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

2

DISTRIBUTION BY DE BOCCARD - 11, RUE DE MÉDICIS, 75006 PARIS
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
To my most patient reader
and 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.
CONTENTS

Introduction ........................................................................................................... 1

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

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 Bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) over that of Caesarea 7
Macarius, Bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) and his achievements ............. 7
Acacius, the Metropolitan of Caesarea, banished the Bishop of Jerusalem, Cyrilus 7
Cyrillus, Bishop of Jerusalem and his achievements over Caesarea .... 7
Ioannes and Eulogius, Metropolitans of Caesarea, applied their ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Bishopric of Jerusalem ......................... 8
The weakening of Caesarea, the creation of two more metropoles and the strengthening of Jerusalem .......................................................... 8
Juvenalius, Bishop and first Patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 422-458....... 8
Juvenalius and the Third Oecumenical Council ................................. 9
The Council of Ephesus II, A.D. 449 ......................................................... 9
Juvenalius in the Fourth Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 10
Summary ........................................................................................................... 12

Part II: ORIGIN OF THE SACRED WORD HOLY, ΑΓΙΟC, AND ITS USE IN THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD EXTANT IN PALESTINE ........ 14
"Αγιος, -ας, -ον .................................................. 15
The word "Αγιος in the plural .................................. 16
The word "Αγιος in the singular ................................. 17
Sacred words designating the Divinity in its many forms . 18
Sacred names attributed to God the Father, the first person of the Holy Trinity ................................. 18
a) God (Father) ............................................... 18
b) One God .................................................. 28
c) Lord ......................................................... 29
d) I Am ......................................................... 39
e) Father (God) ............................................... 39
f) The Most High ............................................ 40
g) Almighty ................................................... 40
Sacred names attributed to Jesus Christ ....................... 41
a) Jesus ......................................................... 41
b) Jesus in the compendium INBI ............................ 47
c) Christ ....................................................... 48
d) Son .......................................................... 60
e) Lord .......................................................... 62
f) Saviour ...................................................... 70
g) God with reference to Christ ............................... 72
h) Lamb of God .............................................. 73
i) Emmanuel ................................................... 73
The Holy Spirit ................................................. 74
The Holy Trinity ................................................ 76
The Divine Wisdom ............................................. 78

The Virgin Mary ................................................ 79
 I. Maria in the compendium XMT ............................... 80
 II. Holy Maria .................................................. 82
 III. Maria with titles .......................................... 83

OLD TESTAMENT FIGURES .................................... 86
Patriarchs ......................................................... 86
Abraham ......................................................... 86
Isaac ............................................................ 88
Jacob ............................................................. 89
Joseph ............................................................ 90
Judges ........................................................... 91
Jephthah ......................................................... 91
Moses, the Lawgiver ............................................. 91

Prophets .......................................................... 93
  Elijah ......................................................... 93
  Elisha ....................................................... 94
  Isaiah ....................................................... 95
  Jeremiah ..................................................... 96
  Micah ....................................................... 97
  Jonah ....................................................... 97
  Zechariah ................................................... 98
  David ....................................................... 99

NEW TESTAMENT FIGURES ..................................... 100
  John the Baptist .......................................... 100

Apostles .......................................................... 102
  Peter and Paul ............................................ 103
  Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles ...................... 104
  Thomas ..................................................... 105
  Mark, the Evangelist ..................................... 106
  Philip, the Deacon ........................................ 107

Confessors and Martyrs ...................................... 107
  The Three Children ....................................... 113
  The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert ............... 114
  The word ‘Martyr’ referring to individual Martyrs 114
  Aelianus ..................................................... 115
  Andrew, the Apostle ...................................... 115
  Andrew, the General ...................................... 116
  Bacchus (Sergius and Bacchus) ......................... 116
  Basilius ..................................................... 119
  Victor ....................................................... 120
  Cosmas and Damianus ..................................... 120
  Cirycus ..................................................... 122
  George ...................................................... 123
  Menas ....................................................... 128
  Thecla ....................................................... 129
  Theodorus .................................................. 130
  Leontius .................................................... 132
  Longinus .................................................... 133
  Procopius ................................................... 133
  Stephen, the First Martyr ................................ 134
Ouarius or Varus ........................................ 136
The Righteous Ones .................................. 136
Lot (Old Testament) ................................... 137
Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary .............. 138
Elizabeth .................................................. 139
Lazarus ..................................................... 139
Angels and Archangels ................................. 140
Michael ..................................................... 141
Gabriel ....................................................... 143
Holy Places .............................................. 144
A. Church of the Holy Resurrection ............... 144
B. Church of Mount Sion – Holy Sion ............ 144
C. Church of the Ascension – Holy Ascension .... 145
D. Holy Martyria ......................................... 145
E. Holy Temple ........................................... 145
F. "Αγιος Οἶκος meaning a church ................ 146
G. Holy Church ............................................ 146
H. Holy Sanctuary ....................................... 148
I. Holy Place and Places ............................... 148
J. Holy Monastery ....................................... 151
K. Holy Calvary .......................................... 152

Part III: THE BIRTH, FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH ADMINISTRATION .... 154

Clerical Institutions .................................. 154
The office of Deacon ................................... 154
The office of Presbyter ................................ 155
The office of Bishop .................................... 155
The office of Deaconess ............................... 156
Summary .................................................. 156

Monastic Institutions ................................ 157
The monastic system of life in the Christian Church of Palestine ......................... 157
The three basic stages of monastic life ............ 158
a) The anchorite stage ................................. 158
b) The Laura and the Lauriotic stage .............. 159
c) The Coenobitic stage ............................... 159

Part IV: CLERICAL AND MONASTIC ORDERS AND OFFICES IN THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD EXTANT IN PALESTINE .......... 162
Clergy ................................................................. 162
Deacon ............................................................... 162
Deaconess ......................................................... 175
Archdeacon ....................................................... 178
Subdeacon ......................................................... 182
Presbyter ......................................................... 184 and 187
The functions of the Presbyter ......................... 186
Archpriest .......................................................... 186 and 201
Assistant presbyter ............................................ 201
Priest ................................................................. 202
Episcopus ............................................................ 203
Country Bishop ................................................... 214
Archbishop ......................................................... 217
Metropolitan ....................................................... 220
Patriarch ............................................................ 222
Shepherd ............................................................ 224
Hierophant ......................................................... 225
Titular Bishop ..................................................... 226
Monks and Nuns ................................................. 226
A. Brother, sister .................................................. 227
B. Solitary ........................................................... 231
C. Cell-dweller .................................................... 234
D. Reclusus .......................................................... 235
Honorary titles .................................................... 235
Abba ................................................................. 235
Old Man ............................................................. 239
Superior of a monastery ....................................... 239
a) Hegumen ....................................................... 239 and 241
b) Our Father ..................................................... 239 and 246
c) Archimandrite ................................................... 239 and 248
d) Mother Superior .............................................. 240 and 249
Deuterarius .......................................................... 249
Minor orders associated with the clerical and monastic institutions .......... 251
Anagnostes .......................................................... 251
Door-keeper ........................................................ 253
Offices given to presbyters as well as to clergy of lower rank, and to
monks in the case of oeconomus and paramonarius only ................. 254
Periodeutes .......................................................... 254
Oeconomus .......................................................... 256
XIV

Paramonarius or Prosmonarius ........................................ 259
Lecticarius .................................................................. 262

Conclusive Remarks .................................................. 263
Bibliography ................................................................ 265
INDICES ..................................................................... 277

A. Names of Saints, Martyrs etc ...................................... 277
B. Personal names ...................................................... 279
C. Geographical terms ................................................ 285
D. Toponyms .............................................................. 287

MAP
ACO  
*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum.* Ed. E. Schwartz (Strasbourg 1914 ff).

ADAJ  
*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.*

AJA  
*American Journal of Archaeology.*

AE  
'Αρχαιολογική Έφημερις. Περιοδικόν τῆς ἐν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας.

Alon  

A. Alt, GIPT  

Anal. Boll.  

'ATIQOT  
'ATIQOT *Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities.*

BCH  
*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*

BHG  

BHO  
*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Subsidia Hagiographica, X; Brussels 1910).

BIES  
*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society.*

BZ  
*Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*

CIG  

CL  

CNI  
*Christian News from Israel.*

Clermont-Ganneau  

Cod. Just.  

Cod. Theod.  

Conybeare  
*Rituale Armenorum,* edited from the oldest mss. by F.C. Conybeare, Oxford 1905.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CPh</td>
<td><em>Classical Philology.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSCO</td>
<td><em>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</em> (Paris 1903ff).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSHB</td>
<td><em>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</em> (Bonn 1828-1878).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Antiq. Files</td>
<td><em>Files from the Archives of the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the State of Israel.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOP</td>
<td><em>Dumbarton Oaks Papers.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echos d'Orient</td>
<td><em>Echos d'Orient.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geyer</td>
<td><em>Itineria Hierosolymitana saeculi recensuit et commentario critico instruxit Paulus Geyer</em> (CSEL XXXIX, Vindobonae 1898).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guérin</td>
<td>V. Guérin, <em>Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine</em> (Paris 1868-1880); <em>Judée 1</em> (1868); <em>2/3</em> (1869); <em>Samarie 1</em> (1874); <em>2</em> (1875); <em>Galilée 1/2</em> (1880).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HE or EH</td>
<td><em>Harvard Theological Review.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HThR</td>
<td><em>Israel Exploration Journal.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEJ</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPOS</td>
<td><em>Liber Annus.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td><em>Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for: Archaeology and History.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND</td>
<td><em>Notitia dignitatum</em>, ed. O. Seeck, Berlin 1876.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Geographic</td>
<td><em>National Geographic Magazine.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NΣ  Nέα Στόυ. Periodical of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem.


PAES or AΔES  Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria.

PEF QSt  Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.

PEQ  Palestine Exploration Quarterly.


PJB  Palästina – Jahrbuch.


QADMONIOT  QADMONIOT: Quarterly for the Antiquities of Eretz-Israel and Bible Lands (in Hebrew).

QDAP  Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.

ΠΠ  Α.Π. Ράλλη και Μ. Ποτίλη, Σύνταξις τῶν Θείων καὶ ἱερῶν Κανόνων, τόμοι 6, Ἀθῆναι 1852/9.

RB  Revue Biblique.

REG  Revue des Études Grecques.

RHR  Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.

RQ  Römische Quartalschrift.

SCI  Scripta Classica Israelica.

SEG  Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

Socr.  Socrates, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. J. P. Migne, PG LXVII.

Soz.  Sozomenus, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. J. P. Migne, PG LXVII.

TS  La Terra Santa.

ZDPV  Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
BIBLICAL BOOKS

OT  Old Testament:  Gen.-Genesis  Apocrypha:
    Ex. - Exodus     Macc.- Maccabees
    Ps. - Psalms

    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 period\footnote{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 VIIth century A.D.} 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
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 '†', chi-rho '‡', 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, Κ Ρ. In many cases the sign 'S' represents και = 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., 'Ο' or letters were written one above the other or one within the other, Η, Κ. 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: 

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 'Aγων 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 Easter, and

b) the Synod of Antioch, A.D. 252, 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 Caesarea.

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.


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, 'Επειδὴ συν-ήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐκ-έτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς τῆς μητροπόλεις σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἄξιώματος'.

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 Palestine. 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 CESAREA, APPLIED THEIR ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION OVER THE BISHOPRIC OF JERUSALEM

In A.D. 395, Ioannes, Metropolitan of Cesarea, 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 Cesarea, 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 CESAREA, THE CREATION OF TWO MORE METROPOLES AND THE STRENGTHENING OF JERUSALEM

Cesarea 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 Cesarea 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 Perea with its capital at Cesarea, 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. 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

Juvenalis, 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

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.

JUVENTALIUS 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 bishops: Romanus of Raphia, Paulinus of Maiouma, Paulus of Anthedon, Pheidus of Joppe, Ioannes of Sykamason, Theodoros of Gadara, Theodorus of Helusa, Petrus of Parembolon, Saida of Phaenus and Eunapius of Maximianopolis.

From two letters, one from Pope Leo the Great, A.D. 440-461, to Maximus, the Patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 449-452, and the second from Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria to a certain archimandrite, Gennadius, one notes that Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria speaks of Juvenalius, Bishop of Jerusalem, as being an ambitious man: "Ον (Ἰουβεναλίου) οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμοὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης θηγούμενον σὺν ἔκτοιν, ἔτειρε δὲ πρὸς ἅγιλαῦν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμίας φιλοδοξία διάκενος πικρόν ἔχουσα τὸ 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 demands, though in the minutes of the Council, nothing had been mentioned about such an approval.

During the Council, Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria and president of the Council, was ordered to stay in Ephesus together with Nestorius and Ioannes of Ephesus 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, received from the Emperor Theodosius II the ecclesiastical leadership over the three Palestines, Arabia and Phoenicia, thus achieving his goal.

2. PL Migne, Vol. 54, 1044.
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 ἰδίνεται καὶ δικάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰεροσολύμων."  

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.

**JUVALNLIUS IN THE FOURTH OECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON IN A.D. 451**

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 Antioch. The Act of the Fourth Oecumenical Council referring to this matter has as follows: Act 7, "Ἐργάζοντας καὶ τὸν θανάτον τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος καὶ τῆς τῶν θεοτόκου ἡμῶν Βασιλείως προθέσεως, οὕτω τὰ ἁμερίσβηκτούμενα παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν φιλονεικείων δοκούντων ὁμογονώμονες τέμνεσθαί προθέσει. Ἡ κατὰ σύμβασιν τῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείων καὶ Ἰουβεναλίου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενομένη συναίνεσις, ἢ τὴν ἐκατέρω κατάθεσις ἐδήλωσε, βεβαία καὶ εἰς ἡμετέρας ἀποφάσεις ἀπὸ τῆς ψήφου τῆς ἁγίας Συνόδου, εἰς τὸν ἀπαντὰ ῥύον διαμένει, τούτῳ μόνῳ, οὕτω Μαξίμου τοῦ τῶν ὁσιωτάτων Ἐπίσκοπων, ἑτοῦν τῆς ἀγιοτάτης Ἀντιοχείου Ἐκκλησίαν, τῆς διὸ Φοινίκες καὶ τῆς ἀραβικὴς ἔχειν ὑπὸ τῆς ἱδίας ἐξουσίας, Ἰουβεναλίου δὲ τῶν ὁσιωτάτων Ἐπίσκοπων τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ἑτοῦν τῆν ἱδίαν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀγιοτάτης Ἐμμενίας τῆς ἐν Παφλαγονίᾳ ἐπαρχίας τῆς τῆς Ἡλλάδος ἐν Παφλαγονίᾳ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ Ἰουβεναλίου."
υπ' αυτῶν ἀγωτάτην Ἐκκλησίας, τὰς τρεῖς Παλαιστίνας ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδίαιν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἀρχούντων κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ δικαστάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν Δεσπότου πάντων τῶν παραγματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πορισθέντων τοῖς μέρεσι θείων γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν περιεχόμενων αὐτοῖς προστίμων ταύτης ἐνεκεν τῆς ὑποθέσεως.' The Patriarch of Jerusalem had the right to call together local Councils and preside over them.

According to G. Parthey, Hierocles Synecelemus 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, 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 thrones.

To Palaestina Tertia belonged also the bishoprics of Pharan, 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's and the Holy Mountain. During Justinian's reign, St. Catherine's

---

1. BZ 1 (1892), p. 251f.
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 Pharani, vel ejusdem Montis.' (Theodosius was a monk installed as a bishop in Jerusalem by the monks who rebelled against Juvenal in A.D. 452. Juvenal 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.

...δέλησον παρασχέων / οὗτος διήθησαι ἀπὸ Νεοπάνων ἐφύσων / ὁδηγὸι αὐτῶν τὴν στρέταν τοῦ ἄγιον / ὅρος;......

...ἐμὲς ἐς τὸ ἄγιον ἅρος...ἀνέλησαν ἐς εὐχὴν πάντως τῷ ἄγιον ἅρος...
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.

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 councils 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, κόμαι, mostly in the province of Arabia, where the village was the normal unit of government, to Saltus, Regions, 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 monasteries, 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 ἡλικία χρόνον ἐστιν δικός ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἐν Κώμαις ἑπίσκοποι ἱκανοί ὡς παρά Ἀραβίας καί Κυπρίως ἔγνεν.

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 world 'Holy' 'Saint', ΑΓΙΟΣ, -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, ΑΓΙΟΙ, has actually been created in addition to the many other groups of selecte6 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, ΑΓΙΟΙ, never existed, as will be seen in the progress of this work. The word Saint, ΑΓΙΟΣ, 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, ΑΓΙΟΣ, 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, Ἁγιός, 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, Ἁγιός, 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.

ἈΓΙΟΣ, -Α, -ΟΝ

The word Holy, Ἁγιός, 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 Ἁγιός, meaning pure, full of religious awe, which was in common use. In this early period, the word Holy, Ἁγιός, referred to things connected with the worship of divinities 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 mysteries. In the Greek translation of the Old Testament (known as the Septuagint version) the word Holy, Ἁγιός, was used to translate the Hebrew word Kadosh which referred to God and human beings, and everything related to worship: objects, places, and time, which was considered holy and separated from common use.

Because of this steady use of the word Holy, Ἁγιός, 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, Ἁγιός, was given even

2. Julianus 378c τὸν Θεόν τὸν μέγαν τὸν ἁγιότατον Σαραπιν. 389a τῆς ἁγιοτάτης Ὑλής Δημήτριος. 407a Ἕρμη ἂγιος.
3. Psalms 32: 21, 102: 1; 1 Chronicles 16. 10. 35.
4. Leviticus 11: 43-44, Deuteronomy 10: 6, 26: 19; Macc. II. 14: 36.
5. 1 Kings 6: 26, Macc. II. 15: 16.
to the members of the Christian communities, living or dead, until the word 'Christian', Χριστιανός, entered into the Christian vocabulary and replaced the word Holy, ἁγιος. From now on, the use of the word Holy, Saint, ἁγιος, was limited to Martyrs, Confessors and other persons of outstanding virtue of the Christian faith.

Schematically the word Holy, ἁγιος, 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', ἁγιός, 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, ἁγιος, translates the word Kadosh, and refers to God and everything related to the worship of God.

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

**The word ἁγιος, in the plural**

The word ἁγιος 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 [ΧΑΙΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ] +
   ...Εὑ[χαίς τῶν ἁγίων ἁμήν] +

2. No. II ...ΕΥΧΕΤ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ + ΑΜΗΝ
   ...εὐχές τῶν ἁγίων + ἁμήν

3. No. III ...ΕΥΧΑΙΚ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ
   ...Εὐχαίς πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἁμήν


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

+ Ἡ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ Κ ΤΩΝ / ΑΓΙΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΗ ΑΝΑ/ΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΙΟΑΝΝΟΥ / ...  
+ Ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων δούλη Ἀνα/στασία Ἰωάννου / ...


---

5 Gaza, house of Jeries Naamat, marble slab, A.D. 541
+ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ Ο ΤΟΥ / ΧΥ ΔΟΥ / ΛΟΣ Κ / ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙ / ΑΒΡΑΑΜΙ / ΟC...
+ ἐνθάδε / κιτε ο του / Χ(ριστο)δου λος και/ εν αγιος / ἀβραάμιος...

6 Kh. Juizum or Kh. Jodhum, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ἀνάποιον τὸν δούλον / κου το θεοδοου λον / μετά τον ἁγιον[v]

7 Khirbet es-Samrah, Eastern shore of Lake Tiberias, Byzantine church, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
.../ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΠΙΚΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΑΚΙΣΟΔΟΥΚ/...
.../και εν πικτι τον αγιον τακις ισοδουκ/...
Dept. of Antiq. files, No. 168.

8 Oboda, St. Theodorus Church, marble inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΝ / ΑΓΙΩΝ ΚΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ
...μετά τον / αγιον σου αμην

9 Rihab, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ ΤΗΓ ΑΙΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΕΛΕΗ-
CON...
+ Κ(υριω)ο Θ(εος)ς της(ς) αγ(ιας)ς Μαριάς και παν/τον τον ἁγιων ελέησον...

10 Shivta, North Church Baptistry, marble inscription, VI1th Century A.D.
+ ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ / Ο ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΟΜΕ/ΝΟΟ Ο ΤΡΙΜΑΧΑΚΑΡΙΟC/... 
+ Κατετεθή εν Χριστω / ο εν αγιοι αναπαυομε/νοο ο τριμακαριος/...

11 Umm el-Jimal, stone inscription, Byzantine period
+ / ΧΕ ΕΥΧΗΣ ΑΓΝΗ ΦΑΞΕΝ ΗΜΑΣ
+ / Χ(ριστο)ς ευχης αγιοιο ν φαξεν ημας

The word Ἀγιος in the singular
The word Holy, Ἀγιος, 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 Ὁμοκράτωρ, and for Jesus the names: Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Κύριος, Υἱός, Σωτήρ, Δεσπότης, Παμβασιλεὺς, 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

ENΘΑΔΕ KITS / ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΑ / ...ΘΟΕ ΕΑΥΘΝ / ΑΝΑΘΕΙΚΑ ΕΚΙ/ΜΗΘΗ...

Ἐνθαδέ κιτ(α) / Ἀνατολία / ... Θ(ε)οῦ εαυτήν / ἀναθεία σα ἐκ/μηθη...

Ecole Biblique Museum

13  *Amman*, now in Jerusalem, marble inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

+ ΘΕΛΗΜΑΤΙ ΘΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΗΓΓΕΝΟΤΟΥ / ΠΡΕΣΒΥΣΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ...

+ Θελήματι Θ(ε)οῦ, βουλήσεως(ες) τοῦ ἡγεμόνος / προσβύτερου τοῦ ἁγίου(ου)...


14  *Arraba*, Upper Galilee, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

+ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥ +/†ΝΑΜΙΧΥ ΒΟ/†ΘΗΙΑ......

+ Θεοῦ δυ +/†ναμιχυ βο/†θηια......


*Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana¹, inscriptions

---


Inscr. No. 32, chalk block, Byzantine period
+ Ο ΘΕ ΣΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...
+ ὁ Θε(ός) τοῦ ἄγιου Στεφάνου...

Inscr. No. 52, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
ω ΘΕ ΠΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ Μ(Ν)ΗΘΕΤΗ...
ω Θε(ός) πάντον τὸν ἄγιον μ(ν)ήσθητη...

Inscr. No. 69
+ ΚΥΡΙΕ Ω ΘΕΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ(Y)...
+ Κύριε ὁ Θεός τοῦ Αγίου Σεργίου(u)...

Inscr. No. 109
KE O ΘC ΣΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...
Κύριε ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἄγιου / Στεφάνου...

Auja Hafr, ancient Nessana, papyri

Papyrus No. 15. 12 May 30, A.D. 512
...καὶ ἧμην Θεόν] Παντοκράτωρ...

Papyrus No. 30. 1 Sept. 13, A.D. 596
...Υ[IoU] Θεοῦ καὶ Σω[τή]ρος / ἤμῳ...

Papyrus No. 47. 6 before A.D. 605
...μετα τὸν Θεοῦ φι[λ]αφρ + ...

Papyrus No. 49. 5 VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...ἔρχομένου μου σύν Θεοῦ πλεοῦ μετὰ χάριτος.

Papyrus No. 50. 12 Early VIIth Century A.D.
...Γεώργιος ἐλέει Θεοῦ επίσκοπος

Papyrus No. 51. 1 Aela, Early VIIth Century A.D.
+ Μωυσῆς ἡλίατ Θεοῦ επίσκοπος τοῦ Αἰλάνου[ου]...

Papyrus No. 52. 8 Early VIIth Century A.D.
...Εάν οὖν ἐστίν θέλημα Θεοῦ...

Papyrus No. 53. 7, 15 before A.D. 608?
7. ...Ἰη αὐτῷ τῶν Θεοῦ / παρακαλῶ σε...
15. ...δεξίων μετὰ Θεοῦ...

Papyrus No. 56. 7 January 18, A.D. 687
Ἐν ἀγαθής τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Papyrus No. 57, 1, 2, 18, 24, 26, 27 September 1-17, A.D. 689
line 1. ...Σέργιος Γεωργίου ἐλέει Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος...
   » 2. ...Βίκτορος ἐλέει Θεοῦ ἀρχιδιάκονος...
   » 18. ...ἐνόπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ...
   » 24. ...Σέργιος Γεωργίου ἐλέει Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος...
   » 26. ...Γεώργιος Βίκτορος ἐλέει Θεοῦ τὸ ἱερά [ἄρξ]χεριάκον...
   » 27. ...Σέργιος Παύλου ἀρχιδιάκονος ἐλέει Θεοῦ διάκονος...
29 Papyrus No. 60. 10 October / November A.D. 674
'Εν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ

30 Papyrus No. 61. 10 August A.D. 675
'Εν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ...

31 Papyrus No. 62. 11 October A.D. 675
'Εν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ...

32 Papyrus No. 63. 5 October A.D. 675
'Εν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ...

33 Papyrus No. 64. 7 February A.D. 676
'Εν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ...

34 Papyrus No. 65. 5 A.D. 675/676
'Εν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ...

35 Papyrus No. 66. 5 February A.D. 677
'Εν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ...

36 Papyrus No. 67. 9 August / September A.D. 689
'Εν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ...

37 Papyrus No. 68. 6 about A.D. 680
...καὶ ε[ιρ]ή[νη] σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ †

38 Papyrus No. 71. 1 VIIth Century A.D.
† εν ὄνομα τοι τοῦ Θ(e)ο(ο) τοι τοῖς Παντ[οκράτ(ο)ρος]...

39 Papyrus No. 72. 1, 3 March A.D. 684
1. εν ὄνομα τοι τοῦ Θ(e)ο(ο) Παντοκράτ(ο)ρος...
2. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ...

40 Papyrus No. 73. 1, 3 December A.D. 683
1. Ε'ν [ὄνομα τοι τοῦ Θ(e)ο(ο) Παντοκράτ(ο)ρος]...
3. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ...

41 Papyrus No. 84. 1 VIIth Century A.D.
† λόγου(ος) συν Θ(e)ο(ο) επί τῆς...

42 Papyrus No. 89. 3, 39 Late VI - Early VIIth Century A.D.
3. ...λόγος συν Θεῷ καὶ τῶν...
39. ...καὶ ὑμῖν ἀναλόματα Θ(e)ο(ο)...

43 Papyrus No. 90. 1, 141 VI - VIIth Century A.D.
1. λόγοι συν Θ(e)ο(ο) πράσεως φυσικῶν...
141. συν Θ(e)ο(ο) πράσεως φυσικῶν Φ[]...

44 Papyrus No. 91. 1 VI - VIIth Century A.D.
† λόγους συν Θ(e)ο(ο)...

45 Papyrus No. 107. 3 VI - VIIth Century A.D.
...Γεώργιος βοηθός ἐλέει Θ(e)ο(ο) πρεσβύτερος...
Papyrus No. 145. 3, 10, 12 VI – VIIth Century A.D.

3. ...διά τις Θεοῦ χάριτος
10. ...διά του Θεοῦ χάριτος
12. Κυρίοις καὶ δεσπότοι Εὐσοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Papyrus No. 146. 3 VI – VIIth Century A.D.
...ἐχθρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ...

Papyrus No. 156. 5 VI – VIIth Century A.D.
Κ(υρί)κ...Θ(εό)ς ἡμῶ[ν]

Papyrus No. 171. 3
[έ]τατον Θεόν μ...[

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 / ...

b) inscription on a stone capital, V – VIth Century A.D.
ΕΙΣ / ΘΕΟΝ / Ο ΒΟΗ / ΘΩΝ / ΤΟΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ //ΑΝΤΩΧΙΑΝΟΥ
Είς / Θεός / ὁ Βοήθων / τόν Δέσποτα //Αντωχιανοῦ

Bethany, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, wall graffiti, Late Roman – Early Byzantine period
ΘΕΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΗΣ/ΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ / ΑΝΑΜΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΜΑΡ/ΤΙΟΝ...
Θεαί τῶν Χρῆσ/τιανῶν ἔλεησον //Ἀναμάν τὸν ἄμαρ/τιον...

Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
IXΘΥC the compendium used by the early Christians for concealing their faith. The letters stand for the words Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Γεννήσας, 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.

Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
† ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘohana Θεω...
† ἠτελιώθη σὺν 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.

56 Caesarea Maritima. City Museum Haifa, sandstone inscription, Byzantine period

57 Deir el Qilt, monastery, wall painting, VIth Century A.D. Hermitage of the Archimandrite Gabriel.

58 Ein Karim, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

59 El Haditha. 5 km east of Lydda, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

60 El-Jish. bronze amulet (movable object), Byzantine period

61 El Murassas (Ma‘ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

62 El-Qunaitra. Church of St. Theodorus, VIth Century A.D.

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(e)ο(δ)ρονοία...

64 *El-Quweisme*, Church of St. Cirycus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
...ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΟ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΣ Ο ΘΕ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗΝ...
...εὐλογησόν(ν) αὐτούς Κ(ύριο)ς ὁ Θ(e)ός εὐλογίαν πνευματικήν...

65 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 7, Vth Century A.D.
ΘΙΕΟΚ /...ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ...
Θεός /...τοῦ ἅγιου οἴκου...
Dept. of Antiq. files.

66 *Gaza*, marble inscription, Vth Century A.D.
...ΤΝ ΕΝ ΠΝΑ ΠΑΡΑ / ΤΝ ΘΘΟ ΑΜΗΝ +
...τὸ δὲ πνεύμα παρά/τῷ Θεῷ ἁμήν +
Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 34 (1925), pp. 579-80 m 6, fig. 2 A, pp. 449-50; F. Blec

67 *Gaza*, marble inscription, A.D. 562
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤ/ΕΘΘΗ Η ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΔΟΥΛΗ Η ΟΥΣΙΑ ΘΥΓΑΤ/ΗΡ ΤΙ-
ΜΟΘΕΟΥ...
+ ἐνθάδε κατ/ετήθη ἡ τοῦ Θ(ε)ο(δ)ρούλη ἡ Οὐσία θυγάτ/ηρ Τιμωθέου...
Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, vol. II.

68 *Gaza*, city walls, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΑΝΕΝΕΘΘΗ ΚΥΝ ΘΩΝ ΤΟ ΘΗΧΟΚ ΓΑΖΗΧ...
+ ἀνενεθῇ σὺν Θ(ε)ο(δ)ροῦ τὸ τῆχος Γάζης...

69 *Gerasa*, the Baths of Placcus, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
...ΚΥΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΤΑΛΑΝΙΩΝ ΕΚ ΘΕΟ/ΜΕΛΙΩΝ...
...σὺν Θεότοθε τὸ ταλανίον ἐκ θεο/μελιών...
Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 871.

70 *Gerasa*, the Propylaea Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 565
a) ...ΣΩΚΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΚΟΥ ΘΕΟC...
...σώσον τὸν δούλον σου ὁ Θεός...
b) + ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΧΗ Η ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ...
+ Εὐδοκία Θεοῦ συνέχη ἡ διακονία...
Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 875.
71 Gerasa, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
...ΨΗΦΙΩΘΗ Κ ΕΣΤΕΓΑΣΘΗ ΣΥΝ ΘΕΩ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ...
Της θεού και έστεγάσθη σύν Θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον...

72 Hesban (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΙΧΘΥΣ...
+ Ἡμεσοῖος Χριστοῦ Θεού Υἱὸς Σωτήρ...
Bibl. J. L. Lawlor, RB 86 (1979), p. 117; SEG XXIX (1979), inscr. No. 1611;

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 καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρῶτος καὶ εἷς Θεὸς.
(John I: 1).
Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, Un Musée Palestinien. Notice sur le Musée Ar
chéologique de Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem, Paris n.d.

74 Karmiel (Kh. Bât es Sih), mosaic inscriptions, A.D. 526/7
ΚΕ Ο ΘΘ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ...
Κ(ύριο) Θ(εός) ἁνάπαυσον...
ΚΕ Ο ΘΘ
Κ(ύριο) Θ(εός)
Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

75 Khirbet Alya, Acre District, stone inscription, A.D. 539
[ΚΕ Ο ΘΘ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΙΚΗΣ ΕΛΕΙΝΑ]
[Κ(ύριο) Θ(εός) τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας ἐλέησον...]
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 1.

76 Khirbet el-Hadadiye, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
A quotation from Ps. 41. 1.
...ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕ Ο ΘΘ
...προσέτε ὡς Θεός
Dept. of Antiq. Files.

77 Khirbet El Mekhayat, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription,
VIth Century A.D.
...Ο ΘΘ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΛΟΤ...
...ὁ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Λότ...
...Ο ΘΘ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ
...ὁ Θεοῦ τον ἁγίων μαρτύρων πρόσδεξε
Bibl. SEG VII (1934), No. 336.

78 Khirbet Es-Samrah, Eastern shore of Lake Tiberias, mosaic inscription,
V-VIth Century A.D.
TH TOY ΘΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΕΙ / + KYBERNOYMMENH +

τη του Θ(εον) χάριτει / + Κυβερνουμένη +

Dept. of Antiq. File, No. 168.

79 Khirbet Es-Samrah, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
+ Ω ΘC ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΗ ΕΛΠΙΔΙΟΥ Σ NONNA/...+
+ ω Θ(εος) αναπαύση 'Ελπίδιου (και) Νόννα/....


80 Kh. Mafjar, Greek inscribed fragments, VIIIth Century A.D.
a) a fragment of red limestone

EN ONOMATH TO ΘΕ ΟΥΡΑ[ΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΗΣ]

εν ονόματι το(υ) Θε(ου) ούρα[νου και γης]

b) marble slab fragment

[E] ONOMATH TO ΘΕΟΥ

[ε] ονόματι το(υ) Θεοῦ.


82 Madaba, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3

...ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΤΙΚΚΕΝ/ ΧΝ ΠΑΜΒΑΣΙΛΗ ΘΕΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΥΙΕΑ ΜΟΥΝΟΝ...

...και ον έτικκεν / X(ριστόν)ς παμβασιλῆ Θεοῦ μόνον υἱέα μοῦνον...


83 Madaba, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3

...ΕΤΑΙΛΙΨΕΙΘΗ [ΠΙΡΟΝΟΙΑ] ΘΕΟΥ...

...ἐταίλιψει/θη [προνοία] Θεοῦ...


84 Magen, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

ΗΓΙΑΣΕΝ ΤΟ / ΚΗΘΝΩΜΑ / ΑΥΤΟΥ Ο ΥΨΙ/ΣΤΟC Ο ΘΕΟC / ΕΝ ΜΕΣΩ ΑΥΤΗC

'Ηγίασεν τό / σκηνομα / αυτοῦ ὁ Ὑψι/στός ὁ Θεός / ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς.

V. Tzafiris, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

85 Mahadiy, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period

...ΘΕ /. ΕΚΥΜΗ...+

...(ἐν) Θ(εον) ἐκφυμη[θη]...


86 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 IXΘΥC.
a) a door-post capital

IXΘΥC Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ἱὸς) Σ(ωτήρ)
b) part of a lintel
IXΘ/ΥC Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) / Υ(ιός) Σ(ωτήρ)

Nazzareth, the Church of the Annunciation, graffiti, Late Roman period
Fig. No. 99.
Θεός τὸ Ναυκίδα καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις

Fig. No. 154
e Θεο

Fig. Nos. 157, 158
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ νῦν Θεοῦ βοηθό...

Petra, stone inscription, Byzantine period
...ΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΥ ΘΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ...
...Ἐπισκόπου Θ(εοῦ) χάριτι...

Petra, marble inscription, Byzantine period
...ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΓΟ ΘΕΩ ΕΟΝΤΙ / ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΠΑΝΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΟΜΟΟΥ-...
...Θεοῦ λόγο Θεοί εὸντι / Χριστῷ πανβασιλέῳ ὁμοουσίῳ Θριάδι...
Dept. of Antiq. Cat. No. 43, 15.

Ras Siyagha, in a sunken panel on the baptismal font, stone inscription, 6th Century A.D.
+ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΣ Ο / ΑΓΙΩΤ ΕΠΙΚΟ / ΤΟ ΘΕΩ ΤΑ ΣΑ / ... +
+ Σέργιος ο / ἀγίωτατος ἐπίσκοπος / το Θ(εοῦ) τα σα / ... +
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 319.

Rihab, West of the nave, mosaic inscription, A.D. 594
ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΘΥ ΘΕΩΜΕ[ΕΛΙΟΘ]Η Κ ΕΤΕΛΙΟΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ-...
Προνοία Θ(εοῦ) ἐλευθερίας ο ναός τοῦ ἐννόμου...

Rihab, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.
+ ΚΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΤΗΓ ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑΚ...
+ Κ(υρί) ρέ θ(εο)ς τῆ(ς) ύγι(ης) Μαρίας...

Sinci, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica
a) Board attached to ceiling beam No. 1, pine wood, A.D. 548-565
ΚΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΘΕΙΚ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΤΟΠΩ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ...
Κ(υρί) ρέ θ(εο)ς ύγι εν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ...
b) Lintel over the main entrance, pine wood inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...
...ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Ο ΘΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΚΟΥ...
...Εγώ είμι ο Θεός τῶν πατέρων σου...

c) Chapel of the Holy Fathers, South wall, marble slab, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...
...ΔΙ ΒΟΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΗΜΙΑΝ...
...δι' ὃν ὁ Θεός σώσον ἡμᾶς...

d) Inscr. No. 12, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...Ο ΘΕΟΝ
..."ο(θεῖς) Θ(ε)ε ἔν..." 100
e) Top of Moses mountain, cave of Moses, S.E. corner of the mosque, granite stone inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...Ο ΘΕΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΟΥ...
...κ(ει) ὁ(ς) τοῦ ἁγίου Μου(η)...

f) Inscr. No. 15, Old Library, pine wood, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...
...ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΗΜΙΩΝ...
...τὸν Θεόν ἡμῶν...

The sacred name appears in the accusative singular with a grammatical mistake (ω) instead of (ο).

g) Icons, gallery of the Monastery, votive bronze cross (movable object), VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Upright: ...
...Κ ΕΥΙΓΕΝΕΙ / ΜΟΥΧΕ / ΤΟΝ ΑΑ/ΟΝ.../ΕΙΗ ΤΗΝ
...ΚΥΝΑΝΤΙ/ΚΙΝ ΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟΥ /..."
..."καταβαθηκαί οτι τον Θ(ε)ον ἕπι αυτό ἐν πυρι/..."

Suhmata, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΓΩΝΕΤΟΥ ΜΥΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΣ Η ΨΕΦΟΣΙΟΣ...
..."ηγή κυνι τον Θεού η ψεφοσίσ..."
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 96, pl. XXX, fig. 3.

Tiberias, Synagogue, stone inscription, Byzantine period
...Η ΘΕΟΥ ΧΑΡΙΣ / ΜΕΤΑ...
...Η Θεοῦ χάρις / μετά...

Umm-el-Jimal, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΔΩΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΒΡΑΜ ΣΙΚΣ ΙΑΚΟΒ
Δ(ὁ)ξ(α) σ(οι) δ Ὑ(δο)ξ(ε) Ἄβρ(αύ)μ (και) ἵσ(αύ)κ(και) ἰακόβ
Wadi Haggag, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period
No. 36. II / 113.
† ΕΛΕΗΚΩΝ / Ο ΘΕ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥ / ΔΟΥ ΚΟΥ /...
† Ἑλέησον / ὁ Θεός τὸν δοῦ / λον(ν) σου /...
No. 107. III / 239.
† ΚΕ Ο ΘΕ ΜΝΗ / ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΚΟΥ / ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΚ / ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ
† Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεό Χι η(οντί) / δούλον σου / Οὐαβάλλας / ἀμὴν Κ(ύρι)ε.
No. 140. III / 272.
KE O ΘC / ELEHCON TOYC DΟΥΛΟΥC COY /...
Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεός / ἑλέησον τοὺς δούλους σου /...

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

109 *Aila*, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Εἰς Θεός / Ο ΒΟΗΘΟΥΝ /...
Εἰς Θεός / ὁ βοηθῶν /...

110 *Ascalon*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
Εἰς Θ /...
Εἰς Θεός /...
Dept. of Antiq. File, No. 11.

111 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscription No. 27, Byzantine period
Εἰς ΘΕΟΚ Ο / Β[ΟΗΘΟΥΝ]
Εἰς Θεός ὁ β[οηθῶν]

112 *Belah* (Bala), tomb inscription, Byzantine period
Εἰς ΘΕ/OC ΜΟ/ΝΟC / XMΓ
Εἰς Θεός μ/νος / XMΓ

113 *Evron*, mosaic inscription No. 8, Vth Century A.D.
Εἰς ΘΕΟΚ / Ο ΒΟΗΘΟΥΝ / ΟΥΑΛΕΝ / ΤΙΝΟΝ...

---

1 See Erik Peterson, *EIC ΘΕΟΚ*, Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen, Göttingen 1926.
Eis Θεός / ὁ βοηθῶν / Οὐάλεν / τίνον...
Dept. of Antiq. files.

114 Rishpon, Apollonia, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
EIC ΘΕΟC O ΖΩΝ
Eic Θεός ὁ ζων
Dept. of Antiq. files.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period

115 No. 86. III / 218.
EIC ΘΕΟC / O ΒΟΗΘΩΝ / TON ΔΟΥΛΟC / COY...
Eic Θεός / ὁ βοηθῶν / τὸν δούλο / σου...

116 No. 198. III / 133.
+ + / EIC ΘΕΟC / O ΒΟΗΘΩΝ/...
+ + / Eic Θεός / ὁ βοηθῶν /...

EIC ΘΕΟC / O ΒΟΗΘΩΝ /...
Eic Θεός / ὁ βοηθῶν /...

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.
KE EΥΛΟΓΗC ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟC/...
Κ(ύριε) εὐλογησον τὸν δούλον /...

119 Aila, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ KE ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟC / COY TIMOΘΕΟC...
+ K(ύριε) βοηθήσων τὸν δούλον σου Τιμόθεον...

120 Aila, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ KE ΒΟΗΘΗC ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟC COY ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗC...
+ K(ύριε) βοηθήσων τὸν δούλον σου Ἑπιφάνης...
Bibl. SEG XXVI (1976-77), inscr. No. 1659.

121 Ain Fit, near Banias, stone inscription, Byzantine period
.../ΕΠΕΙΔΗΜΗCΕΝ ΠΡΟC / KN Ο ΤΗC ΟCΙAC ΜΝΗΜΗC /...
.../ἐπεδήμησεν πρὸς / Κ(ύριον) ὁ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης /...
Bibl. P.M. Séjourne, RB 7 (1898), pp. 126-128.
122 *Ashkelon, Barnea*, mosaic inscription, A.D. 493-499

i. ΤΩ ΟΙΚΩ CO[Y ΠΡΕΠΕΙ] / ΑΠΙΑΣΜΑ K[(ΥΡΙ)Ε EIC ΜΑ]ΚΡΟΘ- 
   ΤΑ ΗΜ[ΕΡΩΝ] /...

ii. ΚΣ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΙ ΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΜΕ ΥΣΤΕΡΗΣΗ
Both are quotations from the *Old Testament*.
*Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscriptions

123 Inscr. No. 4, fragment of the upper edge of a marble screen, Byzantine period

+ KE MN[...

Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Ha- 


124 Inscr. No. 28, limestone slab, Byzantine period

+ ΦΩΝΗ KΥΡΙΟΥ[ ...]

125 Inscr. No. 30, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period

j. KE K ΑΓΙΕ ΣΤΕΦΛΑΕ... Κ[( τόρι)ε] κ(αι) ἀγιε Στέφανε...

l. TOY KΥΡΙΟΥ[ ...] του Κυρίου[ ...]

126 Inscr. No. 31, chalk wall block, Byzantine period

ΜΝΗΣΘΗΙ K[(ΥΡΙ)Ε]

µνήσθητι K[( τόρι)ε]

127 Inscr. No. 38, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΕΘΕΙ / CT(E)ΦΑΝΩC

Κύριε βοήθει / Στέφανος

128 Inscr. No. 59, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period

a. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΜΝΗΣΙΟΥ / ΚΥΡΙΟΥ / TOY ΔΟΥ / ΛΟΥ ΚΟΥ

Κύριε μνήςθη / του δού / λού σου...

b. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΦΥΛΑΞΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΟΥ ΑΙΝΙΑΝΗ

Κύριε φύλαξέν τον δούλου σου Αἰνιάνη

129 Inscr. No. 61, chalk block, Byzantine period

KE ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ

Κύριε ἐλέησον

130 Inscr. No. 63, column drum, Byzantine period

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΣΕΡΓΙΕ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ (ΚΑΙ) ΑΓΙΕ ΣΕΡΓΙΕ

Κύριε Σέργιε, Κύριε (καὶ) ἀγιε Σέργιε.

131 Inscr. No. 67, limestone fragment, Byzantine period

ΚΕ ΜΝΗΣΙΟΥ ΟΗΤΙ (ΟΝ / (TO) ΟΝΟΜΑ / ΚΥ ΓΙΝ(ΥΟΥ)ΚΗΣ
Kύριε μνήσθητι ῥών / (τό) δάναμα / σὸ γινώ(σ)κης

132 Inscr. No. 69, chalk block, Byzantine period
+ ΚΥΡΙΕ ὁ ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓ(Γ)ΟΡ(Υ) ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ(Υ)
+ Κύριε ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἁγίου ὡραίου Σεργίου

133 Inscr. No. 103, limestone block, Byzantine period
ΜΝΗΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΧΛΟΥ(Υ) / ΚΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ...

134 Inscr. No. 109, Byzantine period
a. ΚΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ... Κύριε ὁ Θεός...
b. ΚΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ... Κύριε ὁ Θεός...
Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, Excavations at Nessana (Auja Ha-

135 Papyrus No. 47. 5, before A.D. 605
...δέτι εἰδέξον αὐτά καὶ εὐχαρία ἐκ τῶν Κύριων +

136 Papyrus No. 52. 16, Early VIIth Century A.D.
...οί διὰ τῶν Κύριων...

137 Bahan, inscr. No. 4, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
Τ/Ο / ΟΙΚΟ / ΣΟΥ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ / ΠΙ ΑΓΙΑΣΜΑ / ΚΕ ΕΙΣ ΜΑΚΡΟΤΗΤΑ / HΜΕ/ΡΩ/Ν
ν/ὑ / οἰκῷ / σοῦ πρεπεῖ ἀγίασμα / Κύριε εἰς μακρότητα / ἡμε/ρω/ν
It is a quotation from the Old Testament (see Psalms 63:5).

138 Beersheba, marble inscription, Vth Century A.D.
+ ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ / EICΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ/...
+ αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κύριοῦ δίκαιοι / εἰςελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ/...

139 Beersheba, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΟΥ Ο Κ Hercules TO ΟΝΟΜΑ /...
Προσφορά οὗ ὁ Κύριος τὸ 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
ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟ/ΟΧ ΜΟ/ΝΟΧ / ΧΜΓ
Εἰς Θεός μό/νος / Χριστι/ανὸς Μαρίας Τῆς Ευνα.
13 6.
141 Bethlehem, mosaic inscription, IV-VIth Century A.D.
ANYΣΑΤΕ ΜΟΙ ΠΥΛΑΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΕΙΣΕΛ/ΘΩΝ ἙΝ ΑΥΤΑΙΣ
ΕΣΩ/ΜΟΛΟΥΣΟΜΑΙ ΤΩ Κ(υρίῳ) / ΑΥΤΗ ἙΝ ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ Κ(υρι-
 BSON/ΔΙΧΑΙΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥ/ΣΟΝΤΑΙ ἙΝ ΑΥΤΗ/...
It is a quotation from the Old Testament (see Ps. 117: 19-20)
142 Beth Shean, the House of Leontis, mosaic inscription No. 2, Byzantine period
KE ΒΟ ΛΕΟΝΤΙ/ΟΥ...
Κ(υρίῳ) βο(ήθει) Λεοντί/ου...
143 Beth Shean, Synagogue, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΠΠ οΙΝ Κ(υριότ)α / ΟΝΟΜΑΤ/Α...
Π(ροσφυ)ρ(ορά) ὡν Κ(υριό)ς γ' ινόςκι τά / ὄνοματ/α...
144 Caesarea Maritima, sandstone inscription, City Museum Haifa, Byzantine period
+ ΦΩΝΗ ΚΥ / ΕΠΙΣΤΩΝ / ΥΔΑΤΩΝ /...
+ Φωνῇ Κ(υρίῳ) / ἐπὶ τῶν / ὕδατῶν /...
Bibl. B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 78 (1962), p. 82, inscr. No. V.
145 Caesarea Maritima, mosaic inscription, Late Vth Century A.D.
+ Κ(υρίῳ) ΩΚ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΙΤΟΝ / ΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΝΟΝ / ΚΟΥ...
+ Κ(υρίῳς) ὁ Θεός εὐλογήσει τῶν σήμων / σου καὶ τῶν οίνων / σου...
Quotation from the Old Testament (see Deut. VII, 13, 14).
146 El-Haditha, 5 km east of Lod, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
KE ΩΚ ΤΩΝ ΔΥ/ΝΑΜΕΩΝ...
Κ(υρίῳ) ὁ Θ(εός) τῶν δυ/νάμεων...
147 El Murassas (Ma’ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
KE ΩΚ ΗΜ/ΩΝ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΗΤΙ ἘΝ ΤΗ / ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΚΟΥ...
Κ(υρίῳ) ὁ Θ(εός) ἡμῶν μνησθήτι ἐν τῇ / βασιλείᾳ σου...
Yitzik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
148 El-Quweisme, Church of St. Ciryus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
...ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΟΝ ΚΟΥ ΩΚ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗΝ...
...εὐλογησο(ν) αὐτοῦς Κ(υρίῳς) ὁ Θ(εός) εὐλογίαν πνευματικὴν...
149  *El-Quweisme*, Church of St. Ciryicus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
KE BOHΘI ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΣΟΥ ΜΑΓΝΩ ...
Κ(υρίο)ς βοηθή τῷ δούλῳ σου Μάγνῳ ...

150  *El-Quweisme*, Church of St. Ciryicus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
...KE CYΝΧΨΗΚΑΝ ΤΑC ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗ
...Κ(υρίο)ς συνικύρωσεν τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ, ἀμή(ν)

151  *Gaza* (Ma'atuma, port of Gaza), limestone slab, Byzantine period
+ ΤΟY KY Η ΤΗ ΚΑI ΤΟ + / ΠΑHΡΨΗΜΑ ΑΥΤΗΣ / ...
+ τοῦ Κ(υρίο)ς ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ + / πληρώμα αὐτῆς / ...
*Ps.* XIII. XIV., Septuagint version.

152  *Gaza*, inscription No. 18, Byzantine period
+ KE ΑΝΑΠΑΥΚΟΝ / ΤΗΝ ΔΟΥΛΗΝ ΣΟΥ / ANACTACIAN...
+ Κ(υρίο)ς ἀνάπαυσον / τὴν δούλην σου / 'Ἀναστασίαν...

153  *Geræsa*, the Propylaca Church, mosaic inscription, May-June A.D. 565
+ ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΤΟ ΟΥ[Σ] ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΚΟΥΚΟΝ ΜΟΙ ΟΤΙ ΠΙΤΟΥΧΟC...ΕΛΕΗΚΟΝ ΜΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΟΤΙ ΠΡΟC ΣΕ...
+ καλον Κύριε το οὖ[ς] σου...ἐλέησον με Κύριε δτι πρός σέ...
Quotation from the *Psalm* 86, verses 1-3.
Bibl. *SEG* VII (1934), No. 875.

154  *Geræsa*, Church of Elias, Mary and Soreg, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
+ Κ(ΥΡΙΟ)Υ [ΥΑΛΑΣΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΚΟΔΟΝ] / COY...
+ Κ(υρίο)ς [φιλάξει τὴν εἰκοδομ] / σου...
*Ps.* 120:8

155  *Geræsa*, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
...Ο ΚΥΡΙΟC ΟΥΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΛΩΝ Ο ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗC...
...Ὁ Κύριος οὖν τῶν ὀλίκων ὁ Δεσπότης...

156  *Geræsa*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription A.D. 529/30
...ΕΚ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΣ ΟΥ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟC ΟΙΔΕΝ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ...
...ἐκ προσφοράς οὖ δ' Κύριος οἶδεν τὸ ὄνομα...
157 Jerusalem, St. Etienne, graffiti, V-VIIth Century A.D.
a) ΕΠΕΙΣ ΚΕ / ΗΛΙΊΣ / ΜΗ ΚΑΤΣ /
έπι σύ Κ(υρί)ε / ήλπις(σα) / μη κατ...
b) ΚΣ ΦΩ/TS ΜΗ/...
Κ(υρί)ος φω/στεμνής μ(ου)/...

158 Jerusalem, Gallicanto, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΣ ΦΥΛΑΞΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙϹΟΔΟΝ COY Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΗΝ ΕΞΟΔΟΝ COY.
Κ(υρίος) φυλάζει την εισόδον σου κ(αί) την έξοδον σου.

159 Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΑΝΟΙΞΑΤΕ ΜΟΙ...ΈΞΟ/ΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ
άνοιξε το μου...έξο/μολογήσουμε τῷ Κυρίῳ
ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ / ΚΥ...
αὕτη ἡ πύλη του / Κ(υρίο)υ...
Bibl. K. Karpava, Ἡ επί του Ὀρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν Σταυροπηγιακή Μονή 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) ἐπι / τῶν ύδατων.

161 Jerusalem, Mount Sion, Eastern slope, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΣ ΦΥΛΑΞΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙϹΟΔΟΝ COY Κ(ΑΙ) / ΤΗΝ ΕΞΟΔΟΝ COY
Κ(υρίος) φυλάζει την εισόδον σου κ(αί) / την έξοδον σου.

162 Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Carmelite Sisters, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ... ΚΣ ΦΥΛΑΞΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙϹΟ/ΔΟΝ COY...
Αὕτη ἡ πύλη Κυρίου..., Κ(υρίος) φυλάζει την εισό/δον σου..
Ps. 117:20, Ps. 120:8.

163 Jerusalem, Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, stone inscription, Byzantine period
...ΤΟΝ / ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΩ / ΤΕΛΕΣΑΝΤΟϹ/...
...τόν / δρόμον ἐν Κ(υρίο)ῳ / τελέσαντος/...
Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum.

164 Karmiel (Kh. Bát es Sih), mosaic inscriptions, A.D. 526/7
a) ΚΕ Ο ΘΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥϹΟΝ...
Κ(υρί)ε ὁ Θ(εός) ἀνάπαυσον...
b) Κ[...]Ο Θ̣ Ω
Κ[ύριος] ὁ Θεός
Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

165 Karmiel (Kh. Bát es Sîh), mosaic inscription, A.D. 526/7
KE ΜΗΝ ΚΤΙΘΘΙ /ΘΙ ΜΑΖΙΜΟΥ /ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ
Κ[ύριɔ] μνήστηθι θεί Μαξιμου / τοῦ πρεσβύτερου
Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

166 Karmiel (Kh. Bát es Sîh), mosaic inscription, A.D. 526/7
KE ΜΗΝ ΚΤΙΘΘΙ /ΘΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΠΡΟΧΟΙΟΥ...
Κ[ύριɔ] μνήστηθι τοῦ δούλου σου Προχον σου...
Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

167 Khirbet Alya, Acre District, stone inscription, Nov. A.D. 539
[K][ΥΠΙΕ] Ο ΘΕΟC ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC ΜΑΡΙ/[Α]C ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ...
[K][ύριος] ὁ Θεός τῆς ἁγίας Μαρί[α]ς ἐλέησον...
SEG VIII (1937), No. 1.

168 Khirbet ed Deir (between Hebron and Gaza), lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
...[αὐτή] ἐ πύλη φυλακτίζει τήν ἱσόδον σού...

169 Khirbet Es Samrah, Eastern shore of lake Tiberias, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΞΟΔΟΥC ΥΜΩΝ EN KΥΡΙΟ / AMHΝ...
...ἐξόδους ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ / ἀμήν...
Ps. 120:8
Dept. of Antiq. Files, No. 168.

170 Khirbet Khureisa, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
.AΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΑΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΙ ΙΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΣΟI Πώ...
.αὐτή ἐ πύλη τοῦ Κυρίου κυριακοί εισελεύσοι...
Ps. 117:20

171 Kissufim, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
ΚΣ ΦΥΛΑ... / ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΠΙΟ...
K[ύριος] κυριακοί / τήν καρπον(φορίαν)...

172 Madaba, Church of the Apostles, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΚΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ...
K[ύριος] ὁ Θεός ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ τὴν γῆν...
Bibl. U. Lux, ZDPV 84 (1968), pp. 106-129, pl. XVI-XXXIV.
173 Magen, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
AYTH Η ΠΥΑΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ / ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ
Αὐτή ἡ πύλη Κυρίου δικαιοὶ / εισελέυονται εν αὐτῇ.
V. Tzaferis, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

174 Rehovot (Negev), tomb inscription, A.D. 542
+ ΚΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΑΣ / ΣΟΥ ΧΑΙΑΝ...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε ανάπαυσον τὸν δοῦλ(ον) / σου Ἡλίαν...
Bibl. Y. Tsafrir, RB 84 (1977), pp. 422-426, pl. XXIX.

175 Rihab, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
KE ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΑΖΙΖΕΟΥ...
Κ(ύρι)ε ανάπαυσον Ἰωάννην Ἀζίζζου...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale, Jera-

176 Rihab, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ ΤΗΓ ΑΓΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ...
+ Κ(ύρι)ε θ(εός) τή(ς) ἄγι(ας) Μαρίας...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale, Jera-

177 Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery
i. Refectory, lintel over the N. W. window, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ Ο ΕΓΕΙΡΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΙΗΣ ΠΙΤΗΧΟΝ ... COI KE BOJHICO(Ν)...
+ ὁ ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν ... σοι Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον(ν)...
Ps. 117:20.

178 ii. Basilica, board attached to ceiling No. 1, A.D. 548-565
KE O ΘΣ O ΟΦΘΕΙC...
Κ(ύρι)ε θ(εός) ὁ φθεῖς...

179 iii. Monastery, lintel over main entrance, pine wood, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΛΑΗΣΕΝ ΚΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΩΥΧΥΝ EN ΤΩ ΤΟΠΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ
ΛΕΓΩΝ...
+ καὶ ἐλάλησεν Κ(ύριο)ς πρὸς Μωϋסר ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦτῳ λέγων...
Exod. 3:14.

180 iv. Picture Gallery, votive bronze cross (movable object), VI-VIIth Century
A.D.
upright ... / KE MNHC/ΘΗΤΙ Τ ΓΡΑ/ΨΑΝΤ[ι]
... / K(ύρι)ε μνήσθη μητὶ τ(ῷ) γρά/ψαντ[ι]
arms ... / TA CA EK ΤΩΝ ΣΩΝ COI ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΟΜΕΝ ΚΕ
.../τά σά ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν K(ύρι)ε.

181 v. N. W. wall over the ancient main gate, granite inscription, VIth Century
A.D.
+ ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΟΝΤΑΙ EN ΑΥΤΗ...
† αὖτι ἢ πῦλη Κυρίου / δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ...
Ps. 117:20.

182 Sinai (Oasis in Wady el Pheiran), stone inscription, Byzantine period
† ΚΕ ΒΒΕΘΙΟΝ ΑΡΩΝ ΔΟΥΛ / ΛΟΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΘΟΥ / ΤΟΠΟΥ †
† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον Ἀρων δοῦλον λόας τοῦ ἁγητοῦ / τόπου †

183 Siyar el-Ghanam, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΥ ΒΟ(Η)Θ(Ε)Ι
Κύρου(ι) Βοήθει(α)...
Κ(ύρι)ο(ς) Φυλάσ(σ) / ΑΠΟ ΠΑΝ[ΤΟΣ] / ΚΑΚΟ[Υ]
Κύριος ψυλάσεις / από πάντοτε / κακο[τέ]
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 βοήθησο...

185 Tell Basul, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΦ... / ΤΗΝ ΙϹ... / Κ(ύρι)ο(ς) Φυλάσσει πληθυνθεί... /...

186 Umm es Surab, Provincia Arabia, East Jordan, lintel, stone inscription, 489
† ΚΦ (Α)ΜΕΡΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΟΣ ΥΙΟΙ ΟΥΛΠΙΑ(ΝΟ)Υ
† Κύριος(ι)ς φυλάσσεις (Α)μεράκ καὶ Κύρος υἱοὶ Οὐλπία(νο)"

187 Umidi-Djimal, stone inscriptions, Byzantine period
ΚΕ ΘΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΕ ΤΟΥϹ ΑΔΙΚΟΥΝΤΑϹ ΥΜΑϹ...
Κύριε ὁ Θεός δίκας τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ὑμᾶς...
† ΚΥΡΙΕ ΤΟΝ ΗΛΕΟϹ (ΟΥΥ ΚΕ ΔΙΟϹΟΝ ΤΟΥϹ ΕΧΘΡΟΥϹ
† Κύριε τὸ ἠλεός σου, Κύριε διὸ μὴ διώξῃς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς

Wadi Haggag, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period

188 No. 107. III / 239.
† ΚΕ ΘΣ ΜΝΗ / ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΚΟΥ / ΟΥΑΒΑΛΑΛΑΚ / ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ
† Κύριε ὁ Θεός μὴ σέβηται δούλον σου / Οὐαβᾶλάκα / ἀμήν Κ(ύρι)ε.
189  No. 108. III / 240.
† ΚΕ ΧΑΣΕΤΟΥ ἈΒΔΑΛΛΑΣ
† Κ(ύρι)e Χασέτου  Αβδάλλας

190  No. 117. III / 249.
† ΚΕ ΔΟC ΜΟΙ ΑΦΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΡΑΤΙΩΝ...
† Κ(ύρι)e δός μοι ἄφεσιν ἀμ(α)ρ(τ)ιών...

191  No. 140. III / 272.
ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ / ΕΛΕΗΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΥΣ ΣΟΥ /...
Κ(ύρι)e ο Θ(εός) τούς δούλους σου /...

192  No. 168. III / 300.
† ΚΕ...
† Κ(ύρι)e...

193  No. 2. I / 2a.
† ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ...
† Κύριε βοηθεί...

The same invocation ‘Κύριε βοηθεί’ appears also in the inscriptions No. 6.
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
† ΚΥΡ ΒΟΗΘ-ΚΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥ...
† Κύριε βοηθήσατε τόν δούλον σου...

The same invocation ‘Κύριε βοηθήσατε’ appears also in the inscriptions No.

195  No. 25. II/103.
† ΜΝΗΣΗΘΗ ΚΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣ ΣΟΥ
† Μνήσαθή(τι) Κ(ύρι)e τοῖς δούλοις σου

The same invocation ‘Μνήσαθήτι Κύριε’ appears also in the inscriptions No.

196  No. 96. III/228
† ΚΕ ΦΥΛΑΞΟΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΣΚΕΠΗΝ ΣΟΥ...
† Κύριε φύλαξον υπό 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
† ΚΕ ΣΩΣΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΣΟΥ...
† Κύριε σώσον τὸν δούλον σου...

The same invocation ‘Κύριε σώσον’ 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 ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟ ΣΟΥ...
+ Κ(υριε) εὐλόγησον τὸν 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 ΕΛΕΗΣΩ...
Κ(υριε) ελέη[σον]...
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.

200
Yatta. Hebron area, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
[ΑΥΘΗ Η ΠΥ/ΛΗ ΤΩΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ/ΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΣΟΝΤΕ ΕΝ ΛΥ...
[αυτή ἡ τού/λη τού] Κυρίου δίκαιοι/οἱ εἰσελεύσοντε ἐν αὐ...

d) ‘I Am’, ὁ Ὀν. A revealed title of God, expressing His eternal existence, ὁ Ὀν is the present participle of the verb εἰμι 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.
.... + ΕΓΙΩ / ΕΙΜΙ / Ο ΟΝ.
.... + Ἔγω / εἰμί / ὁ Ὀν

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 vousoir, Dec. 1st, A.D. 475
....ΤΩ ΔΕ ΠΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΗ...
....τῷ δὲ Π(ατρί) καὶ Υἱῷ / καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πν(εύματί)...

203
Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
....ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ / ΠΡΣ Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΗ
....ἐν ὄνοματι / Π(ατρί) ὁς κ(ατι) Υ(ἱοῦ) κ(ατι) Ἀγίου Πν(εύματος)...
Jerusalem, stone inscription, A.D. 589

...ANATHEMA ΔΕ ECTΩ ΑΓΙΟ ΤΟΥ / ΠΡΩ Κ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ Κ ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΜΑ.

...ἀνάθεμα δὲ ἐστώ ἀπὸ τοῦ / Π(ατηρ(ὁς και τοῦ Υἱοῦ και τοῦ / Ἀγίου Πνεύματος... '

Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* N.S. 1 (1904), pp. 266-7; Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum Epigraphical Collection.

Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic, A.D. 565/6

† EN ONOMATI Π(ΑΤΗΡ)Ρ(ΟΣ ΚΑΙ) Υ(ΙΟΥ) Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ... 

† ἐν ἀνόματι Π(ατηρ(ὁς και τοῦ Υἱοῦ και τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος...


f) 'The Most High' Υψιστος. A title attributed to God, adopted by Christianity from the *Old Testament*. It appears in an abbreviated form in the following inscription:

Jerusalem, St. Etienne, stone inscription, V-VIIth Century A.D.

Ο ΚΑΤΟΙΚΡΗΣ / ΕΝ ΒΟΣΕ ΤΟΥ / ΥΨΙΣ.

ὁ κατοικητ(α) / ἐν βοσκ(ε)τ(ο) / ὁ Υψιστός.

Ps. 90:1.


Magen, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

ΗΠΙΑΚΕΝ ΤΟ / ΣΚΗΝΩΜΑ / ΑΥΤΟΥ Ο ΥΨΙΣ / ΤΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ / ΕΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΙΗΜΑ.

Ὑψιστὸν / σκήνωμα / αύτού ὁ Υψιστὸς ὁ Θεός / ἐν μέγαυ παντοκράτορος.

V. Tzaliris, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

g) 'Almighty' Παντοκράτωρ. Another title attributive to God. It appears in the following inscriptions:

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri

208 Papyrus No. 15, 12, Rhinocorura, May 30th, A.D. 512

...καὶ [ὁμιλῶν Θεών] Παντοκράτωρ καὶ νίκην καὶ [εὐσέβειαν...'

209 Papyrus No. 73, 1 December A.D. 683?

ἐν [ὁνόμα] τοῦ [Θεοῦ] παντοκράτωρος...

The title 'Almighty' Παντοκράτωρ is suggested here.

210 Papyrus No. 63, 5 October A.D. 675

ἐν ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ Παντοκράτωρος...

211 Papyrus No. 71 Vth Century A.D.

† ἐν ὄνομα τοῦ Θ(εοῦ) τοῦ Παντοκράτωρος...

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 θεός, Κύριος, Σωτήρ, Θεός, Ἁμνός 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, INBL.

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-VIIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE MNECΘΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΗΘΕΚΝ
Κ(ύρι)e Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ) μνέσθετι καὶ βωθήσον...

213 Aila, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE...
Κ(ύρι)e Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)...

214 Ain Karim, fragment of a plate (movable object), ceramic inscription, Byzantine period
Text in the quarters of a cross
IC XC ΥC ΘΥ
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ) Ῥ(ιό) Θ(εοῦ)
Bibl. B. Bagatti, Il Santuario della Visitazione, Jerusalem 1948, p. 82.
Auja Hafr, ancient Nessana, inscriptions

215 Inscr. No. 5, fragments of a marble screen, Byzantine period
Ἰ(ΗΣΟΥ)Υ Κ(ΥΡΙΩΝ)Ε ΒΟΗΘΗΚΟΝ
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Κ(ύρι)e βοήθησον.

216 Inscr. No. 55, Byzantine period
KY IC XC ΘΗΚΟΝ
Κ(ύρι)e Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ) σώσον

217 Inscr. No. 108, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
IC XC
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς

218 Inscr. No. 111, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
Text in the quarters of a cross (see above)

---
IC    XP
'Iησου'ς Χριστοῦ

_Auja Hafir_, ancient Nessana, papyri

219 Papyrus No. 30. 1, September 13, A.D. 596
+ ἐν ὧν ἦν ἴεροῦ Κύριου καὶ Δεσποτοῦ Χριστοῦ

220 Papyrus No. 145. 8, 9, 11-13, 15, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
line 8 ἐν ὧν ἦσαν τοῦ καὶ Δεσποτοῦ Εἰσοῦ Ἰησοῦ
» 9 ἐν ὧν ἦσαν τοῦ Κύριου καὶ Δεσποτοῦ Εἰσοῦ
» 11 ...καὶ Δεσποτοῦ Εἰσοῦ
» 12 Κυρίου καὶ Δεσποτοῦ Εἰσοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
» 13 Εἰσοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ
» 15 Εἰσοῦ

221 Papyrus No. 185, VIIth Century A.D.
The only legible word is: IC, 'Ἰησοῦς'
Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, _Excavations at Nessana (Auja Ha-

222_Bahan Nahalaim_, inscr. No. 1, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE, Κύριος Ιησοῦς Χριστός. KE IX XE, Κύριος Ιησοῦς Χριστός.

223_Bethany_, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti in a small
cave, Byzantine period
KE IE XP ΒΟΗΘΗΟΝ
Kύριε Ιησοῦς Χριστός 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).

224_Bethlehem_, Church of the Nativity, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
Mosaic pavement of the central nave
IXΘΥΣ 'Ἰησοῦς Χριστός' Θεοῦ' Y(iou) Σ(ou) Σ(ou) Σ(ou)
A compendium, see p. 21
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 236.

225_Capernaum_, St. Peter's Home, graffiti, Late Roman period
a) Κ ΙΕ XP ΒΟΗΘΙ
Κύριε Ιησοῦς Χριστός Βοήθησον
b) ΙΕ
'Iησοῦς'
In both cases the sacred name is abbreviated. In a, by the first and second let-
ters of the genitive singular with the same mistake as above, and in b, by the
first and last letters of the nominative singular.

226 *Caphernau*m, St. Peter’s House, graffiti, Late Roman period

(Ι)ΧΘΥϹ

᾿Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιῶτα) Σ(ωτήρ)

From this inscription the first initial letter of the compendium is missing. That is the letter ‘Ι’ iota of the sacred name.


227 *Deir Dosi*. St. Theodosius’ Monastery, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

Κ(ΥΠΙΕ) Ι(ΕΩΥ) Χ(ΠΙΣΤΕ)

Κ(ύριε) Ι(εσούς) Χ(ριστά)

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


228 *Elateia*, Phocis, stone inscription originating in Cana, Galilee, probably Vth Century A.D.

+ ΟΥΤΟϹ ΕΚΤΙΝ / Ο ΑΙΘΟϹ ΑΙΟϹ / ΚΑΝΑ ΘΗϹ ΓΑ / ΑΙΑΕΑϹ ΟΙΟΥ / ΤΟ ΥΔΩΡ ΟΙΟΝ / ΕΠΟΪΗϹΕΝ Ο ΚϹ / ΗΜΩΝ ΙϹ ΧϹ +

+ Ουτος ητειν / ο λιθος απο / Καυα της Γαλιλαιας δου / το ιδωρ οινον / έποιησεν ο Κυριος / ημων της ησου χριστους +


229 *El-Karak*, tomb stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.

IC + ΧϹ /...

᾿Ι(ησοῦς) + Χ(ριστοῦ) /...


230 *Evron*, mosaic inscription near the baptistery, Vth Century A.D.

line No. 5 Κ(ΥΠΙΕ)Ε Ι(ΗΚΟΥ)Υ ΧΡ(ΙΣΤΕ)Ε ΜΝ(ΗΚΟΗΤΗ)

Κ(ύριε) Ι(ησοῦς) Χριστός μνήμητι

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 *Herodium*, the lower, mosaic pavement, V-VIth Century A.D.

ΚΕ ΨϹ ΧϹ ΚΕ ΑΓΙΕ ΜΗΧΑΗΑ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ...

Κ(ύριε) Ι(ησοῦς) Χρ(ιστοῦ) κε άγιε Μηχαιλ πρόσδεξε...

The sacred name is abbreviated by the first and third letters in the genitive singular.

232 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

+ ΙΧΘΥϹ...

+ Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιω) Σ(ωτήρ)...


233 *Horvat Midras*, wall inscription, Byzantine period

Α (ι)

ΙΧΘΥϹ

Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)


234 *Jaffa*, inscription on a marble column in a house at Jaffa, Byzantine period

ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧϹ Β(ΟΗΘ)Ε(Ι)

Κ(ωρίε) Ι(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστός) Η(βοηθί)ε(ι)

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


235 *Jerusalem*, the Citadel, door lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period

ΙϹ ΧϹ

Ι(Η)ησοῦς Χ(ριστός)

The sacred name appears abbreviated by the first and last letters in the nominative singular (the first letter is missing).


236 *Jerusalem*, Notre Dame de France, Archaeological Museum, marble bread stamp, Byzantine period

ΙϹ + ΧϹ ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟϹ Κ Ο ΛΟΓΟϹ ΗΝ ΠΠ[Ρ]ΟϹ ΤΟΝ ΘΩΝ...

Ι(ησοῦς) + Χ(ριστός) σε άρχη ἢν ὁ λόγος κ(αὶ) ὁ λόγος ἢν π[ρ]ός τὸν Θ(εόν)

(*John* 1:1).

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


237 *Khirbet ed-Deir*, between Hebron and Gaza, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period

ΙϹ ΧϹ

Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)
The name is abbreviated by the first and last letters in the nominative singular.

238
*Khirbet Juhzum*, near Bethlehem, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE EΛE/ICON
Κ(υρίῳ) ᾨ(νσο) X(ριστό) ε̣λε̣/η̣σον
The sacred name appears abbreviated by the first and last letters in the genitive singular.
*Mampsis*, East Church, stone inscription, IV-Vth Century A.D.

239
a) a door-post capital
IX ΘYC, Ἰ(ησοῦς) X(ριστός)...

240
b) part of a lintel
IX ΘYC, Ἰ(ησοῦς) X(ριστός) Θ(εοῦ) /...
The sacred name 'Ἰησοῦς' is represented by the first letter of the compendium IX ΘYC.

241
*Nazareth*, the Sanctuary of the Annunciation, graffiti, Vth Century A.D.
IHECOY XPICTE / YYE ΘΕΟΥ ΒΟΗΘΟ(Γ)...
'Ἱησοῦ Χριστὲ / Υός Θεοῦ βοηθο(ς)...
The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.

242
*Ozems*, Kh. Beit Mamin, 15 km East of Ashkelon, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
KYPIE / IE COY BOH[Θ]/ICON
Κύριε / Ἰ(ησοῦ βοήθη[Θ]) /σον...
The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular. The way the word 'Ἰησοῦ' is written with 'Ε' epsilon, instead of 'Ή' eta, is a reminder of the inscriptions from Bethany and Capernaum.
Dept. of Antiq. Files.

243
*Ras Siyagh*, Baptistery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΤΩY KΥ HM [ΙΗ]C(OY) XY
...τοῦ Κ(υρίον) η̣μ(ῶν) Ἰ(η)σο(ῦ) X(ριστοῦ)
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 Ιησοῦ, name of which only the third is preserved. It is in the genitive singular.

244
*Rihab*, St. Menas' Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635
ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΠΙΚΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ...
Χάριτι Ἰησοῦ (Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ και σωτῆρος ἡμῶν...

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 + ὩΤΩΚΟΣ...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ)Χ(ριστοῦ)Χ(αί) ἁγία / Μαρία / Ἡ Θ + ὡτῶκος...
The name is abbreviated by the first and last letters of the genitive singular with a horizontal line over them.

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

ΚΥΡΙΕ / ΕΙ(Ε)ΚΟΥ / ΧΡΙΣΤΕ / ΒΟ[Η]ΘΙ

Κύριε / Ει(ε)σού / Χριστέ / βο[η]θη

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

247 *Susmata*, mosaic inscription No. 2, VIIth Century A.D.

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΒΟΗΘΗΚΟΝ ΤΗ ΚΩΜΗ ΤΑΥΤΗ

Κύριε Ἰησοῦ βοήθηκον τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ

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

248 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

...ΚΑΙ Ο ΚΩ ΙΧ ΧΧ ΠΡΟΣΘΕΣΙΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΗΚΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ...
...καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός προστέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν δέησιν αὐτοῦ, ἀμήν
Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

*Wadi Haggag*, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period

249 No. 1. I/1a
IC XC ΧΧ
Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ)

250 No. 37. II/114
IC XC ...
Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) ...

251 No. 71. III/203
ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΕΓ
Κ(ύριε) Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Μεγαλείτε

252 No. 79. III/211
+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΕΘΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΗΘΕΚΟ...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ἰησοῦς Χριστός μνεάθετε καὶ βοήθεσον...
253 No. 99. III/231
+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΕΑΕΗΧΟΝ / ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΚΟΥ /...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ι(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) ἐλέησον / τὸν δούλον σου /...

254 No. 103. III/235
+ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙΚΟΥ ΧΡΙΤΕΣ / ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΟΥ /...
  Κύριε Ιησοῦ Χριστέ / βοηθή τού δούλου σου /...

255 No. 106. III/238
+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΩΓΕ / ΤΟΥ ΘΥ Ο Θ€ ΚΥΝΟΔΕΥ / ΚΕΝ ΣΥ /...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ι(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ), Χ(ριστοῦ) καὶ Λάγε / τοῦ Θ(εοῦ), ὁ Θ(εός) συνό-
  δεν/σεν σύ /...

256 No. 118. III/250
ΗΣ ΧΣ
'I(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ)'

257 No. 138. III/270
+ ΜΝΗΣΟΤΗΤΙΚ / ΙΕΚΟΥ ΧΡΙΤΟΥ / ΝΟΝΝΑ / ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ
+ Μνήσθητι Κύριε / Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ / Νόννα / Κυριακοῦ

258 No. 141. III/273
ΙΧΣ / ΙΧΣ /...
'I(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) / I(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) /...

259 No. 151. III/283
+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΗΣΟΤΗΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝ / ΤΑ...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ι(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) μνήσοταθη τόν γράψαν/τα...

260 No. 158. III/289
+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ /...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ι(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) βοήθη /...

261 No. 187. III/312
+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΗΣΟΤΗ / ΑΙΣΙΚΙΟΣ...
+ Κ(ύριε) Ι(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) μνήσοταθη / Αἰσίκιος...

262 No. 194. III/329
+ ΙΧ ΧΡ
'I(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ)'


b) The Sacred Name 'Iησοῦς 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
Ναζαρηνός ὁ μακαριός τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Τούτων σὺν τοῖς τίτλοις πολλοὶ ἀνέγραψαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπὸ ἐγγὺς.
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' Παῖσαβασείς, and 'absolute monarch' Δισπότης, appears in complete or abbreviated form. When abbreviated, it is inscribed by the interscription 'ΧΡ', that is, with the first two letters of the word; the monogram ΧΡ; 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 'Χ' when it appears in the compendia ΙΧΘΥΣ and ΧΜΓ.

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

263 Aïla, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE MNECΘΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΗΘΕΟΝ
Κ(υρί)ε! Ἡ(σο)ού Χ(ριστό)ε μνέσθετε καὶ βοήθεσον...

264 Aïla, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
KE IY XE...
Κ(υρί)ε! Ἡ(σο)ού Χ(ριστό)ε...

265 Arraha, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥ/ΝΑΜΙ ΧΥ ΒΟΝ ΘΙΑ
+ Θεοῦ δυνάμει Χριστοῦ βοήθει...
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, Eretz-Israel 10 (1971), p. 244.

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscriptions

266 Inscr. No. 30, chalk vousoir, Byzantine period
...ΚΥΡΙ ΙΥ XE ΜΝΙΚ(ΘΗ)ΤΙ
...Κυρίε! Ἡ(σο)ού Χ(ριστό)ε μνήσθη τι

267 Inscr. No. 35. 6, chalk vousoir, Byzantine period
...ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΧΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ(Α) ΤΙ/ΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ...
...τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ βασιλεία(α) τι/μή καὶ τὸ κράτος...

¹ Euthymios Zigabonos, 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 γὰρ ἡμᾶς τούτες καταχωρισθέντων, χρόνος ἔστερον οἱ διαστοιχίας ἀναζητηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τίτλου μᾶλλον γέγονε γνώριμος.'
268 Inscr. No. 47, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
ΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΚΕΡΓ'Ι(Ε) ΒΟΗΘΗ(ΤΕ)
Χ(ριστός) καὶ ἕγερε Σέργι(ος) βοηθή(τε)
269 Inscr. No. 53, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
Ὁ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΕΥΣΩΝ ΧΜΑΣ
ὁ Χριστός συνοδεύσων ἡμᾶς
270 Inscr. No. 55, chalk block, Byzantine period
ΚΥ ΙC ΧC ΣΩC(ΟΝ)
Κύριε ἰησοῦς Χριστός σώσον
271 Inscr. No. 106, Byzantine period
+ ΧC ΝΙΚΑ ΧC ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΕΩ][ΕΙ]
+ Χ(ριστός) νικᾷ Χ(ριστός) βασιλε[εω]εῖ
272 Inscr. No. 108, Byzantine period
IC ΧΙC
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός
273 Inscr. No. 111, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
ΙC ΧΙC ΝΙΚΑ
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός νικᾷ
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri
274 Papyrus 24. 1, November 26, A.D. 569
...δεσπότου Φ[λ(αοιδο)ν λουστίνοι]ν πιστοῖ ἐν Χριστῷ...
275 Papyrus 26. 1, January 12, A.D. 570
...πιστοῖ ἐν Χριστῷ...
276 Papyrus 27. 1, A.D. 570-571
...ἐν Χ(ριστῷ)ῷ
277 Papyrus 29. 1, Elusa, December 23, A.D. 590
...πιστοῖ ἐν Χ(ριστῷ)ῷ
278 Papyrus 30. 1, September 13, A.D. 596
+ Εν ὑδρῷ τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ...
279 Papyrus 52. 17, Early VIIIth Century A.D.
...δοῦλος Χ(ριστοῦ) ἦ
280 Papyrus 90, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Column II: χ μ γ
281 Papyrus 120. 1, Late VI-Early VIIth Century A.D.
...πιστῶ ἐν Χριστῷ...
282 Papyrus 145. 8.9.11.12.13, Byzantine period
line 8. ἐν ὑδρῷ τοῦ καὶ δεσπότου Εἰσοῦ Χριστοῦ
9. Ἐν ὄνοματι τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Εἰσ[οῦ] Χριστοῦ
11. καὶ δεσπότου Εἰσοῦ
12. Κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου [Εἰ]σοῦ Χρηστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ
13. ...] Εἰσοῦ Χρηστοῦ τοῦ [Θεοῦ

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 'Χ' in the compendium X Μ Γ, which has been interpreted as 'Christ born to Mary' Χ(ριστόν) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννυ) or 'Christ, childbirth of Mary' Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(εννυ). For more details about the compendium see W.K. Prentice, CPh 9 (1924), pp. 410-416.


Bahan, mosaic inscription, V-VIIth Century A.D.
+ΚΕ[IYXE
+Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χ[ριστό]έ

The inscription is not clear and from the negatives available, can be read +XE instead of KE. 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.

Beersheba (new Bedouin market), mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΧΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ... /...
Χ(ριστó)βοηθει... /
Dept. of Antiq. Files.

Beit Jibrin, Eleutheropolis, mosaic inscription, about A.D. 500
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ /...
Χριστοῦ παμβασιλῆος /...
The sacred name appears in complete form in the genitive singular, with the title 'the universal monarch', Παμβασιλεύς.


Bethany, Les Filles de la Charité de Saint Vincent de Paul, graffito, Byzantine period
ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΕΛΕΗ[CON ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝ]ΟΝ... ΧΕ ΕΛΕΗ[CON] ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛ-ΛΟΝ...
Χριστε ἐλέησον Φλαβιανόν... Χριστός ἐλέη[σον] τὸν δοὐλον...

Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, mosaic pavement inscription, IVth Century A.D.
.ΙΧΘΥ"
The sacred name is indicated by the second initial of the compendium "ΙΧΘΥϹ" suggesting the nominative singular, and is accompanied by the sacred names 'Ἰσοῦς .... Θεῦ Υιός, Σωτήρ'.

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

*Bethphage or Beersheba*, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

† ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΑΙ Η ΔΟΥΛΗ / ΚΑΙ ΝΥΜΦΗ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ / ΣΟΦΙΑ Η ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ...

† ἐνθάδε κίται ἡ δούλη / καὶ νύμφη τοῦ Χριστοῦ / Σοφία ἡ διάκονος...


*Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscriptions

No. I, VIIth Century A.D.

... Κ ΤΕΛΙΑΣ / ΕΝ ΧΩ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣ

... κ(αί) τελίας / ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) ἀναπαύσεως.

No. II, V-VIth Century A.D.

† ΧΕ Ο ΘΗ ῬΗΜΩΝ...

† Χ(ριστῷ) ὁ Θ(εός) 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.

No. III, V-VIth Century A.D.

. ΧΕ Ο ΘΕ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ/...

. Χ(ριστῷ) ὁ Θ(εός) Σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον/...

The name ‘Christ’ is accompanied with the names ‘God’, Θεός, and ‘Saviour’, Σωτήρ.


*Bit El Qatt*, 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.

*Capernaum*, wall graffitti, Late Roman period

59. ΧΕ 73. ΧΕ 78. ΧΟ

Χ(ριστῷ) Χ(ριστῷ) Χ(ριστῷ)


*Deir Dosi*, St. Theodosius, mosaic inscription, V-VLth Century A.D.

. ΚΕ ΙΤ ΥΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΝ ΤΑϹ ΨΥΧΑϹ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΟΥ

. Κ(τῶν) Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου.

Deir el Qilt. Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period

296 Inscr. No. 9
+ Μην(vi) 'Απρ(λίψω) κθ' / ΧΝέσταβος / Ἀσκαλων(νίτης)

297 Inscr. No. 27
Χ ἑνθάδε κεῖται / ὁ μακάριος Μάρκος...

298 Inscr. No. 20
Χ Ἀρμένιος / πρεσβύτερος

299 Inscr. No. 30
Χ ἑνθάδε κάτε / Λονγίνος Καπ/πάδος κοιμηθής /...

300 Inscr. No. 60
Χ Ἑθώδροφος / Βιβλειος /...

301 Father Gabriel’s Hermitage, Fresco in the Chapel. V-VIth Century A.D.
IC XC Ἰ(ησοῦς)Χ(ριστός) ΘΟΥ [YC] Θ(e)κου [Υ(ιός)]

302 Inscr. No. 74
Χ Ἰωάννης / Σύρος

303 Inscr. No. 80
Χ Κύροπο.../ ἀρχιδιάκονος ἐτε/λεύθη μη(vi) 'Απρ(λίψω) / Ἰνδ. γ'.

304 Inscr. No. 89
Διάκονο/ ΧΠαύλος / τήκτων.

305 Inscr. No. 170
Χ ἐκμυθηθη(η) ὁ ἄ/δελφος Κασίου /...

306 Inscr. No. 206
Χ Βικτωρ / Ἑγυπτιος
The term ‘Christ’, Χριστός, abbreviated, appears also on oil lamps of the Byzantine period, in the common Greek inscription:
‘Φως Χ(ριστοῦ) Φέν(e)φ Πάσιν’.
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 ΕΚΤΙΝ / Ο ΑΙΘΟΣ ΑΠΟ / ΚΑΝΑ ΘΗΣ ΓΑ / ΛΙΛΕΑΚ ΟΙΟΥ / ΤΟ ΝΔΡΟΝ / ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ Ο ΚΟ / ΗΜΩΝ ΙC IC X C +
+ Ούτος ἄνω / ὁ λίθος ἀπό / Κανά τής Γα/λιλαχ δπογ / τό ὄδωρ οἴνον / ἐποίησεν ὁ Κ(ύριος) / ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦς)Χ(ριστός) +
El Boherije, Samaria, lintel, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.

XE ANAΞ Χ(ριστ)ε αναξ...
The name 'Christ' is accompanied by the secular title 'sovereign', αναξ.


El-Kerak, tomb stone inscription, A.D. 569/570

Χ(ριστ)ε Σω(τε)ρ / ανάπαυσον...


El-Kerak, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period

+ XMΓ /...

+ Χ(ριστος) Μ(αρίας) γ(έννα) /...

Bibl. R. Canova, Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab, Roma 1954, inscr. No. 82.

El Murassas (Ma'ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscriptions, Byzantine period

...KS ΠΑΧΗ/ ΘΗC ΕΝ ΧΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΥΝΩΔΙΑΣ

...κ(αί) πάσης/ τῆς ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ αὐτῶν συνοδίας

...ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΚ ΑΥΤΟΥ Κ ΘΗC ΕΝ / ΧΩ ΚΥΝΩΔΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ...

...ὑπέρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κ(αί) τῆς ἐν / Χ(ριστ)ῷ συνοδίας αὐτοῦ...

Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

El-Tireh, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.

Η ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΥ ΑΛΛΑΞΑΜΕΝΗ ΔΙΜΑΤΟ ΟΙΚΟΝ / ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΙΧ ΙΧΝΕΝΙ ΔΩΡΟΝ / ΠΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ

Η χρημάτων καὶ βίου ἀλλὰ ἑξαμένη δήματο οἰκὸν / Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἰχνεσι δώρον / πόρισα τοῦτο

Bibl. A. M. Schneider, Oriens Christianus 1934, pp. 219-221; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, Gerusalemme 1979, pp. 103-105, fig. 40.

Evron, mosaic inscription No.6, Vth Century A.D.

...ΧΡΕ ΜΗΝΗΚΟΥ...

...] Χρ(ιστ)ε μνήμηκου.

Dept. of Antiq. Files.

Gaza, inscriptions

Inscr. No. 9, house of Jiries, marble slab, A.D. 540

+ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ Ο ΤΟΥ / ΧΥ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟC Κ ΕΝ / ΑΓΙΟΙC / ΑΒΡΑ-ΜΙΟC...

+ ἐνθάδε κιτε ο του / Χ(ριστο)δοου/λος κ(αι) εν / αγιος / Αβραμος...
Inscr. No. 14, house of Yusef Saba, marble slab, A.D. 602
a. ...]/ΔΟΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΥΧ ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΑ...
   ...]/δούλη τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) Θεο/δώρα...

b. ΚΑΤΕΤΘΗ Ο ΤΟΥ/ΥΧ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ/... A.D. 610
   κατετθη ὁ τοῦ/Χ(ριστοῦ) δούλος Ἡλίας/...

Inscr. No. 15, house of the Greek vicar of Gaza, white marble slab, Byzantine period
+ ΕΝΘΑΕ ΚΙΤΑΙ Η ΤΟΥ ΥΧ / ΔΟΥΛΗ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ...
+ Ἔνθαι κιται ἡ τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) / δούλη Μεγιστηρία...

Inscr. No. 17, house of Abdallah es Serraj, marble slab from Ascalon, Byzantine period
+ Η ΤΟΥ ΥΧ Κ ΤΩΝ / ΑΓΙΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΝ / ΑΙΤΑΙΑΙ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ/...
+ ἡ τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) κ(αὶ) τῶν / ἄγιων δούλη Ἀν/στασία Ιωάννου/ ...

Gerasa, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533
ΧΡΙΣΤΗ / ΒΟΥΛΗ / ΚΑΛΛΟΙ/ΝΙΚΗ/Χριστή / βουλή / Καλλοι/νηστη
ΧΡΙΣΤΗ / ΒΟΥΛΗ / ΙΩΑΝΝΗ ΑΣΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ
Χριστή / βουλή / Ιωάννη Αστρικίου

Hazor Ashdod, mosaic inscription No. 3, A.D. 556/7
+ ΥΧ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ / ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ / ΕΡΓΟΝ...
+ Χ(ριστοῦ) χάριτι / ἐτελιώθη τὸ πᾶν / ἔργον...
Dept. of Antiq. Files.

Hesban (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
+ ΙΧΘΥC...
+ Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ιῶτα) Σ(ωτήρ)...

Horvat Midras, wall inscription, Byzantine period
Α (6)
+ ΙΧ IX
+ Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ)

Jericho, Church of St. Andrew, Al Riha Sabiha, house of Zaka al Ashar, Coptic property, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΤΡΥΦΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟ/Υ ΥΧ...

324 Jerusalem, Dominus Flevit, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

...ΤΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΗΜΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ...
...τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν Χριστῷ...
The sacred name 'Christ' appears together with the secular title 'absolute monarch', Δεσπότης.

325 Jerusalem, the Citadel, door lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period

IC  
XC  
Ἂ(ησοδ)Κ Χ(ριστό)Γ

326 Jerusalem, Notre Dame de France Archaeological Museum, marble bread stamp, Byzantine period

. IC + XC EN ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΗΝ...
. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν...
*John* I. 1.

327 Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Russian property, marble inscription, A.D. 592

...ΤΟΝ / ΚΤΑΥΡΩΘΕΝΤΙ ΧΩΤΩ ΘΩΗ / ΑΝΗΛΘΕ]...
...τὸν / σταυρωθέντι Χ(ριστό)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ ἦ / ἀνῆλθε]...

328 Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Karm es Saiyad, Orthodox Viri Galilaei, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

. ΧΕ ΜΝΗΣΘΕΝ ΤΗΧ / ΔΟΥΛΗΣ ΣΟΥΚΑΝΗΣ
. Χ(ριστό)Ϋ μνήσθητί τῆς / δούλης (σου) Σουσάνης
Bibl. K. Karvouna, 'Ἡ ἐπί τοῦ Ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιών Σταυροπηγικῆ Μονῆ τῆς Ἀναλήψεως. Η Ιερουσαλήμ 1908.

329 Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum, marble inscription, Byzantine period

...ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΗΤΑΙ ΧΝ ΑΓΑΠΟΥΣΑ... 
...ἐνθάδε κήται Χ(ριστό)oriously...

330 Jerusalem, marble inscription, Byzantine period

. Ο ΧΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΗ ΣΕ ΟΡΦΑΝΗ ΜΟΥ  
. O Χ(ριστό)ς ἀναπάυσή σέ ὀρφανό μου.
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum Epigraphical Collection.
331 Khirbet ed Deir. between Hebron and Gaza, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
. IC XC / BOHΘΙ TON ΔΟΥ[ΛΟ]Ν COY /
. Ί(νοoς)ς Χ(ριστός)ς / βοήθη τόν δού[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 ΚΩΤΗΡΟΝ ΗΜΙΩΝ ΧΡ. 
+ ἡ ἱρήνη τοῦ Σωτήρος 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 ΘΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΙ/ΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ / ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ...
. X(ριστός)ς / Ο Θ(εός)ς τόν οἴκ/ον τούτουν / ἀνήγειρεν...
Bibl. P.M. Séjourne, RB 6 (1897), p. 659.

334 Madaba. Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/663
. ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗΝ ΜΑΡΙΘΝ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΩΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΙΤΙΚΕΝ / ΧΝ...
. Παρθενικήν Μαρίθν Θεομήτωρα καὶ ἄν εἰτικεν / Χ(ριστόν)

335 Mampsis, East Church, IV-Vth Century A.D.
336 a) A door-post capital IXΘYĆ Ί(νοoς)ς X(ριστός)ς Θ(εού)ς Y(ιός)ς...
336 b) Part of a lintel IXΘΥĆ Ί(νοoς)ς X(ριστός)ς Θ(εού)ς / Y(ιός)ς...
The sacred name ‘Christ’ Χριστός, is indicated by the initial ‘Χ’ in the compendium IXΘΥĆ.

337 Masouh, near Madaba, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
. ΧΕ Ο ΘΣ / ΗΜΙΩΝ ΒΟΗΘΩΣ...
. Χ(ριστος)ς ο Θ(εος)ς / ἡμῶν βοήθησον...
The sacred name is accompanied by the name ‘God’ Θεός.

338 Nazareth, the Shrine of the Annunciation, wall painting inscription, Byzantine period
line 4. / KYP XP CWCON THN ΔΟΥΛΗΝ /...
/ Κύπην Χρ(ιστά)ς σώσον τήν δούλην /...
line 7. / NXPICT...
/ (ων) Χριστά...
339  *Pella of Decapolis*, Tabagat Fahl, lintel, stone inscription, second half of the Vth Century A.D.

+ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΜΕΝ Σ[ΟΙ ΧΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΟΤΙ ΕΞΗΓΑΓΕΣ ΗΜΑΣ ΕΚ...  
+ Ευχαριστοῦμεν σ[οι Χριστ[ε] Θό[ς] δεξι[είς] δτι εξήγαγες Ημάς εκ...

1. Peter. 2: 9.


340  *Petra*, Transjordan, marble inscription, Byzantine period

...ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΟΝΤΙ / ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΒΑΣΙΛΗ ΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΡΙΑΔΙ ΣΕΠΤΗ.

...Θεου λόγου Θεού εόντι / Χριστοῦ πανβασιλῆ ομοουσίου Τριάδι σεπτῆ.

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 Trin-
ity, 'ομοουσίων Τριάδι σεπτῆ'.

341  *Petra*, Transjordan, marble inscription, Byzantine period

...ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΡΩΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ.

...Χριστοῦ διάκονος μεγάλου τέμενος Ερωσολύμων.

Dept. of Antiq. file, No. 43.15.

342  *Ras Siyagha*, North of the Baptismal font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597

...ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΗΜΙ/ΥΝ ΙΥ ΧΥ ΕΤΕΛΕΙ/ΩΘΗ ΣΟΥ ΕΡΓΟΝ...

...τοῦ Κύριο[ῦ] ἡμ[ῖν] [ὑν Ἰησο[ῦ] Xριστο[ῦ] ἐτελεί/ώθη τό ἑργον...


343  *Ras Siyagha*, Theotokos Chapel, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.

...Ο ΚΤΙΣΗΣ Κ ΔΗΜΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΩ ΘΕΟ...  

... ο κτίστις κ α(η) δημιουργός των ἀπαντων Χριστο(ῶ)ς ὁ Θε(ῶ)ς...

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 332.

344  *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalil Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604

...ἈΜΗΝ [Χ] Μ Γ  

...Ἀμήν [Χ]ριστο(ῶ)ς 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 inscrip-
tion is the word 'Ἀμήν', which comes before the compendium.


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

ΧΑΡΙΠΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ...

Χάριππι Ἰησοῦ(ῦ) ριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν...

346 Shefa 'Amr, stone inscription, Byzantine period
KE XPE BOHΘL...
Κ(ύπα) Χρ(ιστό) βοήθι...

347 Shivta, North Church Baptistery, marble inscription, A.D. 614
...ΔΟΥΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΤΗ ΕΚΛΗΣ ΕΝ ΧΩ
...δουλεύσας τῇ Ἐκ(κ)λησίᾳ ἐν Χρ(ιστῷ)

348 Shivta, North Church Baptistery, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
† ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΕΙ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟ...
† κατετεθή ἐν Χριστῶ...

349 Shivta, North Church Baptistery, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΧΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣ...
...Χ(ριστοῦ) ἀνάπαυσ(σ)...

350 Susita, Hippos, south apse, a mosaic pavement inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
.ΑΟ ΧΥ.
.Αο Χ(ριστοῦ).

351 Tell Shocho, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
...ΚAI O ΚC ΙC ΧC ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΗΤΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΗΚΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ
...και ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χρ(ιστός) προσδέεται τῇ δεήσιν αὐτοῦ, ἀμήν.
Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

352 Umm el-Jimal, stone inscription, Byzantine period
†/ΧΕΕΥΧΗΣ ΑΓΝΗΦΑΞΗ ΗΜΑΝ
†/Χ(ριστοῦ) εὐχητε ἀγιῶν ἐν Φιλατρὶ Ιωάννῃ

353 Umm el-Maqati (djebel Ajlun), mosaic inscription, A.D. 482
ΧΜΙΤΕΙΠΤΟΥΘΕΟΙΚΕΒΣΑΙΟΝΟϹΠΡΕϹ/...
Χ(ριστοῦ) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα) / ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο/σεβ(εστάτου) Αἰωνος πρεσ(βυτέρ-ου)/..

354 *Wadi Haggag*, Sinai, rock inscriptions, Byzantine period

No. 1. I/1a.

*IC XC XC*  
*Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Χ(ριστός)*

355 No. 5. I/5.

*ΑΒΡΑΑΜΙΚ ΚΥΡΚΟΣ ΧΡ*  
*Ἄβραάμις Κυρ(ι)κός Χρ(ιστός)*

356 No. 37. II/114.

*IC ΧΡ /*

*Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) /*

357 No. 71. III/203.

*ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΕΓ*  
*Κ(ύριο) Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) Μέγα(ιστε)*

358 No. 79. III/211.

*ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΕΚΘΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΩΜΘΕΚΟΝ /*

*Κ(ύριο) Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) μνεθετι καὶ βωμηθεσων/*

359 No. 87. III/219.

*ΧΙ ΝΙΚΑ /* /ΧΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ /ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΝ*  
*Χ(ριστός) νικᾷ /* /Χ(ριστός) βοηθή /Μάρκελλον*

360 No. 99. III/231.

*ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΕΛΕΗΚΟΝ /ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΣΟΥ /*

*Κ(ύριο) Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) ελέησον /τὸν δούλον σου/ *

361 No. 103. III/235.

*ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙΚΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΕ /ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ /*

*Κύριε Ι(ησοῦς) Χριστέ /βοηθή τοῦ δούλου σου/*

362 No. 106. III/238.

*ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΩΓΕ /ΤΟΥ ΘΥ Ο ΘΕ ΚΥΝΟΔΕΥ/ΣΕΝ ΣΥ /*

*Κ(ύριο) Ι(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός), Χ(ριστός) καὶ Λῶγε /τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ, ὁ Θ(εό)ς συνό/δευ/σεν σὺ/*


*ΧΕ ΦΥΛΑΞΩΝ /ΤΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΝ*  
*Χ(ριστός) φύλαξον /τὸν Κύριλλον*

364 No. 110. III/242.

*ΕΥΧΗ /ΚΥΡΙΑ /ΧΡΙΣΤΟ /*

*Εὐχή /Κυρία/Χριστός/*
60

365  No. 118. III/250.
  ΗΣ ΧΣ
  Ἰ(ἠσοῦς) Χ(ριστός)

366  No. 138. III/270.
  + ΜΗΝΗΣΤΗΣ Κ / ΙΕΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ / ΝΟΝΝΗ / ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ
  + Μνήσθητι Κ(ύριε) / Ἰ(ἠσοῦς) Χριστ(οῦ) / Νόννη / Κυριακοῦ

367  No. 141. III/273.
  ΙΧΣ / ΙΧΣ/...
  Ἰ(ἠσοῦς) Χ(ριστός) / Ἰ(ἠσοῦς) Χ(ριστός)

368  No. 151. III/283.
  + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΗΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝ / ΤΑ
  + Κ(ύριε) Ι(ἠσοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) μνήσθητι τὸν γράψαν / ΤΑ

369  No. 158. III/289.
  + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ /...
  + Κ(ύριε) Ι(ἠσοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) βοήθη /...

370  No. 161. III/293.
  ΧΕ ΕΥΛΟΓΟ...N...
  Χ(ριστοῦ) εὐλογησοῦν

371  No. 187. III/312.
  + ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΗΝΗΣΟ / ΑΙΣΙΚΙΟΙ...
  + Κ(ύριε) Ι(ἠσοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) μνήσθη(ητί) / Αἰσίκιος...

372  No. 193. III/328.
  ΧΡ
  Χρ(ιστός)

373  No. 194. III/329.
  ΙΧ ΧΡ
  Ἰ(ἠσοῦς) Χρ(ιστός)

4) 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:

*Aujia Hafir*, ancient Nessana

374  Inscr. No. 37, chalk voussoir, 1st December, A.D. 475
  ...Τ ΔΕ ΠΙΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΠ ΠΙΝ.
  ...τὸ δὲ Π(ατρός) καὶ Υἱό / καὶ Ἁγίω Πν(εῦματι).

375  Papyrus No. 30. 1, 13th September, A.D. 596
  ...Τ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) Υ[ιο]Υ / Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτηρός ἡμῶν
Papyrus No. 46. 1, 16th July, A.D. 605
...Πατρός καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος...

Bethlehem. Church of the Nativity, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
. ΙΧΘΥ/Ϲ, Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ἰός) / Σ(ωτήρ)
The title appears as the fourth initial of the compendium 'ΙΧΘΥϹ' suggesting the nominative singular.
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 236.

Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.
...ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ / ΤΟΥ ΠΙΡΚ Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ...
...ἐν ὄνοματι / τοῦ Π(ατρός) Χ(ριστοῦ) Υ(ἰός) Κ(αὶ) Ἁγίου...

Hesban (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΙΧΘΥϹ
+ Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ἰός) Σ(ωτήρ)

Madaba, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3
...ΧΝ ΠΑΜΒΑΣΙΛΗΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΥΙΕΑ ΜΟΥΝΟΝ.
...Χ(ριστοῦ) Παμβασιλῆα Ἁθεοῦ μόνον Υἱά μοῦνον.
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.

Mampsais, East Church, stone inscription, IV-Vth Century A.D.
a) a door-post capital
ΙΧΘΥϹ
Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ἰός)
b) part of a lintel
ΙΧΘΥϹ
Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) / Υ(ἰός)
The sacred name appears as the fourth initial letter of the compendium 'ΙΧΘΥϹ' suggesting the nominative singular.
Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum Epigraphical Collection.
marble inscription, A.D. 589

...ΑΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΣ Κ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ Κ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΣ...
...ἀπὸ τοῦ Π(ατρι)c(ό)ς κ(αὶ) τοῦ Υἱ(ο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἀγίου Πν(ευματο)c(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.

Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic inscription. A.D.
565-566

+ ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΠΡΣ Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΣ...
+ ἐν ὄνοματι Π(ατρι)c(ό)ς κ(αὶ) Υ(ιο)ῦ κ(αὶ) ἅγιον Πν(ευματο)c(ς).
The sacred name is abbreviated, expressed by the first and last letters of the
genitive singular.

e) The title ‘Lord’

The sacred word Lord, Κύριος, came into the Christian vocabulary from the
Greek pagan world. In the masculine, Κύριος 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 Κύριος 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 ‘Κ’; the first and last letters of all cases ΚC, ΚΥ, ΚΩ, ΚΝ, ΚΕ; the
first two letters ΚΥ; and the first three letters KYP with or without a horizontal line
over them. It appears in the following inscriptions:

Aila, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIth Century A.D.
KEIYXEΜΝΕΩθΕΤΙΚΑΙΒΩΘΕΕΟΝ...
Κ(υριος) Ι(ησου)Χ(ριστου) μενεσθετι και βωθηθεον...

Aila, Sinai, rock inscription, VI-VIth Century A.D.
KEIYXE...
Κ(υριος) Ι(ησου)Χ(ριστου)...

Ain-Aroueh, Hebron Area or Beersheba, marble inscription, Byzantine
period
...ΤΟΝ / ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΩ / ΤΕΛΕΚΑΝΤΟΣ / Θ...
...τὸν / δρόμον ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) / τελεσαντος / τῇ...
185-186.
388 Ain et Tabgha, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
...ΜΝΗΣΩΙ ΚΕ...
...Μνησθη Κ(ωρ)ε...
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), inscr. No. 5.

389 Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 55, chalk block, Byzantine period
. KY IC XC
. Κ(υρίος) Ι(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ)

390 Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 30. 1, September 13th, A.D. 596
+ εν ονόμαι τοῦ Κ(ωρίω) ἡ[μῶν δ]εσπότου Ι(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ)...

391 Bahan, mosaic inscriptions No. 1, 2, V-VIth Century A.D.
. KC /...
. Κ(υρίος)/...μνησθ...
The inscription is broken and it is not sure whether the title 'Κυρίος' refers to Jesus, or to God the Father.
. Dept. of Antiq. files.

392 Beersheba or Ain Dirue, Byzantine period
+...ΤΟΝ ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΩ ΤΕΛΕΚΑΝΤΟC ΤΗ...
+...τὸν δρόμον ἐν Κ(ωρίῳ) τελέσαντος τῇ...

393 Beersheba, marble inscription, A.D. 606
. ΑΝΕΠΑΗ EN ΚΩ
. ἀνεπάη ἐν Κ(ωρίῳ)
Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, RB N.S. 3 (1906), pp. 84-91.

394 Beit Shahur, Shepherd’s Field, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
. ΜΝΗΣΩΘΤΙ Κ[E]
. Μνησθητι Κ(ωρί)ε
The last letter of the abbreviated word ‘Κυρίος’ is missing but can be easily presumed within the context of the inscription.

395 Bethany, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti, Byzantine period
. ΚΕΙΥ ΧΕ ΒΟΗΘΗΟΝ ΚΕ ΜΝ[Η]C...
. Κ(ωρί)ε Ι(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) βοήθησον, Κ(ωρί)ε μνήσησο...

Bethany, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti, Byzantine period

a) . KE BOHΘHCON
   . Κ(υρί)ε βοηθησον
b) . KE ΕΛΕΘΚΟΝ
   . Κ(υρί)ε ελέησον
c) . KΕΡΙΕ ΕΛΕΘΚΟΝ
   . Κ(υρί)ε ελέησον.

Bethany, Les Filles de la Charité de St. Vincent de Paul, graffiti, Byzantine period

. ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ Ο ΕΓΙΡΑΚ ΤΟΝ ΑΑΖΑΠΟΝ Ε[Κ] ΝΕΚΡΩΝ
   . Κ(υρί)ε ο Θ(εό)ς ό εγιρας τον Λαζαρον ε[κ] νεκρων


Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, baptismal font, stone inscription, 11th Century A.D.

...ΩΝ ΚΕ ΤΗΝ ΟΧΙΩΝ ΤΑ ΟΝ[ΟΜΑΤΑ]
...δν Κ(υρι)ος γηνόσκε τα ων[οματα]


Beth Shean, mosaic inscription, 11th Century A.D.

. KE BOH[ΘΗΚΟ]Ν
   . Κ(υρι)ε βοηθησον


Bir El Qutt, near Bethlehem, Georgian Monastery, Georgian mosaic inscription, 11th 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.

Capharnaum, house of St. Peter, graffiti, Late Roman period

. K[E] E ΧΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ
   . Κ(υρι)ε Ιεωθ(ευ) Χ(ριστ)ε βοηθη.


Deir Dosi, St. Theodosius, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

. KE ΙΗΧΙΟΥ ΧΕ
   . Κ(υρι)ε ιησου χриστου


Deir Main, marble inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

. KE [MNH]ΣΗΤΙ ΤΩ ΚΩ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΑΡΤΩΛΟΥ...
404 Der-Rumsaniyeh, Golan, stone inscription, Byzantine period
  KUPYE PROSOEHE THN PROS/OPHAR PROY LAMPR/... 
  Kýriu prósdhēke tīn pros/φοράν tōu λαμπρο(τάτου)/... 
  KAI KUPYE BOWNHΩI MAŽIMOU O(Ι)KODOMOU TOY KAI GRA-
  ΨΑΝΤ(ΟC) 
...kai Kýriou biaθet Mæziou o(ι)kodómu tōu kai gráψαντ(ος).

405 Elateia, Phocis, stone inscription originating in Cana, Galilee, probably Vth Century A.D.
  + OYTOC ECTIN / O LIOOC APIO / KANA THSC GA/ALIAEAC APIOY / 
  TO YΔΩΡ OINOON / EPOIHCEN O KC / HMWN IC XC + 
  + OÝntos estin / O λιθος apō / Kanã tis Γα/αλιαεας ὄπου / ὀ τὸ ὕδωρ οίνον / 
  ἐποίησεν ὁ Kýriu/ / ἡμῶν ἡ Συγκορύστας / NC(ELΛΗΝ)ΟΜΗΝΩΝ 1 (1904), pp. 172-185.

406 El-Kerak, tomb stone inscription, A.D. 634
  + KP'YX[... 
  + Kýriou 'hησοῦ X(rist)ē... 
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) KE MHNKCY 
  . Kýriou miθýskou.
  b) KE IY XE MNH(HC)ONI 
  . Kýriou 'hησοῦ X(rist)ē miθýskēnti.

408 Evron, mosaic inscription No. 10
  ...MHNK KY(P)IE TOY DOYLOY COY...
  miθýskēnti Kýriou tou douλou sou...
Dept. of Antiq. files.

409 Faran, Oasis Sinai, stone inscription, Byzantine period
  + KE BOCH/CION A(Α)ΡWON ΔOY/ΛOC TOY AΠIOY / TOPOY + 
  + Kýriou bōéthēs'ovn 'A(a)ρw̃n dou/lo tov òγiou / τόπου 

410 Faran, in the newly built Chapel, granite inscription, Byzantine period
  + KE IY XE K ATIA/ MARIA / H TH'W KOC EAE/... 
  + Kýriou 'hησοῦ X(rist)ē k(ai) òγi / María / h TH'w tóko$ eλê/...
411 Gerasa. Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription. A.D. 533
† / KYPPE / O THX TOY AIGIOY / KOSMA K DAMIANOU...
† / KURIE / O THXOYZ TOU AGIOU / KOSMA KAI (AI) DAMIANOU...

412 *Herodion* the lower, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
. KEO YC XC KE AGIE MIKHALA PROSDEXE...
. K (YRIOE) / Y (EIOOD)X / MIKHALA PROSDEXE...

413 *Jerusalem*, Gethsemane, wall graffiti, VIIth Century A.D.
MN(HE)CIT(II)KE / TOY DOYLOY COY PAEMOU
. MN(HE)CIT(II)KE / TOY DOYLOY COY PAEMOU
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 607.

414 *Jerusalem*, Givat Ram: Sheikh Bader, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
. KEO O THX TOY AIGIOY GE[HIP]IOU...
. K (YRIOE) O THXOYZ TOL AGIOU GE[LUPH]IOU...

415 *Jerusalem*, Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem (Archaeological Museum),
marble inscription from Gaza, Byzantine period
† EULOGHTOC KX
† EULOGHTOC KX

416 *Jerusalem*, Department of Antiquities, pottery inscription, Byzantine period
. KY(PIE) ELAEHCON
. KY(PIE) ELAEHCON
Dept. of Antiq. Cat. No. 1681.

417 *Kafir Kama*, inscr. No. 1, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
. KEO KAI TEKNOY AMHN
. KURIE KAI TEKNOY AMHN

418 *Kafir Kama*, South Church, inscr. No. 2, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
† KEO YC DEXE TYN PROSFOAN ARIANOY DIAX...
† K (YRIOE) L (EIOOD)X (EIOOD)X DIAX TYN PROSFOAN ARIANOY DIAX...
419 **Khirbet El Mekhayat**, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.


420 **Khirbet el Mekhayat**, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, stone inscription, chancel post, VIth Century A.D.

a) ΚΥΡ ΒΟΣΘΗ Κύρ(υς) βοσθῆ b) ΚΥΡ ΒΟΣΘΗ Κύρ(υς) βοσθῆ


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

. ΚΕ ΙΥ ΚΕ ΕΛΕ/ΗΚΟΝ
. Κ(ύριε)ς ἵ(ψαρος) Χ(ριστοῦ)ς ἐλέη/ησον


422 **Madaba**, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3

...ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ
. αμήν Κ(ύριε)


423 **Madaba**, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ/ΦΟΡΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙ-ΓΑΝ... . Κύριε πρόσδεξε τήν προσ/φοράν τῶν καρποφορισάντων...


424 **Mampsis**, mosaic inscriptions, IV-VIth Century A.D.

a) ΚΕ ΚΟΚΟΝ Κ(ύριε)ς σόσον
. ΚΕ ΚΟΚΟΝ Κ(ύριε)ς σόσον
. ΚΕ ΚΟΚΟΝ Κ(ύριος)ς σόσον

d) ΚΕ ΒΟΘΕΚΟΝ Κ(ύριε)ς βοηθῆσον
. ΚΕ ΒΟΘΕΚΟΝ Κ(ύριε)ς βοηθῆσον


425 **Mukhmas**, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΥ / ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ
. Κύριε μνήσθητι τοῦ / δούλου σου.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 150.

426 **Nazareth**, the Sanctuary of the Annunciation, graffiti, Late 5th-6th period

. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΑΤΙΩΝ... . Κύριε Χριστών... 

427 *Oboda*, inscription on a large pithos found in situ, pottery inscription, Byzantine period
\[\text{KY(PIE)} \times\text{BO(ΘΙ)} \GammaΕΡΜΑΝΩΔΙΑΚ / ΥΠΟ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΓΕΡΟΝΤ(ΟC).}\]
\[\text{Κύριε, βοήθεσαι και σώσον τὸν Θεόδοσιο γέροντα(ός).}\]

428 *Ozem*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
\[\text{KYPY / IE COY BOH[Θ]/(H)ICON...}\]
\[\text{Κύριε, Ἰερού καὶ θεωρητικοὶ...}\]
Dept. of Antiq. files.

429 *Ras Siyagha*, North of the Baptismal font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597
\[\text{...BOH/[ΘΕΙΑ] TOY KY(PIOY) HM/[ΙΩΝ ΙΥ] XY...}\]
\[\text{βοηθός τόῦ Κυ(ρίοῦ) ἡμῖν [Ἵων Ἰησοῦ] Χρ(ιστοῦ)...}\]

430 *Ras Siyagha*, a stone found behind the apse of the Basilica, graffito, VIth Century A.D.
\[\text{KY(PIE) ΕΑΗΗΙΩΝ ΜΗ ΤΟΝ / ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝ / ΤΩΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑ.}\]
\[\text{Κύριε, ἔλησά σοι τὸν / δούλον σοῦ Ἰωάννην / τῶν γράψαντα.}\]
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
\[+ \text{ΚΕ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ ΑΜΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ (Χ) Μ Γ +}\]
\[+ \text{Κ(ύριε) πρόσδεξε, ἀμήν Κύριε (Χ) Μ Γ +}\]

432 *Sameh* (Prov. Arabia), Transjordan, lintel, stone inscription, A.D. 624/5
\[+ \text{ΚΕ Ο ΘΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΒΩΘΙΟΝ}\]
\[+ \text{Κ(ύριε) ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου βοήθησον...}\]

433 *Seilun*, Shiloh, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
\[+ \text{ΚΕ ΜΗΝΗΣΘΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΟΥ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ / ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟΣ... +}\]
\[+ \text{Κ(ύριε) μὴ σθπτή τοῦ δούλου σου Ζαχαρία / καὶ τοῦ γράψαντος... +}\]

434 *Shefa 'Amr*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
\[\text{ΚΕ ΧΡΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ...}\]
\[\text{Κ(ύριε) χρηστήσαι, βοήθη...}\]

435 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistry, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

... / O KURIOS THI DOXEIC / AYTON ANAPIAYCI AMHN /

... / O Kurioc ths doξhis / aútov anapayci, ámhn /

To the Lord is attributed the title, ‘Lord of Glory’.


436 *Sinai*, pine wood, inscr. No. 15, VIIth Century A.D.

. KURIE / EI(E)IOY / XPICTE / BO[H]ΘI.

. Kýrie / Eи(e)σου / Χριστὲ / βοῆθηθι.


437 *Suqmata*, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

. KUPIE IEIOY BOHΘHCON TH KΘM ΤΑΥΤΗ...

. Kýrie Ἰησοῦ βοήθησον τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ...


438 *Susita*, Qalat el-Hism (Hippos), Baptistry Church, mosaic inscription, V-VIIth Century A.D.

+ ΠΡΩΘΦΩΡΑ ΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΓΗΝΟΣ/ΚΗ ΤΑ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ ..., ΑΜΗΝ ΚΕ

+ Πρωσαφορά δν Κύριος γηνσ/κη τα ονόματα ..., 'Αμην Κ(ύρι)ε.

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

439 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

... ΚΑΙ O ΚC IC XC ΠΡΟΔΕΣ/ΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΗΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ

...καί ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ἐξουσίας /ηται την δῆσιν/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

Κύριε Ἰησοῦς Χριστέ γέμιστε

441 No. 79, III/211.

+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΕΧΘΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΩΘΘΕΧΟΝ

+ Κύριε Ἰησοῦς Χριστέ μνησθε και βοήθεσον...

442 No. 99, III/235.

+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ ΕΛΕΗΧΟΝ/ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΚΟΥ/...

+ Κύριε Ἰησοῦς Χριστέ ἔλησον / τὸν δούλον σου /...

443 No. 103, III/235

+ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙϹΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΕ / ΒΟΘΘΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΟΥ

+ Κύριε Ἰησοῦς Χριστέ / βοήθη τοῦ δούλου σου...
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:

Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, mosaic inscription, IVth Century A.D.

The sacred title is represented by the last letter of the compendium 'ΙΧΘΥϹ'.

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

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

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

452 Capernaum, St. Peter’s House, wall graffiti, Late Roman period
a. (I)XΘYC Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ)...
b. ΥΨΙΣΤ(Ω) ΧΟΣΤ ΤΥΨΙΣΤ(Ω) Χ(ριστοῦ) ΣΩΤΗΡ...

454 El-Kerak, tomb inscription, A.D. 569/570
ΧΕΣΩΡ / ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ...
Χ(ριστοῦ) ΣΩΤΗΡ / ἀνάπαυσον...

455 Hesban (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.
+ ΙΧΘΥC...
† Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ἰσχύς) Σ(ωτήρ)...

456 Irbid, Byzantine period. There is only a copy of this inscription in the Dept. of Antiquities’ files, which reads as follows:
...ΚΑ(I)ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΟΥ / ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΕ ΜΟΥ / ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ / ...
...καὶ(ι) ΣΩΤΗΡ μου / παράλαβε μου / το πνεῦμα / ...
Dept. of Antiq. files.

457 Khirbet es Samrah, Eastern Shore of Lake Tiberias, mosaic inscription, V-Vth Century A.D.
...ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ
...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, Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ἰσχύς) Σ(ωτήρ).
b) part of a lintel, IXΘΥC, Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστοῦ) Θ(εοῦ) / Υ(ἰσχύς) Σ(ωτήρ).

460 Ribah, St. Menas’ Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635
ΧΑΡΙΤΙΜΗΣΟΥ ΠΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ...
Χάριτι Ἰησοῦ (Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν...

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:
Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscriptions, VIth Century A.D.
† ΧΕ Ο ΘC ΗΜΩΝ
Χ(ριστώ) ὁ Θ(εός) ἡμῶν.

† ΧΕ Ο ΘC ΣΩΤΗΡ(Υ)ΟΥ...
Χ(ριστώ) ὁ Θ(εός) Σωτήρ(Υ)ς...


Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Russian property, marble inscription, A.D. 592
...ΤΟΝ / ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥ[Θ]ΕΝΤΙ ΧΙΩ ΘΩ /...
...τόν / σταυροθέντι Χ(ριστώ) τῷ Θ(εό) /...


Madaba. Aelianus Crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
. ΧC / Ο ΘC ΤΟΝ ΟΙ/ΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ / ΑΝΗΓΕΙ/ΠΕΝ...
. Χ(ριστώ) ὁ Θ(εός) τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον / ἀνήγει/πεν...

Bibl. P.M. Séjourné, RB 6 (1897), p. 652.

Masouh, near Madaba, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
. ΧΕ Ο ΘC / ΗΜΩΝ ΒΟΗΘΩΣ...
. Χ(ριστώ) ὁ Θ(εός) / ἡμῶν βοήθησον...


Pella of Decapolis. Tabagat Fahl, lintel, stone inscription, second half of the Vth Century A.D.
† ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΜΕΝ Σ[ΟΙ] ΧΡΙΣΤΕ Ο ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΕΞΗΓΑΓΕΣ Η[ΙΑΣ] ΣΕ ΚΕΙΜΕΝ...
† Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σ[οι] Χριστε ὁ Θεός στι ἑξῆγαγες η[μᾶς] ἐκ σκότους...


Petra, marble inscription, Byzantine period
...ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΟΝΤΟΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΑΝΒΑΣΙΑΙΟΙ ΟΜΟΥΣΙΟΙ ΤΡΙΑΙΩΝ ΤΕΙΣΠΗ...
...Θεοῦ λόγον Θεοῦ ἐστίν / Χριστὸν πανβασιλῆ ὄμοοντας ἑξῆγαγες Τριάδι σεπτῆ...

Dept. of Antiq. files.

Ras Siyagha, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
. Ο ΚΤΙΣΘΚ Κ ΔΗΜΟΥΡΓΙΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΡΤΩΝ ΧC ΘC...
. Ο κτίστης κ(ai) δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων Χ(ριστῶ) ὁ Θ(εό)...

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

Rihab. St. Menas' Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 635
ΧΑΡΙΤΗ ΙΗΧΟΥ ΠΙΣΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ...
h) The Lamb of God

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

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:

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-Janubiyyeh*, mosaic inscription, VI1th Century A.D.
+ ΜΕΘ ΗΜΩΝ Ω ΘΩ
+ Μεθ' ήμων ὡ Θ(ε)δι


*Monza*, ampullae originating in Palestine, a metal resembling tin, VI1th Century A.D.

475 No. 1 EMMANOYHA ΜΕΘ ΙΜΩΝ Ω ΘΩ Έμμανουήλ μεθ' ήμων ὡ Θ(ε)δι
476 No. 2 E(MMANOY)HA М(ΕΘΗ)ΜΩ(Ν Ω ΘΩ)'Εμμανουήλ μεθ' ἤμων ὡ Θ(ε)δι
477 No. 3 EMMANOYHA ΜΕΘ ΗΜΩΝ Ω ΘΩ Έμμανουήλ μεθ' ήμων ὡ Θ(ε)δι
478 No. 4 +EMMANOYHA ΜΕΘ (Η)ΜΟΝ Ω ΘΕΩΚ +Έμμανουήλ μεθ' ἤμων ὡ Θεάως.
479 No. 6 +EMMANOYHA ΜΕΘ ΗΜΩΝ Ω ΘΕΩΚ +Έμμανουήλ μεθ' ήμων ὡ Θεάως.


480 *Sinai*, St. Catherine’s Monastery, Collection of Icons. An encaustic icon of Christ of the VII1th Century A.D.

Emmanuel with the inscription: +Ε[ΜΜΑ]ΝΟΥΗΑ. +Έμμανουήλ.


481 *Umm tdi-Djimal*, stone inscription built into the West wall of the monastery tower, Byzantine period
+ ΕΜΜΑ +ΝΟΥΗΑ
+Έμμα νουήλ


*The Holy Spirit, Τὸ Ἀγιον 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 ‘Τὸ Ἀγιον Πνεῦμα’ to whom, as will be seen from the inscriptions, is attributed the word ‘Holy’, ‘Ἀγιον’.

The name ‘Holy Spirit’, Ἀγιον 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, 6th Century A.D.

ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥ/ΝΑΜΙ ΧΩ ΒΟ/ΘΙΑ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΥ/ΔΟ-ΚΙΑ...

†Θεού δο/ναμί Χ(ριστον)ο/θητις 'Αγίου / Πνεύματος ευ/δοκία...

The name appears in the genitive singular.


483  *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 37, chalk vousoir, 1st December, A.D. 475

...ΤΩ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΙ Ο Η ΔΟΞΑ / ΕΙΩ...

...τῳ δὲ Π(ατρός) καὶ Υ anomal / καὶ Ἄγιῳ Πν(εῦματο)ν ὁ ἡ δόξα / εἰς...

484  *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 46.1, 16th July, A.D. 605

...Πατρός καὶ Υιὸν καὶ Ἄγιον Πνεῦματος...

The name 'Spirit', Πνεῦμα, in inscr. No. 37, is in the dative singular, and in

papyrus No. 46.1, in the genitive singular.


485  *Beth Shean*, monastery, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.

. ΕΙΓΟ / ΠΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΕΕΙ ΘΥ ΕΙΓΚΑΕΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ / ΠΡΗ

. Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΗ ΕΥΛΟΓΩ Κ ΑΝΑΘΕ / ΜΑΤΙΖΩ

. 'Ἐγώ / Ἡλίας ἑλέει Θ(e)υ(e) δι(γ)κάλει(e)τος ἐν ονόματι / Π(ατρός)ος

. κ(αί) Y(υ)ο(υ) κ(αί) Ἄγιου Πνε(ῦματο)ς εὐλογῶ κ(αί) ἀναθῇ/ματίζω

The name is given in the genitive singular.


486  *Jerusalem*, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, marble inscription, A.D. 589

...ΑΠΟ TOY / ΠΡΗ Κ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ Κ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΗ.

...ἐπὶ δο/τῳ Π(ατρός)ος κ(αί) τοῦ Υιοῦ κ(αί) τοῦ Ἄγιου Πν(εῦματο)ς.

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 ΠΡΗ Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΗ...

†Ἐν ονόματι Π(ατρός)ος κ(αί) Y(υ)ο(υ) κ(αί) Ἄγιου Πν(εῦματο)ς...

The name is expressed by the first two and last letters in the genitive singular.

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 Ἁγιόν Πνεύμα' and in one example under the form of 'God, Christ and the Holy Spirit'. 'Θεός, Χριστός καὶ Ἁγιόν Πνεύμα'. It appears together with the epithets 'Holy', 'Ἁγία', 'Life giving', 'Ζωοποιός', 'most glorious', 'ἐνδοξοτάτη', and in several cases under the dogmatic name 'consubstantial', 'Ὡμοουσία'. 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:

Arraba, Upper Galilee, mosaic inscription, Vlth Century A.D.
+ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥ /+ΝΑΜΙ ΧΥ ΒΟ/+ΘΙΑ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΥΔΟ-KIA...
+ Θεοῦ δυ /+νάμι Χριστοῦ βο/+ηθία Ἀγίου / Πνεύματος εὐδοκία...
In this inscription, it is in the unusual form of 'God, Christ and the Holy Spirit', 'Θεοῦ, Χριστοῦ, Ἀγίου Πνεύμα. It is given in the genitive singular.
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, Eretz-Israel 10 (1971), p. 244.

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 37, chalk voussoir, 1st December, A.D. 475
...ΤΩ ΔΕ ΠΙΡ / ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΟΝ Η ΔΟΞΑ /...
...τῷ δὲ Πατρί / καὶ Υἱῷ / καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ἡ δόξα /...
It is in the common form 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' in the dative singular.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri

Papyrus No. 21, 22, June 30th or July 1st, A.D. 562
...εἰς Ἁγίαν Τριάδα...
It is given in the form 'Holy Trinity' in the accusative singular.
Papyrus No. 22, 12, December 2nd, A.D. 566
...εἰς Ἁγίαν Τριάδα...
It is given in the form 'Holy Trinity' in the accusative singular.
Papyrus No. 30. 13, September 13th, A.D. 596
...ὁρκόσωμεν κατὰ τής Ἁγί[ας] Τριάδος...
It is given in the form 'Holy Trinity' in the genitive singular.
Papyrus No. 46. 1, July 16th. A.D. 605

In this inscription it is expressed by the forms ‘Holy Trinity’, ‘Αγία Τριάς’, ‘Father, Son’ ‘Πατήρ, Υιός’ and ‘Holy Spirit’, ‘Αγιον Πνεύμα’. In both cases the genitive singular is used.


Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.

It is given in the form ‘Father, Son and Holy Spirit’, ‘Πατήρ, Υιός, καὶ Ἀγιόν Πνεύμα’ in the genitive singular.


El Kufr, in a cattle shed, stone inscription, A.D. 652

It appears in the form ‘Holy and life-giving Trinity’ in the genitive singular.


Emmasus, marble inscription, Byzantine period

It is given in the form ‘Father and Son and Holy Spirit’ in the genitive singular.


Jerusalem. Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum, stone inscription, A.D. 589

It is given in the form ‘Father, Son and Holy Spirit’ in the genitive singular.


Petra. Transjordan. marble inscription, Byzantine period

...ΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΩ ΤΡΙΑΔΙ ΣΕΠΤΗ.
...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
+ ἙΝ ὙΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΑΣ(ΙΟΥ) ΤΡΙΑΔΟϹ...
+ Ἑν ὧνόματι τῆς Ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίας(ίου) Τριάδος...

501  Rihab, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, May A.D. 620
+ ἙΝ ὙΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΑΣ(ΙΟΥ) ΤΡΙΑΔΟϹ...
+ Ἑν ὧνόματι τῆς Ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίας(ίου) Τριάδος...
In both inscriptions it appears in the form ‘Holy Trinity’, Ἄγια Τριάς, together with the dogmatic ‘consubstantial’ and in the genitive singular.

502  Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica, apse, wall mosaic inscription, A.D. 565-566
+ ἙΝ ὙΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΠΡϹ Κ ΥΥ Κ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟϹ...
+ Ἑν ὧνόματι Π(ατρι)ός κ(αὶ) Υ(ιοί)οι κ(αὶ) Ἀγίου Πνεύματος...
It is given in the form ‘Father, Son and Holy Spirit’, Πατήρ, Υἱὸς καὶ Ἀγιον Πνεῦμα. It is in the genitive singular.

*The Divine Wisdom*

In the *Old Testament*, 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.

---

2 1 *Cor.* 1: 24.
3 *Col.* 2: 3.
4 See footnote No. 2, p. 80. Ἀγιοτατικός Κανονικός Ἀπεκθανοῦσα 23 ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει. Μνήμη τοῦ αὐτοκρατόρος καὶ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, ἐν τῷ Θεοφάνῃ ἀυτοκράτῳ Ιουλίανον ἔδρασε.
According to the inscription below, a Church dedicated to Divine Wisdom existed at Rihab, Transjordan.

503  

Rihab, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, February A.D. 604

... ΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘΗ(Η) Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤ(ΟΣ) ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ (ΚΑΙ)
ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ (ΚΑΙ) ΕΨΗΦΙΩΘΗ ΕΚ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡ(ΑΣ)...

... ὑπεμελιώθη δ ὕπος υἱός τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας (καὶ) ἐτελιώθη (καὶ) ἐψηφιώθη ἐκ προσφορὰς...

To the term 'Wisdom' Ἔφυά is given the epithet 'Holy' Ἁγία, and both appear in complete form in the genitive singular.


Noteworthy is an eleventh century A.D. fresco from the Monastery of the Holy Cross1, Jerusalem – today almost destroyed – in which a building is depicted with seven pillars and the figurative personification of the Divine Wisdom, with the following Greek inscription:

'Ἡ Σοφία οἰκοδομή ἐν αὐτῇ οἴκον...

'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.


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) ΝΣ 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 coenobiaarch, 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 Liturgies\(^1\) and the Diptychs and Canonaria of Jerusalem\(^2\). 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 Ecumenical 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', Αμακαλόματις, 'Sovereign', Δέσποινα, 'Full of Grace', Κεχριστισμένη, 'Virgin', Παρθένος and 'Mother of God', Θεομήτωρ or Μητέρα Θεοῦ.

1. The Name 'Maria' in the compendium 'ΧΜΓ' 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, ΧΜΓ, Χ(ριστοῦ) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννη)

505  Papyrus No. 90, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Column II, line 40, Χ Μ Γ, Χ(ριστοῦ) Μ(αρίας) Γ(εννη)

---


\(3\) K. Kekelidze, *Jerusalimskie Kanonar VII veka* (Georgian version), Tiflis, 1912. Translated into Greek by Καλάγιας Μητρίας, 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. Ph. 1909, Vol. IX, and translated into Greek by the Archimandrite Kallistos, see ΝΣ 1909, pp. 18ff.

Papyrus No. 152, VIIIth Century A.D.

It appears at the bottom of the text and in an upside down position; one notes the compendium + X(MΓ + X(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα)


El-Kerak, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period

+ X(MΓ / ...

4 + X(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα) / ...


Nazareth, the Shrine of the Annunciation, graffiti, Late Roman period

. XΕ / ΜΑΡΙΑ

Σ(αίρ)ε / Μαρία or X(ριστέ)ε / 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 Mary’s cult developed.


Rihab, Transjordan, house of Khalil Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604

. Α Μ Ν Η Ν (X) Μ Γ

'Αμήν X(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα)

The name ‘Maria’ is expressed by the middle letter of the compendium, which has been interpreted as ‘Μαρία,ας’ X(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα) or X(ριστόν) Μ(αρία) Γ(έννα). 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 ΧΕ Μαρία Γέννα and the second is supported by a fragmentary sepulchral inscription from Assuan, in the former Bulaq Museum in Cairo (No. 8397) which includes the words 'Χριστοτο Μαρία Γέννα' written in full.


Umm el-Maqati (djebel Ajlun), mosaic inscription, A.D. 482

ΧΜΓ / ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/CEBS ΑΙΩΝΟC ΠΡΕCS / ...

X(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Α(έννα) / ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο/σεβ(εστάτου) ΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΕΣ(ΒΤΕΡΟΥ) / ...
II. The name 'Maria' together with the epithet 'Holy', 'Άγια Μαρία.

\textit{Auja Hafir}, ancient Nessana, papyri, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

511 Papyrus No. 90 line 132 Ἐὔσεβιόν ἁγίας Μαρίας
512 Papyrus » » 143 Ἐὔσεβιόν ἁγίας Μαρίας
513 Papyrus » » 148 † Ἐὔσεβιόν ἁγίας Μαρίας
514 Papyrus » » 158 Ἐὐσεβίον ἁγίας Μαρίας
515 Papyrus » » 164 Ἐὐσεβίον ἁγίας Μαρίας
516 Papyrus » » 168 Ἐὐσεβίον ἁγίας Μαρίας
517 Papyrus » » 188 Ἐὐσεβίον ἁγίας Μαρίας
518 Papyrus » » 198 Ἐὐσεβίον ἁγίας Μαρίας


519 \textit{Beth Shean}, monastery, a rectangular metal amulet, on one side of which is depicted the Virgin Mary with the following inscription:

H / A / Γ/Λ/Α Μ/Α/Ρ/Ι/Α

Α/Γ/Ρ/Ι/Α Μ/Α/Ρ/Ι/Α


520 \textit{Deir el Qilt}, Choziba Monastery, Hermitage of Gabriel, VIth Century A.D.

ΑΓ ΜΡ

'Αγιά Μαρίας


521 \textit{Gerasa}, a) A damaged block found near the mill by the River Chrysorhoas, VIth Century A.D.


522 \textit{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.

. Μηχαήλ, ΖΗ Αγία Μαρία, Γαβρηήλ.


523 \textit{Jerusalem}, Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ἈΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ...
Ἀγία Μαρία...
The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum.

524 Kh. Alya, now at Miilya, Acre district, stone inscription, A.D. 539
. [Κ]Ε Ο ΘΕ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ...
. [Κ]高峰期 Θ(είς) ἑλέησον...
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 ΣΟΥ]...
. Ἀγία Μαρία βοηθή Μηνά τῇ δ[ούλῳ σου]...

526 Rihab, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ἙΨΗΦΟΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΕΙΟΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΙ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ...
+ Ἐνηφόθη καὶ ἔτελειόθη ὁ ναός οὗτος τῆς Ἀγίας Μαρίας...

527 Rihab, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
... + ΚΕ Ο ΘΕ ΤΗ ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝ / ΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ἙΛΕΗΣΩΝ...
. + Κ(ύρι)ε Θ(είς) τής τής Ἁγίας Μαρίας καὶ πάν τῶν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἑλέησον...

528 Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery, collection of icons, an icon of the crucifixion, VIth Century A.D.
Among other persons, this icon depicts the Virgin Mary under the inscription:
Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ
Ἡ Ἁγία Μαρία
According to Kurt Weitzmann the icon originated in Palestine (Jerusalem).


529 Ar-Rabba, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΚΩΝ + ΤΟΣ ΔΟΛΟΣ ΣΟ +
+ Θεοτόκε σώσον τούς δούλους σου +
Bibl. R. Canova, Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab,

_Auia Hafir_. ancient Nessana, inscriptions

530 Inscr. No. 52, chalk vousoir, Byzantine period

...ΕΥΧΗ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ Κ(ΑΙ)...  
...εὐχή τῆς Θεοτόκου Μαρίας κ(α)ι...

531 Inscr. No. 92, limestone abacus, A.D. 601 / 602  
+ ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ
+ Ἀγία Μαρία Θεοτόκε

_Auia Hafir_, ancient Nessana, papyri

532 Papyrus No. 46, 1, July 16th, A.D. 605

...καὶ τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης Δεσποινής ἡμῶν τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθενοῦ Μαρίας...

533 Papyrus No. 89, 44. Late VI - Early VIIth Century A.D.

...τῆς Δεσποινής ἡμῶν τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθενοῦ Μαρίας καὶ...


534 _Faran, Oasis_ (Sinai), a marble inscription now in the Wady Faran newly built Chapel, Byzantine period

+ ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΕ Κ ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ...  
+ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ κ(α)ι Ἀγία Μαρία Η Θεοτόκος ἐλέησον...

In this inscription the name ‘Maria’ is given together with the titles ‘Holy’, ‘Agia and ‘God-bearer’, Θεοτόκος.


535 _Irbit_, bracelet, Byzantine period

+ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΘΕΟΘΗ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΥΛΙΑΘΟΥ
+ Θεοτόκε βοηθή τῇ δούλῃ σου  


536 _Jericho_, Russian property, mosaic inscription, December 11th, A.D. 566

...ΔΩΡΗΚΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΟΥΝΑ(Θ) / ΝΕΑ ΕΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΤΗΝ / ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ / ΕΝ ΙΕΡΟΣΩΛΗΜΟΙΟ...

...δωρησαμενον την ἁγιωτατη / νεα εκκλησια της / ενδοξου Θεοτοκου / εν Ιεροσολυμωιοι...

Bibl. _SEG_ VIII (1937), No. 315.

537 _Jerusalem_, City Wall, Herod’s Gate, stone inscription (upside down), 11th Century A.D.

...ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ / ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ...

...διά τῆς / Ἀγίας τῆς Θεοτόκου...
In this inscription the name ‘Maria’ is omitted and instead is given the title ‘Holy’, ‘Aγία, together with the name ‘God-bearer’, Θεοτόκος.

Jerusalem, Israel Museum, a stone bread seal found near Gaza (movable object), Byzantine period
...ΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΙΑ.
...ου Μαρίας εὐαγγεία.
Israel Museum.

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:


Jerusalem, Flagellation Museum, a gold ring, VIth Century A.D. with the inscription:
† ΧΕΡΕ ΚΑΙΧΑΡΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ Ο ΚΥ...
† Χέρε καιχαριτωμένη ὁ Κύ(ριος).

There are grammatical errors: (e) instead of αι, (an) instead of ε, and (o) instead of ω.

Madaba, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 663
...ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΑΧΡΑΝΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ...
...τῆς ἅγιας ἀχράντου Δεσποινῆς Θεοτόκου...
In this inscription the name ‘Maria’ is omitted and instead are given the titles ἅγια, ἀχράντος, Δεσποίνα, Θεοτόκος.

Madaba, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗΝ ΜΑΡΙΗΝ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΟΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΤΙΚΚΕΝ ΧΝ...
Παρθενικῆν Μαρίν Θεομήτορα καὶ ὀν ετίκκεν Χριστόν...
In this inscription the name ‘Maria’ is mentioned together with the titles ‘Παρθένος’ and ‘Θεομήτωρ’.

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 (B)ΟΥΔΙΑΝΟ...

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

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

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

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

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.
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

. ΑΓΓΕΛΑΒΑΑΜΑ ΒΩΗΘΩΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΝΙΛΟΝ ΤΟΝ Δ ΜΑΡ-МАΡΑΡΗΝ

. Ἁγιε Ἀβραάμα βοηθήτο τὸν δοῦλον σου Νίλον τὸν δ μαρμαράρην

The name ‘Abraham’ appears in complete form in the vocative singular together with the word ‘Holy’, Ἁγιος.

Bibli. SEG VIII (1937), No. 240.

548. *Shivta*, stone inscription, Byzantine period

[ΦΙΛΟΘΕΙΑΝ] ΑΒΡΑΑΜ.

[Φιλοθεαν] Ἀβραάμ.

The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.


549. *Sinai*, St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica

a) lintel over the main entrance, pine wood, VI – VIIth Century A.D.

...ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ(Ν) ΠΑΤΕΡΟΥΝ COY Ο ΘΕ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΚΑΙ...

...Εγώ εἰμί ὁ θεός τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ θεός ὁς Ἀβραάμ καὶ...

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, ΙΚΑΚ, ΑΜΝΩΝ.

‘Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἀμνός.

The name is given in complete form in the nominative singular.


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

ΔΞΕ Ο ΘΕ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΣΙΚΚ ΣΙΑΚΟΒ

Δ(ό)ε(ό) ο(ό) ο(ό) θ(εός) Ἀβραάμ(αμ) καὶ(καὶ) ὁ(αῦ)κ(καὶ) Ἰακ(αβ)ς

The name ‘Abraham’ appears in the following literary source: In the *Canonation* of the Church of Jerusalem\(^1\) 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, ‘二十四 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.)


**Isaac**

Isaac was the divinely promised son of the Patriarch Abraham\(^2\) 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 instead\(^3\). 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] ΙΣΑΑΚ
[Φιλοπατριαν] Ἰσαάκ.

---

1 See footnote on page 80.
2 Gen. 21:8.
3 Gen. 22.
The name appears in complete form.

555 *Sinai*. St. Catherine's Monastery Basilica
a) lintel over the main entrance, pine wood, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Ο ΘΕΟ ΤΟΥ(Ν) ΠΑΤΕΡΟΥΝ ΣΟΥ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΑΚΩΒ ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕ ΙΕΡΑΜ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ, ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ, ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ, ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟ(Ν) ΙΕΡΑΜ ΣΟΥ ένα ΄Ισακ...  
The name appears in complete form.

556 b) panel, left of the main apse, encaustic technique, scene of the sacrificing of Isaac, VIIth Century A.D.
ΑΒΡΑΑΜ, ισακ, Αμνος.
The name ‘Issac’ appears in complete form.

557 *Umm-el-Jimal*, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΔΕΠ ΘΕ ΑΒΡΑΕΙΜ ΣΙΑΚΟΒ
Δ(ά)ξ(α) σ(ο)ν Θεο(ν) Αβρααμ(α) ισακ(α) και ισακ(α) ιακοβ
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 ‘Issac’ 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 Hebrews. 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’, Ιακώβ, appears in complete form in the following Greek inscriptions extant in Palestine:

558 *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560-565
ΟΠΟΥ Η ΠΙΓΙΓ 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.
δοῦ ἡ πηγή τοῦ Ἰακώβ

559 *Main*. 8 kms S.W. of Madaba, mosaic inscription, A.D. 719 / 720
...[ΑΓΑΠΑ ΚΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΥΛΑΣ ΣΙΩΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΑ] ΚΣΙΝΟΜΑΤΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ.
...[ἀγαπᾷ Κύριῳ τὰς πύλας Σιών ύπερ τά] σκινόματα Ἰακώβ.

560 *Shivta*. stone inscription, Byzantine period
.../ ΕΛΠΙΔΑΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ...
.../ ἑλπίδαν Ἰακώβ...

561 *Sinai*. St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica, lintel over the main entrance, pine wood, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
...Ο ΘΕΟ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ Κ Ο ΘΕΟ ΙΑΛΑΚ ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟ ΙΑΚΩΒ.
...ὁ Θεός τοῦ Ἰαβραάμ καὶ ὁ Θεός τοῦ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ὁ Θεός τοῦ Ἰακώβ.

562 *Umm-el-Jimal*. stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΔΣΩ Ο ΘΕΟ ΑΒΡΓΜ Σ ΙΑΚΩΒ
Δ(μ)ξ(α) σ(οι) ο Θ(εός) τ(οῦ) Ἰαβρ(αάμ) κα(ὶ) Ισ(αάκ) κ(αὶ) Ἰακώβ
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
Τὸ τοῦ / Ἰωσήφ
The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular.

564 b) ΙΩΣΗΦ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΕΝ ΣΕ / Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΘΗΣ / ΕΧΟΥΣΙΗΣ ΠΙΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ / ΠΑΙΛΙΝ ΑΠΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΥ / Η ΓΗ ΛΥΤΟΥ.
Ἰωσήφ εὐλογήσεν σε / ὁ Θεός εὐλογίαν γῆς / ἐχούσης πάντα καὶ / πάλιν ἀπευλόγιας Κυρίῳ / ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦ.
According to the *Canonation* literary source above, his memory was celebrated on September 4th, and October 15th.
i) On September 4th. Ἐν τῇ Μονῇ τῆς Φλαβίας, μνήμη τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἰωσήφ...

ii) On October 15th. Ἐν τῷ ὑκτηρίῳ Φλαβίας ... τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἰωσήφ.

The term 'Holy', Ἀγιος, 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 ΗΕΦΘΕΕ

ὁ Ἀγιος Ἠφθας


Both the sacrifices, that of Isaac and that of the daughter of Jephthah, are prefigurations 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', Ἀγιος.

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: 'Τὸν ἀγίον καὶ ἐνδόξων Προφήτων Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἀαρών, Ἡλιοῦ, Ἐλισαιών...

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 ἀγίου καὶ Θεότητος 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 ΜΟΥΣΗΝ
Πραοτητα Μωυσῆν
The name appears in complete form in the accusative singular.

567 *Sinai*. St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic. VIth Century A.D.
+ ΜΟΥΣΗΗ
+ Μωυσῆς
The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular.

568 *Sinai*. St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica, lintel over the main entrance, pine wood inscription, VI – VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΝ ΚΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΗΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΤΟΠΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΛΕΓΩΝ...
+ καὶ ἐλληνεν Κ(ύριο)ς πρὸς Μωυσῆν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ λέγων...
The name appears in complete form in the accusative singular.

569 *Sinai*. Moses’ Mountain Top, the Cave of Moses, S.E. corner of the Mosque, granite inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ Ο ΘΌ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΟΥΣΗΗ
+ ὁ Θ(εό)ς τοῦ 'Αγίου Μωυσῆ
The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', "Αγίος.

570 *Sinai*. St. Catherine’s Monastery, Picture Gallery of the Monastery, votive bronze cross (movable object), VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Κ ΕΞ/ΙΓΑΓΕΝ / ΜΟΥΣΗΗ / ΤΟΝ ΛΑΙΟΝ...
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’, Ἀγίοι, 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 ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ] / ΤΩΝ ΑΠΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ...

...ἐγένετο [ἡ ἐκκλησία] / τῶν ἀγίων Προφητῶν. Ἀποστόλων. Μαρτύρων...

The term is given in complete form in the genitive plural and refers to all the prophets in general who were called Holy, Ἀγίοι.


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 Ἀναχαίτα. The names of the Prophets are given in Greek and are as follows: Δανιήλ, Ἰερεμίας, Μαλαχίας, Ἐγγίας, Ἀμβακωῦ, Ἰωνᾶς, Ἰωάν, Ἀμως, Δαυίδ, Ὀσῆ, Μιχαῖλ, Ἀβδιῦ, Ναοῦ, Σοφονίας, Ζαχαρίας, Ἰσαὰκ, Ἰζεβελ. 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. Περιλήψεως Γρηγορίαδου, Ἐσπᾶ Μονῆ 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 Boherije, Samaria, lintel, stone inscription, 5th Century A.D.
...‡ ΑΓΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΟΜΟΝ ΗΛΙΑ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗ ΤΩ ΨΩΕ ΕΤΕΥΞΕ ΤΟΝΔ[Ε ‡]
...‡ ἀγκάνιων δόμον Ἡλία Προφήτη τῷ σῷ έτευξε 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 ἅγιου Ἡλιοῦ...

575 Madaba, Aelianus Crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 607
...ΖΗΛΑΨ ΗΛΙΑΣ Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΥΧΗ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΗΣΑΣ...
...ζηλαψ Ἡλίας ὁ Προφήτης εὐχῆ συνεργήσας...
The name is in complete form in the nominative singular together with the title 'Prophet', 'Προφήτης'.

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 ‡ ΗΛΙΑΣ ‡ Ἡλίας. In this example only the name of the Prophet is given.

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 / ΕΛΙΣΑΙΟΥ
...Τοῦ τοῦ ἅγιου / Ἐλίσαϊου
The name Elisha appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', "Αγιος.

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

**June 14th.** Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀρους Ρουβίλ ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ἰωάννῃ (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου) Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου Ἐλισαίου.

**August 29th.** Ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου εἰς τὴν γωνίαν τῆς πόλεως. Μνήμη ... καὶ τοῦ Προφήτου Ἐλισαίου.

**November 14th.** Ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ (τῶν Ἀφρόνων) παρὰ τὴν Γεθσημανίν, Μνήμη ... τοῦ Προφήτου Ἐλισαίου.

*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

. ΚΥΤΗ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΙΣΑΙΑ / ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ /

. Κ[αί] τοῦ Ἰεροῦ Ἰσαία / 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 ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Προφήτου Ἡσαίου ἐκ κα[ρποφορίας καὶ σπο]ύδης / ...

The name is in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word ‘Prophet’, Προφήτης, and ‘Holy’, "Αγιος.


¹ *Canonarion*, see p. 80.
Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery, medallions surrounding the scene of the Transfiguration, mosaic inscription, A.D. 560/5

The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular.


In literary sources, in the Typikon of the Church of Jerusalem, his memory is celebrated on May 5th: 'Ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τῆς Ἁγίας Βάσισης, Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου Ἡσαΐου...

The Prophet Jeremiah, Late VIIth-Early VIIIth 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:

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

† ΑΓΙΕ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΚΥΡΙΚΕ ΚΑΙ / † ΟΙ ΣΥΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΣΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΙ/ † ΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΥΜΩΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΙΟΥ.

† 'Αγιε Ἱερεμία καὶ ἄγια Κυρίκε καὶ / † οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν ἄγιοι προσδέξασθε τὴν π/ † ῥοσφοράν τοῦ δούλου ὑμῶν Ἀναστασίον.

Bibl. Ἱεροσολύμων Ἱεροσολυμών 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 Transfiguration. In literary sources he is mentioned in the Typikon of the Church of Jerusalem on May 1st, 'τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαίον.
μίου ἐν τῷ χορῷ Ἄναμωθό καὶ ὁ Προφήτου Ἰερεμίου, as well as in the Canonarion, on July 21st, "Ἐν τῇ Ἀναστάσει, Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου Ἰερεμίου. 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) ὉΡΑΣΘΙ ὙΖΕΝ ΗΝ ΜΙΧΑΙΑΚΟ / ΠΡΟΦ.
      . Μορασθὶ δ/θεν ἦν Μιχαίας δ / Προφ(ήτης).
   b) ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΙΧΑΙΟΥ.
      . Τὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου 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.

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 ΜΙΧΑΙΑΚ Μιχαίας
The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular.

*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

---

Κάλλικτος Μηλαρά, 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 Stratigius, *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. 8f.

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, 51th Century A.D.
A mosaic depicting Jonah asleep under the plant of the gourd (Jonah 4: 6-7) with the inscription ἸΟΝΑΚ 'Ἰωνᾶς

586  *Madaba*, mosaic map inscription, A.D. 560/5
. [Τ]Ο ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΙΩΝΑ
. [Τ]ό τοῦ Ἁγίου / Ἰωνᾶ.
The name is given in complete form in the genitive singular with the word 'Holy', Ἁγιός.

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 ἸΟΝΑΚ 'Ἰωνᾶς.

*The Prophet Zechariah*, 51th 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
. Τὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου / Ζαχαρίου
The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', Ἁγιός.
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.

589  *Sinai*, St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica, apse mosaic, one of the medallions, A.D. 560/5
ZΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ Ζαχαρίας
The name appears in complete form in the nominative singular.

Literary sources, Ἀγιοταφίτων Καυνώριον

---

1 See page 80.
May 26th. Ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Βηθσαφάν ... καὶ τοῦ Προφήτου Ζαχαρίου
June 10th. Ἐν τῇ Μονῇ τοῦ Ἱερέως Σαββίνου ἐν τῷ Νέῳ Ζαχαρίᾳ δύο μίλια ἀπέχουν τοῦ Προφήτου Ζαχαρία.
September 5th. Ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Βηθσαφάν Μνήμη τοῦ Προφήτου Ζαχαρίου.
October 2nd. Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Προκοπίου ... τῶν Προφητῶν ... Ζαχαρίου...

*The Prophet David, XIth Century B.C.*

David was the youngest son of Jesse, a Judaecean from Bethlehem, and the first King of the Judean Dynasty.¹

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 Δαυιδ...

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


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(υ)δ.


In the literary sources in the “Ἀρχαῖον Τυπικόν Ἐκκλησίας Ἰεροσολύμων”, his memory is celebrated on December 26th.

The term ‘Holy’, Ἁγιος, is not attributed to David in any of the inscriptions or literary sources.

---

1 *1Sam. 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.
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.


**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 Christ.

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 beheaded. His body was buried at Sebastia, where his tomb was found. 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) Ἁγιασματικῶν Κανονικῶν

January 7th. Ἡ σύναξις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου.

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

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

August 29th. ...Μνήμη Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ, ἀποτομητής κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ...

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

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

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

October 26th, ...εὑρέσεις 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 ἐνδοξοῦ Προφήτου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου.’

---

3 *PEF QSt* 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 ἐνδόξῳ Ιωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστή. His name is abbreviated together with the titles ‘forerunner’, Προδρόμος and ‘Baptist’, Βαπτιστής.

594  *El Boberie*, Samaria, stone inscription, Vth Century A.D.
    .../ ΟC ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΘΟΥΝΙΝ ΛΑΧΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΣΟΥ .../ δ' τοῦ Προδρόμου σου θρόνον ηθύνει λαχών ὑπὸ σου .../ In this inscription only the title ‘forerunner’, Προδρόμος, is mentioned.
    Bibl. *SEG VIII* (1937), No. 119.

595  *Gerassa*, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
    ...ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ ...
    ...προσφοράν το Προδρόμῳ
    In this inscription the title ‘forerunner’, Προδρόμος, is mentioned.

596  *Gerassa*, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533
    ...ΟΥ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΙ ΤΟΥΝΩΜΑ / ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΣΩΖΟΝΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝ ...

597  *Kh. Umm er Rus*, Judaean Hills, 20 kms S.W. of Jerusalem, mosaic inscription between the arms of a cross, VIth Century A.D.
    + ΚΥΡΟΥ / ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ + Κυροῦ / Ιωάννου Greek inscription
    MARA YOHANA Aramaic inscription
    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 / ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ
    Βεθαβαρά / τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου / τοῦ βαπτισματος.
    In this inscription the name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the titles ‘Holy’, Ἁγιος, and ‘baptism’, βαπτισματος.
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: "Ἀνδρεῖς χαιρετονήσαντες ἐκλεκτοὺς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ὀκτομένην ἐπέμψατε κηρύσσοντες ὅτι αἵρεσις ἄθεου καὶ ἄνομος ἐγήγερται 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 ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ ΕΚ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΙΑΙ... The title appears in complete form in the genitive plural and refers to all the Apostles. The word ‘Holy’, Ἀγίος which is given at the beginning of the inscription refers to them too.


600 Madaba, mosaic inscription, A.D. 579

...ΕΤΕΛΕΙΟΘΕΝ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΡ... The title appears in complete form in the genitive singular.


601 Madaba, Church of the Apostles, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΤΩΝ ΝΑΩ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ...
The title appears in complete form in the genitive singular with the word 'Holy', 'Αγίος 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 Iskarioth 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 ΜΑΤΘΙΑΣ, ΛΟΥΚΑΣ, ΜΑΡΚΟΣ, ΠΑΥΛΟΣ. In the mosaic of the Basilica therefore, are represented the following Apostles under their Greek names:

. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ, ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ, ΠΕΤΡΟΣ
ΛΟΥΚΑΣ, ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ, ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑΙΟΣ, ΠΑΥΛΟΣ, ΘΩΜΑΣ, ΘΑΔΕΟΣ,
ΚΙΜΩΝ, ΜΑΡΚΟΣ, ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ, ΜΑΤΘΕΟΣ, ΜΑΝΘΙΑΣ.

For Andrew see also page 115 of this work.

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

According to the 'Καυνάριον', the Palestinian Church celebrated the memory of all the Apostles on the Saturdays after the 3rd and 5th Sundays of Lent.
1. Σάββατον μετά τὴν τρίτην Κυριακῆν, Μνήμη τῶν ἄγίων Ἀποστόλων.
2. Σάββατον μετά τὴν πέμπτην Κυριακῆν, τῶν ἄγίων 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 Tiberias. 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' 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 admitted, 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 Christ and after the Ascension, he presided over the election of a successor of Judas and spoke to the people on the day of Pentecost. His authority was evident in the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem 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. 54-68.

Paul. The Apostle of the Gentiles

Paul was born at Tarsus in Cilicia and was brought up a Pharisee. He also studied in Jerusalem under the famous Rabbi Gamaliel, 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. Stephen. After his conversion, he brought the Christian faith to the Gentiles undertaking three principal journeys. 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 Geraezi: mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

...ΟΥΝΕΚΕΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙΚ ΠΡΩΤΟΣΤΑΤΑΙ / ΠΕΤΡΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΙ...

...οὖνεκόν οἶκον ἐδείμε μαθηταῖς πρωτοστάτας / Πέτρω καὶ Παύλῳ...

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


---

2 Lk. 24: 34.
3 Acts 1: 15-22.
4 Acts 2: 14-41.
6 Eus. HE 11. XXV. 5-8, HE III.1. 2ff.
7 Acts 26: 5.
8 Acts 22: 3.
9 Acts 7: 58.
11 Acts XII-XX.
604 Capernaum, wall graffiti, Late Roman period
ΠΕΤΡΟ[Ω]
Πέτρο[ς]
Bibl. Emm. Testa, Cañar nao IV, Jerusalem 1972, p. 60, No.47.

605 Rihab. St. Paul’s Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
...ΕΨΗΦΟΘΗ ΚΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ / ΟΥΤΟC Ο ΝΑΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΥ-ΛΟΥ...
...ἐγνησίωθη καὶ έτελιώθη / ούτος ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου...

606 Rihab. St. Peter’s Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 623
...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟC ΟΥΤΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ...
...ἐγνησίωθη καὶ έτελιώθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου / ἀποστόλου Πέτρου...

The Apostle Thomas

St. John the Evangelist calls him ‘twin’, 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 Judas\(^2\). 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 tradition\(^3\) 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
+ Ἄγιου Θωμᾶ φόροδησών.

---
1 John 11: 16, 14: 5.
2 Eusebius, HE I: 13.
3 Eus. HE III: 1.
Jerusalem, El Aksa Mosque, now at the Dept. of Antiquities, inscription on a wooden board, 19th Century A.D.

...Ο ΠΑΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΩΜΑ ΕΚ...
...ὁ πᾶς οίκος οὗτοι οὗ τοῦ ἁγίου Θωμᾶ ἐκ...

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


Pella. Tabagat Fahel, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
Ο ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΩΜΑΣ
ὁ Ἅγιος Θωμᾶς
Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, RB 8 (1899), p.22, no. 27.

According to Ἀγωνισμὸν Κανονάριον the memory of Thomas was celebrated by the Church of Jerusalem on November 1st. Εν τῇ κώμῃ Πετρεβάρι, Μνήμη τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ, and according to Ἀρχαῖον Τιμοθέου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἰερουσαλήμων on May 26th ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Βηθσαβάγγη. Μνήμη τῶν ἀποστόλων Θωμᾶ καὶ Φιλίππου. May 9th... κυτάθεσις Πέτρου, Φιλίππου καὶ Θωμᾶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, and July 20th, Μνήμη τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ.

Mark, the Evangelist

Mark was a cousin of St. Barnabas, and according to Acts, 13: 5, a minor official of a Synagogue. He set out with Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey, and afterwards he was in Rome with St. Paul. 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:

El Guwezi, Golan, epistylium, basalt, 19th Century A.D.
+ ΕΙΙΙΝ ΤΑ ΕΝ/ΚΕΙΝΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΜΑΡΚΟΥ Μ ΑΥΓΟΥ[Σ]ΤΟΥ ΤΕ/
+ Ειςίν τά ἐν/κείναι τοῦ ἁγίου / Μάρκου μ(ηνί) Αύγου[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.
4 Col. 4: 10, Phil. 24: 2, Tim. 4: 11, and Pet. 5: 13.
In the 'Ἀγιοταφικὸν Κανονάριον', 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 Deacons. He worked to proclaim the Gospel to the Gentiles and was successful in winning over the Samaritans to the Christian faith.

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

Philip's name appears in the following inscriptions:

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

ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΝΘΑ ΛΕΓΟΥ/ΣΙ ΒΑΠΤΙ/ΣΩΝΑΙ ΚΑΝ/DATES ΤΟΝ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΝ.

Τὸ τοῦ ἀγίου Φιλίππου ἔνθα λέγου/σι βαπτί/σώναι Καν/δάκτην τὸν εὐνοῦ-χον.

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


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

**Confessors and Martyrs**

The word 'Confessor', ὁμολογητὴς, is derived from the verb ὁμολογῶ which means to admit, to acknowledge. The word 'Martyr', Μάρτυς-ρος, comes from the verb μαρτυρέω -ήσσο, 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-
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 Apostles. 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 Palæstinæ.

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 writes: 'Martyrs were made Martyrs by popular riots and lynching-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 1: 8. 1: 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 prescribed. 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. Polycarp: ‘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 δὲ ταύτα ἤρωταν τῶν Πολύκαρπ Ισσή τ᾽ ἀπὸ Ἀρμαθαίας, ἵππας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κεκρυμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ἦν ἡμέρα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Πολύκαρπ. ἦλθεν οὖν καὶ ἦρε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ἤθελε δὲ καὶ Νικόδημος ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, φέρων μήτηρ σιμάρυνς καὶ ἄλοφος αἰς λίπαρα ἑκατὸν. ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔθεαν αὐτὸ ἐν οἰκονομίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἔστι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔνταρμεζεν. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐστήκατο κηφής, καὶ ἐν τῷ κηφεί μισθωμένοι κανόν, ἐν ὧν οὐδείς οὐδεὶς ἐστάθη ἕκει οὖν διὰ τὴν παρατεκενήν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μυστήριον, ἔθεαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

2 Letter to the Smyrneans XVIII.
with their deeds, martyrdom and tombs which had been marked 'Martyria'. Structures of different types covered the Martyrs' 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' 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 rights 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 bishopric, 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 says, 'outside the Church you will have an everlasting punishment, though you have been burnt alive for the name of Christ' and St. Cyprian 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 'Ἀγιορετικῶν Κανονῶν', 'Ἀρθροφορίας Αποκόρου', April 13, Μνήμη τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Μαρτυρίου Ἱεροσολύμων translated by Cleoboulos Karapidis, 1500 ἔτη πεζίου τοῦ Πατραῖτος Ἱεροσόλυμων 451-1951, Ιερουσαλήμ 1952.

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

3 See Eusebius Eccl. Hist., 'De Martyribus Palestinae' (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', Ὀσιομάρτυρες, those who were soldiers, 'Great martyrs', Μεγαλομάρτυρες, and women who died while still virgins, 'Virgin martyrs', Παρθενομάρτυρες. In addition the name 'silverless', Ανάργυροι, 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' ἅποδοξος, 'victorious' ἄθλοιφόρος. 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' Ὅμολογητής 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.
  . Ἀγιοι Μαρτυρες Βοθθε(ετε) / του οικου Στεφανου.
  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 πᾶντον τὸν ἅγιον [Μ]α[ρτυρον ‡
  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.

614  *Beth Safaja*, mosaic inscription, A.D. 490
  ...ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ...
  ...του οικου των ἅγιων Μαρτυρων...
  The word is in the genitive plural together with the word 'Holy' in the same case.

615  *Ein Karim*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
  . ΧΑΙ/PECΘΕΘΥ / ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΙ
  . Χαι/ρεσθε Θε(ο)ι / Μαρτυριοι
  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.

616  *Gerasa*, Church of Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, stone inscription on two lintel blocks, A.D. 464/5
... ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ...
...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', Ἁγίος, given in the same case, applies to all three groups mentioned.

617 *Khirbet El Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
... Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ/
...ὁ Θεός τῶν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων 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.

According to Ἀγιοτατικῶν Κανονίρον o.1 January 22nd in the Church of St. Stephen, the memory of all the Martyrs was celebrated, Μνήμη πάντων τῶν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων τῶν ἀπὸ Στεφάνου μέχρι...
For Canonarion see page 80.

*The Three Children, 'Τρεῖς Παιδείς'*

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


The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert

Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery, Chapel of the Holy Fathers, South wall, marble slab, VI-VIth Century A.D.

+ ΤΗC Δ ΕΚΑΔΟC ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑ TΟΥ ΑΙMΑΤOC ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΘΡΑΝ ΖΗΛΟUBCANTEC ΟΙ ICAPΘIΘMOI ΟCΙΟΙ Π(ΑΘΕ)Ρ(ΕC)/ ΕΝΘΑΘΕ ΚΑ- TAKΕINTAI...

+ τῆς δ’ δεκαδος τὴν δια τοῦ αἰματος κολυμβήθραν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ἵσαρίθμοι ὁσιοι πατερες(ες) / ἐνθαθε κατάεινται...

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 ‘Ὅσιοι Πατέρες’ since they were monks.


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.

Hanita, Byzantine Church, mosaic inscription, VI-VIth Century A.D.

...ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡ...ΗC ΤΗC ΚΟΜΗC / ...ΟΦΟΡΗCΑΝΤΩΝ /...

... τον του Μάρτυρ(ος) /...ης τῆς κόμης / ...[καρπ]οφορήσαντων/...

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.

Madaba, the Cathedral, mosaic inscription, A.D. 563

...Ὁ ΠΙΝΑΚΙΣ ΤΟΠΟC ΤΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡ /...

...ὁ παναγί(ος) τότος τοῦ ἐνδόξου Μάρτυρ(ος)/...

The word ‘Martyr’ is given in the genitive singular together with the epithet ‘glorious’ ἐνδόξος, in the same case.


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’ Ἀγιος, 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 martyrion was dedicated to him in Amman over his burial place.

According to the Ἀρχαῖον Τιμικόν 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 Ἀγιοταρτίκον Κανονάρινον 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
. ΣΠΟΥΔΗΣΤΕΡΙΟΥ / ΠΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΙΑΙ/ΑΝΟΥ...
. Σπώνος/δή Σεργίου / πρ(εσβυτέρου) τοῖο Ἀγίου Αιλίν/ανοῦ...
The name is given in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word ‘Holy’ Ἀγιος.

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
. ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ
. Ανδρέας

---

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 Antiochus 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 ouakboura, al Riha Sabih, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.

ΜΑΓΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ / ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ / ΑΝΔΡΕΑ ΕΚΤΙΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ / ἘΨΗΦΩΣΕΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΗΡΑΚΛΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΕΒΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΣ ΠΟΛΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΟΥ

. Μαγνιανος στρατιωτης / ευχαριστων τω άγιω / Ἄνδρεα ἐκτισεν και . ἐ/ψηφωσεν σπουδη Ἡρακλίου πρεεβς(υπέρου) και Κωσταντ/τίνου διακ(όν-ου) Πολλυχρονιου.

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 Syria. The city of Resapha was later named after Sergius, ‘Sergiopolis’, 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 Ἀγιοσταφιτών Κανονίου the Church of Jerusalem celebrated their memorial day on October 6th. Ὀκτωβρίου 6, Τοῦ Σεργίου καὶ Βάτχου.

---

1 See PG 115, cols. 596-609.
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 Βάχου

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.


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 ἐνδοξοςτάτου) μάρτυρος Σεργίου καὶ Βάχου...

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.

tοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου καὶ Βάχου

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

καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου (καὶ) Βάργου...

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

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


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 Σερ/γίου καὶ [τ]οῦ ἁγίου Βάχου...


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
.ἌΓΙ(Ε)Ε ΚΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΚΑΙ ἈΓΙΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ(Ε) ΚΩΣΑΤΕ...
.ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) καὶ ἄγιε Γεώργι(ε) σώσατε...

633 Inscr. No. 22, chalk block, Byzantine period
.ἌΓΙ(Ε)Ε ΚΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΚΑΙ ἈΓΙΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ(Ε) ΚΩΣΑΤΕ...
.ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) καὶ ἄγιε Γεώργι(ε) σώσατε...

634 Inscr. No. 30, Byzantine period
(J). Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΣΕΡΓΙ(Ε) [Κ(ΑΙ)] ΚΕΡΦΑΝΕ ΒΟΗΘ(ΕΙΤΕ)...
Κ(υρι)ε καὶ ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) [κ(αι)] Στέφανε βοηθ(ειτε)...

635 Inscr. No. 32, chalk block, Byzantine period
Ο ΘΕΟ(ΟΣ) ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΕΡΦΑΝΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) [ΤΟΥ] ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΕΡΓΙΟΥ
ΒΟΗΘ(ΟΘ) ΚΟΝ...
ὁ Θεο(ος) τοῦ ἀγίου Στεφάνου κ(αι) [τοῦ] ἄγιου Σεργίου βοήθ(οθ) σον...

636 Inscr. No. 33, chalk block, Byzantine period
... ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΕΡΓΙΟΥ...
... καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Σεργίου...

637 Inscr. No. 43, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
...ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΕΡΓΙΟΥ...
...ἀγιού Σεργίου...

638 Inscr. No. 45, chalk, Byzantine period
+ ΑΓΙΕ ΚΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΒΟΗΘΙ/ΚΟΝ...
+ ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) βοήθη/σον...

639 Inscr. No. 46, chalk block, Byzantine period
+ ΑΓΙΕ ΚΕΡΓΙ(Ε) Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΕ + / ΚΕΡΦΑΝΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ/...
+ ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) κ(αι) ἄγιε + / Στέφανε βοήθη/...

640 Inscr. No. 47, chalk fragment, Byzantine period
ΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΚΕΡΓΙ(Ε) ΒΟΗΘ(ΗΕ)...
Χριστ(ος) καὶ ἄγιε Σέργι(ε) βοηθή(θε)...

641 Inscr. No. 52, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
b) lines 5,6
ΒΟΗΘΙ ΑΓΙΕ / ΚΕΡΓΙ(Ε)
βοήθη ἄγιε / Σέργι(ε)

642 Inscr. No. 60, chalk voussoir, Byzantine period
... ΑΓΙΕ ΚΕΡΦΑΝΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΚΕΡΓΙΟ ΒΟΗΘ(ΩΘ) ΣΙΓΜΗΝ, ...ἄγιε Στέφανε καὶ ἄγιε Σέργιος Βοήθωσιν ἁμήν.

643 Inscr. No. 63, column drum, Byzantine period
+ Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε ΚΕΡΓΙ(Ε)...
+ Κ(υρι)ε Σέργι(ε)...

644
Basilius, the Martyr

Little is known of the Martyr Basilius. 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 Cyron from Tiberias, who was a presbyter of the Church of the Holy Martyr Basilius at Scythopolis.' '...καὶ τέλος Κυρίων ἐκ Τιβεριάδος πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου μάρτυρος Βασιλείου ἐν Σκυθοπόλει.'

In the Ἁγιοταφίτικον Κανονάριον on April 26th, the Church of Jerusalem celebrates the memory of Basilius 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 Basilius of Caesarea in Cappadocia is mentioned, he is called bishop.

The name of Basilius the Martyr appears in the following inscription:
Victor, the Martyr

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

The Martyrs Cosmas and Damianus

Known as 'Silverless', 'Ἀνάργυροι, they are always named together. The 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 Damianus².

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 Canonarian, p. 80.
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 erected. They are the Patron Saints of physicians and pharmacists. In the άρχαϊν Τυπικών τῆς Εκκλησίας Ιεροσολύμων their memory is celebrated on March 4th, τῶν ἅγιων Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ, and according to the Ἀγωνιστικῶν Κανονάριων, their feast day was celebrated on March 3rd in their own Church τοῦ ἅγιου Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἰδιαίτερᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν πάντως κατὰ Ἀντιόχου Στρατήγου, and on October 17th ἐν τῇ κόμῃ Βετάριου, Μνήμη Κοσμᾶ 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 ΘΕΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΚΟΣΜΑ Κ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ / ΕΛΕΧΟΝ ΤΟΝ...
† / Κύριε / ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἅγιου / Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ / ἔληξον τὸν...

655 Inscr. No. 314
† Ἠψι[Θω[ΘΗ ΤΟ ΕΥ]ΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ
† Ἠψι[Θω[ΘΗ ΤΟ ΕΥ]ΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ.

656 Inscr. No. 321
...[ΣΑΣΑΡΙΑ Χ ΑΓΙΩΝ] ΚΟ[ΣΜΑ...]
...[ΣΑΣΑΡΙΑ Χ ΑΓΙΩΝ] ΚΟ[ΣΜΑ...
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 ἄγιοι, τέχνην ἐχοντες τῶν παθῶν θελκτήριον’.

In both inscriptions they are called ‘Holy’, ‘Ἁγιοί.

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.

---

3 See Canonarion, p. 80.
Cyricus, the Martyr

Cyricus 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 Cyricus 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 Cyricus 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...
+ άγιε Ἰερεμία καὶ άγιε Κύρικε...
Bibl. Ιεραπολίτων Ἱεροσολύμων 1899, p. 93.

661 Magen Kibbutz, South of Nirim, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
+ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΖΩΝΑΙΝΟΥ / ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ Ε[Υ]ΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ / ΤΩ ΑΙ ΙΩ ΚΥΡΙΚΩ ΕΠΗΡΟΥΣΑ
+Αιλιανός Ζωναίνου / ἀναγνώστης εὐχαριστῶν / τῷ άγιῳ Κυρίκῳ ἐπηροῦσα
The Martyr’s name appears in the dative singular together with the word ‘Holy’, Ἅγιος.
Bibl. Yosef Porat and V. Tzaferis, unpublished.

Medjdel-Yaba near Ras el-Ain, North of Lod, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΗΡΙΚΟΥ
. Μαρτύριον τού / ἁγίου Κηρίκου.

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. Sabas. In this case I think that the names Cyriacus, Κυριακός, and Ciryco, Κηρύκος, have been confused.

El-Quweisime, Church of St. Ciryco, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
...ἐν ταῖς ἑτοίμαι/νίοις εὐχάς τοῦ ἁγίου Κηρύκου. Ἁμήν...

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 Muralt, Essai de Chronographie Byzantine I, p. 392.
ers. His martyrdom was described by his servant Pasicrates. The earliest Synaxarion mentioning his martyrdom belongs rather to the fifth century A.D.\(^1\).

In the *Ἄρχαῖον Τυπικόν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ιερουσαλήμ* and the *Ἄγιοσαψαλίκον Κανονισμον*\(^2\) it is recorded that his memory was celebrated on April 23rd, Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, 23 Ἀπριλίου, ἐν Φαλήρῳ Συρίῳ, Ναμίτι 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 Τρισκαινόρος, '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.

...ΠΡΕΣΣΙΟΥ ΑΓ. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΥΠΕΡ...

...πρεσβύτερος τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου ύπάρ...

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


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

[AΓ]Ε ΣΕΡΓΙΕΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΙ ΣΩΣΑΤΕ[...]

[άγιοι] Σέργιος καὶ ἁγιε Γεώργιος σώσατε[...]

666 *Avia Hafir*. ancient Nessana, Literary Papyri, *Acis* of St. George, VIIth Century A.D.

fragment 1, page 5, line 3

[ὀ δὲ ἁγίος Γεώργιος]

667 II leaf, lines 19, 20, 21

...τῷ ἁγίῳ / [Γεώργιῳ...]

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

ἐπεν [δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ ἁγιοὶς Γεώργιος]

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

ἐπεν [δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ ἁγιοὶς / [Γεώργιος]

---

\(^1\) 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: 'Ἀοίδ ἤτοι Λυδία λύσσαλος' (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
ο δὲ ἁγιος Γεώργιος

671  p. 11 (3c), lines 180-183
'Γεώργιος ἔγραψε ἕκ τῶν νεκρῶν' καὶ εὐθέως [ἀνέστη ο ἁγιος Γεώργιος
p. 12 (3d), line 199
ο δὲ ἁγιος Γεώργιος...

673  p. 14 (2d), lines 221-224
...ἀγιον Γεώργιον καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ 'Γεώργιον...

674  VIII leaf, p. 15 (1c), lines 234-235
ο δὲ ἁγιος Γεώργιος...

675  *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, non-literary papyri
Papyrus No. 91. 12, VI-VIth Century A.D.
...[άγιο] Παπύροι

676  Papyrus No. 35. 11
άγιος Γεώργιος...
All the above inscriptions give the name of the Martyr together with the
word 'Holy', "Αγιος, but in none of them is mentioned the term 'Martyr'
Μάρτυς.

Kraemer, Jr., *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir*) Vol. 3. Non-literary Pa-

677  *Bahan*, mosaic inscription No. 1, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ

...Γεώργιον Ἁμήν

Although the inscription is damaged, the word 'Holy', "Αγιος, 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 The-
dore, George and Leontius.


679  *El Kufir*, stone inscription (in a cattle shed), A.D. 652

...ΤΟΥ ΑΓ ΕΝΔΩΣ / ΜΑΡΤ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ...

...τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδώσαν / μάρτυρος) Γεώργιου...
The name 'Georgius' appears in the genitive singular together with the term
'Martyr', ἐνδώσαν μάρτυρος.

Gerasa, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, A.D. 529/30
...Ο ΝΑΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΚ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΚ...
...δι νοός τοῦ ἁγίου / Γεώργιου εκ προσφοράς...
Though the inscription is damaged, the name of the Martyr is readable. It is given in the genitive singular.

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.
"Ἄγιος Γεώργιη ἐλέησον Θεό/δωρον τόν...

inscr. No. 320
...δι (ε) Γεώργιου (ε) και (ε) [...}

Jericho, mosaic inscription, Russian property, Dec. 31st, A.D. 566
...ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΜΑΡ/ΤΥΡΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ...
...τοῦ ἁγίου / ἐνδόξου Μάρτυρος Γεώργιου...
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’ "Ἄγιος and ‘illustrious’ ἐνδόξος.
Bibl. SEG III (1927), No. 315.

Jerusalem a) Givat ha Qiryah (Sheikh Badr), mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
KE Ο ΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΝΗΣΕΩΤΙ ΤΟΥ...
Κ(υρί)ς Θ(εο)ς τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου μνήμης τοῦ...
The name of the Martyr is damaged but readable and appears in the genitive singular together with the word ‘Holy’ "Ἄγιος.

b) Flagellation Museum, bronze plate (movable object), VI-VIIth Century A.D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>obverse</th>
<th>reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ο 嫡 GE Γε-</td>
<td>ΑΓΙΕ ΓΕ- ἀγίος Γε-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Α имв ΩΡ ʔро-</td>
<td>ΩΡΓΙΙ ΠΡΟΣΔ ὁργίπ πρόσδ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΓΙ ɣι- GI ɣΓ-</td>
<td>ΕΞΕ ΤΙΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦ- εξε τ'ν καρποφ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ο ο- C Ʒ ORΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ Δ- ορίαν τοῦ δ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Ʒ</td>
<td>ΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ούλου σου</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hinnom Valley


This inscription may refer to the Church of St. George outside the walls of the city, by the Tower of David 'Νυκτοφοιρά'.


Khan Younes, marble inscription, Byzantine period

+ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ
+ σκυριστών τῷ ἁγίῳ Γεώργιῳ

The name is given in the dative singular together with the word 'Holy', "Αγίος.


Ramleh, St. George Greek Orthodox Church, stone inscription, A.D. 784 and 1817.

ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΙΝΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΚΑΙ / ΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΑΡΟΥ ΣΥΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜΟΥ ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΙΣΘΗ ΤΩ ΘΕΙΩ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ Ο ΝΑΟΣ / ΟΥΤΟΣ ΟΣ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΘΟΡΑΤΑΙ ΟΝ ΔΟΣΙΘΕΟΣ ΑΥΔΑΗΣ ΕΓΚΑΙΝΙΑΖΕΙ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΩ ΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΣΤ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΥΘΡΙΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΠΡΟΚΤΙΣΘΕΝΤΑ ΤΩ ΨΗΦΙΑ ΤΗ ΕΦΟΔΩ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΓΑΛΛΩΝ ΕΜΠΡΗΣΘΕΝΤΑ ΤΩ ΑΨΗΗ'

Patriarcheion of the kleinos Polycarpus epitroneunotos Petras tou Miasael ka/ tou gerasaro syn autow gerasisimo anekainisethi to THEI Georgiou o nados/ oudos os von kathoratai, don dosithes ludhios ekganiazi to qai/ Matou kai/ ygoumenonotos Mtrophanos Kythriou. Epi Avgousths Eirinhs proktesentas to psychi' the ephodo de ton Gallon emipresentas to psychi.'

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', Θείος, is attributed to the Martyr George.

Bibl. Βενιαμίν Ἰωαννίδου, Τὸ Προσκυνητάριον τῆς Ἀγίας Γῆς. Ιερουσαλήμ και τὰ περὶ χωρᾶ αὐτῆς, Ιερουσαλήμ 1877.

Sameh, Transjordan, Monastery of St. George, stone inscription, A.D. 624/5
The name of the Martyr is given in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', 'Άγιος'.


690 Mahaiy, Transjordan, stone inscription, A.D. 600

+ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ ΔΟΥΛΑ / TS ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ/ MΗ Δ/ CS ΚΑΙ IN/ΔΥ ΥΓΕ'

+ Γεωργία δι' άγιον Γεωργία (iou), έπωθηκε ης, μη (νος) Δ(α) /σ(ιου) κόη, ιν/δ(κτιστός) γ', (έτους) χρε.'


691 Mahaiy, Transjordan, stone inscription, A.D. 601

+ ΜΗΝΑΣ Δ(ΟΥΛΗΣ) ΤΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ/ ΜΗ ΑΙΚΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΣ ΔΟΥΛΗΣ Σ/ YΓΕ'

+ Μηνάς, δι' άγιον Γεωργία (ιου), έπωθηκε ης, μη (νος) / Δαίως (ιου) κόη/ ιν/δ(κτιστός) γ', του/ (έτους) χρε.'


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 Marcotis 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, 'του άγιου Μηνάς ευλογία'.

According to the Byzantine Calendar his memory is celebrated on November 11th. In the 'Αρχαίον Τυπικόν τής Ἐκκλησίας Ἰερουσαλήμων' his memory was celebrated on May 6th and on July 10th, 'ἐν τῷ εὐκτικίῳ τῆς μακραίας Βάσσης...'; according to the 'Αγιοπραγμάτων' on May 5th, October 31st and November 12th 'Ἐν τῷ εὐκτικίῳ τῆς μακραίας Βάσσης' and on November 13th 'Ἐν τῇ Ἀναστάσει...'

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

---

1 See Άρχη Καλλιάτσου, 'Αρχαίον Τυπικόν τής Ἐκκλησίας Ἰερουσαλήμων τιν Ζ' άιώνος, ΝΣ 14 (1914).
2 Κλεοβούλος Καραπέρη, 1500 η έπτάεως τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἰερουσαλήμων 451-1951. Πανηγυρικός Τόμος, τεύχος Α', Ιερουσαλήμ 1952, pp. 100-125.
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 duties. 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 *Ἀγοσταφίτων Κανονάριον* 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 *Αρχαίον Τυπικόν τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἰεροσολύμων* 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 Tertullian, *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...
...ἐτελίοθη / καὶ ἐψηφόθη ἡ ἅγια Θέκλα...
The name of the Martyr is given in the nominative singular together with the
word 'Holy', Ἁγια.

694 Kafr Kama, mosaic inscription No.3, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
. ἈΓΙΑ ΘΕΚΛΑ ΒΩΗΘΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ
. ἅγια Θέκλα βοήθη Ἀναστάσιον.
The name of the Martyr is given in the nominative singular together with the
word 'Holy', Ἁγια.

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.

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 ΝΕΣ 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 Στρατηγός.

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
Theodorus'. His Martyrion, written by an unknown author, was published by N.
Delehaye2.

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 P G 46, pp. 736-748.
tury1. 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, “Αγίοι Θεόδωροι”.

According to ‘Αργαίων Τυπικόν τῆς Εκκλησίας Ἰεροσολύμων’ there was a church dedicated to Theodorus, probably the Theodorus known as ‘Teron’, in Jerusalem, ‘Τουλίω 3, ἐν τῷ ἅγιῳ Θεόδωρῳ...’, Μαρτίου 10, Ἰουνίου 2, Αὐγούστου 8. According to ‘Αγιοταφικὸν Κανονίων, ‘Σάββατον τῆς α’ Κυριακῆς τῆς μεγάλης τεσσαρακοστῆς, Μνήμη τοῦ Μεγαλομάρτυρος Θεόδωρου.’

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 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
. Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἅγιον Θεόδωρου.

The name of the Martyr is indicated only by the first letter ‘th’, ‘Θ’. The rest of the inscription is missing.

696  *Bir el Qutt*, near Bethlehem, mosaic inscription in Georgian language, second half of the VIIth Century A.D.
‘it was made by the aid of Christ and through the intercession of St. Theodorus – Lord have mercy on...’

697  *Deir el Qelt*, Choziba Monastery, Gabriel’s hermitage, wall fresco, VIIth Century A.D.
Theodoreus ‘Θεόδωρος’ the Martyr is depicted among other military Martyrs.

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:

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΠ[ΟΣ] ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΠ[ΟΣ]


---

2 See also Βίος τοῦ Ὄσιου Σάββα τοῦ Ἡγιασμένου, Παλαιστινῶν Πατερικῶν. τέχνως Α’ p. 124.
699 Gérás, Quneitra, St. Theodorus' Church, VIth Century A.D.
...ΔΟΜΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΑΕΘΑΛΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ...
...δόμος εἰμὶ Ἀθαλοφόρου Θεοδώρου μάρτυρος αθανάτου...
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', Άθαλοφόρος, and 'Immortal', Αθανάτος.
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.
. ΑΓ' ΗΙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ[Π]Ε ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΙΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΝ / ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΟΥ...
. ἅγιος Θεοδώρου πρόσδεξε σῷ τὴν προσφορὰν / τοῦ δούλου σου...

701 Oboda, Martyrion of St. Theodorus, tombstone, A.D. 541
...ΕΤΑΦΗ ΔΕ ΕΝ / ΤΩ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΩ ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
...ἐταφη δὲ εν τῷ μάρτυρίῳ τού / ἁγίου Θεοδώρου
The name of the Martyr appears in the genitive singular together with the word 'Holy', Ἅγιος.

702 Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, lintel inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Refectory lintel over the N. W. window
...ΓΕΡΟΝΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΥΣΜΟΥ / ΠΡΟΣΒ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ...
...Γερόντιον τόν φιλοχρύσμον / προσβήσθε τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου...

The Martyr Leontius

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

703 Deir El Qelt, Chozaiba Monastery, Gabriel's hermitage, VIth Century A.D.
A wall fresco depicting SS. Theodore, George and Leontius.
[Ὁ ΑΓΙΟΣ] ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ
[ὁ ἅγιος] Λεόντιος
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 Eilat, Aila, Gulf of Aqabah, Byzantine period

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

[Λ]ΟΓΓΙΝΟC [Λ]ΟΓΓΙΝΟC

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


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:

Khirbet el-Mekhayat, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, VIth Century A.D.

O ΘΕΟ ΑΓΙΟ ΛΟΤ Κ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ ΤΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΝ...

---

1 BHG No. 1576-82.
2 BHG Bruxelles 1895, p. 115 and A. П. Κεραμέας, Ἄναλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταυρολογίας Ε, I-27.
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 Hašr, ancient Nessana, inscriptions

706  Inscription No. 27, limestone lintel, Byzantine period  
EIC ΘΕΟC O / ΒΟ[ΘΩΝ] / ΑΓΙΟ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΒΟΗ(ΘΗ)-
CON  
δο Θεός τού ἁγίου Στέφανου κ[αι] [τοῦ] / ἁγίου Σεργίου βοή(θη)σον

707  Inscription No. 32, chalk block, Byzantine period  
Ο ΘΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ Κ [ΤΟΥ] / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΒΟΗ(ΘΗ)-
CON  
δο Θεός τοῦ ἁγίου Στέφανου κ[αι] [τοῦ] / ἁγίου Σεργίου βοή(θη)σον

708  Inscription No. 33, chalk block, Byzantine period  
...ΜΑΡ(ΤΥΡΟΣ) ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...  
...Μάρτυρος Στέφανου...

709  Inscription No. 43, chalk fragment, Byzantine period  
(...ΑΓΙΟΥ) ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ [ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΥ] ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ).  
(...άγιου) Σεργίου [και αγίου] Στέφανου).

710  Inscription No. 46, chalk block, Byzantine period  
+ ΑΓΙΟ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ(Ε) Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΕ + / ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ...  
+ Άγιο Σεργίου(ε) και αγιε + / Στέφανου βοήθει...

711  Inscription No. 60, chalk vousoir, Byzantine period  
...ΑΓΙΟ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΕΣ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΝ ΑΜΗΝ  
...Αγιο Στέφανου και αγιες Σεργίου βοήθειν αμήν.

712  Inscription No. 89, chalk fragment, Byzantine period  
[Ο ΘΕΟC ΑΓΙΟΝ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ...  
[ὁ Θεός Άγιον Σεργίου και Στέφανον...

713  Inscription No. 109, chalk block, Byzantine period  
ΚΕ Ό ΘΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ  
Κ(αι) ὁ Θεός τοῦ [άγιου] Στέφανου.
The name of the Martyr in all the above inscriptions appears in the genitive and vocative singular always together with the word ‘Holy’, Ἀγιός.
Bibl. Eden Kirk and C. Bradford Welles, Excavations at Nessana (Auja Ha-

714 Bahan, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΠΡΟΤΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ
...προτομαρτυρος Στεφάνου, ἀμήν.

715 Beersheba, marble inscription, Vth Century A.D.
+ ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ .../+ ΑΓΙΕ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΕ ΕΥΞΕΙ ΣΕΟΥ ΧΡΟΥ.
+ αυτη η πυλη .../+ αγιε στεφανιε ευξει σεουχρου.

716 Rihab, Transjordan, house of Saad en Nuheb, mosaic inscription, May A.D.
620
...ΘΕΟΜΕΛΙΩΘ(Η) Ο ΝΑΟC ΟΥΤΟC ΤΟY ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.
...θεομελιωθη ο ναος ουτος του ἀγιου στεφανου.

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
(+ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.
(†μαρτυριον του αγιου στεφανου.
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 ΘΕΟΙ/ΦΙΛΟΝ.
"Αγιε στεφ(ανε)/ φυλαξον [τον]/ δουλον σου θεοι/φιλον.

According to the Ἄγιοτατικάν Κανονάριον¹ his memory was celebrated on De-
cember 27th. A Church was also dedicated to the Martyr in Jerusalem. See Ἄγιοτα-
tικάν Κανονάριον January 11th and 14th, the Saturday of the first week of Lent, June 15th and 30th and September 10th.
Τιμουρίου 11η, δεκτη ημέρα των Θεοφανείων, Σύναξις εν ἀγίῳ Στεφάνῳ.

¹ See Canonarion p. 80.
Anouariou 14η, Σύναξις ἐν ἀγίῳ Στεφάνῳ.
Ιουνίου 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 Tabon).
In the Ἁγιοταφιτικόν Κανονάριον his memory is celebrated by the Palestinian
Church on May 20th along with Isidorus (Μαθ. 20, τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Βάρου).
His name appears in the following inscriptions:

719 Kh. Suweikeh, Judaean Hills, Ramallah vicinity, marble inscription, VIIth
Century A.D.
...ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ ... τοῦ ἀγίου Οὐάρου
His name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the
word 'Holy', Ἀγιος.
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), Nos. 7, 8.

The Righteous Ones

In the Old Testament the term 'righteous' as a relative, not an absolute stan-
dard, was used for those who adhered loyally to the moral and religious customs of
their people. Noah, for example, was a righteous man, likewise Lot, the nephew of
Abraham, because their moral standards were higher than those of their corrupt con-
temporaries. The Rabbis attributed the barrenness of the Matriarchs to God's de-
sire 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, Δίκαιοι. The term 'righteous' was also attributed to Abel, 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 Jerusalem; likewise Zechariah and Eliza-
beth, parents of St. John the Baptist.

1 Garitte index, p. 376: Le culte de ce martyr d’Egypte (et non de Palestine) était assez répondu dans le dio-
cèse de Jérusalem.
B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea, p. 281.
2 See page 80.
3 Gen. 6: 9.
4 Clem. Paed. 1. 6.
To the righteous people mentioned in the inscriptions extant in Palestine and belonging to the Byzantine period, is attributed the world 'Holy', 'Αγιοι.

The term 'righteous' in the plural:

720  *Kh. al-Khoreisa* or *Umm Tiran*, lintel, stone inscription, Byzantine period
    . ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΙ[Υ]/ΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ[Π]/ΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ/ΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ
    . αύτη ή π[Υ]/ΛΗ τού Κυ[Π]/ΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ/ΟΙ εισελεύονται εν αύτή (Ps. 117, 20).

721  *Beersheba*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
    + ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΙΛΑΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ
    + αύτη ή πίλη τού Κυρίου Δίκαιοι εισελεύονται εν αύτή / ἀγιε Στέφανο...

722  *Kh. Karmil* (today in *Yatta*), stone inscription, Byzantine period
    . ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΙΛΑΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ.
    . αύτη ή πίλη τού Κυρίου Δίκαιοι εισελεύονται εν αύτή.

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', 'Αγιος.

Although there is no longer any commemoration of Lot by the Church, his memory is alive in places, names and monuments, e.g., Bahr Lüt, one of the names attributed to the Dead Sea, and memorials to him at Beni Naim, 5½ km East of Hebron, where at the village mosque, Mohammedans venerate the tomb of Lüt (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:

Khirbet el-Mekhayat. Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, VIth Century A.D.
a) mosaic inscription No. 337
. ΑΠΙΕ ΛΩΤ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ ΤΗΝ / ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗΝ...
. ἀγιε λῶτ πρόσδεξε τήν / προσευχήν...
b) mosaic inscription No. 336 VIth Century A.D.
... Ο ΘΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΛΟΤ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΟΥ...
... ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Λότ καὶ τοῦ...

Madaba, mosaic map, A.D. 560/5
. ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΛΩΤ
. τό τοῦ ἁγίου Λῶτ.
Lot’s name appears in the genitive and vocative singular and in all three instances together with the word ‘Holy’, "Αγιος."

In the 'Ἀγιοπαρθηκτικὸν Κανώνιον', 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 καὶ 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 Ammonites 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:

---

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[NA]C...
... τῆς ἁγιᾶς Ἀννᾶς...
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. 1: 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 Ἁγιοταφικῶν Κανονάριων¹ 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, Ἀνυόστου 28 ἐν τῇ κόμῃ Ἔν Κάρειμ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Δικαίας Ἐλισάβετ, μνήμη αὐτῆς.

727 Bobbio, medallion originating from Palestine, VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΕΥΑΟΓΙΑ ΚΥ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ(ΦΥΓΗΣ ΤΗΣ) ΑΓ(ΙΑΣ) ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΘ. + εὐλογία Κ(υρίων) ἀπὸ τῆς κατα(φυγῆς τῆς) ἁγ(ίας) Ἐλισαβέθ
The name appears in complete form in the genitive singular together with the word ‘Holy’, Ἀγία.
In the literary source given above the name Elizabeth appears together with the term ‘Righteous’, Δικαία.

Lazarus

According to the New Testament² 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 Ἁγιοταφικῶν Κανονάριων³ 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, Ἀβρααμον πρὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς τῶν Βασιλείων, 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
KE O ΘC O ΕΓΙΡΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΝ Ἐ[Ḳ] ΝΕΚΡΩΝ / ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΥ...
Κερις ὁ Θεός ὁ εγιρας τὸν Λαζαρον ἐ[Ḳ] νεκρον / μνησθητι του...
His name is given in the accusative singular.

Angels and Archangels

The word 'angel' is derived from the Greek word 'messenger', ἀγγέλος.
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 beings. The Angels participated in the most important moments of His life, e.g., they announced His Incarnation, His birth, they ministered to Him in the desert, strengthened Him in His agony and also were the first witnesses of His Resurrection. 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 Οἰκουμενῆς 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, 'Ἄγγελοις ὁνομάζειν καὶ συναξεῖς ποιεῖν'.

Apart from the Councilian decrees, the Fathers of the Church expressed strong opinions for and against the worship of Angels. 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. 787* 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 Pisidia. 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 Gabriel, the Archangel of the Annunciation.

Michael appears in the following inscriptions of the Byzantine period found in Palestine:

V leaf, lines 106-108
... καὶ ἡνεκ’τεν ὁ Ἀρχαήλ/ὁ Ἀρχηγελὸς ἄρτον...
In this text, the name is given together with the title ‘Archangel’, Άρχαγγελός.

730  *El–Jish*, bronze amulet (movable object), Byzantine period
Obverse. ΕΙC ΘΕΟΟ ΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΚΑ ΕΙC ΘΕΟΣ ο νικῶν τά κακά.
Reverse. ΙΑΩ ΚΑ/ΒΑΙΝΘ ΜΙΧ/ΑΗΛ ΒΟΗΘΙ ηαιο Σαβασάθ Μιχ/αήλ βο-ηθή.

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, Vth Century A.D.
ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ, ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ Μιχαήλ, ἡ ἀγία Μαρία, Γαβριηλ.

---

1 See Theodore (in Col) who refers to the spread of the worship of St. Michael and to its prohibition, and who mentions oratories (εἰκόνας) 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, τεῖς τιμήν καὶ μνήμην τῶν καμμενίστων ταξιαρχῶν Μιχαήλ καὶ Γαβριηλ καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἔκπορευόντων δούλων αὐτῶν ἀσβεστων".
732  *Herodion* the Lower, North of Bethlehem – Tekoah Road, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

ΚΕ ΥC ΧΡ ΚΕ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΩΤΩΝ ΚΟΥ ...

In this inscription only the name Michael is mentioned together with the word ‘Holy’, 'Αγιος. 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 Garibiye.


733  *Gariye el Garibiye* (Arabia), A.D. 600

. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ (ΚΑΙ) ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΕΚΤΙΣΘΗ ...

. ο Άγιος Μιχαήλ (και) Γαβριήλ ἐκτίσθη ...

This inscription states that the Church of SS. Michael and Gabriel was built in the year... In this inscription the word ‘Holy’, 'Αγιος is attributed to both the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, as their only title.


734  *Umm id-Djimal*, Transjordan, city of Provincia Arabia rather than of Palestine, Byzantine period

Inscr. Nos: 245  
. ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ  
. Γαβριήλ

246  
. ΡΑΦΗΛ  
. Ραφήλ

247  
. ΜΙΧΑΗΛ  
. Μιχαήλ

248  
. ΟΥΡΗΛ  
. Όυρηλ

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.


According to the ‘Αγιοταφικόν Κανονάριον, his memory was celebrated by the Church of Jerusalem on November 29th. Νοεμβρίου 29, Μνήμη τού ἁρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ.

A church dedicated to him according to the above source was, ἐν τῷ ἐντετραγώ τοῦ ἵερου ʹΙορδάνου ἐν Λαξερνίπ, παρά τῷ άγιῳ Μιχαήλ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐγκαίνια. Ὁκτωβρίου 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 'Ἀγιοτατικὸν Κανονάριον on November 14th and on the Friday before the beginning of Lent.
Νοεμβρίου 14, ...τοῦ 'Αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ.
Παρασκευῆς τῆς Τυρινῆς, Σύναξις ἐν Σιών, Μνήμη τῶν 'Αρχαγγέλων.

b) In the Tacticum, MS. No. 326, Greek Orthodox Patriarchal Library.
A ninth century manuscript edited by Gregorios Palamas in Ἰεροσολυμάς 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 μονή τοῦ 'Αρχαγγέλου Γαβριήλ...

ii) In the scene of the Annunciation on movable objects:

735 Jerusalem, Dept. of Antiquities, a Byzantine gold enkolpion 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 κεχαριτομηνί

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 ἅγια Μαρία, Γαβριήλ.

738 Umm idj-Djimal (Provincia Arabia), stone inscription on a monastery tower, Byzantine period

---

2 This city as well as the site of Garive el Garbiye belonged to Provincia Arabia rather than to Palestine.
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 Ourliel.


**Holy Places**

The word 'Holy', "Αγιος", 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, 'Αγιας Ἄναστασις

739 *Jerusalem*, i) Mount of Olives, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΚΑΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΑΝΑΓΩΣΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ...  
Kalistratou upɔdiaz(ɔ)c agias(ɔ)c Anastasi(ɔ)c kai...  

740 ii) In Basilica in agro Dominican, tomb inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΝΟΝ/ΝΟΥ ΔΙΑ/ΚΟΝΙΚ/ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΑÇ Κ/...  
...Nou/nou dia/konik/ ois(oi)/ tis agias toi Xou AÇ K...  

741 iii) Mount of Olives, tomb inscription, Vth Century A.D.

...ΘΕΟΔΟΥΛΩ / ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ / ΘΥΡΩΡΩΥ ΤΗΣ / ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ / ΑΝΑΓΩΣΘΕΝ...  
...Theodoulou / genomenoi / thyrowró toi tis / agias toi Xou / Anastasi[...]  
All three of the above inscriptions are attributed to the Church of the 'Resurrection' 'Ανάστασις of Christ.

Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), p. 568; See also the literary sources, 'Αγιοφαρμακικόν Κανόναριον, 'Αρχαιόν Τοπικόν, and 'Αρμαρικόν Κανόναριον of Conybeare, where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is called 'Holy Resurrection', 'Αγια 'Ανάστασις.

B. Church of Mount Sion – Holy Sion 'Αγιας Σιών

---

See section on Michael the Archangel, page 141 above.

742 Jerusalem, Oaudi-er-Rebábi, stone inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΣΙΩΝ + τῆς Ἁγίας Σιών
C. Church of the Ascension-Holy Ascension, Ἁγίας Ἀναλήψεως

743
Φ
ΑΓΙΑΣ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΕΩΣ ΖΩΗ
ἀγίας Ἀναλήψεως C

D. Holy Martyria, Ἁγία Μαρτυρία

744 Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, North Church, chalk voussoir, November 6th, A.D. 464
...ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΑΡ/ΤΥΡΙΟΥ...
...ἐν τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου Μαρ/τυρίου...

745 Gerasa, Procopius Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 526/7
.../ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΕΠΙΛΗΨΘΗ[Θ] ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ [ΜΑ]ΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΑΠΟ /
ΕΥΛΟΓΙΩΝ...
.../ ἐπισκόπου ἐπιληψθῆ[ν] τὸ ἁγίον [Μα]ρτυρίον ἀπὸ / εὐλογίων...
In the last two inscriptions the word 'ἕγον' is attributed to a 'martyrium' building.
Bibl. SEG VII (1934), No. 827.

E. Holy Temple, Ὁ Ἁγίος Ναός

746 Beit Loya, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΑΞΙΖΟϹ / ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΚΟϹ / ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ/ΝΤΕΚ ΑΝΕΘΗ/ΚΑΜΕΝ /
ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ
'Αξιῶς / καὶ Κύρικος / εὐχαριστοῦ/ντες ἃνεθή/καμεν τὸν ναὸν
Bibl. Yoram Tsafrir, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, unpublished.

747 Gerasa, the Propylaea Church, mosaic inscription, May-June A.D. 565
+ ΑΓΙΟϹ / Ο ΝΑΟϹ ΣΟΥ / ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟϹ / ΕΝ ΔΙΚAIΟ/ΣΥΝΗ.
+ /ἅγιος / ὁ ναὸς σου / θαυμαστός / ἐν δικαιο/σύνη.

748 Ras Styagha, North of the Baptistery – font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597
...ΕΤΕΛΕΙ/ΔΘΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΣΥΝ / ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΙ-
CTH/ΡΙΩ.
...ἐτελεύθη τῷ ἔργων τοῦ / ἀγίου ναοῦ σὺν / τῷ Φωτιστῆρι/ρίῳ.
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 318.

F. "Ἀγιος Οἶκος meaning a Church

749 Bahar, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
. Τ/Ω / ΟΙΚΩ / ΚΟΥ ΠΡΕ/ΠΙΙ ΑΓΙΑΣΜΑ / ΚΕ ΕΙC ΜΑΚ/ΡΟΘΤΑ...
. τ/ῳ οἴκῳ / σου πρό/πι ἀγίασμα / Κ(ύρι)ε εἰς μακ/ρότητα...
Dept. of Antiq. Files, Neg. No. 13, 170.

750 Deir Main, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΚΤΙΣΘΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ / Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΚ ΚΠΟΥΔΗΣ/...
...ἐκτίσθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη / ὁ Ἀγιος οἶκος οὗτος ἐκ σποουδῆς/...
In the last two inscriptions the word 'Holy', Ἀγιος, is attributed to 'holy buildings' meaning Churches.

751 Evron, mosaic inscription No. 7, Vth Century A.D.
ΑΙΓΙΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ἀγίου οίκου.
Dept. of Antiq. files.

752 Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Dominus Flevit, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ ΕΚΟΜΗΣΕΝ / ΖΥΜΕΛΩΝ ὁ ΦΙΛΟΧΡ... 
tουτων των ευκτηριων αγιου οικον εκομησεν / ζυμελων ο φιλοχριστος)... Bibl. SEG X (1960), No. 786.

753 Khisfin, Golan, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.
...ΑΝΕΝΕΚΧΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΟΙΚ...
...ἀνενέκχεσεν τὸν ἀγίον οἶκον)... 
V. Tzaferis, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

G. Holy Church (building), Ἀγία Ἐκκλησία

754 El-Quweisme. SE of Amman, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΑΝΕΝΕΚΧΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΗΣΜΑ ΕΚ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ / ΘΗΣ ΑΓΙΟΥ 
ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΚΕ ΕΨΗΦΙΟΘΗ...
...ἀνενέκχεσεν τὸν κτήσμα έκ θεμελίων / τής ἀγιοτάτης ταὐτής ἐκκλησίας και εψηφιωθη...
755 Evron, mosaic inscription No. 4, Vth Century A.D.
...ΟΙΚΟ/ΔΟΜΗΘΗ Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΚ[ΚΛΗΣΙΑ...  
...οίκο/δομήθη ή άγια ἐκ[κλησία...  
Dept. of Antiq. files, Neg. No. 4342.

756 Evron, mosaic inscription No. 5, Vth Century A.D.
...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ Η ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΗ ΕΚΑΗΣΙΑ/  
...ἐψηφωθη ή ἀγιωτάτη ἐκλησία/  
Dept. of Antiq. files, Neg. No. 4343.

757 Gerasa, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
...ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ Κ ΕΣΤΕΓΑΣΘΗ ΚΥΝ ΘΕΩ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ  
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΕΥΚΤΗΡΙΟΥ...  
...ἐψηφωθη κα(ί) έστεγάσθη σύν Θεό κ τό πάν έργον τού ἀγίου εὐκτηρίου...  

758 Jaber (Provincia Arabia), Transjordan, home of Ahmed el-Husein, mosaic
inscription, Byzantine period
...ΤΩ / ΜΕΣΑΥΛΩΝ ΑΓ ΕΚΑΗΣΙΑC...  
...τῶ / μέσαυλων ἀγ(ίας) ἐκλησίας...  
Dept. of Antiq. files.

759 Jericho, Russian property, mosaic inscription, December 11th, A.D. 566
...ΤΗ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΣ / ΝΕΑ ΕΚΑΗΣΙΑ ΤΗC / ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ / ΕΝ  
ΙΕΡΟΚΟΛΥΜΟΙC...  
...τη άγιωτάς(τη)/ νέα εκλησία της / ἐνδόξου Θεοτόκου / ἐν ἱεροκολύμωις...  
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. Bát es Sîh), mosaic inscription, A.D. 616/7
+ ΕΚΕΔΗΥΘΗ Η ΑΓΙΑ] / ΗΚΑΗΣΙΑ...  
+ ἐκτήσθη ή άγια] / ἡκλησία...  

761 Khirbet el-Mekhayat, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, Vth Century
A.D.
...Α/ΓΙΩΤΣ ΕΚΑΗΣ... 'Α/γιωτι(άτης) ἐκλησι(ιας).  
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/ΚΙΩΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙΧΕΧ ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ Η ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΗ ΕΚ/ΛΗΟΙ...  
'Επι τού ο/κιω(τατου) Θεοδοσίου / ἐπιχεχ(όπου) ἐψηφωθη ή άγιωτάτη  
ἐκ/λησι[α]...  
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, ‘La chiesa di Massuh e il territorio della diocesi di Esbous,’  
763 *Mukhmas*, 7.5 km, N.E. of Jerusalem – Ramallah Rd., mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.

...κΕ ΨΗΦΩΘΗΝΕ ΘΗ/Ν ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ

...κε υμηροθήνε τή/ν ἄγιωτατην ἐκκλησιαν.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 150.

764 *Ozem*, mosaic inscription, V-VIIth Century A.D.

ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ.../ ΕΚΑΗΣΙΑ...

ἐτελιῶθη.../ ἐκκλησία...

In the last three inscriptions, the word ‘Holy’, Ἁγίος is attributed to a Church building.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

765 *Swafieh*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.

...ΑΓΙΩΣ ΕΚΑΣ ΣΠΟΥΔΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΜΑΣΩΝ...

...ἀγίος ἐκλησίας σπουδῆς καὶ καμάτων...


766 *Wadi Ayoun Mousa*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗΝ Α/ΥΘΗ Η ΑΓΙΟΣ / ΕΚΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥ / ΚΥΡΟΥ ΕΠΙ/ΚΣΣ

Ἐνη/φωθή α/ύτη ἢ ἁγιω(τάτη) / ἐκλήσια ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐ(λαβεστάτου) / Κύρου ἐπι/σκ(όπου)


H. Holy Sanctuary, Ἁγιον θυσιαστήριον

767 *Hesban* (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ... ΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ...

Ἐπὶ τοῦ...ἐτελείωθη τὸ ἀγι(ον) θυσιαστήριον... An.


I. Holy Place and Places, Ἁγιος Τόπος, Ἁγιοι Τόποι

768 *Ain el Tabgha*, mosaic inscription No. 2, Vth Century A.D.

. ΤΩ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΩΝ. ΤΩΝ

. τῷ ἁγίῳ τῶπῳ

† ΜΝΗΜΗΚΕ(ΗΣΗΣ) ΚΕ ΚΑΥΡΟΥ † μνημησθησθησθήσεται Κύριε Σαβάου.

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 5.

769 *Auja Hafr*, ancient Nessana, chalk voussoir, December 1st, A.D. 475

† ΕΝ ΤΟΥ/ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΠΟΥ

† ἐν τοῦ/του τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ

770 *Der-Rumsaniyeh*, Golan, stone inscription, Byzantine period

...ΕΚ/ΤΙϹΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓ'/ΤΟΠΟΥ...

...ἐκ/τισεν τοῦ ἀγίου τοῦπο...


771 *El-Quweisme*, SE of Amman, Transjordan, Church of St. Circeus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΓΙΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΒΑΝΟΝΕΙΩΘΗ Α ΟΓΙΟϹ ΤΟ/ΠΟϹ...

'Επι του Μαγίμου προβάνονειώθη (δ) (ἀγίος τοῦπο...


772 *El-Yadudeh*, 12 km South of Amman, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 503

...ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑϹ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟϹ/ΕΝΙΝΚΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΩ...

...ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν προσ/ενινκόντων τῶ ἁγίω τόπω τούτω...


773 *Gaza*, marble inscription, Byzantine period

...ΑΣΙΑΚΩ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΖΑΡΟϹ ΣΥΜΒΙΟϹ ΙΝΑ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ / ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΑΝΕΝΕ/ΥΚΑΝ ΚΤΙϹΜΑ ΤΗϹ ΚΟΓΧΗϹ ΥϹΝ / [ΑΨΙΩ ΑΠΟ] ΘΕΜΕΛΙ(ΥΝ)...

...Ασιακω και Λαζαρος συμβιος ινα ευχαριστων / του αγιου τοπου ανενευκαν κτισμα της κογχης υςν / [αψιω απο] θεμελι(υν)...


774 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of the priest John, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ ΤΟΠΟϹ...

...ἐτελιώθη ο ἁγιος τοπος.


775 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΤ[Ε][Α][Ε][Ι]ΩΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ ΤΟΠΟϹ...

...ἐτελιώθη ο ἁγιος τοπος.


776 *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, VIth Century A.D.

...ΕΚΤΙϹΗ ΚΟΤΙΑ ΕΤΕΛ[Ε][Ι]ΩΘΗ [Ο] ΑΓΙΟϹ ΤΟ[ΠΟϹ[Ο]C...

...ἐκτιςη κοτια ετελε[ι]ωθη [ο] ἁγιος το[πο][ο]c...


777 *Madaba*, Suaita Chapel, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

...ΕΨΗΦΙΩΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ/ΤΟΠΟϹ...

...ἐψηφιωθη ο ἁγιος τοπος...

Bibl. *SEG* VIII (1937), No. 331.
Madaba, the Cathedral, mosaic inscription, A.D. 563

- ΘΗ Ο ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ έΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ
- ΘΗ Ο ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ έΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ


779 Madaba, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 579

...ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ...

...ἐτελιώθη ὁ ἁγίος τόπος τῶν Ἀποστόλων...


780 Madaba, Theotokos Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 662/3

...ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΠΙΟΛΟΓΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟ ΤΟΠΟ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ.

...τῶν καρπιολογόυντων ἐν ἁγίῳ τόπῳ τούτῳ.


781 Masauh, mosaic inscription No. 5, Byzantine period

...ΑΓΙΟΣ/ ...ΤΩΝ/...

...ἀγιο/ [ο] ...τόπω/...


Monza, ampoullae from Monza originating in Palestine, Byzantine period

782 No. 1. + ΕΛΕΟΝ ΣΥΛΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ
  + ἐλεον σύλου τῶν ἁγίων Χριστού τόπων

783 No. 2. + ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ
  + εὐλογία Κυρίου τῶν ἁγίων Χριστοῦ τόπων

784 No. 3. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΣΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ
  + ἐλαιον σύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χριστοῦ τόπων

785 No. 4. + ΕΛΕΟΝ ΣΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ
  + ἐλεον σύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων τόπων.

786 No. 5. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΣΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ
  (ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ)
  + ἐλαιον σύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χριστοῦ τόπων.
  (εὐλογία Κυρίου τῶν ἁγίων Χριστοῦ τόπων.)

787 No. 6. + ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ.
  + εὐλογία Κυρίου τῶν ἁγίων τόπων.

788 No. 9. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΣΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ.
  + ἐλαιον σύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόπων.

789 No. 10. + ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΣΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ.
  + ἐλαιον σύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόπων.

790 No. 12. + ΕΛΕΟΝ ΣΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ
  + ἐλεον σύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χριστοῦ τόπων
No. 14. + ΕΛΛΑΙΟΝ ΞΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΟΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ
† ἔλαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χρ(ιστοῦ) τόπων.

Bobbio.  Ampoulla of Palestinian origin,  VIth Century A.D.
No. 1. (ΕΛ)Λ(ΙΟΝ) ΞΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ (Θ)ΔΗΓΟ ... ΕΝ Ξ(ΙΡΑ) ΚΑΙ Θ(Α)Λ(Α)
[ACCH]  
(ἔλαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χρ(ιστοῦ) τόπων).

No. 2. + ΕΛΛΑΙΟΝ ΞΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΥ ΤΟΙΠΩΝ.
† ἔλαιον ξύλου ζωῆς τῶν ἁγίων Χρ(ιστοῦ) τόπων.

No. 10. ...ΕΛΛΑΙΟΝ ΞΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ.
...ΕΝ ΞΥΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΧΥ ΤΟΙΠΩΝ.

Nazareth, the Shrine of the Annunciation, graffiti, plaster remaining on a column, Late Roman period
.../ΥΠΟ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ M.../υπό ἁγίου τόπου μ...


Ras Siyagha, Basilica, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ANENEW/ΘΗ Ο ΑΓΙΟ ΤΟΠΟΣ.


Rihah, house of Khalid el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604
...ΤΟΥΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ Χ Μ Γ +
...τούδε τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου ἀμήν Κύριε χ μ γ +


Sinai, Faran Oasis, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΕ ΒΟΕΘΕΙΑ/Ν ΑΡΩΝ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ / ΤΟΙΠΟΥ


Wady el Hesa, Ghor es Safi, stone inscription, Byzantine period
†/ + Κ(ΥΡΙΟΥ) Ο Θ(ΕΟΥ) / ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ [ΤΟΥ] ΖΩΗ / ΤΟΥ [ΒΟ]ΘΗ-


J. Holy Monastery, 'Αγία Μονή

El Kuf (over a doorway), stone inscription,  A.D. 652
ΟΙΝΟΘΗΚΗ [ΤΗ]Σ [Α]ΓΙ[Ι]Α ΜΟ/ΝΗ ΑΤΑΟΥΚ...
oινοθήκη της ἡγίας τού μονής 'Ατάους...

*Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, 4 August A.D. 576
...


**Additions.** 'Holy Place'
K. Holy Calvary.

*Garizim*, stone inscription, 6th Century A.D.
+ ΑΙΘΟC ΕΚ/ ΤΟΥ ΑΓHΟΥ/ ΚΡΑΝΙΟΥ.
+ λίθος εκ/ τού άγιου/ Κρανίου

*Dor* (*Tanturah*), marble inscription on a column, 6th Century A.D.
+ ΤΟΥ ΑΓHΟΥ +/ ΓΟΛΓΟΘΑ/ ΑΙΘΟC.
+ τού άγιου +/ Γολγοθά / λίθος

In the inscription from Garizim the word 'Κρανίου' is given. It is a translation into the Greek of the Aramaic word 'Gulgolet' meaning skull, while in the inscription from Dor the word 'Γολγοθάς' is used, a hellenized form of the Aramaic word. Both the words Κρανίου and Γολγοθάς are accompanied by the word 'Holy', 'Αγιος, 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', 'Αγιος 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, 'Καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τόπον τῶν καλούμενον Κρανίου, ἐκεῖ ἔσταυρίσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς κακουργοὺς, δὲ μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν.'
Such inscriptions are the following:

804  *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, inscription No. 38 on a chalk voussir found in situ, V-VIth Century A.D.

ἀγιος Μάρκος
ἀγιος Βλείφιμος
ἀγιος Μάνικος
ἀγιος Ἀμβράσιος
ἀγιος Εἰσιδώρος
ἀγιος Νόνιος
ἀγιος Πάμφιλος

In this inscription the word ‘Holy’, Ἀγιος is given to seven men, of a status unknown today.


805  *Jerusalem*, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, marble inscription, Byzantine period

ΦΛΑΙΑ Η ΑΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΒΙΟΣ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΥ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙ/ΤΑΙ ΧΝ ΑΓΑΠΙΩΣΑ / ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΔΡΑ / ΜΟΥΣΑ ΔΕΚΩΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΝ ΗΝ Μ/ ΘΑΡΡΟΥΣΑ ΔΕ ΕΥ/ΧΟΥ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ / ΣΩΝ ΤΕΧΝΩΝ.

Φλαία ἡ ἀγία σύμβιος Σεούηρος ἐνθάδε κύριας Χριστοῦ ἀγαπώσα / πρὸς αὐτόν δρα/μούσα ἔχωρη/σεν ἑτὸν μ' / θαρροῦσα δὲ εὐ/χοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν / σῶν τέχνων.

In this inscription the word ‘Holy’, Ἰσία, is given to the wife of a man called Sceourus.

Greek Orthodox Museum Epigraphical Collection.

806  *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Viri Galilaei, stone inscription, Byzantine period

† ΘΗΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ † / ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕ/ΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΕΙΚ
+/+
† Θήκη τοῦ ἄγιου † / πατρός ἡμῶν Θε/ογένους ἐπεισκόπου) †/†

In this inscription the word ‘Holy’, Ἀγιος is given to the bishop Theogenes.

It is suggested that he could have been the leader of a monastic society.

PART III

THE BIRTH, FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH ADMINISTRATION

CLERICAL INSTITUTIONS

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 τραπέζας', 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, 'χαρισματίτες', 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.
5 Acts 14: 23 or 2 I Clem. 54: 1-3. It states that the presbyters were ordained by the Church (the people – τὸ
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 Church. 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 (ἐπισκόποι πρεσβυτέροι), 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 Antiochans, or simply with the name of the city itself, e.g., James of Jerusalem (Ἰάκωβος Ἰεροσολύμων). 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, James 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. 62-104. Both were assisted by presbyters. The same administrative system was followed in Antioch where Ignatius succeeded Evodius from A.D. 68 to 110. Thus the administrative rule and office of

---

1. Acts 15: 2, 4, 6, 23.
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 καθεδρας 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, Επίσκοπος 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 Perioduotes, Περιδικός, Photistes, Φωτιστής, Oeconomus, Οικονόμος, 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, 'Υποδιάκων and Archdeacon, 'Αρχιδιάκων. A new office of lower rank was instituted, that of Anagnostes, 'Αναγνώστης. 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, perioduotes, photistes, oeconomus, 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 soul\(^1\), 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, 'καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ μακροῦ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἀσπαξάμενος βίον διαδρᾶς πάν τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλήθος, ἐν ἑρμηνείας καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἀγροὺς λανθάνων πλείστοις ἔτεσιν διέτριβεν'.

Many others fled to the country-side as a result of the persecutions. Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. VIII) describing the persecution under Licinius wrote, 'φυγαί δὴ αὕτης ἐπὶ τοῦτοις τῶν θεοσεβῶν ἑγέρνοντο άνδρόν καὶ πάλιν ἑρμηνεύω νάσαι τε καὶ δρῆ τοὺς Χριστοῦ θεραπόντως 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 Judean 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', στυλῖται, 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

---

2 Soz. HE VI. 32, 2-3 (Epiphanius was taken to be bishop of Salamis in Cyprus).
4 Douka is mentioned in the Lausiac History of Palladius as the abode of a monk Elpidius. III. c. 48, and I. 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 consent.\footnote{Conc. Trullo; A.D. 692, can. 41.}

b) The Laura, Λουάρα, and the Lauriote 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 Lauriote 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 Lauriote 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, Κοινωνική

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 Lauriote 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-
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 monks, 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 Coenobia 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 Lauroitic 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 life. The most distinguished leader of the Coenobitic life in Palestine was St. Theodosius 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, ἵερομονχος, 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. Ib. 143, 18-144. 23) and the Nicopolis Coenobium founded by Ioannes, bishop of Colonia in A.D. 471. (See Χρυσόπουλος, Ἐκκλησία Ἰερουσαλήμ, Ἀλεξάνδρος 1910, and Derwas J. Chitty, The Desert a City, Oxford 1966).
3 Cyril. V.S. c. 29.
4 Κ. Κουκουλάδης in his book, Η κατά την ζωήν τῆς αγίας τοῦ Θεού ἡμῶν πόλεως Λαυράς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ κωνοβάρους, Ἰερουσαλήμ 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 μὲ τὸν τίτλον τοῦ ἄρχωνοι καὶ νομοθέτου πατέρων τῶν εἰς Παλαιστίνη λαυρῶν καὶ 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 presbyter\(^1\)
a monk deacon\(^2\)

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 servant, a messenger and an attendant or official in a temple or religious guild.

In the Christian period the term was first used in apostolic times and was given to the seven men 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 Hdb. 4. 71. P. Flor. 121.3 (iii AD.);
2 A. Pr. 942. S. Ph 497;
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 parish\(^1\).

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 community\(^2\). 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 deacons\(^3\).

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 sick\(^4\), 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 service\(^5\), 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 archdeacon, and to present the offerings of the people to the altar\(^6\). 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 service\(^7\) 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 Chalc. can. 6, First Counc. of Nicaea can. 15 and Quinisext Counc. can. 17.
2 Counc. of Neocaesarea can. 15.
4 See canons of Hippolytus V. 33ff.; Test. 1,38, cf. Counc. 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 afflicted 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 Martyrs. Another of their duties was to encourage the weak-hearted.

They were sent on embassies from one Church to another; at times represented their bishops in Council meetings 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 Council. They also served as stewards – Oeconomoi – 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, διάκονος και ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μάξιμος. As oeconomos... καὶ διάκονος καὶ οἰκονόμος. As epeirokistes... διάκονος τε καὶ ἐπορκιστής. As iatros, διάκονος καὶ ἰατρὸς. As paramonarios, διακόνου καὶ παραμοναρίου. As monachos, διακόνου καὶ μοναχοῦ, and as tekon, διακόνου καὶ τέκτων. The examples ‘diaconos and iatros’ and ‘diaconos and tekon’ 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 laity, and they were called ‘the bishop’s ears, eyes, mouth and heart’ because of the variety of their duties in serving the bishop and the community.

---

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 CIIG 8822
8 Eux. MP 2.1 (p. 909. 7; M. 20.1465)
9 Plond 1044. 38
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[JO/ ΔΙΑΚ ZHCANTS/...
    ...'Ασμάθου / διακ(όνου) ζήσαντος...

808  Ain-Aroueh, Hebron area or Beersheba, marble inscription, Byzantine period
    ...ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚ
    ...'Αβραμίου τού / διακ(όνου)

809  Ain el-Jedide, 1.5 km S.W. of Ain Karim, mosaic inscription, Late VIth Century A.D.
    ...ΤΩΝ ΠΡΕΣ... / [ΔΙΑΚ]ΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΩΝ...,  
    ...τῶν πρεσ... / [διακ(όνου) καὶ ὠν...
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 ΘΕΟΣΕΒ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΚ ΕΨΗ-  
    ΦΩΘΗ / ΤΟ ΨΗΦΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΙΑ ΣΙΑΝΟΥΔΗΣ/ ΣΙΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...
    Ἐπί τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ ὀσιωτάτου / Θεοδοσίου ἐπικ(όπου) ἐψηφώθη  
    τὸ ψῆφον τοῦτο διὰ σπουδῆς / Σιανοῦ διακ(όνου)...
Bibl. A. Alt, 'Inschrifftliches zu den Ären von Skythopolis und Philadelphia,'  

811  Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, tomb stone inscription, June 20th, A.D. 570
    ...ΔΙΑΚ ΜΟΝΑΧΩC... ...διάκ(όνος) μοναχώς...
A deacon of a monastery, or a deacon who left his community and became a monk.

812  Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 37, chalk voussoir, December 1st,  
    A.D. 475
    ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙC / Ο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΝ TOY/TO ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΤΟΠΩ/...
    Παλλάδις / ὁ διάκονος ἐν τού/το τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ/...
In this inscription, on the eastern arch, room 14, the term is given to the deacon Pallados who was buried in that holy place.
Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscr. No. 78, limestone block, June 20th, A.D. 570

[+ΓΤΕ]/[ΛΕΥΘΕΝ] Ο ΜΑ/[ΚΑΙ] ΜΟΝ-
(IΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ) Τά

[+ ετε/λευτησε/ν] ο μα/καρίως διάκ(όνος) [κα] α] μοναξής [εν μήνι] Πανε-
[μου] πρότη του [έτοι]υς υξ. [ιν]δ (ικτιόνας) γ' +

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, inscription No. 94, mosaic inscription, September 7th, A.D. 601

.ΚΑΙΔΗΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΣ ΑΥΘΕΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΕΥΟΝΤ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙΣ ΕΜ-
ΜΙΚ...

. Ιωάννου διακ(όνου) αυτής υίου πρωτεύοντ(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.

Auja Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyri

Papyrus 47. 7, before A.D. 605

...+Στεφάνιν Βικτωρία τ/ διακ(ό)νη

Papyrus 57. 2, 27, September 1-17th, A.D. 689

2... καὶ Σέρχιος Παλλαδίου διάκο(νος) καὶ Ἰωάννης/
27... Σέρχης Π[α]λλαδίου ἔλεει Θεοῦ διάκονος)...


Beersheba or Ain Dirue, stone inscription, Byzantine period

+ ΚΑΣΑΘΕΣΙΟΝ 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-

Beersheba, stone inscription, Byzantine period

...ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ...

...διάκονος...

Bibl. F.C. Burkitt, 'Notes on the Greek inscriptions from Beersheba,' PEF Qst 1920, p. 22, No. 7.

Beit Surik, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

...ΨΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟ[ΝΟΥ]...
...ψανου δ/ιακό[νου]...

The inscription is damaged but indicates that the term was given in com-

Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 239.
Bethlehem, the Byzantine chapel excavated in 1962, mosaic inscription. Vtth Century A.D. Although the inscription is damaged, the term is very clear.

...Δ[ΙΑ]ΚΟ ΤΗ... ...δ[α]κό[νου] τής...


Bethlehem, Christian necropolis (cemetery), inscription painted on stone above the entrance to the first chamber, VIth Century A.D.

...ΤΟΥ ΔΙ/ΑΚΟΝΟΥ / ΚΟΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ

...τοῦ διακόνου / Κοσταντίνου.

It refers to a deacon called Constantinus.


Caesarea maritima, wall inscription, Byzantine period

+ ΘΗΚΗ ΑΒΑ ΘΕΟΤΕΚΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ +

+ Θηκή Αβα Θεοτεκνού διακόνου παραμοναιρίου +

The term is given to a deacon called Theotecnus who also held the office of paramonarius.


Caesarea maritima, sarcophagus inscription, Byzantine period

+ ΘΗΚΗ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ + / ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ +

+ Θηκή Προκοπίου + / διακόνου +


Deir el Qilt, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period

No. 7

+ Ἰωάννης / διάκονον Ἀρμένιος / ...;

No. 27

Ἑνθάδε κείται / ὁ μακάριος Μάρκος (ὁ διάκονος ἐν Χριστῷ) / ...;

No. 47

+ Ἐκουμήνη / ὁ μακάριος Στέφανος διάκονος (νος);

No. 65

+ Σέργιος / διάκονος?

No. 78

+ Βασίλις διάκονος (νος)...;

No. 85

+ Ματάνδρος διάκονος / Θεοσαλωνικεύς +

No. 89

διάκονος / Πάυλος / τήκτων

No. 90

+ Κυρίακος διάκονος / Κηλησί
No. 91
Λεόντις / διάκονος /...

No. 95
ἐκομιμήθη / ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) Γεώργις / διάκονος Κύπριος /...

No. 110
...δρ. / ἁς ...Ζ/ δημάκ[ονος]...

No. 112
Ἄντισχος διάκονος /...

No. 130
ἐκομιμήθη / ὁ μακάριος Θεό[δωρ] ὁ διάκονος /...

No. 137
ἐκομιμήθη ὁ μακάριος / Ἐρμογένης διάκονος /...

No. 138
Κυριακός / διάκονοι κ[η]λλιώτης /...

No. 146
ὁ μακάριος Μάρκελος / Μεσοποταμίτης διάκονος /...

No. 147
Ἰωάννης / (διάκονος Κύλις) /...

No. 151
Ζώσιμος διάκονος /...

No. 157
Ἰωάννης / διάκονος Ἑλα/δικός ἐκοιμήθη /...

No. 169
Ἡλία διάκονος /...

Bibl. A.M. Schneider, RQ 1931, pp. 297-332, Taf. S-V-VIII.

El Kerak, tomb stone inscription, Byzantine period
...ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ / ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚΖΗΚΑΣ / + ΕΤΣ ΝΘ Δ +
...Ἰωάννη / Στεφάνο / διάκονος / ζήσας / + ἐπετιν β' Χαρία

El-Yadude, Transjordan, between Madaba and Amman, mosaic inscription, A.D. 503
...ΔΙΑ ΣΙΠΟΥΔΗΣ / ΣΙΛΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ... The term is given to the deacon Silanus.
Bibl. SEG VII (1934), No. 934.

Es-Shuneh el-Jamubiye, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
Inscription No. II.
...ΑΚΟΝΟΥ /...
...ὕπακόνου /...
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, 'Es-Shuneh el-Janubiye: Archaeological survey in the
Holy Land,' *Illustrated Quarterly of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy
Land* I (Spring 1981).

847  
*Evron*, 2.5 km N. of Shavei Sion, mosaic inscriptions, Vth Century A.D.
Inscription No. 2
...ἈΛΕΞΩΝΙΤΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ... 'Αλεξωνίτου / διακόνου...
...ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΕΣ ΔΙΑΚ... καὶ Ἀλεξ(ωνίτου) διακ(όνου)... The term is given twice to the deacon Alexonitus, complete and abbreviated.

848  
Inscription No. 4
ΕΠΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΩΝ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΙ ΗΓΟΡΑΣ... ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ-
ΝΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ... 
ἐπὶ Σιλβανοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξ(ωνίτου) διακόνου 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 dea-
on, or that the church was built over a period of several years, or that sever-
al deacons helped the building of the church.

849  
Inscription No. 5
...ΚΑΙ ΕΙΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ... ...ΕΠΙ ΑΙΩΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ...
...καὶ Ειτῶν διακόνου... ...ἐπὶ Αἰωνοῦ διακόνου καὶ ἐπὶ...

850  
Inscriptions No. 6 and 7
6 ... ΔΙΑΚΚ... διάκκ(οντα)
7 ... ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ... ...διάκονος...
These inscriptions are damaged. Of No. 7 only the last five letters are pre-
served.
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 ΕΠΙΛΑ/ΚΩΘΗ ΤΑ ΩΔΕ/...
...ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διακόνου ἑπίλα/κόθη τὰ ὠδὲ/...

852  
*Gaza*, inscription No. 9, marble inscription, house of Jiries Naamat, A.D.
540/1
...ΑΒΡΑΜΙ/ΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΩΣ...
...Ἀβραμι/ος Πατρι/κίου διάκ(ονος)...
II, p. 405 ff.

853  
*Gerasa*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, Procopius Church, VIth Century
A.D.
...ΚΑ[I] ΣΑΩΔΑ ΕΥΔ[ΑΒΕΣ][Γ] ΑΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝ-
(ΑΡΙΟΥ)...
...καὶ[α] Σαόλα εἰλ[αβεσ]τ(άτου) διακόνου καὶ παραμον(αρίου).
This deacon was also the paramonarius of this Church administration.
Bibl. SEG VII (1934), No. 872.

854 Hesban (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, 11th Century A.D.
...ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ἸΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...
...σπουδή Ἰωάννου διακ(όνου)

855 Jericho. Deir il Akbat, Beit Zaka al-Ashar, al-Riha Sabiba, mosaic inscription, 11th Century A.D.
...ΚΑΙ ΚΩΣΤΑΝ/ΤΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...
...καὶ Κωστάν/τίνου διακ(όνου)... The term is given to a deacon named Constantinus.

856 Jericho. Anthimus Church, mosaic inscription, 11th Century A.D.
ΘΗΚΗ ΔΑΝΙΗΑ / ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ (ΚΑΙ) ΙΩΑΝ/ΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΩΝ[ΩΝ]
θήκη Δανιήλ / Μακαρίου (καὶ) 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 Knesset, stone inscription, Byzantine period
.../ΚΕ ΤΟΥ ἘΝ/ ΑΥΤΩ ΝΟ[ΟΙ]ΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ(ΟΙΟΥ) ΦΙΛΗΣΤΟΥ.
.../κε του ἐν/ αὐτῳ νο(σ)ο(κομιου) / διακ(όνου) [Φ]ιληστοῦ.
Bibl. C. Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeological Researches in Palestine, Vol. 1,
p. 320.

858 Jerusalem. Mount of Olives, mosaic inscription, 5-11th Century A.D.
...ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ.
...Θεοδοσίου διακ(όνου)
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), inscr. No. 177.

859 Jerusalem, Gethsemani, St. Stephen's chapel, stone inscription, 5-11th
Century A.D.
...ΑΝΑΧΤΙ ΔΙΑΚ... ...Ἀναστ(ασίου) διακ(όνου).
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), inscr. No. 188.

860 Jerusalem. Basilica in agro Dominicano, tomb inscription, 5-11th Century
A.D.
...ΝΟΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ ...ΤΗΣ ΑΓ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΑΧ
...Νόνου διακ(όνου) ...τῆς Ἀγ(ίας) τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἁ(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.
...Ευθυμίου διακό(νου) πινδήρη.

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 ΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ / ΑΒΡΑΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚΣ...
† Η κατάθεσις τοῦ μακαρίου Αβρααμίου τοῦ διακόνου...

The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum.

863 Jerusalem, Museum of Sainte-Anne-Pères Blancs, stone inscription, Byzantine period

† ΘΩΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΥЩΑ ΑΜΟΣ / ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΤΙΣ Π/ΡΟΒΑΤΙΚΗΣ...
† Θηκή διαφερόουσα Αμός/διακόνου τις π/ροβατικής...

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 ΔΕΣΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΑ/Κ.
† Κέ ιυ χέ δεσε την προσφοράν Αριανού δια/κ.

The deacon’s name is Arianus.

865 Kafr Kama, mosaic inscription No. 1, first half of the VIth Century A.D.

...ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΔΙΑΚΣ
...Θεοδώρου / διακόνου...

Bibl. idem.

866 Karmiel (Kh. Bât es Sîh), mosaic inscriptions, Byzantine period
No. 5 ΒΑΡΑ/ΧΕΟΣ ΔΙΑ/ΚΩΝ ΓΡΑΜ/ΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟ / ΗΜΥΣΥ
 Βαρα/χεός διά/κων γράμ/ματος τό / ήμυσυ
No. 6 ΑΠΙΑ/Σ ΔΙΑΚ/ΩΝ ΓΡΑ/ΜΑ
 Απια/ς διά/κων γράμ/μα
No. 10 .../ΚΟΝΟ[Σ] / 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 ΣΩΤΗΡΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΑΙΜ/ΨΕΟΣ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ (ΚΑΙ) ΣΙΓΙΝΙΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΩΝΟΥ
υπέρ σωτηρίας και ἀνθαίμ/ψεος Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ὁσίου / ἡγουμένου (καὶ) Σι- σινίου / τοῦ διακώνου.
Bibl. 'A. Κωνσταντινίδου, 'Η παρά τήν Νεκράν Θεάσαν Μονή τῶν Καστελ-λών,' Αλεξάνδρεια 1931.

868 Kissufim, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576
...ΚΑΙ ΤΣ / ΘΕΟΦΙΑΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ / ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΞΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΗΤΩ...
...καὶ τ(οῦ) / θεοφίλ(ε)στάτου θεοδώρου ἐλέει θ(ε)οῦ / διακ(ὸν)ου μοναχ(οῦ) παραμοναρίου κ(αὶ) ἡγουμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλίου ἐγένητω...

869 Kissufim, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
...ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΑΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΕΛΕΣ ΘΥ ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΞΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΣ/...
...ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ / αὐτοῦ θεοφίλ(ε)στάτου ἀββᾶ θεοδώρου / ἐλές(ει) θ(ε)οῦ διακό(νοῦ) μοναχ(οῦ) καὶ ἡγουμένου/...

870 Kuryet Saideh, Ain Karim vicinity, dedicatory inscription on an epistylium, Byzantine period
...ΜΑΡΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟ... ...Μαρίνου διακό(νοῦ)...
The deacon's name is Marinus.
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 231.

871 Madaba, Transjordan, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΣΠΟΥΔΙΑΝΑΣΤΑΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ...
...σπουδίαν Ἀναστάσιον διακόνου.
The deacon is called Anastasius.

872 Mahait, tomb stone inscription. A.D. 632
+ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ / ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ... ΔΙΑΚ... ΖΗΣΙΣ / ΕΤΙ Ε'...
+ ἐνθάδε κιτε / Εὐβοῦλος... διακ(ονος) ζήσις(ας) / ἐτι ξ'

873 Masouh, mosaic inscription No. 4, Byzantine period
...ΔΙΑΚ... / ΛΟΥΧΡΙΤΩ/...
...διακ[όνος] / [ολυχριστόφω]
874  *Moza*, Qalonia, Qalunia, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
UYEP MNHMOS KAI A/NAPIAYCEWOC KURIKOU / TOY DIAKONOU KAI MAPIS.
uper mnimes kai a/napiaiaseas Kuriou / to diakou kai Mari(nou).
The deacon is called Cirycus.
Dept. of Antiq. files.

875  *Nazareth*, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
...KONVONOC DIAKO IEPOCOALMOUN.
...Kounvos diakonou 'Ierosolimou.
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 Ἄρχιμ. Ἱησοῦλίτου, 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 Ἀγιοσαρίττων 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. Κεραμάκος, Ἱεροσολυμικὴ 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 ήγεμών λέγει τῷ μάρτυρι: εἰπέ μοι ἀνθρώπε πόθεν εἶ ἢ ποιός γένους τυγχάνεις ἢ τι τὸ ὅνομά σου: Κόνων εἶπε: πόλεως μὲν εἰμί Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, συγγένεια δὲ μοι ἐστὶ πρὸς Χριστόν, ὃ ἐκ προγόνων λατρεύω, ὃν ἔγνων καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν.'
The name Κόνων, appears in two other inscriptions:

I.  *El Kursi*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΚΟΝΙΟΝΟΣ ...Κόνωνος

II.  *Kafir Kama*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΦΑ. ΚΟΝΙΟΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
προσφορά Φα(οννου) Κόνωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου.

876  *Oboda*, inscription on a large pithos found in situ. Byzantine period
...ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΙ ΔΙΑΚΟΝ ...Γερμανός διακόν(ω)...
The deacon’s name is Germanus.

877 *Petra*, Transjordan, marble inscription, Byzantine period
...ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ...
...Χριστοῦ διάκονος μεγάλου τέμενος Ιεροσολύμων...
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...
...και Ιωάννην Ἀνα/ήλου τοῦ εὐλαβῆς διακόνου...

879 *Rihab*, Transjordan, house of Khalil el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, February A.D. 604
...ΕΣΙΗΠΟΘΕ ΕΚ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΙΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΩΔΗΣ ΔΙΑΚΟΣ
...ἐσιηποθέ ἐκ προσφοράς Ιωάννου θεοφωδής διακόνου...
The deacon is named Ioannes and is also given the title ‘the most beloved of God’, θεοφιλέστατος.

880 *Sinai*, St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica, inscription on a board attached to a ceiling beam No. 1, A.D. 548-565
...ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ ΜΑΡ/ΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΑ ΑΙΛΗΜΟΝ...
...Στέφανον Μαρ/τυρίου διακόνος καὶ τέκτονα Αἰλημόν...
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 ΚΟΥ / ...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.

882 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
No. 2. + ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΚ ΔΙΑΚ
 + Ἀναστάσις(ο)ς διάκονος
Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.
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 Romans.¹

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. H.E 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 priests.

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 keeper 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 services. During a baptismal ceremony, 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 them 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 prison, attending to their needs and in case of death she participated in the funeral and burial rites.

The deaconess was ordained by the bishop and served as a link between him and the women members of the Christian community.

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, 'η τρίτη διάταξις τῶν νεαρῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ιουστινιανοῦ τηνικαίην τοῦ κλήρου ποσότητα τῆς μεγάλης εκκλησίας ἐπιτάτη ἡ ὁποία καὶ τόση εἶναι ὁσεῖλ. Διὸ φησὶ θεσπίζομεν μὴ περαιτέρω μὲν ἔξηκοντα πρεσβυτέρων κατὰ τὴν ἀγιοτάτην ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι, διακόνοις δὲ ἄρρενας ἑκατόν, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ θη-

---

1 Epiphanius \textit{Haer.} 79, canon 3: δι' μὲν διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἑστίν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύων.
2 \textit{Apostolic Constitutions} II, c. 57, 58 (Pseudo-Ignatius ad Antioch).
3 \textit{Ibid.} c. 12, where he speaks of the deaconesses who kept the doors of the church.
5 \textit{Apostolic Constitut.} III, 19.
6 Cotel. \textit{Annot. in Const.} \textit{Apost.} III. 15, quoting from Lucian and I. hanius.
7 \textit{Soz. HE} VIII 9, Councils of Trullo cc. 14, 40, and Chalc. c. 15.
8 \textit{Apost. Constitutions} II, c. 26.
λείας, καὶ ύποδιακόνους ἐννενήκοντα, ἀναγνώστας δὲ ἐκατόν δέκα, καὶ ψάλτας εἰκοσι πέντε καὶ ἐκατόν πρὸς τούτος τῶν καλομεμελόν πολλῶν.'

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, *Tā kατά τήν Λαύραν καὶ τόν Χείμαρρον τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, Ἐρωταλή 1901, page 79, note 4, wrote that deaconesses existed in the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem up to the period of the Crusades, Ἀγικόνσας ἐν τῇ Ὀρθόδοξῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπήρχον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν Σταυροφόρων, ὡς ἔξαιται ἐκ τοῦ ἰδιαιτέρου Τυπικοῦ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἀναστάσεως; (see Ἀναλεκτὰ Ἱεροσολυμικῆς Σταυρολογίας, A. P. Kerahtés, 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 Aetheriae*.

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, VIth Century A.D.

...ΣΟΦΙΑ Η ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ 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’.


886 Deir el Qilt, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscription, Byzantine period

*ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ / ΑΝΑΣΤΑΙΑ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ*...

*Ενθάδε κίτε / Ἀναστασία διάκονος*...

Bibl. A. M. Schneider, RQ 1931, inscr. No. 197, p. 328; Κλεώνια Κουκλί-
δου. Τά κατά την Λαϊραν καὶ τὸν Χειμαρρον τοῦ Χοιζβά, οἱ βίοι τῶν ἁγίων
Γεώργιον καὶ Ἰωάννου τῶν Χοιζβίτων. Ἰερουσαλήμ 901.

887 Jerusalem, village of Silwan, inscription above the entrance of a tomb
chamber, Byzantine period
...ΝΟΟΚΟΜΙΟΙ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΟΙ...
...νοοκομίῳ διακονίῳ(ς)...
Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, ‘Epitaphes chrétiennes de Jérusalem.’ RB 1 (1892),
p. 566.

888 Mahal, stone inscription, A.D. 643-644
+ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ / ΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΣ / ΔΚ ΖΗΚΑΣ/Α ΕΤΙ ΑΗ ΤΕ-
ΛΕ ΕΥΤΙΚΑΣ ΤΟΥ / ΕΤΟΥΣ ΦΑΗ
+ Ένθαδε / κ(ε)ξ(α)ι Μαριά / Οὐάλεντ(ος) / δ(α)κ(όνισσα), ζήσασαι / ἀ έτη
λη’, τελευτη(κό)σισα(υ) τοῦ / έτους φλη.
Bibl. Reginetta Canova, Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di

889 Rihab, Transjordan, house of Hilal el Ali, mosaic inscriptions
Inscr. No. 3, in front of the altar, A.D. 594
+ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΕΡΙΑΣ ΖΩΗΣ ΔΙΚ...
+ ύπερ σωτηρίας Ζωῆς διά(κόν)ισσῆς)
890 Inscr. No. 4, in front of the altar, below step and chancel screen, A.D. 594
...ΖΩΗΣ ΔΙΑΚΟ... ...Ζωῆς διακο(νίσσῆς)...
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.

891 Umm Qeis (now in Irbit Museum), stone inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΔΙΑΚΟ(ΝΙΚΑ ΕΛΛΑΔΙΚ
+ διακόνισσα Ελλαδις
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale, Gerusa-

Archdeacon, archidiacon, archidiaconos

The archdeacon was the senior deacon of each bishopric chosen to lead the rest1,
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 Bosra and was under the jurisdic-
tion of the Patriarchate of Antioch. For a similar situation as regards Tyre and Acre, cf. JPOS 14, p. 57f.
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 Cathedral\(^1\), and the right of receiving Holy Communion before the other deacons\(^2\). 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 ranks\(^3\), a duty which gave him some form of control over ordinations\(^4\) and the right to exercise discipline over the lower ranking clergy\(^5\). 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 Aetheriae’ 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 people\(^6\); he acted as the bishop’s substitute at synods\(^7\) and on the death of the bishop or if a See fell vacant, he acted as the episcopal guardian until a new bishop was elected\(^8\). In the West, the archdeacon became so powerful that in order to get rid of him\(^9\) 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 throne\(^10\).

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.
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.
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 Ecumenical 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 Hašir*, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 57, 2, 26, September 1-17, A.D. 689

2. ...Βικτόρος ἔλεει Θεοδοτοῦ ἄρχιδιάκονος...
26. + Γεώργιος Βικτόρος ἔλεει Θεοδοτοῦ ἄρχιδιάκονον παράμυθη καὶ μαραρῳ +...

893  *Deir el Qibli*, Choziba Monastery, Cemetery, wall inscriptions
Inscr. No. 80, Byzantine period
Κυρι[ι]ο.../ ἄρχιδιάκονος ἑτε/λεύθη μη(νυ) 'Απρυ/ ἱνδ. γ'.

894  Inscr. No. 136
Τιμόθεος ἄρχιδιάκονος(ος) μη(νυ) Δεκεμβρίου κ', ἱνδ. 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, 11th Century A.D.
Inscr. No. 3
...ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΚΟ(ΝΟΥ)
...Μαρκέλλου ἄρχιδακό(νου).

896  Inscr. No. 5
...ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΚΟ(ΝΟΥ)...
...Μαρκέλλου ἄρχιδακό(νου)...

897  Inscr. No. 6
...ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ AP[XIΔ]AK(ON)...
...Ιουλιανοῦ ἄρχιδακ(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
...Κ(ΑΙ) ΙΑΝΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟ(ΝΟΥ) Κ(ΑΙ) ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ...
...κ(αι) Ιαννιανού ἀρχιδιακό(νου) κ(αι) Ιωάννου 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 oeconomus.
Dept. of Antiq. files.

899  Kafir Kama, 5 km N. E. of Mount Tabor, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
...ΚΑΙ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟ(ΝΟΥ)...
...καὶ Παμφίλου ἀρχιδιακόνου)... The archdeacon is called Pamphilus. The inscription also mentions the names of bishop Euphrasius and commander Theodorus.

900  Karmiel, church, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
(ΘΕΟΔ)ΩΡΟΙΟΑΠ/ΧΗΔΗΙ/ΑΚΩΝ/...
(Θεόδ)οροι/οι/ἀπ/χηδη/άκων/...

901  Khirbet Mekhayat, St. George Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΣΑΟΛΑ ΑΡΧΗΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ... 
...Σαολά ἀρχηδιακόνου...
Here, the archdeacon is named Saolas.

902  Moza, Qalonia (Qalunia), mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
...ΒΑΣΙΩΥ ΑΡΧΗΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ...
...Βάσιου ἀρχηδιακόνου...
The archdeacon is called Bassus.
Dept. of Antiq. files, unpublished.

903  Shiva, North Church, floor of the southern aisle, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΣΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΗΔΙΑΚΟΣ ΙΟΝΟΜΟΥ...
...(και) Πέτρου ἀρχηδιακό(νου) (και) [ο]ικονόμου...
The archdeacon is called Petrus, who at the same time holds another administrative office, the office of oeconomus. The term is abbreviated and follows after the title of bishop.
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 West to the third century A.D., and a century later in the East.

To the new clerical order only male members of the Christian community were accepted, who had to be no less than twenty years of age. 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 Rome, 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 servant 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 church 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 over.

---

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. Epiph. in Exposit. Fidei Cathol. 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, e.h. 5. 6. (PG 4, 165 A).
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 peri-deutes).

In the inscriptions extant in Palestine, the term 'subdeacon' appears in the following places:

905 Aujà Hafir, ancient Nessana, papyrus No. 46. 10, July 16th, A.D. 605
+ ἐπ' ἐμοῖ Γαδήμο Ζωναίνου ύπωδιακό(νου) ἐπέτρεψεν...
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...
...Δοκικανός ύπωδιακών...

907 inscr. No. 5.
...ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΩΝΕΣ...
...ὑπωδιάκονες...

908 inscr. No. 5.
...ΒΑΣΣΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΩΝΟΥ...
...Βάσσου ύπωδιακόνου...
The term appears three times, once in inscription No. 3, as ‘hypodeacon’ and twice in inscription No. 5, in the plural form ‘hypodeacons’ 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-VIIth Century A.D.
ΚΑΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ ΑΓ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ...
...Καλιστράτου ύπωδιακ(όνου) Ἀγ(ίας) Ἀναστάσεως...

1 See inscr. No. 912.
The term refers to Callistratus, subdeacon of the Church of the Holy Resurrection.

910 Faran Oasis. Sinai, newly built chapel, marble inscription from nearby ruins, Byzantine period
...ΕΛΕ/ICON TΩΝ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΝ COY ΑΝΑ/Κ/TACI(Ο)Ν ΥΠΟΔΙ/ΑΚΟ-
(NON)... 
...ἐλέ/ισον τόν δοῦ/λον σου Ἀνακ/τάσι(ό)ν ὑποδι/άκο(νον)... 

911 Karmiel (Kh. Bât es Sih), mosaic inscriptions
No. 4 ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΟΣ / ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ/ΩΝ ΓΡΑΜ/ΑΜΑ
Θεό/δωρος / ύποδιάκ/ων γράμμ/α 
No. 8 ΕΠΙ/ΦΑΝΙΚ / ΥΠΟΔΙΑ / ΚΩΝ ΓΡΑΜ/ΑΜΑ 
Ἐπι/φάνικ / ύποδιά/κων γράμμ/α 
Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

912 Mishmar Ha-Emeq, Southern Esdraelon, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΙΩΝ ΊΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΥΠΟ/ΔΙΑΚ Σ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΝ ΥΠΕ/Ρ ΑΝΑΠΑΥ-
ΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΤΟΥ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ...
προσφορ/ρά) Ἰωάννου ύπο/διακ(όνου) (καὶ) περιόδου(εωτοῦ) ύπε/ρ (άναπαυ-
σεώς τοῦ νατοῦ γονέων... 
The term refers to Ioannes, who was both subdeacon and periodotetes. 
The inscription is still unpublished, but according to the excavator, Dr. R. 
Giveon, 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 age
b) the respected members of society no matter what their age

913 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 absence

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.

---

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 sa-
craments. 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 inde-
pendence 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 indepen-
dent and known under different names according to the place where they were sta-
tioned: 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 περιοδευόμενοι; those stationed permanently in the country towns as
πρεσβύτεροι κοιμών; in fortresses as πρεσβύτεροι φρουρίων; on private farms where
there was a chapel as πρεσβύτεροι ἄγορακταμένοι; in churches built for Martyrs
known as martyria, as πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυρίων; in churches specially built for the sa-
crament of baptism known as baptisteria, as πρεσβύτεροι βαπτιστηρίων; those sta-
tioned 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, espe-
cially from the fifth century onwards when it became customary for the superiors of
the monasteries to hold the rank of presbyter.\(^1\)

In order to ordain a presbyter, the community and the bishop studied his char-
acter and certain external qualifications such as age\(^2\), status, education, etc. From the

\(^{1}\) Council of Constant. IV. Act 1 (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 stationed.

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 court. 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 office, presided over baptisms, weddings, funeral services, the blessing of persons and things, preached and taught the Christian religion to his parishioners.

The presbyter was also known by the name ἱερεῖς, a term which prior to the third century A.D., referred exclusively to the Jewish and pagan priests as indicative of their sacerdotal functions. In the Christian Church the term ἱερεῖς first applied to the three major orders of the clergy, bishops, presbyters and deacons. Later, the term was rarely used for bishops, since for a bishop the term used was ἄρχιερεῖς if it was used at all. It was commonly used for presbyters and almost never for deacons.

Archpriest, Ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος, 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 archpriest replaced the bishop during his absence and exercised many of his liturgical and administrative duties. On the death of the bishop, he acted as

---

1 Council of Chalcedon, can. 6 (A.D. 451): ὁ δὲ ἱερέας ἐπιτίθεται ἐν ἑκάστην πόλιν ἢ κόμῳ ἢ μακάριῳ ἢ μαντείῳ.
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 Neocesarea, can. 9.
4 Const. Apost. 3, 20; 8, 27; St. Basil Epist. 2. ad Amphiloch. c. 27.
7 The term ἱερεῖς is derived from the verb ἱερέω which means, to slaughter for sacrifice; to sacrifice.
9 Socrit. HE 127; Const. Apost. 2, 25, 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 experience.

After the abolition of the offices of 'choreiscopus' and 'periodeutes' 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 ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΝ...

...τὴν πρεσβύτερον...

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.


914  *Ain Fit*, near Banias, stone inscription, Byzantine period

...ΕΠΕΔΗΜΗΣΕΝ ΠΡΟΕΚ / ΚΘΟ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗ / ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΝ /...

...ἐπεδήμησεν πρὸς / Κύριον ὁ τῆς ὁσίου ἀνέμης / Λεόντιος πρεσβύτερος ἐν /...


915  *Amman*, Transjordan (now in the Dept. of Antiq., Jerusalem), inscription on a marble slab, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

...ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ...

...πρεσβύτερου τοῦ ἄγιου 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: Ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλεύσατε περί ἐπισκόπου καὶ ... ἐξελέξατε τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον.

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, Sabonomy (Haifa) Acre, in 1924.

*Auja Hafr*, ancient Nessana, inscriptions

916 Inscr. No. 12, limestone slab inscription, Feb. 10th, A.D. 592

a) *...ΣΕΡΓΙΟΣ / ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ...*  
*...Σέργιος / Πατρικίου πρεσβύτερος* κ(ai) ήγουμένου

b) July 24th, A.D. 628

*...ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΧ...*  
*...Πατρικίου Σέργιου πρεσβύτερος* κ(ai) ήγουμένος

Inscr. a) refers to Sergei, son of Patricius.
Inscr. b) to Patricius, son of Sergei. In both cases the presbyters were also the superiors of the church.


918 Inscr. No. 35, North Church, chalk voussoir, November 6th, A.D. 464

+ ΚΑΤΕΤΘΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑ/ΡΙΟΣ ΘΩΑΜΟΣ Ο ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ...
+ κατετήθη ὁ μακά/ριος Θώαμος ὁ πρεσβύτερος...

The term refers to the presbyter Thoamus, buried in the Martyrium Church.

919 Inscr. No. 73, on a stone capital, Byzantine period

+ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΑΛΟΒΔΕΟΥ ΓΕΩ(Ρ)/ΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ...
+ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Ἀλωβδέου Γεω(ρ)/γίου πρεσβύτερου...

The term refers to Alobtus, son of Georgius.


920 Inscr. No. 98, fragment of altar screen (now lost)

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ Κ(ai) ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ πρεσβύτερου κ(ai) ήγουμένου

921 Inscr. No. 129, limestone fragment

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ πρεσβύτερος

922 *Auja Hafr*, ancient Nessana, papyri

Papyrus No. 16. 53, July 11th, A.D. 512

...πρεσβύτερος...

923 Papyrus No. 30. 3, September 13th, A.D. 596

...Ζώναινος θεοφιλέστατος πρεσβύτερος...

924 Papyrus No. 35. 14, Vllth Century A.D.

...Φιλάνθρωπος πρεσβύτερος...

925 Papyrus No. 54. 2, Late VI – Early VIIth Century A.D.

...δημήτριος πάροι τοῦ δημήτριου πρεσβύτερου καὶ διοικητοῦ Χαιρεφιτῶν κώμης...

926 Papyrus No. 57. 1. 4. 9. 24, September 1-17th, A.D. 689

line 1. τύμπ Μαρτύρομέν ἡμίς Σέργιος Γεωργίου ἐλέει Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος...
927 Papyrus No. 79, 3, 4, 21, 52, Early VIIth Century A.D.
line 3. παρ(ά) τού πρεσβή(υτέρου) Σωβετό[ής]
line 4. παρ(ά) Γεωργίου πρεσβή(υτέρου)
line 21. παρ(ά) Γεωργίου πρεσβή(υτέρου)
line 52. παρ(ά) ἁβδα Βικτορος πρεσβή(υτέρου) Σωβετο[ής]

928 Papyrus No. 80, 5, 6, A.D. 685
line 5. Ἰω(άννου) πρεσβή(υτέρου) σίτου μ(δ)θ(ια) β΄
line 6. Οὐαλίου Γαδίμου σίτου γ΄ Σαβάλου πρεσβεύ(υτέρου) σί[τ][ην] β’

929 Papyrus No. 106, 8, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
line 8. Γεωργίου βοσθοῦ πρεσβύτερου...

930 Papyrus No. 107, 3, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
ἀκολούθως καὶ ἀπέλυσα Γεώργιος βοσθός ἐλέει Θ(ε)οῦ πρεσβύτερος.

931 Batîr, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ / ΦΙΛΗΣΤΑΤ / ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΝ ΗΝ ΤΑ / ΗΛΙΑΤ
ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ/φιλήστατου / Γεωργίου πρεσβύτερου / γένετο τὰ / ὁδατ
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.
...ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ(Ι) / ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ...
...Αλεξάνδρου πρεσβύτερου και/ ἀρχιμανδρίτου...
The term in the genitive singular refers to Alexander 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 ΘΕΟΦΙΛ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΝΤΟΥ ΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ...
...Ηλιοῦ θεοφιλ(λεστάτου) πρεσβή(υτέρου).
The term refers to the presbyter Elias, together with the epithet 'the most
beloved of God', 'θεοφιλέστατος'.
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 38.

934 Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟΥ ΣΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ...
...ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβύτερου Γεώργιου (καὶ) Ἰγουμένου...

The term is given in the genitive singular, referring to the presbyter Georgius who was also the superior of the monastery.


935 No. 17.
+ ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος / Βορηλίων...

936 No. 20.
 Ἀρμένιος / πρεσβύτερος

937 No. 29.
+ ἐκοιμήθη[η] ὁ μακάριος Ἀντίοχος πρεσβύτερος...

938 No. 40.
+ ἐκοιμήθη[η] / ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης / Ἰωάννης / ὁ πρεσβύτερος...

939 No. 53.
 Ἀνθ...δ...ρ.πρεσβύτερος.

940 No. 98.
+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ πατήρ / ἡμῶν Ἡσίδωρος πρεσβύτερος...

941 No. 121.
+ Ἰωάννης / πρεσβύτερος...

942 No. 122.
+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος / ὁ πατήρ Ἐμών Σαρίωχος ὁ πρεσβύτερος...

943 No. 123.
+ ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάριος πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος...

944 No. 124.
+ ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάριος / ἤμων Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος / Ἡσίδωρος...

945 No. 125.
+ ἐκοιμήθη /...μ...πρεσβύτερος...

946 No. 126.
+ ἐκοιμήθη[η] Ἀνθ...δ.../ ὁ πρεσβύτερος...

947 No. 132.
+ ἀνετά ὁ μακάριος / Κοσμᾶς ὁ πρεσβύτερος...

948 No. 134.
+ ἐκοιμήθη / Κωνονίας / πρεσβύτερος...

949 No. 139.
+ Ἡλίας Μεσσωποταμίτης / πρεσβύτερος...

950 No. 140.
+ ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος πατήρ ἡμῶν / Σέργιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος...
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', πατέρα, which may indicate that the presbyter named was at the same time also the superior of the monastery.

*El-Haditha*, 5 km East of Lydda, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΠΡΕΣΒΥ[...
...π]ρε]σβυ[...

*El-Koursi*, Gergesa, Baptistery, mosaic inscription, A.D. 585
.ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦ ΙΑΣ ΣΤΕ[ΙΦΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥ/ΜΕΝΟΥ...
.ἐπί τοῦ θεοφίλου στέφανου πρεσβύτερου καὶ ἱγου/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.

*El Murassas* (Ma’ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ/ ΓΕΝΕΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙ/ΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ Κ' ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ/...
.Ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου πατρὸς ἡμῶν / Γενεσίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ/ἀρχι/μανδρίτου ἐγένετο κ'τούτῳ τὸ ἐργον/...

*El Murassas* (Ma’ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΝΗΣΟΘΙ ΕΝ Θ / ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΚΟΥ ΕΛΠΙΔΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ / ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΒΒ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΧΘΑ/ ΘΗ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΥΝΟΔΙΑΣ
Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν μνήσθητι ἐν τῇ / βασιλείᾳ σου Ἐλπιδίου Ἰωάννου / Γεωργίου τῶν πρεσβύτερων καὶ/πάσης / τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ αὐτῶν συνοδίας

*El Murassas* (Ma’ale Adumim), St. Martyrius Monastery, stone inscription, Byzantine period
.ΘΛΚΙΝΗ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ / ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΗ/ΤΟΥ
.Θηκή Παύλου / πρεσβυτέρου καὶ/ἀρχι/μανδρή/του

*El-Quweisme*, S.E. of Amman, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΧΟΒΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΠΡ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ...
...Χοβέων τοῦ ὀσίου(tatóu) πρ(εσβυτέρου) καὶ οἰκονόμου...
The term refers to a presbyter named Khobeus who was also the oikonomos of the church. The epithet 'most pious' precedes the term.

958 El-Quweisme. S.E. of Amman, Transjordan, Church of St. Cyricus, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΩΝΥΜΗ Α ΟΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΙΠΟΣ...
...Επι τοῦ Μαξίμου πρ(εσβυτέρου) ἀνωνύμη (ὁ) ἄγιος τὸ/πος...

959 Evron, mosaic inscriptions, 6th Century A.D.
Inscr. No. 1.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΑΥΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΒΑΣ...
ἐπι τοῦ εὐλαβεῖ(στάτου) Μαρίνου π/ρεσβυτέρου)...The term together with the epithet the most pious, εὐλαβεστάτος, refers to the presbyter Marinus.

960 Inscr. No. 3.
...Μ]ΑΡΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΒ...
...Μ]αρίνου πρεσβυτέρου)...The term refers to the same presbyter, Marinus.

961 Inscr. No. 5.
...ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΤΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΙΜΗΜΗ...
...τοῦ εὐλαβεῖ(στάτου) Σαμακώνος πρεσβυτέρου τῆς κωμῆς...
The term, together with the epithet 'the most reverend' εὐλαβεστάτος, 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, πρεσβυτέρος κωμῆς, is referred to in complete form.

962 Inscr. No. 6.
[ΑΚΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΕ/... Ἀκώνος πρε/σβυτέρου)...This inscription is damaged, and of the title, only the first three letters at the end of line seven are preserved.

963 Gaza, tomb stone, marble inscription, 6th Century A.D.
...ΤΡΙΣΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ / ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΚ / ΠΡΟΣ ΗΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΡΗ/ΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΣΤΕΡΟΥ/...
...τρισιμακάριον(η) / καὶ ἐν ἀγίοικ / π(ατηρος) ἡμῶν Ειρή/ναίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου/...
The term together with the epithet thrice blessed, τρισιμακάριος, refers to the presbyter Ireneus who seems to have been the superior of a monastery.
Hazar Ashdod, mosaic inscriptions, VIth Century A.D.
Inscr. No. 1.

...KAI TOY THEOCEBS PRECBS KAI XW/REPIKOKOY KALAPIODIOY KAI TOY / THEOCEBESTATOY PAULOY PRECBS KAI H/TOU-MENOU

...kai tov theosebhestatou presb(utero) kai xw/repeiskopo Kalamodio kai tov / theosebestato Pauulo presb(utero) kai h/goumenou.

Together with the term the most God fearing, theosebestatoς, the term refers to the presbyter Paulus, who was also the superior of the place and the presbyter Kalapodiou, who was also the choperiscopus of the town.

Inscr. No. 2, A.D. 551/2

† EPI TS THEOCEBS PRECBS KAI XWREPIKKS KALAPIODIOY KAI IERONIOY TOY THEOCEBS PREC.
† epi t(ou) theosebhestatou presb(utero) kai xwrepisck(oupon) Kalamodio kai Ieronioy tov theosebhestatou presb(utero).

Together with the epithet the most God fearing, theosebestatoς, the term refers to the presbyter Kalapodiou, the same as mentioned in inscr. No. 1, and another presbyter named Ieronius.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

Hesban (Heshbon), church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
† YPER C/WTHEIAC TOY EULAS PREC/Σ PAPIW...
† 'Yper swetpiras t(ou) eul(abeestatou) pres(butero) / Papio[vos]...


Jaber (Provincia Arabia), Transjordan, house of Ahmed el Husein, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

...EK SIPOYΔΗC HA[IOY] PREC...
...

The term refers to the presbyter Elias.

Dept. of Antiq. Files.

Jericho, Church of St. George, Russian property, mosaic inscription, December 11th, A.D. 566
† ΘΗΚΗ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ/ΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΚ/ΟΥ ΠΡΕCBS / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ/
† θηκη makari/ωτατου Kyriake/ou presb(utero) / ηγουμενου/

The term refers to Cyriacus who was at the same time the superior of the church.

Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 315.

Jericho, Church of St. Andrew, Deir il Akbat, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...

SIPOYΔΗ HPAK/AIOY PRECBS
...σπουδὴ Ἡρακλῆι προσβ(υτέρου)
The presbyter is called Heraclius.

970 Jerusalem, cistern in the Nea complex, on hard plaster modelled in bold relief and painted red, 6th Century A.D.
Κ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΦΙΛΑΟΤΙΜΗΝ ΡΩΣ ΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ ΦΙΛΑΟΤΙΜΗΝ ΡΩΣ ΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ / ΛΕΥΚΟΙΟΙΚΟΙ ΦΙΛΑΟΤΙΜΗΝ ΡΩΣ ΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ

971 Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Byzantine period
+ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ + ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ + ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ + KAI ΘΕΟΜΗΣΤΟΥ + ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ +
+ μνήμα πρεσβύτερου Θεοφίλου Ηγουμένου καὶ Θεομηνίστου πρεσβύτερου


972 Jerusalem, Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem (Archaeological Museum), from Gath, marble inscription, Byzantine period
...ΤΟΥ / ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ Υ/ΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ...
...τού / ἀγίου πατρὸς ύ/μων ἱωάννου τοῦ / πρεσβυτέρου...


973 Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, 500 m S. of the Russian Tower, inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΨΑΛΜΙΩΝ
Πρεσβύτερος Ψαλμίων
Bibl. ΄Αρχιμ. Κλήμεντος Καρναπά, 'Η ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀρους τοῦ Ἐλαιών Σταυροπηγιακή Μονή τῆς Ἀναλήψεως, Ἱερουσαλήμ 1908, p. 96.

974 Jerusalem, Karm es Sajjad, Byzantine period
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΙΑΡΙΩΝ
Πρεσβύτερος Ιαρίων

975 Kafr Kama, 5 km N.E. of Mount Tabor, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.
CYNXΩΡΗΚΟΝ ΤΑΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΥ [Π]ΡΕ /ΤΟΥ ΤΑΠΙΝΟΥ...

συνχάρησον τάς ἀμαρτίας Εὐσταθίου [πρε(σβυτέρου)] / τοῦ ταπ(ε)νοῦ...
The term together with the epithet ‘the humble one’ refers to a presbyter named Eustathius.


976 Karmiel (Kh. Bát es Sih), mosaic inscriptions, Byzantine period
No. 2 KE / ΜΝΗΣΗΘ/ΘΙ ΜΑΣΙΜΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ
Κ(ύριε) / μνήμη/θι Μαζίμου / τοῦ πρεσβύτερου
No. 3 KE / ΜΝΗΣΗΘ/ΘΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΟ/ΠΙΟΥ / ΤΟΥ Π
Κ(ύριε) / μνήμη/θι τοῦ δουλ/ου σου Προκό/πιου / τοῦ π(ρεσβυτέρου)

Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

977 Kfar Truman, Kh. er Ras or Kh. Irma (Judaean coastal plain), mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/ΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ / ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΥΕΣΘΙΟΥ...
ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο/φιλεστάτου / πρεσβύτερου κέ ἠγουμ/ένου Εὐσεβίου...
The term together with the epithet the most beloved of God, θεοφιλέστατος, 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 ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ] Κ[ΑΙ] ΗΓΟΥΜ[E-
ΝΟΥ] ΠΑΥΛΟΥ...
ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου πρεσβύτερου Κ[αί] ἠγουμ[ένου] Παύλου...

979 Khirbet Ma’an (Nirim), stone slab inscription, A.D. 337
a) + ΘΙΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΣ ΖΗΝΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΒ...
+ Θική τοῦ μακ(α)ρ(ίου) Ζήνονος τοῦ πρ(εσβυτέρου)...

Dept. of Antiq. Files, unpublished.

980 Khirbet el Mekhayat, Church of the priest John, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΡΩΒ...
...σπούδη Ιωάννου πρ(ε)σβυτέρου)...
The presbyter’s name is Ioannes.

981 Khirbet el Mekhayat. Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, Vlth Century A.D.
...ΒΑΡΙΧΑ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ Κ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
...Βαριχά πρεσβυτέρου κ(ai) 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, Vlth Century A.D.
...ΠΡΕΣΒ Κ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
...πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(ai) 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.

983 Khirbet Jannaba, el-Tahta, between Beth Shemesh and Beth-Guvrin, mosaic inscription, Vlth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ / ΙΩΑΝ]ΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΣ ΕΓΕΝΕΤ
ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου / Ἰωάννου πρεσβ(υτέρου) ἐγένετ(ο)...

984 Khirbet Khudrieh, near Deir Diwan, chancel, marble inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
+ ΥΠΕΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣ ΧΙΑΛΜΟΝΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΣ
+ ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Σηλήμωνος πρεσβ(υτέρου)

985 Khisfin, Golan, mosaic inscription, Early VIth Century A.D.
...ΣΠΟΥΔΑΣ ΘΟΜΑ ΠΡΕ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝ...
...σπουδῆς Θωμᾶ πρε(σβυτέρου) κ(ai) ἡγούμενου...
The presbyter here was also the superior of the church.
Dept. of Antiq. files.

986 Madaba. Transjordan, the Church of the Apostles, mosaic inscription, Vlth Century A.D.
ΕΙΚ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ...
...εἰκ συμμήν Ιωάννου π/ρεσβυτέρου...
The term given in the genitive singular refers to a presbyter by the name of Ioannes.
987  *Madaba*, Aelianus crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595

CİOY/ΔΗ ΚΕΡΓΙΟΥ / ΠΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΙΛΗ/ΑΝΟΥ...
σπούδή Σεργίου / πρ(εσβυτέρου) τοῦ ἀγίου Αιλή/ανοῦ...

The term refers to the presbyter Sergius, of the Church of St. Aelianus.


988  *Main*, 8 km S.W. of Madaba, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIIIth Century A.D.

...ΕΟΥ ΠΡ ΚΑΙ... εις πρ(εσβυτέρου) καί...

The inscription is damaged but the term 'presbyter' is preserved.


989  *Moza* (Qalonia, Qalunia), mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΣ...Κυριακοῦ πρεσβυτ(έρου)

The presbyter's name is Cyriacus.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

990  *Nahariyya*, marble inscription from the chancel, VIth Century A.D.

...ΑΕΟΝΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣ ΠΙΕΡ Σ ΠΙΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ...
...Λεοντίου πρε(σβυτέρου) (καὶ) περ(ιοδευτοῦ) (καὶ) πάντον τὸν διαφε-
ρ(όντον) 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

ΑΝΕΠΑΗ Ο ΜΑ/ΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΠΙΤΟ /[	ext{Α}]ΒΒΑΣ ΕΡΑΣΙΝΟΥ Ο ΠΡΕΣ-
BYTER(ΟC)...


Andre: ὁ μα/κάριος Καπίτω / [ά]ββάς Ἐρασίνου ο ὁ πρεσβύτερος...

The term is given in the nominative singular and refers to 'abba' Erasinus.


992  *Ras Siyagha*, Mount Nebo, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΥ/ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟ/ΦΙΑΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕ

έπει 'Αλεξύου/ου καὶ Θεο/φίλου πρεσβ(υτέρων)

The term refers to two presbyters Alexius and Theophilus.


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

...ΣΠΟΥΔΗ Κ ΑΓΩΝΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ Κ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΣ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΗΝΟΝ/

...σπούδη κ(αί) ἀγώνι Μαρτυρίου κ(αί) Θεοδώρου πρεσβ(υτέρων) κ(αί) ἡγουμηνον/

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.

Ras Sivagha, Photisterion south of the baptismal font, mosaic inscription, A.D. 597

...ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΣ ΠΡΕΣ/ΒΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕ...
...καὶ Μαρτυρίου θεοφιλεστάτου πρεσβύτερου καὶ ἡγουμένου,
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.

Ras Sivagha, Basilica, S.W. part of the chancel, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.

... ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΩΣ(ΤΑΤΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΙ/ΣΕΒΕΩΣ(ΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ) ΑΛΕΞΙ(ΑΝΩΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ)/ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ...
...ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεώς(τατοῦ) καὶ θεοί/σεβεως(εστατοῦ) ἀλεξί(ανωρού πρεσβύτερου)/ καὶ ἡγουμένου.
The term together with the honorific epithets the most reverend, εὐλαβεστάτος and the most pious, θεοσεβεστάτος, refers to the presbyter Alexandrus who was also the superior of the monastery.
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 323.

Rehovot (Negev), tomb stone inscription, A.D. 542

+ ΚΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΤΥΚΟΝ.../...ΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΣΜΑΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ...+
Κύριε ανάπαυσον.../...τόν τρισμακάρπιον πρεσβύτερον...
Bibl. Y. Tsafir, RB 84 (1977), pl. 422-426.

Rihab. Transjordan, house of Saad en Nuheb, mosaic inscription, May A.D. 620

...ΕΚ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕ/...
...ἐκ προσφορ(ῶς) Σεργίου πρεσβύτερου/...
The presbyter’s name is Sergius.

Rihab, house of Hamad el Tallaq, mosaic inscription, A.D. 574/5

...ΣΑΜΜΑΣΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΡΕΠΕΙΩΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΤ.../[...]
... Σαμμασαιοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου πρεσβύτερου (καὶ) Γεωργίου αὐτ[οῦ] νιότου (?)
The term together with the epithet “the most beloved of God” refers to the presbyter Sammasaeus.

Rihab, Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.

...ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΝΕΩΘΕΝΑΝ ΤΑ ΨΗΦΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΗΛΙΟ ΒΑΣΣΟΤΟ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ Κ ΠΑΡΑΜ...
...νῦν δὲ ἀνανεώθεσαν τὰ ψηφία ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ἑλιοῦ Βάσσου τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστά-
του) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) παραμο(ναρίου)...

1000 *Shaar ha Aliyah*. S.W. entrance to Haifa, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
...ΠΡΕΣ... ...πρεσβ(υτέρου)... The inscription is damaged and of the term ‘presbyter’ only the first four letters are preserved.
Bibl. *SEG* XVI (1959), No. 841.

1001 *Shiva*. North Church Baptistery, stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ / ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒБ
...ὁ μακάριος / Στέφανος Γεωργίου πρεσβ(υτέρος).
The presbyter’s name is Georgius.

1002 *Shiva*. Marble inscription, A.D. 630
...Ο ΤΡΙΣΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΡΣΕΝΙΟΣ ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒ
...ὁ τρισμακάριος Ἄρσενιος Ἀβραμίου μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβ(υτέρος).
The term refers to a monk, Arsenius. This is a unique example of a monk presbyter, μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος.

1003 *Shiva*. Stone inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΘ ΒΟ/ΘΟΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒ
+ ἐνθάδε κατετέθη Βό/θοος Στεφάνου πρεσβ(υτέρος).
The presbyter’s name is Boethus.

1004 *Shiva*. North Church, Baptistery, marble inscription, A.D. 614
... Ο ΤΡΙΣΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΣ
... ὁ τρισμακάριος Ἰωάννης Στεφάνου πρ(εσβύτερος).
The presbyter’s name is Ioannes.

1005 *Shiva*. South Church, lintel, stone inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
[ΕΠΙ ΑΕΩΟ]Υ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΕΚΤΙΣΘΕΝ ΕΝ ΕΤΙ...
[ἐπὶ Αέοο] πρεσβυτέρου ἐκτίσθη ἐν ἔτι...
1006 *Shivta*, North Church, Baptistery, Byzantine period

...ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒ...  
...Στέφανος Βοήθου πρεσβ(υτέρου)  
The presbyter’s name is Stephanus.

1007 *Shivta*, chapel South of the Basilica, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ / ΙΩΑΝΝΗ ΠΡΕΣ...  
...ἐπιμελεία / Ἰωάνν(ου) πρεσ(φυτέρου).
The term refers to the presbyter Ioannes.

1008 *Sinai*, St. Catherine’s Monastery Basilica, apse, mosaic inscriptions, A.D. 565/6

a) ...ΗΠΙΟΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΤΕΡ ΠΡΕΣΒΗ Κ ΙΟΥΜΗΣ +  
...ἐπι Λαγγίνου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αι) ἡγουμ(ένου)... +

1009 b) ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΘΕΟΔΙΩΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΗ Κ ΔΕΥΤ...  
σπουδὴ Θεοδώρου πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αι) δευτεραρίου...  
In inscription a) the term together with the epithet the most pious, ὁσιωτάτος, 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 ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΤΟΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕ[ΟΔΙΩΡΟΥ]...  
...Γερόντιον τοῦ φιλόχριτον πρεσβ(υτέρου) τοῦ ἁγίου Θε[οδώρου]...  
The term together with the epithet the lover of Christ, φιλόχριστον, refers to the presbyter Gerontius.

1011 *Susita*, inscription on a chancel screen, V-VIth Century A.D.

ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ  
ἐν χρ(ίονι) Προκοπίου πρεσβυτέρου  
The term given in the genitive singular refers to a presbyter named Procopius.

1012 *Tell Shocho*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

No. 1 + ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗ ΚΑΙ / ΑΝΕΠΑΘ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ/ΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ Ο  
ΘΕΟΣΒΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ Ο ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΗС Ο ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ...
† ἔκκαμὴ καὶ ἀνεκάπῃ καὶ ἐν/θάδε καὶ ἔπι τὴν θεόπροθατο/ξ ἡμῶν ἱλαν/νης ὁ πρεσβύτερο/φος...

Slomo Qudovitz, Dept. of Antiquities.

1013 Umm el-Maqlati (dibebel Ajlun), mosaic inscription. A.D. 482
ΧΜΓ / ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/CEBS ΑΙΩΝΟC ΠΡΕCS /...ΕΓΕ/ΝΕΤΟ Η ΨΙ-ΦΙΟΙΕΙC/...
ΧΙΓ / Επι του Θεο/σεβ(εστατου) Αιωνος πρεσβυτερου /... ἐγε/νετο ἡ ψηφωσει/...


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 Century A.D.
...ΣΑΒΒΑΤΙΟ ΆΡΧΗΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ/AMHN
... Σαββατιώ ἄρχη/πρεσβυτέρῳ / ἀμήν

The term appears in complete form in the dative singular and refers to the archpresbyter Sabbatius.


1016 Suhmata, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 555
...ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΆΡΧΗΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ...
... Στεφάνου ἄρχη(ς)πρεσβυτερου / (και) οἰκονόμου(ου)...

The term appears abbreviated in the form 'APXSIIPES' and refers to the archpresbyter Stephanus who was also the oikonomos 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 village, entrusted by the presbyter of the main village to perform any Church administrative work but without independent authority. Such duties were generally performed by the perioduets, the paramonarius, the elders, or retired clergy with permanent 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. γίον βοσθοῦν πρεσβυτέρου [...υπ]ογράφη ύπέρ αυτο[ί] κατά ἀπέλλη/
Line 9. σεν καὶ μαρτυρῷ +

1018 Papyrus No. 107. 3 VI-VIIth Century A.D.
Line 2. καὶ προγαμμαίας δο[με]νάς ὁ Στέφ[ανος κ] ἐπερωτήθησας ὁμολογῶ
Line 3. ἀκολούθως καὶ ἀπέλυσα Γεώργ[ιο]ς βοσθός ἐλέει Θ[εο]ῦ πρεσβυτέρος

*Priest, ἱερεύς*

The term 'priest' appears in the following places:

1019  *Beit Jibrin*, mosaic inscription, approximately A.D. 500
...ΤΟΥΔ ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΑΜΥΝΩΝ / ΟΒΟΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΗΠΙΟΘΥΜΟΣ
...τοῦ ἱερεῦς ἁμών / Ὀβοδίανος ἡπιοθύμος
The term appears in complete form, referring to a priest Obodianus who decorated the church with a mosaic pavement.¹

1020  *Madaba*, Transjordan, Aelianus Crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 607
...ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΑΥΤΑ ΙΕΡΕΟΣ ΣΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣΤΟΥ...
... Λεοντίου τοῦ πραύτατος (του) ἱερέως (καὶ) εἰρήνης γνησίου ἐραστοῦ. ..
The term appears in complete form in the genitive singular and refers to the priest Leontius.

1021  *Madaba*, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.
ΟΡΩΝ / ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΟΥ / ΤΟ ΠΡΑΟΝ ΘΑΥΜΑΖΕ ΤΩΝ ΚΤΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ...
ὁρῶν / Λεοντίου τοῦ ἱερέως / τὸ πρῶτον θαύμαζε τῶν κτισμάτων....
The term, in complete form in the genitive singular, refers to the same Leontius, ἱερεύς, 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.

1022  *Petra*, marble inscription, Byzantine period
† ΠΑΙΕ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΕ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΙΑΚΩΝΟΣ / ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤ ΙΕΡΕΥ-
CANTOC ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΤΟΥ ΘΕΩ ΕΟΝΤΙ / ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΒΑΣΙΑΙΟ
ΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΙ ΤΡΙΑΔΗΣ ΣΕΙΠΗ /

Episcopus

The term ‘episcopus’ was used in classical antiquity as meaning one who watched 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,

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 congregation, and

c) as a distinct ministerial order, being the highest among the three orders of the Church.

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 episcopate, 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

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, χωρεπισκόπος, and had jurisdiction over the clergy of his
area. This hierarchical system within the Church, subordinated one bishopric to an-
other, 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 ecc-
lesiastical regulation. The assembly which elected him based its choice on his per-
sonality and character rather than his age, status, education, etc. If he had no learn-
ing, the reader was there to read and expound the Scriptures; if he possessed few ad-
ministrative 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 substitute 1.

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 State 2. With regard to civil law, see Justin., Novella 223 c 12 3 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, τῷ πάντων μελ-
lλόντων ποιμάνων, though the final judgement, ratification and or-
dination was the function of the neighbouring bishops 4, 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 pres-
byters and deacons in the administration of the Sacraments 5, discipline, revenue of

---

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 Κληρικοίς οὐκ ἀλλὰς χειροτονεῖται συγχρονοί, εἰ μὴ γράμματα ἔσεσθαι καὶ θρήν πιστὺν καὶ βίον σεμ-


4 Can. Apost. 1.

5 St. Ignatius, Ad Smyrn. VIII. Ὁδε ἐξορ ἐς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὕτε βαπτίσαν οὕτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν (Test. 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’, ἐπισκόπος πόλεως, who in the episcopal hierarchy was subordinate to both the Patriarch and Metropolitan, but superior to the country bishop.

In the Ἀγιοταφιτικόν Ἀֻρωμάτων, on the Saturday after the Fourth Sunday of Lent, the memory of all the bishops of Jerusalem is celebrated. Σάββατον μετά τὴν 4ην Κυριακήν, μνήμη τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ἰερουσαλήμ.

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-VIII Century A.D.

...ἘΓΕΡΘΘ ΟΧΔΕ Ο ΝΑΟC ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ OC ΕΠΙΣΚΟ(ΠΟΥ) / ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚ-ΤΟΥ...

...ἐγέρθη διόυ ὁ ναὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου/Πολυεύκτου...


1024 *Amman*, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, A.D. 653-654

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΣΕΒ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚ ΕΥΘΥ-ΠΟΘ / ΤΟ ΨΗΦΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΙΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΗΣ / ΣΙΛΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚ...

Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ ὀσιωτάτου / Θεοδοσίου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐψηφώθη / τὸ ψήφιν τότο διὰ σπουδῆς / Σιλινοῦ διακ(όνου)...

---

¹ Council of Antioch (A.D. 341), can. XXIV-XXV ‘Τά τῆς ἐκκλησίας ... διοικεῖσθαι προσήκει μετὰ κρί- σεως καὶ ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου’ and can. Apost. XXXVII ‘Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐχθεῖ τὴν φροντίδα καὶ διοικεῖται αὐτὰ ὡς Ἰησοῦ οἰκομένης’.

² Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314), can. 9. ‘Ἐκαστὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστην ἐπιβάλλοντας κυλῆσαι καὶ πρόνοιαν πουεισθαί πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους μετὰ κρίσεως ἑκαστὸν διελεύμβανει’.
1025 *Arrabah*, Upper Galilee, Byzantine church, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.


...ἐπὶ [τ]οῦ / [θεοσ]ίβι(στάτου) καὶ ἀγιοι(τάτου) / [ἐπισκόπ]ί(ου) Γρη[γορίου]...

The inscription is damaged.


1026 *Ashkelon-Barnea*, Diaconicon, mosaic inscription, Late 5th Century A.D.

...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΑΣ Κ ΑΓΙΩΤΣ / ΕΠΙΣΚ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΙΟΥ ΤΟ / ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ...

...ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφίλ(εστάτου) και(α) ἀγιωτ(άτου) / ἐπισκ(όπου) Ἀναστασίου τὸ / πᾶν ἐργόν...

The term refers to the bishop Anastasius, together with the epithet the most holy, ἀγιωτάτος, and the most beloved of God, θεοφιλ(εστάτος).


1027 *Auja Haifir*, ancient Nessana, chalk block, inscription No. 61, Byzantine period.

.ΔΟΥ]ΛΟΥ ΣΟ[Υ ... ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ...

.δού]λου σο[υ ... ἐπισκόπου...

Only parts of the inscription are clear.

1028 *Auja Haifir*, ancient Nessana, papyri

Papyrus No. 50. 11, Early 6th Century A.D.

line 10 τ(δ) ἅβ(δ) Ζωινηρ Γεώργιος έλέει

line 11 Θε(δ) ἐπίσκοπος

Papyrus No. 51. 1, 6, Early 6th Century A.D.

line 1 + Μουσιάς έλ[βεί] Θεού ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ Ἀσιάντου Βικτωρ...

line 6 + Μουσιάς Σερη[γου] ἐπίσκοπος ὑπεσαπεμβάμην +

Papyrus No. 52. 14, Early 6th Century A.D.

line 13 τὸν ἅββαν Ἰωάννη τὸν γέροντα

line 14 ἐπίσκοπον

Papyrus No. 89. 28, Late VI – Early VII Century A.D.

line 28 αἱρότο ἐλ[αβει] ἐπίσκοπος τὸ...

1032 Dor (Tanturah), mosaic inscription, V1th Century A.D.
EΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / [ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ]
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου / [ἐπισκόπου]
The term is given in the genitive singular together with the epithet the most holy, ἁγιώτατος.
Dept. of Antiq. files.

1033 El-Yadudeh, Transjordan, mosaic inscription, A.D. 503
EΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΑΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΕΣ ΕΥΗ-ΦΩΝΗ...
ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου καὶ ἁσιωτάτου θεάδοσίου ἐπισκέψιον ἑυη-φωνῆ... The term, together with the epithets the most God fearing, θεοσεβεστάτος and the most pious, ἁσιωτάτος, refers to the bishop Theodosius.
Bibl. SEG VII (1934), No. 934.

1034 Emmaus, Baptistery, mosaic inscription, V1th Century A.D.
EΠΙ Τ(ΟΥ) / ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ...ἐπὶ τοῦ / ἐπισκόπου...
The inscription is damaged, but the term has been preserved.
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 151.

1035 Emmaus, mosaic inscription, V1th Century A.D.
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑ... / ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟ... θεοφιλ(εστάτου)... / ἐπισκόπου... 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-V1th Century A.D.
† EΠΙ ΤΟ / ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑ... / Κ ΑΓΙΩ... / ...ΩΑΝΝΗ / EΠΙ.../
† ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) / καὶ ἁγιωτάτου / [᾿Iωάννου] / ἐπισκόπου]

1037 Evron, mosaic inscription No. 3, V1th Century A.D.
...ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣ / ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ + / ...
...τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου καὶ θεοσεβεστάτου / ήμῶν ἐπισκόπου Παύλου + / ...

1038 Evron, mosaic inscription No. 5, V1th Century A.D.
EΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ...
ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Παύλου...
Both inscriptions mention the bishop Paulus, together with the epithets εὐλαβεστάτος, θεοφιλέστατος, ἁγιώτατος, θεοσεβεστάτος.
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
+ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΤΕΡΕΥ ΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΥ / ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΙ ΤΩ ΕΡΓΩ /...
+ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Θεοδώρου / ἐγένετο τῷ ἔργῳ /...
The term, together with the epithet the most pious, ὅσιωτάτος, refers to the bishop Theodorus.
Bibl. SEG VIII (1937), No. 339.

1040  Gerasa, Transjordan, the Cathedral, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΤΕΡΕΥ ΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΥ / ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΝ[ΕΝ]ΕΘΘΗ / ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΝ[Α]ΕΙΟΝ.
+ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου / Παύλου ἄν[εν]εθθῆ / τόδε τὸ 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, ὅσιωτάτος.
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
+ ἘΠΙ ΠΛΑΚΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΥ/Y...
+ ἐπὶ Πλάκκου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου/υ...
The term given in the genitive singular refers to the bishop Placcus together with the epithet θεοφιλεστάτος.
Bibl. SEG VII (1934), No. 871.

1042  Gerasa, Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, stone inscription, A.D. 464/5
[ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΩΤΕΡΕΥ ΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΛΑ[Y]ΙΟΥ...
[ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Κλα[υ]ίου...
The term together with the epithet ‘the most pious’, ὅσιωτάτος, 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.
+ ἘΠΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΥ...
+ ἐπὶ Παύλου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ ὅσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου...
The term together with the epithets θεοφιλέστατος and ὅσιωτάτος, refers to the bishop Paulus.
Bibl. SEG VII (1934), No. 872.

1044  Gerasa, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, A.D. 529/30
+ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ/...
+ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ ὅσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Παυλοῦ/...
The term refers to the bishop Paulus with the same epithets as in the previous inscription.

1045 *Gerasa*, Church of Bishop Genesius, mosaic inscription, A.D. 611
...ΓΕΝΕΚΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙ(ΩΝ)Τ(ΑΤΟΥ) ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΕΚΘ(ΟΠΟΥ)...
...Γενεσίου τοῦ ἁγίων τοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου...
The term together with the epithet the most holy, ἁγιώτατος, refers to the bishop Genesius.

1046 *Hazor Ashdod*, Kh. Banaya, mosaic inscription No. 1, VIth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΙΩΤΑΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙΚΣ...
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιώτατος τοῦ ὁσίωτατος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου / ἐπισκόπου...

1047 *Hazor Ashdod*, Kh. Banaya, mosaic inscription No. 2, A.D. 551/2
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ...
ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβέστατος τοῦ ἁγιώτατος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου...
Together with the epithets θεοσεβέστατος and ἁγιώτατος the term refers to the bishop Antonius.
Dept. of Antiqu. files.

1048 *Jaber*, Transjordan, Provincia Arabia, house of Ahmed el-Husein, Byzantine period
...ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΩΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΠΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΣΟ...
...θεοσεβέστατος καὶ ὁσιωτάτου τοῦ ἁγιοπού ἐπισκόπου...
The term appears together with the epithets the most beloved of God, θεοσεβέστατος and the most pious, ὁσιωτάτος, 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 *Ἀγιωτατικόν 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.

1050 *Jerusalem*, West of Nablus Rd., opposite St. Etienne, stone inscription, Byzantine period
...ἈΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΩΝ ΟΙΚΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΣΟ...
...Ἀναστασίων ὁσιωτάτος ἐπισκόπου...
The term together with the epithet ‘the most pious’, ὁσιωτάτος, refers to the
bishop Anastasius. In the 'Agioiaphitikon Kanováian, 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 I, 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. Bát es Sih), mosaic inscription. A.D. 526/7


'Εκτῆσθη η ἡ ἁγίωτα... διὰ τοῦ / θεωφιλής[τάτου ἐπίσκοπον] ἡμῖν / Στεφάνῳ...

Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

1052 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, St. George Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΗΣ[ΙΩ]ΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ] / ΕΚΤΙΚΘΩΣ Κ ΕΘΗΛΙΩΤΑ...

ἐπί τοῦ θεοφιλάηστατου ἰωάννου ἐπισκόπου] / ἐκτίσθη (ἡ) καὶ ἐτηλιώτη... ἕπί τοῦ ὑπερτάτου... ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙ]Ω]ΤΑΤΟΥ / ΕΛΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ΕΘΗΛΙΟΘΑΪ.

Bibl. S. Saller and B. Bagatti, _The Town of Nebo_, p. 140.

1053 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙ]Ω]ΤΑΤΟΥ / ΕΛΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ΕΘΗΛΙΟΘΑΪ.

ἐπί τοῦ ὀσιώτατου / καὶ ἀγίωτατου / ἐξείνα ἐπισκόπου / ἑτηλιώθαι.

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 ΟΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ Κ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ...

ἐπί τοῦ ὀσιώτατου κ(αί) θεωφιλάηστατου ἐπισκόπου Ιωάννου...

The term together with the epithets the most pious, ὀσιώτατος and most beloved of God, θεωφιλάηστατος, refers to the bishop Ioannes.


1055 *Khirbet el Mekhayat*, Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ Κ[ΙΩΝ]ΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟ ΕΚΤΗΣΘΟΧΗ...

ἐπί τοῦ ἁγιώτατου κ(αί) ἱωάννου ἐπισκόπου ἐκτῆσθη... The term refers to the same bishop, Ioannes, with the epithets the most holy, ἁγιώτατος and the most pious, ὀσιώτατος.

1056 *Kafir Kama*, 5 km N.E. of Mount Tabor, mosaic inscription, first half of the VIth Century A.D.

† ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΦΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΚ...  
† ύπερ σωτηρίας τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Εὐφρασίου ἐπισκόπου...

The term together with the epithet, the most holy, ἁγιώτατος, refers to the bishop Euphrasius.


1057 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576

† ΕΠΙΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΜΙΣΑΗΛΟΣ...  
† Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ ὁσιωτάτου / ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Μισαῆλος...


1058 *Madaba*, the Cathedral, mosaic inscription, A.D. 563

... ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ /...

...καὶ ἁγίων(τάτου) ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Ἰωάννου /...

Together with the epithet ‘the most holy’, the term refers to the bishop Ioannes.


1059 *Madaba*, Aelianus crypta, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595

ΕΠΙ / ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ / ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ/  
ἐπὶ / Σεργίου / τοῦ ὁσιο(τάτου) / ἐπισκόπου/

Together with the epithet, the most pious, ὁσιωτάτος, the term refers to the bishop Sergius.


1060 *Madaba*, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΨΗΦΩΘΟΙ Ο ΤΟΠΟΣ/...  
Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἰωάννου ἐψηφώθη ὁ τόπος /...

The term is given in complete form together with the epithet most holy, ἁγιώτατος.

1061 Madaba, mosaic inscription, A.D. 579
+EPI TOY OΣIΩS Κ ΑΓΙΩΣ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ...
+ Ἔπι τοῦ ὀσιῶν(τάτου) κ(αὶ) ἀγιῶν(τάτου) Σεργίου ἐπίσκοπου / ἐτελιώθη...
The term is abbreviated together with the epithets the most pious, ὀσιώτατος and most holy, ἀγιώτατος.

1062 Madaba, Church of Virgin, mosaic inscription, A.D. 622/3
+EPI TOY OΣIΩΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ /
+ Ἔπι τοῦ ὀσιῶν(τάτου) πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοφάνους ἐπισκόπου /...

1063 Masouh, mosaic inscription No. 2, Byzantine period
+EPI TOY OΣIΩΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ / EPIΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ Ἡ ΑΓΙΟΤΑΤΗ ΕΚ/ΛΗΣΙ...
+ Ἔπι τοῦ ὀσιῶν(τάτου) Θεοδοσίου / ἐπίσκοπος ἐπισκόπου /...
The term, together with the most pious, ὀσιώτατος names the bishop as Iason.

1064 Petra, Transjordan, stone inscription, Byzantine period
+EPI TOY ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / ΙΑΣΩΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ /
+ Ἔπι τοῦ ὀσιώτατος / Ἰάσωνος ἐπισκόπου /...
The term, together with the most pious, ὀσιώτατος names the bishop as Iason.

1065 Ras Siyagha, left side-sunken panel on the baptismal font
a) stone inscription, A.D. 597
+ ΚΕΡΓΙΩΝ Ο / ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / Τ(ΕΩΣ) Θ(ΕΩΣ) ΤΑ ΚΑ / COI ΠΡΟΣΦ/ΕΡ[Ω] +
+ Σεργιους ὁ / ἀγιωτατος / ἐπίσκοπος / η[ε]ος Θ(εως) τ(εως) / σοι προσφέρω[ν] +
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
+EPI TOY / ΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ / EΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / EΠΙΣΚ...
+ Ἔπι τοῦ / ὀσιῶν(τάτου) Σεργίου / ἐπίσκοπος /...
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 /...
...εὐχὴ τοῦ ἀγίου πατρὸς 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... / (ΟϹ ΕΠΙΚΟ ΗΜΩΝ / ΦΩΤΙΝ[ΟΥ]...
[+]Επι τού... / (ὁ)σωτάτου) ἐπισκόπου) Ἦμων / Φωτιν[ου]...
The term is given together with the epithet most pious, ὅσιωτατος.

1069  
_Shellal, South of Gaza_, mosaic inscription, A.D. 561/2
...ΟϹΙΩΤΗ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΟΠΟϹ / ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΣ...
...ὁσιώτ(ατος) Ἐμών ἐπισκόπος / καὶ ὁ θεοφίλ(εστατος)...
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 epiteth the most pious, ὅσιωτατος.

1070  
_Shivita, South Church_, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΩϹΟΙΩΤ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ / ΗΜΟΝ ΕΠΙΚ...
+ ‘Επι τοῦ ὅσιωτου Γεωργίου / Ἦμων ἐπισκόπου...
Included with the term is the epiteth the most pious, ὅσιωτατος.

1071  
_Shivita, Chapel South of the Basilica_, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚ ΘΥΜΑ ΕΓΕΝ[ΕΤ]Ο...
‘Επι τοῦ ἁγίου(του) ἐπισκῆς(όπου) Θωμᾶ ἐγέν[έτο]...
The term appears together with the epiteth 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 ΑΓΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΥΜΑ ΕΠΙΚ...
+ ‘Επι τοῦ ἁγιωτ(άτου) Θωμᾶ ἐπισκῆς(όπου)...
The term, together with the epiteth ‘the most holy’, refers to the bishop Thomas.

1073  
_Wadi ‘Ayoun Mousa_, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΕΨΗ/ΦΩΘΗ ΑΥΤΗ Η ΑΓΙΟ/ ἘΚΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΥ/ΚΥΡΟΥ ΕΠΙ/ΚΧΣ
‘Εψη/φωθη α/ὕτη ἡ ἁγιο(τάτη) / ἐκάλησια ἐπι τοῦ εὐ(λαβεστάτου) / Κύρου ἐπισκόπου)
**Country Bishop. Χωρεπίσκοπος**

The Greek word ‘choraeiscopus’ 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 powers, 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 ‘Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες κωθέσταιν τὰ ἑπαρχάς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστῶν, καὶ τούτο οὖ καινῶς έκ γῆρ δή πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγέγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους’.

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. 249-251, 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 Ancarya, 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 ‘typing the seventy’, in the same way as the city bishop typified the Twelve Disciples, ‘Οἱ δὲ χωρεπίσκοποι εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἐμφανίσκουσαντα ὡς δὲ συλλειτουργοί διά τὴν σπουδὴν τὴν εἰς τοὺς προφυτεύσεις, προσφέροντες τιμῶμενοι’.

---

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 κόμαις ἡ ταῖς χώραις, ἡ τούς καλοιμάνους χωρεπισκόπους εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἰσελθάτω ἐπισκόπου εἰλήφοτες ἔδωξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἐαυτῶν μέτρα καὶ διοικεῖν τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκείσθαι φροντίδι καὶ κηδεμονία καθίστατον δὲ ἀναγνώστας καὶ ὑποδικάκους καὶ ἐφορκιστάς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκείσθαι προαγωγῇ, μὴ δὲ πρεσβυτέρων μὴ διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, ἢ ἦπόκειται αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ χώρα. Εἰ δὲ τολμήσεις τις παραβῆναι τὰ ὀρισθέντα, καθαρεύσατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἦς μετέχῃ τιμῆς. Χωρεπισκόπον 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 ἔξειν δὲ ἀπλωμος καθίστασιν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν τινὶ κόμῃ ἢ βραχεῖα πόλει ἦτιν καὶ εἰς μόνος πρεσβυτέρου ἐπαρκεῖ. Οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐπισκόπους ἐκεῖσε καθίστασθαι, ἵνα μὴ κατευθυνέται τό τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἄνωμα καὶ ἡ ἀνθεντια’.

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, again to avoid humiliating the prestige of the bishop, ‘Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κόμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἄλλα περιοδευτές...’.

The chorepiscopus could sit and vote in the Councils (See Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, act. 1, p. 58. Hardouin 1 1425. E). Many chorepiscopi 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 chorepiscopi, 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 Ebron, mosaic inscription No. 6, 5th Century A.D.
...ΙΕΟΥ ΧΩΡΕΠΙΣΧ... ΙΕΟΥ 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
Hazor Ashdod, mosaic inscription No. 1. Vtth Century A.D.
+ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΤΑΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ / ΕΠΙΚΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΕΣ ΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΕΒΣ ΚΑΙ Η/ΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ / ΤΗΣ ΨΗΦΩΣΕΩΣ
+ Ἐπι τοῦ ἁγίωτας καὶ ὁσιώτατου Ἀντωνίου / ἐπισκόπου καὶ τοῦ θεοσεβίστατου Παύλου πρεσβύτερου καὶ χοροπεσικόπου Καλαποδίου καὶ τοῦ / θεοσέβεστατος Παύλου πρεσβύτερου καὶ ἱερομενού έγένετο το έργον τούτο / τῆς ψηφώσεως
+ The term indicates an official of presbyterial rank.

Hazor Ashdod, mosaic inscription No. 2. A.D. 551/2
+ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΕΣ ΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΟΡΟΠΕΣΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΟΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΕΣ ΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣ.
+ Ἐπι τοῦ θεοσεβίστατου καὶ χοροπεσικοῦ Καλαποδίου καὶ ιερονίου τοῦ θεοσεβίστατου πρεσβύτερου.
In this inscription, the same chorepiscopus Kalapodios of presbyterial rank is mentioned.
Dept. of Antiq. files.
Note: Evron, Horvat Karkara, Shavei Zion and Suhmata at this period, belonged rather to the Patriarchate of Antioch as being parts of Phoenicia.

Horvat Karkara, Gesher Haziv, mosaic inscription, March A.D. 477
[Ε]ΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΦΗ ΑΡΧΙ/ΕΠΙΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΛΩΝ /ΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΣ [Β] ΧΟΡΟΠΕΣΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΝ /Ε/ΙΑΒ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕΣ ΓΑΕΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΡΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΖ /ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ Η ΨΗΦΗ/...
[Ἐπι τοῦ ἁγίωτας καὶ θεοφῆ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχη/επισκόπου ἡμῶν Λονγίνου καὶ τοῦ θεοσεβίστατος] χοροπεσικόπου Πολυχρόνου καὶ τῶν εἰς η/ἡμείας περιοδευτῶν Γαειάνου καὶ Δωρθέου καὶ Βάσιζου...
The term refers to Πολυχρόνος. He is mentioned after the archbishop, indicating that the immediate higher authority was an archbishop and not a city bishop. After him are mentioned two periodotai.

Shavei Zion, mosaic inscription, A.D. 486
ΧΩΡΟΠΕΣΙΚΟΚΟΥ Κ ΧΟΡΟΠΕΣΙΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ/ΕΝ ΜΗ ΠΕΡΙΣΟΥ /ἐν μηνι slave.
The term is abbreviated indicating the genitive plural.

Suhmata, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 555
+ ΕΓΝΗΣΙΩΣΥΝ Ῥ ΨΕΦΟΣΙΚΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΩΣΙΩΤΑ/ΤΟΥ ΙΩΑΝ-
NOY ARXIEPIKOPON S KYRIAKOU XWREP/S EPI TOU DEKPO-
TOY HMS STEFANOY...

+ Ἐγκέντρω σὺν Θεόδωρ ἡ γέφοσις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠσιωτά του Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκό-
pou (καὶ) Κυριακοῦ χωρεπ/τοσκόπου ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Στεφάνου...

Here again the chorepiscopus is mentioned after the archbishop, indicating
that the immediate higher authority was the archbishop, or that Subhata
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) metropolitan 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 synony-
mous 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): 'Περί τῆς τῶν μητροπολιτῶν τάξεως «ἐπισκοπεῖ» τα άρ-
χαλά άθε κρατεῖα τά ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ Λίβανη καὶ Πεντάπλοι, ὅπερ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρει ἐπισκόπων οὕτων ἔχουν τήν ἐξισιαν πνεύματι τά ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐπισκοπής τούτων συνήθεις ἐστίν. ὡς ἡμῶν καὶ κατά την Ἀντι-
χειαν καὶ τις ἅλλης ἐπαρχίας τά προσβεία συνεχεῖ 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 Dorotheus says: 'ἄλλα' οὖν τῶν ἐκατόστος πατριάρχης καλεῖται κυ-
ρίας, ἄλλα καταχρηστικά ἀναγράφεται γὰρ ἄρχηγεῖς τῆς Ῥώμης Πάπας καὶ ὁ τῶν ἱεροσολύμων Ἀρχι-
επίσκοπος μόνος καὶ ὁ τῆς Αντιπατρίας ἐκλήθη Πατριάρχης. Ἐκλήθησαν ὁ ἱεροσολύμων καὶ ὁ Κωνστα-
τινουπόλεως Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Πατριάρχης, ἄλλα δὲς ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπογράφει ἀρχιεπίσκοπος
Ἅδεως Ῥώμης καὶ Ὀεικομενικὸς Πατριάρχης.'
4 PL 82, 290. 'Archiepiscopus graeco vocabulo quod sit sumus episcoporum tenet enim vicem apostolicam
et praesidet tam metropolitatis quam episcopis ceteris.'
Ain Samieh, near Kefr-Melik, N.W. of Jerusalem, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΙ/ ΕΥΣΤΟΧΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ Α...ΙΟΥΣ...
"Επί τοῦ δεκαπύριον/ Εὐστοχίου τοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπου...
The title refers to Eustochius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (A.D. 552-564).

Bethlehem, Byzantine Chapel, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

...ΑΡΧΕΙΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ... ...ἀρχιεπίσκοπου...
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.

Horvat Karkara, Gesher Haziv, mosaic inscription, March A.D. 477

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑ/ΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΘΕΟΦΙΣ ΑΡΧΗ/ΠΙΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΛΟΝΓΙ-NOY...
"Επί τοῦ ἁγίωτα/τοῦ κῆ/θεο/φι/σε(λεστάτου) ἀρχη/πισ(σκόπου) ἡ/μῶν/λονγί-νου...

Irbit, Transjordan, Byzantine period

...ΑΡΧΗΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ...
Here it is not clear as to whom the title 'archbishop' refers to.
Dept. of Antiq. files.

Jamiya, 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 village 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.

Jerusalem, El-Aqsa Mosque, inscription on a wooden board, VIth Century A.D.

...ΟΧΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ.../ΑΡΧΕΙΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ...
...οχιωτατου.../αρχιεπισκοπου και πατριαρχου Πετρου...
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, οχιωτατος.
1086 Khirbet Es-Samra, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
[...] ἈΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / [...] ἘΘΕ ΚΑΙ ΨΗΦΩΘΕ /...
[...] ἄγιος(άτου) ἄρχιεπισκόπου / [...] ἐθε καὶ ψφωθε /...

1087 Rihab, Transjordan, house of Hamad el Tallaq, mosaic inscription No. 6, A.D. 574/5
[...] ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ἩΜΩΝ ΜΗΤΡ...ΕΨΗΦΟΥΤΟΣ /...
[...] Ἐπι τοῦ ἄγιω(τάτου) Θεοδώρου ἡμῶν μητρ[οπολίτου] καὶ ἄρχιεπισκόπου έψηφωθέ(θ) οὗτος /...
Here, the title is missing but easily presumed.

1088 Rihab, West end of nave, mosaic inscription No. 4, A.D. 594
[...] ἘΠΙΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ Κ ΟΙΣΙΟΤ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤ ΡΧΙ/ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟ... 
[...] Ἐπι τοῦ ἄγιος(τάτου) κ(αί) οἰκείων(τάτου) Πολυεὐκτοῦ ἢρχι/ἐπισκόπου...
The title, together with the epiteths the most holy, ἄγιωτατος and most pious, ὀσιώτατος, refers to the metropolitan Polyoeuctus.

1089 Rihab, St. Paul’s Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
[...] ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ΣΒΑΝΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡ ΕΨΗΦΟΘΕ... 
[...] Ἐπι τοῦ ἄγιος(τάτου) κ(αί) μακαριωτάτου Πολυεὐκτοῦ ἄρχιεπισκόπου / (καί) Βάσισον εὐλαβεῖστάτου παραμοναρ(ιου) ἔψηφοθή... 

1090 Rihab, St. Peter’s Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 623
[...] ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΕΨΗΦΩΘΕ... 
[...] Ἐπι τοῦ ἄγιωτατου καὶ μακαριωτάτου Πολυεὐκτοῦ ἄρχιεπισκόπου / καὶ μητροπολίτου ἐψηφωθῆ... 

1091 Rihab, house of Khalid el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription No. 2, A.D. 604
[...] ἘΠΙΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ / ΗΜΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ... 
[...] Ἐπι τοῦ ἄγιος(τάτου) Πολυεὐκτοῦ / ἡμῶν ἄρχιεπισκόπου(καὶ) μητροπολίτου... 
Together with the epiteth the most holy, ἄγιωτατος, the title refers to the metropolitan Polyoeuctus.

1092 Rihab, house of Saapen Nuheh, mosaic inscription No. 5, May A.D. 620
[...] ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΣ / ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΘΕΟΜΕΛΗΘΕ... 
[...] ἄγιος(ότου) Πολυεὐκ(του) / ἄρχιεπισκόπου ἑθεμελιωθῆ...
Together with the epithet the most holy, ἅγιωτάτος, the title refers to the metropolitan Polyeuctus.

1093 Suhmata, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 555
...ΕΙΙ ΤΟΥ ΩΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ...
...Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὡσιωτάτου τοῦ Ἰωάννου 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 synodal 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 bishop.

---

1 Council of Antioch, can. IX 'Τούς καθ' εκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρή τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλῃ προεστώτατα ἐπίσκοπον, και τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας...θεῖν ἔδωκε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, μηδέν τε πραπτεῖν περιττῶν τούς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἀνεβείν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν ἀρχάνον κρατήρα.
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 Kifcisi, mosaic inscription No. 2, A.D. 604

...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ / ΗΜΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΠΟ ΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘ...
...ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πολυεύκτου / ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου (καὶ) μητροπολίτου ἑθεμελιώθη (...).
The term is given in an abbreviated form ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΠΟ, 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 ΑΓΙΩΤ ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ...
Επὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Θεοδώρου ἡμῶν μητροπολίτου...
The term is given to a metropolitan named Theodorus, and as in the previous inscription, is accompanied with the epithet the most holy, ἁγιώτατος.

1096  
Rihab, St. Peter's Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 623
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΕΥΘΕΙΩΘ...
Επὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου Πολυεύκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου / καὶ μητροπολίτου ἑυθείη...

σαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα...περαιτέρω δὲ μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν διὰ τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ αὐτῶν ἀνευ τῆς τῶν λαοῦ ἀνεμισῆς’, which means without the consent of the provincial synod.
Patriarch, Πατριάρχης

Patriarch is an Old Testament title given to the father or chief of a patria, πατρία. A patria was a subdivision of a tribe (1 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. 1.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. xxxvi 853; Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. xiii, p. 764; and Isidore of Pelusium, Epist. 2, 47, PG Vol. I.xxxviii 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, ἀπεκτενικὴ 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 'Τοὺς μὲν μακαριωτάτους ἑπισκόπους καὶ πατριάρχας, τουτέστι τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Θεουσελώως καὶ Ἰεροσολύμων...', 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 'Ἀνανεώμενοι τά παρὰ τῶν ἐκατόν πεντήκοντα ἄγιον πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ ταύτῃ καὶ βασιλικῇ πόλει συνελθόντων, καὶ τῶν ἐξαισθών τριάκοντα, τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συναθροισθέντων νομοθετήθηντα, ὁρίζουμεν ὡστε τῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνων τῶν Ἰσαών ἀπολαύσειν πρεσβείων τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης θρόνου καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ως ἐκείνου μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δεύτερον μετ' ἑκείνου ύπάρχοντα, μὲθ' ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μεγαλοπόλεως ἀριθμός θρόνος, εἶτα ὁ Ἀντισχείς καὶ μετὰ τούτων ὁ τῆς Ἰεροσολύμων 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, 6th Century A.D.

...ΟΣ 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.


1099  *Jerusalem*, Mount of Olives, Church of the Ascension, stone inscription, 7th Century A.D.

[Τ]ΟΠΟΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΕΩΣ / ΥΠΟ ΜΟΔΕΣΙΟΥ [ ] / ...  
[Τ]ΟΠΟΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΕΩΣ / ύπο τοῦ Μοδεσίου [ ] / ...  
The inscription mentions the name Μοδεσίου 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 Aims-giver, Patriarch of Alexandria, in the rebuilding of damaged churches after the Persian invasion. In the inscription the term 'Patriarch' is not mentioned.


1100  *Jerusalem*, El Aqsa, inscription on a wooden board in two fragments, 8th Century A.D.
...ΟΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ.../ ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ...
...διωφτου.../ [ἀρχι]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 5th Oecumenical Synod, A.D. 552.

1101 Sephoris, Diocaesarea, limestone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
.../ΠΡΟΝΕ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΙΝΟΥ ΑΙΔΙΟ ΠΑΤΡ... 
.../προν(ον) τυ Μαρκελλίνου αἰδί(εις)μωτάτου) πατρ(της)χου)... 
Here, the title appears abbreviated and more probably refers to a senior member of the clergy of the area.
The stone inscription from Deir Hadjila (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 Juvenalus, the first Patriarch of Jerusalem, but without the word ‘Patriarch’.

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 

Shepherd, Πουμήν

‘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 functions.

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 καινούργων 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).

1104 Gerasa, Church of St. John the Baptist, mosaic inscription, A.D. 531
...ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΟΣ...
...Παύλου δικαίος τοῦ σοφοῦ τοῦ ποιμένος...

1105 Gerasa, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533
...ΠΑΥΛΟΣ Ο ΠΟΙΜΗΝ ως ΣΟΦΟΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΗΣ...
...Παύλος ὁ ποιμὴν ως σοφὸς κυβερνήτης...
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, σοφὸς κυβερνήτης.

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.
...ΑΙΝΕΙΑΧ ΤΟΔΕ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΕΜΟΙ ΠΟΡΕΝ ΑΣΗ/ΙΕΡΑΣΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΟ-ΦΟΣ ΕΥΞΕΒΙΗ ΜΕΜΕΛΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ
....Αινείας τόδε κάλλος ἐμοὶ πόρεν ἀσή/ἱεραστὸν πάνοψοφος εὐξεβὴ μεμελη-μένος ἱεροφάντης
The term refers to the bishop Aineas, who is called most wise, πάνοψοφος.

1107 Gerasa, Church of SS. Peter and Paul, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
[†Η ΜΑ]ΛΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΛΛΑ ΦΕΡ[ΕΙ ΠΑ]Σ ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΤΗΝΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΑΝ ΕΧΟΥΧΙΝ .../ ΚΛΕΙΝΟΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΜΗΔΕΑ ΠΙΣΤΑ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ.
[+H μάλα θαύματα καλά φέρει πάντις ιεροφάντης / ἀνθρώποις, οἱ τήνδε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἐξουσιω.../ κλεινός Ἀναστάσιος, θεομήδεα πιστὰ διδάσκον.

The term in this inscription refers to the bishop Anastasius who is called 'il·l·lustrious' κλεινός.


**Titular Bishop, Ἑπίσκοπος πτοιλάρως**

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 bishops could have new elected bishops with complete episcopal rights, even though they were not able to reside in their own episcopal Sees, ἰδία τάς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ξυγὸν ὀπωσδήποτε κενομένας ἐπισκοπάς ἐλαμβάνετο πρόνοια, ἵνα ἐκελεύσατε καὶ χειροτονηθῶσιν ἐκ νέου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐστο καὶ ἐάν οὔτοι δὲν θὰ εἴχον τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ μεταβῶσιν εἰς τὰς ἑδρας τῶν καὶ ἑκεῖ νὰ διοικήσωσιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν' (Ῥάλλη Ποτήρι I 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 Nuns**, 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.

---

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, τρία, cell dweller, κελλιώτης*

*Reclusus, ἐγκλειστος*

*Abbas, ἀββᾶς, or πατήρ, and old man, γέρων.*

The name ascetic, ἁσκητής, literally a person set apart, ἀποστακτής, ἐβδομαδάριος, 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 Itinerarium 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 ἀπὸ συμπόνου κ(αί) μοναχοῦ κ(αί) Παλλούτος / ἀδελφής(...)

The term refers to a nun named Pallus, rather than to a natural sister.


1109  *Bahan, Nahalaim*, mosaic inscription No. 2, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ἈΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ.../ΤΟΙΣ ΨΗΦ... ...ἀδελφός.../τοῖς ψηφ(οθέτατι)...

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.

† ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ...

† Κύριε Ἱησοῦ Χριστέ, ἀνάπαυσόν πάντας τούς 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'.


*Deir el Qilt*, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period
1112 No. 51
+ ἐκουμηθῇ(η) / οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡ/μῶν Παύλος Γαζέ[ος]...

1113 No. 52
+ ἐκουμηθῇ(η) ὁ ἀδελφός / ἡμῶν [Γε]έργης μονάζον...

1114 No. 54
+ ἐκουμηθῇ(η) ὁ μακ(άριος) ἀδ[ελφός] / ἡμῶν Ἁναστάσις ὁ μακ(ά)ριος Ἁσ-
καλα(νίτης)...

1115 No. 58
+ ἐκουμηθῇ ὁ ἀδελ/φός ἐμὸν Στέφα/νος...

1116 No. 70
+ ἐκουμηθῇ(η) / οἱ ἀδελφοί ἡμῶν /

1117 No. 81
+ ἐκουμηθῇ ὁ ἀδελφός / ...ωρὸς Κυπριακός...

1118 No. 163
+ ἐκουμηθῇ(η) ὁ ἀδελ/φός / ἴων ἡμῶν Ἰ[ωάν]νις...

1119 No. 185
+ ἐκουμηθῇ ὁ ἀδελφός / Νίλος ὁ μακ(άριος)/...

1120 No. 189
+ ἐνθάδε(ε) κα/τάκιτε ὁ ἀδελ/φός Ἤσιδιαρος /...

1121 No. 192
+ ἐκουμηθῇ ὁ/δελφός ἡμῶν / Δανηλ...

1122 No. 193
+ ἐκουμηθῇ ὁ ἀδελφός / ἡμῶν ὁ μακάριος Πέτρ/ος ὁ Κεσαρεὺς...

1123 No. 202
ἐνθάδε / κατάκιτε ὁ / ἀδελφός / Ἄνδρεας / ἐλαδικός...

1124 No. 209
+ ἐκουμηθῇ ὁ ἀδελφός ἡμῶν Παύλος / μνη Σεπτεμβρίου ια'...

1125 No. 212
ἐκουμηθῇ ὁ ἀδελφός ἡμῶν Ἰουστίνος / μνη ὁ Οκτωβρίου δ', ἱνδ. τ'.

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 ἡμῶν, 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.

1126 El-Quweisme. Transjordan, a few kms S.E. of Amman, mosaic inscription,
Byzantine period
...ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΑΒΒΙΒΟΥ Κ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ
ἈΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΡΣ.
...καὶ Μακεδωνίου κ(ai) Ἀββίου κ(ai) Ἰωάννου / αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν ἐν Χριστῷ).

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.


1127 Emmaus, Amwas, South Church, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

ΚΕ ΛΙΠΩΝ / ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ / ΠΕΛΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΣ / ΘΕΟΜΑ.
κέ λιπῶν / ἀδελφῶν / Πελαγίου κ(ai) / Θεομᾶ.

The term refers to two monks named Pelagius and Thomas of the same monastery.


1128 Jerusalem, Dominus Flevit, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΗΓΟΥΜ Κ ΔΟΜΗΤΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΗΣ.
...αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν Γεωργίου ἡγουμένου κ(ai) Δομητίου φιλοχρῆστου.

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, VIth Century A.D.

...ΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ[...] ...ἀν αὐτοῦ[...]

The inscription is damaged and of the term ἀδελφὸς which is given in the genitive plural, only the last two letters are preserved.


1130 Khirbet el Mekhayat, Transjordan, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ Κ ΕΛΙΑ ΑΔΕΛ ΤΗΚΝΑ ΚΟΜΙΤ.
...Στεφάνου κ(ai) Ελία ἀδελφῶν τήκνα κομιτίσσις.

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/Α ΑΒΒΝΣ ΑΔΑΦ / ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙ
ὑπὲρ ἀναπάχος/α Ἀββί(ιον) ἀδελφός/ος / Μαρτυρίου.

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.

...ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ Κ ΗΛΙΑ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΚΟΜΙΤΙΣΣΑ...
...Στεφάνου κ(ai) Ἡλία ἀδελφόν τέκνα κομιτίσσα...

The term, in the genitive plural, refers to two brothers, Stephanus and Elias, sons of the countess.

1133 *Khisfin*, Golan, mosaic inscription, Early Vllth Century A.D.
...Κ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ Κ ΕΥΘΕΝΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ...
...καὶ Βασιλείου καὶ Εὐθένίου ἀδελφῶν...
The term refers to two natural brothers named Basileius and Eugenius.
Dept. of Antiqu. files.

1134 *Madaba*, Transjordan (Aelianus crypta), mosaic inscription, A.D. 607
...ΜΗΝΑ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ Σ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ.
...Μηνᾶ Παμφίλου (καὶ) Θεοδοσίου ἀδελφοῦ
The term refers to three brothers named Menas, Pamphilus and Theodosius.
There is no indication as to whether they were natural or spiritual brothers.

1135 *Mishmar ha-Emeq*, Southern Esdraelon, mosaic inscription, Vth Century A.D.
ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ Α/ΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΥΝΗΓΕΝΩΝ
τῶν αὐτοῦ γονέων (καὶ) ἀδελφοῦ (καὶ) συνηγένεων
The term refers to the natural brothers of Ioannes, a subdeacon and a peri-
deuces.
Dept. of Antiqu. files.

1136 *Seilun*, mosaic inscription, V-Vlth Century A.D.
...ΚΑΙ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ
...καὶ Ἰακώβου 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 spir-i-
tual brothers.

1137 *Shivta*, North Church Baptistery, stone inscription, Viith Century A.D.
...ΚΑΙ ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ...
...καὶ Ἀβραμίου ἀδελφοῦ...
The term refers to Stephanus, natural brother of Abramius.
55-56, inscr. No. 58.

1138 *Umm el-Jimal*, Church of Claudianus, stone inscription, Byzantine period
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΟΥΜΟΣ / ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ
Κλαυδιανός Καιούμος / ἀδελφός
Bibl. *AAES* II, A, 3, pp. 189-190; *AAES* III, A, 3, p. 151, n. 261; M. Piccirillo,
B. Solitary, μοναχός, -η: one who lives alone, μονάξων, -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 Κ(αί) 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

[ΕΤΕΔΑ(ΕΥΘΗΕΝ)] Ο ΜΑ/ΚΑΠΙΙΟΙΚ ΠΙΚΑΚ / [Κ ΜΩΝΑΧΟΙΚI...[ἐπε]λ(ευθησέν) ὁ μα/κάριος διάκ(ονος) / [κ(αί) μ]οναχός...

The term is given in the nominative singular and refers to a monk who was at the same time a deacon διάκων 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 άδελφοι καί...

1142 papyrus No. 90. 35, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

...δ(ι) π(οδί) μοναχ(οί).

1143 papyrus No. 91. 61, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

μοναχὸς


*Deir el Qilt,* Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period

1144 Inscr. No. 12

+ Κόνων Τισαυρ(ος) / Μο(ναχός)... 

1145 Inscr. No. 36

+ Ἰωάννης μοναχός / ἀπό Ἀντιφίλας/

1146 Inscr. No. 52

+ ἐκμιήθη(θ) δ ἀδελφός / ἡμῶν Γελάργης μονάζων...

1147 Inscr. No. 71

+ δι... μο(ναχός) η(ν) Ξανθ(ικό) Κ'.

1148 Inscr. No. 79

+ Εὐσύχας μοναχός / μηνί Μαρτίῳ γ’

1149 Inscr. No. 94

+ ἐκμιήθη(θ) δ ἀδ(έλ)ξρ(ος) / Ἰωάννης χ... / στός μο(ναχός)...
Inser. No. 106
+ έκσμιθ/θι δ ῥακά/ριος μοναχ(ός) / ἡμῶν Πρωμανός / ὁ Πάρσις...

Inser. No. 170
έκσμηθ(η) ὁ α/δελφός Κασίου / μο(ναχός)... 

Inser. No. 203
+ έκσμη(ή) Παύλος / μο(ναχός)... 

The term μονάξων appears in inscription No. 52, and the epithet the blessed one, μακάριος, is included in inscription No. 106.

Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Russian property, marble inscription, September 14th, A.D. 592
... line 7 ΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΙΚΑ/...
... Φιλομενή μοναχοίς/...

Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, 500 m South of the Russian Tower, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.
...ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΥ ΕΛΠΙΔΙΟΥ / ΕΥΦΡΑΤΑ ΑΓΑΘΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΤΩΝ / ΜΟΝΑΞΩΝΤΩΝ
... Ευγενίου Ἐλπιδίου / Εὐφρατᾶ Ἀγαθονίκου τῶν / μοναξώντων.

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.

Kasr el Yahud, Monastery of St. John the Baptist Prodromus (Jordan River), inscription on a bronze bowl (movable object)
...ΜΕΝΑΑΙΑΚ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΚ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΡΙΩΝ ἈΜΗΝ
...Μενααεα Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Ἀναστασίας μοναστηρίων 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 τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου, Ἰερουσαλήμ 1905, p. 85.

Khirbet Ma'on (Nirim), stone slab inscription, A.D. 355
b) ΑΝΕΠΑΣ Κ Ο ΜΑΚΣ ΗΑΙΑΚ MONS...
'.Ανεπά(ή) κ(α)ι ὁ μαξ(άμιος) Ἡλίας μον(αχός)...
Dept. of Antiq. Files, unpublished.

Khirbet el Mekhayat, Transjordan, Church of the priest John, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...Κ ΙΟΥΛΙΑ/ΝΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ.
...κ(α)ι Ἰουλία/νοῦ μοναχοῦ.
The term in the genitive singular refers to the monk Julianus.

**1158 Kissufim**, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576

...ΚΑΙ ΤΩ / ΘΕΩΦΙΑΣΚΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ / ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΞ / ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΗΓΟ/ΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΗΤΩ...

καὶ τῷ / θεωφιάσκατον θεοδώρου ἐλέει θεοί / διὰκός μοναχὸς παραμοναρίου καὶ ἡγο/υμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἁλίου εγένητω...

**1159 Kissufim**, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578

...ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΑΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ / ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΞ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΥΣ.../

. ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ / αὐτοῦ θεοφίλεστάτου ἀββᾶ θεοδώρου / ἐλέει θεοί / διακός(νοῦ) μοναχὸς(οῦ) καὶ ἡγουμένου.../


**1160 Madaba**, Apostles Church, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.

...ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΥΑΛΒΕΣΚΑΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ...

.σπουδῇ ἱωάννου εὐαλβέσκατον μοναχοῦ...

The term is given in the genitive singular together with the epithet the most reverend, εὐαλβεσκατος and refers to a monk named Ioannes.

**1161 Massouh**, mosaic inscription No. 3, Byzantine period

ΧΕΟΘΗΜΟΝ ΒΟΘΟΣ ΤΩ / ΔΟΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ / ΝΑΔΙΟΥ / ΧΩ...

Χ(ριστός) ὁ Θεός ή/μον βοήθητέ(ι) τῷ / δούλῳ σου ΤΩΝ / ναδίῳ μονάχῳ...


**1162 Ozem**, mosaic inscription, V-VIth Century A.D.

ΖΟ/ΜΕΝΟΣ / MONAZ

ζω/μενος / μοναζ(ον)

The inscription is damaged and of the term only the letters MONAZ 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 Basilica, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.

...ΝΑΞ(...) ναζ...

The inscription is damaged and of the term only the last four letters have been preserved.
Rihab. Transjordan, house of Khalil el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604

...KYPIAKON S ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ S KOCMAN ΕΥΛΑΜΒΣ MONAXOYC S ΠΑΡΑΜΟΜΟ...

...Κυριακόν (και) Ιωάννην (και) Κοσμάν εὐλαμβ(στάτους) μοναχοὺς (και) 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, εὐλαμβέστατος.


Shivita. North Church Baptistry, marble inscription, VIIth Century A.D.

...Ο ΤΡΙΓΓΚΑΡΙΟΝ / APCCΕΝΙΟΝ ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΥ / ΜΟΝΑΧΟΤ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΕΒΣ /

...ὁ τρισμακαρίος / Ἄβραμιο / μοναχός καὶ πρεσβήτερος /.


Sinai. St. Catherine’s Monastery, lintel over the N.W. window refectory, stone inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.

...ΕΜΟΥ ΣΑΜ(ΟΥΗΛ) ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟΤC. ...

...ἐμοῦ Σαμουήλ μοναχοῦ τοῦ γράψαντος.

The term refers to a monk named Samuel, who wrote the inscription.


Tell Shocho, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

No. 2 + ΑΝΑΚΤΑΣΙΔ ΑΙΑΚ + Αναστάσις(ος) διάκονους

+ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΖ + Παύλος μονάζ(ον)

+ ΠΑΥΛΗ ΜΟΝΑΖ + Παύλη μονάζ(ουσα)

+ ΛΑΛΑΝΔΡΜ ΜΟΝΑΖ + Λαλαλανδρ(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 μακάριος κελλιώτης / Ἀραβίος...

1169 Inscr. No. 105

+ ἑκοῦμ(ὴ) ὁ μακάριος / Θεόδωρος / κελλιώτης...

1170 Inscr. No. 138

+ Κυριακός / διάκων κ[ε]λλί[ώτης]/...
D. Reclusus, ἐγκλείστης

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 probation, ὁ τε, ἐν ἐγκλείστηρες βουλομένους ἀναχωρεῖν ... πρώτον ἐν μοναστηρίῳ εἰσινεν ἄδει (here in the text, ἐγκλείστηρες, means being outside the monastery). This term appears in several inscriptions from the following places:

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

1171 Inscr. No. 159
+ ἐνθάδε ἄνεσαί/σατο Θεόδωρος κελλιώτης μι[ονά/ζον...]

1172 Inscr. No. 178
+ ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) ἡ ἱωά/ννη / κελλιώτης...

1173 Inscr. No. 198
+ ἐνθὰ καθάκει/ται.../ ὁ κελλι(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.


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.
perors of monasteries who, in most cases, were the oldest, most respected and spiritual among the monks of their monastic brotherhood. The term abba, ἀββᾶς, 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[Α]NOC, ABBAC MANALAC, ABBAC ΚΙΡΙΑΛΟC, ABBAC ZENOBIOC, ABBAC ΧΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ, ABBAC CAMΩΡ, ABBAC CAB[I]NOC, ABBAC ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟC.
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.

1177 *Auja Hafir*, ancient Nessana, papyri

1178 Papyrus No. 45, 1, March 30th, A.D. 602
+ ἡγέναιτο...με ταξι τοῦ ἀββᾶ Πατρικίου Σέργιου ἡγουμένου / ἀγίου Σέργιου 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)μεν πάντων γράφω και ἄσπαζομε τῶν ἀββάν Ζονί/νων ἐπιτα...
line 5 δόθη τῶν ἀββάν Προκόπιν τὴν εὐλογίαν μου ὑμα / μη...

1180 Papyrus No. 52. 12, 13-14, Early VIIth Century A.D.
line 12 ...τῷ ἀββᾶ Σεφάνω
line 13 τὸν ἀββάν Ἰωάννην τὸν γέροντα
line 14 ἐπόσκοπον
The term refers to a bishop called Ioannes.

1181 Papyrus No. 53. 2, 9-10, before A.D. 608
line 2 Ἰτα γινόσκιν σοι θέλω ὡς ὁ ἀββᾶς Σέργις
line 9-10 ...εἰπέ τῷ Κύριῳ ἀβ/βά...

1182 Papyrus No. 56. 8, 10, 11, 16, January 18th, A.D. 687
line 8 + ταῦτα τὰ ἐλετρόσατω ἀββά Κύριν παρά...
line 10 τὸ ἀββᾶ Κύριν...
line 11 ἀββᾶ Κύριν
line 16 ἐγράφῃ χρή ἐμε ἀββᾶ Γεωργίου Βικτ[ορ][ο]ζ...

1183 Papyrus No. 79. 38, 52, Early VIIth Century A.D.
line 38 παρά τῆς πενθερᾶς τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἡλιου...
line 52  παρ(ά) ἀβᾶ Βίκτορος πρεσβ(υ)τ(έρου) Σωζετών.
The term refers to a presbyter by the name of Victor.

Papyrus No. 89, 20, 23, Late VI – Early VIIth Century A.D.
line 20  ...μις ἁγιόστοι ἀβ(β)ά Μανθέα σι(τήρου) λι(τραν)
line 23  ...ό ἀβᾶς Μαρτίριος.

Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
ΕΚΤΙΣΘΙ ΤΟ ΜΟΝΣΤΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΒΒ/[…]ΤΙΝΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΚΣ...
ἐκτίσθι τὸ μον(ατ)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.

Bir-el-Qutt, near Bethlehem, Georgian Monastery, mosaic inscription in Georgian language, VIIth Century A.D.
(Latin characters – transliteration by Rev. M. Tarchnisvili)
...ehesba cimidisa Tejsita/sn Antoni Abaj da Josia...
The term in this inscription refers to Anthony, the superior of the monastery.

Caesarea Maritima, Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul, wall inscription, Byzantine period
+ ΘΗΚΗ ΑΒΑ ΘΕΟΤΕΚΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ
+ Θηκη ἀβα 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
*Deir el Qilt*, Choziba monastery, cemetery, wall inscriptions, Byzantine period

Inscr. No. 88
+ ἐκμηθη/ ó ἀβᾶς Θα/λελέως...

Inscr. No. 107
+ ἐκμηθη(η) ὁ/ ἀβᾶς Βά[χχ]λος...

Inscr. No. 144
+ ἐκμηθη [ὁ ἀβ]βάς Παῦλος/...
1191 Inscr. No. 115
(Αββα) Μάλχος
1192 Inscr. No. 116
Αββα[πά] Παύλος
1193 Inscr. No. 117
'Αββα Πορφύριος
1194 Inscr. No. 118
'Αββα Ιωάννης / 'Αντιοχ[εύς]
1195 Inscr. No. 119
'Αββα Ιωάννης Τσιίοu / ...
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.

1196 *Kissufim*, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
...ΕΤΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΕΛΕΣ ΘΥ ΔΙΑΚΎΜΑΝΤΑΖ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΣ / ...
...εγένετο επί τοῦ / αὐτοῦ θεοφιλάς άββα θεοδώρου / ελές θυ διακόμαινταζ καί ήγούμες...

1197 *Oboda*, Martyrion of St. Theodore, stone inscription, A.D. 618
ΑΝΕΠΙΑΝ Ο ΜΑ/ΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΠΤΩ / [Α]ΒΒΑΣ ΕΡΑΣΙΝΟΥ Ω Ο ΠΡΕΣ-ΒΥΤΕΡ...
...ανεπιάν ο μα/κάριος καπτώ / [ά]ββας έρασίνον/ου το πρεσβύτερ(ος)...
The first letter is missing from the term which refers to a presbyter named Erasinos rather as a title of respect.

1198 *Shivta*, ostraca, pottery, Insula I, room 49, No. 337, VIth Century A.D.
+ άββα Ιωάννης Βικτορος / άναγνώριση χαί(ρειν) απείρημα(σι) ἐν τῇ/κιστέρᾳ
+ ἐργάσθην 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-VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ / ΑΒΒΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ...
+ ὑπέρ σωτηρίας τοῦ / άββα Ιωάννου τοῦ / ήγουμένου καί...
If the reading is correct, the term refers to a superior named Ioannes. Bibl. Ihor Ševčenko, 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
   Αὐγάς / ὁ γέρων ὁ Μαίουμᾶς / ...
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(ΠΕ) Β(ΟΗΕΙ) ΓΕΡΜΑΝ(Ω) ΔΙΑΚΟΝ(Ω) / ΥΠΟ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΓΕΡΟΝΤ(ΟΣ)
   Κύ(πε) β(οήθει) Γερμανη διακόν(η) / ὑπὸ Θεοδοσίου γέροντ(ος).
   The term is abbreviated in the form ΓΕΡΟΝΤ and refers to a certain Theodosius.

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 indifferently:

a) Hegumen, ἡγούμενος. This term comes from the verb ἡγέομαι, meaning to precede, and was given to a leader, a bishop or the superior presbyter of a Christian community, but more often to the superior of a monastery.

b) Our father, πατὴρ ἡμῶν. A hellenized form of the local word 'abuna'.

c) Archimandrite, ἀρχιμάνδριτης. A title being the combination of the verb ἀρχιω meaning 'I command', and the noun μάνδρα, 'sheepfold', the chief of a sheepfold, in this case the chief or leader of a monastery. 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 πατὴρ ἡμῶν, and was given to the superior of a group of monasteries.

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 presbyters, 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 authority. The superior could ordain monks to minor orders and was required to be in permanent residence in the monastery in order to handle the spiritual and material needs of his community, 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 δευτερεύον, 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 convent. This came into force after both the Church and the State 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 days.

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 from:

1 Cyril. Scyth. V. Sah. 30 (pp. 111-117). 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: 'Προεξηγήσας Θεόδοσιος και Σάββας ἀρχιμανδρίται και ἔδρας πάνων τῶν...μοναστηρίων, ὁ μὲν ἀβάς Θεόδοσιος ἀρχηγὸς γέγονε καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης παντὸς τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ κανόνος...ὅ δε πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σάββας ἄρχων κατεστάθη καὶ γομβάτης παντὸς τοῦ ἁγιασμοίδου 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. Nov. CXXIII, XXXIV; Theodore of Studion. 'Testamentum' in PG XCIX 1817-1818.

6 see Seventh Occumenical 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(ΕΤΗΘΙΟΥ) ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΕΡΓΙΟΣ / ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒ ΣΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ...
+ Κατ(ετήθη) ὁ μακάριος Σέργιος / Πατρικίου πρεσβι(τέρου) (καὶ) ἡγούμενον...

Inscription 12 b, text on the right, July 24th, A.D. 628

+ ΚΑΤ(ΕΤΗΘΗ) ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ / ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΚΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ ΣΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ...
+ κατ(ετήθη) ὁ μακάριος / Πατρικίου Σεργίου πρεσβι(τέρος) / (καὶ) ήγούμενον...

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 ΣΩΤΕΡ / ΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΟΣ / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟ...
+ ὑπὲρ σωτηρ(ίας) / Γεωργίου Πατρικίου / ήγουμένου...

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 + ἡγέατω...ο... τας μεταξύ τοῦ ὀβοβά Πατρικίου Σεργίου ἡγουμένου
Line 2 ἀγίου 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 Σεργίῳ ἀναγνώστη καὶ ἡγουμένῳ τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ ἐνδόξ(ιοτάτου) μάρτυρος Σεργίου καὶ 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

+ Πατρικίου ἡγουμένος +

See papyrus 45. 1.

1210 Papyrus No. 50. 4, Early VIIIth Century A.D.

...εἶναι παρακαλέσεις τῶν ἑγούμενων ὅνα...

Here, there is no indication as to whom the term refers to.
Papyrus No. 77. 10, A.D. 685-690
Σένης Γεωργίου τοῦ ἡγουμένου
The title is given to a certain Georgius.

1212
Papyrus No. 147. 1, Early VIIth Century A.D.
Πατρίκιος Σεργίου [ἡ]γούμενος καὶ ἀναγνώστης τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ...
See papyrus No. 46. 3.

1213
Beth Shean, monastery, mosaic inscription, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΠΟΥ ΚΟΜΙΤΑ.
...ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Γεώργιον καὶ ἡγούμενον καὶ δεύτεραποῦ 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 Hadjila Abba Gerasimus, stone inscription in Greek and Arabic, Late Byzantine period
ἈΝΕΚΕΝΗΙΟΣ ΕΥΡΑ ΜΟΙ(Ν)Η ΤΑΥΤΗ ΕΝ ΙΜΕΡΕΣ ΤΟΥ / ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΙΑΥΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΑΚΟΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ.
Ἀνεκενήθησε ύπερ μοι(ν)ή ταυτί ἐν ἰμέρες τοῦ/ Ἰωάννου πιαυριαρχοῦ καὶ ἱακόβου τοῦ ἱγουμένου.
The term refers to a certain Jacobus with no indication of his monastic status.

1215
El-Koursi, Gergessa, Photisterium, mosaic inscription, A.D. 585
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΚΤΗΣΥ ΦΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλάκτητον Σύφιανον πρεσβήτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον.
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, VIIth Century A.D.
...ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ / ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ...
...καὶ τοῦ / θεοσεβεστάτου Παύλου πρεσβήτερου καὶ ἡγουμένου...
Together with the epithet ‘the most God fearing’, θεοσεβεστατος, 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 ΠΡΕΣΚΒΣ/ Σ ΗΓΟΥΜΕ
ΝΟΥ...
+ Θήκη μακαρί/ωτάτου Κυρια/κοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου)/ (καὶ) ἡγουμένου... 
Together with the epithet ‘the most blessed’, μακαριωτάτος, 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 relief and painted red, VIth Century A.D.
Κ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝΕΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΗ/ΚΑΤΟ Ο ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙ/
ΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣ ΙΩΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΚΣ ΣΙΟΥΔΙ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝ/
ΤΙΝΟΥ / ΟΧΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΚΒΣ ΚΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΗ ΙΝΔΑ ΙΓ +
Κ(α)ί τούτο τό ἑργον ἑφιλοτιμή/κατο τό εὐσεβί(έ)στατος ήμών βασι/λεὺς 
Φίλο(α)ύσις) ἱούστινιανός προνο/ία κ(α)ί σιούδι 
Κωνσταντίνου / οχίου(τέρου) κ(α)ί ἡγουμένου) ἴνδα(κτιώνας) ίγ +

1219 Jerusalem, Dominus Flevit, Mount of Olives, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΚΣ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ Σ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ 
ΗΓΟΥΜΣ...
...κ(α)ί ἀναπαύσεως τῶν / αὐτοῦ ἅδελφῶν (καὶ) Γεωργίου ἡγουμένου...
The term refers to a certain Georgius, brother of Symeon. There is no indication 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 ΠΡΕΣΚΒ/ΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ + ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ + / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ +/...
+ Μνήμα πρεσκ/βυτέρου + Θεοφιλου + / ἡγουμένου +/...
The term refers rather to the superior of a monastery.

1221 Kfar Truman, Kh. er Ras: Kh. Irna (Judaean coastal plain), mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
+ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ/ΠΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ / ΠΡΕΣΚΒΣ ΚΕ ΗΓΟΥΜΗ/ΕΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕ/
ΒΙΟΥ... 
+ Ἑπι τοῦ θεο/πιλεστάτου / πρεσβ(υτέρου) κέ ἡγουμ/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 ΘΕΟΦΙ ΠΡΕΣΚΣ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ
Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφί(λεστάτου) πρεσβη(υτέρου) κ(αί) ἡγουμένου Παύλου ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον
The term is given to the superior of the monastery, a presbyter named Paulus, together with the epithet ‘the most beloved of God’, θεοφιλέστατος.

1223 Khirbet el Mind, inscription on a bronze cross (movable object), Byzantine period
...ΖΑΧΑΡΗΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ Σ...  
...Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ὁσίου / ἡγουμένου (και)... 
Together with the epithet ‘pious’, δοσος, the term refers to Zacharias, the superior of the monastery.
Bibl. Αποστόλου Κωνσταντίνου, 'Ἡ παρά τὴν Νεκράν Θαλάσσαι μονή τῶν Καστελλίων, 'Αλεξάνδρεια 1931.

1224 Khirbet Makhrum, 6 km East of Bethlehem, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜ/.WindowManager ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΣ...  
...τοῦ ὁσίου πατρός ἡμ/ WindowManager ἡγουμένου κ(αί)... 
With the epithet ‘pious’ and the hellenized form of the term ‘abbana’, πατηρ ἡμών, it refers to a father named Αγίλων and to the superior of the monastery.

1225 Khisfin, Golan, mosaic inscription, Early VIIth Century A.D.
...ΣΙΓΙΟΥΔΗΣ ΘΩΜΑ ΠΡΕ Κ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝ...  
...ΣιγίουΔής Θωμᾶ πρε(συμπέρου) κ(αί) ἡγουμένου(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 ΤΣ / ΘΕΟΦΙΑΣΚΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΓΟΥ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ / ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΧΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΗΤΟ... 
...καὶ τ(όυ) / θεοφιάςκατού Θεοδώρου ἔλεει Θ(εο)δ / διάκ(όνου) μοναχ(ός) παραμοναρίου κ(αὶ) ἡγο/υμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἥλιου ἐγένητο...

1227 Kissufim. Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 578
...ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ / ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΑΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΓΟΥ / ΕΛΕΣ ΘΥ ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΝΑΧΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ...
...ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ / ἀυτοῦ θεοφίλικ(επτάτου) ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου / ἐλεύθερος Θεοδώρου διακόνου(σου) μοναχ(ού) καὶ ἱγουμένου’...


1228 Ras Siyagha, (in the sunken panel of the baptismal font), stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ Ο/ϹΙΩΤ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΥ ΠΡΟΥΜ
Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ο/ϹΙΩΤ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΥ ΠΡΟΥΜ
With the epithet ‘the most pious’, ὁσιωτάτος, 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 ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΚΗ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΥΜ... ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΚΗ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΥΜ
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 ΕΥΛΑΒΩΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΥΜ...
Ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβώτου καὶ θεοφίλου(επτάτου) Ἀλεξάνδρου πρεσβητέρου καὶ ἱγουμένου...
The inscription is damaged, but the term is given in complete form together with the epithets ‘the most reverend’, εὐλαβώτατος, and ‘the most God-fearing’, θεοσεβώτατος, 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.
...ΣΠΟΥΔΗΔΗ ΛΑΓΩΝΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΥΜ...
...σπουδηδή λαγώνι Μαρτυρίου και Θεοδώρου πρεσβητέρου και ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ.
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 ΛΟΓΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΜΩΤΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΥΜ...
..Ἐπὶ Λογγίνου τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου πρεσβύτερου καὶ ἡγουμένου +
With the epithet ‘the most pious’, ὀσιωτάτος, the term refers to a presbyter named Longinus, and to the superior of the monastery.

1233 Sīnai, ascent to the Mountain of Moses, second archway, N.W. face, granite inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
+ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ / ΑΒΒΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ / ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ...
‘Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας τοῦ / ἀββᾶ Ιωάννου τοῦ / ἡγουμένου καὶ...
The term refers to the superior of the monastery named Ioannes, who was honoured with the monastic title of respect ‘abba’.

b) Our father, πατήρ ἡμῶν

1234 Abu Sarbut, Jordan, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period
ΘΗΚΗ / ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ / ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΟΥ / ΜΑΓΝΟΥ / ΚΑ-- / ΟΙΣ
Θηκή / τῶν ἁγίων / πατέρων / Εὐστρατίου / Μαγνοῦ / κα-- οισ

1235 Ain El-Jedide, 1 km S.W. of Ain Karim, mosaic inscription, VIth Century A.D.
...ΟΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ...
...οἴων πατέρων ἡμῶν...
The term is given in the genitive plural with the epithet ‘pious’, ὀσιως, 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
+ ἐκουῆθη ὁ πατήρ / ἡμῶν Ἠσιδώρος πρεσβύτερος...
1237  Inscr. No. 99
  ἐμψήθη / ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν.../τιος/...

1238  Inscr. No. 100
  ἐκοιμήθη ὁ / πατὴρ ἡμῶν / Νε...[ἐλλαδίκος/...

1239  No. 101
  ἐμψήθη / ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν / πη...

1240  Inscr. No. 122
  ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακ(άριος) ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σάρωχις ὁ πρεσβ[ήτερος]/...

1241  Inscr. No. 123
  ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάριος πατήρ ἡμῶν / Θωμᾶς πρεσβ[ήτερος]/...

1242  Inscr. No. 124
  ἐκοιμήθη / ὁ μακάριος / πατήρ ἡμῶν / Ἰωάννης πρεσβ[ήτερος] / Ροσσεύς/...

1243  Inscr. No. 140
  ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος πατήρ ἡμῶν / Σέργιος ὁ πρεσβήτερος,... 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 / ΓΕΝΕΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ /... Ἐπὶ τοῦ βείου πατρὸς ἡμῶν / Γενεσίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ αἱ ἀρχιμανδρίτου έγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον /... Bibl. Yitsik Magen, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

1245  Gaza, stone inscription, 5th Century A.D.
  ...ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΡΟ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΈΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ... ΚΑΙ ἐν ἀγίοις πατηρ(ό)χ ἡμῶν Ειρηναίου τοῦ πρεσβ[ήτερου]... The term refers to a presbyter named Eirinaios who was the superior of a monastery and called by his monks 'our father among the saints', ἐν ἀγίοις πατηρ ἡμῶν. Bibl. F.M. Abel, RB 34 (1925), pp. 579-580; ΝΣ 13 (1913), pp. 918-920.

1246  Jerusalem, Karm es Saijad, Viri Galilaei, stone inscription, Byzantine period
  ὁ ΘΗΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ Ἐ / ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΕΙΣΚΟ / ὁ Θηκὴ τοῦ ἀγίου ἐπείπερος θεογενος ἐπείσκο(πού)/ 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 ΩΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΖΟΝΑΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΕ... ΤΟΥ ὡσίου / πατρ(ός) ἡμῶν Ζοναινοῦ πρεσβυτέρου...

**1248**  
*Madaba.* Church of the Virgin, mosaic inscription, A.D. 622/3  
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΩΣΙΩ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΗΣΧΩΝΟΥ /...  
‘Επὶ τοῦ ὠσίω(τάτου) πατρός ἡμῶν Θεοφάνους ἐπησκώπου/...  

**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)  
ὑπὲρ μνήμης.../ ἀναπαύσεως τῶ.../ων ἡμῶν.../νίου κ(α)ί.../...πρεσ(βυτερων).  
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’, δυτικός, 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,* ἄρχιμανδρίτης

**1250**  
*Beerot Yishaq,* S.E. of Gaza, stone inscription, VIth Century A.D.  
+ ΘῈΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΙΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΑΛ/ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣΕ-ΠΟΥ ΚΑ(Ι) ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΑΡΙΤΟΥ...  
+ + Θήκη τοῦ τριτοικαρίου ἅλ/ἐξάνδρου πρεσβυτέρου κα(ι) ἄρχιμαν- 

Together with the epithet ‘thrice blessed’, τρισεμαρίας, 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 ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣΕΡΟΥ Κ ΑΡΧΙ/ΜΑΝΑΡΙΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΚΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ /...  
‘Επὶ τοῦ θείου πατρὸς ἡμῶν / Γενεσίου πρεσβυτέρου κ(α)ί ἄρχι/μαναρίτου ἐγένετο κα(ι) τοῦτο τὸ ἑργον /...  
d) Mother Superior, ἡγουμένη

1252 Jerusalem, Hinnom Valley, stone inscription, VIIIth Century A.D.  
ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙ/ΑΦΕΡ / ΘΕΚΑΑ / ΣΕΒΑ(ΣΤΗ) ΗΓΟΥΜΣ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ...  
Θηκή δι/αφέρουσα / Θέκα / 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, Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὰ Μνημεῖα αὐτῆς, Τόμ. II, p. 1248.  

1253 Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Byzantine period  
ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΥΣΑ ΘΗ / ΟΙΚΙΩΤΑΙ ΧΑΡΑΤΙ ΗΓΟΥΜ ΤΟΥ / ΕΥΑΓ ΜΟ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΚ...  
Θηκή διαφέρουσα τῇ / ἐσιωτάτη Xαρατί ἡγουμένη τοῦ / εὐαγ(ούς) μο(ναστηρίου) τὸν ἀρμενι(σάν).  
The term is given to a mother superior named Charati of an Armenian convent.  

Deuterarius or deuterewon, δευτεράριος ἢ δευτερευών

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 absent or sick, but not after his death. On the death of the superior or 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) and in Cyril’s of Scythopolis lives of the desert fathers.

The title ‘deuterarius’ was in use in the Church of Jerusalem until the Crusader period. See Τοπικάν published by A.P. Kerameus in the Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμικῆς Σταυρολογίας, Vol. II. 12, 19, 21, where mention is made of the deuterarius of Gol-

---

1 Vita St. Pachomii, No. 19.  
2 E. Schwartz, ACM 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 1 (1913) p. cf. ibidem, pp. 37, 17, 24, 43, 15.
gotha: 'αυτής ο δευτεράριος τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ λέγει τὸ καιγγέλιον' and according to P.J.B. Thibaut (A.A. ordre des offices de la Semaine Sainte, Paris 1926, 10, 80) and Τιμοθέου Π. Θεμελη Ιερουσαλήμ καὶ τὰ Μνημεία 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, 6th Century A.D.

...ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΡΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΙΤΑ*

...ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβύτηρος Γεώργιος καὶ Ιωμένου καὶ Δευτεράριου Κομίτα.

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.

* Κομίτα is rather a nickname which also appears in an inscription from a basilica at Philippoi, Greece. See Συλλογὸς Πελεκανίδη, 'Η ἡξο τῶν τεχνῶν παλαιοχριστιανικῆ βασιλικῆ τῶν Φιλίππων,' AE 1955, pp. 119-121.

ΕΝΩΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΟΥ ΟΥ ΤΟ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΗ ΚΟΜΙΤΑ Ο ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΥΣ ΝΟΤΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΥΝΕΤΟΥ ΟΝ ΗΛΙΚΙΑ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΓΕΝΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΗ ΗΝ ΠΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ.....

1255 Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Basilica, apse, mosaic inscription, A.D. 565/6

+ ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑ ΔΕΥΤ.....

+ Σπουδή Θεοδόρου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Δευτεράριου...

The term is abbreviated in the form δευτεράριος and given to a certain presbyter named Theodorus.

In both the above inscriptions the term follows hierarchically that of the superior of the monastery.

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 άναγνώμη καὶ ήγουμέν(υ) τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξότατο(υ) μάρτυρος Σεργίου καὶ Βάχχου...

1257 Papyrus No. 147. 1, Early VIIth Century A.D.
Πατρίκιος Σεργίου [ἡ]γουμένως καὶ άναγνώμης τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξότατου/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.


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.

...ἈΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΕ...
...ἀναγνώστου καὶ περιοδεύτου...

The term is abbreviated and the reader was at the same time the periodoeutes of the community.

Dept. of Antiq. files.

1259 **El-Kerak**, tomb stone inscription, A.D. 634

+ΚΕΙΤΥΧΕ.../...ΘΕΟΦΩΝ ἈΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ...

+Κ(υρίε) /(Testo) X(ριστ) [έ.../...θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) ἀναγνώστου...


1260 **Evron**, mosaic inscriptions

Inscr. No. 2, VIth Century A.D.

ΓΕΡΜΑΝ ἈΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ [...
...Γερμαν(ός) ἀναγ(νώστως(της) [...

The term is abbreviated and refers to one anagnostes.

1261 Inschr. No. 5.

...ἈΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΕ...

...ἀναγνώστε...

1262 Inschr. No. 6

...ἈΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΩΝ...

...ἀναγνώστων...

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 Antiquities.

1263 **Karmiel (Kh. Bát es Sih)**, mosaic inscription No. 11

...ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ/THC...

...ἀναγνώστης/θης...

Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

1264 **Kibbutz Magen**, V-VIth Century A.D.

+ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΖΟΝΑΙΝΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΥΘΙΑΣΧΩΝ...

+Αιλιανός Ζωνάινου/ ἀναγνώστης εὐχαριστῶν/ τῷ ἐγίῳ Κυρίῳ ἐυθίασχω-...

The term is given in complete form and refers to a certain Aelianus.

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 ΚΠΟΥΔΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΜΑΤΩΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΥΛΕ/ 
ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΤΟΥ...  
...ἐκ σπούδης καὶ καμάτων Γεωργίου Μαρτυρίου εὐλ(αβεστάτου)/ἀναγνώ- 
στου...  

1267 *Shivta*, ostraca, pottery, No. 337 exc. 1935, Insula I room 49, VIth Century A.D.

†Αβα ιωάννης Βικτορος/ ἀναγν(ώστης) χα(ριν) ἀπείρα(σαι) ἐν τῇ/ κιστέρα(να) ἑργά(την) ἑνα refurbished

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, πολωρός*

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, VIth Century A.D.

†ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΥΣΑ/ ΘΕΟΔΟΥΛΑΙ/ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ/ ΘΥΡΟΥΡΟΥ/ θΗ/ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΥΧΩ/ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΩΝ/ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΘΕΟ/ΟΕΕΒΣ 
ΘΥΡΟΥΡΟΥ/ θΗ/ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ †/ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΩΝ/ ΤΩΝ 
ΔΙΑΦ ΑΥΤΟΥ/
Officers given to presbyters as well as to clergy of lower rank, and to monks in the case of oeconomus and paramonarius only

Periodotnes. περιοδευτῆς

The word ‘periodotnes’ 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. I.3.38.2. I.3.41.19.

In an effort to define the exact meaning and describe the duties of periodotnes, 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 periodotnes 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 choreiscopoi, 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 5\(^1\), which abolished the office of chorepiscopus and replaced it with that of the periödeutes, 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 ‘periödeutes’ meant a medical practitioner.

The title periödeutes 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), Vth Century A.D.

...Π...ϹΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔ...  
...π(ρονοια) Σεργίου περιοδ(ευτοῦ)...  
In this inscription the term is abbreviated. It does not indicate the clerical rank of the official.


1271 *Bahan Nahalaim*, mosaic inscription No. 5, V-VIth Century A.D.

...ΑΝΑΓΚΑΣ Κ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΑΣ...  
...ἀναγ(νώστου) καὶ(α) Περιοδ(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, VIth Century A.D.

...ΕΠΙ ΙΟΑΚΙΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕΥΤΟΥ...  
...ἐπὶ Ἰωακίνου περιοδευτοῦ...  
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 Naharíya, mosaic inscription, March A.D. 477

...ΚΕ ΤΩΝ Ε/[(ΥΑ)ΡΕ(ΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΝ) ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕ(ΥΤΩΝ) ΓΑΛΙΑΝΟΥ  
ΚΕ ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΟΥ ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ ΨΗΦΙΟ/ΩΣΙΟ...  

\(^1\) Council of Laodicea, can. 57: ‘οτι οὐ δεί ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἔπισκόπους. ἀλλὰ περιοδευτάς τοὺς μὲν τοῖς ἐνθεοπατησθέντες μηδὲν πράττειν ἀνεί γνώμης τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει. Ἡμαυτῶς δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις μηδὲν πράττειν ἀνεί τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου.’
...κὲ τὸν ε'/μιλαθεστάτων περιοδευτών) Γαζιανοῦ κὲ Δω/ροθέου καὶ 
Βάσσου ἐπιλύθη ἣ ψήφω/οσίς...

Here, there are two periodiutai mentioned, but again with no indication of 
their clerical rank.


1274  
*Mishmar ha-Emeq*, Southern Esdraelon, mosaic inscription, Vth Century 
A.D. 
...ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ Σ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΑ...
...Ἰωάννου υποδιάκ(όνου) (καὶ) περιοδ(ιευτοῦ).

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΄...
...πρε(σβυτέρου) (καὶ) περ(ιοδευτοῦ) (καὶ)...

The abbreviated term which I take to mean 'periodiutes', refers this time 
to a presbyter.

Dept. of Antiq. files (see Gerson Edelstein).

1276  
*Shavei Zion*, exonarthex, mosaic inscription, A.D. 486 
...ΕΥΑ ...ΚΩΣ [...] ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕ[...]Η/ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ [...]Η/ΦΩΣΕΟΣ...
...κωλ(αβεστάτου) Κωσ[μα... τοῦ] / περιοδε[υτοῦ... ἐπιτιλώθη]η/ τὸ ἔργον [ψη]/ 
φωσεος...

The title refers to a certain Cosmas. The inscription is damaged, and so it 
is not possible to read his clerical rank.

Zion*, pp. 58-59.

*Oeconomus*, οἰκονόμως

One who manages a household; a title for a high official who manages the 
fiances of a state, a diocese, a church, a monastery. Here will be examined the oec- 
nomus 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 Council 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 and each monastery had a kind of a store-house known as oeconomiion.

In the Church of Constantinople, the first among the oeconomi was called 'megas oeconomos', 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. 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, 'Εκείνη δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησίας, ὡς ἐπικρατήσας, δίχα οἰκονόμοι, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ χειρίζονται πράγματα, ἔδωκεν τάπαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ οἰκονόμοι ἔχουν ἐκ τοῦ ιδίου κλήρου, οἰκονομοῦντα. Τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ὀικεῖον ἐπισκόπου, ἀμέτρητον ἐπίσκοπον ἐπισκεπτεῖται τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκ τούτου σκοπητεῖται τὰ ἄνω πράγματα, καὶ λοιπόν τῇ ἱεροσυνῇ προστίθενται εἰδε μὴ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ὑποκείμεθα ἀιῶν τοῖς θείοις κανόναίς.'

2 Typicum MS. Monasterii Deperae, cap. 14, 15. 'Εἰ δὲ ἂν ὁ οἰκονόμος αποδημῆς ἐν τοῖς δημοτικάποις, παροιμία τῶν παροικιῶν τῶν τῶν ἐσοδιαζωμένων λογαρίων παράσχεται γίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶς.'

3 Vita S. Paphnutii, No. 75, 'καὶ ἀπελθώντων ἐκείνου εἰς τὸ οἰκονομεῖον ἔλαβεν στράτευμα καλόν ἐλαφρόν, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐκατερολάον αὐτῶν'. Moschus in Limon. cap. 5. 'Λέγε μοι ὁ οἰκονόμος, ξυμήκιν νάγχειν, ἀδέλφε, ἐδώ ἵνα τὰ αὐτήν τοῦ ἐδειτέρων αὐτόν τοὺς οἰκονόμους εἰς τὸ οἰκονομεῖον'. Cyril. Cythnop. in Vita MS. S. Sabae, c. 58, 'καὶ πληροῦσι τὸ οἰκονομεῖον παντωθανὸν αὐτῶν.'

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.

\[\ldots\text{ΟΙΧΩΤ ΠΡΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ}\ldots\]

\[\ldots\text{δισιτω(ατου) πρε(σβυτέρου) και οικονόμου}\ldots\]

Here, the office was held by the presbyter of the church.


1278  *Jaber*, Transjordan, house of Ahmed el-Husein, Byzantine period

\[\ldots\text{Κ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ}\ldots\]

\[\ldots\text{κ(ατ) Ιωάννου οικονόμου}\ldots\]

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

\[\ldots\text{ΚΟΝΟ/ΜΟΣ ΤΗ/Κ ΕΚΛΗ/ΣΙΑΚ} \]

\[\ldots\text{οικονύμ/ος τη/ς έκλη/σιας} \]

Bibl. Z. Yeivin, Dept. of Antiquities, unpublished.

1280  *Khirbet Mekhayat*, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, VIth Century, A.D.

\[\ldots\text{ΥΠΕΡ ΣΟΤ ΡΑΒΒΟ [Υ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ Τ] ΗΣ Α/ΓΙΟΤ ΕΚΑΙΣ} \]

\[\ldots\text{υπέρ σωτη(ρίας) Ράββο(υ) οικονύμοις ή ά/γιοτ(άτης) έκλησι(ας)} \]

The term is given to a certain Rabbus without specifying to which institution he belonged.


1281  *Khirbet el Wahadneh*, mosaic inscription, Byzantine period

\[\text{ΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ/ ΑΜΑΜΑ ΥΠΟΔΙ/ΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟ/ΝΟΜΟΥ ΑΜΑ} \]
MA/ΤΡΩΝΑ ΚΥΝ../Ω ΚΑΙ ΜΑΝ.--/ΘΙΝΗΣ ΘΥΓ../ΤΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟ../
Pροσφορά/Αμάμι ύποδι/ακόνου καὶ οίκο/νόμου ἀμα Μα/τρώα ναυ[μ]/καὶ Μαν--/θήνης θυγ[α]/τρός αὐτο[ῦ]/

1282 *Shivita*, North Church (in the floor of the southern aisle), VIth Century A.D.
...ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΗ/ΔΙΑΚ Κ ΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΓΕ/ΝΕΤΟ ΤΩ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ/TO/
...Πέτρου ἀρχη/διακ(όνου) κ(αί) ικονόμου ἐγέ/νετο τῷ ἐργον τοῦ/το/.
In this inscription the office was held by Peter, the archdeacon of the church.

1283 *Suhmata*, mosaic inscription, August A.D. 555
...ΑΡΧΗΣ ΠΡΕΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ...
...ἀρχής(ε)ψε(σβητέρου) (καὶ) οἰκόνομο(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 ΑΙΩΝOC ΠΡΕΣC/ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΑΧΩΝOC/ ΚΑΙ/ ΜΑΓΝΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΣΒ/ ΔΙΑΚ'Κ KAI ΜΑΚΕΔΟ/ΝΙΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΝΟ/ΜΟΥ ΕΓΕ/ΝΕΤΟ Η ΨΙΦΩΝΣΕΙC/...
ΧΜΓ/Επὶ τοῦ θεο/σβε(εστάτου) Αἰώνος πρεσ(βυτέρου)/καὶ Βαράχωνος/καὶ/ Μάγνου εὐλαβ(εστάτων)/ διακό(νον) καὶ Μακεδο/νίου οἰκόνομου ἐγέ/νετο ἡ ψιφωνσεῖς/...

*Paramonarius or Prosonarius, 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 clerical or 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 simoniacl bargain. 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, xenothoechoi, principals of poor-houses, ptohocomai, and those taking care of the sick, nosocomoi, as administrators of church property.

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

\[†\text{ΘΗΚΗ ΑΒΑ ΘΕΟΤΕΚΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ} \]

\[†\text{ΘΗΚΗ ΑΒΑ ΘΕΟΤΕΚΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ} \]

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. \(ΝΣ\) 37 (1942), p. 111.

**Gerar**, Transjordan, Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, mosaic inscription, A.D. 533

1286 a) an inscription over the head of a male figure.

\[\text{ΘΕΟ\[ΔΩ\]ΡΟ[C] ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ} \]

1287 b) an inscription over the head of a female figure.

\[\text{ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΑΝ} \]

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.


1288 **Gerar**, Transjordan, the Procopius Church, mosaic inscription, Vlth Century A.D.

...\[ΚΑ[l] ΚΑΩΛΛΑ ΕΥΛ[ΑΒΕΣ]Τ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝ...\]

...\[κα[l] Σαωλα ευλ[αβεσ]τη(του) διακόνου...\]

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).
Khbirbet Mekhayat. Transjordan, Church of St. George, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.
...ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ... ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
In both inscriptions the presbyter was also the 'paramonarius', and the title follows in line after the bishop indicating the importance of the office.

Khbirbet Mekhayat. Church of SS. Lot and Procopius, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
In both inscriptions the presbyter was also the 'paramonarius', and the title follows in line after the bishop indicating the importance of the office.

Kissufim, Church of St. Elias, mosaic inscription, A.D. 576
...ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΑΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΛΕΕΙ ΘΥ/ΔΙΑΚΣ ΜΗΝ/ΑΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ. ΚΣ ΗΓΟ/ΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΗΤΟ...
In both inscriptions the presbyter was also the 'paramonarius', and the title follows in line after the bishop indicating the importance of the office.

Mampsis, Northern Church, the lower of three inscriptions at the foot of steps leading up to the bema, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.
ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΒΡΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ.
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.

Rihab. Church of Holy Mary, mosaic inscription, 6th Century A.D.
...ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΝΕΟΘΕΚΑΝ ΤΑ ΨΗΦΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΣΟΥ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
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.
1294 Rihab, St. Paul’s Church, mosaic inscription, A.D. 595
+ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ Κ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΟΠΟΥ ΕΥΑΛΑΒΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡ ΕΨΙΦΟΘΗ...
+ Επί τοῦ ἁγίωτον καὶ μακαρίωτον Πολυεύκοπον Εὐαλάβος Παραμοναρός ἔψιφόθη...

1295 Rihab, Transjordan, house of Khalil el Kifeisi, mosaic inscription, A.D. 604
...ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥΣ κ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟ...
...μοναχοὺς καὶ παραμονάριον...
In this inscription the paramonarii were monks.

1296 Rihab, house of Saad en Nuheh, only the manuscript copy is available, mosaic inscription, May A.D. 620
...ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΚΑΡΚΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟ...
...Ιωάννου Καρκούσου παραμονάριον...

1297 Shellal, South of Gaza, mosaic inscription, A.D. 561/2
...Π(ΡΕΣΒ) [ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟ]ΝΑΡΙΟΣ
...πρεσβύτερος Καὶ παραμονάριος.
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.

1298 Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery, granite inscription, VI-VIIth Century A.D.
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ [ΚΑΙ Π]ΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΥ...
διακόνου [καὶ παραμονάριον...
In this inscription the deacon of the monastery was the paramonarius.

Lecticarius, -ii, λεκτικάριος, -τος

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 lecticarii 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 Ὀσμαστὼ δρεὶ (AS, Maii 5, 409 c). The lexicarii were under the οἰκονόμος of a diocese or of a church (see also fossarii, copiatae, 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 ΣΙΛΑ/ ΛΕΚΤΙΚΑΡΙΟΥ/...
+ Μνήμα διαφέρον Σίλα/ λεκτικάριου/...


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 lecticarius. One observes also that offices used exclusively by the
civil administration, such as that of oeconomus, passed into Church administration. This office exists today only in monastic administration. Equally, dogmatic terms were found, such as Όμοούσιος Τριάς, Conssubstantial 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 Circeus, 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, Ἄγαθόνικος, Ἀγίλλον, Ἁλέξανδρος, Ἀντίοχος, Ἀρίων, Γενέσιος, Διόδωρος, Διονύσιος, Εἰρηνάιος, Ἔλλαδίς, Ἐλπίδιος, Εἰρυγενής, Εὐβουλός, Εὐγένειος, Εὐθύμιος, Εὐσεβίος, Εὐστάθιος, Εὐστόχιος, Εὐστράτιος ἢ Καλλιστράτῳ, Εὐφράσιος, Ζηνόβιος, Ζήνων, Ζωή, Ζώσιμος, Ἡράκλειος, Θαλέλαιος, Θεογένης, Θεοδόσιος, Θεόδουλος, Θεόδωρος ἢ Δωρόθεος, Θεόγνηστος, Θεότεκνος, Θεοφάνης, Θεόφιλος, Ἰσιδωρός, Καλαπάδιος ἢ Καλόπαδιος, Κόνων, Μαιάνδρος, Μακάριος, Μακεδόνιος, Μαρτύριος, Παλλάδιος, Πάμφιλος, Πολυευκτός, Πολυχρόνιος, Πορφύριος, Προκόπιος, Στέφανος, Τιμόθεος, Φιλήτως, 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.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, F.M. "Inscriptions grecques de Bersabée." RB 12 (1903), pp. 425-430.
——. "Nouvelles inscriptions grecques de Bersabée." RB N.S.1(1904), pp. 266-270.
——. "L' inscription de la porte du réfectoire (Mélanges)." RB N.S. 4 (1907), pp. 111-112.
——. "Une chapelle byzantine à Beit El-Djemal." RB 16 (1919), pp. 244-248.
——. "Epigraphie palestinienne." RB 34 (1925), pp. 575-582.
——. "Inscriptions grecques de Gaza." RB 40 (1931), pp. 94-95.


——. "Die neuen Inschriften aus der Palästina Tertia." ZDPV 46 (1923), pp. 51-64.


——. *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East 200 B.C. – A.D. 1100).* *QDAP* Supplement to Vol. 9. Jerusalem 1940.

——. "Greek Inscriptions from Ascalon, Beisan and Hebron." *QDAP* 10 (1942), pp. 160-169, pl. XXXV.

——. "Greek Christian Inscriptions from Rihab." *QDAP* 13 (1947), pp. 68-72, pls. XXVII (4) – XXVIII.


——. "The Bath of the Lepers at Scythopolis." *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 325-326, pl. 34E.


——. "The Byzantine Church at Suhmata, II b, The Inscription." *QDAP* 3 (1933), pp. 94-105, pls. XXV-XXXI.


——. *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme.* Jerusalem 1952.


——. *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine.* Jerusalem 1971.

——. "Il cristianesimo ad Eleuteropoli (beit Gebrin)." *LA* 22 (1972), pp. 109-129.


Brightman, F.G. *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, based on the work of C.E. Ham mond, Oxford 1896.


—. "Inscriptions samaritaines de Gaza et inscriptions grecques de Bersabée." *RB* N.S. 3 (1906), pp. 84-91.


Corbo, V. *Gli scavi di Khirbet Siyar el Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni*. Jerusalemm 1955.


Cumont, F. "La plus ancienne légende de saint Georges." *RHR* 114 (1936), pp. 5-51.


Ewing, W. “Greek and Other Inscriptions Collected in the Hauran.” *PEF QSt* 1895, pp. 265-280.


Fitzgerald, G.M. *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shean.* (Vol. IV) Philadelphia 1939.


Graf, G. *Das heilige Land.* Köln 1923.

Γρηγορίδου, Π. Ἰερά Μονή τοῦ Σινᾶ. Ἱερουσαλήμ 1875.


Guérin, V. *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine Samaritaine.* Vol. II. Paris 1875.


'Ἱμερολόγιον Ἰεροσολύμων, ἡτοῖς 1899, p. 93.

'Ὑπολίτου, Ἀρχιμ. “Ἀνεκδότας ἐκδόσεως Ἀριστοτέλους Μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἀγίου Κώνωνος (τοῦ ἐκ Ναζαρέτ).” ΝΣ 18 (1923), pp. 54–57.


'Ἰωαννίδου, Β. Τὸ Προσκυνητάριον τῆς Ἀγίας Γῆς τεκίχος Α’. Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ τὰ περίχωρα αὐτῆς. Ἰερουσαλήμ 1877.


Καρναπά, Κ. Ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαϊνῶν Σταυροπηγιακή Μονή τῆς Ἀναλήψεως. Ἰερουσαλήμ 1908.


Kaufmann, C.M. Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik. Freiburg im Breisgau 1897.

Κεραμέως-Παπαδοπούλου, Α. Κατάλογος Ἰεροσολυμιτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης. Πετρούπολις 1891.


Κουκλίδου, Κ.Μ. Ἡ κατά τὴν ἔρημον τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως ἱερὰ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ κοινοβαρχου. Ἱεροσαλήμ 1901.

——. Τά κατά τὴν Ἀμών τοῦ Χείμαρρος τοῦ Χουζβά’ οἱ βίοι τῶν ἁγίων Γεωργίου καὶ Ἰωάννου τῶν Χουζβεττέν. Ἱεροσαλήμ 1901.

——. Ὁ ἐν Ἰεροδακτή τόπως τῆς βαπτισάκως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦ Τιμίου Προδόμου. Ἱεροσαλήμ 1905.

Κωνσταντινίδου, Άπ. Ἡ παρὰ τῆν Νεκρῶν θάλασσαν Μονὴ τῶν Καστελλίων. Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1931.


——. *Saint Etienne et son Sanctuaire à Jérusalem.* Paris 1894.


Λάμπρου, Σ. “Ὁ ἐξ Ἐλαστείας ἄνθος ἀπὸ Κανὰ τῆς Γαλάτας.” *Νέως Ἑλληνικῆς 1* (1904), pp. 172-185.


Λουβαρι, Π. "Επιγραφαί ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου." ΝΣ 3 (1906), pp. 247-249.


Macalister, R.A.S. "Additional Notes on Tombs in the Wādy Er-Rabābî." PEF QSt 1903, pp. 170-172.
——. "Some New Inscriptions from Jerusalem and its Neighbourhood." PEF QSt 1907, pp. 234-239.


Makhouly, N. "Rock-Cut Tombs at Al Jish." QDAP 8 (1939), pp. 45-50, pls. 31, 32.


Minocchi, S. "I salmi messianici." RB 12 (1903), pp. 190-211.


Νέα Σιών 13 (1913), "Επίγραφαι ἕλληνικα ἐν Γαζή καὶ Βηθσαβεᾶς." pp. 918-920.

Νέα Σιών 37 (1942). "Ευκλησιαστικὰ Χρονικὰ, περὶ σαρκοφάγων τῶν τάφων τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν Ἡρωδοῦ καὶ ἐπιγραφῆ Êκ τοῦ ναοῦ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐν Καισαρείᾳ (Παλαιστίνης)." p. 111.

——. *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev.* (Studium Bibliicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor No. 25) Jerusalem 1981.


Παπαδοπούλου, Χρυσοστ. Ιστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων. Ἔν Ἱεροσολύμωις καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ 1910.


——. *Discoveries at St. John's, 'Ein Kārim 1941-1942*. Jerusalem 1946.


——. *Römische und Byzantinische Bauten auf dem Garizim*. (Beiträge zur Biblischen Landeskunde 3) Stuttgart 1951.


——. “Chronique de Jérusalem.” *RB* 7 (1898), pp. 122-128.


Θέμελη, Π.Ν. "Ανακάλυψις έλληνικής επιγραφής ἐν ('Ακελλαμή) τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὁνοφρίου καὶ εὑρέσεις νεκροταφείου παρά τὸ Σαραντάριον ὄρος." *ΝΣ* 3 (1906), pp. 219-221.


Thibaut, P. J. B. *A.A. ordre des offices de la Semaine Sainte*. Paris 1926.


Tonneau, R. "II. Epigraphie grecque du Négev (Chronique) I. Inscriptions d'El-Arîš. II. Inscriptions d'El-Aujâ." *RB* 36 (1927), pp. 93-98.

Tsafrir, Y. "Rehovot (Kh. Ruheibeh)." *RB* 84 (1977), pp. 422-426.


——. "Byzantine Churches and Inscriptions found in Israel." (in Hebrew) *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971), pp. 241-244.


Vaux, R. de. "Râs Shamra (Bulletin)." *RB* 47 (1938), pp. 139-141.

——. "Une mosaïque byzantine à Ma’in (Transjordanie) (Chronique)." *RB* 47 (1938), pp. 227-258.

Vincent, H. "L’ère d’Eleuthéropolis (Chronique)." *RB* 11 (1902), pp. 437-441.


——. "Les fouilles anglaises à Gézer (Chronique)." *RB N.S.* 5 (1908), pp. 399-415.

—. "Une inscription grecque chrétienne à 'Amwas (Chronique)." RB N.S. 10 (1913), pp. 100-101.

—. "Epigraphie du Sud Palestinien." RB 17 (1920), pp. 113-137.


Welter, G. Forschungen und Fortschritte IV, p. 329.


### INDICES

#### A. Names of Saints, Martyrs, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Inscr.</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ἄβδουο</td>
<td></td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἄβραμ</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>105, 547-553, 555-557, 561, 562.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἄγγαλος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἄζερτας</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αἰλιανός</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>623, 987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἄμβακούμ</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀμβρατικος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀμώζ</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀνανίας</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀνδρέας, the Apostle</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>602, 624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀνδρέας, the General</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀννα</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βάσζος</td>
<td></td>
<td>626, 631, 1208, 1256, 1257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βαρθολομαίος</td>
<td></td>
<td>627, 628, 629, 630, 1208, 1256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βασίλειος, the Martyr</td>
<td></td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βικτωρ</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βλέφιμος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βραβηνηλ</td>
<td></td>
<td>522, 731, 733, 734, 737, 738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γεώργιος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Παπυρος No. 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Παπυρος No. 602</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δαμιανός</td>
<td></td>
<td>411, 654, 655, 657, 659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δανιήλ</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δαυίδ</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>572, 590, 591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εἰσοσάβθθ</td>
<td></td>
<td>727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εἰσοσάτος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εμμανουήλ, the Christ</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>472, 473, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Inscr.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζαχαρίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>572, 588, 589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ηλίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>573, 574, 575, 576, 801, 868, 1158, 1226, 1291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἡσίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>572, 578, 579, 580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θαδαίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θέκλα</td>
<td></td>
<td>693, 694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θεόδωρος</td>
<td></td>
<td>293, 678, 693, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 1010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θομᾶς</td>
<td></td>
<td>602, 607, 608, 609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰακώβ</td>
<td></td>
<td>105, 551, 553, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰακώβος, the Apostle</td>
<td></td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰερακίη</td>
<td></td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰερεμίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>572, 581, 660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰωάννης</td>
<td></td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰωάκιμ</td>
<td></td>
<td>105, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 561, 562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰσίδωρος</td>
<td></td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰωάννης ο Πρόδρομος</td>
<td></td>
<td>593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 1014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰωάννης, the Apostle</td>
<td></td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰωήλ</td>
<td></td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰωάννης</td>
<td></td>
<td>572, 585, 586, 587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰωσήφ</td>
<td></td>
<td>563, 564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κήρυκος</td>
<td></td>
<td>581, 660, 661, 662, 663, 1264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κοσμᾶς</td>
<td></td>
<td>411, 654, 655, 656, 657, 659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λάζαρος</td>
<td></td>
<td>397, 728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λεόντιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>678, 703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λογγίνος</td>
<td></td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λουκάς</td>
<td></td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λωτ</td>
<td></td>
<td>77, 705, 723, 724, 725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μακαθίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μανθίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάνκος</td>
<td></td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μαρία, ἀγία Μαρία</td>
<td></td>
<td>9, 75, 95, 167, 176, 245, 334, 410, 508, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 530, 531, 534, 538, 542, 544, 731, 737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td></td>
<td>511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 532, 533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μαρία in the compendium XMG</td>
<td></td>
<td>112, 140, 310, 344, 353, 431, 507, 509, 510, 797, 883, 1013, 1284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td></td>
<td>283, 504, 505, 506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάρκος, the Apostle</td>
<td></td>
<td>602, 610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάρκος</td>
<td></td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Inscr. No.</td>
<td>Papyrus No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ματθαίος</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ματθαίας</td>
<td>602</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μηνᾶς</td>
<td>692, 1097</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μισσηλ</td>
<td>619</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μιχαήλ</td>
<td>231, 412, 522, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 737</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μιχαῖος</td>
<td>572, 582, 583, 584</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μωυσῆς</td>
<td>100, 102, 179, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ναοῖς</td>
<td>572</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Νόνιος</td>
<td>804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Οὐάρος</td>
<td>719</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Οὐρηλ</td>
<td>734</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πάμερλος</td>
<td>804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Παῦλος</td>
<td>602, 603, 605</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πέτρος</td>
<td>602, 603, 604, 606</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Προκόπιος</td>
<td>705</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ραφαήλ</td>
<td>734</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πάπυρος</td>
<td>627, 628, 629, 630, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 1207, 1208, 1256, 1257</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σίμων</td>
<td>602</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Στέφανος</td>
<td>15, 18, 125, 634, 635, 639, 642, 645, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 721</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σωφονίας</td>
<td>572</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φίλιππος</td>
<td>602, 611</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ωση</td>
<td>572</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. Personal names**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Inscr. No.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ἀσκόν</td>
<td>182, 409, 798</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀββίβος</td>
<td>1126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀββῖνος</td>
<td>1131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀβδὰλλας</td>
<td>189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀβραὰμ</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀβραάμιος, Ἀβράμιος</td>
<td>5, 314, 355, 808, 817, 852, 862, 1002, 1137, 1165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀγαθόνικος</td>
<td>1154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Άγασίος » 1048
Άσσως » 1005
Άξίζαλος » 175
Άξιες » 746
Αγίανων » 1224
Αλίανος » 661, 1264
Αλιειάς » 1106, 1201
Αλλιάνης » 1288
Αλίσικος » 261, 371, 448
Αλιών » 353, 510, 849, 883, 1013, 1284
Άλεξανδρία » 1167
Άλεξανδρός » 851, 932, 995, 1230, 1250
Άλεξιος » 992
Άλεξινήτος » 847, 848
Άλοβάδασ » 919
Άμαμας » 1281
Άμερας » 186
Άμισος » 863
Άναθλος » 878
Άναμος » 52
Άναστασία » 4, 152, 318, 886, 1155
Άναστασίος » 581, 694, 859, 871, 882, 910, 1114, 1026, 1050, 1107, 1167
Άνατολία » 12
Άνδρεάς » 1123, 1254
Άντιος » 835, 937
Άντωνιος » 400, 1046, 1047, 1075, 1186
Άντωνιανός » 51
Άπεδρος » 866
Άρμενιος » 298, 936
Άρριανος » 418, 864
Άρτανιος » 1002, 1165
Άσιαμος » 807
Άστροκος » 319

Βάκχος Inscr. No. 1189
Βαραχαῖος » 866
Βαράχων » 883, 1284
Βαριάς » 981, 1290
Βασιλειάδος » 828, 1133
Βάσσος » 902, 908, 999, 1077, 1089, 1273, 1293, 1294
Βικτωρ » 306, 1267

Papyrus No. 28, 892, 927, 1029, 1141, 1182, 1183, 1198

Βικτώριος Papyrus No. 815
Βοσθός Inscr. No. 1003, 1006

Γάδμος Inscr. No. 905

Papyrus No. 928
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Παράδειγμα</th>
<th>Inscr.</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Γαύνος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1077, 1273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γεννέσιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>954, 1045, 1244, 1251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γεννάδιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γεράσιμος</td>
<td></td>
<td>688 (of recent date)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γεράνων</td>
<td></td>
<td>427, 876, 1177, 1203, 1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γερόντιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>702, 904, 1010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γεώργιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>690, 1287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γεώργιος ΧΩριζομένος</td>
<td></td>
<td>833, 919, 931, 934, 955, 998, 1001, 1070, 1113, 1128, 1146, 1206, 1213, 1219, 1254, 1266, 1289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πάπυρος No.</td>
<td>23, 28, 45, 892, 926, 927, 929, 930, 1018, 1028, 1182, 1211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ευγερώυδης</td>
<td></td>
<td>1025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Διανησίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>856, 1121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Διονύσιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δομέτιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δομίνιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δοσιθέως</td>
<td></td>
<td>688 (of recent date)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δοράθιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1077, 1273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ειρηνάιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>963, 1245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ειρήνη</td>
<td></td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εκτεινόν</td>
<td></td>
<td>849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ελλαδίς</td>
<td></td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ελπιδίος</td>
<td></td>
<td>79, 955, 1154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ευφραντίος</td>
<td></td>
<td>120, 911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ερασίνος</td>
<td></td>
<td>991, 1197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ερμογένης</td>
<td></td>
<td>837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐθυβοόλος</td>
<td></td>
<td>872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐγένιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1133, 1154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐθύμιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐσάβιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>973, 977, 1221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πάπυρος No. 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐσταθίος</td>
<td></td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐστάθιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐστάθιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐστάθιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐφρασίος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Εὐφρασίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>1154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζαχαρίας</td>
<td></td>
<td>433, 656, 867, 1223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζηνόβιος, Ζενόβιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>1177, 1292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζήνων</td>
<td></td>
<td>979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζωνίνος</td>
<td></td>
<td>661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πάπυρος No. 923, 1247, 1264</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζωή</td>
<td></td>
<td>1028, 1179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πάπυρος No. 889, 890</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ζώσιμος

Ἡλίας, Ἐλίας

Inscr. No. 55, 174, 316b, 485, 495, 843, 933, 949, 967, 999, 1053, 1130, 1132, 1156, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1293

Papyrus No. 926, 1183

Ἡράκλειανος

Inscr. No. 625, 969, 1056

Θαλλέλαιος

Θέκλα

Θεσέγης

Θεοδόσιος

Θεοδούλος

Θεοδώρα

Θεόδωρος

Θεόμνηστος

Θεόκτησις

Θεοφάνης

Θεόφιλος

Θάμνος

Θαμάς

Inscr. No. 1188

» » 686, 1252

» » 806, 1246

» » 427, 762, 810, 858, 1024, 1033, 1063, 1134, 1203

» » 6, 741, 1268

» » 315a

» » 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

» » 971

» » 822, 1187, 1285

» » 1062, 1248

» » 718, 971, 992, 1220

» » 918

» » 943, 985, 1071, 1072, 1127, 1225, 1241

Ἰάκωβος

Ἰακισιανός

Ἰάσιον

Ἰερώνιος

Ἰάσιος

Ἰουβιανάλος

Ἰουλιανός

Ἰουστινιανός

Ἰουστινίος

Ἰσαάκιος

Ἰσαίας

Ἰσάδωρος

Ἰωάννης

Inscr. No. 1136, 1214

» » 898

» » 1022, 1064

» » 965, 1076

» » 974

» » 1101

» » 897, 1157

» » 970, 1218

Papyrus No. 274, 1125

Inscr. No. 1272

» » 940, 1120, 1236

» » 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

Papyrus No. 816, 926, 928, 1030, 1180

Ἰωάννης

Ἰωάννης

Inscr. No. 1180

» » 1014

» » 133
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Καισάρειος</th>
<th>Inscr.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>1138</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Καλαπόδιος, Καλοπόδιος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>964, 965, 1075, 1076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Καλλιστράτος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>739, 909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Καλλιώνιστος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κανάδης</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Καπιτόν</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>991, 1197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Καρκοόδος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κάσης</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>305, 1151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κήρυκος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>746, 874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κλαδιανός</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κλαδίδος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κλισισάτα</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κομίτα</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1213, 1254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κομίτεσσα (Κομίτω)</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1130, 1132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κόμικος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>875, 1144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κονονίας</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κοσμάς</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>947, 1164, 1276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κυμαλλός</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>363, 1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κύρος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>186, 766, 1073 papyri 1181, 1182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κω(ν)σταντίνος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>625, 821, 855, 970, 1218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λάξαρος</td>
<td>Inscr.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λεόντισος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>142, 832, 914, 951, 990, 1020, 1021, 1067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λογιγίνος</td>
<td>Inscr.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>299, 1008, 1077, 1082, 1232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λουκιανός</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μαγνιανός</td>
<td>Inscr.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάγνος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>149, 883, 1234, 1284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μαιανδρός</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μακάρος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μακεδόνος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>883, 1126, 1284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάλχος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μανάλάς</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μανιάς</td>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάντμος</td>
<td>Inscr.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>165, 404, 771, 958, 976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μία</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μυρίνος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>546, 870, 874, 959, 960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μαρκέλλα</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μαρκέλλινος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάρκελλος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>359, 839, 895, 966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μάρκος</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>297, 825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μαρτύρας</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>880, 993, 994, 1131, 1228, 1229, 1231, 1266,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ματρώνα</td>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μεγαστριώτικη</td>
<td>Inscr.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μεσοποταμία</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μεναια</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>1155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Μηνίας
Μηροφάνης
Μισσηλ
Μόδεστος
Μοιάσης

Νασταβός
Νάλος
Νόννα
Νόνος

Όμοδιανός
Όσιομος
Ομαβάλας
Ομαλεντίνος
Ομάλης
Ομάλος

Οντιανός
Οντία

Πάσιος
Παλλάδιος
Παλλών ο Παλλός
Παμφίλος
Παπίων
Πατρίκιος

Παύλη
Παύλος

Πελέγιος
Πέτρος
Πενθής?
Πλάκος
Πολλαυκτος

Πολλακτρος
Πολυχρόνος
Πορφυρός
Πορφύρος
Πορφύριος
Προκύπτος

Ράββος
Ραμανός

Σαββάτιος
Σαββίνος
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Papyrus No.</th>
<th>Inscr. No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Σάδαλος</td>
<td>928</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σαμάκων</td>
<td></td>
<td>961, 962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σαμασσιός</td>
<td></td>
<td>998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σαμουηλ</td>
<td></td>
<td>1049, 1166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σαμώρ</td>
<td></td>
<td>1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σάρωχις</td>
<td></td>
<td>942, 1240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σαφρος</td>
<td></td>
<td>768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σαωλάς</td>
<td></td>
<td>853, 901, 1288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σεούμηρος</td>
<td></td>
<td>115, 805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σερίγης</td>
<td></td>
<td>884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σέργιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>93, 827, 884, 916, 917, 950, 987, 997, 1059, 1061, 1065, 1066, 1108, 1139, 1204, 1205, 1243, 1270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σηλάμμαν</td>
<td></td>
<td>984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σίλανος</td>
<td></td>
<td>810, 845, 1024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σίμας</td>
<td></td>
<td>1299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σίλβανός</td>
<td></td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σισάνιος</td>
<td></td>
<td>867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σοφία</td>
<td></td>
<td>289, 885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Στέφανος</td>
<td></td>
<td>127, 612, 826, 844, 880, 884, 904, 953, 1001, 1003, 1004, 1006, 1016, 1051, 1079, 1115, 1130, 1132, 1180, 1215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Συμέων</td>
<td></td>
<td>752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σωσάννα</td>
<td></td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Τιμόθεους</td>
<td></td>
<td>67, 119, 894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Τρόφων</td>
<td></td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φεσάνης</td>
<td></td>
<td>924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φιλτός</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φιλοκομήνη</td>
<td></td>
<td>1153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φιλαβινός</td>
<td></td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φιλαία</td>
<td></td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φωτεινός</td>
<td></td>
<td>1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Χαράτη</td>
<td></td>
<td>1253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Χαρίτων</td>
<td></td>
<td>1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Χασέτος</td>
<td></td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Χοβέζος</td>
<td></td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**C. Geographical terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Inscr. No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Αιγύπτιος</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αιλαν(οδ)</td>
<td>24, 1029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αιλλησίος</td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Inscr. No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αντιοχείς</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αραχνή</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αρμενίτης</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αρμένισσα</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ασκαλωνίτης</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βεθσαμέα</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βιβλειος</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βοργλία</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γάζα</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γαζάδος</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γολγοθάς</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ελλαδικός</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 123, 1123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Έμεσα</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζαδάκαθα</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θεσσαλονικειώς</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ίερουσαλήμ</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 841, 875, 877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰωαννός</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Καισαρείς</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 1122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κανά</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Καππάδοξ</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κίλις</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κρανιών (Holy Calvary)</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κυπριακός, Κύπριος</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μαίουμα</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 1201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μεσσηποσσίτης</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μορσαθι</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Νεοσάνα</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 1178, 1207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πέρσης</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Προβατική</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ρωσαδική</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 944, 1242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σέρος</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σωμετώση</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Τύρνος</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φόρδησα</td>
<td>Inscr. No. 607</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### D. Toponyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Inschr.</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abud</td>
<td>695</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Sarbut</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ader</td>
<td>807</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aila, Eilat</td>
<td>109, 118, 119, 120, 212, 213, 263, 264, 385, 386, 698, 704</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain-Aroueh</td>
<td>387, 808</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain-Dirue</td>
<td>392, 817</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain-Douq</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain el-Jedide</td>
<td>809, 913, 1235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain et-Taghba</td>
<td>388,768,1098</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain-Fit</td>
<td>121, 914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain-Samieh</td>
<td>1080, 1270</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amman</td>
<td>13, 664, 810, 915, 1023, 1024</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arraba</td>
<td>14, 265, 482, 489, 1025</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar-Rabba</td>
<td>529</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascalon</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashkelon Barnea</td>
<td>122, 1026</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahan</td>
<td>137, 222, 284, 391, 677, 714, 749, 1109, 1110, 1258, 1271</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batir</td>
<td>931</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beerot-Yishaq</td>
<td>932, 1250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beersheba</td>
<td>138, 139, 285, 289, 392, 393, 7:5, 721, 817, 818</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beit-Alpha</td>
<td>552</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beit-Jibrin</td>
<td>286, 585, 607, 1019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beit-Jimal</td>
<td>50, 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beit-Loya</td>
<td>746</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beit-Shahur</td>
<td>394</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beit-Surik</td>
<td>819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belah</td>
<td>112, 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethany</td>
<td>52, 223, 287, 395-397, 728</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>53, 141, 224, 228, 377, 398, 450, 820, 821, 1081</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethphage</td>
<td>289, 885</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Papyrus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth-Safafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth-Shean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir el-Qutt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobbio (Italy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesarea Maritima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capernaum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir-Dosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir el-Qilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir-Hadjla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir-Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der-Rumsaniyeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor, Tanturah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein-Gedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein-Karim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elateia (Greece)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Boberiye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Guwezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Haditha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Jish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Kerak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Koursi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Kufr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Murassas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Qunaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Quwisme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Tireh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Yadudeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-Shuneh el-Janubiyeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faran (Sinai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gariye el Garbiye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garizim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaza, Maiuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghor es-Safi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazor Ashdod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herodion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horvat Karkara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horvat Midras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaffa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafr Kama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karmiel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasr el-Yahud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kfar Truman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khan Saliba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khan Younes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet al-Khereisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Alya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet ed-Deir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet el-Hadadiye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet el-Mekhayat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet el-Mird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet el-Wahadneh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet er-Ras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet es-Samrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Irama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Jannaba el Tahta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Juêzum or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Jōhdum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Karmil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Khudrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Khureisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Mafjar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Makhrum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Ma'on. Nirim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Suweikeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Umm er-Rus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirbet Sādeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahaiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mambris, Kurnub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masouh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medjdel-Yabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mishmar ha-Emeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monza (Italy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moza, Qalonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahariyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazareth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ozem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella, Tabaqat Fahl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramleh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ras Siyagha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rehovot (Negeb) » » 796, 992-995, 1065-1067, 1163, 1228-1231
Rihab » » 174, 996
Rishpon, Apollonia » » 9, 94, 95, 175, 176, 244, 344, 345, 431, 460, 469, 500, 501, 503, 509, 526, 527, 579, 605, 606, 652, 692, 716, 797, 878, 879, 889, 890, 997-999, 1087-1092, 1094-1097, 1164, 1266, 1293-1296
Sameh » » 114, 546
Seilun » » 432, 689
Sepphoris » » 433, 1136
Shaar ha-Aliyah » » 1101
Shavei Zion » » 1000, 1249
Shefa 'Amr » » 1068, 1078, 1276
Sheila » » 346, 434
Shivta » » 1069, 1297
903, 1001-1007, 1070, 1071, 1137, 1165, 1198, 1267, 1282
Sinai, ascent to Mountain of Moses » » 1199, 1233
Sinai, Cave of Moses » » 100, 569
Sirim » » 488
Siyar el-Ghanam » » 183
Susita » » 103, 247, 437, 1016, 1079, 1093, 1283
Swafieh » » 350, 438, 659, 1011
765, 1072
Taiyibeh » » 184
Tell Basul » » 185
Tell Shocho » » 248, 351, 439, 882, 1012, 1167
Tiberias » » 104, 1102

Umm el-Jimal or Umm idj-Djimal » » 11, 105, 187, 352, 470, 481, 551, 557, 562, 734, 738, 1138

Umm el-Maqati » » 353, 510, 883, 1013, 1284
Umm er-Rus » » 1014
Umm es-Surab » » 186, 631
Umm Qeis » » 891
Umm Tirfan » » 720
Wadi Ayoun Mousa » » 766, 1073

Inscr. No. Inscr. No.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Inscr. No.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wadi Haggag (Sinai)</td>
<td></td>
<td>106-108, 115-117, 188-199, 249-262, 354-373, 440-448, 718, 884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wady el-Hesa</td>
<td></td>
<td>449, 799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatta</td>
<td>Inscr. No.</td>
<td>200, 722</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>