕC]Τ(ΑΤΟΥ) ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝ-
(ΑΡΙΟΥ)...



...κα[ί] Σαώλα εὐλ[αβες]τ(άτου) διακόνου καί παραμον(αρίου)...

This deacon was also the paramonarius of this Church administration.

Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 872.

- 854 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...CΠΟΥΔΗ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...

...σπουδῇ Ἰωάννου διακ(όνου)

Bibl. J. I. Lawlor, *RB* 86(1979), pp. 116-117; *SEG* XXIX (1979), inscr. No. 1610.

- 855 *Jericho*, Deir il Akbat, Beit Zaka al-Ashar, al-Riha Sabiha, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΚΑΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝ/ΤΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...

...καί Κωσταν/τίνου διακ(όνου)...

The term is given to a deacon named Constantinus.

- 856 *Jericho*, Anthimus Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΘΗΚΗ ΔΑΝΙΗΛ / ΜΑΚΑΡ(ΙΟΥ) (ΚΑΙ) ΙΩΑΝ/ΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝ[ΩΝ]

θήκη Δανιήλ / Μακαρίου (καί) Ἰωάν/νου διακόν[ων]

The term, given in the genitive plural suggests that the church was built by the three deacons mentioned.

Bibl. P. Augustino Augustinovic, *Gerico e Dintorni*, 1951, pp. 66-77, fig. 22, Guide Book.

- 857 *Jerusalem*, Bir el Kniset, stone inscription, Byzantine period

.../ΚΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ/ ΑΥΤΩ ΝΟ(С)/ΟΚΟΜΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟΥ) [Φ]ΙΛΗΤΟΥ.

.../κέ τοῦ ἐν / αὐτῷ νο(σ)/οκομίου / διακ(όνου) [Φ]ιλητοῦ.

Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. 1, p. 320.

- 858 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ.

..Θεοδοσίου διακ(όνου)

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), inscr. No. 177.

- 859 *Jerusalem*, Gethsemani, St. Stephen's chapel, stone inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΑΝΑCΤC ΔΙΑΚC... ...Ἀναστ(ασίου) διακ(όνου)...

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), inscr. No. 188.

- 860 *Jerusalem*, Basilica in agro Dominicano, tomb inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΝΟΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ ...ΤΗC ΑΓ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΑC

...Νόνου διακ(όνου) ...τῆς Ἀγ(ίας) τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) Ἀ(ναστάσεως).

In the inscription the term refers to the deacon Nonus of the Church of the Anastasis who was at the same time deacon of this monastery.

- 861 *Jerusalem*, Saint Etienne, tomb inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟ ΠΙΝΔΙΡΗ.
 ...Εὐθυμίου διακό(νου) πινδῖρη.
 The term is given to the deacon Euthymius Pindiris.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), Nos. 177, 188, 191 the first three inscriptions; H. Vincent, *RB* 34 (1925), pp. 405-406, fig. 2 the fourth inscription.
- 862 *Jerusalem*, Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + Η ΚΑΤΑΘΕCIC / ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ / ΑΒΡΑΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚS...
 + Ἡ κατάθεσις / τοῦ μακαρίου / Ἀβρααμίου τοῦ / διακ(όνου)...
 The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum.
- 863 *Jerusalem*, Museum of Sainte-Anne-Pères Blancs, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙΑΦ/ΕΡΟΥCΑ ΑΜΟC / ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΤΙC Π/ΡΟΒΑΤΙΚΗC...
 + Θήκη διαφ/έρουσα Ἀμός / διακόνου τίς π/ροβατικῆς..
 Sainte-Anne Museum.
- 864 *Kafr Kama*, 5 km N.E. of Mount Tabor, mosaic inscription No. 2, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
 + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΔΕΞΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑ/Κ.
 + Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ δέξε τήν προσφοράν Ἀριανοῦ δια/κ(όνου).
 The deacon's name is Arianus.
 Bibl. A. Saarisalo-H. Palva, *Studia Orientalia*, Ed. Societas Orientalis Fennica XXX: 1, inscr. No. 1.
- 865 *Kafr Kama*, mosaic inscription No. 1, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚS
 ...Θεοδώρου / διακ(όνου)...
 Bibl. *idem*.
- 866 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sih), mosaic inscriptions, Byzantine period
 No. 5 ΒΑΡΑ/ΧΕΟC ΔΙΑ/ΚΩΝ ΓΡΑΜ/ΜΑΤΟC ΤΟ / ΗΜΥCΥ
 Βαρα/χέος διά/κων γράμ/ματος τό / ἡμυσυ
 No. 6 ΑΠΠΑ/C ΔΙΑΚ/ΩΝ ΓΡΑ/ΜΜΑ
 * Ἀππᾶ/ς διάκ/ων γράμ/μα
 No. 10 .../ΚΟΝΟ[C] / ΓΡΑΜ/ΜΑ
 [Διά]/κονο[ς] / γράμ/μα
 Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 867 *Khirbet el Mird*, inscription on a bronze cross (movable object), Byzantine period
 ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤΗΡΗC ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΗΛΙΜ/ΨΕΟC ΖΑΧΑΡΗΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΟΥ
 / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ (ΚΑΙ) CΙCΙΝΙΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΩΝΟΥ
 ὑπέρ σωτηρήας καί ἀντηλίμ/ψεος Ζαχαρήου τοῦ ὁσίου / ἡγουμένου (καί) Σισινίου / τοῦ διακῶνου.

- Bibl. 'Α. Κωνσταντινίδου, *Ἡ παρά τήν Νεκράν Θάλασσαν Μονή τῶν Καστελλίων*, Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1931.
- 868 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576
 ...ΚΑΙ ΤΣ / ΘΕΩΦΙΑΣ ΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ / ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝ-
 ΑΧΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΩΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΗΓΟ/ΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ
 ΕΓΕΝΗΤΩ...
 ...καί τ(οῦ) / θεωφιλ(ε)στάτου Θεοδώρου ἐλέει Θε(ο)ῦ / διακ(όνου) μοναχ(οῦ)
 παραμωναρίου κ(αί) ἡγο/υμένου τοῦ ἀγίου Ἡλιοῦ ἐγένητω...
 Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in
 Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12 (1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG XXX* (1980), inscr. No.
 1688.
- 869 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
 ...ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΑΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΕΛΕΣ
 ΘΥ ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΧΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΣ/...
 ...ἐγένετο ἐπί τοῦ / αὐτοῦ θεοφιλ(ε)στάτου ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου / ἐλέ(ει) Θε(ο)ῦ
 διακό(νου) μοναχ(οῦ) καί ἡγουμ(ένου)/...
 Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in
 Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12 (1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG XXX* (1980), inscr. No.
 1689.
- 870 *Kuryet Saideh*, Ain Karim vicinity, dedicatory inscription on an epistylum,
 Byzantine period
 ...ΜΑΡΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟ... ..Μαρίνου διακό(νου)...
 The deacon's name is Marinus.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 231.
- 871 *Madaba*, Transjordan, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century
 A.D.
 ...CΠΟΥΔΙΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ
 ...σπουδί Ἀναστασίου διακόνου.
 The deacon is called Anastasius.
 Bibl. U. Lux, *RB* 76 (1969), pp. 398-402; U. Lux, *ZDPV* 83 (1967), pp.
 165-182; M. Noth, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 106-129, 130-142.
- 872 *Mahaiy*, tomb stone inscription, A.D. 632
 + ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ / ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ...ΔΙΑΚ ΖΗΧΣ / ΕΤΙ Ξ'...
 + Ἐνθάδε κίτε / Εὐβουλος...διάκ(ονος) ζήσ(ας) / ἔτι ξ'...
 Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*,
 Roma 1954, inscr. No. 387.
- 873 *Masouh*, mosaic inscription No. 4, Byzantine period
 ...ΔΙΑΚ.../ ΛΟΧΡΙΚΤΩ...
 ...διακ[όνω] / [φι]λοχρίστω...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa di Massuh e il territorio della diocesi di Esbous',
LA 33 (1983), pp. 335-346.

- 874 *Moza, Qalonia, Qalunia*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ΥΠΕΡ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ Α/ΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣ ΚΥΡΙΚΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟ-
 ΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΙΣ.
 ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀ/ναπαύσεως Κυρίκου / τοῦ διακόνου καὶ Μαρί(νου).
 The deacon is called Cirycus.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 875 *Nazareth*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΚΩΝΩΝΟC ΔΙΑΚΟ ΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΩΝ.
 ...Κώνωνος διακό(νου) Ἱεροσολύμων.
 The deacon is called Conon who, according to the inscription, was deacon of
 the Church of Jerusalem.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 14.

The name Conon, Κόνων, given in the above inscription was the name of a Palestinian Martyr widely respected and venerated in the Palestinian Church (see Ἀρχιμ. Ἱππολύτου, *ΝΣ* 18 (1923), p. 54). Conon was from Nazareth of Galilee and was put to death under Decius in A.D. 251 in Pamphylia. His memory was celebrated in Palestine on the 5th and 30th of June (see Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον, p. 80 of this work) and on March 5th according to the Byzantine Calendar. A detailed description of his martyrdom was given in a manuscript, Codex No. 6, pp. 367-368, IX-Xth Century in the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem (see Α. Π. Κεραμέως, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1, p. 29). According to the manuscript the sovereign asks the Martyr where he comes from, what is his nationality; what is his name. The Martyr replies, I come from the city of Nazareth and I am related to Christ whom I venerate the way my ancestors did and whom they knew as God of all, 'ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν λέγει τῷ μάρτυρι· εἰπέ μοι ἄνθρωπε πόθεν εἶ ἢ ποίου γένους τυγχάνεις ἢ τί τό ὄνομά σου· Κόνων εἶπε· πόλεως μὲν εἰμί Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, συγγένεια δέ μοί ἐστί πρὸς Χριστόν, ᾧ ἐκ προγόνων λατρεύω, ὃν ἔγνω καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν.'

The name Κόνων, appears in two other inscriptions:

- I. *El Kursi*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ... ΚΟΝΩΝΟC ...Κώνωνος
 Bibl. V. Tzaferis, 'The Excavations of Kursi Gergesa', *ΑΤΙΘΟΤ* 14 (1983)
 p. 28.
 - II. *Kafr Kama*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΦΛ. ΚΟΝΩΝΟC C ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
 προσφορά Φλ(αουῖου) Κώνωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου.
 Bibl. A Saarisalo and H. Palva, *Studia Orientalia*, Edidit Societas Orientalis
 Fennica XXI. 1, Inscr. No. 1.
- 876 *Oboda*, inscription on a large pithos found *in situ*, Byzantine period
 ...ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩ ΔΙΑΚΟΝ... ...Γερμανῶ διακόν(ω)...

The deacon's name is Germanus.

Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 44-45, inscr. No. 46.

- 877 *Petra*, Transjordan, marble inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΕΜΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ...
 ...Χριστοῦ διάκονος μεγάλου τέμεως Ἱεροσολύμων...
 The term refers to a deacon who served in the large Church of Jerusalem (Church of the Holy Sepulchre).
 Dept. of Antiq. carts No. 43. 15.
- 878 *Rihab*, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...Κ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΑΝΑ/ΗΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΣ ΔΙΑΚ...
 ...κ(αί) Ἰωάννην Ἀνα/ήλου τοῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου) διακό(νου)...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 86-87.
- 879 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalil el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, February A.D. 604
 ...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ ΕΚ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡS ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΦS ΔΙΑΚΟΣ
 ...ἐψηφώθη ἐκ προσφορ(ᾶς) Ἰωάννου θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) διακό(νου)...
 The deacon is named Ioannes and is also given the title 'the most beloved of God', θεοφιλέστατος.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 69, inscr. No. 2.
- 880 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, inscription on a board attached to a ceiling beam No. 1, A.D. 548-565
 ...CΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ ΜΑΡ/ΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙ[Α]ΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΑ ΑἴΛΗCΙΟΝ...
 ...Στέφανον Μαρ/τυρίου δι[ά]κο(νον) καί τέκτονα Ἀϊλήσιον...
 The term refers to the deacon Stephanus, son of Martyrius who was also a professional tekton, a good carpenter or builder, from Aila. Again there is question of a clerical office combined with a secular profession.
- 881 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, below S.E. corner of the Mosque, granite inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ / ...]ΜΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ / [ΚΑΙ Π]ΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡ-ΙΟΥ/...
 ...τοῦ δούλου σου / ...]μίου διακόνου / [καί π]αραμοναρίου/...
 The deacon in this inscription in addition to his clerical office also exercised the administrative office of the paramonarius.
 Bibl. I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264, inscription Nos. 1, 13.
- 882 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 No. 2. + ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC ΔΙΑΚ
 + Ἀναστάσι(ο)ς διάκ(ονος)
 Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

- 883 *Umm el-Maqati* (djebel Ajlun), mosaic inscription, A.D. 482
 ΧΜΓ / ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/CEBS ΑΙΩΝΟC ΠΡΕCΣ / ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΑΧΩΝΟC
 ΚΑΙ / ΜΑΓΝΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒCΒ / ΔΙΑΚΚΚ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΕΔΟ/ΝΙΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΝΟ-
 ΜΟΥ ΕΓΕ/ΝΕΤΟ Η ΨΙΦΩCΕΙC /...
 ΧΜΓ / 'Επί τοῦ θεο/σεβ(εστάτου) Αἰῶνος πρεσ(βυτέρου) / καί Βαράχωνος
 καί / Μάγνου εὐλαβ(εστάτων) / διακό(νων) καί Μακεδο/νίου οἰκονόμου
 ἐγέ/νετο ἡ ψίφωσεις /...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusa-
 lem 1981, pp. 23-25; 'Jordanie: L' Apogée Byzantine' *Le monde de la Bible*
 (Sept. Oct. 1984), pp. 2, 3, 52.
- 884 *Wadi Haggag*, Sinai, rock inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΚΑCΤΡΟΥ ΖΑΔΑΚΑΘΑ + + / ΚΕ CΟCΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ CΟΥ CΕΡ-
 ΓΙΟΥ CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟC ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟC /
 CΕΡΓΙΝΗC.
 + ΚάCτρου Ζαδάκαθα + + / Κ(ύρι)ε CόCον τόν δοῦλον Cου Cεργίου Cτεφά-
 νου / καί ΚυριακόC διακόνου / καί ΘεόδωροC / CεργίνηC.
 Bibl. A. Negev, 'The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai,' *QEDem* 6(1977),
 inscr. No. 104. III/236.

Deaconess, Diakonissa, Diakonos

Deaconess was a title given to a woman official in the Early Christian Church, analogous to that of deacon for the male official. The feminine order in the Early Christian Church became indispensable because of the strict seclusion imposed on women by the Mediterranean society of that period. The term was first used by the Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans¹.

A deaconess was chosen from among the elderly women members of the Christian community. The age of admission to this office ranged from forty² to sixty³ until the reign of Justinian, who by law, fixed the minimum age of admission to forty⁴. In later periods it was left to the judgement of the local bishop. She had to be, according to 1 *Tim* 3: 11 'serious, no slanderer, but temperate and faithful in all things', and according to Epiphanius, she had to be one of the virgins or a widow of one husband, or of those who lived in continence with one husband⁵. After her ordination she had to live in celibacy⁶.

1 *Rom.* 16: 1.

2 Council of Chalcedon, canon 15; Council of Trullo, canons 14, 40.

3 Tertullian (*De vel. Virg.* c. 9) and Soz. *HE* VII, 16.

4 Justin, *Novella* 123, c 13

5 Epiphanius, *Expositio Fidei*, n. 21.

6 Council of Chalcedon, can. 15, and Justin, *Novella* VI, 6.

The office of the deaconess belonged to the clerical order of Church offices and had only auxiliary duties with no sacerdotal function of any kind. Epiphanius makes it very clear and refers to them as an order of elderly women in the Church, but not as priestesses in any sense of the word, that their mission was simply to perform certain offices in the care of women without interfering in any way with the functions allotted to the priests¹.

The duties of the deaconess may be divided into two categories:

- a) duties performed inside the church, and
- b) duties performed outside the church.

Duties inside the church were: door keeper² to the gynaekonites (quarters reserved for women in the houses and in church). They received the women coming into the church and showed them to their places, ensuring that silence and absolute order was observed during the services³. During a baptismal ceremony⁴, she undertook all the necessary arrangements for a proper and orderly service. She taught the women candidates how to answer the questions of the baptismal ritual; helped them in the unclothing and dressing; performed the anointing rite and advised them how to live their life after baptism as Christians. Her presence and assistance was indispensable, for adult baptism prevailed during the first four centuries of Christianity.

Duties outside the church consisted in serving the community as a social worker. The deaconess visited the women members of the Christian community in their homes to advise them⁵ and brought them Holy Communion when they were unable to go to church. In times of persecution, she visited the women of her community who had been put in prison⁶, attending to their needs and in case of death she participated in the funeral and burial rites.

The deaconess was ordained by the bishop⁷ and served as a link between him and the women members of the Christian community⁸.

In the Church of Constantinople and by order of Justinian, *Novella* III, the number of persons in the various clerical offices was limited. That of deaconesses was fixed at forty, 'ἡ τρίτη διάταξις τῶν νεαρῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἰουστινιανοῦ τηνικαύτην τοῦ κλήρου ποσότητα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτάττει ἡ ὁποία καὶ τόση εἶναι ὀφείλει. Διὸ φησί θεσπίζομεν μὴ περαιτέρω μὲν ἐξήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων κατὰ τὴν ἀγιωτάτην ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι, διακόνους δὲ ἄρρενας ἑκατόν, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ θη-

1 Epiphanius *Haer.* 79, canon 3: ὅτι μὲν διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεῦειν.

2 *Apostolic Constitutions* II, c. 57, 58, (Pseudo-Ignatius ad Antioch).

3 *Ibid.* c. 12, where he speaks of the deaconesses who kept the doors of the church.

4 *Ibid.* II, c. 26.

5 *Apostolic Constit.* III, 19.

6 Cotel. *Annot. in Constit. Apost.* III, 15, quoting from Lucian and Libanius.

7 Soz. *HE* VIII 9, Councils of Trullo cc. 14, 40, and Chalce. c. 15.

8 *Apost. Constitutions* II, c. 26.

λείας, καὶ ὑποδιακόνους ἑννεήκοντα, ἀναγνώστας δὲ ἑκατὸν δέκα, καὶ ψάλτας εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς τούτοις τῶν καλουμένων πλωρῶν'.

This very relevant office reserved for the most qualified and mature women of the Early Church, was gradually discontinued as a result of the dominance of men in all Church matters, and because of the prevalence of infant baptism.

Kleopas Koikylides in his book, *Τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λαύραν καὶ τὸν Χείμαρρον τοῦ Χουζιβᾶ*, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1901, page 79, note 4, wrote that deaconesses existed in the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem up to the period of the Crusades, 'Διακόνισσαι ἐν τῇ Ὁρθόδοξῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπῆρχον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν Σταυροφόρων, ὡς ἐξάγεται ἐκ τοῦ 'ἰδιαίτερου Τυπικοῦ τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἀναστάσεως' (see Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, Α.Π. Κεραμέως, vol. 2, p. 199).

The title of deaconess was also given to the wife of a deacon, as well as to the mother superior of a convent according to *'Itinerarium Aetherae'*.

In the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine, the term deaconess appears in the following places:

- 885 *Bethphage* (Mount of Olives) or from *Beersheba*, tomb-stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

...COΦΙΑ Η ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC Η ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΦΟΙΒΗ...

... Σοφία ἡ διάκονος ἡ δευτέρα Φοίβη...

In this inscription the term is given to the deaconess Sophia, describing her as being 'the servant and bride of Christ and the second Phoebe' ...ἡ δούλη καὶ νύμφη τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σοφία ἡ διάκονος ἡ δευτέρα Φοίβη.

The name 'Phoebe' was also that of a deaconess of the Church of Cenchreae mentioned by the Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans (*Rom.* 16: 1) and reasonably raises the question as to why it was used in this inscription and with what meaning. In order to avoid complicating the matter, I will answer in the simplest way. It would seem that this deaconess was so good that she was renamed 'Phoebe' after the Phoebe, deaconess of Cenchreae, of whom St. Paul speaks so warmly. Sophia was a 'second Phoebe'.

Bibl. Cabrol-Leclercq, *DACL* IV, 1, cols. 732, 733; A. Alt, *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der Araba*, p. 18, inscr. No. 17; L. Cré, *RB* NS. 1 (1904), pp. 260-262; *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. VI, pp. 144-146; P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), p. 94, No. 130.

- 886 *Deir el Qilt*, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscription, Byzantine period

+ ENΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ / ANACTACIA ΔΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟC)...

+ ἐνθάδε κίτε / Ἀναστασία διάκ(ονος)....

Bibl. A. M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, inscr. No. 197, p. 328; Κλεώπα Κοικυλί-

δου, Τά κατά τήν Λαύραν καί τόν Χείμαρρον τοῦ Χουζιβᾶ, οἱ βίοι τῶν ἁγίων Γεωργίου καί Ἰωάννου τῶν Χουζιβιτῶν, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1901.

- 887 *Jerusalem*, village of Silwan, inscription above the entrance of a tomb chamber, Byzantine period
 ...NOCOKOMIΩ ΔΙΑΚΟΝIC...
 ...νοσοκομίῳ διακονίς(σης)...
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, 'Épigraphes chrétiennes de Jérusalem,' *RB* 1 (1892), p. 566.
- 888 *Mahaiy*, stone inscription, A.D. 643-644
 + ΕΝΘΑΔΕ / ΚΙΤΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ / ΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΣ / ΔΚ ΖΗCΑC/A ETI ΛΗ ΤΕ-
 Λ/ΕΥΤΙCΑC ΤΟΥ / ΕΤΟΥC ΦΛΗ
 + Ἐνθάδε / κ(ε)ῖτ(αι) Μαρία / Οὐάλεντ(ος)/ δ(ια)κ(όνισσα), ζήσας/α ἔτ(η)
 λη', τελ/ευτ(ή)σας(α) τοῦ / ἔτους φλη'.
 Bibl. Reginetta Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, p. 383.
- 889 *Rihab*, Transjordan¹, house of Hilal el Ali, mosaic inscriptions
 Inscr. No. 3, in front of the altar, A.D. 594
 + ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤΗΡΙΑC ΖΩΗC ΔΙΚ..
 + ὑπέρ σωτηρίας Ζωῆς δι(α)κ(ονίσσης)
- 890 Inscr. No. 4, in front of the altar, below step and chancel screen, A.D. 594
 ...ΖΩΗC ΔΙΑΚΟ... Ζωῆς διακο(νίσσης)...
 The term in the inscriptions is abbreviated in the form ΔΙΚ, inscr. No. 3, and ΔΙΑΚΟ, inscr. No. 4, and refers to a deaconess called Zoe. The date of the inscriptions is A.D. 594, an indication that the office was in use in the sixth century A.D.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 69, inscs. No. 3, 4.
- 891 *Umm Qeis* (now in Irbit Museum), stone inscription, Byzantine period
 + ΔΙΑΚ(Ο)ΝΙCΑ ΕΛΛΑΔΙC
 + διακ(ό)νισα Ἑλλαδῖς
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Gerusalemme 1981, p. 31.

Archdeacon, archidiacon, archidiaconos

The archdeacon was the senior deacon of each bishopric chosen to lead the rest², or an able deacon appointed by the bishop to be his personal deacon³. The title ap-

¹ Rihab as part of Provincia Arabia belonged rather to the bishopric of Bostra and was under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch. For a similar situation as regards Tyre and Acre, cf. *JPOS* 14, p. 57ff.

² S. Leon. *Mag. Op.* vol. I, p. 653, ed. Paris 1675.

³ Soz. *HE* VIII 9.

pears to have been used mainly among the community clergy. The parallel title given to the first in rank of the deacons in a monastery was protodiaconos. In each diocese there was only one archdeacon.

As a result of his prominent office, he enjoyed several privileges such as the reading of the Gospel in the Cathedral¹, and the right of receiving Holy Communion before the other deacons². Gradually in addition to the lesser privileges, he gained many administrative responsibilities which made his office very important in the clerical ranks. He became Master of Church Ceremonies, making all the proper arrangements for the services and the observation of traditional Church rituals. This duty qualified him for yet another duty, since he proved to be the most expert in Church ritual. He became the instructor for the new candidates for clerical orders, mostly of minor ranks³, a duty which gave him some form of control over ordinations⁴ and the right to exercise discipline over the lower ranking clergy⁵. These were the basic duties which he exercised as first among the deacons, but there were several others which he gained by his close connection with the bishop. As the bishop's personal deacon, he became his personal confidant and a most suitable collaborator in the running of the diocese.

According to the *'Itinerarium Aetherae'* Ch. 29, p. 216, the office of the archdeacon is an honorary one: 'at the end of each ceremony, he announces to the people the time and the place of the coming meeting, e.g., after the liturgy of the Saturday of Lazarus: *Jam ut fiat missa mittit vocem archidiaconus et dicit: Omnes hodie hora septima in Lazario parati simus*'. In most cases he was greatly involved in diocesan affairs. He conveyed the bishop's orders to the clergy and the people⁶; he acted as the bishop's substitute at synods⁷ and on the death of the bishop or if a See fell vacant, he acted as the episcopal guardian until a new bishop was elected⁸. In the West, the archdeacon became so powerful that in order to get rid of him⁹ his bishop would try to promote him by ordaining him a presbyter. Thus the archdeacon, from a leading deacon or personal deacon of the bishop, gradually acquired what was almost a right of succession to the episcopal throne¹⁰.

The archdeacon's powers varied and depended on the episcopal See he was serving. If he was the archdeacon of a patriarchal or metropolitan See, his powers were

1 Soz. *HE* VII 19.

2 Ioannes *Citri. Resp.* ad. Cabasil. ap. Meursius Gl. Graeco-Barb. s.v.

3 4th Council of Carthage.

4 Council of Chalcedon, act 10.

5 Council of Chalcedon, Mansi VII 232.

6 S. Hieron. Ep. XXXIII al Ixi.,

7 Council of Chalcedon, Mansi VI, 567.

8 *Ibid.* Mansi III, 1085.

9 S. Leon. Magn. Epist. 57, al 84.

10 Eulogius ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 182.

far greater than those of the archdeacon of a simple bishopric. For example, the archdeacon of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, substituted for his patriarch at the Fourth Oecumenical Council. He acted in defence of the right of his Church with the same authority as the leaders of the other Churches.

During a religious celebration, the archdeacon wore a garb, distinctive from that worn by the ordinary deacons.

In the Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine, the term archdeacon appears in the following places:

- 892 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 57, 2, 26, September 1-17, A.D. 689.

2. ...Βίκτορος ἐλέει Θεοῦ ἀρχιδιάκο(νος)...

26. + Γεώργιος Βίκτορος ἐλεῖ Θεοῦ [ἀρ]χεδιάκ(ων) παρέμην καὶ / μαρτυρῶ +...
Bibl. C.J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.

- 893 *Deir el Qilt*, Choziba Monastery, Cemetery, wall inscriptions

Inscr. No. 80, Byzantine period

Κυπρ[ι]ο .../ ἀρχιδιάκονος ἐτε/λεῦθι μη(νί) Ἀπρι/ ἰνδ. γ'.

- 894 Inscr. No. 136

Τιμόθεος ἀρχιδιάκον(ος) μη(νί) Δεκεμβρίου κ', ἰνδ. ια'.

Bibl. A. M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, inscr. Nos. 80, 136. From these two inscriptions and from the one of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, it is to be noted that the first in rank among the deacons of the monasteries were also called archdeacons, in the climate of the Church of Jerusalem, though this does not exclude the term protodiakonos.

- 895 *Evron*, mosaic inscriptions, VIth Century A.D.

inscr. No. 3

...ΜΑ[ΡΚΕ]ΛΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟ(ΝΟΥ)

...Μα[ρκέ]λλου ἀρχιδιακό(νου).

- 896 Inscr. No. 5

...ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔ(ΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ)...

..Μαρκέλλου ἀρχιδ(ιακόνου)...

- 897 Inscr. No. 6

..ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΡ[ΧΙΔΙ]ΑΚ(ΟΝΟΥ)...

...Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀρ[χιδι]ακ(όνου)...

The inscription No. 6 is damaged. Lines 8 and 9 where the term appears are not readable. In inscription No. 3, the term is abbreviated and follows after those of bishop and presbyter; the archdeacon mentioned is called Marcellus, the same mentioned in inscription No. 5 which likewise includes the terms bishop and presbyter.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 898 *Jaber*, Transjordan, house of Ahmed El-Husein, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ...K(AI) IANNIANOY APXIDIAKO(NΟΥ) K(AI) IΩANNOY OIKONOMΟΥ...
 ...κ(αί) Ἰαννιανοῦ ἀρχιδιακό(νου) κ(αί) Ἰωάννου οἰκονόμου...
 In this inscription, the term is given to an archdeacon called Iannianus, and as in the Evron inscriptions, follows after the titles of bishop and presbyter. It precedes the term *oekonomus*.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 899 *Kafr Kama*, 5 km N. E. of Mount Tabor, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΚΑΙ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟΥ)...
 ...καί Παμφίλου ἀρχιδιακ(όνου)...
 The archdeacon is called Pamphilus. The inscription also mentions the names of bishop Euphrasius and commander Theodorus.
 Bibl. A. Saarisalo and H. Palva, *Studia Orientalia*, Ed. Soc. Orient. Fennica XXX 1, inscr. No. 2.
- 900 *Karmiel*, church, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 (ΘΕΟΔ)ΩΡ/ΟC ΑΡ/ΧΗΔΙ/ΑΚΩΝ/...
 (Θεόδ)ωρ/ος ἀρ/χηδι/άκων/...
 Bibl. Zeev Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 901 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, St. George Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...CΑΩΛΑ ΑΡΧΗΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ
 ...Σαώλα ἀρχηδιακόνου
 Here, the archdeacon is named Saolas.
 Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, p. 159.
- 902 *Moza*, Qalonia (Qalunia), mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΒΑCCOY ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ
 ...Βάσσου ἀρχιδιακόνου...
 The archdeacon is called Bassus.
 Dept. of Antiq. files, unpublished.
- 903 *Shivta*, North Church, floor of the southern aisle, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 ...S ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΗΔΙΑΚ S ΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ...
 ... (καί) Πέτρου ἀρχηδιακ(όνου) (καί) [ο]ικονόμου...
 The archdeacon is called Petrus, who at the same time holds another administrative office, the office of *oekonomus*. The term is abbreviated and follows after the title of bishop.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 61-62, inscr. No. 68.

- 904 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, lintel, stone inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

...CΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΗΣΤΕΡΟΝ.

... Στέφανον τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον καὶ Γερόντιον τὸν φιλόχρηστον πρεσβύτερον

The archdeacon is called Stephanus and the term is followed by the title presbyter.

Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264; F.M. Abel, *RB* N.S. 4 (1907), p. 111.

Subdeacon, Hypodiacon, Hypodiaconos

Subdeacon was a term given to the officials of a new clerical order created as a result of the growing needs and organisation of the Christian community. Therefore the subdiaconate was regarded as a minor order instituted by the Church in the post-apostolic period. The precise time of the creation of the new order is uncertain. It appears for the first time in the West¹ during the third century A.D., and a century later in the East².

To the new clerical order only male members of the Christian community were accepted, who had to be no less than twenty years of age³. Originally the number of the subdeacons was equal to the number of the deacons, seven, thus observing a close adherence to *Acts*, Chap. VI. This was observed in the Church of Rome⁴ though in the East the number both of deacons and subdeacons exceeded that of seven.

With regard to his duties, in the beginning he assisted the deacons, or to be more specific, he was the deacon's servant⁵ until gradually over the years, special duties were assigned to him.

The subdeacon's main duties were:

- a) to bring water, bread, wine and the sacred vessels to the deacons inside the church before the service started.
- b) to go to the narthex and stand at the door by which the women entered the church⁶ and remain there during the time of the service to keep order as the people went in and out, and to send the catechumens out after their part in the service was finished; to bring in and show out the penitents, calling out loud to them to leave the church and to the faithful that they should remain and not leave until the service was over⁷.

1 St. Cyprian, *Epp.* 24, 28, 78, 79, 80, and in the epistle of Cornelius, bishop of Rome to Fabius of Antioch (A.D. 255) in Euseb. *EH* VI. 43, 12.

2 St. Epiphanius in *Expositio Fidei Catholice*, and St. Basil. *Epist.* can. li.

3 See 2nd Council of Toledo, can. 1 (A.D. 447), Council of Trullo, can. 15, A.D. 692

4 Euseb. *HE* VI 43, 11.

5 Council of Laodicea, can. 21.

6 *Const. App.* 8.11.11f; Max Schal, c.h. 5. 6. (*PG* 4, 165 A).

7 *Acts of Nicaean Council*, part 2.

c) after the conclusion of the service, to reenter the church to take back the sacred vessels to their place, possibly to the Diakonikon which was located to the right side of the atrium on entering the main church.

The subdeacon received the empty sacred vessels from the hands of the bishop, since he was an official of the minor orders and was not allowed to carry them when containing Holy Communion.

Gradually he gained some extra duties to be performed inside the church during the liturgy, such as the reading of the epistle, bringing water to the priest to wash his hands, the touching of the sacred vessels and similar assignments usually carried out by the deacons. In addition to his clerical office, occasionally he occupied a particular position in the administration of the Church, e.g., the inscription from Mishmar Ha-Emeq, according to which he was at the same time a subdeacon and a *perio-deutes*¹.

In the inscriptions extant in Palestine, the term 'subdeacon' appears in the following places:

- 905 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 46. 10, July 16th, A.D. 605
 + ἐπ' εἰμοῦ Γαδίμου Ζωναίνου ὑποδιακό(νου) ἐπέτρεψεν...
 Bibl. Casper J. Craemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
Evron (as part of Phoenicia, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch), mosaic inscriptions, Vth Century A.D.
- 906 inscr. No. 3.
 ...ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΩΝ...
 ...Λουκιανός ὑποδιάκων...
- 907 inscr. No. 5.
 ...ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΣ...
 ...ὑποδιάκονες...
- 908 inscr. No. 5.
 ...ΒΑССΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ...
Βάσσου ὑποδιακόνου...
 The term appears three times, once in inscription No. 3, as 'hypodeacon' and twice in inscription No. 5, in the plural form 'hypodeacones' and in the singular genitive 'hypodeaconou'. The plural form is a unique example and indicates the existence of many subdeacons in one church.
 Dept of Antiq. Files, unpublished.
- 909 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, mosaic inscriptions, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ΚΑΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ ΑΓ ΑΝΑΤΑΞΕΩΣ...
 ...Καλίστράτου ὑποδιακ(όνου) Ἀγ(ίας) Ἀναστάσεως...

¹ See inscr. No. 912.

The term refers to Callistratus, subdeacon of the Church of the Holy Resurrection.

Bibl. V. Schultze, *ZDPV* 4 (1881), pp. 14-16, *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 176.

- 910 *Faran Oasis*, Sinai, newly built chapel, marble inscription from nearby ruins, Byzantine period

...ΕΛΕ/ΙCΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΝ CΟΥ ΑΝΑC/ΤΑCΙ(Ο)Ν ΥΠΟΔΙ/ΑΚΟ-(ΝΟΝ)...

...ἐλέ/ῖσον τόν δοῦ/λον σου Ἀναc/τάcι(ο)ν ὑποδι/άκο(νον)...

Bibl. Y.E. Meimaris, *LA* 30 (1980), pp. 225-232, pls. 7-8.

- 911 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sîh), mosaic inscriptions

No. 4 ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΟC / ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ/ΩΝ ΓΡΑΜ/ΜΑ

Θεό/δωρος / ὑποδιάκ/ων γράμ/μα

No. 8 ΕΠΙ/ΦΑΝΙC / ΥΠΟΔΙΑ/ΚΩΝ ΓΡ/ΑΜΜΑ

Ἐπι/φάνιc / ὑποδιά/κων γρ/άμμα

Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

- 912 *Mishmar Ha-Emeq*, Southern Esdraelon, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΠΡΟCΦΟ/Ρ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΥΠΟ/ΔΙΑΚ C ΠΕΡΙΟΔ ΥΠΕ/(Ρ) ΑΝΑΠΑΥ-
CΕΩC ΤΩ/Ν ΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ...

προcφο/ρ(ά) Ἰωάννου ὑπο/διακ(όνου) (καί) περιοδ(ευτοῦ) ὑπέ/(ρ) ἀναπαύ-
ceωc τῶ/ν αὐτοῦ γονέων...

The term refers to Ioannes, who was both subdeacon and periodeutes. The inscription is still unpublished, but according to the excavator, Dr.R. Giv'eon, it dates back to the fifth century A.D.

Dept. of Antiq. Files.

Presbyter, Πρεσβύτερος, elder, priest

This term was used to designate the following:

- a) the members of the Jewish courts which consisted of elders
- b) the respected members of society no matter what their age¹
- c) the selected senior members of every newly formed Christian community, appointed by the Apostles to assist them while they were present and to administer and supervise the new Christian community in their absence²
- d) the officers of the second order in the threefold Christian ministry

In this chapter the last two cases will be examined, to which the epigraphical material refers giving more emphasis to the last mentioned one.

¹ Philo Vol. II, p. 481, ed. Magney; S. Cyril Alex. in Isai. III, Vol. III, p. 55, ed. Aubert.

² *Acts*, 14: 23, 15, 2, 4, 6, 23; 16: 4, 20; 17: 9, 30; 1 Clem. 54, 1-3.

In the post-apostolic period, there emerged from among the presbyters, one who presided over the others and who was called ἐπίσκοπος πρεσβύτερος. This office formed a higher rank in the Christian ministry known as the episcopal rank, having particular functions. As time went on this official became known only as ἐπίσκοπος. He will be referred to under the term 'episcopus' regardless as to whether or not his original functions were identical to that of the presbyter.

After the institution of the episcopate, the presbyter became secondary and subordinate in rank.

The presbyters were ordained by the bishop of their diocese and were appointed to serve the city or country communities in the name of their bishop whom they represented. While they were stationed in the city where the bishop resided, they were his councillors and assistants while celebrating and administering the holy sacraments. In the cathedral and in the presence of the bishop, although they acted jointly, they had little share in the ministry of the different sacraments, and no independence whatsoever in their functions. However in the bishop's absence, where they served in parochial churches of the same city, or in the country communities, they were allowed to administer all the sacraments and services proper to their priestly office, in complete independence.

As the churches of the Christian communities multiplied, especially in the countryside, permanent presbyters were assigned to each community, more independent and known under different names according to the place where they were stationed: those of the city parishes were known as πρεσβύτεροι πόλεων; those visiting different country communities but having their permanent residence in the city as πρεσβύτεροι περιοδεύοντες; those stationed permanently in the country towns as πρεσβύτεροι κωμών; in fortresses as πρεσβύτεροι φρουρίων; on private farms where there was a chapel as πρεσβύτεροι ἀγροκτημάτων; in churches built for Martyrs known as martyria, as πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυρίων; in churches specially built for the sacrament of baptism known as baptisteria, as πρεσβύτεροι βαπτιστηρίων; those stationed permanently by the cemetery chapels as πρεσβύτεροι κοιμητηρίων, and those permanently stationed in monasteries as πρεσβύτεροι μοναστηρίων. In the later case a presbyter called ἡγούμενος or προϊστάμενος was superior of the monastery, especially from the fifth century onwards when it became customary for the superiors of the monasteries to hold the rank of presbyter¹.

In order to ordain a presbyter, the community and the bishop studied his character and certain external qualifications such as age², status, education, etc. From the

¹ Council of Constant. IV, act. I (A.D. 563).

² Council of Neocaesarea, can. 11 (A.D. 314): He ought to be at least 30 years of age, the age at which Jesus began his ministry.

fifth century on, a presbyter was not ordained for the diocese or to be at the bishop's disposal, but for a particular church in which he was permanently stationed¹.

The Functions of the Presbyter

The presbyter was regarded as the shepherd in his community. He set an example of discipline and of the other qualities which he expected from the people. He ruled independently but in the name of the bishop of the community entrusted to him, and only for serious offenses had recourse to the episcopal court². He administered the community's funds, church property and served as guardian of all the churches and ecclesiastical institutions of his community. In the church, he consecrated the Holy Eucharist, a sacrament regarded as inherent in his office³, presided over baptisms, weddings, funeral services, the blessing of persons and things⁴, preached and taught⁵ the Christian religion to his parishioners.

The presbyter was also known by the name ἱερεύς, a term which prior to the third century A.D., referred exclusively to the Jewish and pagan priests⁶ as indicative of their sacerdotal functions⁷. In the Christian Church the term ἱερεύς first applied to the three major orders of the clergy⁸, bishops, presbyters and deacons. Later, the term was rarely used for bishops, since for a bishop the term used was ἀρχιερεύς⁹ if it was used at all. It was commonly used for presbyters and almost never for deacons.

Archpresbyter, Ἀρχιεπρεσβύτερος, or Πρωτοπρεσβύτερος

This is a title which appears for the first time towards the end of the fourth century A.D., and was given by a bishop as an administrative distinction to a particular presbyter chosen regardless of seniority, from among the rest of the presbyters of the diocese because of his administrative abilities.

The archpresbyter replaced the bishop during his absence and exercised many of his liturgical and administrative duties¹⁰. On the death of the bishop, he acted as

1 Council of Chalcedon, can. 6 (A.D. 451): 'μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι, εἰ μή ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κόμης, ἢ μαρτυρίου ἢ μοναστηρίου.

2 A court consisted of the presbyters of the diocese presided over by the bishop, dealing with offenses against morals, church order, and other church affairs.

3 Council of Neocaesarea, can. 9.

4 *Const. Apostl.* 3, 20; 8, 27; *St. Basil Epist.* 2, ad *Amphiloch.* c. 27.

5 *St. Cyprian, Epist.* 24, Vol. I, p. 287; *St. Hieron. Epist.* 52.

6 Malchus of Philadelphia, de Byzantinis ap. *Corpus Hist. Byzant.* vol. I, p. 55, τῶν βαρβάρων ἔχων ἱερέα ὃν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ καλοῦσι πρεσβύτερον.

7 The term ἱερεύς is derived from the verb ἱερεύω which means, to slaughter for sacrifice; to sacrifice.

8 *Greg. Naz. ep.* 98, (M. 37, 172B);

9 *Soct. HE* I 27; *Const. Apostl.* 2, 25 8, 46.

10 *Soz. HE* 8, 12, 3, (M. 67, 1545C);

the episcopal guardian, and in some cases he was elected to succeed as bishop, mainly because of his administrative experience¹.

After the abolition of the offices of 'chorepiscopus' and 'periodeutes'² the title 'archpresbyter' was given to the officer who succeeded them. This official was an able presbyter, who presided over the presbyters of the country communities and who served as the bishop's representative, mediating between them and the bishop.

The place and description of the relevant Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine will be given in the order presbyter, priest and archpresbyter.

Presbyter

The term presbyter appears in the following inscriptions either in complete or abbreviated form:

- 913 *Ain el Jedide*, 1.5 km S.W. of Ain Karem, mosaic inscription, Late VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΝΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΕCΒ[ΥΤΕΡΩΝ]...
 ...νίου τῶν πρεσβ[υτέρων]...
 The inscription is damaged. The term is given in the genitive plural and refers to two fathers of a monastic society, perhaps the superiors in office at the time the mosaic pavement was worked.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 232.
- 914 *Ain Fit*, near Banias, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ...ΕΠΕΔΗΜΗCΕΝ ΠΡΟC / ΚΝ Ο ΤΗC ΟCΙΑC ΜΝΗΜΗC / ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟC
 ΠΡΕCΒC ΕΝ / ...
 ...ἐπεδήμησεν πρὸς / Κ(ύριο)ν ὁ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης / Λεόντιος πρεσβ(ύτερος)
 ἐν / ...
 Bibl. P.M. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), pp. 126-8.
- 915 *Amman*, Transjordan (now in the Dept. of Antiq., Jerusalem), inscription on a marble slab, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΠΡΕCΒC ΤΟΥ ΑΓC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ...
 ...πρεσβ(υτέρου) τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) Γεωργίου...
 The term refers to the presbyter of the Church of St. George.
 Bibl. This inscription is published by F.M. Abel in *RB* 5 (1908), (F.M. Abel saw the inscription in a house in the neighbourhood of the ruins of what could be called Heracleum in Amman), and by B. Bagatti in *LA* 23 (1973) under Amman, Transjordan. Today the inscription is located in the inscrip-

1 Council of Cart., can. 4. (398) can. 17: 'Υμεῖς δὲ βουλευσασθε περὶ ἐπισκόπου καὶ ... ἐξελέξαντο τὸν ἀρχιπρεσβύτερον.

2 Council of Sardica, can. 6 (A.D. 347); Council of Laod, can. 57.

tion section, Dept. of Antiq. No. S. 913, bought from Shukri Budrus, Sabon-omy (Haifa) Acre, in 1924.

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscriptions

- 916 Inscr. No. 12, limestone slab inscription, Feb. 10th, A.D. 592

a) ... ΣΕΡΓΙΟΣ / ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕ/ΝΟΥ

...Σέργιος / Πατρικίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) ήγουμέ/νου

- 917 b) July 24th, A.D. 628

...ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ

...Πατρικίου Σεργίου πρεσβ(ύτερος) κ(αί) ήγούμενος

Inscr. a) refers to Sergius, son of Patricius.

Inscr. b) to Patricius, son of Sergius. In both cases the presbyters were also the superiors of the church.

Bibl. A. Alt, *GIPT* 1921, p. 42, No. 137.

- 918 Inscr. No. 35, North Church, chalk voussoir, November 6th, A.D. 464

+ ΚΑΤΕΤΗΘΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑ/ΡΙΟΣ ΘΩΑΜΟΣ Ο ΠΡΕΣΒΣ...

+ κατετήθη ό μακά/ριος Θώαμος ό πρεσβ(ύτερος)...

The term refers to the presbyter Thoamus, buried in the Martyrium Church.

- 919 Inscr. No. 73, on a stone capital, Byzantine period

+ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΑΛΩΒΔΕΟΥ ΓΕΩ(Ρ)/ΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΣ...

+ ύπέρ σωτηρίας Αλωβδέου Γεω(ρ)/γίου πρεσβ(υτέρου)...

The term refers to Alobtus, son of Georgius.

Bibl. R. Tonneau, *RB* 36 (1927), pp. 95-96; *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 306.

- 920 Inscr. No. 98, fragment of altar screen (now lost)

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤ(ΕΡΟΥ) Κ(ΑΙ) ΗΓΟΥ[ΜΕΝΟΥ

πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) ήγου[μένου

- 921 Inscr. No. 129, limestone fragment

Π]ΠΡΕΣΒ[ΥΤΕΡΟΣ π]ρεσβ[ύτερος

- 922 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri

Papyrus No. 16. 53, July 11th, A.D. 512

...πρεσβ(ύτερος)...

- 923 Papyrus No. 30. 3, September 13th, A.D. 596

...Ζόναινος θεοφιλέστατος πρεσβύτερος...

- 924 Papyrus No. 35. 14, VIth Century A.D.

...Φεσάνης πρεσβύτερος...

- 925 Papyrus No. 54. 2, Late VI – Early VIIth Century A.D.

...δέησις παρά του δέινα έ]λεεινου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καί διοικητου Χαφρεα[των κώ]μης...

- 926 Papyrus No. 57. 1, 4, 9, 24, September 1-17th, A.D. 689

line 1. + Ταυτα μαρτυρουμεν ήμεις Σέργιος Γεωργίου έλέει Θε(ο)υ πρεσβ(ύ)τερ(ος)...

- line 4. ... Ἡλιοῦ ὅτι ἐσύναξεν ἡμᾶς Ἰωάννης Οὐαλίου πρεσβ(ύ)τ(ερος)
 line 9. ... τότε εἶπεν ὁ αὐτός Ἰωάννης πρε(σβύ)τερος) τὴν αὐτοῦ γυνή...
 line 24. + Σέργιος Γεωργίου ἐλέει Θεοῦ πρεσβ(ύ)τ(ερος) παρέμην καὶ / μαρ-
 τυρῶ ταῦτα +
- 927 Papyrus No. 79. 3, 4, 21, 52, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 line 3. παρ(ά) τοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου) Σωβετώ[ης]
 line 4. παρ(ά) Γεωργίου πρεσβ(υτέρου)
 line 21. παρ(ά) Γεωργίου πρεσβ(υτέρου)[
 line 52. παρ(ά) ἀβᾶ Βίκτορος πρεσβ(υ)τ(έρου) Σωβεώης
- 928 Papyrus No. 80. 5, 6, A.D. 685
 line 5. Ἰω(άννου) πρεσβ(υ)τ(έρου) σίτου μ(ό)δ(ια) β´
 line 6. Οὐαλίου Γαδίμου σίτου γ´ Σαδάλου πρε(σβυτέρου) σί(τ)[ου] β´
- 929 Papyrus No. 106. 8, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 line 8. Γεωρ/γίου βοηθοῦ πρεσβυτέρου[...]
- 930 Papyrus No. 107. 3, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ἀκολουθος καὶ ἀπέλυσα Γεόργι[ο]ς βοηθός ἐλέει Θ(ε)οῦ πρεσ[βύτερος].
 Bibl. Casper J. Craemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3.
 Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 931 *Batir*, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΩ/ΦΙΛΗCΤΑΤ / ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡ/ΒΥΤΕΡ ΕΓΕ/ΝΗΤΩ ΤΑ/
 ΩΔΑΙ
 ἐπὶ τοῦ θεω/φιληστάτ(ου) / Γεωργίου πρ(εσ)/βυτέρ(ου) ἐγένετ(ω) τὰ / ὥδαι
 The term is given to the presbyter Georgius together with the honorific
 epithet 'the most beloved of God', 'θεοφιλέστατος'.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 230.
- 932 *Beerot Yishaq*, S.E. of Gaza, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΑΛ/ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΡ/ΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑ(Ι) / ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ...
 ...Ἀλ/εξάνδρου πρ/εσβυτέρου κα(ι) / ἀρχιμανδρίτου...
 The term in the genitive singular refers to Alexandrus who was also the
 archimandrite of a monastery, and it is accompanied with the epithet τρις-
 μακάριος.
 Bibl. *SEG* XVII (1960), No. 783.
- 933 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΗΛΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦC ΠΡΕCΒC...
 ...Ἡλιοῦ θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου).
 The term refers to the presbyter Elias, together with the epithet 'the most be-
 loved of God', θεοφιλέστατος.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 38.
- 934 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΓΕΟ/ΡΓΙΟΥ C ΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ...

...ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Γεοργίου (καί) ἰγουμένου...

The term is given in the genitive singular, referring to the presbyter Georgius who was also the superior of the monastery.

Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth Shean*, Vol. IV, p. 16, inscr. No. VII.

Deir el Qilt, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period

935 No. 17.

+ ἐκοιμ(ήθη) / ὁ μακ(άριος) Ἰω/άννης πρεσβ(ύτερος) / Βορηλίων...

936 No. 20.

Ἀρμένιος / πρεσβύτερος

937 No. 29.

+ ἐκοιμήθ[η ὁ μα]κ(άριος) / Ἀντίοχος πρεσβύτερος...

938 No. 40.

+ ἐκοιμήθ(η) / ὁ μακάρ(ιος) Ἰωάν[νης / ὁ πρ]ε(σ)β(ύτε)ρ(ος)...

939 No. 53.

Ἀνθ...ὁ.../ς πρε(σ)β(ύτερος).

940 No. 98.

+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ π(ατ)ήρ / ἡμῶν Ἡσίδωρος πρ(εσβ)ύτερος...

941 No. 121.

+ Ἰωάννης / πρ(εσβ)...

942 No. 122.

+ ἐκοιμήθ(η) ὁ μακ(άριος) / ὁ π(ατ)ήρ [ἐ]μόν Σά/ρωχ(ι)ς ὁ πρεσβ(ύτερος)...

943 No. 123.

+ ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάρ(ιος) π(ατ)ήρ ἡμ(ῶν) / Θωμᾶς πρεσβ(ύτερος)...

944 No. 124.

+ ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάρ(ιος) / πατήρ ἡμῶν / Ἰωάννης πρεσβ(ύτερος) / Ρωσσεύς /...

945 No. 125.

+ ἐκοιμήθ(η) / ..μ...ς πρεσβ(ύτερος) /...

946 No. 126.

+ ἐ]κμήθ(η) Ἀν.../...σιν / ὁ πρεσβ(ύτερος)...

947 No. 132.

+ ἀνεπάη ὁ μακάρ(ιος) / Κοσμᾶς ὁ πρεσβ(ύτερος) /...

948 No. 134.

+ ἐκοιμήθη / Κωνωνίας / πρεσβύτερος /...

949 No. 139.

+ Ἡλίας Μεσσωποταμίτης / πρεσβ(ύτερος)...

950 No. 140.

+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάρ(ιος) πατήρ ἡμῶν / Σέργιος ὁ πρεσβ(ύτερος)...

- 951 No. 166.
(Θεόδωρος) / Λ[εό]ντι[ος] πρ(εσ)β(ύτερος) / ...
In the above inscriptions, Nos. 17, 29, 40, 122, 123, 124, 132 and 140 include the epithet blessed, μακάριος and in Nos. 98, 122, 123, 124 and 140 there is included the term 'our father', πατήρ ἡμῶν, which may indicate that the presbyter named was at the same time also the superior of the monastery.
Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, pp. 297-332.
- 952 *El-Haditha*, 5 km East of Lydda, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...Π]ΡΕCΒΥ[...
...π]ρεσβυ[...
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 22 (1972), pp. 118-122.
- 953 *El-Koursi*, Gergesa, Baptistery, mosaic inscription, A.D. 585
.ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΣ CΤΕ/[Φ]ΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒS ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥ/ΜΕΝΟΥ..
.ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) Στε/[φ]άνου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἡγου/μένου..
The term refers to the presbyter Stephanus, superior of the monastery, with the honorific epithet the most beloved of God, θεοφιλέστατος.
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *IEJ* 22 (1972), pp. 176-177, pl. 39b.
- 954 *El Murassas* (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ/ ΓΕΝΕCΙΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ Κ
ΑΡΧΙ/ΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΚS ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ/...
Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός ἡμῶν / Γενεσίου πρεσβυτέρου κ(αί) ἀρχι/μανδρίτου
ἐγένετο κ(αί) τοῦτο τό ἔργον/...
Bibl. Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 955 *El Murassas* (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΕ Ο ΘC ΗΜΩΝ ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ / ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑ CΟΥ ΕΛΠΙΔΙΟΥ
ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ / ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΕCΒΒ ΚS ΠΑCΗC/ ΤΗC ΕΝ ΧΩ
ΑΥΤΩΝ CΥΝΟΔΙΑC
Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ός) ἡμῶν μνήσθητι ἐν τῇ / βασιλείᾳ σου Ἐλπιδίου Ἰωάννου /
Γεωργίου τῶν πρεσβ(υτέρων) κ(αί) πάσης / τῆς ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ αὐτῶν συνοδίας
Bibl. Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 956 *El Murassas* (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, stone inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΘΗΚΗ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ / ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΗ/ΤΟΥ
+ Θῆκη Παύλου / πρεσβυτέρου / καὶ ἀρχιμανδρή/του
Bibl. Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 957 *El-Quweisme*, S.E. of Amman, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΧΟΒΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΩ ΠΡ/ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ...

...Χοβέου τοῦ ὀσιω(τάτου) πρ(εσβυτέρου) / καὶ οἰκονόμου...

The term refers to a presbyter named Khobeus who was also the οἰκονόμος of the church. The epithet 'most pious' precedes the term.

Bibl. S.J. Saller, *JPOS* 21 (1948), p. 138f.

- 958 *El-Quweisme*, S.E. of Amman, Transjordan, Church of St. Cyricus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ ΠΡΕΒ ΑΝΟΝΕΩΘΗ Α ΟΓΙΟΣ ΤΟ/ΠΙΟC..

...Ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαξίμου πρ(ε)σβ(υτέρου) ἀνονεώθη (ὁ) (ἅ)γιος τό/πος...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Le chiese di Quweismeh-Amman,' *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 329-340.

- 959 *Evron*, mosaic inscriptions, Vth Century A.D.

Inscr. No. 1.

ΕΠΙ Τ/ΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒC / ΜΑΡΙΝΟΥ Π/ΡΕCΒC...

ἐπὶ τ/οῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου) / Μαρίνου π/ρεσβ(υτέρου)...

The term together with the epithet the most pious, εὐλαβέστατος, refers to the presbyter Marinus.

- 960 Inscr. No. 3.

...Μ]ΑΡΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ...

...Μ]αρίνου πρεσβ(υτέρου)...

The term refers to the same presbyter, Marinus.

- 961 Inscr. No. 5.

..ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒC CΑΜΑΚΩΝΟC ΠΡΕCΒC ΤΗC ΚΩΜΗC...

...τοῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου) Σαμάκωνος πρεσβ(υτέρου) τῆς κώμης...

The term, together with the epithet 'the most reverend' εὐλαβέστατος, refers to a presbyter named Samacon. For the purpose of this study, the inscription is very important for it is the only one in which a presbyter of a town, πρεσβύτερος κώμης, is referred to in complete form.

- 962 Inscr. No. 6.

ΙΑΚΩΝΟC ΠΡΕ/... Ιάκωνος πρε/(σβυτέρου)...

This inscription is damaged, and of the title, only the first three letters at the end of line seven are preserved.

Dept. of Antiq. files; Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *Actes du Vème Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne*.

- 963 *Gaza*, tomb stone, marble inscription, Vth Century A.D.

...ΤΡΙCΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ / ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙC / ΠΡΕCΒ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΙΡΗ/ΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ(ΥΤΕΡΟΥ)...

...τρισμακάριο(υ) / καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις / π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμῶν Εἰρή/ναίου τοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου)...

The term together with the epithet thrice blessed, τρισμακάριος, refers to the presbyter Ireneus who seems to have been the superior of a monastery.

Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 34 (1925), pp. 579-580; *NΣ* 13 (1913), pp. 918-919.

- 964 *Hazor Ashdod*, mosaic inscriptions, VIth Century A.D.
Inscr. No. 1.
...ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟCEBS ΠPECBS ΚΑΙ ΧΩ/ΡΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΛΑΠΟ-
ΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟCEBECTΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠPECBS ΚΑΙ Η/ΓΟΥ-
ΜΕΝΟΥ
...καί τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) καί χω/ρεπισκόπου Καλαποδίου
καί τοῦ / θεοσεβεστάτου Παύλου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καί ἡ/γουμένου.
Together with the term the most God fearing, θεοσεβέστατος, the term
refers to the presbyter Paulus, who was also the superior of the place and the
presbyter Kalapodius, who was also the choperiscopus of the town.
- 965 Inscr. No. 2, A.D. 551/2
+ ΕΠΙ ΤS ΘΕΟCEBS ΠPECBS ΚΑΙ ΧΩΡΕΠΙCKS ΚΑΛΑΠΟΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΙΕΡΟΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟCEBS ΠPEC.
+ ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) καί χωρεπισκ(όπου) Καλαποδίου
καί Ἱερωνίου τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρεσ(βυτέρου).
Together with the epithet the most God fearing, θεοσεβέστατος, the term
refers to the presbyter Kalapodius, the same as mentioned in inscr. No. 1,
and another presbyter named Ieronius.
Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 966 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤΗΡΙΑC ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛS ΠPECs / ΠΑΠΙΩ...
+ Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐλ(αβεστάτου) πρεσ(βυτέρου) / Παπίω[νος]...
Bibl. J. I. Lawlor, *RB* 86 (1979), pp. 116-117; *SEG* XXIX (1979), inscr. No.
1611.
- 967 *Jaber* (Provincia Arabia), Transjordan, house of Ahmed el Husein, mosaic
inscription, Byzantine period
...ΕΚ CΠΟΥΔΗC ΗΛ[ΙΟΥ] ΠPEC...
...ἐκ σπουδῆς Ἡλ[ιοῦ] πρεσ(βυτέρου)...
The term refers to the presbyter Elias.
Dept. of Antiq. Files.
- 968 *Jericho*, Church of St. George, Russian property, mosaic inscription, De-
cember 11th, A.D. 566
+ ΘΗΚΗ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ/ΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΚ/ΟΥ ΠPECBS / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ/...
+ θήκη μακαρι/ωτάτου Κυριακ/οῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου) / ἡγουμένου/...
The term refers to Cyriacus who was at the same time the superior of the
church.
Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 315.
- 969 *Jericho*, Church of St. Andrew, Deir il Akbat, mosaic inscription, VIth Cen-
tury A.D.
...CΠΟΥΔΗ ΗΡΑΚ/ΛΙΟΥ ΠPECBS

...σπουδῇ Ἡρακλίου πρεσβ(υτέρου)

The presbyter is called Heraclius.

Bibl. A. Augustinovic, *Gerico e Dintorni*, Jerusalem 1951, p. 78; B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine*, pp. 294-5.

- 970 *Jerusalem*, cistern in the Nea complex, on hard plaster modelled in bold relief and painted red, VIth Century A.D.

Κ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΗ/ΣΑΤΟ Ο ΕΥΣΕΒΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙ
/ΛΕΥΣ ΦΛΣ ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΝΟΙ/Α Κ ΣΠΟΥΔΙ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙ-
ΝΟΥ / ΟΣΙΩΤ^Α ΠΡΕΣΒΣ Κ ΗΓΟΜ^Ε ΙΝΔ ΙΓ +

Κ(αί) τοῦτο τό ἔργον ἐφιλοτιμή/σατο ὁ εὐσεβ(ἐστατος) ἡμῶν βασι/λεὺς
Φλ(αούιος) Ἰουστινιανός προνοί/α κ(αί) σπουδί Κωνσταντίνου / ὀσιωτά
(του) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) ἡγουμέ(νου) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ' +

Bibl. N. Ávigad, 'A Building Inscription of the Emperor Justinian and the Nea in Jerusalem,' *IEJ* 27 (1977), pp. 145-151; *SEG* XXVII (1977), inscr. No. 1015.

- 971 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Byzantine period

+ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΠΡΕΣ/Β(ΥΤΕΡ)ΟΥ + ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ + / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ + / +
ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΥ / ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ + /....

+ μνήμα πρεσ/β(υτέρ)ου + Θεοφίλου + / ἡγουμένου + / + καὶ Θεομνήστου /
πρεσβυτέρου + /...

Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* I (1892), p. 570.

- 972 *Jerusalem*, Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem (Archaeological Museum), from Gaza, marble inscription, Byzantine period

...ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ Υ/ΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΠΡΕΣΒΥ(ΤΕ-
ΡΟΥ)...

...τοῦ / ἁγίου πατρὸς ὑ/μῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ / πρεσβυ(τέρου)...

Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *Un Musée Palestinien. Notice sur le Musée Archéologique de Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem*, Paris, p. 27, fig. 11.

- 973 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, 500 m S. of the Russian Tower, inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

ΥΠΕΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΣ

ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Εὐσεβίου πρεσβυτ(έρου)

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 177.

- 974 *Jerusalem*, Karm es Saijad, Byzantine period

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΙΛΑΡΙΩΝ

Πρεσβύτερος Ἰλαρίων

Bibl. Ἀρχιμ. Κλήμεντος Καρναπᾶ, *Ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὁρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ τῆς Ἀναλήψεως*, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1908, p. 96.

- 975 *Kafr Kama*, 5 km N.E. of Mount Tabor, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.

CYNXΩPHCON TAC AMARTIAC EYCTAΘIOY [Π]ΡΕ /ΤΟΥ ΤΑΠΙ-
NOY...

συνχώρησον τάς ἁμαρτίας Εὐσταθίου [π]ρε(σβυτέρου) / τοῦ ταπ(ε)ινοῦ...

The term together with the epithet 'the humble one' refers to a presbyter named Eustathius.

Bibl. A. Saarisalo-H. Palva, *Studia Orientalia*, ed. Societas Orientalis Fennica XXX 1, inscr. No. 1.

- 976 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sih), mosaic inscriptions, Byzantine period

No. 2 ΚΕ / ΜΝΗCΤΗ/ΘΙ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ/ΥΤΕΡΟΥ

Κ(ύρι)ε / μνήστη/θι Μαξίμου / τοῦ πρεσβ/υτέρου

No. 3 ΚΕ / ΜΝΗCΤΗ/ΘΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛ/ΟΥ CΟΥ ΠΡΟΚ/ΟΠΙΟΥ / ΤΟΥ
Π

Κ(ύρι)ε / μνήστη/θι τοῦ δούλ/ου σου Προκ/οπίου / τοῦ π(ρεσβυτέρου)

Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

- 977 *Kfar Truman*, Kh. er Ras or Kh. Irma (Judaean coastal plain), mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/ΦΙΛΕCΤΑΤΟΥ / ΠΡΕCΒC ΚΕ ΗΓΟΥΜ/ΕΝΟΥ ΕΥCΕ-
ΒΙΟΥ...

ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο/φιλεCτάτου / πρεσβ(υτέρου) κέ ἡγουμ/ένου Εὐσεβίου...

The term together with the epithet the most beloved of God, θεοφιλέCτατος, refers to the presbyter Eusebius who was also the superior of the church.

Dept. of Antiq. Files.

- 978 *Khan Saliba* (close to the intersection of the Jerusalem-Jericho highway with the road to Wady Qelt Monastery), mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦ[ΙΛΕCΤΑΤΟΥ] ΠΡΕCΒ[ΥΤΕΡΟΥ] Κ[ΑΙ] ΗΓΟΥΜ[Ε-
ΝΟΥ] ΠΑΥΛΟΥ...

ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφ[ιλεCτάτου] πρεσβ[υτέρου] κ[αί] ἡγουμ[ένου] Παύλου...

Bibl. Jean Prignaud, *RB* 70 (1963), pp. 243-254.

- 979 *Khirbet Ma'on (Nirim)*, stone slab inscription, A.D. 337

a) + ΘΙΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚC ΖΗΝΟΝΟC ΤΟΥ ΠΡC...

+ Θίκη τοῦ μακ(αρίου) Ζήγονος τοῦ πρ(εσβυτέρου)...

Dept. of Antiq. Files, unpublished.

- 980 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Church of the priest John, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...CΠΟΥΔΗ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΡCΒ...

...σπουδῇ Ἰωάννου πρ(ε)σβ(υτέρου)...

The presbyter's name is Ioannes.

Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, p. 173.

- 981 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΒΑΡΙΧΑ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ Κ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
 ...Βαριχᾶ πρεσβυτέρου κ(αί) παραμοναρίου...
 The term in the genitive singular refers to a presbyter named Barichas who was both the paramonarius and sacristan of the church.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 336.
- 982 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΠΡΕΙCB Κ Π/ΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
 ...πρε[σβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) π/αραμοναρίου...
 The inscription is damaged and of the word presbyter, only the letters 'CB' have been preserved. The presbyter was also the paramonarius of the church.
 Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 140-141, pl. 31, 3.
- 983 *Khirbet Jannaba*, el-Tahta, between Beth Shemesh and Beth-Guvrin, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΙ ΤΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ / ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΡΕCBS ΕΓΕΝΕΤS
 ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου / Ἰωάννου πρεσβ(υτέρου) ἐγένετ(ο)...
 Bibl. Claudine Dauphin, Dept. of Antiq. Files.
- 984 *Khirbet Khudrieh*, near Deir Diwan, chancel, marble inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 + ΥΠΕΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΕΩC CΗΛΑΜΩΝΟC ΠΡΕCBS
 + ὑπέρ ἀναπαύσεως Σηλάμωνος πρεσβ(υτέρου)
 Bibl. R.A.S. Macalister, *PEF QSt* 1903, p. 170. B. Bagatti places the inscription at Kh. Khudrieh and not at Deir Diwan.
- 985 *Khisfin*, Golan, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...C]ΠΟΥΔΗC ΘΩΜΑ ΠΡΕ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝ...
 ...σ]πουδῆς Θωμᾶ πρε(σβυτέρου) κ(αί) ἡγουμέν(ου)...
 The presbyter here was also the superior of the church.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 986 *Madaba*, Transjordan, the Church of the Apostles, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΙC ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ Π/ΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ...
 ...εἰς μνήμην Ἰωάννου π/ρεσβυτέρου...
 The term given in the genitive singular refers to a presbyter by the name of Ioannes.
 Bibl. U. Lux, *RB* 76 (1969), pp. 398-402; U. Lux, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 106-129 and M. Noth, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 130-142.

- 987 *Madaba*, Aelianus crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
 ΣΠΟΥ/ΔΗ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ / ΠΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΙΛΙ/ΑΝΟΥ...
 σπου/δῆ Σεργίου / πρ(εσβυτέρου) τοῦ ἁγίου Αἰλί/ανοῦ...
 The term refers to the presbyter Sergius, of the Church of St. Aelianus.
 Bibl. F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, p. 873.
- 988 *Main*, 8 km S.W. of Madaba, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΟΥ ΠΡ ΚΑΙ... ...εου πρ(εσβυτέρου) καί...
 The inscription is damaged but the term ‘presbyter’ is preserved.
 Bibl. R. de Vaux, *RB* 47 (1938), pp. 239f.
- 989 *Moza* (Qalonia, Qalunia), mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤS ...Κυριακοῦ πρεσβυτ(έρου)
 The presbyter’s name is Cyriacus.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 990 *Nahariyya*, marble inscription from the chancel, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΠΡΕS ΠΕΡ S ΠΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ
 ...Λεοντίου πρε(σβυτέρου) (καί) περ(ιοδευτοῦ) (καί) πάντον τόν διαφε-
 ρ(όντων) αὐτοῦ
 The term refers to the presbyter Leontius who was also the periodeutes of that Christian community.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 991 *Oboda*, Martyrium of St. Theodore, tombstone, A.D. 618
 ΑΝΕΠΑΝ Ο ΜΑ/ΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΠΙΤΩ / [Α]ΒΒΑC ΕΡΑCΙΝΟ/Υ Ο ΠΡΕC-
 ΒΥΤΕΡ(ΟC)...
 ἀνεπαῖ ἀν ὁ μα/κάριος Καπίτω / [ἀ]ββᾶς Ἐρασίνο/υ ὁ πρεσβύτερ(ος)...
 The term is given in the nominative singular and refers to ‘abba’ Erasinus.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 36-37; inscr. No. 27.
- 992 *Ras Siyagha*, Mount Nebo, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΥ/ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟ/ΦΙΛΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒC
 ἐπεὶ Ἀλεξύ/ου καὶ Θεο/φίλου πρεσβ(υτέρων)
 The term refers to two presbyters Alexius and Theophilus.
 Bibl. V. Corbo, *LA* 27 (1967), pp. 241-258.
- 993 *Ras Siyagha*, Theotokos Chapel, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΣΠΟΥΔΗ Κ ΑΓΟΝΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ Κ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΙΕCΒSBS Κ
 ΗΓΟΥΜΗΝΟΝ/...
 ...σπουδῆ κ(αί) ἀγόνι Μαρτυρίου κ(αί) Θεοδώρου πιεσβ(υτέρων) κ(αί) ἡγουμήνον/...
 The term is abbreviated in a new form used for the plural and refers to two

presbyters named Martyrius and Theodorus, who were also superiors of the monastery.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 322.

- 994 *Ras Siyagha*, Photisterium south of the baptismal font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597

...ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΣ ΠΡΕC/BS ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕ...

...καί Μαρτυρίου θεοφιλ(εστάτου) πρεσ/β(υτέρου) καί ἡγουμέ(νου),

The term together with the epithet the most beloved of God, θεοφιλέστατος, refers to the presbyter Martyrius who was also superior of the monastery.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 318.

- 995 *Ras Siyagha*, Basilica, S.W. part of the chancel, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

. ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛ[ΑΒΕC(ΤΑΤΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟ]/CΕΒ(ΕCΤΑΤΟΥ) ΑΛΕΞ[ΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ(ΥΤΕΡΟΥ)]/ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝ[ΟΥ]...

. ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλ[αβεC(τάτου) καί θεο]/σεβ(εστάτου) Ἀλεξ[άνδρου πρεσβ(υτέρου)] / καί ἡγουμέν[ου] .

The term together with the honorific epithets the most reverend, εὐλαβέστατος and the most pious, θεοσεβέστατος, refers to the presbyter Alexandrus who was also the superior of the monastery.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 323.

- 996 *Rehovot* (Negev), tomb stone inscription, A.D. 542

+ ΚΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ.../...ΤΟΝ ΤΡΙCΜΑΚΑΡC ΠΡΕCΒC...

+ Κ(ύρι)ε ἀνάπαυσον.../...τόν τρισμακάριον πρεσβ(ύτερον)...

Bibl. Y. Tsafir, *RB* 84 (1977), pl. 422-426.

- 997 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Saad en Nuheb, mosaic inscription, May A.D. 620

...ΕΚ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡ CΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕ /...

...ἐκ προσφορ(ᾶς) Σεργίου πρε(σβυτέρου)/...

The presbyter's name is Sergius.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 70, inscription No. 5.

- 998 *Rihab*, house of Hamad el Tallaq, mosaic inscription, A.D. 574/5

...CΑΜΜΑCΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦ ΠΡC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΑΥΤ...[...]

... Σαμμασαίου θεοφ(ιλέστατου) πρ(εσβυτέρου) (καί) Γεωργίου αὐτ[οῦ] υἱοῦ (?)

The term, together with the epithet 'the most beloved of God' refers to the presbyter Sammasaeus.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 70, inscription No. 6.

- 999 *Rihab*, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΝΕΟΘΕCΑΝ ΤΑ ΨΗΦΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΗΛΙΟ ΒΑCΟ ΤΟ ΘΕΟCΕC ΠΡΕCΒC Κ ΠΑΡΑΜ...

..νῦν δὲ ἀνανεόθесαν τὰ ψηφία ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ἡλιοῦ Βάσσου τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστά-
του) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) παραμο(ναρίου)...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 84-85.

- 1000 *Shaar ha Aliyah*, S.W. entrance to Haifa, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΠΡΕC... ..πρεσ(βυτέρου)...

The inscription is damaged and of the term 'presbyter' only the first four letters are preserved.

Bibl. *SEG XVI* (1959), No. 841.

- 1001 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistery, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

...Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC / CΤΕΦΑΝΟC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ

...ὁ μακάριος / Στέφανος Γεωργίου πρεσβ(ύτερος).

The presbyter's name is Georgius.

Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 55-56, inscr. No. 58.

- 1002 *Shivta*, marble inscription, A.D. 630

...Ο ΤΡΙCΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΑΡCΕΝΙΟC ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕCΒ

...ὁ τρισμακάριος Ἀρσένιος Ἀβραμίου μοναχός καί πρεσβ(ύτερος).

The term refers to a monk, Arsenius. This is a unique example of a monk presbyter, μοναχός καί πρεσβύτερος.

Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 56-57, inscr. No. 60.

- 1003 *Shivta*, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

+ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ ΒΟ/ΗΘΟC CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ

+ ἐνθάδε κατετέθη Βό/ηθος Στεφάνου πρεσβ(ύτερος).

The presbyter's name is Boethus.

Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 57-58, inscr. No. 61.

- 1004 *Shivta*, North Church, Baptistery, marble inscription, A.D. 614

... Ο ΤΡΙCΜΑΚΑΡC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΠΡC

... ὁ τρισμακάριος Ἰωάννης Στεφάνου πρ(εσβύτερος).

The presbyter's name is Ioannes.

Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 58, inscr. No. 62.

- 1005 *Shivta*, South Church, lintel, stone inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

[ΕΠΙ ΑΕΔΟ]Υ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΕΚΤΙCΘΗ ΕΝ ΕΤΙ...

[ἐπὶ Ἀέδο]υ πρεσβυτέρου ἐκτίσθη ἐν ἔτι...

Bibl. G.E. Kirk, *JPOS* 17 (1937), pp. 209-217, fig. 1.

- 1006 *Shivta*, North Church, Baptistery, Byzantine period
 ...CΤΕΦΑΝΟC ΒΟΗΘΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ...
 ...Στέφανος Βοήθου πρεσβ(ύτερος)
 The presbyter's name is Stephanus.
 Bibl. A. Negev., *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 56, inscr. No. 59.
- 1007 *Shivta*, chapel South of the Basilica, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ / ΙΩΑΝΝC ΠΡΕC...
 ...ἐπιμελεία / Ἰωάνν(ου) πρεσ(βυτέρου).
 The term refers to the presbyter Ioannes.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 60-61, inscr. No. 66; M. Avi-Yonah, *CNI* 10, 3-4 (1959), photo 1.
- 1008 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse, mosaic inscriptions, A.D.565/6
 a) ...ΕΠΙ ΛΟΓΓΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΩΤC ΠΡΕCΒC Κ ΗΓΟΥΜC +
 ...ἐπί Λογγίνου τοῦ ὀσιώτ(άτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) ἡγουμ(ένου)... +
 b) CΠΟΥΔΗ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒC Κ ΔΕΥΤ...
 σπουδῇ Θεοδώρου πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) δευτ(εραρίου)...
 In inscription a) the term together with the epithet the most pious, ὀσιώτατος, refers to Longinus, superior of the monastery, and in b) it refers to Theodorus, the second in charge of the monastery.
- 1010 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, refectory lintel over the N.E. window, stone inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΓΕΡΟΝΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡ ΠΡΕCΒ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕ[ΟΔ]ΩΡΟΥ...
 ...Γερόντιον τὸν φιλόχρ(ιστον) πρεσβ(ύτερον) τοῦ ἁγίου Θε[οδ]ώρου...
 The term together with the epithet the lover of Christ, φιλόχριστον, refers to the presbyter Gerontius.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.
- 1011 *Susita*, inscription on a chancel screen, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΝ ΧΡC ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ
 ἐν χρ(όνοις) Προκοπίου πρεσβυτέρου
 The term given in the genitive singular refers to a presbyter named Procopius.
 Bibl. E. Anati, *Bulletin of the Dept. of Antiq. of the State of Israel* V-VI, (Sept. 1957), p. 32; *SEG* XVI (1959), No. 824.
- 1012 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 No. 1 + ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗ ΚΑΙ / ΑΝΕΠΑΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ/ΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ Ο
 ΘΕ/ΟCΕΒΕCΤΑΤΟ/C ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝ/ΝΗC Ο ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕ/
 ΡΟC...

+ Ἐκυμήθη καί / ἀνεπάη καί ἐν/θάδε κεῖται ὁ θε/οσεβέστατο/ς ἡμῶν
Ἰωάν/νης ὁ πρεσβύτε/ρος...

Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities.

- 1013 *Umm el-Maqati* (djebel Ajlun), mosaic inscription, A.D. 482
ΧΜΓ / ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/CEBS ΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΕCS /...ΕΓΕ/NETO Η ΨΙ-
ΦΩCEIC/...
ΧΜΓ / 'Επί τοῦ θεο/σεβ(εστάτου) Αἰωνος πρεσ(βυτέρου) / ... ἐγέ/νετο ἡ
ψίφωσεις/...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusa-
lem 1981, pp. 23-25; 'Jordanie. L' Apogée Byzantine' *Le monde de la Bible*
(Sept.-Oct. 1984), pp. 2, 3, 52.
- 1014 *Umm er Rus*, a Syriac inscription, Byzantine period
mara Yohana, Yona Kahen.
saint John, Jonas Priest
'Kahen' is the Syriac form for presbyter – priest.
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), No. 326.

Archpresbyter

The term 'archpresbyter' appears in the following places:

- 1015 *Masouh*, Transjordan, 10 km from Madaba, mosaic inscription, Vth Cen-
tury A.D.
...CABBATIΩ APXI/ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΩ / ΑΜΗΝ
... Σαββατίῳ ἀρχι/πρεσβυτέρῳ / ἀμήν
The term appears in complete form in the dative singular and refers to the
archpresbyter Sabbatius.
Bibl. Yousef Alami, *ADAJ* 15 (1970), p. 35, pl. II.
- 1016 *Suhmata*, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 555
...CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΑΡXS ΠΡΕ/S ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜS...
... Στεφάνου ἀρχ(ι)πρε(σβυτέρου) / (καί) οἰκονόμ(ου)..
The term appears abbreviated in the form 'ΑΡXSΠΡΕS' and refers to the
archpresbyter Stephanus who was also the οἰκονόμος of the church.
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 96, pl. XXX, fig. 3.

Assistant presbyter

An assistant presbyter was a dignitary with permanent residence in a small vil-
lage, entrusted by the presbyter of the main village to perform any Church adminis-
trative work but without independent authority. Such duties were generally per-
formed by the periodeutes, the paramonarius, the elders, or retired clergy with per-
manent residence in a small village. Both the examples below refer to administrative
work.

- 1017 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri
Papyrus No. 106. 8, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Line 7. ...Γεω-
Line 8. γίου βοηθοῦ πρεσβυτέρου [...ύπ]ογράψη ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ[καί] ἀπέλυ/
Line 9. σεν καί μαρτυρῶ +
- 1018 Papyrus No. 107. 3 VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Line 2. καί προγαμιαίας δω[ρε]ιᾶς ὁ Στέφ[ανος κ] ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁ[μολογῶ
Line 3. ἀκολούθος καί ἀπέλυσα Γεόργι[ο]ς βοηθός ἐλέει Θεοῦ πρεσ[βύτερ-
ος
Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Ajja Hafir)*, Vol. 3.
Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.

Priest, ἱερεὺς

The term 'priest' appears in the following places:

- 1019 *Beit Jibrin*, mosaic inscription, approximately A.D. 500
...ΤΟΥΔ ΙΕΡΕΥC ΑΜΥΝΩΝ / ΟΒΟΔΙΑΝΟC ΗΠΙΟΘΥΜΟC
... τοῦδ' ἱερεὺς ἀμύνων / Ὀβοδιανός ἡπίοθυμος
The term appears in complete form, referring to a priest Obodianus who decorated the church with a mosaic pavement¹.
- 1020 *Madaba*, Transjordan, Aelianus Crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 607
...ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΑΥΤΑ ΙΕΡΕΩC S ΕΙΡΗΝΗC ΓΝΗCΙΟΥ ΕΡΑC-
ΤΟΥ...
... Λεοντίου τοῦ πραῦτά(του) ἱερέως (καί) εἰρήνης γνησίου ἐραστοῦ..
The term appears in complete form in the genitive singular and refers to the priest Leontius.
Bibl. F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, p. 867.
- 1021 *Madaba*, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.
ΟΡΩΝ / ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩC / ΤΟ ΠΡΑΟΝ ΘΑΥΜΑΖΕ ΤΩΝ
ΚΤΙCΜΑΤΩΝ...
ὀρῶν / Λεοντίου τοῦ ἱερέως / τό πρᾶον θαύμαζε τῶν κτισμάτων...
The term, in complete form in the genitive singular, refers to the same Leontius, ἱερεὺς, mentioned in the previous inscription. Although there is no indication as to whether he was a presbyter or a bishop, it would seem rather that he was a presbyter.
Bibl. F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, p. 879.
- 1022 *Petra*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΠΑΙC ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΕ ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC ΙΑCΩΝΟC / ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤ ΙΕΡΕΥ-
CΑΝΤΟC ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΓΩ ΘΕΩ ΕΟΝΤΙ / ΧΡΙCΤΩ ΠΑΝΒΑCΙΛΗΙ
ΟΜΟΟΥCΙΩ ΤΡΙΑΔΗ CΕΠΤΗ /

¹ Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 33 (1924), pp. 583-604, 596-598.

+ παῖς ἐνθάδε κείμε Διονύσιος Ἰάσονος / τοῦ ποτ' ἱερέυσαντος Θεοῦ Λόγω
 Θεῶ ἐόντι / Χριστῶ πανβασιλῆϊ ὁμοουσίῳ τριάδι σεπτῇ /...
 Dept. of Antiq. Catal. No. 43. 15.

Episcopus

The term 'episcopus' was used in classical antiquity as meaning one who watches over, an overseer, a guardian, an emissary to a vassal state.

In the early Christian period the term was used:

- a) interchangeably with the term presbyter,¹
- b) as a term given to a presbyter who, though equal with the other presbyters, presided over their assembly as their presbyter director, over the deacons and over the whole congregation², and
- c) as a distinct ministerial order, being the highest among the three orders of the Church³.

The bishop was regarded as the successor of the Apostles and as such presided over all forms of public worship and liturgical services, having a special seat in church. He had the right of ordination, and was in charge of clerical discipline and the administration of Church property. He was also responsible for the sick and poor members of the community; in a word he was the ruler and the centre of the life of the whole congregation.

During these early days many congregations with a bishop were considered to be independent and complete in themselves. The bishop, regardless of the size and importance of his bishopric, was independent of his colleagues, having as his superior the Founder of the Christian Church, Jesus Christ. But during the fourth century when Christianity was recognized by the state and allowed to co-exist as an accepted religion in the Roman world, a change occurred in the organization of the Church. As the Empire was divided into provinces and each province subdivided into districts, etc., for fiscal, commercial, judicial and other administrative purposes, a similar structure was adopted by the Church which was divided into ecclesiastical units, each unit having its own centre of administration. A hierarchy was formed among the bishops which was determined by the importance of the city in which the bishop presided. If he happened to be the bishop of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch or, after A.D. 451 of Jerusalem, he was called Patriarch and he had jurisdiction over the bishops of his province. If he was a bishop of a capital city in a province, he was called metropolitan and his power extended over all the subordinate bishops of

¹ Acts 20: 17, 20: 28.

² See p. 154 of this work 'The Birth, Formation and Development of Church Administration'; PG 2. 32C; Euseb. *HE* III. ii.

³ St. Ignatius, *Epist.* 645B (early second century A.D.) and Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* IV, 5 (A.D. 270).

that province. Finally if he was a bishop of the countryside known as Chora, he was called country-bishop, χωρεπίσκοπος, and had jurisdiction over the clergy of his area. This hierarchical system within the Church, subordinated one bishopric to another, defining and limiting the power and jurisdiction of one bishop over another, of the clergy in general and of the laity according to the size and political importance of the bishopric.

Later on in this chapter, a more detailed description of the episcopal office as the highest among ecclesiastical orders will be given, and each episcopal office will be dealt with individually according to its rank in the hierarchical order, namely, Patriarch, Metropolitan, City Bishop and Country Bishop.

In the Early Church a respectable member of the community was appointed bishop. This appointment was more a matter of common understanding than of ecclesiastical regulation. The assembly which elected him based its choice on his personality and character rather than his age, status, education, etc. If he had no learning, the reader was there to read and expound the Scriptures; if he possessed few administrative gifts, the presbyters and the deacons were beside him to help but he had to be the best among his people; a man of holy life, for in the matter of virtue there could be no substitute¹.

Later, however, with the increasing number of churches, freedom of religion and the privileges and immunities conferred by the State upon the clergy, the office of bishop was sought by many people, and from that time on several restrictions were enforced. Certain qualifications were required of prospective candidates both by the Church and by the State². With regard to civil law, see Justin., *Novella* 223 c 12³ and for Church Fathers, see St. Basil, *Epistl.* 54 (181); *PG* 32, 400.

According to the Council of Chalcedon, act XI, the bishop was elected by all the people for whom he was going to be the future shepherd, 'παρά πάντων τῶν μελλόντων ποιμαίνεσθαι ψηφίζόμενος', though the final judgement, ratification and ordination was the function of the neighbouring bishops⁴, after the clergy and laity had approved and testified to his character.

The bishop in his province ruled as a monarch. He had authority over the presbyters and deacons in the administration of the Sacraments⁵, discipline, revenue of

1 1 *Timothy* iii. 1-8.

2 *Cod. Theod.* 16, 2, 3, (A.D. 320), a law re-enacted by Constantius 361; *Cod. Theod.* 8, 4, 7 = *Cod. Justin.* 1, 3, 4, and again in effect by Honorius and Arcadius in 398, *Cod. Theod.* 16, 2, 32.

3 Κληρικούς οὐκ ἄλλως χειροτονεῖσθαι συγχωροῦμεν, εἰ μὴ γράμματα ἴσασι καὶ ὀρθὴν πίστιν καὶ βίον σεμνὸν ἔχουσι καὶ οὐδὲ παλλακὴν οὐδὲ φυσικούς ἔσχον ἢ ἔχουσι παῖδας ἄλλ' ἢ σωφρόνως βιούντας ἢ γαμετὴν νόμιμον καὶ αὐτὴν μίαν καὶ πρώτην ἐσχηκότας καὶ μηδὲ χήραν μηδὲ διαζευχθεῖσαν ἀνδρός.

4 *Can. Apost.* 1.

5 St. Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.* VIII, 'Οὐκ ἔξον ἐστὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν (*Tert. De Bapt.* 17).

the Church¹, and the ordination and appointment of the clergy serving under him². He had a right to intervene in another diocese in the case of schism or heresy, but there had no right of ordaining. See Council of Antioch c.13 (A.D. 341) which expressly limited the exercise of a bishop's jurisdiction to his own province: 'He could not, in future, go to another province for the purpose of contacting ordinations, except on the written invitation of the metropolitan or bishop of that province.' This prohibitive regulation shows that several bishops were going into other provinces and conducting ordinations, and by so doing they were gaining the support of these newly ordained bishops in order to attain their ambitious goals, e.g. Juvenalius, Bishop of Jerusalem, p. 8ff. here.

In addition to the above mentioned duties of the bishop, he also consecrated churches, cemeteries and any other ecclesiastical or charitable institutions in his diocese and his name would be included in a votive or descriptive inscription.

The term 'episcopus', found in the inscriptions from Palestine, refers to the 'city bishop', ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως, who in the episcopal hierarchy was subordinate to both the Patriarch and Metropolitan, but superior to the country bishop.

In the *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*, on the Saturday after the Fourth Sunday of Lent, the memory of all the bishops of Jerusalem is celebrated. Σάββατον μετὰ τὴν 4ην Κυριακὴν, μνήμη τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ἱερουσαλήμ.

The term 'Episcopus' appears in the following inscriptions extant in Palestine of the Byzantine period, either in complete or abbreviated form:

- 1023 *Amman* (inscription now located in the Palestine Museum, Cat. No. S. 913), marble slab inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΓΕΡΘΗ ΟΣΔΕ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟ(ΠΟΥ) / ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚ-
 ΤΟΥ...
 ...ἐγέρθη ὁσδε ὁ ναός ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁσ(ιωτάτου) ἐπισκό(που) / Πολυεύκτου...
 The term appears together with the epithet 'the most pious', ὀσιώτατος.
 Bibl. F.M Abel, *RB* N.S. 5 (1908), p. 568; B. Bagatti, *LA* 23 (1973), pp. 261-283.
- 1024 *Amman*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, A.D. 653-654
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟCEB ΚΑΙ ΟCΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥ ΕΠΙCΚ ΕΨΗ-
 ΦΩΘΗ / ΤΟ ΨΗΦΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΙΑ CΠΟΥΔΗC / CΙΛΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...
 Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ ὀσιωτάτου / Θεοδοσίου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐψηφώθη
 / τό ψῆφιν τοῦτο διὰ σπουδῆς / Σιλανοῦ διακ(όνου)...

¹ Council of Antioch (A.D. 341), can. XXIV-XXV 'Τά τῆς ἐκκλησίας ... διοικεῖσθαι προσήκει μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου' and can. Apost. XXXVII 'Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐχέτω τὴν φροντίδα καὶ διοικεῖται αὐτά ὡς Θεοῦ ἐφορῶντος'.

² Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314), can. 9. "Ἐκαστον ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστῃ ἐπιβάλλουσιν εὐλάβειαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους μετὰ κρίσεως ἑκαστον διαλαμβάνειν'.

- Bibl. A. Alt, 'Inchriftliches zu den Ären von Skythopolis und Philadelphia,' *ZDPV* 55 (1932), p. 133, No. 2.
- 1025 *Arraba*, Upper Galilee, Byzantine church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΠΙ [Τ]ΟΥ / [ΘΕΟCE]Β ΚΑΙ Α[ΓΙΩΤS] / [ΕΠΙCΚΟΠ] ΓΡΗ[ΓΟΡΙΟΥ]...
 ...ἐπί [τ]οῦ / [θεοσε]β(εστάτου) καί ἀ[γιω(τάτου)] / [ἐπισκόπ](ου) Γρη[γορ-
 ίου]...
 The inscription is damaged.
 Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971), p. 244; V. Tzaferis, *RB* 76 (1969), pp. 409-410.
- 1026 *Ashkelon-Barnea*, Diaconicon, mosaic inscription, Late Vth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΑΣ Κ ΑΓΙΩΤS / ΕΠΙCΚ ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙΟΥ ΤΟ / ΠΑΝ
 ΕΡΓΟΝ...
 ...ἐπί τοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) κ(αί) ἀγιωτ(άτου) / ἐπισκ(όπου) Ἀναστασίου τό /
 πᾶν ἔργον...
 The term refers to the bishop Anastasius, together with the epithet the most
 holy, ἀγιώτατος, and the most beloved of God, θεοφιλέστατος.
 Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971), pp. 241-244, inscription No. 1.
- 1027 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, chalk block, inscription No. 61, Byzantine peri-
 od
 . ΔΟΥ]ΛΟΥ CΟ[Y ... ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ...
 . δού]λου σο[υ ... ἐπισκόπου ...
 Only parts of the inscription are clear.
- 1028 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri
 Papyrus No. 50. 11, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 line 10 τ(ῶ) ἀβ(ῆ) Ζωνίνω Γεώργιος ἐλέει
 line 11 Θε(οῦ) ἐπίσκοπος
- 1029 Papyrus No. 51. 1, 6, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 line 1 + Μωϋσῆς ἐ[λ]έει Θε(ο)ῦ ἐπίσκο(πος) τοῦ Ἀϊλάν[ου] Βίκτορι...
 line 6 + Μοῦσαις Σεργ[ίου] ἐ[π]ίσκο(πος) ὑπεσεμενάμην +
- 1030 Papyrus No. 52. 14, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 line 13 τ[ὸν] ἀββᾶν Ἰωάννην τόν γέροντα
 line 14 ἐπίσκ(οπον)
- 1031 Papyrus No. 89. 28, Late VI – Early VIIth Century A.D.
 line 28 α]ὐτό ἐλ[αβεν] ὁ ἐπίσκοπος το...
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Ha-
 fir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations
 at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press
 1958.

- 1032 *Dor (Tanturah)*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤ / [Ε]ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ
 ἐπί τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου / [ἐ]πισκόπου
 The term is given in the genitive singular together with the epithet the most holy, ἀγιώτατος.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 1033 *El-Yadudeh*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, A.D. 503
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟCEBS ΚΑΙ ΑCΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΑΔΟCΙΟΥ ΕΠICKS ΕΨΗ-
 ΦΩΘΗ / ...
 ἐπί τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καί ἀσιωτάτου Θεαδοσίου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐψη-
 φώθη / ...
 The term, together with the epithets the most God fearing, θεοσεβέστατος and the most pious, ὀσιώτατος, refers to the bishop Theodosius.
 Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 934.
- 1034 *Emmaus*, Baptistry, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΙ Τ(ΟΥ)...[ΕΠΙΚ]/ΚΟΠΟΥ... ἐπί τ(οῦ)...[ἐπισ]/κόπου...
 The inscription is damaged, but the term has been preserved.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 151.
- 1035 *Emmaus*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 Θ]ΕΟΦΙΛ.../...ΕΠICKΟ... ..θ]εοφιλ(εστάτου).../...ἐπισκό(που).
 This inscription is also damaged with the term preserved together with the epithet θεοφιλέστατος.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 155.
- 1036 *Emmaus*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟ. /ΘΕΟΦΙ.../Κ ΑΓΙΩ.../...ΩΑΝΝ / ΕΠΙ.../
 + Ἐπί το[ῦ] / θεοφι[λ(εστάτου)] / καί ἀγιω[τ(άτου)] / [Ἰ]ωάνν[ου] / ἐπι[σκ(ό-
 που)]
 Bibl. Y. Blome, *RB* 87 (1980), pp. 406-407; *SEG* XXX (1980), inscr. No. 1686.
- 1037 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 3, Vth Century A.D.
 ...ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟCEBS / ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠICKOS ΠΑΥΛΟΥ + / ...
 ...τοῦ ἀγιο(τάτου) καί θεοσεβ(εστάτου) / ἡμῶν ἐπισκό(που) Παύλου + / ...
- 1038 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 5, Vth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒS ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΦS ΕΠICKΟΠΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ...
 ἐπί τοῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου) καί θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Παύλου...
 Both inscriptions mention the bishop Paulus, together with the epithets εὐ-
 λαβέστατος, θεοφιλέστατος, ἀγιώτατος, θεοσεβέστατος.
 The Byzantine name for Evron is not known, but it is certain that in this period, Evron was under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 1039 *Fenan*, Penan, ancient Phaenon, Transjordan, towards Petra between Kh. Es-Samra and Kasr-Namala, stone inscription, A.D. 581
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΤ Ε/ΠΙΣΚ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΕΓΕΝΕΤΩ ΤΩ ΕΡΓΩ /...
 + ἐπί τοῦ ὀσιωτ(άτου) ἐ/πισκ(όπου) Θεοδώρου / ἐγένετω τῷ ἔργω/...
 The term, together with the epithet the most pious, ὀσιώτατος, refers to the bishop Theodorus.
 Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 339.
- 1040 *Gerasa*, Transjordan, the Cathedral, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΝ[ΕΝ]ΕΩΘΗ / ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΝ[Α]ΕΙΟΝ.
 + ἐπί τοῦ ὀσιω(τάτου) ἐπισκόπου / Παύλου ἀν[εν]εώθη / τόδε τό προν-
 [α]εῖον.
 The inscription is damaged and only the first four letters of the term are preserved. It includes the epithet the most pious, ὀσιώτατος.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 474, inscription No. 293.
- 1041 *Gerasa*, the Baths of Placcus, stone inscription, A.D. 454/5
 + ΕΠΙ ΠΛΑΚΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ/Υ...
 + ἐπί Πλάκκου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου/υ...
 The term given in the genitive singular refers to the bishop Placcus together with the epithet θεοφιλέστατος.
 Bibl. *SEG VII* (1934), No. 871.
- 1042 *Gerasa*, Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, stone inscription, A.D. 464/5
 [ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ Ο]ΣΙΩΤ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΛΑ[Υ]ΔΙΟΥ...
 [ἐπί τοῦ ὀ]σιωτ(άτου) ἐπισκόπου Κλα[υ]δίου...
 The term together with the epithet 'the most pious', ὀσιώτατος, refers to the bishop Claudius.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, inscription No. 298.
- 1043 *Gerasa*, the Procopius Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ[ΦΙΛΕ]ΣΤΑΤΟ[Υ Κ]ΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΑ[ΤΟΥ] ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ...
 + ἐπί Παύλου τοῦ θεο[φιλε]στάτο[υ κ]αὶ ὀσιωτά[του] ἐπισκόπου...
 The term together with the epithets θεοφιλέστατος and ὀσιώτατος, refers to the bishop Paulus.
 Bibl. *SEG VII* (1934), No. 872.
- 1044 *Gerasa*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, A.D. 529/30
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤ[ΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣ]ΚΟΠΟΥ ΠΑ[Υ]ΛΟΥ...
 + ἐπί τοῦ θεοφιλεστ[άτου καὶ ὀσιωτάτου ἐπισ]κόπου Πα[ύ]λου...

The term refers to the bishop Paulus with the same epithets as in the previous inscription.

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, inscription No. 309.

- 1045 *Gerasa*, Church of Bishop Genesisus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 611

...ΓΕΝΕCΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙ(Ω)Τ(ΑΤΟΥ) ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙCΚ(ΟΠΟΥ)/...

...Γενεσίου τοῦ ἀγι(ω)τ(άτου) ἡμῶν ἐπισκ(όπου)/...

The term together with the epithet the most holy, ἀγιώτατος, refers to the bishop Genesisus.

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, inscr. No. 335.

- 1046 *Hazor Ashdod*, Kh. Banaya, mosaic inscription No. 1, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤS ΚΑΙ ΟCΙΩΤS ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙCΚS...

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) καὶ ὀσιωτ(άτου) Ἀντωνίου / ἐπισκ(όπου)...

- 1047 *Hazor Ashdod*, Kh. Banaya, mosaic inscription No. 2, A.D. 551/2

ΕΠΙ ΤS ΘΕΟCΕΒS ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩΤS ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙCΚ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ...

ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ ἀγιωτ(άτου) ἡμῶν ἐπισκ(όπου) Ἀντωνίου...

Together with the epithets θεοσεβέστατος and ἀγιώτατος the term refers to the bishop Antonius.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 1048 *Jaber*, Transjordan, Provincia Arabia, house of Ahmed el-Husein, Byzantine period

...ΘΕΩΦΙΛΕCΤS Κ ΩCΙΩΤΑ/ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΠΙΟΥ ΕΠΙCΚΟ...

...θεωφιλεστ(άτου) κ(αί) ὀσιωτά/του Ἀγαπίου ἐπισκό(που)...

The term appears together with the epithets the most beloved of God, θεοφιλέστατος and the most pious, ὀσιώτατος, and refers to the bishop Agapius.

Dept. of Antiquities.

- 1049 *Jerusalem*, Y.M.C.A., tomb stone inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

The term refers to a bishop 'CA..' of the Georgian monastic community in Jerusalem.

In the *Ἀγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον*, p. 100.. the memory of Bishop Samuel was celebrated on February 24th: Φεβρουαρίου 24, Μνήμη τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Σαμουήλ. Heinrich Goussen suggests that this *Canonarion* belonged to one of the Georgian monastic societies in Palestine. According to this inscription, it was perhaps the Georgian Monastery near David's Tower in Jerusalem.

Bibl. J.H. Iliffe, *QDAP* 4 (1934), pp. 78-80; *SEG* VIII (1937), inscr. No. 205.

- 1050 *Jerusalem*, West of Nablus Rd., opposite St. Etienne, stone inscription, Byzantine period

...ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙΩ ΟCΙΟ(ΤΑΤ)Ω ΕΠΙCΚΟS...

...Ἀναστασίω ὀσιο(τάτ)ω ἐπισκό(πῳ)...

The term together with the epithet 'the most pious', ὀσιώτατος, refers to the

bishop Anastasius. In the *Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον*, July 1st is celebrated in memory of Juvenalius and Anastasius, bishops of Jerusalem, that is to say Patriarchs of Jerusalem. Thus it may be that the bishop Anastasius of this inscription is the same Patriarch, Anastasius 1st, who succeeded Juvenalius in A.D. 458 or Anastasius II, who died in A.D. 706.

Bibl. Y. E. Meimaris, *LA* 30 (1980), pp. 225-232 pls. 7-8.

- 1051 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sih), mosaic inscription, A.D. 526/7
ΕΚΤΗΘΗ Η ΑΓ[ΙΑ] / ΗΚΛΗΣΙΑ... ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΘΕΩΦΙΛΗΣ[ΤΑΤΟΥ
ΕΠΙ]ΣΚ ΗΜ[ΩΝ] / ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...

Ἐκτίσθη ἡ ἀγ[ία] / ἡ κλησία... ἐπὶ τοῦ / θεωφιλησ[τάτου ἐπ]ισκ(όπου)
ἡμ[ῶν] / Στεφάνου...

Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

- 1052 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, St. George Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ] / ΕΚΤΙΘΕ Κ ΕΤΗ-
ΛΙΩ...

ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου Ἰω[άννου ἐπισκόπου] / ἐκτίσθ(η) κ(αί) ἐτηλιώ(θη)...

Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, p. 140.

- 1053 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙ[Ω]ΤΑΤΟΥ / ΕΛΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ /
ΕΤΗΛΙΟΘΑΪ.

ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου / καὶ ἀγί[ω]τάτου / Ἐλιοῦ ἐπισκόπου / ἐτηλιόθαϊ.

The term in the first inscription, though missing, is suggested and refers to the bishop Ioannes; and in the second, the term appears in complete form and refers to the bishop Elias together with the epithets the most pious, ὀσιώτατος and most holy, ἀγιώτατος.

Bibl. *Idem*.

- 1054 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Church of the priest John, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΣ Κ ΘΕΩΦΙΛΕΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ...

ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιω(τάτου) κ(αί) θεωφιλεσ(τάτου) ἐπισκόπου Ἰωάννου...

The term together with the epithets the most pious, ὀσιώτατος and most beloved of God, θεοφιλέστατος, refers to the bishop Ioannes.

Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, p. 173.

- 1055 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩ Κ ΩΣΙΩΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟ ΕΚΤΗΘΗ...

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιω(τάτου) κ(αί) ὀσιω(τάτου) Ἰωάννου ἐπισκό(που) ἐκτίσθη...

The term refers to the same bishop, Ioannes, with the epithets the most holy, ἀγιώτατος and the most pious, ὀσιώτατος.

- Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 183-4; *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 336.
- 1056 *Kafr Kama*, 5 km N.E. of Mount Tabor, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
 + ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΦΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚ...
 + ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Εὐφρασίου ἐπισκ(όπου)...
 The term together with the epithet, the most holy, ἀγιώτατος, refers to the bishop Euphrasius.
 Bibl. A. Saarisalo – H. Palva, *Studia Orientalia*, Ed. Societas Orientalis Fennica XXX 1, inscription No. 2.
- 1057 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΩΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΜΙΣΑΗΛΟΣ...
 + Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ ὀσιωτάτου / ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Μισαῆλος...
 Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12 (1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG* XXX (1980), inscr. No. 1688.
- 1058 *Madaba*, the Cathedral, mosaic inscription, A.D. 563
 ... ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ /...
 ...καὶ ἀγιω(τάτου) ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Ἰωάννου /...
 Together with the epithet 'the most holy', the term refers to the bishop Ioannes.
 Bibl. S. Saller, *LA* 19 (1969), pp. 145-167.
- 1059 *Madaba*, Aelianus crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
 ΕΠΙ / ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩ / ΕΠΙΣΚΟ/ΠΟΥ/
 ἐπὶ / Σεργίου / τοῦ ὀσιω(τάτου) / ἐπισκό/που/
 Together with the epithet, the most pious, ὀσιώτατος, the term refers to the bishop Sergius.
 Bibl. P.M. Séjourné, *RB* 6 (1897), p. 652; F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, p. 873.
- 1060 *Madaba*, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ Ο ΤΟΠΟΣ/...
 Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἰωάννου ἐψηφώθη ὁ τόπος /...
 The term is given in complete form together with the epithet most holy, ἀγιώτατος.
 Bibl. U. Lux, *ZDPV* 83 (1967), pp. 165-182, pl. XXVI-XL; U. Lux, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 106-129, pl. XIV-XXXIV; M. Noth, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), pp. 130-142, figs. 1-4, pl. XXXV and U. Lux, *RB* 76 (1969), pp. 398-402.

- 1061 *Madaba*, mosaic inscription, A.D. 579
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΣ Κ ΑΓΙΩΣ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚ / ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ..
 + 'Επί τοῦ ὀσιω(τάτου) κ(αί) ἀγίω(τάτου) Σεργίου ἐπισκ(όπου) / ἐτελιώθη...
 The term is abbreviated together with the epithets the most pious, ὀσιώτατος and most holy, ἀγιώτατος.
 Bibl. F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, p. 879.
- 1062 *Madaba*, Church of Virgin, mosaic inscription, A.D. 622/3
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΩΣΙΩ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΗΣΚΩΠΟΥ / ...
 'Επί τοῦ ὠσιω(τάτου) πατρός ἡμῶν Θεοφάνους ἐπησκώπου / ...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa della Vergine a Madaba,' *LA* 32 (1982), pp. 373-408.
- 1063 *Masouh*, mosaic inscription No. 2, Byzantine period
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ Ο/ΣΙΩΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙΣΚΣ ΕΨΗΦΩ/ΘΗ Η ΑΓΙ-
 ΩΤΑΤΗ ΕΚ/ΛΗΣΙ..
 'Επί τοῦ ὀ/σιω(τάτου) Θεοδοσίου / ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐψηφώ/θη ἡ ἀγιωτάτη ἐκ/λησί[α]..
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa di Massuh e il territorio della diocesi di Esbous,' *LA* 33 (1983), pp. 335-346.
- 1064 *Petra*, Transjordan, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΙΑΩΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟ/ΠΟΥ..
 ἐπί τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου / 'Ιάωνος ἐπισκό/που..
 The term, together with the epithet the most pious, ὀσιώτατος names the bishop as Iason.
 Bibl. R.E. Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia* III, p. 345.
- 1065 *Ras Siyagha*, left side-sunken panel on the baptismal font
 a) stone inscription, A.D. 597
 + ΣΕΡΓΙΟΣ Ο / ΑΓΙΩΤ ΕΠΙΣΚΟ / Τ[Ω] Θ(Ε)Ω ΤΑ ΣΑ / ΟΙ
 ΠΡΟΣΦ/ΕΡ[Ω] +
 + Σέργιος ὁ / ἀγιώτ(ατος) ἐπίσκο(πος) / τ[ῶ] Θ(ε)ῷ τά σά / σοί προσφ/έρ[ω] +
 The bishop's name is Sergius with the epithet most holy, ἀγιώτατος.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 319.
- 1066 b) mosaic inscription south of the baptismal font, A.D. 597
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΟΣΙΩ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙΣΚ..
 'Επί τοῦ / ὀσιω(τάτου) Σεργίου / ἐπισκ(όπου)..
 Included with the term is the epithet most pious, ὀσιώτατος.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 318.
- 1067 c) Theotokos Chapel, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΥΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ...
 ...εὐχῇ τοῦ ἀγίου πατρός ἡμῶν Λεοντίου ἐπισκόπου / ...

The term together with the epithet 'Our Holy Father' refers to the bishop Leontius.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 322.

- 1068 *Shavei Zion*, exonarthex mosaic inscription, A.D. 486
 [+ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ...] / (Ο)Σ ΕΠΙΣΚΟ ΗΜΩΝ / ΦΩΤΙΝ[ΟΥ...
 [+Ἐπὶ τοῦ...] / (ὁ)σ(ιωτάτου) ἐπισκό(που) ἡμῶν / Φωτίν[ου...
 The term is given together with the epithet most pious, ὀσιώτατος.
 Bibl. M.W. Prausnitz, M. Avi-Yonah and D. Barag, *Excavations at Shavei Zion*, Roma 1967, pp. 58-9.
- 1069 *Shellal*, South of Gaza, mosaic inscription, A.D. 561/2
 ...ΟCΙΩΤC ΗΜΩΝ Ε[ΠΙCΚΟΠΟC] / ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟΦΙΛC...
 ...ὀσιώτ(ατος) ἡμῶν ἐ[πί]σκοπος] / καὶ ὁ θεοφιλ(έστατος)...
 The inscription has been damaged, but enough is preserved to suggest the existence of the term 'episcopus' of which only the first letter remains together with the epithet the most pious, ὀσιώτατος.
 Bibl. M.J. Lagrange, *RB* 14 (1917), p. 150; *RB* 15 (1918), pp. 595-596.
- 1070 *Shivta*, South Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΠΗ ΤΟΥ ΩCΟΙΩΤ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ / ΗΜΟΝ ΕΠΙCΚ...
 + Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠσοῖωτ(άτου) Γεωργίου / ἡμὸν ἐπισκ(όπου)...
 Included with the term is the epithet the most pious, ὀσιώτατος.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 61-62, inscr. No. 68.
- 1071 *Shivta*, Chapel South of the Basilica, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩ[ΤΑΤΟΥ Ε]ΠΙCΚ ΘΩΜΑ ΕΓΕΝ[ΕΤ]Ο...
 Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγίω[τάτου ἐ]πισκ(όπου) Θωμᾶ ἐγέν[ετ]ο...
 The term appears together with the epithet most holy, ἀγιώτατος.
 Bibl. *CNI* 10, 3-4 (1959), pl. 1; B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine*, p. 296.
- 1072 *Swafieh*, Transjordan, near Amman, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤC ΘΩΜΑ ΕΠΙCΚ...
 + Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγίωτ(άτου) Θωμᾶ ἐπισκ(όπου)...
 The term, together with the epithet 'the most holy', refers to the bishop Thomas.
 Bibl. B. Van Elderen, *ADAJ* 15 (1970), p. 25, pl. 1.
- 1073 *Wadi 'Ayun Mousa*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΕΨΗ/ΦΩΘΗ Α/ΥΤΗ Η ΑΓΙΩ / ΕΚΛC ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥ/ΚΥΡΟΥ ΕΠΙ/CΚC
 Ἐψη/φώθη α/ὔτη ἡ ἀγίω(τάτη) / ἐκλ(ησία) ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐ(λαβεστάτου) / Κύρου
 ἐπι/σκ(όπου)
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Una chiesa nell' wadi 'Ayun Mousa ai piedi del monte Nebo,' *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 307-318.

Country Bishop. Χωρεπίσκοπος

The Greek word 'chorepiscopus' is a compound word from 'chora' and 'episcopos', 'chora' meaning country as opposed to the word 'polis' meaning city. The chora includes the suburbs of a city, the surrounding fields and the neighbouring villages (Hesiod's *Works and Days* 344, and *John* 4: 35).

The office of the country bishop as mentioned in the minutes of the Councils of Neocaesarea can. 12, Antioch can. 10, Nicaea can. 8 and Laodicea can. 57, was opposite to the office of 'city bishop', ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως, and referred to a bishop with very limited powers¹, though originally the country bishop was one appointed to a country community with full powers in the ordinary sense of the word, that is to say, complete administrative responsibility of the community (S. Clementis *Epistola I. ad Corinthians*, P G 292-293 'Κατά χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθέστανον τὰ ἐπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καὶνῶς ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγγέγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων'.

To explain how the country bishop lost his independence, it is necessary to return to the history of the third century A.D., during the Roman persecution when the country communities suffered most. The country communities having been instructed in Christianity by city Christians, regarded the spiritual leadership of the latter with respect and admiration. As long as everything was going well they were independent, but the moment they started to be financially dependent on the cities, especially during and after the persecution of Decius A.D. 249-251², they lost all their independence, and the city bishop, once an equal with his country counterpart, gradually became the protector, guardian and finally ruler of the country bishop.

With the submission of the country bishop to that of the city, new laws were enacted in subsequent councils which limited, defined and finally discarded the office of the country bishop as being obsolete in the Church administration. Thus,

a) Canon 13 of the Council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, gives the once equal country bishop, the honorary privilege of assisting the city bishop at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the city Mother-Church, a privilege which the country presbyters did not have, distinguishing him from both bishop and presbyter.

b) Canon 14 of the Council of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314, equates the country bishops to the seventy disciples as 'typifying the seventy', in the same way as the city bishop typified the Twelve Disciples, 'Οἱ δὲ χωρεπίσκοποι εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ὡς δὲ συλλειτουργοὶ διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν τὴν εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς, προσφέρουσι τιμώμενοι'.

1 J. Gaudemet, *L'Eglise dans l'Empire romain (IV^e-V^e siècles)*, Vol. III, Paris 1958, p. 374.

2 H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles* II, Paris 1908, col. 1200.

c) Canon 10 of the Council of Antioch recognized the episcopal rank of the country bishops by accepting their consecration, and by giving them the right to ordain readers, exorcists and subdeacons, but not deacons and presbyters unless by the expressed permission of their city bishop, 'Τούς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἢ ταῖς χώραις, ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπου εἰληφότες ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα καὶ διοικεῖν τὰς ὑποκειμένους αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι φροντίδι καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ καθιστᾶν δὲ ἀναγνώστας καὶ ὑποδιακόνους καὶ ἐφορκιστάς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι προαγωγῇ, μήτε δὲ πρεσβύτερον μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, ἢ ὑποκείται αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ χώρα. Εἰ δὲ τολμήσειε τις παραβῆναι τὰ ὀρισθέντα, καθαιρεῖσθαι αὐτόν καὶ ἥς μετέχει τιμῆς. Χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἢ ὑπόκειται ἐπισκόπου'.

d) Canon 6 of the Council of Sardica (modern Sophia, Bulgaria), A.D. 347, forbade the appointment of bishops to country communities, 'to prevent the humiliation of the bishop by putting him to serve in a small community'. The term 'bishop' refers to any official of episcopal rank including the country bishop, '...μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἀπλῶς καθιστᾶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν τινὶ κώμῃ ἢ βραχεῖᾳ πόλει ἥτινι καὶ εἷς μόνος πρεσβύτερος ἐπαρκεῖ. Οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον γάρ ἐπισκόπους ἐκεῖσε καθίστασθαι, ἵνα μὴ κατευτελίζεται τό τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὄνομα καὶ ἡ αὐθεντία'.

e) Canon 57 of the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 343-381, abolishes the office of the country bishop, 'chorepiscopus', and replaces it with that of *periodeutes*¹, again to avoid humiliating the prestige of the bishop, "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιδευτάς...".

The chorepiscopus could sit and vote in the Councils (See Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, act. 1, p. 58. Hardouin I 1425. E). Many chorepiscopoi participated in and signed the minutes of the Council of Nicaea.

In spite of these restrictions, the office continued to exist and as such was often the concern of the Oecumenical Councils. See the minutes of the Fourth and Seventh Oecumenical Councils. In these minutes presbyters were also called chorepiscopoi, indicating how the office was gradually reduced.

In conclusion it can be said that the office of the country bishop was originally of episcopal rank, that it was gradually forced down to the rank of presbyter and finally yielded to the newly created office of the *periodeutes*.

The title 'chorepiscopus' appears in the following Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine, either in complete or abbreviated form:

1074 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 6, Vth Century A.D.

...]ΕΟΥ ΧΩΡΕΠΙΣΚ... ..]εου χωρεπισκ(όπου)...

The inscription is very fragmentary making it difficult to read his name.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

¹ see 'periodeutes' in this work, p. 254ff

- 1075 *Hazor Ashdod*, mosaic inscription No. 1, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙΣΚΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ
 ΘΕΟCEBS ΠΡΕCBS ΚΑΙ ΧΩ/ΡΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΛΟΠΟΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ
 ΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟCEΒΕCΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΕCBS ΚΑΙ Η/ΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
 ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ / ΤΗΣ ΨΗΦΩCΕΩC+
 + 'Επί τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) καὶ ὀσιωτ(άτου) Ἀντωνίου / ἐπισκ(όπου) καὶ τοῦ
 θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ χω/ρεπισκόπου Καλοποδίου καὶ τοῦ /
 θεοσεβεστάτου Παύλου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἡ/γουμένου ἐγένετο τό ἔργον
 τοῦτο / τῆς ψηφώσεως+
 The term indicates an official of presbyterial rank.
- 1076 *Hazor Ashdod*, mosaic inscription No. 2, A.D. 551/2
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΣ ΘΕΟCEBS ΚΑΙ ΧΩΡΟΕΠΙΣΚΣ ΚΑΛΑΠΟΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΟ-
 ΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟCEBS ΠΡΕC.
 + 'Επί τ(οῦ) θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ χωροεπισκ(όπου) Καλαποδίου καὶ Ἱερο-
 νίου τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρεσ(βυτέρου).
 In this inscription, the same chorepiscopus Kalapodius of presbyterial rank
 is mentioned.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
 Note: Evron, Horvat Karkara, Shavei Zion and Suhmata at this period, be-
 longed rather to the Patriarchate of Antioch as being parts of Phoenicia.
- 1077 *Horvat Karkara*, Gesher Haziv, mosaic inscription, March A.D. 477
 [Ε]ΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤ[Α]ΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΘΕΟΦΙΣ ΑΡΧΙ/[Ε]ΠΙΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΛΟΝ-
 ΓΙΝΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟCE/[ΒS] ΧΩΡΟΕΠΙΣ ΠΟΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΩΝ
 Ε/[ΥΛ]ΑΒS ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕS ΓΑΕΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΕ ΔΩ/ΡΟΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑCCOY
 ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Η ΨΗΦ/...
 [Ε]πί τοῦ ἀγιωτ[ά]του κέ θεοφι(λεστάτου) ἀρχι/[ε]πι(σκόπου) ἡμῶν Λονγί-
 νου κέ τοῦ θεοσε/[β](εστάτου) χωροεπι(σκόπου) Πολυχρονίου κέ τῶν ε/[ύ]-
 λαβ(εστάτων) περιοδε(υτῶν) Γαιανοῦ κέ Δω/ροθέου καὶ Βάσσου...
 The term refers to Πολυχρόνιος. He is mentioned after the archbishop, indi-
 cating that the immediate higher authority was an archbishop and not a city
 bishop. After him are mentioned two periodeutai.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 209-210, pl. 24b.
- 1078 *Shavei Zion*, mosaic inscription, A.D. 486
 Χ]ΩΡΕΠΙCΚΟΚΟ Κ χ]ωρεπισκό[πων] κ(αί)
 ..ΕΝ ΜΗ ΠΕΡΙΤΙΟΥ ..έν μη(νί) Περιτίου.
 The term is abbreviated indicating the genitive plural.
 Bibl. M.W. Prausnitz, M. Avi-Yonah and D. Barag, *Excavations at Shavei
 Zion*, pp. 58-9.
- 1079 *Suhmata*, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 555
 + ΕΓΗΝΕΤΩ CYN ΘC Η ΨΕΦΟCΙC ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΩCΙΩΤΑ/ΤΟΥ ΙΩΑΝ-

ΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ Σ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΧΩΡΕΠ/Σ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟ-
ΤΟΥ ΗΜΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...

+ Ἐγίνετο σύν Θεός ἡ ψέφοσις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠσιωτά/του Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκό-
που (καί) Κυριακοῦ χωρεπ/(ισκόπου) ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμ(ῶν) Στεφάνου...

Here again the chorepiscopus is mentioned after the archbishop, indicating that the immediate higher authority was the archbishop, or that Suhmata and Horvat Karkara were within the territory of an archbishopric and not a city-bishopric.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 96, pl. XXI, fig. 3.

Archbishop, 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος

The title 'archbishop' was given to a bishop, metropolitan or patriarch as an honorary distinction because of his higher administrative powers over the rest of the bishops of a particular province. The title was given to:

- a) the bishop of Alexandria to honour him and distinguish him as the principal bishop among more than a hundred others in Egypt¹.
- b) metropolitans in general, as being the principal bishops of a whole province², and
- c) the Patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, as being the head-bishops of the five ecclesiastical units known as the patriarchates, in order to distinguish them from the metropolitans and bishops of their ecclesiastical provinces³, because the Patriarchs had supra-metropolitan powers.

In later periods the title archbishop, 'ἀρχιεπίσκοπος', was used as a term synonymous with metropolitan. Today it is given to the leaders of autonomous Churches who are not patriarchs, e.g., to the archbishop of Cyprus, Mount Sinai, Crete, Greece, Albania, etc. The term was more generally used in the East⁴.

In the Greek inscriptions from the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the term 'archbishop' appears in the following places either in complete or abbreviated form:

1 *PG* 25, 377; Council of Nicaea, can. 6 (A.D. 325): 'Περὶ τῆς τῶν μητροπολιτῶν τάξεως «ἐπιτάσσει» τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθες ἐστίν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.'

2 Soz. *HE* II. 9; *PG* 67 956; and Council of Chalcedon where all the metropolitans of the East are called 'archbishops'.

3 E. Schwartz, *ACO* II 13 56; Nilus Doxapatrius says: 'ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων ἕκαστος πατριάρχης καλεῖται κυρίως, ἀλλὰ καταχρηστικῶς ἀνακηρύττεται γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ρώμης Πάπας καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος μόνος καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐκλήθη Πατριάρχης. Ἐκλήθησαν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι Πατριάρχαι, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπογράφει ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Νέας Ρώμης, καὶ Οἰκουμενικός Πατριάρχης'.

4 *PL* 82, 290, 'Archiepiscopus graeco vocabulo quod sit sumus episcoporum tenet enim vicem apostolicam et praesidet tam metropolitani quam episcopis ceteris'.

- 1080 *Ain Samieh*, near Kefr-Melik, N.W. of Jerusalem, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠ/ ΕΥΣΤΟΧΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ Α/...ΠΟΥΣ...
Ἐπί τοῦ δεσπ(ότου) / Εὐστοχίου τοῦ ἀ/(ρχιεπισκό)που...
The title refers to Eustochius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (A.D. 552-564).
Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* N.S. 4 (1907), p. 275.
- 1081 *Bethlehem*, Byzantine Chapel, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...Α]ΡΧΙΕΠΙΣ[ΚΟΠΟΥ... ..ἀ]ρχιεπισ[κόπου...
The inscription is damaged. The title, according to S. Saller, may refer to Zacharias, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was taken to Persia after the Persian invasion of Palestine.
Bibl. S.J. Saller, *LA* 22 (1972), pp. 153-168.
- 1082 *Horvat Karkara*, Gesher Haziv, mosaic inscription, March A.D. 477
Ε]ΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤ[Α]ΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΘΕΟΦΙΣ ΑΡΧΙ/[Ε]ΠΙΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΛΟΝΓΙ-
ΝΟΥ...
Ἐ]πί τοῦ ἀγιωτ[ά]του κέ θεοφι(λεστάτου) ἀρχι/[ε]πι(σκόπου) ἡμῶν Λονγί-
νου...
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 209-210, pl. 24b.
- 1083 *Irbid*, Transjordan, Byzantine period
...ΑΡΧΙ+ΠΙ+ ...ἀρχι+(ε)πι+(σκόπου)...
Here it is not clear as to whom the title 'archbishop' refers to.
Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 1084 *Janiya*, a village N.W. of Ramallah, stone inscription, Byzantine period
'My Lord, remember your least one, Archbishop Procopius'
This is recorded by Neophytus the Cypriot, who passing from village to vil-
lage at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was shown the ruins of a
church, and at the gate of the mosque, the inscription.
Bibl. *JPOS* 1938, p. 109. I visited the village in June 1976 and near the mosque
I noticed some columns, a chancel screen post, but not the inscription. Thus
I give only this information from the *JPOS*.
- 1085 *Jerusalem*, El-Aqsa Mosque, inscription on a wooden board, VIth Century
A.D.
...ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ.../ΑΡΧΙΕ]ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ...
...ὀσιωτάτου.../ ἀρχιε]πισκόπου καὶ πατριάρχου Πέτρου...
In this inscription which is unique in its kind, the title refers to Petrus,
Patriarch of Jerusalem (A.D. 524-552). Included is the epithet the most
pious, ὀσιώτατος.
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 10 (1942), pp. 160-169; Τιμοθέου Θέμελη, *ΝΣ*
37 (1942), pp. 273-276.

- 1086 *Khirbet Es-Samrah*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
]ΩΤS ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ /...ΕΘΕ ΚΑΙ ΨΕΦΩΘΕ/...
 ..ἀγι]ωτ(άτου) ἀρχιεπισκόπου/...εθε καί ψεφώθε/...
 Bibl. J.B. Humbert- A. Desreumaux, *Khirbet Es-Samra: Première Campagne 1981*, p. 37, No. 0464.
- 1087 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Hamad el Tallaq, mosaic inscription No. 6, A.D. 574/5
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΗΤΡ...ΕΨΗΦΟΥΤΟΣ/...
 + 'Επί τοῦ ἀγιω(τάτου) Θεοδώρου ἡμῶν μητρ[οπολίτ(ου) καὶ ἀρχιεπισκ(ό-
 που)] ἐψηφ(ώθη) οὗτος/...
 Here, the title is missing but easily presumed.
- 1088 *Rihab*, West end of nave, mosaic inscription No. 4, A.D. 594
 ...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤ Κ ΟΣΙΩΤ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤ ΡΧΙ/ΕΠΙΣΚΟ...
 ...ἐπ[ί] τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) κ(αί) ὀσιωτ(άτου) Πολυεύκτ[ου ἀ]ρχι/επισκό(που)...
 The title, together with the epithets the most holy, ἀγιώτατος and most pious, ὀσιώτατος, refers to the metropolitan Polyeuctus.
- 1089 *Rihab*, St. Paul's Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤS KS ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟ-
 ΠΟΥ / S ΒΑCCOY ΕΥΛΑΒS ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡ ΕΨΗΦΟΘΗ...
 + 'Επί τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) κ(αί) μακαριω(τάτου) Πολυεύκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου /
 (καί) Βάσσου εὐλαβ(εστάτου) παραμοναρ(ίου) ἐψηφόθη...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 78-79.
- 1090 *Rihab*, St. Peter's Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 623
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ
 ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ...
 'Επί τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου Πολυεύκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου / καὶ
 μητροπολίτου ἐψηφώθη...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 81.
- 1091 *Rihab*, house of Khalid el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription No. 2, A.D. 604
 ...ΕΠ[Ι] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ / ΗΜΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΣ
 ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ...
 ...'Επ[ί] τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) Πολυεύκτου / ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκό(που) (καί) μητρο-
 πο(λίτου)...
 Together with the epithet the most holy, ἀγιώτατος the title refers to the metropolitan Polyeuctus.
- 1092 *Rihab*, house of Saad en Nuheh, mosaic inscription No. 5, May A.D. 620
 ...ΑΓΙΩΤ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚS / ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘ...
 ...ἀγιωτ(άτου) Πολυεύκ(του) / ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἐθεμελιώθ(η)...

Together with the epithet the most holy, ἀγιώτατος, the title refers to the metropolitan Polyeuctus.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), pp. 69-70.

1093 *Suhmata*, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 555

...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΩΣΙΩΤΑ/ΤΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ...

...Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὡσιωτά/του Ἰωάνου ἀρχιεπισκόπου...

The term, together with the epithet 'the most pious' refers to an archbishop named Ioannes.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 96, pl. XXX, fig. 3.

Metropolitan, Μητροπολίτης

The title 'metropolitan' was given to a bishop of a civil provincial capital as a result of the adoption of civil boundaries by the Church, when the State divided the empire into provinces, districts, etc., for fiscal, commercial and judicial purposes.

The bishop of a metropolis, being close to the civil authorities, worked to protect and support the rights of Christianity, acting as the representative of the diocesan bishops of his province, and as their leader when circumstances made this necessary for many reasons. The episcopal meetings usually took place in the capital of the province, because of the proximity of the civil authorities. This was easier and acceptable for all the bishops of the province. The bishop of the metropolis, regardless of seniority, presided over the other bishops, being at home in his own See, as host receiving them under his roof, and because he surpassed all the others in knowledge of secular matters in the metropolis. He became the president of the provincial synod and a leading figure among the rest of the bishops in the province, particularly in administrative matters. Another factor was the human consideration that in most cases the metropolis was first evangelized by the Apostles, and out of respect the city bishops acknowledged the metropolitan bishop's guardianship and leadership over them.

The term 'metropolitan' appears in the acts of the following Oecumenical Councils: the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) acts 4, 5, 6, the Council of Antioch (A.D. 431) can. 9, 19, and the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 343/381) can. 12. Summarizing the duties and rights of the metropolitan, as given in the above mentioned synodical canons, it can be said that he had higher administrative powers than the diocesan bishops in his province, but that he had to obey the provincial council and respect the rights of the diocesan bishops. He was not allowed to visit a diocese without the consent of the local bishop¹.

¹ Council of Antioch, can. IX 'Τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας... ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτόν, μὴ δὲν τε πράττειν περιττόν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατή-

As a result of many arbitrary acts, the institution of the metropolitan in general, and in Palestine in particular, lost many of its rights to the superior office of the patriarch, an office with supra-metropolitan powers created in A.D. 451. The only Church which has preserved the rights and powers of the metropolitan office is the Church of Cyprus, which is ruled by the metropolitans forming a synod presided over by the archbishop.

Until A.D. 358 Caesarea Maritima was the only metropolis of the province in Palestine. After A.D. 358 the province was divided into two: Northern Palestine with the city of Caesarea as its metropolis, and the Southern part called Palaestina Salutaris, with the city of Petra as its metropolis. At the end of the fourth century the Northern Province was divided into two, leading to the creation of three metropolitan Sees, the two already mentioned and the city of Scythopolis for Palaestina Secunda.

So far, the term 'metropolitan' has not been found in any of the extant inscriptions of the three metropolitan Sees. The only examples available are from Rihab in Transjordan, and which probably refer to the metropolitan of Bostra.

- 1094 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalid el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription No. 2, A.D. 604

...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ / ΗΜΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΣ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ ΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘ...

...ἐπί τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) Πολυεύκτου / ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκό(που) (καί) μητροπο(λί-
του) ἐθεμελιώθ(η)...

The term is given in an abbreviated form ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ, and refers to a metropolitan named Polyeuctus, to whom was also given the title archbishop.

- 1095 *Rihab*, house of Hamad el Tallaq, mosaic inscription No. 6, A.D. 574/5

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΗΤΡ[ΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ]...

Ἐπί τοῦ ἀγιω(τάτου) Θεοδώρου ἡμῶν μητρ[οπολίτου]...

The term is given to a metropolitan named Theodorus, and as in the previous inscription, is accompanied with the epithet the most holy, ἀγιώτατος.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), pp. 69-70, Nos. 2 and 6.

- 1096 *Rihab*, St. Peter's Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 623

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ
ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ...

Ἐπί τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καί μακαριωτάτου Πολυεύκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου / καί
μητροπολίτου ἐψηφώθη...

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 81.

σαντά τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα...περαιτέρω δέ μηδέν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ αὐτόν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γνώμης', which means without the consent of the provincial synod.

- 1097 *Rihab*, St. Menas' Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635
 ...ΕΚΤΙΣΘΗ ΚΗ/ ΕΨΗΦΟΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ
 ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΕΟΔΟ/ΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΤΙΜΗΤΟΥ
 ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ...
 ...ἐκτίσθη κή / ἐψηφόθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη ὁ ναός τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ ἐπὶ Θεοδό/ρου
 τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ θεοτιμήτου μητροπολίτου...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusa-
 lem 1981, pp. 76-77.

Patriarch, Πατριάρχης

Patriarch is an *Old Testament* title given to the father or chief of a patria, πατριά. A patria was a subdivision of a tribe (I *Esd.* 1:4, II:7, I *Chron.* 27:22; *Acts* 2:29, 7:8, *Hebr.* 7:4). In the Roman period, the title was used to designate the heads of the Jewish communities, or confederation of communities (*PG* Vol. xxiv. 109; Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 348, *Catech.* 12, 17; *Cod. Theodos.* 16, 8, 1, 2, 11, 13; *PG* Vol. I xxxiii, 61).

In the early centuries of the Christian Church, the title was used as one of respect, given to various members of the clergy without consideration of possible hierarchical rank, and there is no clear indication as in what sense it was used, or for whom it was reserved. More often than not, it was given to the senior clergy as an honorary title (Basil, *Epist.* 169, Vol. iv, p. 258; Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* Vol. xxvi 853; Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* xiii, p. 764; and Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* 2, 47, *PG* Vol. I xxviii 489).

Since the fifth century, the title Patriarch was given to the bishops of the five principal centres of the Christian world known as Patriarchates¹. This title, although most perfectly appropriate for expressing the extraordinary authority of the new office, was not used at once by the heads of the Patriarchates; they continued to address each other by the title 'archbishop' of such and such a city. The title appears for the first time in the canonical meaning in the legislation of the emperor Justinian

¹ Many arbitrary acts of bishops and metropolitans in Church affairs forced the Church at the Second Oecumenical Council A.D. 381 to deal with the problem, and in the Fourth Oecumenical Council, A.D. 451, to act and form an authority placed above episcopal and metropolitan jurisdiction, an authority with supra-metropolitan power, ὑπερμητροπολιτικὴ αὐθεντία. This was accomplished by selecting five of the oldest and most important cities of the Empire and giving to the bishops of each of these cities the right to ordain and judge any bishop subject to his ecclesiastical division (Chalcedon Council, can. 28). The cities selected were the old capital city of the Empire, Rome, the new capital, Constantinople, the city of Alexandria in Egypt, the city of Antioch in Syria and the city of Jerusalem in Palestine. To the bishops of these cities was given the title of 'Patriarch' and to the newly created institutional Church body, the title 'Patriarchate'. The Patriarchates were independent of each other, and ruled by the Patriarch and his synod which consisted of the metropolitans and bishops of the Patriarchates' ecclesiastical territory.

(A.D. 527-565), see *Nov.* 123, Ch. 3 'Τούς μέν μακαριωτάτους ἐπισκόπους καί πατριάρχας, τουτέστι τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης καί Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καί Ἀλεξανδρείας καί Θεουπόλεως καί Ἱεροσολύμων...', and in the 36th canon of the Council of Quinisext, A.D. 692, where the hierarchical order of the patriarchal thrones may also be noted 'Ἀνανεούμενοι τά παρά τῶν ἑκατόν πενήκοντα ἀγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ ταύτῃ καί βασιλίδι πόλει συνελθόντων, καί τῶν ἑξακοσίων τριάκοντα, τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συναθροισθέντων νομοθετηθέντα, ὀρίζομεν ὥστε τόν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύειν πρεσβείων τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης θρόνου καί ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκεῖνον μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὑπάρχοντα, μεθ' ὃν ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλεως ἀριθμείσθω θρόνος, εἴτα ὁ Ἀντιοχείας καί μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως'.

In addition to the above mentioned Patriarchs, later on the title was given to the heads of national Churches such as the head of the Armenian, Georgian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian Churches, and to the heads of the Eastern sects, as well as to those of any national community in the Middle East, where according to the 'millet system', the religious leader was also the secular leader, recognized by the Government as the Ethnarch and supreme administrator in the affairs of his community. This last category of Patriarchs will not be dealt with in this work.

Searching through the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine, the term 'Patriarch' was found in the following places:

- 1098 *Ain et Tabgha*, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.

...ΟC ΠΑΤΡΙ... ..ος πατρι(άρχης)...

Although the inscription is damaged, the title can be completed from the existing letters of the abbreviated form, but it is not possible to suggest to whom it refers, whether to a Patriarch of Jerusalem or to a senior member of the clergy of the area.

Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha on the Lake of Genesaret and its mosaics*, pp. 52-55.

- 1099 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Church of the Ascension, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

.[T]ΟΠΟ[C ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΕΩC] / ΥΠΟ ΜΟΔ[ΕC]ΤΟΥ [] / ...

.[T]όπο[ς τῆς ἀναλήψεως] / ὑπό Μοδ[έC]του [] / ...

The inscription mentions the name ΜόδεCτος which suggests the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Modestus, A.D. 631, a former superior, 'hegumen', of the monastery of St. Theodosius, who was assisted by St. John the Alms-giver, Patriarch of Alexandria, in the rebuilding of damaged churches after the Persian invasion. In the inscription the term 'Patriarch' is not mentioned.

Bibl. J.T. Milik, *RB* 67 (1960), p. 557.

- 1100 *Jerusalem*, El Aqsa, inscription on a wooden board in two fragments, VIth Century A.D.

...ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ.../ ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ...

...όσιωτάτου.../ [ἀρχιε]πισκόπου καὶ πατριάρχου Πέτρου...

This is the only inscription in which the title 'Patriarch' appears referring to a known Patriarch of Jerusalem, who occupied the throne of the Church of Jerusalem from A.D. 524-544 (see Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* III, pp. 189-209). He was also mentioned in Cyril of Scythopolis's *Life of St. Sabas*. He writes that Eustochius, the successor of Petrus, became Patriarch on the eve of the Vth Oecumenical Synod, A.D. 552.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 10 (1942), pp. 160-169; Τιμοθέου Θέμελη, *ΝΣ* (1942), pp. 273-276.

- 1101 *Sepphoris*, Diocaesarea, limestone inscription, VIth Century A.D.

.../ΠΡΟΝΣ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΙΝΟΥ ΑΙΔΣ ΠΑΤΡ...

.../προν(οία) Μαρκελλίνου αιδ(εσιμωτάτου) πατρ(ιάρχου)...

Here, the title appears abbreviated and more probably refers to a senior member of the clergy of the area.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 11 (1961), pp. 184-187.

The stone inscription from *Deir Hadjla* (Abba Gerasimus Monastery) in which is mentioned the name of Ioannes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, belongs rather to a later period, see M.J. Lagrange, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 440.

In *Gaza* on the sea shore a marble flagstone broken in three was found. On it were four lines of Latin and two lines of Greek inscription in which is mentioned the name of Juvenalius, the first Patriarch of Jerusalem, but without the word 'Patriarch'.

Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, pp. 416-8.

- 1102 The title πατριάρχης is also mentioned in one of the *Tiberias* Synagogue mosaic inscriptions of the IIIrd-IVth Century A.D., in the genitive plural referring to two patriarchs of the Jewish community.

...ΤΩΝ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΩΝ

...τῶν λαμπροτάτων πατριαρχῶν

Bibl. B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 78 (1962), pp. 180-4.

Shepherd, Ποιμήν

'Shepherd' was a title referring to Christ, to any spiritual guide, ecclesiastical leader, and in particular to a bishop as a name indicative of one of his functions¹.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the term appears in the following places:

¹ Euseb. *HE* III 36; Council of Sardica, can. VI (A.D. 347).

- 1103 *Beth Shean*, Baths of the lepers, stone inscription, A.D. 558/9
 + ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ο ΠΟΙΜΗΝ ΛΟΥΤΡΑ ΚΑΙΝΟΥΡΓΩΝ ΝΕΜΕΙ...
 † Θεόδωρος ὁ ποιμὴν λουτρά καινουργῶν νέμει...
 The term is given in complete form in the nominative case, and refers to a bishop Theodorus, may be the metropolitan of Scythopolis (metropolitan of Palaestina Secunda).
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 325-326.
- 1104 *Gerasa*, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
 ...ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΟΣ...
 ...Παύλου δικαίως τοῦ σοφοῦ τοῦ ποιμένος...
- 1105 *Gerasa*, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533
 ...ΠΑΥΛΟΣ Ο ΠΟΙΜΗΝ ΩΣ ΣΟΦΟΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΙΤΗΣ...
 ...Παῦλος ὁ ποιμὴν ὡς σοφός κυβερνίτης...
 In both inscriptions the term appears in complete form, once in the nominative, once in the genitive case, both referring to the bishop Paulus with the epithets, wise, σοφός and wise leader, σοφός κυβερνίτης.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, pp. 479, 489, inscription nos. 306, 314.

Hierophant, Ἱεροφάντης

‘Hierophant’ was a pagan term brought into the Christian vocabulary. He was a priest who instructed the inexperienced priests in the rites of sacrifice, worship and in the mysteries. In the Christian terminology, the term was attributed to a bishop.

The term ‘hierophant’ appears in two inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, from Gerasa:

- 1106 *Gerasa*, Church of St. Theodore, an inscription on three lintel blocks from the central west door of the atrium, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΔΕ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΕΜΟΙ ΠΟΡΕΝ ΑΞ/ΙΕΡΑΚΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΣΟΦΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΗ ΜΕΜΕΛΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ
Αινείας τόδε κάλλος ἔμοι πόρεν ἀξ/ιέραστον πάνσοφος εὐσεβίῃ μεμελημένος ἱεροφάντης
 The term refers to the bishop Ainias, who is called most wise, πάνσοφος.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, pp. 476-7, inscription No. 299.
- 1107 *Gerasa*, Church of SS. Peter and Paul, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 [+Η ΜΑ]ΛΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΛΑ ΦΕΡ[ΕΙ ΠΑ]Σ ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ/ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΟΙ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΑΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΙΝ .../ ΚΛΕΙΝΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΜΗΔΕΑ ΠΙΣΤΑ ΔΙΔΑΚΚΩΝ.

[+Ἡ μά]λα θαύματα καλά φέρ[ει πᾶ]ς ἱεροφάντης / ἀνθρώποις, οἳ τήνδε πό-
λιν καὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν.../ κλεινός Ἀναστάσιος, θεομήδεα πιστά διδάσκων.

The term in this inscription refers to the bishop Anastasius who is called 'illustrious' κλεινός.

Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 484, inscr. No. 327.

Titular Bishop, 'Επίσκοπος πτουλάριος

About the middle of the seventh century, a new episcopal term was introduced for the first time, namely 'Titular Bishop'. After the Arab invasion of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, this title was given to a bishop whose See had come under the Arab rule, while he himself had escaped to a free part of the Byzantine Empire. He was now a refugee, but allowed to retain the title of bishop, being supported by the state under the assumption that the occupied lands would be regained, and the bishops would then return to their legitimate Sees. According to the 37th canon of the Council of Trullo, A.D. 692, such lost bishoprics could have new elected bishops with complete episcopal rights, even though they were not able to reside in their own episcopal Sees, 'διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν βαρβαρικὸν ζυγὸν ὅπωςδὴποτε κενουμένας ἐπισκοπὰς ἐλαμβάνετο πρόνοια, ἵνα ἐκλεγῶσι καὶ χειροτονηθῶσιν ἐκ νέου ἐπίσκοποι, ἔστω καὶ ἂν οὗτοι δὲν θὰ εἶχον τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ μεταβῶσιν εἰς τὰς ἑδρας τῶν καὶ ἐκεῖ νὰ διοικήσωσιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν' (Ράλλη Ποτλῆ II 388).

Titular Bishops were also found in the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. These were bishops who lost their Sees but who did not leave their respective countries, i.e. Egypt, Syria or Palestine. Instead they settled in the Patriarchates of the above mentioned cities, retaining their title with the hope of returning to their own cities. Most of the bishops of the above mentioned Patriarchates are Titular Bishops to the present day.

From the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine, there is no evidence of the existence of Titular Bishops because after the Arab occupation the building of new churches was practically forbidden.

I mention the term 'Titular Bishop' in order that, in the context of this work, its origin, meaning and existence in the Church should be more known and understood.

Monks and Nuns¹, Μοναχοί, Μοναχαί

For these people who set themselves apart from the world by religious vows, several names were used which differed from country to country. The names used in Syria and Palestine were different from those used in Egypt, with many local variations.

¹ See page 157ff. The Monastic system of life in Palestine.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the following names attributed to monks and nuns were found:

Brother, sister, ἀδελφός, ἀδελφή, referring to monks and nuns

Solitary (alone), μοναχός, μοναχή

One who lives alone, μονάζων, μονάζουσα

One who lives in a convent, μοναστής, τρια, cell dweller, κελλιότης

Reclusus, ἐγκλειστος

Abbas, ἀββᾶς, or πατήρ, and old man, γέρων.

The name ascetic, ἀσκητής, literally a person set apart, ἀποτακτίτης, εβδομαδάριος, a monk who ate once a week, and virgin, παρθένος, referring to a nun, have not been found in the Greek inscriptions. These were local Palestinian terms mentioned by Aetheria (see John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels and Itinerary Aetheriae*, ch. 23, 27, 28, 44, 49).

The term appears in the following places either in complete or abbreviated form:

A. brother, sister, ἀδελφός, ἀδελφή

- 1108 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, mosaic inscription, September 17th, A.D. 601
...ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΣΥΜΠΟΝΟΥ ΚΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΣ ΠΑΛΛΟΥΤΟΣ / ΑΦΣ

...Σεργίου από συμπόνου κ(αί) μοναχοῦ κ(αί) Παλλοῦτος / ἀδελφ(ῆς)...

The term refers to a nun named Pallus, rather than to a natural sister.

Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962.

- 1109 *Bahan, Nahalaim*, mosaic inscription No. 2, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ.../ΤΟΙΣ ΨΗΦ... ..ἀδελφός.../τοῖς ψηφ(οθέταις)...

The inscription is damaged making it difficult to know to whom it refers, but it would seem rather to be two natural brothers who were the mosaicists.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 1110 *Bahan, Nahalaim*, mosaic inscription No. 1, V-VIth Century A.D.

+ ΚΕΙΥ ΧΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ...

+ Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χρ(ιστέ) ἀνάπαυσον πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς...

Dept of Antiq. files, Neg. No. 11935, 11937.

- 1111 *Beth Shean*, house of Kyrios Leontis, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

...Κ ΤΟΥ / ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΙΩΝΑΘΑ...

...κ(αί) τοῦ / ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθα...

The term refers to Jonathan, natural brother of 'Kyrios Leontis'.

Bibl. N. Zori, *IEJ* 16 (1966), p. 123.

Deir el Qilt, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period

- 1112 No. 51
† ἐ]κοιμήθ(η) / ό] ἀδελφός ή/μῶν Παῦλος Γαζέ[ος...
- 1113 No. 52
† ἐκυμήθ(η) ό ἀδελφός / ήμῶν [Γε]ώργις μονάζον...
- 1114 No. 54
† ἐκοιμήθ(η) ό μακ(άριος) ἀδ[ελφός] / ήμῶν Ἀναστάσις ό μακ(ά)ρ(ιος) Ἀσ-
καλω(νίτης)...
- 1115 No. 58
† ἐκυμήθι ό ἀδελ/φός ἐμόν Στέφα/νος...
- 1116 No. 70
† ἐ]κοιμήθ(η) / ό] ἀδελφ[ός ήμῶν /
- 1117 No. 81
† ἐκοι]μήθι ό ἀδελφ(ός) /...ωρος Κιπριακός...
- 1118 No. 163
† ἐκοιμ[ή]θ(η) ώ ἀδελ/φός ήμόν Ἰ[ωάν]νις...
- 1119 No. 185
† ἐκυμήθ(η) ό ἀδελφ(ός) / Νίλος ό μακ(άριος)/...
- 1120 No. 189
† ἐνθάδ(ε) κα/τάκιτε ό ἀδελ/φός Ἰσίδωρος /...
- 1121 No. 192
† ἐκυμήθι ἀ/δελφός ήμῶν / Δανιήλ...
- 1122 No. 193
† ἐκοιμήθ(η) ό ἀδελφ(ός) / ήμῶν ό μακάρ(ιος) Πέτρ/ος ό Κεσαρεύς...
- 1123 No. 202
ἐνθάδε / κατάκιτε ό / ἀδελφός / Ἀνδρέας / ἐλαδικ(ός)...
- 1124 No. 209
† ἐκοιμήθ(η) ό ἀδελφός ήμῶν Παῦλος / μηνί Σεπτεμβρίου ια΄.
- 1125 No. 212
ἐκοιμήθ(η) ό ἀδελφός ήμῶν Ἰουστῖνος / μηνί Ὀκτωβρίου δ΄, ἰνδ. ι΄.
In the inscriptions, Nos. 54, 185 and 193 include the epithet 'blessed one',
μακάριος, and Nos. 51, 52, 54, 58, 163, 192, 193, 209 and 212 the term 'our
brother', ἀδελφός ήμῶν, referring to the monks of the Choziba monastery
monastic society only, while in Nos. 185, 189 and 202, the term 'brother'
refers to monks from other monasteries. In all these inscriptions, the term 'ἀ-
δελφός' refers to spiritual brothers.
Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, pp. 297-332.
- 1126 *El-Quweisme*, Transjordan, a few kms S.E. of Amman, mosaic inscription,
Byzantine period
...KAI MAKEΔΩNIOY KS ABBIBOY K IWANNOY / AYTOY
AΔEΛΦΩN EN XPS.

...καί Μακεδωνίου κ(αί) Ἀββίβου κ(αί) Ἰωάννου / αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν ἐν Χρ(ιστῷ).

The term given in the genitive plural, refers to Macedonius, Habbibas and Ioannes, brothers in Christ, of the presbyter and oeconomus of the Church. The term is given to three monks of the same monastery.

Bibl. S.J. Saller, *JPOS* 21, p. 138f.

- 1127 *Emmaus*, Amwas, South Church, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
ΚΕ ΛΙΠΩΝ / ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ / ΠΕΛΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΣ / ΘΩΜΑ.

κέ λιπῶν / ἀδελφῶν / Πελαγίου κ(αί) / Θωμᾶ.

The term refers to two monks named Pelagius and Thomas of the same monastery.

Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 3 (1894), p. 254; *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 155.

- 1128 *Jerusalem*, Dominus Flevit, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΗΓΟΥΜΣ Κ ΔΟΜΕΤΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΣ.

...αὐτοῦ ἀδελφ(οῦ) Γεωργίου ἡγουμ(ένου) κ(αί) Δομετίου φιλοχρ(ίστου).

The term refers to two spiritual brothers of Simeon, named Georgius and Dometius. Georgius was also the superior of a monastery.

- 1129 *Jerusalem*, Dominus Flevit, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΩΝ ΑΥΤΟ[Υ]... ..ῶν αὐτο[ῷ]...

The inscription is damaged and of the term ἀδελφός which is given in the genitive plural, only the last two letters are preserved.

Bibl. *SEG* XVII (1960), No. 786; B. Bagatti, *LA* 6 (1956), p. 247.

- 1130 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Transjordan, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ Κ ΕΛΙΑ ΑΔΕΛ ΤΗΚΝΑ ΚΟΜΙΤ.

...Στεφάνου κ(αί) Ἐλία ἀδελ(φῶν) τέκνα κομιτ(ίσσης).

The term is given in the genitive plural and refers to two natural brothers, Stephanus and Elias.

- 1131 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΥΠΕΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΧΟ/С АBBNS ΑΔΛΦ / ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙ

ὑπέρ ἀναπάσηο/ς Ἀββ(ί)ν(ου) ἀδ(ε)λφ(οῦ) / Μαρτυρί(ου).

The term refers to Abbinus, natural brother of Martyrius.

- 1132 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ Κ ΗΛΙΑ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΚΟΜΙΤΙCСΑ...

...Στεφάνου κ(αί) Ἠλία ἀδελφόν τέκνα κομίτισσα...

The term, in the genitive plural, refers to two brothers, Stephanus and Elias, sons of the countess.

Bibl. S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 140, 141, 183, 184; *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 336.

- 1133 *Khisfin*, Golan, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.
 ...K BACI[ΛΕΙ]Ο[Υ] Κ ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ...
 ...κ(αί) Βασί[λει]ο[υ] κ(αί) Εὐγενίου ἀδελφῶν...
 The term refers to two natural brothers named Basileius and Eugenius.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 1134 *Madaba*, Transjordan (Aelianus crypta), mosaic inscription, A.D. 607
 ...ΜΗΝΑ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ Σ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΦ.
 ...Μηνᾶ Παμφίλου (καί) Θεοδοσίου ἀδελφ(ῶν)
 The term refers to three brothers named Menas, Pamphilus and Theodosius.
 There is no indication as to whether they were natural or spiritual brothers.
 Bibl. F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *DACL* 10, p. 867; P.M. Séjourné, *RB* 6 (1897), p. 653.
- 1135 *Mishmar ha-Emeq*, Southern Esdraelon, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 ΤΩ/Ν ΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ Α/ΔΕΛΦ CΥΝΓΕ/ΝΩΝ
 τῶ/ν αὐτοῦ γονέων (καί) ἀ/δελφ(ῶν) (καί) συνγε/νῶν
 The term refers to the natural brothers of Ioannes, a subdeacon and a perio-
 deutes.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 1136 *Seilun*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΚΑΙ ΙΑΚΩΒΟ/Υ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ
καί Ἰακώβο/υ ἀδελφοῦ
 The term is given in the genitive singular and refers to Iacobus, brother of
 Porphyrius, but with no indication as to whether they were natural or spiri-
 tual brothers.
 Bibl. H. Kjaer, *PEF QSt* (1931), pp. 79-86.
- 1137 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistery, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΚΑΙ ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ...
 ...καί Ἀβραμίου ἀδελφοῦ...
 The term refers to Stephanus, natural brother of Abramius.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 55-56, inscr. No. 58.
- 1138 *Umm el-Jimal*, Church of Claudianus, stone inscription, Byzantine period
 ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙΟΥΜΟC / ΑΔΕΛΦΟC
 Κλαυδιανός Καιοῦμος / ἀδελφός
 Bibl. *AAES* II, A, 3, pp. 189-190; *AAES* III, A, 3, p. 151, n. 261; M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 57.

B. *Solitary*, μοναχός, -ή; *one who lives alone*, μονάζων, -ουσα; *one who lives in a monastery or convent*, μοναστής, -στρια

- 1139 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, mosaic inscription No. 94, September 17th, A.D. 601
 ...ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΣΥΜΠΟΝΟΥ ΚΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ...
 ...Σεργίου από συμπόνου κ(αί) μοναχοῦ..
 The term is given in the genitive singular and refers to a solitary named Sergius.
- 1140 *Auja Hafir*, limestone inscription No. 78, June 20th, A.D. 570
 [ΕΤΕ]Λ[ΕΥΤΗCΕΝ] Ο ΜΑ/[ΚΑΡΙ]ΩC ΔΙΑΚ / [Κ Μ]ΟΝΑΧΩC...
 [έτε]λεύτεησεν) ό μα/[κάρι]ως διάκ(ονος) / [κ(αί) μ]οναχώς...
 The term is given in the nominative singular and refers to a monk who was at the same time a deacon διάκονος καί μοναχός, deacon and monk, a unique example among the inscriptions.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri
- 1141 papyrus No. 31. 23, VIth Century A.D.
 ...μοναχός... Βίκτορος ἀδελφοῦ καί...
- 1142 papyrus No. 90. 35, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...δ(ιά) τ(οῦ) μωναχ(οῦ).
- 1143 papyrus No. 91. 61, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 μωναχοῦ
 Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
Deir el Qilt, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period
- 1144 Inscr. No. 12
 + Κόνων Ἰσαυρ(ος) / Μο(ναχός)...
- 1145 Inscr. No. 36
 + Ἰωάννης μοναχός / ἀπό Ἀντιοχίας/
- 1146 Inscr. No. 52
 + ἐκμῆθ(η) ό ἀδελφός / ἡμῶν [Γε]ώργις μονάζον...
- 1147 Inscr. No. 71
 + δι.../ μο(ναχός) μη(νί) Ξανθ(ικῶ) κ'.
- 1148 Inscr. No. 79
 + Εὐτύχις μοναχός / μηνί Μαρτίῳ γ'
- 1149 Inscr. No. 94
 + ἐκμῆ(θη) ό ἀδ(ελ)φ(ός) / Ἰωάννης χ.../ στός μο(ναχός)...

- 1150 Inscr. No. 106
 † ἐκουμί/θι ὁ μακά/ριος μοναχ(ός) / ἡμῶν Ρωμανός / ὁ Πέρσις...
- 1151 Inscr. No. 170
 ἐκουμήθ(η) ὁ ἀ/δελφός Κασίου / μο(ναχός)...
- 1152 Inscr. No. 203
 † ἐκοιμ(ήθη) Παῦλος / μο(ναχός).
 The term μονάζων appears in inscription No. 52, and the epithet the blessed one, μακάριος, is included in inscription No. 106.
 Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, pp. 297-332.
- 1153 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Russian property, marble inscription, September 14th, A.D. 592
 ...line 7 ΦΙΛΟΥ]ΜΕΝΗ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΙΣ/...
 ... Φίλου]μένη μοναχοῖς /...
 Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 338-9.
- 1154 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, 500 m South of the Russian Tower, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΥ ΕΛΠΙΔΙΟΥ / ΕΥΦΡΑΤΑ ΑΓΑΘΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΤΩΝ / ΜΟΝ-
 ΑΖΩΝΤΩΝ
 Εὐγενίου Ἐλπίδιου / Εὐφρατᾶ Ἀγαθονίκου τῶν / μοναζόντων.
 The term is given in the genitive plural and refers to four monks named Eugenius, Elpidius, Euphratas and Agathonicus.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 177.
- 1155 *Kasr el Yahud*, Monastery of St. John the Baptist Prodromus (Jordan River), inscription on a bronze bowl (movable object)
 ...ΜΕΝΑΑΙΑΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΑΣ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΡΙΩΝ
 ΑΜΗΝ
 ...Μεναιαίας Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Ἀναστασίας μοναστριῶν ἀμήν
 The term is given in the genitive plural and refers to three nuns named Menaaea, Cleopatra and Anastasia.
 Bibl. Κλεώπα Κοικυλίδου, *Ὁ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ τόπος τῆς βαπτίσεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τό μοναστήριον τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου*, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1905, p. 85.
- 1156 *Khirbet Ma'on* (Nirim), stone slab inscription, A.D. 355
 b) ΑΝΕΠΑΣ Κ Ο ΜΑΚΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ ΜΟΝΣ...
 Ἀνεπά(η) κ(αί) ὁ μακ(άριος) Ἡλίας μον(αχός)..
 Dept. of Antiq. Files, unpublished.
- 1157 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Transjordan, Church of the priest John, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...Κ ΙΟΥΛΙΑ/ΝΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ.
 ...κ(αί) Ἰουλια/νοῦ μοναχοῦ.

The term in the genitive singular refers to the monk Julianus.

Bibl. S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, p. 176.

- 1158 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576
 ...ΚΑΙ ΤΣ / ΘΕΩΦΙΛΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ / ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝ-
 ΑΧΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΩΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΗΓΟ/ΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ
 ΕΓΕΝΗΤΩ...
 .καί τ(οῦ) / θεωφιλ(ε)στάτου Θεοδώρου ἐλέει Θ(εο)ῦ / διακ(όνου) μοναχ(οῦ)
 παραμωναρίου κ(αί) ἡγο/υμένου τοῦ ἀγίου Ἡλιοῦ ἐγένητω...
- 1159 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
 ...ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΕΛΕΣ
 ΘΥ ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΧΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΣ /..
 .ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ / αὐτοῦ θεοφιλ(ε)στάτου) ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου / ἐλέ(ει) Θ(εο)ῦ
 διακό(νου) μοναχ(οῦ) καὶ ἡγουμ(ένου) /...
 Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in
 Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12 (1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG* XXX (1980), inscrs.
 No. 1688 and 1689.
- 1160 *Madaba*, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ...
 .σπουδῇ Ἰωάννου εὐλαβεστάτου μοναχοῦ...
 The term is given in the genitive singular together with the epithet the most
 reverend, εὐλαβέστατος and refers to a monk named Ioannes.
 Bibl. U. Lux, *RB* 76 (1969), pp. 398-402.
- 1161 *Masouh*, mosaic inscription No. 3, Byzantine period
 ΧΕ Ο ΘC Η/ΜΩΝ ΒΟΗΘΣ ΤΩ / ΔΟΥΛΩ COY .../ΝΑΔΙΩ ... ΧΩ...
 Χ(ριστ)έ ὁ Θ(ε)ς ἡ/μῶν βοήθ(ει) τῷ / δούλῳ σου [Γεν]/ναδίῳ [μονα]χῷ...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa di Massuh e il territorio della diocesi di
 Esbous,' *LA* 33 (1983), pp. 335-346.
- 1162 *Ozem*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ΖΟ/ΜΕΝΟC / ΜΟΝΑΖ
 ζο/μενος / μονάζ(ων)
 The inscription is damaged and of the term only the letters ΜΟΝΑΖ can be
 read.
 Dept. of Antiq. files, Neg. No. 14649.
- 1163 *Ras Siyagha*, inscription located on the N.W. part of the chancel of the Basi-
 lica, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΝΑΧΩ ...ναχῷ
 The inscription is damaged and of the term only the last four letters have
 been preserved.
 Bibl. S.J. Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mt. Nebo*, pp. 258-9, inscription
 No. VI.

- 1164 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalil el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604
 ...ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΝ Σ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ Σ ΚΟΣΜΑΝ ΕΥΛΑΒΣΒΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥΣ Σ
 ΠΑΡΑΜΟΜΟ...
 ...Κυριακόν (καί) Ἰωάννην (καί) Κοσμᾶν εὐλαβε(στάτους) μοναχούς (καί)
 παραμο(ναρίους)...
 The term is in the accusative plural and refers to three monks named Cyriacus, Ioannes and Cosmas, together with the honorific epithet the most reverend, εὐλαβέστατος.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 68, inscription No. I.
- 1165 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistery, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 ...Ο ΤΡΙCΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC / ΑΡCΕΝΙΟC ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΥ / ΜΟΝΑΧΩC ΚΑΙ
 ΠΡΕCΒC /
 ...ὁ τρισμακάριος / Ἀρσένιος Ἀβραμίου / μοναχῶς καί πρεσβ(ύτερος) /.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 56-57, inscr. No. 60.
- 1166 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, lintel over the N.W. window refectory, stone inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΕΜΟΥ CΑΜ(ΟΥΗΛ) Μ(ΟΝΑΧΟΥ) ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟC.
 ...ἐμοῦ Σαμ(ουήλ) μ(οναχοῦ) τοῦ γράψαντος.
 The term refers to a monk named Samuel, who wrote the inscription.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.
- 1167 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 No. 2 + ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC ΔΙΑΚ + Ἀναστάσι(ο)ς διάκ(ονος)
 + ΠΑΥΛΟC ΜΟΝΑΖ + Παῦλος μονάζ(ων)
 + ΠΑΥΛΗ ΜΟΝΑΖ + Παύλη μονάζ(ουσα)
 + ΑΛΑΞΑΝΔΡ ΜΟΝΑΖ + Ἀλαξάνδρ(α) μονάζ(ουσα)
 Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

C. Cell-dweller, κελλιώτης

A cell-dweller was a monk who had his own cell outside but in the vicinity of the monastery, and who went to the monastery on Saturdays and Sundays for the common worship. The term appears in the following inscriptions:

Deir el Qilt, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period

- 1168 Inscr. No. 28
 + Ἰωάννης ὁ μακάρι(ος) κελλιώτ(ης) / Ἀραβο(ς)...
- 1169 Inscr. No. 105
 + ἐκοιμ(ήθη) ὁ μακ(άριος) / Θεόδωρος / κελλιώτ(ης)...
- 1170 Inscr. No. 138
 + Κυριακός / διάκων κ[ε]λλ[ι]ώτης / ...

- 1171 Inscr. No. 159
 † ἐνθάδε ἀνεπαύ/σατο Θεόδωρος κελλιώτης μ[ονά/ζο]ν...
- 1172 Inscr. No. 178
 † ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ / ἐκ(οιμήθη) Ἰωά/ννης / κ]ελλιώτης...
- 1173 Inscr. No. 198
 † ἐνθα κα[τάκει/ται...ς/ ὁ κελλ(ι)ώτης)...
- Inscriptions Nos. 28 and 105 include the epithet the blessed one, μακάριος and in inscription No. 138, the term refers to a deacon monk.
 Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, pp. 297-332.

D. *Reclusus*, ἐγκλειστος

A recluse was a monk who, under a vow of strict seclusion, remained shut up in his cell in the monastery from the moment he took the vow to the end of his life. Before reaching this stage, he went through a period of probation¹, 'τούς...ἐν ἐγκλειστρεῖς βουλομένους ἀναχωρεῖν ... πρότερον ἐν μοναστηρίῳ εἰσιέναι δεῖ' (here in the text, ἐγκλειστρεῖς, means being outside the monastery). This term appears in several inscriptions from the following places:

Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscriptions, VIth Century A.D.

- 1174 Inscr. No. 4
 ΗΛΙΑC ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ ΕΝΚΛΗCΤΟC
 ... Ἡλίας ἐλέει Θε(ο)ῦ ἐνκληστος
- 1175 Inscr. No. 5
 ...ΗΛΙΑC ΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC / ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ ΕΝΚΛΗCΤΟC
 Ἡλίας ἐλάχιστος / ἐλέει Θε(ο)ῦ ἐνκληστος
- 1176 Inscr. No. 6
 ΗΛΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦC ΠΡΕCΒ / [ΕΝ]ΚΛΑC
 ... Ἡλιοῦ θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) / [ἐν]κλ(είστου).
- All three inscriptions refer to a presbyter named Elias, a presbyter who acted as a powerful superior rather than as a recluse monk whose only duty was continuous prayer.
 Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth Shean* Vol. IV, p. 16, inscription Nos. IV, V, VI; *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 38.

Honorary titles

Abba, ἀββᾶς

A title derived from the aramaic word 'abba', meaning father, it was used as a title of respect for all members of the clergy and as a title of dignity for monks and su-

¹ Council of Trullo, can. 41; *PG Migne* 97. 1245B.

periors of monasteries who, in most cases, were the oldest, most respected and spiritual among the monks of their monastic brotherhood. The term *abba*, ἄββᾱς, was commonly used in Egypt and Syria, but less in Palestine where the Greek form *πατήρ* was used more often.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the terms, *abba*, *abbas*, appear in the following places, given in complete form and attributed to a bishop, several presbyters, a deacon, a reader, an ecclesiastical envoy, a *paramonarius* and to several monks and superiors of monasteries:

- 1177 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscription on chalk voussoir *in situ* No. 38, Byzantine period

ABBAC POM[A]NOC, ABBAC MANAΛAC, ABBAC KIPHΛOC,
ABBAC ZENOBIOC, ABBAC XAPEITΩN, ABBAC CAMΩP,
ABBAC CAB[I]NOC, ABBAC ΓEPMANOC.

The term appears eight times in this inscription which is perhaps a list of names of saints and monks. The term is used rather as a title of respect.

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri

- 1178 Papyrus No. 45, 1, March 30th, A.D. 602

+ ἡγέναιτω...μεταξύ τοῦ ἄββᾱ Πατρικίου Σεργίου ἡγωμέ[νου] / ἁγίου Σεργίου Νεσάνων καί...

The term refers to the superior of the Church of St. Sergius at Nessana.

- 1179 Papyrus No. 50. 1, 5. Early VIIth Century A.D.

line 1 + πρ(ό) μέν πάντων γράφω κ[αί] ἀ[ν]σπάζομε τῶν ἀβᾱν Ζονί/ων ἔπιτα...

line 5 δῶσε τῶν ἀβᾱν Προκώπιν τήν εὐλογίαν μου ὅνα / μή...

- 1180 Papyrus No. 52. 12, 13-14, Early VIIth Century A.D.

line 12 ...τῷ ἄββᾱ Στεφάνῳ

line 13 τ]όν ἀββᾱν Ἰωάννην τόν γέροντα

line 14 ἐπίσκοπον

The term refers to a bishop called Ioannes.

- 1181 Papyrus No. 53. 2, 9-10, before A.D. 608

line 2]τά γινόσκιν σοι θέλω ὡς ὁ ἄββᾱς Σέργις

line 9-10 ...εἰπέ τῷ Κύρῳ ἀβ/βᾱ...

- 1182 Papyrus No. 56. 8, 10, 11, 16, January 18th, A.D. 687

line 8 + ταῦτα τά ἐλετρόσατω ἄββᾱ Κῦριν παρά...

line 10 τό ἄββᾱ Κῦριν....

line 11 ἄββᾱ Κῦριν

line 16 ...ἐγράφη χιρή ἐμέ ἄββᾱ Γεωργίου Βίκτ[ο]ρ[ο]ς...

- 1183 Papyrus No. 79. 38, 52, Early VIIth Century A.D.

line 38 παρά τῆς πενθερᾶς τοῦ ἄββᾱ Ἡλιοῦ...[

- line 52 παρ(ά) ἀβᾶ Βίκτορος πρεσβ(υ)τ(έρου) Σωβετώης.
The term refers to a presbyter by the name of Victor.
- 1184 Papyrus No. 89, 20, 23, Late VI – Early VIIth Century A.D.
line 20 ...]μῖς ἀγιότου ἀβ(β)ᾶ Μανθέα σι(δήρου) λί(τρων)
line 23 ...ὁ ἀβᾶς Μαρτίριος.
Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 1185 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
EKTICΘI TO MONSTS TOY ABB/[...]TINS TOY AΠOKS...
ἐκτίσθι τό μον(ασ)τ(ήριον) τοῦ ἀββ(ᾶ)/[...]τίν(ου) τοῦ ἀποκ(ρισιαρίου)...
The inscription is damaged and of the term 'abba' only the first three letters are preserved. The term was used rather as a title of respect referring to a certain apocrisarius, an ecclesiastical envoy to the metropolitan city of Scythopolis.
Bibl. *SEG* III (1927), No. 37.
- 1186 *Bir-el-Qutt*, near Bethlehem, Georgian Monastery, mosaic inscription in Georgian language, VIth Century A.D.
(Latin characters – transliteration by Rev. M. Tarchnisvili)
...eohebita cmidisa Tejsita/sn Antoni Abaj da Josia...
The term in this inscription refers to Anthony, the superior of the monastery.
Bibl. V. Corbo, *Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam*, p. 135.
- 1187 *Caesarea Maritima*, Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul, wall inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΘΗΚΗ ΑΒΑ ΘΕΟΤΕΚΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ
+ Θήκη ἀβᾶ Θεοτέκνου διακόνου παραμοναρίου
The term was given to a deacon named Theotecnus as a title of respect. He was also the 'paramonarius', the guardian of a particular church
Bibl. *ΝΣ*. 37 (1942), p. 111.
Deir el Qilt, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period
- 1188 Inscr. No. 88
+ Ἐκυμήθι / ὡ ἀβᾶς Θα/λελέως...
- 1189 Inscr. No. 107
+ ἐκυμήθ(η) ὁ / ἀββᾶς Βά[χχ]ος...
- 1190 Inscr. No. 144
+ ἐκ]υμήθη [ὁ ἀβ]βᾶς Παῦλος /...

- 1191 Inscr. No. 115
(Ἀββᾶ) Μάλχος
- 1192 Inscr. No. 116
Ἀβ[βᾶ] Παῦλος
- 1193 Inscr. No. 117
Ἀββᾶ Πορφύριος]
- 1194 Inscr. No. 118
Ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννης / Ἀντιοχ[εύς]
- 1195 Inscr. No. 119
Ἀββᾶ Ἰω[άν/νου] Τυρίου / ...
The term 'abba' appears in the nominative case in Nos. 88, 107 and 144, and in the genitive case in Nos. 115 to 119. In all the inscriptions it is used as a title of respect referring to the older and venerated monks of the Choziba monastic community.
Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, pp. 297-332, pls. V-VIII.
- 1196 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
...ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΕΛΕΣ
ΘΥ ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΧΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΣ / ...
...ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ / αὐτοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου) ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου / ἐλέ(ει) Θε(ο)ῦ
διακό(νου) μοναχ(οῦ) καὶ ἡγουμ(ένου)/...
Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12 (1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG XXX* (1980), inscr. No. 1689.
- 1197 *Oboda*, Martyrion of St. Theodore, stone inscription, A.D. 618
ΑΝΕΠΑΗ Ο ΜΑ/ΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΠΙΤΩ / [Α]ΒΒΑΣ ΕΡΑΣΙΝΟ/Υ Ο ΠΡΕΣ-
ΒΥΤΕΡ...
ἀνεπάη ὁ μα/κάριος Καπίτω / [ἀ]ββᾶς Ἐρασίνο/υ ὁ πρεσβύτερ(ος)..
The first letter is missing from the term which refers to a presbyter named Erasinus rather as a title of respect.
Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 36-37, inscr. No. 27.
- 1198 *Shivta*, ostrakon, pottery, Insula I, room 49, No. 337, VIth Century A.D.
+ ἀβᾶ Ἰωάννη Βίκτορος / ἀναγν(ώστη) χα(ίρειν) ἀπείργα(σαι) ἐν τῇ/κιστέρ-
(να) ἐργάτην ἕνα + /
Bibl. H.C. Youtie, *AJA* 40 (1936), pp. 452-459, fig. 3, No. III.
- 1199 *Sinai*, ascent to the Mountain of Moses, second archway, S.W. face, granite inscription, VI-VIIIth Century A.D.
+ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ / ΑΒΒΑ ΙΩΑΝ[Ν]ΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
ΚΑΙ...
+ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ / ἀββᾶ Ἰωάν[ν]ου τοῦ / ἡγουμένου καί...

If the reading is correct, the term refers to a superior named Ioannes.
Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264, inscription No. 11.

Old man, γέρων

A title conferring dignity given to the desert and monastery monks. This title appears in the following places:

- Deir el Qilt*, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period
- 1200 Inscr. No. 13
† Ἰωάννης / γέρων / ...
- 1201 Inscr. No. 76
† Αἰνίας / ὁ γέρων ὁ Μαΐουμᾶς / ...
- 1202 Inscr. No. 82
ἐνθάδε κατάκτε / Ἰωάννης γέρων / ...
In all three inscriptions the term appears in complete form.
Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, pp. 297-332.
- 1203 *Oboda*, inscription found on a large pithos *in situ*, Byzantine period
ΚΥ(ΠΙΕ) Β(ΟΗΘΕΙ) ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩ ΔΙΑΚΟΝ(Ω) / ΥΠΟ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΓΕ-
ΡΟΝΤ(ΟC)
Κύ(ριε) β(οήθει) Γερμανῶ διακόν(ω) / ὑπό Θεοδοσίου γέροντ(ος).
The term is abbreviated in the form ΓΕΡΟΝΤ and refers to a certain Theodosius.
Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 44-45, inscr. No. 46.

Superior of a monastery

To the superior of each independent monastery in the Early Christian monastic life of the East, the following terms were applied indifferently¹:

- a) *Hegumen*, ἡγούμενος. This term comes from the verb ἡγέομαι, meaning to precede, and was given to a leader, a bishop² or the superior presbyter of a Christian community, but more often to the superior of a monastery³.
- b) *Our father*, πατήρ ἡμῶν. A hellenized form of the local word 'abuna'.
- c) *Archimandrite*, ἀρχιμανδρίτης. A title being the combination of the verb ἄρχω meaning 'I command', and the noun μάνδρα, 'sheepfold', the chief of a sheepfold, in this case the chief or leader of a monastery⁴. This title gradually predominated over

1 Just. Nov. V. vii; CXXIII. v, and XXXIV.

2 Soz. *HE* and *PG* 67. 1433 B.

3 Pach. reg. B. (p. 20. 25); *PG* 40. 952c.

4 Pall. *Laus*. chapters 7, 19, 20, 25.

the other two, i.e. ἡγούμενος, and πατήρ ἡμῶν, and was given to the superior of a group of monasteries¹.

The office of superior was given to a monk and it was only from the fifth century on that it became customary for the superiors to be presbyters², although a monk or a deacon were never excluded from being a superior.

The superior was elected by his fellow monks by a majority of votes and his election was confirmed by the bishop, metropolitan or patriarch of the province. Once elected, he held the office for life except in the event of his being deposed after conviction for some canonical offence. He had absolute authority over the monks and only in very difficult cases had he to consult the σύναξις, a committee of the more experienced monks which in many ways limited his authority³. The superior could ordain monks to minor orders⁴ and was required to be in permanent residence in the monastery in order to handle the spiritual and material needs of his community⁵, and in order to instruct the newcomers in the monastic life. He was replaced in the case of sickness or absence by a second in command, the so called δευτερεύων, or δευτεράριος (see page 249).

d) *Mother superior, ἡγουμένη*. A term given to a nun elected from her community by the bishop of the diocese in which the convent was located, whose task was to spiritually guide the rest of the nuns and to administer all the material needs of her convent⁶. This came into force after both the Church⁷ and the State⁸ abolished the former system, whereby the monasteries and convents had a common superior though separate the one from the other. Nevertheless there were examples of convents with 'mother superiors' from the early days⁹.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the terms hegumen, our father, archimandrite and mother superior were found in the following places in complete or abbreviated form:

1 Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.* 30 (pp. 111-117f). In Palestine, Theodosius and Sabbas were appointed archimandrites and exarchs of all the monasteries, Theodosius over the monasteries under the coenobitic system and Sabbas over the monasteries under the anchoritic system: 'Προεβλήθησαν Θεοδοσίος καὶ Σάββας ἀρχιμανδρίται καὶ ἑξαρχοὶ πάντων τῶν...μοναστηρίων, ὁ μὲν ἄββας Θεοδοσίος ἀρχηγὸς γέγονε καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης παντός τοῦ κοινοβιακοῦ κανόνος...ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἡμῶν Σάββας ἀρχων κατεστάθη καὶ νομοθέτης παντός τοῦ ἀναχωρητικοῦ βίου'.

2 Council of Constantinople IV, act 1 (A.D. 563). In A.D. 484 St. Sabbas was reluctantly forced into the presbyterate by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, although he strictly forbade any of his monks to become presbyters.

3 St. Basil's rules, *PG* XXXI. 1037.

4 Second Council of Nicaea, A.D. 787.

5 Just. *Novel.* CXXIII, XXXIV; Theodore of Studion, 'Testamentum' in *PG* XCIX 1817-1818.

6 see Seventh Oecumenical Council, can. 20.

7 *Ibid*

8 Justin. *Novella* No. 123.

9 see Melania the elder (A.D. 345-410), Melania the younger (A.D. 383-438) in *Anal. Boll.*, XXV (1906), pp. 401-405.

a) *Hegumen*, ἡγούμενος

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, limestone slab inscription

- 1204 Inscription 12 a, text on the left, February 10th, A.D. 592
 + ΚΑΤ(ΕΤ)ΗΘΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡ(ΙΟ)C CΕΡΓΙΟC / ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ C
 ΗΓΟΥΜΕ/ΝΟΥ...

+ Κατ(ετ)ήθη ό μακάρι(ος) Σέργιος / Πατρικίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) (καί) ἡγου-
 μέ/νου...

- 1205 Inscription 12 b, text on the right, July 24th, A.D. 628
 + ΚΑΤ(ΕΤ)ΗΘΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC / ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ CΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒ/ C
 ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟC...

+ κατ(ετ)ήθη ό μακάριος / Πατρικίου Σεργίου πρεσβ(ύτερος) / (καί) ἡγούμε-
 νος...

The term in text a is in the genitive case, and in b in the nominative, and refers to Sergius, son of Patricius, and Patricius son of Sergius, both presbyters and superiors of a Christian community.

- 1206 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, small marble column, marble inscription No. 77, A.D. 650

+ ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤΕΡ / ΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΚC / ΗΓΟΥΜΕC...

+ ύπερ σωτερ(ίας) / Γεωργί(ου) Πατρικ(ίου) / ἡγουμέ(νου)...

The term refers to George, son of Patricius, of the above mentioned family and likewise to a superior presbyter of a Christian community.

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri

- 1207 Papyrus No. 45. 1, March 30th, A.D. 602

line 1 + ἡγέναιτω..ο.. τας μεταξύ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Πατρικίου Σεργίου ἡγωμέ[νου]

line 2 αἰγίου Σεργίου Νεσάνων...

The term refers to the superior presbyter of the Nessana community Church of St. Sergius, together with the title 'abba'.

- 1208 Papyrus No. 46. 3, July 16th, A.D. 605

....τῷ εὐλαβε(στάτῳ) Πατρικίῳ Σεργίου ἀναγνώστη καί ἡγουμέ(νῳ) τοῦ
 αἰγίου καί ἐνδόξ(οτάτου) μάρτυρος Σεργίου καί Βάχχου...

The term in this inscription is given to the reader of the Church of the glorious Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus.

- 1209 Papyrus No. 47. 8, before A.D. 605

+ Πατρίκιος ἡγούμενος +

See papyrus 45. 1.

- 1210 Papyrus No. 50. 4, Early VIIth Century A.D.

...εἶνα παρακαλέσας τῶν ἐγούμενων ὕνα...

Here, there is no indication as to whom the term refers to.

- 1211 Papyrus No. 77. 10, A.D. 685-690
Σέλργις Γεωργίου τ(ο)ῦ ἡγουμ(ένου)
The title is given to a certain Georgius.
- 1212 Papyrus No. 147. 1, Early VIIth Century A.D.
Πατρίκιος Σεργίου [ἡ]γ[ού]μ[ενος καὶ ἀναγνώστης τοῦ ἁγίου καί...
See papyrus No. 46. 3.
Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 1. Inscriptions, London 1962; Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.
- 1213 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΓΕΟ/ΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΣ ΔΕΥ-
ΤΕΡΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΙΤΑ.
...ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Γεο/ργίου κ(αί) ἡγουμένου κ(αί) δευτεραρίου κομιτᾶ.
The term refers to the presbyter Georgius, the superior of the monastery.
Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth Shean* Vol. IV, p. 16, inscription No. VII.
- 1214 *Deir Hadjla Abba Gerasimus*, stone inscription in Greek and Arabic, Late Byzantine period
.ΑΝΕ]ΚΕΝΗCΘΕ ΥΕΡΑ ΜΟ/(Ν)Η ΤΑΥΤΙ ΕΝ ΙΜΕΡΕC ΤΟΥ / Ι(ΩΑΝ-
Ν)ΟΥ Π(ΑΤ)Ρ(Ι)ΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΑΚΟΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΓΟΥΜ(ΕΝΟΥ).
. Ἀνε]κενῆσθε ὑερά μο/(ν)ή ταῦτι ἐν ἡμέρες τοῦ/ Ἰ(ωάνν)ου π(ατ)ρ(ι)άρχου
καὶ Ἰακόβου τοῦ ἡγουμ(ένου).
The term refers to a certain Jacobus with no indication of his monastic status.
Bibl. M.J. Lagrange, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 440.
- 1215 *El-Koursi*, Gergessa, Photisterium, mosaic inscription, A.D. 585
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛCΤΕ/[Φ]ΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒC ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥ/ΜΕΝΟΥ
Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) Στε/[φ]άνου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἡγου/μένου.
Together with the epithet 'the most beloved of God', the term refers to a presbyter named Stephanus and to the superior of the monastery.
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *IEJ* 22 (1972), pp. 176-177, pl. 39B.
- 1216 *Hazor Ashdod*, Kh. Banaya, North Shephelah, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟCΕΒΕCΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒC ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥ-
ΜΕΝΟΥ...
...καὶ τοῦ / θεοσεβεστάτου Παύλου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἡ/γουμένου...
Together with the epithet 'the most God fearing', θεοσεβέστατος, the term refers to a presbyter by the name of Paulus and to the superior of the monastery.
Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 1217 *Jericho*, Russian property, mosaic inscription, December 11th, A.D. 566
 + ΘΗΚΗ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ/ΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑ/ΚΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒC/ S ΗΓΟΥΜΕ
 ΝΟΥ...
 + Θήκη μακαρι/ωτάτου Κυρια/κού πρεσβ(υτέρου) / (καί) ήγουμένου...
 Together with the epithet 'the most blessed', μακαριώτατος, the term refers
 to the presbyter Cyriacus and to a superior of a monastery.
 Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 315.
- 1218 *Jerusalem*, cistern in the Nea complex, on hard plaster modelled in bold re-
 lief and painted red, VIth Century A.D.
 Κ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΗ/CΑΤΟ Ο ΕΥCΕΒC ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑCΙ-
 /ΛΕΥC ΦΛC ΙΟΥCΤΙΝΙΑΝΟC ΠΡΟΝΟΙ/Α ΚC CΠΟΥΔΙ ΚΩΝCΤΑΝ-
 ΤΙΝΟΥ / ΟCΙΩΤ^Α ΠΡΕCΒC ΚC ΗΓΟΥΜ^Ε ΙΝΔC ΙΓ +
 Κ(αί) τοῦτο τό ἔργον ἐφιλοτιμή/σατο ὁ εὐσεβ(έστατος) ἡμῶν βασι/λεὺς
 Φλ(αοῦς) Ἰουστινιανός προνοί/α κ(αί) σπουδί Κωνσταντίνου / ὀσιωτά(του)
 πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) ήγουμέ(νου) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ' +
 Bibl. N. Avigad, 'A Building Inscription of the Emperor Justinian and the
 Nea in Jerusalem,' *IEJ* 27 (1977), pp. 145-151; *SEG* XVII (1977), inscr. No.
 1015.
- 1219 *Jerusalem*, Dominus Flevit, Mount of Olives, mosaic inscription, VIIth
 Century A.D.
 ...ΚC ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΕΩC ΤΩΝ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ C ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ
 ΗΓΟΥΜC...
 ...κ(αί) ἀναπαύσεως τῶν / αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν (καί) Γεωργίου ήγουμ(ένου)...
 The term refers to a certain Georgius, brother of Symeon. There is no indi-
 cation as to whether he was a monastic superior or a superior presbyter of a
 Christian community.
 Bibl. *SEG* XVII (1960), No. 786.
- 1220 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Byzantine period
 + ΜΝΗΜΑ ΠΡΕC+/Β(ΥΤΕΡ)ΟΥ + ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ + / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ + /...
 + Μνήμα πρεσ+/β(υτέρ)ου + Θεοφίλου + / ήγουμένου + /...
 The term refers rather to the superior of a monastery.
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 570.
- 1221 *Kfar Truman*, Kh. er Ras: Kh. Irma (Judaeen coastal plain), mosaic inscrip-
 tion, VIth Century A.D.
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/ΦΙΛΕCΤΑΤΟΥ / ΠΡΕCΒC ΚΕ ΗΓΟΥΜ/ΕΝΟΥ ΕΥCΕ-
 ΒΙΟΥ...
 + Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο/φιλεστάτου / πρεσβ(υτέρου) κέ ήγουμ/ένου Εὐσεβίου...
 Together with the epithet 'the most beloved of God', θεοφιλέστατος, the
 term refers to a presbyter named Eusebius and to a monastic superior.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 1222 *Khan Saliba*, near the intersection of the Jerusalem – Jericho highway and the way to Wady El Qelt Monastery, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΣ ΠΡΕCBS Κ ΗΓΟΥMS ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡ-
ΓΟΝ
Ἐπί τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) ἡγουμ(ένου) Παύλου ἐγένετο
τό ἔργον
The term is given to the superior of the monastery, a presbyter named Pau-
lus, together with the epithet ‘the most beloved of God’, θεοφιλέστατος.
Bibl. Jean Prignaud, *RB* 70 (1963), pp. 243-254.
- 1223 *Khirbet el Mird*, inscription on a bronze cross (movable object), Byzantine period
....ΖΑΧΑΡΗΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΟΥ / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ S...
...Ζαχαρήου τοῦ ὁσίου / ἡγουμένου (καί)...
Together with the epithet ‘pious’, ὁσιος, the term refers to Zacharias, the superior of the monastery.
Bibl. Ἀποστόλου Κωνσταντινίδου, *Ἡ παρά τήν Νεκράν Θάλασσαν μονή τῶν Καστελλίων*, Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1931.
- 1224 *Khirbet Makhrum*, 6 km East of Bethlehem, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜ/ΩΝ ΑἶΓΛΩΝΟΣ ΗΓ/ΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚS...
...τοῦ ὁσίου πατρός ἡμ/ῶν Αἶγλωνος ἡγ/ουμένου κ(αί)...
With the epithet ‘pious’ and the hellenized form of the term ‘abbana’, πατήρ ἡμῶν, it refers to a father named Αἶγλων and to the superior of the monastery.
Bibl. L. Harding, *RB* 61 (1954), p. 572.
- 1225 *Khisfin*, Golan, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.
....C]ΠΟΥΔΗC ΘΩΜΑ ΠΡΕ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝ...
...σ]πουδῆς Θωμᾶ πρε(σβυτέρου) κ(αί) ἡγουμέν(ου)...
The term refers to a presbyter named Thomas and to the superior of a monastery or to the senior presbyter of the Christian community.
Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 1226 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576
...ΚΑΙ TS / ΘΕΩΦΙΛCΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ / ΔΙΑΚS ΜN-
ΑXS ΠΑΡΑΜΩΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΚS ΗΓΟ/ΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ
ΕΓΕΝΗΤΩ...
...καί τ(οῦ) / θεοφιλ(ε)στάτου Θεοδώρου ἐλέει Θ(εο)ῦ / διακ(όνου) μοναχ(οῦ)
παραμωναρίου κ(αί) ἡγο/υμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλιοῦ ἐγένητω..
- 1227 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
...ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛS ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΕΛΕS
ΘΥ ΔΙΑΚS ΜNΑXS ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥMS/...

...ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ / αὐτοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου / ἐλέ(ει) Θ(εο)ῦ
διακό(νου) μοναχ(οῦ) καὶ ἡγουμ(ένου)/...

Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12 (1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG XXX* (1980), inscra. No. 1688 and 1689.

- 1228 *Ras Siyagha*, (in the sunken panel of the baptismal font), stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ Ο/ΣΙΩΤ ΜΑΡΤΥ/ΡΙΟΥ ΗΓΟΥΜΣ

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁ/σιωτ(άτου) Μαρτυ/ρίου ἡγουμ(ένου)

With the epithet 'the most pious', ὀσιώτατος, the term refers to a certain Martyrius and to a superior of a monastery.

Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 319.

- 1229 *Ras Siyagha*, Baptistery, south of the baptismal font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597

...ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥ/ΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛ ΠΡΕC/Β ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕ...

...καὶ Μαρτυ/ρίου θεοφιλ(εστάτου) πρεc/β(υτέρου) καὶ ἡγουμέ(νου)...

Together with the epithet 'the most beloved of God', θεοφιλέστατος, the term refers to the same Martyrius, a presbyter, mentioned above and to a superior of the monastery.

Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 318.

- 1230 *Ras Siyagha*, chancel of the Basilica, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟ/ΣΕΒ ΑΛΕΞ ΠΡΕCΒ / ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝ...

Ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλ(αβεστάτου) καὶ θεο/σεβ(εστάτου) Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) πρεcβ(υτέρου) / καὶ ἡγουμέν(ου)...

The inscription is damaged, but the term is given in complete form together with the epithets 'the most reverend', εὐλαβέστατος, and 'the most God fearing', θεοσεβέστατος, referring to a presbyter named Alexandrus and to the superior of the monastery.

Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 323.

- 1231 *Ras Siyagha*, Theotokos Chapel, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...CΠΟΥΔΗ Κ ΑΓ[Ω]ΝΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ Κ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒSBS Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ.

...σπουδῇ κ(αί) ἀγ[ώ]νι Μαρτυρίου κ(αί) Θεοδώρου πρεcβ(υτέρων) κ(αί) ἡγουμένων.

The term appears in the genitive plural and refers to two presbyters Martyrius and Theodorus, both superiors of the same monastic centre, Theodorus being the successor of Martyrius.

Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 322.

- 1232 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse, mosaic inscription, A.D. 565/6

...ΕΠΙ ΛΟΓΓΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΩΤS ΠΡΕCΒS Κ ΗΓΟΥΜS †

..Ἐπί Λογγίνου τοῦ ὀσιωτ(άτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) ἡγουμ(ένου) +

With the epithet 'the most pious', ὀσιώτατος, the term refers to a presbyter named Longinus, and to the superior of the monastery.

- 1233 *Sinai*, ascent to the Mountain of Moses, second archway, N.W.face, granite inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

+ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ / ΑΒΒΑ ΙΩΑΝ[Ν]ΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ...

Ἐπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ / ἀββᾶ Ἰωάν[ν]ου τοῦ / ἡγουμένου καί...

The term refers to the superior of the monastery named Ioannes, who was honoured with the monastic title of respect 'abba'.

Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.

b) *Our father*, πατήρ ἡμῶν

- 1234 *Abu Sarbut*, Jordan, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΘΗΚΗ / ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΣ / ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ / ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΟΥ / ΜΑΓΝΟΥ / ΚΑ--
ΟΙΣ

Θήκη / τῶν ἀγί(ων) / πατέρων / Εὐστρατίου / Μάγνου / κα--οῖς

Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Le chiese di Abu Sarbut-Giordania,' *TS* 60 (Sept.-Oct. 1984), pp. 231-233.

- 1235 *Ain El-Jedide*, 1 km S.W. of Ain Karim, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΟCΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ...

...ὀσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν....

The term is given in the genitive plural with the epithet 'pious', ὀσιος, and refers to presbyters, perhaps to the superior and the 'deuterarius' (second in command in the monastery), or to two different superiors of two monasteries, or again to two superiors during their term of service in which this mosaic pavement was worked.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 232.

Deir el Qilt, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period

In the Choziba cemetery, there are eight inscriptions with the term 'our father', πατήρ ἡμῶν, five of which refer to presbyters. Taking into consideration that among the 213 inscriptions of that cemetery, there are none bearing the terms hegumen or archimandrite, it would seem that the hellenized form of the term 'abba' was used in the Choziba monastic community for the superior.

- 1236 Inscr. No. 98

+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ π(α)τήρ / ἡμῶν Ἡσίδωρος πρ(εσβύτερος)...

- 1237 Inscr. No. 99
...κοιμήθη / ὁ π(ατ)ήρ ἡμῶν../τιος/...
- 1238 Inscr. No. 100
+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ / π(ατ)ήρ ἡμῶν / Νε...[ἐλ]αδ[ικός]/...
- 1239 Inscr. No. 101
...κοιμήθη(η) / ὁ π(ατ)ήρ ἡμῶν / πη...
- 1240 Inscr. No. 122
+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακ(άριος) ὁ π(ατ)ήρ [ἐ]μόν Σά/ρωχis ὁ πρεσβ(ύτερος)/..
- 1241 Inscr. No. 123
+ ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάριος π(ατ)ήρ ἡμ(ῶν) / Θωμᾶς πρεσβ(ύτερος)/...
- 1242 Inscr. No. 124
+ ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάριος / πατήρ ἡμῶν / Ἰωάννης πρεσβ(ύτερος) / Ρωσσεύς/...
- 1243 Inscr. No. 140
+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος πατήρ ἡμῶν / Σέργιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος....
Bibl. A.M. Schneider, *RQ* 1931, pp. 297-332.
- 1244 *El Murassas* (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ / ΓΕΝΕCΙΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ Κ
ΑΡΧΙ/ΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΚS ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ /...
Ἐπί τοῦ θείου πατρός ἡμῶν / Γενεσίου πρεσβυτέρου κ(αί) ἀρχι/μανδρίτου
ἐγένετο κ(αί) τοῦτο τό ἔργον /...
Bibl. Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 1245 *Gaza*, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
...ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙC ΠΡC ΗΜΩΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒS
...καί ἐν ἀγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ός) ἡμῶν Εἰρηναίου τοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου)...
The term refers to a presbyter named Εἰρηναῖος who was the superior of a monastery and called by his monks 'our father among the saints', ἐν ἀγίοις πατήρ ἡμῶν.
Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 34 (1925), pp. 579-580; *NS* 13 (1913), pp. 918-920.
- 1246 *Jerusalem*, Karm es Saijad, Viri Galilaei, stone inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΘΗΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ + / ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕ/ΟΓΕΝΟΥC ΕΠΕΙCΚΟ/
+ Θήκη τοῦ ἀγίου + / πατρός ἡμῶν Θε/ογένους ἐπεισκό(που)/
The term is given to a bishop named Theogenes, a superior of a monastic society.
Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 574.
- 1247 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
...ΤΟΥ ΩCΙΟΥ / ΠΑΤΡ ΗΜΩΝ ΖΟΝΑΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΕ...
...τοῦ ὡσίου / πατρ(ός) ἡμῶν Ζωναίνου πρε[σβυτέρου]...

Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12 (1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG* XXX (1980), inscr. No. 1692.

- 1248 *Madaba*, Church of the Virgin, mosaic inscription, A.D. 622/3
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΩΣΙΩ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΗΣΚΩΠΟΥ /...
 'Επί τοῦ ὡσιω(τάτου) πατρός ἡμῶν Θεοφάνους ἐπισκώπου /...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'La chiesa della Vergine a Madaba,' *LA* 32 (1982), pp. 373-408.
- 1249 *Shaar ha Aliyah*, South of Tell es-Samak (ancient Shikmona), mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ΥΠΕΡ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ... / ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΣ ΤΩ... / ΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ... / ΝΙΟΥ Κ...
 /...ΠΡΕΣ(ΒΥΤΕΡΩΝ)
 ὑπέρ μνήμης... / ἀναπαύσε(ως) τῶ(ν)... / ὦν ἡμῶν... / νίου κ(αί) /...πρεσ(βυ-
 τέρων).
 The inscription is damaged, but from what can be read, there are indications that the term is in the genitive plural with the epithet 'holy', ἅγιος, given to two presbyters who may have been, as in the inscription of Ain El-Jedide above, the superior and the deuterarius of that particular monastery, or the leading presbyters of that particular Christian community.
 Bibl. *SEG* XVI (1959), No. 841.

c) *Archimandrite*, ἀρχιμανδρίτης

- 1250 *Beerot Yishaq*, S.E. of Gaza, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 + + + ΘΗΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΣ/ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΑΛ/ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕ-
 ΡΟΥ ΚΑ(Ι) ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ...
 + + + Θήκη τοῦ τρις/μακαρίου 'Αλ/εξάνδρου πρεσβυτέρου κα(ί) ἀρχιμαν-
 δρίτου...
 Together with the epithet 'thrice blessed', τρισμακάριος, the term refers to a presbyter named Alexandrus and probably to a superior of a monastery.
 Bibl. *SEG* XVII (1960), No. 783.
- 1251 *El Murassas* (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ / ΓΕΝΕΣΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ Κ
 ΑΡΧΙ/ΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΚΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ /...
 'Επί τοῦ θείου πατρός ἡμῶν / Γενεσίου πρεσβυτέρου κ(αί) ἀρχι/μανδρίτου
 ἐγένετο κ(αί) τοῦτο τό ἔργον /...
 Bibl. Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

d) *Mother Superior*, ἡγουμένη

- 1252 *Jerusalem*, Hinnom Valley, stone inscription, VIIIth Century A.D.
 ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙ/ΑΦΕΡ / ΘΕΚΛΑ / CEBA(CTH) ΗΓΟΥMS MONACTHPIOY...
 Θήκη δι/αφέρ(ουσα) / Θέκλα / σεβα(στή) ἡγουμένη μοναστηρίου...
 With the epithet 'respectable', σεβαστή, the term refers to Thecla, who was the mother superior of a convent and the sister of the Emperor Michael III. See Τιμοθέου Π. Θέμελη, *Ἱεροσολήμι καὶ τὰ Μνημεῖα αὐτῆς*, Τόμ. II, p. 1248. Bibl. P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), p. 58, No. 116; J. Robert, *REG* 1963, p. 183, No. 28b; *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 199.
- 1253 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Byzantine period
 . ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΥΣΑ ΤΗ / ΟCΙΩΤΑΤΙ ΧΑΡΑΤΙ ΗΓΟΥΜ ΤΟΥ / ΕΥΑΓ ΜΟ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙC...
 . Θήκη διαφέρουσα τῇ / ὀσιωτάτι Χαράτι ἡγουμένη τοῦ / εὐαγ(οῦς) μο(ν-αστηρίου) τόν ἀρμενισ(σῶν).
 The term is given to a mother superior named Charati of an Armenian convent.
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 571.

Deuterarius or deutereuon, δευτεράριος ἢ δευτερεύων

A term given to the officer second in command to the superior, who was in charge of the monastery in case of absence or sickness of the superior. He was generally a presbyter, but it is not known whether he was elected by the monks or chosen from among them by the superior as his trusted and confidential assistant, nor whether he was elected for life. It is certain that he was a permanent member of the monastery's σύναξις, that he assisted the superior while he was present, and that he replaced him when absent¹ or sick, but not after his death. On the death of the superior until the day that a new one was elected and inaugurated, the σύναξις or committee of the senior and most respected and experienced monks, was in charge of the monastery.

The term appears in the acts of the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 536)² and in Cyril's of Scythopolis lives of the desert fathers³.

The title 'deuterarius' was in use in the Church of Jerusalem until the Crusader period. See *Τυπικόν* published by A.P. Kerameus in the *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, Vol. II. 12, 19, 21, where mention is made of the deuterarius of Gol-

1 *Vita St. Pachomii*, No. 19.

2 E. Schwartz, *ACO* III (1940), pp. 35, 18; 129, 13; 143, 16; 157, 18; 164, 16; 172, 39.

3 Cyril of Scyth. E. Schwartz, *Texte und Untersuchungen...* 49, 2 (1939), pp. 70, 13; 239, 6, 11; 240, 13; and *Vita Nicolai Sionitae*, ed. by G. Anrich I (1913) p. cf. *ibidem*, pp. 37, 17, 24; 43, 15.

gotha: 'εὐθύς ὁ δευτεράριος τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ λέγει τό εὐαγγέλιον' and according to P.J.B. Thibant (*A.A. ordre des offices de la Semaine Sainte*, Paris 1926, 10, 80) and Τιμοθέου Π. Θέμελη (*Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὰ Μνημεῖα αὐτῆς*, vol. II, p. 796, note. 2), this 'Typicon' belongs to an earlier period (ninth, tenth century A.D.).

The title *deuterarius* in the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine appears in the following places:

- 1254 *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΓΕΟ/ΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΣ ΔΕΥ-
ΤΕΡΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΙΤΑ*

...ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Γεο/ργίου κ(αί) ἱγουμένου κ(αί) δευτεραρίου Κομιτᾶ.

The term is given in complete form with no indication as to his ecclesiastical status.

Bibl. G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth Shean* Vol. IV, p. 16, inscription No. VII.

* Κομιτᾶ is rather a nickname which also appears in an inscription from a basilica at Philippi, Greece. See Στυλιανοῦ Πελεκανίδη, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," *AE* 1955, pp. 119-121.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΟΥ ΤΟ ΕΠΙΚΛΗΝ ΚΟΜΙΤΑ Ο ΠΙΣΤΟΣ
ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΟΤΑΡΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΤΟΣ ΩΝ ΗΛΙΚΙΑ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ
ΕΥΓΕΝΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΗ ΗΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΥΤΩ....

- 1255 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, Basilica, apse, mosaic inscription, A.D. 565/6

+ ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΣ Κ ΔΕΥΤ...

+ Σπουδῇ Θεοδώρου πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) δευτ(εραρίου)...

The term is abbreviated in the form *δευτ(εράριος)* and given to a certain presbyter named Theodorus.

In both the above inscriptions the term follows hierarchically that of the superior of the monastery.

Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264.

Minor orders associated with the clerical and monastic institutions

Anagnostes, reader, lector

Anagnostes was an officer of one of the three minor clerical orders, the other two being the order of the subdeacon and the order of the singer (psaltes). The anagnostes had to be educated since his main duty was to read the Scriptures, and to expound them in the case when the reading ability of the bishop and presbyter was deficient.

The anagnostes was appointed by the bishop, but his appointment was not an ordination by placing the hands on the head, but by a simple blessing prayer read by the bishop over him. According to Just. Nov. 123, 11 (p. 604) the candidate had to be over 18 years of age, and according to the *Const. Apost.* 6, 17, 1, husband of one wife, and if single, he should be urged to get married.

The office is mentioned by Tertulian¹ and referred to as a distinct order in the Church. It is referred to also by Sozomenus², Theodoritus³ and others. The first among the anagnostes was called archanagnostes (see Council of Chalcedon act. 14). In a few cases, the bishop would confer on the anagnostes the title of hegumen, perio-deutes, paramonarius and other auxiliary titles, all of an administrative and ritual nature. These extra duties did not have to be considered as proper to the order of anagnostes, but as secondary duties performed by him.

The term 'anagnostes' in the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine appears in the following places:

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri

1256 Papyrus 46, 3, July 16th, A.D. 605.

...τῷ εὐλαβε(στάτῳ) Πατρικίῳ Σεργίου ἀναγνώστη καὶ ἡγουμέ(νῳ) τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) μάρτυρος Σεργίου καὶ Βάχχου...

1257 Papyrus No. 147. 1, Early VIIth Century A.D.

Πατρίκιος Σεργίου [ἡ]γ[ού]μ[ε]νος καὶ ἀναγνώστης τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξοτά-
του/ μάρτυρος Σεργίου καὶ Βάχχου/...

In both inscriptions the term is given in complete form in the dative and nominative singular. He is the reader and superior presbyter of the Church of the Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus.

Bibl. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir)*, Vol. 3. Non-literary Papyri, Princeton Univ. Press 1958.

1 Tertul. (*De Praescr.* c. 41)

2 Soz. lib. 4 cap. 3.

3 Theod. *HE* 3.2.1, 2, 3.

- 1258 *Bahan Nahalaim*, mosaic inscription No. 5, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΑΝΑΓΣ Κ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΣ...
 ...ἀναγ (νώστου) κ(αί) περιοδ(ευτοῦ)...
 The term is abbreviated and the reader was at the same time the periodeutes of the community.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 1259 *El-Kerak*, tomb stone inscription, A.D. 634
 +ΚΕ ἸΥ Χ[Ε./... ΘΕΟΦΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩ/CTΟΥ...
 +Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)(έ./...θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) ἀναγνώ/στου...
 Bibl. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 40.
- 1260 *Evron*, mosaic inscriptions
 Inscr. No. 2, Vth Century A.D.
 ΓΕΡΜΑΝ ΑΝΑΓ(Ν)ΩC [...
 ...Γερμαν(ός) ἀναγ(ν)ώσ(της) [...
 The term is abbreviated and refers to one anagnostes.
- 1261 Inscr. No. 5.
 ...ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΕ...
 ...ἀναγνώστε...
- 1262 Inscr. No. 6
 ...ΑΝΑΓΝΩCΤΩΝ...
 ...ἀναγνωστῶν...
 In inscriptions Nos. 5 and 6, the terms are complete and in the plural, which indicates that in this church there were more than one readers.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 1263 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sîh), mosaic inscription No. 11
 .../ΑΝΑ/ΓΝΩC/ΤΗC
 ...ἀνα/γνώσ/της
 Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 1264 *Kibbutz Magen*, V-VIth Century A.D.
 +ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟC ΖΟΝΑΙΝΟΥ/ ΑΝΑΓΝΩCΤΗC Ε[Υ]ΧΑΡΙCΤΩΝ/ ΤΩ
 ΑΓΙΩ ΚΥΡΙΚΩ ΕΨΗΦΩCΑ†.
 +Αἰλιανός Ζοναίνου/ ἀναγνώστης ε[ὕ]χαριστῶν/ τῷ ἁγίῳ Κυρικῷ ἐψήφω-
 σα†.
 The term is given in complete form and refers to a certain Ailianus.
 Yosef Porat and V. Tzaferis, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

- 1265 *Ozem*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΑΝΑΓΝ... ...ἀναγν(ώστης)...
 Though the inscription is damaged, the abbreviated term 'anagnostes' is clear.
 Dept. of Antiq. files, neg. No. 14648.
- 1266 *Rihab*, St. Peter's Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 623
 ...ΕΚ ΣΠΟΥΔΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΜΑΤΩΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΥΛΣ/
 ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ...
 ...ἐκ σπουδῆς καὶ καμάτων Γεωργίου Μαρτυρίου εὐλ(αβεστάτου)/ἀναγνώ-
 στου...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 80-81.
- 1267 *Shivta*, ostracon, pottery, No. 337 exc. 1935, Insula I room 49, VIth Century A.D.
 +Αβᾶ Ἰωάννη Βίκτορος/ ἀναγν(ώστη) χα(ίρειν) ἀπείργα(σαι) ἐν τῇ/ κιστέρ-
 (να) ἐργά(την) ἔνα+/
 The term is abbreviated and refers to Ioannes who was also honoured with the title 'abba'.
 Bibl. H. C. Youtie, *AJA* 40 (1936), pp. 452-459, fig. 3, No. III.

Door-keeper, θυρωρός, πυλωρός

Door-keeper was one of the minor orders of the clergy, whose duty was to guard the church doors. The order of the door-keeper was mentioned by Pseudo-Ignatius (*Epist. Antioch.*), by Eusebius *HE* VI. 43, Justinian *Novella* III 1, and can. 24 of the Council of Laodicea which speaks of them as being of the minor orders of the clergy. In the *Apost. Const.* VIII (13.19) their function was discharged by the deacons and subdeacons. A candidate was instructed by the archdeacon who then presented him to the bishop from whom he received the keys of the church, with the injunction to act as one who must render to God an account of the things to which the keys gave access (Fourth Council of Carthage, can. 9)

The term 'door-keeper', θυρωρός, is mentioned in the following inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine:

- 1268 *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, West of the Russian property and above the garden of Gethsemane, tomb stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 +ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙΑ/ΦΕΡΟΥΣΑ/ ΘΕΟΔΟΥΛΩ/ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩ/ ΘΥΡΩΡΩ
 ΤΗΣ/ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ/ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΕΩΣ/ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΤΡΩ ΘΕ/ΟΧΕΒΣ
 ΘΥΡΩΡΩ/ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΥΙ/Ω ΑΥΤΟΥ +/ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ/ ΤΩΝ
 ΔΙΑΦ ΑΥΤΩΝ/

+Θήκη δια/φέρουσα/ Θεοδούλω/ γενομένω/ θυρωρῷ τῆς/ ἀγίας τοῦ Χ(ρισ-
τοῦ)/ Ἀναστάσεως καί Πέτρῳ θε/οσεβ(εστάτῳ) θυρωρῷ/ τῆς αὐτῆς υἱ/ῶ
αὐτοῦ +/ καί πάντων/ τῶν διαφ(ερόντων) αὐτῶν/

In this inscription the term appears twice in complete form in the dative singular. Two door-keepers, θυρωροί, are mentioned in the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem. They were father and son, indicating that the order of the door-keepers of the Ἀνάστασις was hereditary, because of the importance and wealth of this Church, which required trustworthy people. The father's name, Theodoulus, meaning 'servant of God', also emphasizes the importance of the order of door-keeper.

Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 568.; P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), p. 91, No. 126.

- 1269 *Jerusalem, Nabi Daud – to Himnon Valley, tomb in the rock, VIth Century A.D.*

+ΜΝΗΜΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟ [N]/ ΤΩΝ ΘΥΡ(Ω)Ρ[ΩΝ Α] ΓΙΑΣ ΣΙΩΝ

+Μνήμα διαφέρο [v]/ τῶν θυρ(ω)ρ[ῶν ἀ]γίας Σιών.

Here the term appears in complete form in the genitive plural and refers to the door-keepers of the Holy Sion, Ἀγία Σιών.

Bibl. Peter Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), p. 55, No. 107.

Offices given to presbyters as well as to clergy of lower rank, and to monks in the case of oeconomus and paramonarius only

Periodeutes, περιοδευτής

The word 'periodeutes' had different meanings, which is confusing for the exact understanding of the office and duties of this Church official. The word means 'a traveller', Eust. 2382. 59.; a medical practitioner, Gal. 12.844, Steph. in Hp. 2.457D.; a visitor of an ecclesiastical foundation, *Cod. Just.* 1.3.38.2, 1.3.41.19.

In an effort to define the exact meaning and describe the duties of periodeutes, through the study of many historical sources and the Greek inscriptions found in Palestine in which the term appears, the following conclusions are proposed.

The periodeutes was not a clerical order, nor an honorary distinction, but a title allotted by a bishop of a particular diocese to a cleric of any rank, of a small, remote country community, able to represent him in the community and serve as a channel of communication between the bishop and the people. Such small communities were served by chorepiscopoi, country bishops, until after the decree of the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, canon 6, which forbade the appointment of bishops for small communities, to prevent the lowering of prestige incumbent on the episcopal office;

and after the decree of the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 343-381, canon 5¹, which abolished the office of chorepiscopus and replaced it with that of the periodeutes, as an episcopal delegate to a small community. He was appointed by the bishop from among the clergy regardless of rank.

This official who, in addition to his clerical duties assumed several others acting on behalf of the bishop, cannot be described as being an itinerant cleric, but rather as an official who represented the bishop and dealt with solving the spiritual problems of the community. He was one who practiced as a spiritual physician, whereas the term 'periodeutes' meant a medical practitioner.

The title periodeutes appears in the following Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine:

- 1270 *Ain Samieh*, N.W. of Jerusalem, near Kefr-Melik (on a column), VIth Century A.D.

...Π ...CΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔ...

...π(ρονοία) Σεργίου περιόδ(ευτοῦ)

In this inscription the term is abbreviated. It does not indicate the clerical rank of the official.

Bibl. M. Abel, *RB* N.S. 4 (1907), p. 275.

- 1271 *Bahan Nahalaim*, mosaic inscription No. 5, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΑΝΑΓΣ Κ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΣ...

...ἀναγ(νώστου) κ(αί) περιόδ(ευτοῦ)...

Here the term is abbreviated and refers to the reader of the Church; the inscription is damaged and as yet unpublished.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 1272 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No 5, Vth Century A.D.

...ΕΠΙ ΙΣΑΑΚΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕΥΤΟΥ...

...ἐπί Ἰσαακίου περιόδευτοῦ...

Here, the term is given in complete form, but as in the inscription from Ain Samieh, the official's clerical rank is not indicated.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 1273 *Horvat Karkara*, Gesher Haziv near Nahariya, mosaic inscription, March A.D. 477

...ΚΕ ΤΩΝ Ε/[ΥΛ]ΑΒ(ΕΣΤΑΤΩΝ) ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕ(ΥΤΩΝ) ΓΑΕΙΑΝΟΥ
ΚΕ ΔΩ/ΡΟΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑССΟΥ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Η ΨΗΦ/ΩCIC...

1 Council of Laodicea, can. 57: "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιόδευτάς· τοὺς μὲν τοι ἤδη προκατασταθέντας μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου".

...κέ τῶν ε/[ύλ]αβ(εστάτων) περιοδε(υτῶν) Γαειανοῦ κέ Δω/ροθέου καί Βάσσου ἐτελιώθη ἡ ψήφ/ωσις...

Here, there are two *periodeutai* mentioned, but again with no indication of their clerical rank.

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 209-210, pl. 24B.

- 1274 *Mishmar ha-Emeq*, Southern Esdraelon, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.

...ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ Σ ΠΕΡΙΟΔ...

...Ἰωάννου ὑποδιακ(όνου) (καί) περιοδ(ευτοῦ)...

The term is abbreviated and the cleric who held the office belonged to the lower clergy rank of subdeacons.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

- 1275 *Nahariya*, (from a church chancel), marble inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΠΡΕ Σ ΠΕΡ Σ...

...πρε(σβυτέρου) (καί) περ(ιοδευτοῦ) (καί)...

The abbreviated term which I take to mean 'periodeutes', refers this time to a presbyter.

Dept. of Antiq. files (see Gerson Edelstein).

- 1276 *Shavei Zion*, exonarthex, mosaic inscription, A.D. 486

...ΕΥΛ ...ΚΩC [...] ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕ[...]Η/ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ [...]Η/ΦΩCΕΩC...

...εὐλ(αβεστάτου) Κωσ[μᾶ... τοῦ]/ περιοδε[υτοῦ... ἐτελιώθ]η/ τό ἔργον [ψ]η/ φώσεως...

The title refers to a certain Cosmas. The inscription is damaged, and so it is not possible to read his clerical rank.

Bibl. M.W. Prausnitz, M. Avi-Yonah and D. Barag, *Excavations at Shavei Zion*, pp. 58-59.

Oeconomus, οἰκονόμος

One who manages a household; a title for a high official who manages the finances of a state, a diocese, a church, a monastery. Here will be examined the *oeconomus* of a diocese, a church and a monastery.

In the Early Church the responsibility for managing the finances was included among the duties of the deacons of the Church. Gradually as church property and the duties of the deacons increased, the title 'oeconomus' was given to a deacon, presbyter or monk, chosen from among his fellow peers for the exclusive duty of looking after church property.

The Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, canons 24, 25, speak of the possible use of Church revenues by bishops, presbyters and other members of the clergy, and lay down that all Church property should be administered with the knowledge of the

whole of the clergy, and that a regular account be kept in order to prevent any irregularity by individuals in the management of Church property. In act 9 of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, another serious incident of mishandling of Church property is referred to, and by canon No. 26 of the same Council¹ the office of 'oeconomus' became indispensable for all dioceses and churches. The canon states that since it had come to the knowledge of the Council that certain bishops administered Church property without an 'oeconomus', every diocese must have one chosen by the clergy from among themselves, who should manage the Church property under the direction of the bishop, in order to ensure that no waste should occur. In the Seventh Oecumenical Council, canon 1, it reads that if the bishop neglects to appoint an

oeconomus, the archbishop or the metropolitan should do so, and if the metropolitan neglects to do so, then the patriarch is to select and appoint one. From all the above mentioned sources the necessity and importance of the office of the oeconomus in the administration of the Church is evident.

Oeconomus was a title given to members of the clergy or to monks. In the monasteries, the oeconomus was the monastic steward, the official in charge of donations and the officer responsible for the monastery estates. Canon 11 of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod states that each monastery should have its oeconomus for reasons already given. The oeconomus of a monastery had an assistant known as *paroeconomus*² and each monastery had a kind of a store-house known as *oeconomion*³.

In the Church of Constantinople, the first among the *oeconomoi* was called 'megas oeconomus', and in addition to his administrative duties, he received honorary distinctions in Church ritual.

The oeconomus of a diocese was responsible for all that concerned his charge and once a year he gave an account of his management to the bishop.

The office of oeconomus came under Roman law from the end of the fourth century A.D.⁴ and so, in the case of the Church of Constantinople, the accounts had to be sent to the state treasurers every two months.

1 Council of Chalcedon, can. 26, 'Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις ὡς περιηγήθημεν, δίχα οἰκονόμων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά χειρίζουσι πράγματα, ἔδοξεν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσιν καὶ οἰκονόμον ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου, οἰκονομοῦντα, τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ οἰκείου ἐπισκόπου, ὥστε μὴ ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκ τούτου σκορπίζεσθαι τὰ αὐτῆς πράγματα, καὶ λοιδορίαν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ προστρίβεσθαι εἰδὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσει ὑποκεῖσθαι αὐτόν τοις θείοις κανόσι'.

2 *Typicum MS. Monasterii Deiparae*, cap. 14, 15, '... εἰ δ' ἴσως ὁ οἰκονόμος ἀποδημῇ ἐν τοῖς ἔξω διαγών, παρουσίᾳ τοῦ παροικονόμου τὴν τῶν εἰσοδιαζομένων λογαρίων παράδοσιν γίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτάς'.

3 *Vita S. Paphnutii*, No. 75, 'καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὸ οἰκονομεῖον ἔλαβεν στρώμα καλὸν ἐλαφρόν, καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτόν'. Moschus in *Limon*, cap. 5, 'λέγε μοι ὁ οἰκονόμος, ποιήσον ἀγάπην, ἀδελφέ, ἔλθέ ἵνα τὰ σκαῖα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀπενέγκωμεν εἰς τὸ οἰκονομεῖον'. Cyr. Scythop. in *Vita MS. S. Sabae*, c. 58, 'καὶ πληροῦσι τὸ οἰκονομεῖον παντοίων ἀγαθῶν'.

4 *Cod. Theod.* IX, 45, 3.

Among the duties of the *oeconomus* were:

- a) superintendence over all the estates of his diocese, his church or his monastery, e.g., fields, vineyards and any other ecclesiastical property.
- b) management of all legal matters concerning the church estates.
- c) the supplying of food and clothing for the bishop, clergy, widows, poor, etc.
- d) the acceptance of all the donations made to the church and payment of all the bills received, and
- e) at the death of the bishop or the superior of the monastery, care of their personal estates and full responsibility for the material administration until the election of a new bishop or superior.

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine, the term *oeconomus* appears in the following places:

- 1277 *El-Quweisme*, Transjordan, a few kms S.E. of Amman, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΟCΙΩΤ ΠΙΡS ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ...
 ...ὁσιωτ(άτου) πρ(εσβυτέρου) καὶ οἰκονόμου...
 Here, the office was held by the presbyter of the church.
 Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 258-259; S. Saller, *JPOS* 21 (1948), p. 138 f.
- 1278 *Jaber*, Transjordan, house of Ahmed el-Husein, Byzantine period
 ...Κ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ...
 ...κ(αί) Ἰωάννου οἰκονόμου...
 In this inscription only the title 'oeconomus' is given, and it is not known whether he belonged to the clerical or monastic order.
 Dept. of Antiq. files.
- 1279 *Karmiel* (Kh. Bât es Sih), mosaic inscription No. 9, Byzantine period
 .../ΚΟΝΟ/ΜΟC ΤΗ/С ΕΚΛΗ/СΙΑC
 Οἰ]/κονό/μος τῇ/ς ἐκλῃ/σίας
 Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
- 1280 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century, A.D.
 ...ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤ ΡΑΒΒΟ [Υ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ Τ] ΗC Α/ΓΙΩΤ ΕΚΛΙC...
 ... ὑπέρ σωτ(ηρίας) Ράββο[υ οἰκονόμου τ] ἡς ἀ/γιωτ(άτης) ἐκλίσ(ίας)...
 The term is given to a certain Rabbus without specifying to which institution he belonged.
 Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 140-1, pl. 31, 3.
- 1281 *Khirbet el Wahadneh*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
 ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ/ ΑΜΑΜΑ ΥΠΟΔΙ/ΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟ/ΝΟΜΟΥ ΑΜΑ

ΜΑ/ΤΡΩΝΑ CYN../Ω ΚΑΙ ΜΑΝ--/ΘΙΝΗC ΘΥΓ../ΤΡΟC ΑΥΤΟ../
 Προσφορά/ Ἀμάμα ὑποδι/ακόνου καὶ οἰκο/νόμου ἅμα Μα/τρώνα συν[βί]/ω
 καὶ Μαν--/θίνης θυγ[α]/τρός αὐτο[ῦ]/
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 18-20.

- 1282 *Shivta*, North Church (in the floor of the southern aisle), VIIth Century A.D.
 ...ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΗ/ΔΙΑΚ Κ ΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΓΕ/ΝΕΤΟ ΤΩ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ-
 ΤΟ/
 ...Πέτρου ἀρχη/διακ(όνου) κ(αί) ἱκονόμου ἐγέ/νετο τῷ ἔργον τοῦτο/.
 In this inscription the office was held by Peter, the archdeacon of the church.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 61-62, inscr. No. 68.
- 1283 *Suhmata*, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 555
 ...ΑΡΧΣ ΠΡΕC ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜC..
 ...ἀρχ(ι)πρε(σβυτέρου) (καί) οἰκονόμ(ου)..
 In this inscription the office was held by the archpresbyter of the church.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 96, pl. XXX, fig. 3.
- 1284 *Umm el-Maqati* (djebel Ajlun), mosaic inscription, A.D. 482
 ΧΜΓ/ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/CEBS ΑΙΩΝΟC ΠΡΕC/ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΑΧΩΝΟC
 ΚΑΙ/ ΜΑΓΝΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒCΒ/ ΔΙΑΚ*Κ* ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΕΔΟ/ΝΙΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΝΟ-
 ΜΟΥ ΕΓΕ/ΝΕΤΟ Η ΨΙΦΩCΕΙC/..
 ΧΜΓ/ Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο/σεβ(εστάτου) Αἰώνος πρεσ(βυτέρου)/καὶ Βαράχωνος
 καί/ Μάγνου εὐλαβ(εστάτων)/ διακό(νων) καὶ Μακεδο/νίου οἰκονόμου ἐγέ/
 νετο ἡ ψίφωσειC/...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 23-25; 'Jordanie: L'Apogée Byzantine,' *Le monde de la Bible* (Sept. Oct. 1984), pp. 2, 3, 52.

Paramonarius or Prosmonarius, παραμονάριος

A term indicating a title rather than a clerical order, given by a bishop to a cleric or a monk.

The paramonarius, who in most cases was the presbyter of a remote church, or a cleric of lower rank in the absence of a presbyter, was entrusted by the bishop to serve as bailiff and guardian of a church. The bishop was often unable to supervise personally all the Church estates of his district because of the distances and many other duties.

The duties of the paramonarius were different at different times and places and often confused because he was at the same time cleric and an overseer of an estate. Since he was the person most conversant about the rights of the estate, he was en-

trusted with the custodianship and in many cases his office became the object of a simoniacal bargain¹. He lived in or near the church where he was 'paramonarius', looked after the maintenance and cleaning, and if he belonged to the lower clerical office, assisted the presbyter in the services held in that church.

In the *Justinian Code*, the paramonarii are associated with the principals of institutions, xenothochoi, principals of poor-houses, ptohomoi, and those taking care of the sick, nosocomoi, as administrators of church property².

In the Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period extant in Palestine the term paramonarius appears in the following places:

- 1285 *Caesarea maritima*, Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul, wall inscription, Byzantine period
 +ΘΗΚΗ ΑΒΑ ΘΕΟΤΕΚΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ +
 +Θήκη ἀβὰ Θεοτέκνου διακόνου καὶ παραμοναρίου +

In the inscription, the paramonarius was the deacon of the church. He was the administrator of the church property of a certain community, and also honoured by the title abba.

Bibl. *NS* 37 (1942), p. 111.

Gerasa, Transjordan, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533

- 1286 a) an inscription over the head of a male figure.
 ΘΕΟ[ΔΩ]ΡΟ[Σ] ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ Θεό[δω]ρο[ς] παραμονάρ(ιος)
- 1287 b) an inscription over the head of a female figure.
 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜ. Γεωργία Θεοδώρου παραμ(οναρίου)
 It is the male figure that is of interest here since the woman is the wife of Theodorus, the paramonarius of the church. He is dressed as a presbyter, an indication that a presbyter could also be the paramonarius of a church in a city.
 Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, p. 482, inscriptions No. 315-316.

- 1288 *Gerasa*, Transjordan, the Procopius Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΚΑ[Ι] ΣΑΩΛΑ ΕΥΛ[ΑΒΕΣ]Τ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ/ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝ...
 ...κα[ι] Σαώλα εὐλ[αβεσ]τ(άτου) διακόνου/ καὶ παραμον(αρίου)...
 The term, like the inscription from Caesarea, was given to a deacon.
 Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 872.

1 Council of Chalcedon, can. 2.

2 *Just. Code* (de episc. et clericis 146 sect. 3).

- 1289 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Transjordan, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΠΡΕ]CB Κ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ Γ(ΕΩΡΓΙ)ΟΥ.
 ...πρε]σβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) παραμοναρίου τοῦ Γ(εωργί)ου.
- 1290 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ΒΑΡΙΧΑ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
 Βαριχᾶ πρεσβυτέρου καί παραμοναρίου...
 In both inscriptions the presbyter was also the 'paramonarius', and the title follows in line after the bishop indicating the importance of the office.
 Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo*, pp. 140-141; pl. 31, 3, pp. 183-184; *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 336.
- 1291 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576
 ...ΚΑΙ TS/ ΘΕΩΦΙΑCΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ̅/ΔΙΑKS ὀ MN-
 AXS ΠΑΡΑΜΩΝΑΡΙΟΥ. KS ΗΓΟ/ΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ
 ΕΓΕΝΗΤΩ...
 ...καί τ(οῦ) θεωφιλ(ε)στάτου Θεοδώρου ἐλέει Θ(εο)ῦ/ διακ(όνου) μονα-
 χ(οῦ) παραμωναρίου κ(αί) ἡγο/υμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλιοῦ ἐγένητω...
 Bibl. R. Cohen, 'A Byzantine Church and Mosaic Floor near Kissufim' (in Hebrew), *QADMONIOT* 12(1979), pp. 19-24; *SEG XXX* (1980), inscr. No. 1688.
- 1292 *Mampsis*, Northern Church, the lower of three inscriptions at the foot of steps leading up to the bema, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
 ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗCΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΒΡΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ.
 Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον τόν Ἀβρα(άμ) Ζηνοβίου τοῦ παραμοναρίου.
 In this inscription, the term was used to describe the status of a certain Abraam, son of Zenobius, the latter being the paramonarius, but it is not known whether he was a cleric, and if so, what rank.
 Bibl. A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 70-71, inscr. No. 84.
- 1293 *Rihab*, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
 ...ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΝΕΟΘΕCΑΝ ΤΑ ΨΗΦΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΒΑC-
 COΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟCΕBS ΠΡΕCBS Κ ΠΑΡΑΜ...
 ...νῦν δέ ἀνανεόθεσαν τὰ ψηφία ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ἡλιοῦ Βάσσου τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστά-
 του) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αί) παραμο(ναρίου)...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 84-85.

- 1294 *Rihab*, St. Paul's Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
 + ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΣ Κ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟ-
 ΠΟΥ/Σ ΒΑССΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡ ΕΨΗΦΟΘΗ...
 + Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτι(άτου) κ(αί) μακαριω(τάτου) Πολυεύκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου/
 (καί) Βάσσου εὐλαβ(εστάτου) παραμοναρ(ίου) ἐψηφόθη...
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale*, Jerusa-
 lem 1981, pp. 78-79.
- 1295 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalil el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604
 ...ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥΣ Κ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΜΟ...
 ...μοναχούς κ(αί) παραμο(ναρίους)...
 In this inscription the paramonarii were monks.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 68, inscription No. 1.
- 1296 *Rihab*, house of Saad en Nuheh, only the manuscript copy is available, mo-
 saic inscription, May A.D. 620
 ...ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΚΑΡΚΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟ...
 Ἰωάννου Καρκούσου παραμο(ναρίου)...
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 13 (1947), p. 70, inscription No. 5.
- 1297 *Shellal*, South of Gaza, mosaic inscription, A.D. 561/2
 ...Π(ΡΕCΒ) [ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟ]ΝΑΡΙΟC
 ...π(ρεσβύτερος) [καί παραμο]νάριος.
 Again the title is given to the presbyter of the church. The inscription is
 slightly damaged and only the last six letters of the term are preserved.
 Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 42, No. 306; M.J. Lagrange, *RB* 14
 (1917), p. 150; *RB* 15 (1918), p. 595.
- 1298 *Sinai*, St. Catherine's Monastery, granite inscription, VI-VIIth Century
 A.D.
 ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ [ΚΑΙ Π]ΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
 διακόνου [καί π]αραμοναρίου...
 In this inscription the deacon of the monastery was the paramonarius.
 Bibl. Ihor Ševčenco, *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 255-264, inscription No. 13.

Lecticarius, -ii, λεκτικάριος, -ιοι

Someone who carries the lectica or bier. One of the minor orders of the clergy. Their duty was to take upon them the whole care of funerals. They were especially obliged to perform this last duty to the poorer members of the church without charging their relatives.

The order of lexicarii was mentioned in the *Theodosian Code* among the inferior clerical orders; in Justinian *Novellae* 43, 59 and in the life of Martha, the mother

of Saint Symeon τοῦ ἐν τῷ Θαυμαστῷ ὄρει (AS, Maii 5, 409 c). The lexicarii were under the οἰκονόμος of a diocese or of a church (see also fossarii, copiatæ, decani).

The term λεκτικάριος is mentioned in the following inscription of the Byzantine period found in Palestine:

1299 *Jerusalem*, tomb stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.

+ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΔΙΑ/ΦΕΡΝ CΙΑΑ/ ΛΕΚΤΙΚΑΡΙΟΥ/...

+ Μνήμα δια/φέρ(ο)ν Σίλα/ λεκτικαρίου/...

Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 579, No. 34; Peter Thomsen, 'Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem,' *ZDPV* 44 (1921), pp. 108-109, No. 175.

CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

In this work have been collected for the first time the large majority of Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine. Of these inscriptions only those have been included in this study which mention sacred names, names of saints, martyrs and those which signify offices, titles, terms referring to clerical and monastic orders and the names of the main holy shrines, holy places, churches and monasteries.

The data collected here and the ensuing conclusions will help the study of the history of this region in general, and of its economic history in particular, as well as the Church history of the area with its cultural and social effects upon the natives of the country during the period from the fourth to the seventh century A.D.

The large number of sites where inscriptions have been found and the rich monuments excavated, indicate the great expansion in settlements, the density of both civilian and monastic population, and the astonishing prosperity of Byzantine Palestine.

Throughout this study emphasis has been placed on the epigraphical material relevant to the Church, which has facilitated a better understanding of the administrative and hierarchical development of the clerical and monastic institutions, their philosophical and dogmatic conflicts, and the stand assumed by the civil authorities towards them.

In these inscriptions were found terms referring to clerical offices and titles which are no longer current in Church life, such as, deaconess, subdeacon, archpresbyter, assistant presbyter, chorepiscopus, periodeutes, paramonarius, deuterarius, door-keeper and lexicarius. One observes also that offices used exclusively by the

civil administration, such as that of *oekonomus*, passed into Church administration. This office exists today only in monastic administration. Equally, dogmatic terms were found, such as Ὁμοούσιος Τριάς, *Consubstantial Trinity*, Μονογενής, the *Only Begotten One* and Θεοτόκος, *God-bearer*, which agree with the canons of the Oecumenical Councils where the representatives of the Church of Palestine played a decisive role in the formation of Orthodox dogma.

It is worth noting that the majority of the early churches were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In Palestine one also observes an expansion in the veneration of the prophets, the apostles, of military saints, such as Sergius and Bacchus, Andrew the General, George, Theodore, Leontius and Longinus, of the moneyless saints (Ἀνάργυροι) Cosmas and Damianus, of the martyrs Thecla, Stephanus and Ciryus, of the righteous ones (Δίκαιοι), Lot, Anna the mother of the Virgin Mary, Elizabeth the mother of Saint John the Baptist, Lazarus the friend of Christ, of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and many others.

The dominance of Greek Christian culture and of the Greek language in particular during this period in Palestine, is shown by the predominant number and in many cases the textual richness of Greek inscriptions, as well as the numerous ancient compound and theophoric Greek names, such as, Ἀγαθόνικος, Αἰγλων, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀντίοχος, Ἀρίων, Γενέσιος, Διόδωρος, Διονύσιος, Εἰρηναῖος, Ἑλλαδῖς, Ἑλπίδιος, Ἑρμογένης, Εὐβουλος, Εὐγένιος, Εὐθύμιος, Εὐσέβιος, Εὐστάθιος, Εὐστόχιος, Εὐστράτιος ἢ Καλλίστρατος, Εὐτύχιος, Εὐφράσιος, Ζηνόβιος, Ζήνων, Ζωή, Ζώσιμος, Ἡράκλειος, Θαλλέλαιος, Θεογένης, Θεοδόσιος, Θεόδουλος, Θεόδωρος ἢ Δωρόθεος, Θεόμνηστος, Θεότεκνος, Θεοφάνης, Θεόφιλος, Ἰσίδωρος, Καλαπόδιος ἢ Καλοπόδιος, Κόνων, Μαίανδρος, Μακάριος, Μακεδόνιος, Μαρτύριος, Παλλάδιος, Πάμφιλος, Πολύευκτος, Πολυχρόνιος, Πορφύριος, Προκόπιος, Στέφανος, Τιμόθεος, Φιλητός, Φωτεινός, Χαρίτων and others.

The inscriptions also show elements of great contribution of the monks of Palestine to the ritual, hymnography and liturgy of the Church.

All this, though not without effort, has been gleaned from the inscriptions used in this work, pointing out that it was this country, favoured by God from earliest times, that cradled and fostered Christianity from its primitive beginnings.

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Προκόπιος	»	»	705
Ραφαήλ	Inscr.	No.	734
Σέργιος	Inscr.	No.	17, 130, 132, 268, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 665, 707, 709, 710, 711, 712, 1178, 1207, 1208, 1256
	Papyrus	No.	627, 628, 629, 630, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 1207, 1208, 1256, 1257
Σίμων	Inscr.	No.	602
Στέφανος	»	»	15, 18, 125, 634, 635, 639, 642, 645, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 721
Σωφονίας	»	»	572
Φίλιππος	Inscr.	No.	602, 611
Ώσηέ	Inscr.	No.	572

B. Personal names

Ἀαρών	Inscr.	No.	182, 409, 798
Ἀββῖβος	»	»	1126
Ἀββῖνος	»	»	1131
Ἀβδάλλας	»	»	189
Ἀβραάμ	»	»	1292
Ἀβραάμιος, Ἀβράμιος	»	»	5, 314, 355, 808, 817, 852, 862, 1002, 1137, 1165
Ἀγαθόνικος	»	»	1154

Ἀγάπιος	»	»	1048
Ἄεδος	»	»	1005
Ἀξιζαῖος	»	»	175
Ἀξιζος	»	»	746
Αἶγλων	»	»	1224
Αἰλιανός	»	»	661, 1264
Αἰνείας	»	»	1106, 1201
Αἰνιάνης	»	»	128b
Αἰσίκιος	»	»	261, 371, 448
Αἴων	»	»	353, 510, 849, 883, 1013, 1284
Ἀλεξάνδρα	»	»	1167
Ἀλέξανδρος	»	»	851, 932, 995, 1230, 1250
Ἀλέξιος	»	»	992
Ἀλεξώνητος	»	»	847, 848
Ἀλοβδαῖος	»	»	919
Ἀμάμας	»	»	1281
Ἀμερᾶς	»	»	186
Ἀμῶς	»	»	863
Ἀναῆλος	»	»	878
Ἄναμος	»	»	52
Ἀναστασία	»	»	4, 152, 318, 886, 1155
Ἀναστάσι(ο)ς	»	»	581, 694, 859, 871, 882, 910, 1114, 1026, 1050, 1107, 1167
Ἀνατολία	»	»	12
Ἀνδρέας	»	»	1123, 1254
Ἀντίοχος	»	»	835, 937
Ἀντώνιος	»	»	400, 1046, 1047, 1075, 1186
Ἀντωχιανός	»	»	51
Ἀππᾶς	»	»	866
Ἀρμένιος	»	»	298, 936
Ἀρριανός	»	»	418, 864
Ἀρσένιος	»	»	1002, 1165
Ἄσμαθος	»	»	807
Ἀστρίκιος	»	»	319
Βάκχος	Inscr.	No.	1189
Βαραχαῖος	»	»	866
Βαράχων	»	»	883, 1284
Βαριχᾶς	»	»	981, 1290
Βασίλει(ο)ς	»	»	828, 1133
Βάσσος	»	»	902, 908, 999, 1077, 1089, 1273, 1293, 1294
Βίκτωρ	»	»	306, 1267
	Papyrus	No.	28, 892, 927, 1029, 1141, 1182, 1183, 1198
Βικτώριος	Papyrus	No.	815
Βόηθος	Inscr.	No.	1003, 1006
Γάδιμος	Inscr.	No.	905
	Papyrus	No.	928

Γαϊανός	Inscr.	No.	1077, 1273
Γενέσιος	»	»	954, 1045, 1244, 1251
Γεν νάδιος	»	»	1161
Γεράσιμος	»	»	688 (of recent date)
Γερμανός	»	»	427, 876, 1177, 1203, 1260
Γερόντιος	»	»	702, 904, 1010
Γεωργία	»	»	690, 1287
Γεώργι(ο)ς	»	»	833, 919, 931, 934, 955, 998, 1001, 1070, 1113, 1128, 1146, 1206, 1213, 1219, 1254, 1266, 1289
	Papyrus	No.	23, 28, 45, 892, 926, 927, 929, 930, 1018, 1028, 1182, 1211
Γρηγόριος	Inscr.	No.	1025
Δανιήλ	Inscr.	No.	856, 1121
Διονύσιος	»	»	1022
Δομέτιος	»	»	1128
Δομνῖνος	»	»	848
Δοσίθεος	»	»	688 (of recent date)
Δωρόθεος	»	»	1077, 1273
Εἰρηναῖος	Inscr.	No.	963, 1245
Εἰρήνη	»	»	688
Εἴτων	»	»	849
Ἑλλαδῖς	»	»	891
Ἑλπίδιος	»	»	79, 955, 1154
Ἐπιφάνι(ο)ς	»	»	120, 911
Ἐρασῖνος	»	»	991, 1197
Ἑρμογένης	»	»	837
Εὐβουλος	»	»	872
Εὐγένιος	»	»	1133, 1154
Εὐθύμιος	»	»	861
Εὐσέβιος	»	»	973, 977, 1221
	Papyrus	No.	511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518
Εὐστάθιος	Inscr.	No.	975
Εὐστόχιος	»	»	1080
Εὐστράτιος	»	»	1234
Εὐτύχι(ο)ς	»	»	1148
Εὐφράσιος	»	»	1056
Εὐφρατᾶς	»	»	1154
Ζαχαρίας	Inscr.	No.	433, 656, 867, 1223
Ζηνόβιος, Ζενόβιος	»	»	1177, 1292
Ζήνων	»	»	979
Ζωναῖνος	»	»	661
	Papyrus	No.	923, 1247, 1264
Ζονῖνος	Papyrus	No.	1028, 1179
Ζωή	Inscr.	No.	889, 890

Ζώσιμος	»	»	841
Ἡλίας, Ἐλίας	Inscr.	No.	55, 174, 316b, 485, 495, 843, 933, 949, 967, 999, 1053, 1130, 1132, 1156, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1293
Ἡράκλ(ε)ιος	Papyrus	No.	926, 1183
	Inscr.	No.	625, 969, 1056
Θαλλέλαιος	Inscr.	No.	1188
Θέκλα	»	»	686, 1252
Θεογένης	»	»	806, 1246
Θεοδόσιος	»	»	427, 762, 810, 858, 1024, 1033, 1063, 1134, 1203
Θεόδουλος	»	»	6, 741, 1268
Θεοδώρα	»	»	315a
Θεόδωρος	»	»	300, 681, 836, 865, 868, 869, 875, 884, 900, 911, 951, 993, 1009, 1039, 1087, 1095, 1097, 1103, 1158, 1159, 1169, 1171, 1196, 1226, 1227, 1231, 1255, 1286, 1287, 1291
Θεόμνηστος	»	»	971
Θεότεκνος	»	»	822, 1187, 1285
Θεοφάνης	»	»	1062, 1248
Θεόφιλος	»	»	718, 971, 992, 1220
Θώαμος	»	»	918
Θωμάς	»	»	943, 985, 1071, 1072, 1127, 1225, 1241
Ἰάκωβος	Inscr.	No.	1136, 1214
Ἰαννιανός	»	»	898
Ἰάσων	»	»	1022, 1064
Ἰερόνιος	»	»	965, 1076
Ἰλαρίων	»	»	974
Ἰουβενάλιος	»	»	1101
Ἰουλιανός	»	»	897, 1157
Ἰουστινιανός	»	»	970, 1218
Ἰουστῖνος	Papyrus	No.	274, 1125
Ἰσαάκιος	Inscr.	No.	1272
Ἰσίδωρος	»	»	940, 1120, 1236
Ἰωάννης	»	»	4, 175, 302, 318, 319, 403, 430b, 814, 824, 840, 842, 844, 854, 856, 878, 879, 898, 912, 935, 938, 941, 944, 955, 972, 980, 983, 986, 1004, 1007, 1012, 1036, 1052, 1054, 1055, 1058, 1060, 1079, 1093, 1101, 1118, 1126, 1145, 1149, 1160, 1164, 1168, 1172, 1194, 1195, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1202, 1214, 1233, 1242, 1267, 1274, 1278, 1296
Ἰωνάθαν	Papyrus	No.	816, 926, 928, 1030, 1180
Ἰωνᾶς	Inscr.	No.	1111
Ἰωσήφ	»	»	1014
	»	»	133

Καιοῦμος	Inscr.	No.	1138
Καλαπόδιος, Καλοπόδιος,	»	»	964, 965, 1075, 1076
Καλλίστρατος	»	»	739, 909
Καλλοιώνιστος	»	»	319
Κανδάκης	»	»	611
Καπίτων	»	»	991, 1197
Καρκούσος	»	»	1296
Κάσσιος	»	»	305, 1151
Κήρυκος	»	»	746, 874
Κλαυδιανός	»	»	1138
Κλαύδιος	»	»	1042
Κλεοπάτρα	»	»	1155
Κομιτᾶς	»	»	1213, 1254
Κομίτισσα (Κομιτώ)	»	»	1130, 1132
Κόνων	»	»	875, 1144
Κονωνίας	»	»	948
Κοσμάς	»	»	947, 1164, 1276
Κυριακός	»	»	257, 355, 364, 366, 445, 831, 838, 884, 968, 989, 1079, 1164, 1170, 1217
Κύριλλος	»	»	363, 1177
Κῦρος	»	»	186, 766, 1073 papyri 1181, 1182
Κω(ν)σταντῖνος	»	»	625, 821, 855, 970, 1218
Λάζαρος	Inscr.	No.	773
Λεόντιος	»	»	142, 832, 914, 951, 990, 1020, 1021, 1067
Λογγίνος	Inscr.	No.	299, 1008, 1077, 1082, 1232
Λουκιανός	»	»	906
Μαγνιανός	Inscr.	No.	625
Μάγνος	»	»	149, 883, 1234, 1284
Μαϊάνδρος	»	»	829
Μακάριος	»	»	856
Μακεδόνιος	»	»	883, 1126, 1284
Μάλχος	»	»	1191
Μανάλας	»	»	1177
Μανθέας	Papyrus	No.	1184
Μάξιμος	Inscr.	No.	165, 404, 771, 958, 976
Μαρία	»	»	888
Μαρῖνος	»	»	546, 870, 874, 959, 960
Μαρκέλλα	»	»	544
Μαρκελλῖνος	»	»	1101
Μάρκελλος	»	»	359, 839, 895, 896
Μάρκος	»	»	297, 825
Μαρτύριος	»	»	880, 993, 994, 1131, 1228, 1229, 1231, 1266,
	Papyrus	No.	1184
Ματρώνα	Inscr.	No.	1281
Μεγιστηρία	»	»	317
Μενααία	»	»	1155

Μηνᾶς	»	»	525, 691, 1134
Μητροφάνης	»	»	688 (of recent date)
Μισαήλ	»	»	688 (of recent date), 1057
Μόδεστος	»	»	1099
Μωϋσῆς	Papyrus	No.	24, 1029
Νέσταβος	Inscr.	No.	296
Νεῖλος	»	»	547, 1119
Νόννα	»	»	79, 257, 366, 445
Νόννος	»	»	740, 860
Ὀβοδιανός	Inscr.	No.	1019
Ὀνήσιμος	»	»	740
Οὐαβάλας	»	»	107, 188
Οὐαλεντῖνος	»	»	113
Οὐάλης	»	»	888
Οὐάλιος	Papyrus	No.	926, 928
Οὐλπιανός	Inscr.	No.	186
Οὐσία	»	»	67
Πάεμος	Inscr.	No.	413
Παλλάδι(ο)ς	»	»	812 papyri 28, 816
Παλλῶ or Παλλοῦς	»	»	1108
Πάμφιλος	»	»	899, 1134
Παπίων	»	»	966
Πατρίκιος	»	»	852, 916, 917, 1204, 1205, 1206
	Papyrus	No.	1178, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1212, 1256, 1257
Παῦλη	Inscr.	No.	1167
Παῦλος	»	»	304, 830, 956, 964, 978, 1037, 1038, 1040, 1043, 1044, 1075, 1104, 1105, 1112, 1124, 1152, 1167, 1190, 1192, 1216, 1222
Πελάγιος	»	»	1127
Πέτρος	»	»	903, 1085, 1100, 1122, 1268, 1282
Πινδῆρης?	»	»	861
Πλάκκος	»	»	1041
Πολύευκτος	»	»	1023, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1094, 1096, 1294
Πολύκαρπος	»	»	688 (of recent date)
Πολυχρόνιος	»	»	625, 1077
Πορφύριος	»	»	1193
Προκόπι(ο)ς	»	»	166, 823, 976, 1011, 1084
	Papyrus	No.	1179
Ράββος	Inscr.	No.	1280
Ρωμανός	»	»	1150, 1177
Σαββάτιος	Inscr.	No.	1015
Σαβῖνος	»	»	1177

Σάδαλος	Papyrus	No.	928
Σαμάκων	Inscr.	No.	961, 962
Σαμασαῖος	»	»	998
Σαμουήλ	»	»	1049, 1166
Σαμώρ	»	»	1177
Σάρωχis	»	»	942, 1240
Σαῦρος	»	»	768
Σαώλας	»	»	853, 901, 1288
Σεουήρος	»	»	115, 805
Σεργίνης	»	»	884
Σέργι(ο)s	»	»	93, 827, 884, 916, 917, 950, 987, 997, 1059, 1061, 1065, 1066, 1108, 1139, 1204, 1205, 1243, 1270
	Papyrus	No.	28, 816, 926, 1029, 1178, 1181, 1207, 1208, 1211, 1212, 1256, 1257
Σηλάμων	Inscr.	No.	984
Σιλανός	»	»	810, 845, 1024
Σίλας	»	»	1299
Σιλβανός	»	»	848
Σισσίνιος	»	»	867
Σοφία	»	»	289, 885
Στέφανος	»	»	127, 612, 826, 844, 880, 884, 904, 953, 1001, 1003, 1004, 1006, 1016, 1051, 1079, 1115, 1130, 1132, 1180, 1215
	Papyrus	No.	815, 1018, 1051
Συμεών	Inscr.	No.	752
Σωσάννα	»	»	328
Τιμόθεος	Inscr.	No.	67, 119, 894
Τρύφων	»	»	323
Φεσάνης	Papyrus	No.	924
Φιλητός	Inscr.	No.	857, 859
Φιλουμένη	»	»	1153
Φλαβιανός	»	»	287
Φλαία	»	»	805
Φωτεινός	»	»	1068
Χαράτη	Inscr.	No.	1253
Χαρίτων	»	»	1177
Χασέτος	»	»	189
Χοβέος	»	»	957

C. Geographical terms

Αιγύπτιος	Inscr.	No.	306
Ἄϊλαν(οῦ)	»	»	24, 1029
Ἀἰλήσιος	»	»	880

Ἀντιοχεύς	»	»	1145, 1194
Ἄραψ	»	»	1168
Ἀρμένι(ο)ς	»	»	824, 936
Ἀρμένισσα	»	»	1253
Ἀσκαλωνίτης	»	»	296, 1114
Βεθαβαρά	Inscr.	No.	598
Βίβλειος	»	»	300
Βορήλια	»	»	935
Γάζα	Inscr.	No.	68
Γαζαῖος	»	»	1112
Γολγοθᾶς	»	»	803
Ἑλλαδικός	Inscr.	No.	123, 1123
Ἑμεσα	»	»	814
Ζαδάκαθα	Inscr.	No.	884
Θεσσαλονικεύς	Inscr.	No.	828
Ἱερουσαλήμ	Inscr.	No.	841, 875, 877
Ἰσαυρος	»	»	1144
Καισαρεύς	Inscr.	No.	1122
Κανά	»	»	228, 307, 405
Καππάδοξ	»	»	299
Κίλιξ	»	»	831, 840
Κρανίον (Holy Calvary)	»	»	802
Κυπριακός, Κύπριος	»	»	833, 1117
Μαΐουμᾶς	Inscr.	No.	1201
Μεσοποταμίτης	»	»	839, 949
Μορασθί	»	»	582
Νεσσάνα	Inscr.	No.	1178, 1207
Πέρσης	Inscr.	No.	1150
Προβατική	»	»	863
Ρωσσεύς	Inscr.	No.	944, 1242
Σῦρος	Inscr.	No.	302
Σωβετώη	»	»	927, 1183
Τύριος	Inscr.	No.	22
Φόρδησα	Inscr.	No.	607

D. Toponyms

Abud	Inscr.	No.	695
Abu Sarbut	»	»	1234
Ader	»	»	807
Aila, Eilat	»	»	109, 118, 119, 120, 212, 213, 263, 264, 385, 386, 698, 704
Ain-Aroueh	»	»	387, 808
Ain-Dirue	»	»	392, 817
Ain-Douq	»	»	12
Ain el-Jedide	»	»	809, 913, 1235
Ain et-Tabgha	»	»	388, 768, 1098
Ain-Fit	»	»	121, 914
Ain-Samieh	»	»	1080, 1270
Amman	»	»	13, 664, 810, 915, 1023, 1024
Arraba	»	»	14, 265, 482, 489, 1025
Ar-Rabba	»	»	529
Ascalon	»	»	110
Ashkelon Barnea	»	»	122, 1026
Auza Hafir	Inscr.	No.	15-18, 111, 123-134, 202, 215-218, 266-273, 374, 389, 390, 483, 490, 530, 531, 612, 626, 632-645, 665, 706-713, 744, 769, 804, 811-814, 916-921, 1027, 1108, 1139, 1140, 1177, 1204, 1205, 1206.
» »	Papyrus	No.	19-49, 135, 136, 208-211, 219-221, 274-283, 375, 376, 484, 491-494, 504-506, 511-518, 532, 533, 593, 613, 618, 627-630, 646-651, 666-676, 729, 815, 816, 892, 905, 922-930, 1017, 1018, 1028-1031, 1141-1143, 1178-1184, 1207-1212, 1256, 1257
Bahan	Inscr.	No.	137, 222, 284, 391, 677, 714, 749, 1109, 1110, 1258, 1271
Batir	»	»	931
Beerot-Yishaq	»	»	932, 1250
Beersheba	»	»	138, 139, 285, 289, 392, 393, 715, 721, 817, 818
Beit-Alpha	»	»	552
Beit-Jibrin	»	»	286, 585, 607, 1019
Beit-Jimal	»	»	50, 51
Beit-Loya	»	»	746
Beit-Shahur	»	»	394
Beit-Sunik	»	»	819
Belah	»	»	112, 140
Bethany	»	»	52, 223, 287, 395-397, 728
Bethlehem	»	»	53, 141, 224, 228, 377, 398, 450, 820, 821, 1081
Bethphage	»	»	289, 885

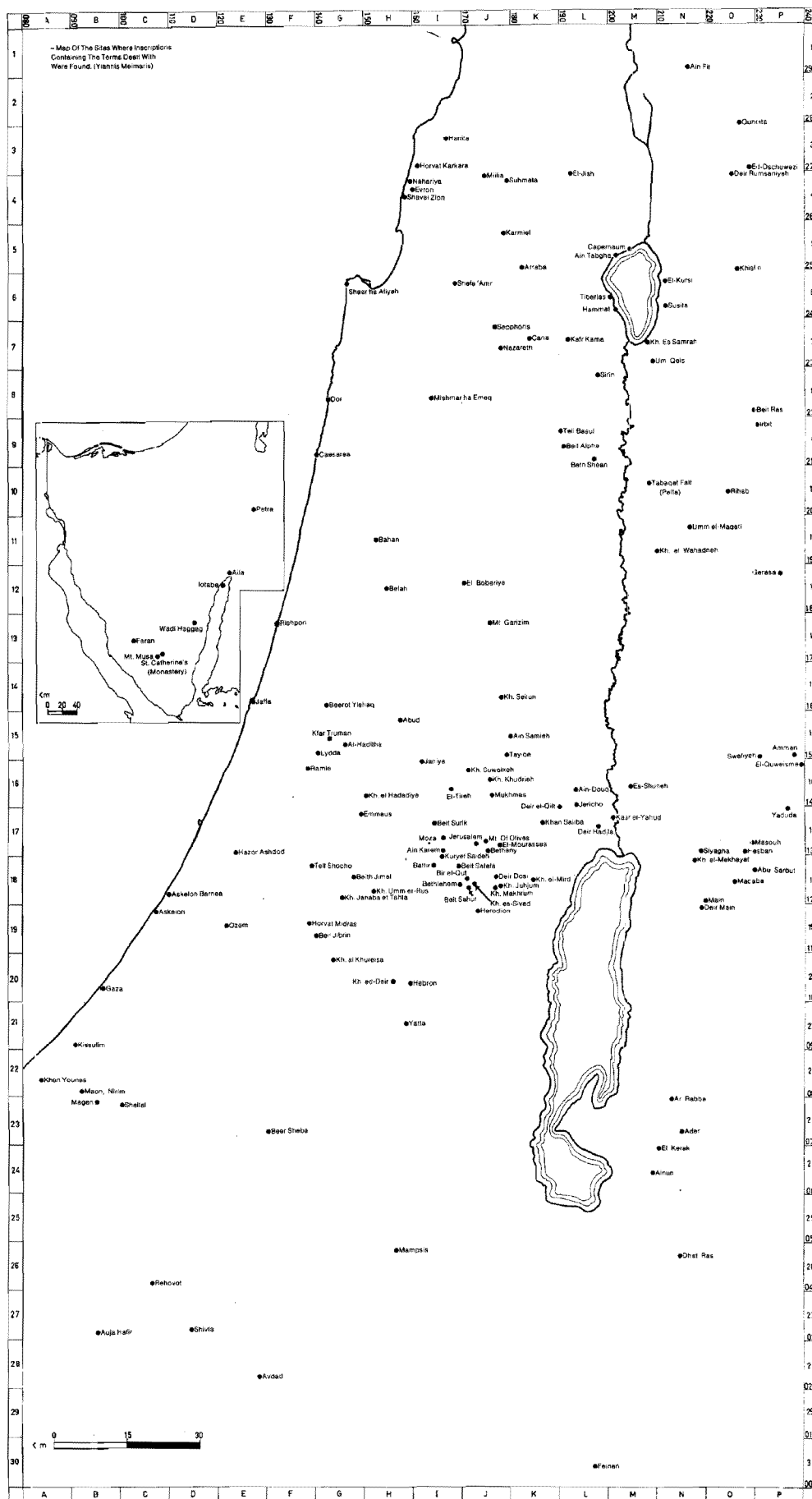
Beth-Safafa	»	»	614
Beth-Shean	»	»	1-3, 54, 55, 142, 143, 203, 290-292, 378, 399, 451, 461, 462, 472, 485, 495, 519, 933, 934, 1103, 1111, 1174-1176, 1185, 1213, 1254
Bir el-Qutt	»	»	293, 400, 696, 1186
Bobbio (Italy)	»	»	471, 473, 727, 792-794
Caesarea Maritima	Inscr.	No.	56, 144, 145, 822, 823, 1187, 1285
Cana	»	»	228, 307, 405
Capernaum	»	»	225, 226, 294, 401, 452, 453, 604
Deir-Dosi	Inscr.	No.	227, 295, 402
Deir el-Qilt	»	»	57, 296-306, 520, 678, 697, 703, 824-843, 886, 893, 894, 935-951, 1112-1125, 1144-1152, 1168-1173, 1188-1195, 1200-1202, 1236-1243
Deir-Hadjla	»	»	1214
Deir-Main	»	»	403, 750
Der-Rumsaniyeh	»	»	404, 770
Dor, Tanturah	»	»	803, 1032
Ein-Gedi	Inscr.	No.	553, 619
Ein-Karim	»	»	58, 214, 615
Elateia (Greece)	»	»	228, 307, 405
El-Boberiyeh	»	»	308, 573, 594
El-Guwezi	»	»	610
El-Haditha	»	»	59, 146, 952
El-Jish	»	»	60, 730
El-Kerak	»	»	229, 309, 310, 406, 454, 507, 844, 1259
El-Koursi	»	»	953, 1215
El-Kufr	»	»	496, 679, 800
El-Murassas	»	»	61, 147, 311, 954-956, 1244, 1251
El-Qunaitra	»	»	62
El-Quweisme	»	»	63, 64, 148-150, 663, 754, 771, 957, 958, 1226, 1277
El-Tireh	»	»	312
El-Yadudeh	»	»	772, 845, 1033
Emmaus	»	»	497, 1034-1036, 1127
Es-Shuneh el-Janubiyeh	»	»	474, 846
Evron	»	»	65, 113, 230, 313, 407, 408, 751, 755, 756, 847-850, 895-897, 906-908, 959-962, 1037, 1038, 1074, 1260-1262, 1272
Faran (Sinai)	Inscr.	No.	182, 245, 409, 410, 534, 798, 910
Fenan	»	»	1039
Gariye el Garbiye	Inscr.	No.	733
Garizim	»	»	802

Gaza	»	»	4, 5, 66-68, 152, 314-318, 592, 773, 851, 852, 963, 1245
Gaza, Maiuma	»	»	151
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Ghor es-Safi	»	»	799, 449
Hanita	Inscr.	No.	621
Hazor Ashdod	»	»	320, 964, 965, 1046, 1047, 1075, 1076, 1216
Hebron	»	»	547
Herodion	»	»	231, 412, 732
Hesban	»	»	72, 232, 321, 379, 455, 767, 854, 966
Horvat Karkara	»	»	1077, 1082, 1273
Horvat Midras	»	»	233, 322
Irbid	Inscr.	No.	456, 535, 1083
Jaber	Inscr.	No.	758, 898, 967, 1048, 1278
Jaffa	»	»	234
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Jericho	»	»	323, 536, 625, 683, 759, 855, 856, 968, 969, 1217
Jerusalem	»	»	73, 157-163, 204, 206, 235, 236, 324-330, 383, 413-416, 463, 486, 498, 523, 537-540, 578, 581, 608, 658, 660, 684-686, 726, 735, 739-743, 752, 805, 806, 857-863, 887, 909, 970-974, 1049, 1050, 1085, 1099, 1100, 1128, 1129, 1153, 1154, 1218-1220, 1246, 1252, 1253, 1268, 1269, 1299
Kafr Kama	Inscr.	No.	417, 418, 693, 694, 864, 865, 899, 975, 1056
Karmiel	»	»	74, 164, 166, 760, 866, 900, 911, 976, 1051, 1263, 1279
Kasr el-Yahud	»	»	1155
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Khan Saliba	»	»	978, 1222
Khan Younes	»	»	687
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Khirbet Alya	»	»	75, 167, 524
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Khirbet es-Samrah	»	»	7, 78, 79, 169, 332, 457, 1086
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