

DANS LA MÊME COLLECTION

Diffusés par DE BOCCARD, Édition-Diffusion – 11 rue de Médicis, 75006 Paris

1. LEFORT (J.) – *Villages de Macédoine. Notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macédoine orientale au Moyen Âge*. I. *La Chalcidique occidentale*, 218 p., 13 cartes couleurs en dépliant, 1982.
2. MANGO (C.) – *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e-VI^e siècles)*, 76 p., 8 ill., 1985-1990.
3. BELLIER (P.), BONDOUX (R.-Cl.), CHEYNET (J.-Cl.), GEYER (B.), GRÉLOIS (J.-P.), KRAVARI (V.) – *Paysages de Macédoine. Leurs caractères, leur évolution à travers les documents et les récits des voyageurs*. Présentation par J. LEFORT, 316 p., 6 fig., 2 cartes en dépliant, 1986.
4. DAGRON (G.) et FEISSEL (D.) – *Inscriptions de Cilicie*. Avec la collaboration de A. HERMARY, J. RICHARD et J.-P. SODINI. 297 p., LXVI pl. h.-t., 1987.
5. BEAUCAMP (J.) – *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (IV^e-VI^e siècle)*. I. *Le droit impérial*, L-374 p., 1990.
6. BEAUCAMP (J.) – *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (IV^e-VI^e siècle)*. II. *Les pratiques sociales*, XXXII-494 p., 1992.
7. LAIOU (A. E.) – *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux X^e-XI^e siècles*, 210 p., 1992.
8. SALIOU (C.) – *Le traité d'urbanisme de Julien d'Ascalon. Droit et architecture en Palestine au VI^e siècle*, 160 p., 12 fig., 1996.
9. MAGDALINO (P.) – *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, 120 p., 2 cartes, 1996.
10. GARSOÏAN (N. G.) et MAHÉ (J.-P.) – *Des Parthes au Califat. Quatre leçons sur la formation de l'identité arménienne*, 120 p., 22 fig., 1997.
11. BEAUCAMP (J.) et DAGRON (G.), éd. – *La transmission du patrimoine. Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*, 272 p., 1998.
12. KIOURTZIAN (G.) – *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades de la fin du III^e au VI^e siècle ap. J.-C.*, 315 p., LX pl. h.-t., 2000.

Diffusés par l'Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et
Civilisation de Byzance – 52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine – 75005 Paris

13. LANIADO (A.) – *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Empire protobyzantin*, XXXI-296 p., 2002.
14. FEISSEL (D.) et GASCOU (J.), éd. – *La pétition à Byzance*, 200 p., 2004.
15. BEAUCAMP (J.), éd., avec la collaboration de AGUSTA-BOULAROT (S.), BERNARDI (A.-M.), CABOURET (B.) et CAIRE (E.) – *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas*, I, 203 p., 2004.
16. ZUCKERMAN (C.) – *Du village à l'Empire : autour du Registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)*, 287 p., XX pl. h.-t., 2004.
17. DURAND (J.) et FLUSIN (B.), éd. – *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, 259 p., 2004.
18. LOUKAKI (M.), avec la coll. de JOUANNO (C.) – *Discours annuels en l'honneur du patriarche Georges Xiphilin*, 235 p., 2005.
19. MONDRAIN (B.), éd. – *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, 196 p., 2006.
20. FEISSEL (D.) – *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine (1987-2004)*, XXII-433 p., 2006.
21. SMYRLIS (K.) – *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins (fin du X^e-milieu du XIV^e siècle)*, 304 p., 2006.
22. IVANIŠEVIĆ (V.), KAZANSKI (M.) et MASTYKOVA (A.) – *Les nécropoles de Viminacium à l'époque des Grandes Migrations*, 352 p., 2006.
23. CASEAU (B.), CHEYNET (J.-Cl.) et DÉROCHE (V.), éd. – *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*, XXII-490 p., 2006.
24. AGUSTA-BOULAROT (S.), BEAUCAMP (J.), BERNARDI (A.-M.) et CAIRE (E.), éd. – *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas*, II, 288 p., 2006.
25. ZUCKERMAN (C.), éd. – *La Crimée entre Byzance et le Khaganat khazar*, 2006.

COLLÈGE DE FRANCE – CNRS
CENTRE DE RECHERCHE D'HISTOIRE
ET CIVILISATION DE BYZANCE

MONOGRAPHIES 23

PÈLERINAGES ET LIEUX SAINTS DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ ET LE MOYEN ÂGE

MÉLANGES OFFERTS À PIERRE MARAVAL

édité par Béatrice CASEAU, Jean-Claude CHEYNET,
et Vincent DÉROCHE

Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne

Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance
52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine - 75005 Paris
2006

et la réception que sur la norme, et facilitent la mise en perspective des textes hagiographiques, dont le souci de promouvoir tel ou tel saint prévaut le plus souvent sur tout sens de la mesure. On peut ainsi esquisser une hiérarchie des cultes et des saints qui leur servent de support, suivre leur évolution sur le long terme et leur variété régionale à une date donnée, analyser avec plus de précision leur présence dans la vie privée, publique et politique.

En travaillant sur des corpus de sources différents, on se rendrait assez vite compte que selon la catégorie de texte, l'image que l'on obtient du culte des saints varie, et que ceci correspond aux divers milieux de production et à leurs préférences et usages en matière de saints. La signification du phénomène diffère selon les régions, les couches sociales, les personnes, les fonctions ou les besoins. Les saints impériaux et monastiques sont les plus présents dans les textes dits « littéraires », ainsi que sur les objets et dans l'iconographie, souvent issus des mêmes milieux. Cela ne reflète pas nécessairement les préférences de la société dans son ensemble. Les cultes régionaux ou urbains sont ceux qui échappent le plus à l'historien. Une autre difficulté est que selon les époques et les régions, les catégories de sources disponibles diffèrent. La conséquence est qu'on ne sait pas toujours à quoi correspond la variété observée : s'agit-il d'une évolution, d'une variante régionale, d'une particularité sociale ? Paul Halsall et Stephanos Efthymiadis ont aussi fait remarquer que les saints « nouveaux » apparus à divers moments de l'histoire de l'Empire, dont les *Vitae* sont souvent utilisées pour définir « l'idéal de sainteté » du moment, sont loin d'être les plus populaires⁵¹. Il s'ensuit que l'image fournie par les textes produits dans les monastères ou les milieux dominants – qui veulent en effet promouvoir un idéal – doit être complétée par celle que renvoient les « documents de la pratique », afin qu'on puisse faire clairement le partage entre ce que l'on voulait faire appliquer et ce qui avait cours dans la population.

L'approche peut-être la plus prometteuse est celle de la topographie. Avec son inventaire des lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient, Pierre Maraval a ouvert une voie qui ne demande qu'à être suivie. Cet inventaire, pour commencer, pourrait être considérablement étoffé par une approche fondée sur les sources documentaires. Pour certaines régions, il est en effet possible d'obtenir une cartographie de l'implantation des saints dans le paysage, qu'il soit urbain ou non. On repère aussi parfois un sanctoral local. Il est cependant difficile de mesurer le culte des saints sur le plan local après le VII^e siècle, en raison de l'absence d'une documentation comparable aux inscriptions protobyzantines. La seule constatation que l'on puisse faire sans hésitation est la domination d'un très petit nombre de saints sur des centaines de saints peu connus et au culte peu diffusé, une structure qui semble être très caractéristique du sanctoral grec, et que l'on rencontre dès le VI^e siècle.

51. P. HALSALL, *Women's Bodies, Men's Souls: Sanctity and Gender in Byzantium*, Ph.D., Fordham University 1999, p. 23-56 ; voir aussi S. EFTHYMIADIS, The function of the holy man in Asia Minor in the Middle Byzantine period, in *Byzantine Asia Minor*, Athènes 1998, p. 151-161.

THE TRANSFER OF GIFTS IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCHES OF PALESTINE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR THE EVOLUTION OF THE "GREAT ENTRANCE"*

Joseph PATRICH

The tri-apsidal churches constitute a distinct type among the Early Christian basilicas of the Holy Land. They are well preserved in the deserted towns of the Negev (in *Palaestina Tertia*), and occur also in the eastern parts of that province (in Petra and Humeima), as well as in the adjacent provinces of *Palaestina Prima* and *Secunda*, in the central and southern parts of *Provincia Arabia* (Gerasa, Madaba, Umm er-Rasas), and in southern Phoenicia.¹

A. Negev, R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom and Sh. Margalit,² who had studied the typological evolution of the Negev churches, discerned in the tri-apsidal churches Shivta N and S, and Elusa E (the presumed cathedral) an earlier, mono-apsidal phase. More recently, a similar transformation from mono-apsidal to tri-apsidal was encountered in the main church of Petra.³ A typological evolution was suggested by Negev⁴ for all the churches of that region, dividing them into three major types, with further subdivision.

* My work on this article had started years ago. The concept was crystallized, and first presented in a public lecture in an International Colloquium – *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land*, held in Yad Yzhak ben Zvi, Jerusalem, October 10-14, 1999. In Feb. 2001, I was staying at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Sorbonne, Paris I, as a Directeur d'études invité by Prof. Bernard Flusin and Dr. Vassa Conticello. I gave a lecture on the topic of the present article at their seminar, and benefited a lot from the discussion and comments that had evolved, and from the resources of the College de France library. I am indebted to Prof. Flusin and to Dr. Conticello for their invitation, warm reception and assistance throughout my stay. Thanks are also due to the efficient library staff.

1. List in MARGALIT 1989; ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM 1982, p. 203-222. In Israel (comprising also Western Galilee, which belonged to Phoenicia in the Byzantine period), MARGALIT listed 41 tri-apsidal as against to 54 mono-apsidal churches. In the Kingdom of Jordan, the corresponding numbers are 12 as against to 57 (MICHEL 2001, p. 30, listed 15 tri-apsidal basilicas there, which constitutes 12% of the basilicas there). The number of tri-apsidal churches in Syria is similarly small: 6 as against to 57 mono-apsidal.

2. NEGEV 1974, NEGEV 1989, ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM 1982 and MARGALIT 1989.

3. FIEMA *et al.* 2001.

4. NEGEV 1989, p. 142.

Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval, éd. B. CASEAU, J.-Cl. CHEYNET et V. DÉROCHE (Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de

Type I – mono-apsidal, divided into three subtypes:

Type Ia – rudimentary planning of the spaces at the sides of the apse,⁵ relics differently placed: Oboda N, Nessana N (ca. 350-400).⁶

Type Ib – two rectangular rooms⁷ are regularly disconnected from the main chancel, reliquaries placed inside the rooms (ca. 400-450):⁸ Mampsis E, Elusa E (1st phase), Shivta S and N (1st phase).⁹

Type Ic – rooms and chancel as above, reliquaries placed in niches built into the back wall of the side rooms (ca. 450-500?): Oboda S.

Type II – mono-apsidal converted into tri-apsidal, chancel as above, reliquary placed as above: the 2nd phase of Shivta S and N,¹⁰ and of Elusa E (ca. 500).¹¹

Type III – tri-apsidal, chancel differently arranged, no relics¹² (early 7th c.): Nessana S, Shivta Central.¹³

The table below offers a somewhat different typology for the Negev churches (the Petra “Great Church” include), which takes into consideration another component – an annexed *prothesis* chapel, which will serve our argumentation

5. Avdat N has a single regular *pastophorium* to the S, and a door leading outside on the N. Nessana N has irregular, but open chambers, that should be conceived as *martyria*.

6. The date suggested by Negev has no archaeological basis, given the fact that architecturally the Nessana N complex is later than the fort, constructed in the early 5th c.

7. Negev refrained from using the term *pastophoria* here and above (Type Ia), since he associates the rooms, either lockable (Shivta N, Mampsis W – see next note), or open (Mampsis E), with the cult of martyrs. In my opinion, this is false in the case of lockable rooms, which were regular *pastophoria*, generally with no association with the cult of martyrs.

8. Unlike the date suggested here, in Mampsis final report, NEGEV 1988, p. 51, as in NEGEV 1974, assigned to Mampsis E (and to the first phase of Shivta N, following the finds of Margalit’s sounding there), a mid 4th c date. MARGALIT 1987 tended to date the 1st phase of Shivta N to the first half of the 4th c, unlike the date suggested here by Negev. The date of ca. 400-450 given here by Negev is not sustained by any new archaeological evidence; its purpose is to present a neat evolutionary scheme. It is evident that NEGEV’s 1989 scheme, a modified version of his 1974 scheme, is rounding the square here and there in order to present a neat linear evolution which could not exist in reality – always much more complicated.

9. Mampsis W, omitted (accidentally?) from his list, is considered by NEGEV 1974, p. 402, to be contemporary, or later than the E church.

10. The excavations established a *terminus post quem* of 527-538 for Shivta N.

11. Rehovoth-in-the-Negev, not included in his list, has a *terminus ante quem* of 488 CE for its erection. It was seemingly constructed in ca. 460-470 (TSAFRIR 1988, p. 26), namely -earlier than the date suggested by Negev for the occurrence of the tri-apsidal type in that region. In the 6th c. churches were already initially built as tri-apsidal. Such is the case of all the tri-apsidal churches of Jerash: St. Peter and Paul (ca. 540); Procopius (526-527); Bishop Genesisius (611). On these churches of Jordan see: CROWFOOT 1938, p. 249-254, 260-261; MICHEL 2001, p. 224-274.

12. Does he mean that the cult of relics came to an end in the early 7th c.? In the absence of niches, or pits under the floors, why could not the reliquary be placed on simple, portable tables placed in one or both lateral apses?

13. Dating Shivta Central to the early 7th c. seems to me entirely arbitrary, given the fact that its chancel is not transversal – a feature considered to be most characteristic for churches of this group. But Negev adopted other features as guidelines for his typology.

later on. Such classification also permits to trace clearer the architectural evolution under consideration:

*Churches of Palaestina Tertia: Typological-Chronological Table**

Date	Type I mono-apsidal with lockable <i>pastophoria</i> ; no annexed chapel	Type II apse flanked by open spaces (either apsidal (), or rectangular []); annexed <i>prothesis</i> chapel or chamber
mid 4 th c.	Mamshit, West	
2 nd half of 4 th c	Avdat, N Church	
late 4 th c.?	Rehovot, Central <i>first phase</i> ?	
*late 4 th c.	Shivta, N Church, <i>first phase</i>	
	Shivta, S Church, <i>first phase</i>	
	Shivta Central, <i>first phase</i> ?	
ca. 400	Elusa, E Church, <i>first phase</i>	
*T.A.Q. 464	Nessana N, <i>first phase</i> ¹	
mid 5 th or early 6 th c.	Petra, Cathedral, <i>first phase</i>	
mid 5 th c.?		Mamshit, E Church []
ca. 450-500?		Avdat, S Church []
*T.A.Q. 488		Rehovot, N Church ()
*mid 5 th to 6 th c.	→	Elusa, E Church, <i>second phase</i> ()
*early to mid 6 th c.	→	Petra, Cathedral, <i>second phase</i> ()
*550-551	→	Rehovot Central, <i>second phase</i> []
Justinian to 601	→	Nessana N, <i>second phase</i> [] ⁱⁱ
*Justinian to 607 ⁱⁱⁱ	→	Shivta N, <i>second phase</i> ()
	→	Shivta, S Church, <i>second phase</i> ()
	→	Shivta Central, <i>second phase</i> ()
*last 3 rd of 6 th c.		Birsama []
*601		Nessana, S Church ()
601		Nessana, E Church []
end of 7 th or early 8 th c.		Nessana C (Area F) []

* An asterisk (*) next to the date marks a firm archaeological date. The arrow in the middle column of the table indicates a transformation from Type I to Type II.

i. A primitive *prothesis* chamber might have been a component of the original layout of this church, thus placing it in Type II group, with a T.A.Q. of 464, namely -among the earlier churches of Type II.

ii. The baptistery is dated to 601; the remodeling of the church and the addition of the chapel might have occurred earlier. See also n. i.

iii. Coins of the early reign of Justinian constitute a T.P.Q. for the remodeling of the basilica. I am of the opinion that an addition of a chapel was an intergal part of this remodeling. The mosaic floor of the chapel was laid in 607.

According to Negev, the architectural transformation was the result of the profusion of the cult of relics, since the lateral spaces – apses or open rooms – bear clear evidences for this cult, the relics being placed in depressions in their floors, or in their niches.¹⁴ Fragments of miniature, sarcophagi-shaped reliquary (either the containers, or their lids) were found in several churches (Avdat S, Rehovoth N, Shivta N; none *in situ*). Thus, the association of the lateral apses, or of the lateral open rooms with the cult of relics was well established.¹⁵

The question that was not asked with regard to these churches is: how did this architectural transformation affect the principal rite held therein – the liturgy of the Eucharist? And indeed, what was the liturgical function of the rooms flanking the apse in the early stage? Did they have any crucial function in this liturgy? and if positive, how was this function reconciled with the architectural transformation?

THE LATERAL ROOMS AND THEIR EARLY LITURGICAL FUNCTION

In some manuals and lexicons these rooms are referred to as *prothesis* and *diakonikon*, following the present practice in the churches of Greece and of the Greek islands, and generally in the Greek Orthodox Church, where the southern room serves as a vestry for the clergy, and the northern room as a sacristy, where the elements are prepared in advance, and the *prothesis* prayer over them is whispered. But these would be anachronistic terms for the lateral rooms in the Early Christian Churches. Jacobus Goar introduced these terms into the scholarly literature, following the practice he encountered in the 17th c. in the island of Chios¹⁶. It was only at the beginning of the 9th c. that the complex rite of preparation of the elements, known today as the *prothesis*, started. In its elaborate form the bread is cut by using a special instrument, accompanied by special prayers, both symbolizing the *passion* of Christ.¹⁷ In spite of being anachronistic, these terms were unfortunately applied by some scholars to describe the lateral chambers flanking the apse in the Early Christian churches of Palestine.¹⁸

14. Of particular interest is the find of two fragments of human bones found in a pit in the floor of the S lateral room of Mamshit E (NEGEV 1988, p. 47).

15. In Northern Syria (Antiochene), a somewhat similar transformation related to the cult of martyrs took hold, whereby the S lateral room was converted to a *martyrion*, housing sacred relics in big, sarcophagi-like receptacles. These *martyria* were opened to the S aisle via a wide arch. The transformation started in the 430's. In Apamene, the *martyrion* was located to the N of the apse. See LASSUS 1947, p. 161-180; TCHALENKO 1979-1980; TCHALENKO 1990; SODINI 1988; SODINI 1989, p. 347-372; DONCEEL-VOÛTE 1988, p. 532-540. In Constantinople, since the 5th c., there were no lateral rooms flanking the apse; the aisles ended on the east in doorways. See MATHEWS 1971.

16. *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, Paris 1647, reprt. 1730. See: BABIĆ 1969, p. 9, 58-65; DESCOEUDRES 1983, p. xi.

17. See: BRIGHTMAN 1896, xciii, p. 539-551; H. LECLERQ, *Offertoire*, *DACL* XII. 2, col. 1951-1952. Since the 12th c., this rite was known as *proskomide*. Earlier, until the 7th c., this term was synonymous with *anaphora*, designating the celebration of the Eucharist. See also: BABIĆ 1969, p. 62; TAFT 1975, p. 350-373; DESCOEUDRES 1983, p. xvi-xvii.

18. Thus (among others), KENDALL, in COLT 1962, p. 43; OVADIAH 1970, p. 16, 195-196 and Table 2; NEGEV, in AVI-YONAH 1975, p. 286 (Kurnub; but in the English version, and in the final report, NEGEV 1988, p. 47, he refrained from using this anachronistic terminology). See also DESCOEUDRES 1983, p. xxiii, comment on this point.

In the *Apostolic Constitutions* – a Greek compilation of Early Christian writings, of a Syrian-Antiochian origin,¹⁹ dated to ca. 380 CE²⁰ –, the lateral rooms are referred to as *pastophoria* (παστοφορία).²¹ According to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *pastophoria* were located on the eastern side of the church, flanking the seats of the priests – the *presbyterium* (πρεσβυτήριον) –, which were set on either side of the bishop's throne.²² This disposition is in accord with the tripartite sanctuary of the 4th c. and early 5th c. churches of Syria and Palestine.²³ In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the transfer of the offering by the deacons to the altar is brief and non-ceremonial – a simple placement of the offerings on the altar.²⁴ Describing a pontifical service of Eucharist, administered by an *episcopos*, the deacons bring the offerings to the bishop, and place it on the altar; the presbyters take their places to his right and left, and on either side of the altar two deacons, each holding a fan, are silently driving away flying insects from getting close to the cups. It is not said whence the offerings came from, but in another paragraph²⁵ it is said that after the faithful – both male and female –, had participated in the communion, partaking from the elements, the deacons collect the leftovers, and depose them in the *pastophoria*. These should have been lockable rooms, since the elements were held in precious sacred vessels. It is reasonable to assume that the offerings were first brought to the altar from these rooms.

Back to the Negev churches: if the lockable rooms flanking the apse – *pastophoria* according to the *Apostolic Constitutions* – were converted into open lateral apses, or later churches were built anew as tri-apsidal (or as mono-apsidal flanked by open rooms), this would have caused a severe obstacle to the pre and

19. Thus relevant to our discussion, since the Palestinian provinces were under the ecclesiastical aegis of the Patriarch of Antioch until Jerusalem was proclaimed patriarchate in the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451.

20. For this date, see: METZGER, vol. 1, p. 57-60; F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia*, vol. I, p. xix, favored a date of ca. 400. For the Syrian-Antiochian background, see METZGER, vol. 1, p. 55-57.

21. The LXX for many biblical passages renders the Hebrew in the precinct of the temple of Jerusalem as *pastophoria*. Sometimes the treasury of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem is rendered as *gazophylakion*. See PALLAS 1979-1980, p. 107-108; DESCOEUDRES 1983, p. xii-xiv; H. LECLERQ, *Pastophorium*, *DACL* XIII/2, col. 2390-2391; Th. HOPFNER, *Pastophorien*, *RE* XVIII/4, col. 2109-2110. (I am indebted to Mrs. Christina Tsigonaki for the reference to the important article of PALLAS 1979-1980).

22. II. 57. 3-4, METZGER, I, p. 312-313.

23. For the churches of Palestine, see CROWFOOT 1941; OVADIAH 1970; OVADIAH and DE SILVA 1981; OVADIAH and DE SILVA 1982; OVADIAH and DE SILVA 1984; PATRICH 2003; PATRICH 2006. For the tripartite sanctuary in the churches of Syria, see *supra*, n. 15, and DESCOEUDRES 1983, p. 3-78. Such tripartite prescription is in complete disaccord with the layout of the Early Christian Constantinopolitan sanctuary, where the apse was flanked by two openings. FRESHFIELD 1873 was the first to comment that the ancient Constantinopolitan layout did not permit a tripartite sanctuary with a *prothesis* and *diakonikon* flanking a central apse, prevalent in his days (as today) in Greek Orthodox churches, and that the rite associated with this layout could not exist in Early Christian Constantinople. Freshfield believed that the lateral openings were blocked and a *prothesis* and *diakonikon* installed on either side of the apse with the introduction of the Cherubic Hymn (*Cherubikon*) to the Byzantine rite, in the time of Justin II (565-578), and that then also the Great Entrance was introduced into the Byzantine rite. However, MATHEWS 1971, p. 156 and 162, and TAFT 1975, p. 183-184, pointed out that, on the one end, the side openings were blocked only in the IX-Xth c., so this had nothing to do with the introduction of the Cherubic Hymn, and on the other end, the procession of the Great Entrance had preceded the Cherubic Hymn by many years.

24. VIII. 12. 3, METZGER, III, p. 178-179.

25. VIII. 13. 17, METZGER, III, p. 210-211.

post-anaphoral rite, to a measure that it could no longer be conducted according to the prescription given in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In other words, the architectural transformation under discussion must have been associated with a liturgical change in the Eucharistic rite – the transfer of Eucharistic gifts. The open lateral spaces could not serve the rite any longer the way the lockable *pastophoria* did. The vessels and the elements must have been stored elsewhere, in a more remote location. But then, a transfer of gift over a sizeable distance would become a procession of gifts – a ceremonial entry – the so-called Great Entrance.

THE GREAT ENTRANCE PROCESSION²⁶

Was a Great Entrance held in Palestine as a procession over a sizable distance, the way it did in Constantinople? I maintain that the answer is positive. Let us examine first how it was held in Constantinople.

In his comprehensive study on the history of the Transfer of Gifts, R. Taft had traced in detail the evolution of this rite in the East from a simple transfer of gifts to a ceremonial procession.²⁷ His concern was principally with the Byzantine rite as celebrated in the Early Christian churches of Constantinople, mainly in the Hagia Sophia. The archaeological layout and liturgical disposition of these churches were studied already earlier by Th. Mathews, who had reconstructed the minutes of this rite, reaching similar conclusion about the procession of the Great Entrance in the capital in the Early Byzantine rite.²⁸ Both are relying on the *Mystagogia* of Maximus the confessor (see below).

The Great Entrance is the procession of gifts, from the place they were prepared in advance, to the altar. In Hagia Sophia this place was the *skeuophylakion* – a circular structure of ca. 11 m inner diameter, detached from the church to its north, near its NE corner. As Taft has indicated, the offerings of the faithful – bread, wine, oil, other victuals, donations and tithes –, were brought to the church by the faithful and given to the deacons before the service had started. The names of the donors and of the persons after whom they have donated, were written down, to be commemorated later during the anaphora. From among the gifts that were stored there, the oblations were selected and arranged in advance in calices, patens and sacred vessels, to be transferred to the altar in a later stage of the service. The actual transfer, by the deacons, started only after

26. This term is first encountered in a *diataxis* of the 12th-13th c., but the term εἴσοδος (namely -entrance) for the Entrance of the Mysteries is encountered already in the early 7th c., in the *Mystagogia* of Maximus the Confessor (about whom see below). See TAFT 1975, p. 192-193. The reader should note that the term “Great Entrance” as used below, does not address issues of prayers or other liturgical elements associated with it, just this rite being a ceremonial procession delivering the elements of the Eucharist over a sizeable distance, from the location they were first placed, to the altar. For the evolution of this rite in the Byzantine church, addressing its entire components, one should consult TAFT 1975.

27. TAFT 1975 (2nd ed. Rome 1998). See also TAFT 1977. His conclusions of 1975 were re-iterated in TAFT 1997 and 1998, written in answer mainly to a critical review on the book by: N. K. MORAN, *The Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia*, *Cahiers Archéologiques* 34, 1986, p. 29-32.

28. Given the fact that the liturgy reconstructed by MATHEWS 1971 is basically similar to that described by TAFT 1975, Grabar's 1972 review on MATHEWS 1971 seems to be by far too critical.

the dismissal of the Catechumens, and the closing of the doors – the concluding stages in the “celebration of the word.”²⁹ It marked the beginning of the “liturgy of the faithful.” Taft had indicated that from a simple placement of the offerings on the altar the rite evolved to become more and more ceremonial – a procession with sacred vessels, over a sizable distance, accompanied by chants and prayers. This procession was already held in Constantinople in the days of patriarch Eutychius (552-565, 577-582).³⁰ At the conclusion of the Eucharist, after the kiss of dismissal, the leftovers of the elements were collected from the side tables (*παρατραπεζαί*) and brought back to the holy altar (*ἀγία τράπεζα*), and hence transferred, again in procession, back to the *skeuophylakion*.³¹ There the ministers said the final prayer of the liturgy – the *Skeuophylakion* Prayer, and removed their sacred vestments, and the deacons consumed the remaining gifts, purified the sacred vessels and put them away.

THE EVIDENCE FOR PALESTINE – THE MYSTAGOGIA OF MAXIMUS CONFESSOR AND THE SCHOLIA OF JOHN SCHOLASTICUS, BISHOP OF SCYTHOPOLIS

Was a similar rite in effect in Palestine? Following the common opinion of that time, Mathews and Taft took Maximus Confessor (580-662 CE) to be Constantinopolitan.³² This convention was derived from his 10th c. Greek *enkomion* by the Stoudite monk Michael Exaboulites, according to whom Maximus was born in Constantinople.³³ But today, after the publication of the early Syriac life,³⁴ written by his contemporary (though hostile) George or Gregory of Reshaina, and after fresh examination of his writings for details concerning his life and activity, we know Maximus was a Palestinian,³⁵ nourished

29. For the evolution of this part of the Early Byzantine rite, see MATEOS 1971.

30. *Sermo de paschate et de ss. Eucharistia* 8, PG 86. 2, 2400-2401, *apud* TAFT 1975, p. 42.

31. On the procession back, at the conclusion of the Eucharist – “the recession” –, see TAFT 1998, p. 84-85. The earliest source to mention this procession in Constantinople is the *Chronicon Paschale* for year 624 CE, whence the Greek terms above.

32. MATHEWS 1971, p. 157, and TAFT 1975, p. 43-44 and 192-193.

33. There are five Greek recensions of his *vita*: BHG 1233m and n, BHG 1234, BHG 1235 and BHG 1236. Of these, BHG 1234 is the only one that was published in print in PG 90, 68A-109B. A part that was left out of this edition was later edited and published by DEVREESE 1928, p. 18-23, being based on two other recensions of this text. All the Greek texts are being prepared for publication in CCSG by Bram Roosen. For the state of affairs up to 1985, see ALLEN 1985. See also: *Scripta saeculi vii vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia, una cum latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii iuxta posita*, ed. P. ALLEN and B. NEIL, Turnhout-Leuven 1999, CCSG 39; *Maximus the Confessor and his companions: documents from exile*, ed. and transl. P. ALLEN and B. NEIL, New York 2002; *The Life of Maximus the Confessor recension 3*, ed. and transl. P. ALLEN and B. NEIL, Strathfield 2003. See also LACKNER 1967; KAZHDAN 1991. There is also a Georgian *Vita*, published by P. PEETERS, *AnBoll* 46, 1928, p. 456-459.

34. BROCK 1973.

35. This fact is stated plainly by the author of the *Syriac Life* at the epithet: “The history concerning the wicked Maximus of Palestine who blasphemed against his creator, and whose tongue was cut out” (transl. BROCK 1973, p. 314). This tradition is also echoed in the *Syriac Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, and in another, anonymous, *Syriac chronicle* of 1234, both drawing from the *Syriac Vita*. See BROCK 1973, p. 335, and A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les “Kephalaia Gnostica” d’Évagre le Pontique et l’histoire de l’origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, Paris 1962, p. 179; LACKNER 1967, p. 291. For further arguments in favor of a Palestinian origin, see: GARRIGUES 1974, p. 182-183; DALMAIS 1982, p. 26-30; FLUSIN 1992, p. 52-54; BOUDIGNON 2004.

on the local monastic heritage. According to the Syriac biographer he was born in the village of Hesfin,³⁶ in the Golan, east of the sea of Tiberias. His father was Samaritan, a maker of linen and merchant from Sychar (a Samaritan village near Neapolis), and his mother – a Persian slave-girl of a Jew of Tiberias named Zadoq. Both were secretly baptized by the village priest. The birth name of Maximus was Moschion. At the age of 9 he became an orphan, given to the guardianship of the village priest, who brought him to *Palaia Laura* monastery – the Old Laura of Chariton in the Judean desert. There he grew up and became a monk. The abbot gave him a new name – Maximus. Later he drew the attention of Sophronius, the future bishop of Jerusalem (634-638 CE). He and John Moschus were living in the New Laura, located at a close proximity of the Old Laura, from 590 to 603 CE, when they left Palestine.³⁷ Maximus acquired his education in the vivid intellectual milieu of the Palestinian monasteries, where the theological doctrines of the 6th c. controversies were forged.³⁸ The monks of the Old Laura took a prominent role in this controversies.³⁹ As a result of the Persian conquest of 614 Maximus fled from Palestine. Boudignon had suggested that he went first to Alexandria, where he joined the company of Sophronius and of the Patriarch John the Almsgiver. He stayed there until the Persian conquest of Egypt in 617,⁴⁰ when he fled via Cyprus to Constantinople. His precise moves are not known, but finally he arrived at North

36. On this village, see TSAFRIR *et al.* 1994, p. 103; *Chaspin*; Z. MAOZ, in STERN 1993, p. 586-588. Remains of two churches, one of them tri-apsidal, and the second restored in 604, were uncovered on the outskirts of the village. The existence of a third church, in the village center, is suggested by chancel screens and posts dispersed in that zone. A wealth of finds including jewelry, glass and metal vessels, were retrieved in tombs. Also were found many Greek inscriptions on mosaic floors and on architectural members. See also PATRICH (forthcoming).

37. On Sophronius, see: VON SCHÖNBORN 1972.

38. See: PERRONE 1980; FLUSIN 1983, p. 73-83; PATRICH 1995, p. 301-310 and 331-352; GRAY 2001. Under this background, DALMAIS 1982, p. 29, had reached the inevitable conclusion concerning Maximus' thinking and culture: "[...] les monastères palestiniens furent des foyers étonnamment vivants, et souvent effervescents, de spéculation philosophique et théologique en même temps que d'une méditation des grands thèmes scripturaires nourrie de la fréquentation d'Origène et d'Évagre. Or, toute la pensée et l'œuvre de Maxime jaillissent des mêmes sources. Plutôt donc que de continuer à chercher à Constantinople le cadre dans lequel cette pensée aurait pu se former – et il n'y a pour le faire d'autre motif que les attestations sans fondement d'une hagiographie tardive – il semble préférable d'accorder une confiance, au moins relative, à ce que nous rapporte un contemporain, si malveillant qu'il puisse être et si contestables que soient certains de ses dires. [...] sa culture a pu être acquise, en tous points, dans une ambiance monastique et, mieux que nulle part ailleurs, dans les lares palestiniennes du VI^e siècle." Accordingly, he suggested to date some of the earlier writings of Maximus, among them *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* and *Ambigua* II, to the years before he left Palestine as a result of the Persian conquest of 614. See also DALMAIS 1978. Surprisingly, LOUTH 1996, p. 4-7, and 199, is skeptical about this precise point: the degree of learning a provincial, Palestinian monk, could acquire (p. 6).

39. Cyriacus, an eminent monk of the Old Laura, was one of the leaders of the anti-Origenists. His anti-Origenist doctrine is incorporated in his *Vita* by Cyril of Scythopolis. See FLUSIN 1983. The monasteries of the desert of Jerusalem, notable among them the Great Laura of Mar Saba, and the Old Laura of Chariton, continued to be seats of intellectual and literary activity also in the 8th and 9th c., under Arab regime. See: GRIFFITH 1986; GRIFFITH 1988. Among the prominent monks of the Old Laura were John of Damascus (LOUTH 1998, p. 247-266), and George, the Syncellus of Patriarch Tarasius of Constantinople, the author of the *Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor* according to C. MANGO, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, transl. C. MANGO and R. SCOTT, Oxford 1997, p. lii-lxii.

40. BOUDIGNON 2004, p. 15-22.

Africa.⁴¹ Brock had suggested two possible periods of sojourn in Africa: the first from 628/630 to 633, and the second from 641 to 645, with a return to Syria-Palaestina in between. There were also short periods of stay in Cyprus and Crete. In North Africa he encountered Sophronius, and joined the Monastery of the Eucratades, where he found other Palestinian refugee monks already gathered there by Sophronius.

The *Mystagogia*⁴² of Maximus is a commentary on the liturgy, written to serve as a spiritual guide for those who turned to him as a monk, whether his fellow monks, devout laity, or bewildered or anxious clergy. According to Boudignon, the *Mystagogia* was dedicated to Theocharistos, a priest and prominent figure in both religious and political spheres in North Africa. He was associated with the Palaestian milieu of emigrant monks living in North Africa and in Rome, to whom also Maximus belonged.⁴³ These monks adhered to the Palestinian liturgy. It seems, therefore, that the episcopal liturgy he is commenting on and interpreting in the *Mystagogia* is that of Jerusalem, rather than that of Constantinople.

The *ordo* of the eucharistic rite he describes includes the Little, or First Entrance (ἡ πρώτη εἰσοδος), Lectures, Hymns and Gospel, Dismissal of the Catechumens and closing of the doors, the bishop's descent from his throne, the Entrance of the Mysteries (ἡ δὲ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν μυστηρίων εἰσοδος), the Kiss of Peace, the Creed, and the distribution of the Mysteries.⁴⁴

In a passage of the *Scholia* on Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite attributed to Maximus, which seems actually to be from John Scholasticus, bishop of Scythopolis (ca. 536-550), the transfer of gifts already seems to have been an integral part of the ceremony. It is said that only the deacons march in the procession, and only the *discos* is covered by the veil. The *Scholia* were written between 538 and 543.⁴⁵ Here,

41. His arrival to North Africa is set by KAZHDAN 1991, col. 1323, to ca. 630 and the reason – a condemnation of his religious views. See also GARRIGUES 1974, p. 184, n. 21, and 187; DALMAIS 1982, p. 30.

42. PG 91, col. 657-718. For the Greek text with translations into French and modern Greek see: SOTIROPOULOS 2001. An earlier French translation was published, in pieces, by M. LOT-BORODINE, in *Irenikon* 13, 1936, p. 466-472, 595-597, 717-720; 14, 1937, p. 66-69, 182-185, 282-284, 444-448; 15, 1938, p. 71-74, 185-186, 276-278, 390-391, 488-492. Other French translations of the *Mystagogia* are given in Ph.D. dissertations: M.-L. CHARPIN, *Union et différence. Une lecture de la Mystagogie de Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris IV-Sorbonne 2000 (*non vidi*). Ch. BOUDIGNON prepares a critical edition of the *Mystagogia*, forthcoming in CCSG, based on his Ph.D. dissertation entitled: *La Mystagogie ou traité sur les symboles de la liturgie de Maxime le Confesseur (580-662). Édition, traduction, commentaire*, Université de Provence-Aix-Marseille I, 2000 (*non vidi*).

43. BOUDIGNON 2004, p. 38-41. See also DALMAIS 1975, p. 145. Boudignon also suggests to identify this Theocharistos with the homonymous signatory on the libellus addressed to the bishops of the Latran council by the four Sabaite hegoumenoi – John of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, Theodore of St. Sabas in Africa, George and Thalassios, abbots of Sabaite monasteries in Rome. To this Thalassios, he suggests, Maximus' *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* were addressed. Accordingly, he concludes (p. 40): "Cela invite véritablement à supposer une formation de Maxime en Palestine, dans une laire sabaitique [...]" and p. 41: "Maxime n'était donc très probablement pas constantinopolitain, mais bien palestinien."

44. The entrances are mentioned in: *Mystagogia* 8, PG 91, col. 688; 16, PG 91, col. 693; 23, PG 91, col. 697; and 24, PG 91, col. 704-708 (= SOTIROPOULOS 2001, p. 214-215, chap. XVI; p. 246-247, chap. XXIV; p. 256-259, chap. XXIV). See also TAFT 1975, p. 43, and BRIGHTMAN 1908, p. 248.

45. *Scholia* 3, PG 4, col. 136, 137, 144; TAFT 1975, p. 43, n. 103. On John of Scythopolis, see FLUSIN 1983, p. 17-29, who concluded (p. 28) that the *Scholia* were written between 538 and 543; VON BALTHASAR 1940, p. 16-38, had demonstrated that most *scholia* on Ps. Dionysius attributed in PG 4 to Maximus the Confessor, were actually the work of John.

again, we are dealing with a Palestinian liturgy, which acknowledges a processional transfer of gifts in the local, episcopal eucharistic rite, ca. a century earlier than Maximus. The evidence of Choricus of Gaza to this end (see below), is contemporary with that of John Scholasticus.

These sources indicate that seemingly by the mid 6th c, the Eucharistic rite of Palestine already included a processional transfer of gifts – the Entrance of the Mysteries. Such was not the case in 4th c. Palestine, since there is no allusion to such a procession neither in the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, nor in the *Itinerary* of Egeria.⁴⁶ The liturgical change seems to have occurred sometime in-between. As we shall see below, the archaeological data suggests that in the 5th c. a transformation related to the Eucharistic rite started to take place in the liturgical disposition of the Early Christian churches of Palestine.

Maximus does not mention the route of the procession, just its existence. Where could the procession have started? Two possibilities come to mind: either an external sacristy like the Constantinopolitan *skeuphylakion*, detached from the basilica, or a structure attached to the basilica at some distance from the altar, namely -annexed on the N or on the S, nearer to its W end than to the church-head (*chevet* in French). Such an annex brings to mind the *diakonikon* of the *Testamentum Domini* and the rooms located in an immediate proximity to it – the house of the offerings, and the treasury (= *gazophylakion*); a complex that served as a sacristy for the sacred vessels, the storing of the gifts of the faithful, and the display of the Eucharistic gifts.

THE TESTAMENTUM DOMINI

The *Testamentum Domini* is a mid-5th c. set of Early Christian regulations written originally in Greek, but preserved in a 7th c. Syriac translation.⁴⁷ In the title it is attributed to Clement of Rome, the disciple of St. Peter, but the actual author remains unknown. It is presumably of Syrian origin.⁴⁸

46. TAFT 1975, p. 52.

47. RAHMANI, *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, Mainz 1899 (Syriac text and Latin transl.). It was translated into Syriac in year 686/687 by Jacob of 'Urhai. Certain abridgements (fol. 1a-20a), among them the full passage at our concern, were included in *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition*, ed. and tr. A. VÖÖBUS, Louvain 1975, CSCO 367, *Scriptores Syri* 161, p. 1-39 (Syriac text), CSCO 368, *Scriptores Syri* 162, p. 27-57 (English transl.). On these sections of the *Testamentum Domini* in the *Synodicon*, see vol. 161, p. xvi-xvii, and vol. 162, p. 3. According to TAFT 1975, it is dated to the 2nd half of the 5th c. See also F. X. FUNK, *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften*, Mainz 1901. According to him (p. 87), the treatise is not earlier than the 5th c.

48. *Test. Dom.* IX-LII; FUNK, *Das Testament* (cit. n. 47), p. 87; LASSUS 1950, p. 246; QUASTEN 1950, p. 185-186. Concerning this attribution, one should note that the contemporary churches of Syria exhibit a clear regional diversity (SODINI 1988; SODINI 1989, p. 371; DONCEEL-VOÛTE 1988). They did not follow one basic pattern. But, altogether, there are many features in which their architectural disposition is in complete disaccord with the prescriptions of the *Testamentum Domini*. Therefore, if these regulations were indeed of Syrian origin, the section at our concern should perhaps be conceived as recommendations how an ideal church should be built, rather than reflecting an actual reality. On the other hand, in many points there is a good accord with the contemporary churches of the three provinces of *Palaestina* and of the southern part of the province of Arabia (although there is hardly a single Palestinian church that can match

The following conclusions emerge from the text (see Appendix I) concerning the three units mentioned above:

According to the *Testamentum Domini* the church should have three entrances and the *Diakonikon* (*diaconicum* in Vööbus' translation) should be located to the right of the right entrance. A specific reference to a right entrance among the three, suggests that there was a central entrance flanked by other two on the left and on the right. Since the altar was on the east, the three openings were facing west.⁴⁹ The *Diakonikon*, accessible from a forecourt, thus formed a southern annex to the church.

In this room the offerings were placed for display, presumably on a table, or an altar, to be seen, or watched. This is the only text where the *diakonikon* occurs in a meaning equivalent to *prothesis* room or chapel.⁵⁰ But, as will be argued below, chapels or rooms annexed to many churches on the S, or on the N, could have had this function. Literally *diakonikon* is the place of the deacons, or just a service room. Interestingly, a similar annex was part of St. Stephen ecclesiastical complex described by Choricus of Gaza. Like the *diakonikon* of the *Testamentum Domini* it is attached on the right ἐν δεξιᾷ – namely, on the south, and accessed from a portico running along the façade of the basilica; the eastern portico of the atrium. The term applied to describe this annex: οἶκον ὑπηρέταις ἱερουργίας, can be synonymous to *diakonikon*.⁵¹ Unfortunately,

to the last detail the prescriptions of the *Testamentum Domini*. But our purpose here is not to claim a Palaestian origin for this source (as was claimed by PALLAS 1979-1980 for eastern Illyricum – see *infra*, n. 63, and the critical comments of POST 1981 against this claim), but rather to indicate that these mid-5th c. church regulations, recommending the construction of a *prothesis* chapel, reflect a Great Entrance rite.

49. This location of the entrances, and their number, is the normal layout for basilicas in the three provinces of Palestine and in Arabia. On the other end, this layout is in disaccord with the layout of contemporary churches of Antiochene, where originally, in the 4th c., access from the south was preferred, and later, generally there was just a single door on the west, if any (LASSUS 1947, p. 186-192; SODINI 1989, p. 349-351, and 371-372). SCHNEIDER 1949, p. 45-68, and LASSUS 1952, p. 45-53; LASSUS 1950, p. 236-252, esp. 246, n. 1, were of the opinion that the document refers to the churches of Central Syria and the Hauran, rather than to the churches of Antiochene, since the right entrance would then be the eastern among the two entrances commonly found in the southern wall in these churches. BABIĆ 1969, p. 59, also adopted this view. But if the *diaconicum* of the *Testamentum Domini* was to the south of the apse, on the eastern side of the church, as they claim, the indication of its location in our source: "on the right of the right hand entrance", is a very strange phrasing. Three entrances on the western facade, and a *diaconicum* congenial with the southern wall, on the western part of the church, is the simple, straightforward interpretation.

The churches of Constantinople had, in addition to the entrances on the eastern façade, lateral entrances on the N and S walls, and others, on the east, flanking the apse. See MATHEWS 1971, p. 105; STRUBE 1973, and TAFT's review on this book of Ch. STRUBE, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 42, 1976, p. 296-303. The earliest practice in the east, and in the west, was to orient the *facade*, rather than the apse, to the east. Such was the case, for example, with the pre-Constantinian Cathedral of Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, described in detail by Eusebius (*HE* X. iv. 37-45, ed. OULTON and LAWLOR, Loeb, vol. II, p. 420-427). See: LANDSBERGER 1957, p. 193-203; WILKINSON 1984, p. 16-30.

50. As was indicated above, *prothesis* and *diakonikon* in their current meaning, denoting the side chambers flanking the apse, are anachronistic terms when applied to the Early Christian Churches in Palestine. The term *prothesis* indicates the Show Bread in the LXX, and hence its association with the Eucharistic bread. Only in the 11th c. it designates a specific rite, and the room associated with it. As an architectural entity of an ecclesiastical complex it is not mentioned at all in the earlier sources, or inscriptions. See TAFT 1975, p. 84-85; DESCOEUDRES 1983, p. xiv-xvi.

51. CHORICIUS OF GAZA (*Laudatio Marciani* II. 33, ed. R. FOERSTER and E. RICHTSTEIG, *Choricii Gazaei Opera*, Leipzig 1929, p. 36) is writing in a rhetoric and vague style, incorporating Homeric citations. The term ἱερουργία, in use since Herodotus, and common in Josephus with reference to the Jewish rite, is a religious

Choricus does not say what they were doing there, or how it served them, yet the resemblance in the meaning of both terms, and the implication on their liturgical function are noteworthy. It is noteworthy that such an annex, shaped like a chapel with a rectangular sanctuary, is attached to the Gaza-Jabalyah basilica on the north, rather than on the south. It is referred to as *diakonikon* by the excavators.⁵²

The term *Diakonikon* (see Appendix II), occurs in the epigraphical material and in the literary sources in three different meanings: a baptismal chapel (Evron, Zahrani, Beth Yerah, Mt. Nebo), a sacristy (the 21st canon of the Council of Laodicea; monastic context; the Propylea Church at Gerasa), and an annexed room, or chapel, where the Eucharistic offerings were displayed (*Testamentum Domini*, Ashkelon Barnea?). In one single case (Holy Zion Church), it is associated with the cult of martyrs. The *diakonikon* could have been annexed to the church, or flank the atrium. When physically preserved, it is never the space flanking the apse on the south, as prevalent in present-day Greek Orthodox churches, or in the Early Christian Churches of Antiochene, (or Apamene, where the *diakonikon* is the room flanking the apse on the N). Archaeologically, each category might be easily recognized by its installations (a font in case of a baptistry), furnishing (cupboards and shelves in case of a sacristy; altar and chancel screen in case of a chapel),⁵³ and its location relative to the basilica. But since *diakonikon* is not a specific enough term, occurring in several meanings, when speaking on the *diakonikon* of the *Testamentum Domini*, the term *prothesis* room or chapel seems to be an appropriate term, reflecting its function in this source.

According to the *Testamentum Domini*,⁵⁴ the deacons bring up the oblation to the altar, where the bishop offers thanks over it. Since the oblation was first displayed in the

service, worship, sacrifice (LITTLE and SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*). In Lampe's *Greek Patristic Lexicon*, depending on the context, ἱερούργια may mean eucharist. In SOPHOCLES' *Greek Lexicon of Roman and Byzantine Period*, it is synonymous to *leitourgia*, and the verb ἱερούργεῖν, to sacrifice, refers particularly to the Eucharist. Mango's English translation of Choricus' text renders: "The colonnade that is in front of the church gives access, on the right, to a building used by the servitors of the sacred ministry" (C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453*, Toronto-Buffalo-London 1972, p. 69). Deacons can befit such designation. (For other English and French translations of these laudatory discourses of Choricus of Gaza, see: R.W. HAMILTON, *Two Churches at Gaza*, as described by Choricus of Gaza, *PEFQSt*, 1930, p. 178-191; ABEL 1931. The sentence under discussion is given there on p. 188, and p. 24 respectively). Such a room is not mentioned with regard to the second church described by Choricus – St. Sergius, which was tri-apsidal.

52. SALIOU 2000. The chapel is located between the basilica and an elaborate baptistry. The preliminary reports did not assign structural phases to the complex. According to the dated inscriptions, the basilica was paved by mosaics in 496-497 CE, ca. 35 years before the chapel (530 CE), and the baptistry ca. 20 years still later (549 CE). If the chapel pavement is contemporary with its construction, indicating that it was built in a second phase, rather than being contemporary with the basilica, the wings flanking the central apse might have first been lockable pastophoria, converted in the second phase to open martyria. In any case, the published plan presents a *prothesis* chapel and two martyria; no *pastophoria*. This is in accord with our thesis. A chapel was also annexed to the phase 4b and 4a basilica of St Hilarion Monastery at Umm el-'Amr, on the S bank of Wadi Ghazze. See ELTER and HASSOUNE 20005, p. 26-31, and fig. 12 on p. 39.

53. As will be indicated below, a *prothesis* chapel, or room, does not have a reliquary *locus*, such as a depression under the altar, or a niche, in which relics could have been placed. A burial chapel is also easily recognizable; the annexes at our concern are not of this category. Such an optional function should be omitted in the absence of tombs.

54. *Test. Dom.* II, 10, p. 130-131. This section of the *Testamentum Domini* was not preserved in the Syriac *Synodicon*. The Eucharist described in this passage is at the end of the baptismal rite, in which the new baptized is allowed to pray together with all the people (--- ----).

diakonikon, at the other end of the church, remote from the altar, the transfer of offerings had to cover a sizeable distance. The remote location of the *diakonikon vis à vis* the altar suggest a procession.⁵⁵

Two other units relevant to our subject are mentioned in the *Testamentum Domini*: The house of the offerings, and the treasury (= *gazophylakion*). They should be located in an immediate proximity to the *diakonikon*. This three-unit complex⁵⁶ formed a structure equivalent in its functions to the Constantinopolitan *skeuophylakion*. Architecturally, the *diakonikon* might have been the most elaborate unit, since it was the room of display; the other two units should have been lockable places, either rooms, or just cupboards, or rectangular niches in the walls. It seems that there is a polemical tone in recommending to locate these two sacristies near the *diakonikon*, on the western side of the church, in a sheer variance relative to the location of the *pastophoria* near the *presbyterium*, on the eastern side of the church, prescribed earlier in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This was a new conception in church architecture, associated with the transfer of gifts. The somewhat commanding tone of this new prescription is more understandable in this light. It reflects a most significant change in the proceedings of the pre-anaphoral rite – the Transfer of Gifts.

SCHOLARS' OPINION ABOUT THE FUNCTION OF AN ANNEXED CHAPEL

Already in 1938 Crowfoot had identified the side chapels he encountered in Gerasa and elsewhere in Palestine, as *prothesis* chapels, referred to as *diakonikon* in the *Testamentum Domini*.⁵⁷ Similar was Negev's approach, more recently, pertaining to the E church of Mamshit and to the churches of Avdat.⁵⁸ But many scholars working in the region under discussion ascribe to them a funerary function, or refrain from discussing their liturgical function altogether.⁵⁹

55. The possible allusion to the Great Entrance procession in this document was noted by PALLAS 1979-1980, p. 74-75; it was not noticed by Taft (although he mentions this source – TAFT 1975, p. 19 –, speaking about the offerings of the faithful), neither by Crowfoot. Crowfoot associated the emergence of the Great Entrance (which, according to FRESHFIELD 1873, was marked by the introduction of the Cherubic Hymn under Justinus II in 573-574 – and this was adopted by Crowfoot), not with the existence of an annexed chapel, but rather with a transformation in the *bema* from a T-shaped chancel to a transversal chancel, running in a straight NS line, across nave and aisles. See: CROWFOOT 1931, p. 27; 1938, p. 182-183; CROWFOOT 1941, p. 46-52. OVADIAH 1970, p. 195, had inverted Freshfield's argument, claiming that at that time and circumstances the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* had disappeared from the churches of the Holy Land (Freshfield argued exactly the opposite for the churches of Constantinople).

56. PALLAS 1979-1980, p. 64 and 73, also recognized the tri-partite unit of the *Testamentum Domini*, comprising the *diakonikon*, the house of offerings, and the treasury.

57. CROWFOOT 1938, p. 177-179; 1941, p. 55-57 (in his preliminary report [CROWFOOT 1931, p. 10-13], Crowfoot conceived them as funerary chapels). See also DELOUGAZ and HAINES 1970, for Beth Yerah.

58. Two rooms opening on the atrium at the N and at the S churches of Avdat were interpreted by him as *prothesis*. See: NEGEV 1997, p. 109 (Avdat N church, Room 1); p. 116 (Avdat N church, Room 6); p. 141 (Avdat S church, Room 15). In Mamshit E, Room 115 was identified as a chapel that served as *prothesis* and *diakonikon*. See: NEGEV 1988, p. 47-48.

59. Thus OVADIAH 1970 and BAGATTI 1971. TSAFRIR 1988, p. 72-77, did not discuss the liturgical function of the N chapel of the N church of Rehovot in-the-Negev.

G. Babić dedicated a monograph to the study of the liturgical function and iconographic program of chapels annexed to Byzantine churches.⁶⁰ She pointed out that there is a diversity in shape and location of the chapels relative to the church (attached on the east, on the west, or altogether detached), variety of functions and variation in time. There are all sorts of annexes: baptisteries, mausoleums, martyria, sacristies, and all sorts of terms are applied to describe them, some reflecting their function, but others that may indicate a variety of functions at one and the same time, and the meaning also might have been altered during the first centuries of development of the Byzantine liturgy, when the ceremonies did not receive yet their definitive shape.⁶¹ Babić had noted that since pre-Constantinian times, it was forbidden to celebrate the Eucharist more than once per day on the same altar.⁶² Following Allatius (1645), and Goar (1647), she maintained that a by-chapel (*parekklesion*) was conceived as an autonomous sanctuary, and therefore, if there was a special reason to celebrate the Eucharist twice at the same day, the second would be held in the annexed chapel. This would also be the place of secondary rites, such as diverse memorials, litanies for the Virgin, Saint John, the angles, apostles, the Holy Cross, and all Saturdays, for the commemoration of the dead. Special stress is to be attributed, according to her, to the association of the *parekklesion* with the feasts of the saints.⁶³ Accordingly, she argued that the annexed chapels in the East served for the commemoration of saints and martyrs (or adoration of their relics), dead, donors, and church founders. The principal church was distinguished from the other sanctuaries by the liturgical offices celebrated therein. In the absence of clear archaeological evidence, she will not negate Crowfoot's theory, that the annexed chapels in Gerasa served as *prothesis* chapels in the Eucharistic rite, yet she is more in favor of associating them with the cult of martyrs, or saints, or with a baptismal function.⁶⁴ Similarly, Rosenthal-Heginbottom, who had examined the side chapels in the Negev churches, did not associate them with the Transfer of Gifts, but rather with commemorative rite for saints or founders, or with baptismal liturgy.⁶⁵ However, there is ample information for the provinces of Palaestina and Arabia that the cult of relics was associated with the side apses (Shivta N and S; Horvat Hesheq), or lateral open rooms (Avdat S; Mamshit E), flanking the central apse, or with an underground crypt (Rehovoth in-the-Negev; Horvat Berachoth),⁶⁶ rather than with annexed chapels, where neither relics, nor *loci* for their placement were found. Therefore such a function should be dismissed. As for the monastic context, the cult of the founder

60. BABIĆ 1969.

61. BABIĆ 1969, p. 9-10. DESCOEUDRES 1983 had also commented about these problems.

62. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Ep. Ad Philadelphenses* iv, PG 5, col. 700B; EUSEBIUS, *HE X*. iv. 68 (Loeb, p. 440), speaking on the altar of the Cathedral of Paulinus bishop of Tyre as μονογενὲς θυσιαστήριον.

63. In the absence of clear *loci* for the placement of relics in the annexed chapels so far exposed, either under the altar, or in a niche, a serious doubt is cast against these two assertions of BABIĆ: an altar would regularly serve for the celebration of the Eucharist, only after it was consecrated by placing relics under it; and likewise, if the *parekklesion* was indeed associated with the feasts of the Saints, one would expect to find in its architecture clear indications for the placement of relics, even if not under the altar. But see n. 12 above. On this argument see also further below.

64. BABIĆ 1969, p. 68-74.

65. ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM 1982, p. 200-201.

66. For the cult of Martyrs in the Negev churches, see NEGEV 1989; MARGALIT 1989; TSAFRIR 1988, p. 27 (underground crypt); TSAFRIR and HIRSCHFELD 1979; AVIAM 1990; AVIAM 1993.

saint was held in his burial cave or in a structure built over his tomb, completely detached from the principal church, as was recognized by Babić (1969, 14-22) with regards to St. Euthymius, Mar Saba and Kastellion.⁶⁷

More recently, A. Michel had examined the issue of the annexed chapels in Jordan, mainly in Gerasa and Madaba, all dated to the 6th and 7th centuries.⁶⁸ She maintained that those of Gerasa seem to be private foundations at their origin (but this tells us nothing about their function), and that a typological division of the chapels into two groups: annexed chapels, and independent chapels (like that of Bishop Marinus in Gerasa), must not reflect a differentiation of functions.⁶⁹ What were these functions – it is difficult, and even impossible, to determine, she says, yet she suggests (like Babić before) to associate them with the cult of martyrs, and with commemorative, funeral rites for the dead, since they were frequently erected in the memory of dead people, and sometime had their own clergy. Other chapels seem to be linked to monks, although it is difficult to tell what kind of link it was, yet others seem to be related to the cult of a saint, or a martyr, the identity of whom is generally unknown. The possible association of these chapels with the Transfer of Gifts, as was already suggested by Crowfoot for the chapels annexed to the churches of Gerasa, is not considered by her.⁷⁰

What can we conclude from the archaeological record? To what extent does it match the prescriptions of the *Testamentum Domini*?

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: BASILICAS WITH AN ATTACHED SIDE CHAPEL

An annex similar to the three-units complex annexed to the church on the S in the *Testamentum Domini* is found in a considerable number of basilicas in Israel and

67. BABIĆ 1969, p. 14-22.

68. MICHEL 2001, p. 42-44; 92-94. The annexed chapels ("chapelles annexes") of the churches of Jordan are divided into four categories: i. proper annexed chapels, annexed to the church near its W façade, on the N, or on the S; ii. detached chapels, that do not have direct communication with the church (Gerasa, St. Theodore baptistery chapel; Madaba, Apostles church); iii. internal chapels, flanking the bema, and incorporating one of the lateral apses (these are interpreted as martyrial chapels and do not concern us here); iv. simple rooms annexed to chapels (Gerasa, Bishop Marinus' chapel).

69. In contrary, I maintain that Bishop Marinus' chapel, near the hippodrome of Gerasa, should be conceived as an independent church, and the small chamber attached to its south, is accordingly its "prothesis room." See the catalogue of churches below.

70. In MICHEL 2001, p. 92-94, the possible functions of the free chapels are examined in a sub-chapter devoted to the small structures (*Les petites édifices*), in which small basilicas are also included. She notes that there are difficulties in determining the function of the annexed chapels, like those of Gerasa. The possession of altar enabled, in principle, the celebration of the Eucharist there, and the existence of secondary tables – the placement of offerings. In Nebo, a secondary cult for Virgin Mary is suggested, but a similar secondary cult cannot be claimed for all the annexed chapels. Another possibility is that some of them were devoted to the martyrs cult, in which the Eucharist was celebrated but once a year, at the anniversary, but the faithful would routinely gather to seek for their intercession. But in the absence of reliquaries, or *loci* for their placement, such an interpretation should be rejected. According to the dedicatory inscriptions, many appear to be private memorial foundations, commemorating donors, monks, or ecclesiastics; but this does not necessarily indicate the actual function. Only in few cases burials were found to indicate a mortuary usage (like the "Mortuary Chapel" at Gerasa). The inscriptions are expressions of a piety of the donors, wishing for good luck in return of their donation.

central and S Jordan. In our corpus, 70 churches⁷¹ with annexed chapels or annexed rooms are registered: 17 for *Palaestina Prima*, 8 for *Palaestina Secunda*, 17 for *Palaestina Tertia*, and 28 for Arabia (see the attached tables).⁷² Of these, 9 are free chapels with a simple annexed room (6 in Arabia, 3 in *Palaestina Prima*). At times it is annexed on the N, at times on the S.⁷³ In both cases the chapel is generally located nearer to the western part of the church, or flanks the atrium. At times the annexed wing indeed comprises three units, but at times it has only two units or it holds just a single space. In any case the annex could have easily served as a sacristy in addition of being a *prothesis* room; sacred vessels could have been placed either in cupboards, or in perishable wooden boxes standing on the floor, serving at one and the same time also for displaying the oblations. A common shape for this annex was chapel-like, either apsidal, or rectangular. The offerings of the faithful, if exceeding the quantities required for the rite, or if other than bread and wine, could have also been stored elsewhere in the ecclesiastical complex, either in a room open to the atrium, or in a better concealed place. Detached structures, like the Constantinopolitan *skeuophylakion*, was another option, though more rare. Examples are the *diakonikon* of the Propylea Church in Gerasa, and of Madaba "Cathedral".

In many churches the introduction of a *prothesis* chapel occurred in a second phase, dated to the 6th century, associated also with the transformation of the closed, lockable *pastophoria* into wide and open lateral apses. But the new scheme started already in the mid-fifth century, in basilicas that were built anew as tri-apsidal, or with open spaces on either sides of the central apse, together with an attached chapel (Rehovot in-the-Negev N, Mamshit E, Nessana E and S, Avdat S, Birsama, all of *Palaestina Prima*; for the other provinces consult the tables). In several cases the lateral chapel was added contemporarily with the transformation of the basilica, in the 6th c., from mono-apsidal to tri-apsidal. In others it was added while the lateral *pastophoria* were still maintained. There are instances (St. Theodore, constructed in 494-496, and the *Propylea Church*, constructed in 565, both at Jerash), where the single apse was flanked by two openings (like in Constantinople), preventing the existence of any *pastophoria*, while a contemporary side chapel is in evidence.

71. The list is not complete yet. Early Christian churches continue to pop up each year in the four provinces under discussion. The total number of known churches in these provinces is much larger, of course. But many of them, either of a basilical plan, or as a simple chapel, were not exposed beyond their principal aisles, the annexes (if existed), not being exposed yet. But for sure there were churches without an annexed chapel (see below).

72. An annexed chapel attached to the western part of the basilica, either on its N or on its S, is very rare in Syria and Phoenicia. As was indicated above, there are also other points of discord between the *Testamentum Domini* and the Early Christian churches of Syria and Constantinople. Does this mean that this Greek ur-text originated in Palestine? Experts in church literature should answer this question, examining it as a whole, not just the passage at our concern. In any case, it seems that the recommended church disposition was Palestinian, rather than Syrian.

73. The *skeuophylakion* of Hagia Sophia and of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople – circular, detached structures – were located on the north of these churches, next to the NE corner. The *skeuophylakion* of Hagios Theodoros of Blachernae was located on the south side of the church. See MATHEWS 1971, p. 194 – index: *skeuophylakion*; and TAFT 1997. See also F. DIRIMTEKIN, *Le skeuophylakion de S. Sophie*, *REB* 19, 1961 (*Mélanges R. Janin*), p. 390-400.

The architectural evolution (which reflects a liturgical one), is very clear in the churches of the Israeli Negev, as can be seen at first glance at the table presented above. The table indicates that an architectural transformation occurred in the mid 5th c. From then on early *pastophoria* were replaced by open lateral spaces (either rectangular or apsidal), and an annexed chapel was added on the N, or on the S. New churches from then on followed the new scheme in church architecture. The new architectural disposition reflects a liturgical transformation in the rite of the Great Entrance, from a simple delivery of the elements from the *pastophoria* to the adjacent altar, as specified in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, to a more ceremonial rite – a procession from the more remote annexed chapel – a *prothesis* chapel, to the altar.

Interestingly, the archaeological evidence places this transformation in the episcopate of Juvenal, who made his See a separate patriarchate, independent from the former hegemony of the patriarchate of Antioch. The new scheme may reflect a certain detachment from the earlier Antiochene scheme of simple placement of the elements upon the altar, and the adoption of the more ceremonial Great Entrance. But in place of the round, external *skeuophylakion* of Constantinople, an annexed chapel was adopted as a point of departure of the procession. This new architectural layout is the one recommended in the contemporary *Testamentum Domini*, where the *diakonikon* is actually an annexed *prothesis* chapel, as was already specified above.

Was this transformation only the result of Juvenal's church politics, or was it also related to the Christological controversy of the time, since the procession of the elements (conceived as the flesh and blood of Christ), put more emphasis on the incarnated Christ? Such a possible theological aspect is far beyond my capacity. Let experts in this field express their opinion about this point.

The lateral rooms, losing their former function in the liturgy of the Eucharist, could attain new and various functions. In *Palaestina Tertia* they could acquire the shape of open rooms with an arch to the front, reminiscent of the N Syria *martyria*, or be apsidal – which became more popular. One or both of them could have been associated with the cult of relics, and be referred to as *martyrion*, only if there is clear evidence for this (Mamshit E, Shivta N and S, Edoda S, Elusa). In Rehovot N the cult of relics was practiced in a crypt. A. Negev concurs that Nessana S, and Shivta Central, both tri-apsidal, had no relics, and that in Elusa it was held only in the S apse.⁷⁴ In such churches the lateral apse had just a decorative role.

Our survey of the Negev had pointed out that in many churches of Type II, in addition to the annexed *prothesis* chapel, there was a room accessible from the open *narthex*, or from the atrium, that could have served as a registration office for the offerings of the faithful (Rehovot N, Avdat N and S, Mamshit E) – equivalent to the *commemoratorium* of the *Testamentum Domini*, in addition to a storeroom and sacristy. In some cases, both in the Negev and elsewhere, these three units occupy one wing of the church complex, in close accord with the prescription of the *Testamentum Domini* (which recommended to place it on the South).

In all the four provinces under consideration, the transformation was not universal. Churches with *pastophoria* continued to exist, not all were converted, or an annexed chapel being added to. Moreover, even in the sixth century, and later, new churches

74. NEGEV 1989, p. 142.

could have still followed the old style, having lateral *pastophoria*, rather than open spaces and a *prothesis* chapel.⁷⁵

In the new stage of church architecture it was not necessary to get away with the earlier *pastophoria*, or to convert them into lateral apses; one (or both) could serve as a sacristy, another could have been adapted for the cult of martyrs,⁷⁶ or serve as a baptismal chamber. The point of the new prescription was to locate the three-unit structure associated with the Great Entrance – the treasury, where the sacred vessels and vestments were kept, the locale where the offerings were stored, and the *prothesis* room or chapel, where the oblations were prepared and displayed before the rite, and from where the procession started its march – at some distance from the altar, to form thus a long enough route for this most significant procession. A structure for displaying the oblations, most conveniently a table, would have been indispensable in such a *prothesis* chapel / *diaconicum à la Testamentum Domini*; the other two units could have been additional rooms, but as was noted above, a lockable wall-cupboard, or a wooden box, could have sufficed for the storage of the sacred vessels and the offerings in this chapel.

The archaeological record, thus interpreted, namely – the annexed chapel serving as *prothesis* chapel / *diaconicum à la Testamentum Domini*, being located remote from the altar, constituted the architectural context in which was held the procession of the Great Entrance, referred to in the *Scholia* of John Scholasticus and in the *Mystagogia* of Maximus the Confessor. These three literary sources suggest that since the mid-5th c., and certainly in 6th c. Palestine, the Great Entrance was an integral part of the pre-anaphoral rite.⁷⁷ Actually, I suggest that a *prothesis* chapel attached to a basilica at some distance from the altar may constitute an archaeological – architectural indicator for the existence of this rite in the provinces under discussion.⁷⁸

75. For examples of *pastophoria* churches, or of churches with dead ends flanking the apse, see MICHEL 2001, nos. 77, 78, 80, 83, 119, 122, 123, 131, 143, 145.

76. Such was the transformation of the sanctuary in churches of Syria, from an apse flanked by two *pastophoria*, to an apse flanked by a *martyrion* and a *diaconikon*. The transformation is dated, alternately, to the beginning, or to the second quarter to mid 5th c. See LASSUS 1947, p. 194-195; SODINI 1989, p. 352. To this category may also belong some of the churches listed by MARGALIT 1990. Their transformation was not accompanied by the addition of a *prothesis* chapel annex, as was the case with the churches listed below.

77. Pallas, in a profound study (PALLAS 1979-1980, p. 55-78), indicated the existence of a *diaconicum* of the *Testamentum Domini* type in some churches of eastern Illyricum, the earliest being the Lechaion basilica of Corinth, erected ca. 460 CE. Following an analysis similar to ours concerning the *Testamentum Domini*, he reached a similar conclusion, namely, that the text alludes to the existence of the Great Entrance procession in the rite. According to him, the Greek ur-text of the *Testamentum Domini* originated in the Aegean region, since the occurrence of the prescribed *diaconikon* there preceded by ca. a century its occurrence at Gerasa. However, the Palestinian churches with such annex are contemporary, or even earlier than those Pallas was dealing with, and the prescription recommended by the *Testamentum Domini* was much more prevalent in the provinces of Palestine and southern Arabia, than it was in eastern Illyricum. See POST 1981 for critical comments on Pallas' thesis.

78. Donceel-Voûte, who had studied in detail the liturgical disposition of the Early Christian churches of Syria and Lebanon, had suggested that the Great Entrance, somewhat similar to that held in Constantinople, had existed since the last decades of the 4th c. also in Phoenicia, where the churches do not have coherent lateral sacristies, but a structure is appended to the eastern part – the *chevet* – of the church. This structure is, according to her, the equivalent of the Constantinopolitan *skeuphylakion*. Such an arrangement is encountered in the following churches of Phoenicia: Zaharani, Khalde-Choueifat, Beit Méry, Jiyé, and Khan Khaldé. See: DONCEEL-VOÛTE 1988, p. 531. The disposition of these churches is in clear disaccord with that prescribed in the *Testamentum Domini*.

Back to the theory of A. Negev: The introduction of the cult of martyrs into the lateral spaces seems to be just an outcome of a much deeper transformation in church architecture, which had emerged from (and reflects), a more profound liturgical transformation, associated with the pre-anaphoral transfer of gifts. Seen in this larger context, it is evident that the cult of martyrs was not the purpose of the architectural transformation, as was suggested by Negev,⁷⁹ but just one of its outcomes.

* * *

APPENDIX I: EXCERPTS FROM *TESTAMENTUM DOMINI*

Translated from the Syriac by A. Vööbus (Syr. text, pp. 10-11; Eng. tr., pp. 33-34)⁸⁰

"I tell you therefore what is proper for the sanctuary. Thereafter I shall make known the holy canons of the priests of the house.

"The church then shall be thus: It has three entrances, as a type of the Trinity. Let the room of the deacons be on the right of the right hand entrance, in order that the Eucharists, *i.e.*, offerings, those which are offered may be seen.⁸¹

"It has a forecourt, a portico leading around to the diaconicum [...]."⁸²

"Then there shall be a (place) for sitting towards the altar⁸³, on the right and on the left, the places of the presbyters; [...] that place of sitting shall be three steps high for it is right that there the altar shall be [...]."

"But a place shall be built for purpose of commemoration, where the priest and archdeacon, sitting with the readers, shall write the names of those who offer the oblations or of those for whom they have offered them; and then, when the oblations are offered by the bishop, a reader or the archdeacon shall name them in commemoration which the priests and the people offer for them in supplication [...]."

79. NEGEV 1974, NEGEV 1989.

80. This is *Test. Dom.* (RAHMANI) I, 19, p. 22-27. An English translation by COOPER and MACLEAN 1902 also exists (*non vide*). A later English translation, only of this paragraph of Rahmani's text, by Chitty, was published by CROWFOOT 1938, p. 175-176. I also had a Hebrew translation prepared by Prof. Moshe Bar Asher of the Hebrew University, at my request. I am grateful to his knowledgeable advise on several difficult points in the text.

81. Taft's translation (TAFT 1975, p. 19) is slightly different in this place: "Let the diaconicon be to the right of the right-hand entrance, so that the eucharists or oblations that are offered can be watched" (following RAHMANI I, 19, p. 22-23).

82. According to Prof. Moshe Bar Asher of the Hebrew University, the more appropriate translation here is: "a forecourt with a portico going around, the *diaconicum* should have."

83. This is the lection in the MS used by Rahmani; its translation by Chitty (cit. n. 80): "Then let there be the Throne towards the east." Since the altar is mentioned later on, the lection "east" should be preferred. I am grateful to Prof. Bar Asher for this suggestion.

"The place of the presbyters shall be within the veil, besides that place of commemoration.⁸⁴

"The house of the offering and the treasury shall be completely beside the diaconicum. But the place of lections shall be beyond the altar [*var. lec. – Rahmani: slightly outside of*]."

During the liturgy the deacons bring up the oblation to the bishop, who offers thanks over it.⁸⁵

* * *

APPENDIX II: *DIAKONIKON – AN EXCURSUS*

Diakonikon is first mentioned in the 21st canon of the Council of Laodicea in Phrygia (ca. 363 CE), as the room where the sacred vessels (τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν) are kept; sub-deacons are forbidden to take place in the room, or touch the vessels.⁸⁶ Here it is equivalent to *skeuophylakion*, or *gazophylakion*.⁸⁷ It could have a similar meaning in inscriptions from two churches: in Ashkelon Barnea (*Palaestina Prima*) it was a rectangular room annexed to a church on its N,⁸⁸ while in the *Propylea* Church at Gerasa the *diakonia* was a circular structure detached from the basilica,⁸⁹ resembling in these features the *skeuophylakion* of Hagia Sophia and other

84. Prof. Bar Asher shares my opinion that the reference here is to the place of reading the commemorations, not of writing them. These were two different locations.

85. TAFT 1975, following RAHMANI II, 10, p. 130-131. This passage of the *Testamentum Domini* is not included in the *Synodicon*.

86. See: MANSI, 2, col. 567; C. J. HEFFELÉ and H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles*, I, 2, Paris 1907, p. 1011-1012; LASSUS 1947, p. 195, n. 4; BABIĆ 1969, p. 62, n. 217; TAFT 1975, p. 203; PALLAS 1979-1980, p. 73, note 3, and 106, n. 1.

87. In the basilica of Constantine in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher complex, the simple term *cubiculum* was used to denote the room where various sacred objects were displayed, such as the true cross of Christ, made of walnut, and a plate with the inscription: "King of the Jews". This *cubiculum* was located in the 6th c. near the atrium, to the left (*i.e.* -south) of the entrance to the westerly oriented basilica; it was a sacristy annexed to the basilica on the S. See: *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* I, ed. R. WEBER, CCL 175, Turnhout 1965, Recension A, p. 109; *Antonini Placentini itinerarium*, 20, ed. P. GEYER, CCL 175, Turnhout 1965, Recension A, p. 139; Recension B, p. 164.

88. The floor inscription is dated to 499 CE. The church itself was not exposed. The E part of the *diakonikon* was not preserved, so there is no way to know if it was apsidal in shape. The narthex to the west of the room extended farther to the S, serving as a narthex for the church as well. The narthex mosaic inscription is dated to 493-494 CE. V. TZAFERIS, Ashkelon-Barnea, *Israel Exploration Journal* 17, 1967, p. 125-126; *Id.*, Byzantine Churches and Inscriptions in Israel, *Eretz Israel* 10, 1971, p. 241-244, Pls. 69-70 (Hebrew); DI SEGNI 1997, p. 496-500 (inscr. 147-149).

89. The Greek mosaic inscription is dated to 565 CE; and the room, entered from the S, has a niche opposite the entrance. It lacks any baptismal installations, but there was also neither imprints of table, nor of a chancel screen. The room was installed in the northern semicircular exedra of the trapezoidal forecourt of the Roman *propylea*. See: CROWFOOT 1938, p. 178-179, and 228-229; C. B. WELLES, *ibid.*, p. 485-486 (inscr. 331); CROWFOOT 1931, p. 13-16, Pl. IVb. Recent excavations had revealed another chapel in the S exedra of the atrium. See: M. BRIZZI, M. MASTROGIACOMO and D. SEPIO, Jarash. Excavation of the Trapezoidal

churches of Constantinople. Relics could have also been translated to a *diakonikon*: the bones of the proto-martyr Stephen invented in Capargamala in 415, were preserved until May 438 or 439 in the *diakonikon* of Holy Zion church.⁹⁰ In the 9th c. the bones of the neo-martyr 'Abd al-Masih were placed in the *diakonikon* of Mar Cyriacus church in ar Ramlah.⁹¹

In monastic context *diakonikon* is mentioned twice as a sacristy in the writings of Cyril of Scythopolis. The Theoctistos Church of the Laura of St. Sabas – originally a vast natural cave open to the S, had a *diakonikon* on its northern side,⁹² looking as an annex, or a side chamber, still recognizable in the present day church of St. Nicholas of Myra at Mar Saba. Sacred objects were preserved there according to a later source of ca. 800 CE.⁹³ In the Coenobium of St. Euthymius the *diakonikon* was a sacristy in which most precious and sacred objects were held in safes, such as gold coins, or a piece of wood from the Holy Cross set in a golden cross decorated with precious stones. In an inner room notable visitors could dine.⁹⁴ In Choziba the *diakonikon* was an unoccupied room located near the church, detached from the dwelling quarters of the monks, that was offered to an unexpected guest – a wealthy woman of Byzantium, to spend the night there, since the church was occupied by the praying monks.⁹⁵ Was this *diakonikon* also the sacristy, or an ante-chamber of it, adjacent to the church? It is impossible to tell.

But in addition to *prothesis*, suggested by the *Testamentum Domini*, and sacristy, suggested by the above mentioned sources, there is still a third meaning: *diakonikon*-baptistery: in mosaic inscriptions found in five churches the term *diakonika*, or *diakonikon*, refers to structures annexed to a basilica which have baptismal installations: in Evron – in the territory of Ptolemais Phoenicia;⁹⁶

Square in the Sanctuary of Artemis: Preliminary Report of the 1999-2000 Seasons, *ADAJ* 45, 2001, p. 447-460. In p. 456, the authors state that despite the fact that the exact function of the structure they had uncovered could not be determined yet, "it seems certain that it was connected with the ceremonial tradition of the adjacent church". Was this the *prothesis* chapel rather than the circular *diakonikon* on the N side of the atrium?

90. The bones were dispatched then to a church consecrated to him, built by Juvenal at the site of lapidation, below the pinnacle of the temple. Later they were moved to his church built by Eudocia *extra murum*, on the N. Juvenal's church was inaugurated in the presence of Cyril of Alexandria and Eudocia. His feast continued to be celebrated at Holy Zion on Dec. 27. See: M. TARKHNISHVILI, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, I, CSCO 188-189, Iber. 9-10, p. 15; A. RENAUX, Un manuscrit du Lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (Cod. Jerus. Arm. 121), *Le Muséon* 74, 1961, p. 385; MILIK 1960-1961, p. 143-145, and Pls. I & II, where the external S annex of Holy Zion church on the Madaba mosaic map is interpreted as the *diakonikon*, where the bones of St. Steven were placed; MARAVAL 1985, p. 267; HONIGMANN 1950.

91. GRIFFITH 1985, p. 374.

92. CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Sabae* 18, ed. SCHWARTZ, Leipzig 1939, p. 102.

93. *Passio XX Martyrum Sabaitorum*, AASS 47, 20 Mart. (Tom. III Mart., Paris 1865), p. 173; PATRICH 1995, p. 72.

94. CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii* 48, ed. SCHWARTZ, Leipzig 1939, p. 69. For the archaeological disposition of this monastery, see BABIĆ 1969, n. 31, p. 14-17, figs. 1 and 2, and p. 72, with references to the excavations by Chitty; Y. MEIMARIS, *The Monastery of Saint Euthymios the Great at Khan el-Ahmar in the Wilderness of Judaea: Rescue Excavations and Basic Protection Measures 1976-1979*, Athens 1989; Y. HIRSCHFELD, Euthymius and his Monastery in the Judean Desert, *Liber Annuus* 43, 1993, p. 339-372.

95. *Miracula beatae virginis Mariae in Choziba* 1, ed. HOUZE, *AnBoll* 7, 1888, p. 360.

96. The excavations were poorly documented and published. The terms *diakonikon* and *diakonika* are mentioned in two inscriptions dated to 443 CE, referring to a complex of three rooms annexed on the north of the basilica, the middle of which had housed a baptismal font. The three-rooms complex already existed in the first stage of construction, dated by another inscription to 415 CE. It is not certain whether the font was already constructed at this stage, but it seems that the complex had served as a baptistery from the beginning. See: DI SEGNI 1997, p. 230-258 (inscr. nos. 39A-B - 50); TZAFERIS 1987.

in Zaharani – in Phoenicia as well;⁹⁷ in Beth Yerah – on the shore of the sea of Galilee, in Palaestina Secunda;⁹⁸ and in Mt. Nebo – within the confines of Arabia – in the Memorial of Moses pilgrims' church.⁹⁹

The variety of functions and meaning related to *diakonikon* in the ancient literary sources and in the inscriptions,¹⁰⁰ led us to adopt the term *prothesis* chapel, for the annexed chapel referred to as *Diaconicum* in the *Testamentum Domini*, and for the point of departure of the procession of the offerings – the “Great Entrance.”

* * *

97. The church of Zaharani – westerly oriented – has 4 inter-connected rooms annexed to the south of the church. Vestibules (*proeisodia*) of the *diakonika* are mentioned in a Greek mosaic inscription dated 494 CE, located in the easternmost room – an antechamber of the baptistery. Another room, located farther to the W, with no opening to the basilica, is identified as a *diakonikon* in a second Greek mosaic inscription located therein, dated to 534 CE. See: DONCEEL-VOÛTE 1988, p. 424-439.

98. The inscription in Beth Yerah, dated to 528 CE, is located in a chapel annexed on the N to the three apsidal basilica. This *diakonikon* had a pinkish-plastered rectangular basin in the SW corner of its antechamber, and a shallow, mushroom-like depression, 93 cm in diameter in the floor of the apse, that served as a baptismal font. See: DELOUGAZ and HAINES 1960, 16, Pls. 13, 15 and 16, L10:12 (basin); 17-18, Pls. 9:E, 13, and 21:2 (baptismal font); OVADIAH 1970, p. 40-43; DI SEGNI 1997, p. 368-373 (inscr. no. 94).

99. The so-called “Old Baptistery” is identified as *diakonikon* in a mosaic inscription dated to 530 or 531, commemorating its renovation. The elongated hall housed a cruciform font under a ciborium, also mentioned in the inscription. See: DI SEGNI, in PICCIRILLO and ALLIATA 1998, p. 429-431, with reference to earlier publications. At the end of the 6th c., a new baptistery was constructed on the SW side of the basilica, and the “Old Baptistery” was transformed to a chapel with a rectangular sanctuary. See PICCIRILLO and ALLIATA 1998, p. 168-171; MICHEL 2001, p. 328-339 (no. 125), with further references.

100. On all these, see also SODINI 1984, p. 143-150, and also SODINI 2000, p. 771-772, for Cyprus.

Churches with Annexed Chapels - Palestina I

Name	Architectural Type*	Type of prothesis annex Steuptylaktion	Prothesis annex location
Aristobulias, Kh.	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on S
Ashkelon-Ba'me'a	unknown	unknown	annexed on N
'Anab el-Kebir	mon-aps III	quadrangular chapel	annexed on N
Beth Govrin - Mahatt el-Urdi	mon-aps II	apsidal	annexed on N or S
Beth Loya, H.	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on N
el-Beiyudat / Archelais, Kh.	mon-aps IV	quadrangular	annexed on S
Dor	mon-aps III	apsidal	annexed on S
Gaza-Jabaliyah	mon-aps I	quadrangular	annexed on N
Herodium Central	mon-aps II	other	annexed on N
Herodium E	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on S
Herodium N	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on N
Jericho, Tell Hassan	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on N
Jerusalem, Mt. Olives St. Anna	unknown chapel	quadrangular? apsidal	annexed on N annexed on N
Karkur 'Illit, H.	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on N
Kuseifa N, Kh.	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on N
Shifoh	chapel	quadrangular	annexed on N
Shoam bypass road	mon-aps II?	two rooms converted to quadrangular	annexed on N
Zia	chapel	quadrangular	annexed on N

* mon-aps I = mono-apsidal with open lateral rooms or spaces; mon-aps II = mono-apsidal with pastophoria; mon-aps III = dead end aisles; mon-aps IV = two openings flanking the apse; mon-aps V = single opening flanking the apse.

Churches with Annexed Chapels - Palestina II

JOSEPH PATRICH

<i>Name</i>	<i>Architectural Type*</i>	<i>Type of prothesis annex Skeophylaktion</i>	<i>Prothesis annex location</i>
Abila, zone D	tri-apsidal	unknown	annexed on N
Abila, zone D, mono-apsidal	mon-aps III?	unknown	annexed on N
Abila, zone DD	tri-apsidal	unknown	annexed on S
Beth Yerah	mon-aps III	simple room	annexed on N
Beth Yerah	tri-apsidal	quadrangular and later apsidal	annexed on N
al Burz, Kh.	tri-apsidal	quadrangular chapel	annexed on S
Kursi	mon-aps II	apsidal	annexed on S
Seythopolis, Andreas church	mon-aps V	quadrangular	annexed on N
Tiberias - Mt. Berenike	tri-apsidal	quadrangular	annexed on N

* *mon-aps I* = mono-apsidal with open lateral rooms or spaces; *mon-aps II* = mono-apsidal with pastophoria; *mon-aps III* = dead end aisles; *mon-aps IV* = two openings flanking the apse; *mon-aps V* = single opening, flanking the apse.

Churches with Annexed Chapels - Palestina III

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR THE EVOLUTION OF THE "GREAT ENTRANCE"

<i>Name</i>	<i>Architectural Type*</i>	<i>Type of prothesis annex Skeophylaktion</i>	<i>Prothesis annex location</i>
Beer Sheva, H.	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on S
Elusa E, mono-apsidal phase	mon-aps II	—	—
Elusa E, tri-apsidal phase	tri-apsidal	unknown	annexed on S?
Humeima, lower church	tri-apsidal	quadrangular chapel	annexed on N
Mamsitit E	mon-aps I	quadrangular	annexed on S
Nessana C (Area F)	mon-aps I	basilical	annexed on S
Nessana E	mon-aps I	quadrangular?	annexed on S
Nessana N, phase I	mon-aps II	—	—
Nessana N, phase II	mon-aps I	quadrangular	annexed on N
Nessana S	tri-apsidal	basilical	annexed on S
Oboda N	mon-aps V	simple room	annexed on S
Oboda S	mon-aps I	simple room	annexed on N
Petra Blue Chapel	tri-apsidal	simple room	SW corner
Petra Cathedral, mono-apsidal phase	mon-aps II	—	—
Petra Cathedral, tri-apsidal phase	tri-apsidal	quadrangular	detached
Rehovot in-the-Negev Central, Phase I	mon-aps II	none?	—
Rehovot in-the-Negev Central, Phase II	mon-aps I	unknown	annexed on S?

Name	Architectural Type*	Type of prothesis annex Skeuophytaktion	Prothesis annex location
Rehovot in-the-Negev N	tri-apsidal	quadrangular	annexed on N
Shivta Central	tri-apsidal	unknown	annexed on N?
Shivta N, phase I	mon-aps II	none	—
Shivta N, phase II	tri-apsidal	apsidal	annexed on S
Shivta S, phase I	mon-aps II	none	—
Shivta S, phase II	tri-apsidal	quadrangular	annexed on N

* *mon-aps I* = mono-apsidal with open lateral rooms or spaces; *mon-aps II* = mono-apsidal with pastophoria; *mon-aps III* = dead end aisle; *mon-aps IV* = two openings flanking the apse; *mon-aps V* = single opening flanking the apse.

Churches with Annexed Chapels - Arabia

Name	Architectural Type*	Type of prothesis annex Skeuophytaktion	Prothesis annex location
'Ain al-Kanisah, Theotokos monastery church	chapel	simple room	annexed on N
al-Dayr, Ma'in	mon-aps II	quadrangular	annexed on S
Dibon, N	mon-aps II? tri-apsidal according to Saller	apsidal chapel	annexed on N
Gerasa, "Cathedral"	mon-aps II cupboards in laterals; blocked opening	apsidal	annexed on S
Gerasa, Genesius	mon-aps III	quadrangular	annexed on S
Gerasa, Marianos	chapel	simple room	annexed on N
Gerasa, Procopius	tri-apsidal	apsidal	annexed on N
Gerasa, Propylea	mon-aps IV	circular	detached
Gerasa, St. Peter and Paul	tri-apsidal	apsidal	annexed on N
Gerasa, St. Theodore	mon-aps IV	apsidal	annexed on N
Madaba, Apostles	mon-aps I	quadrangular	annexed on N
Madaba, "Cathedral"	mon-aps II	quadrangular, oriented westward	annexed on N
Madaba, Prophet Elias church	mon-aps III	quadrangular chapel (partially preserved, bema incl)	detached
Madaba, St. George (Madaba map church)	tri-apsidal, or mon-aps II, rather than III	quadrangular	annexed on S
Mt. Nebo, Memorial of Moses	trifol	apsidal	annexed on S
al-Mukhayyat, Kh. Amos and Casisus	mon-aps II	quadrangular; apsidal	annexed on N

<i>Architectural Type*</i>	<i>Type of prothesis annex Skenophylaktion</i>	<i>Prothesis annex location</i>
al-Mukhayyat, Kh. al Kanisah (wadi 'Afrî)	chapel	annexed on N
al-Mukhayyat, Kh. St. George	mon-aps II	annexed on S
al-Nîlî, St. Sergius (church B)	mon-aps II	annexed on S
es-Samra, Kh. church 81	chapel	annexed on W
es-Samra, Kh. church 82	mon-aps V	annexed on W
es-Samra, Kh. church 90	chapel	annexed on N
es-Samra, Kh. St. George	mono-apsidal, <i>pastophorium</i> on S, dead end on N	annexed on N
Umm al-Rasas, Lions church	tri-apsidal	annexed on W, S or on N
Umm al-Rasas, Paons chapel	chapel	annexed on N
Umm al-Rasas, Tower church	mon-aps III	annexed on N
Umm al-Rasas, Twin, N church	mon-aps II	annexed on N
Umm al-Rasas, Twin, S church	mon-aps II	annexed on S

* *mon-aps I* = *mono-apsidal* with open lateral rooms or spaces; *mon-aps II* = *mono-apsidal* with pastophoria; *mon-aps III* = *dead end aisles*; *mon-aps IV* = *two openings flanking the apse*; *mon-aps V* = *single opening flanking the apse*.

List of churches with annexed chapels

<i>Name</i>	<i>Province</i>	<i>Chronology</i>
Abila, zone D, tri-apsidal	Palaestina II	<i>Opus sectile</i> pavement laid in Early Umayyad period, but the church might have been constructed earlier, during the Byzantine period. Fragments of two superimposed mosaic floors in the chapel. Church abandoned later in the Umayyad period. Final destruction in the 749 earthquake (MICHEL 2001, p. 114-116, no. 4).
Abila, zone D, mono-apsidal	Palaestina II	Date unknown; church has not been excavated (MICHEL 2001, p. 116-118, no. 6).
Abila, zone DD	Palaestina II	Earlier than the zone D tri-apsidal church (MICHEL 2001, p. 116, no. 5).
'Ain al-Kanisah, Theotokos monastery church	Arabia	Erected in the 6th c. according to the style of the nave mosaics and script of the inscription in the E medallion. The inscription in the W medallion, near the entrance, dated to 762, records a restoration of the site, called then Theotokos Monastery, under bishop Job. The mosaic strip in the center of which this inscription is set was inserted in the W part of the nave mosaic carpet (MICHEL 2001, p. 360-363, no. 132; PICCIRILLO and ALLIATA 1998, p. 209-216; 359-364; 448-451).
'Anab el-Kebir	Palaestina I	6th c. The mosaic floors and other finds give a 6th c. date of construction, under Justinian. The excavators suggest two stages: in the first, the basilica and the narthex were built and paved, and in the second, the north wing and the atrium. The mosaic inscriptions in the nave, narthex and atrium mention mosaics, clergy and two bishops associated with laying down the mosaics. Bishop John, mentioned in the atrium inscription, seems to be different of the bishop mentioned in the nave inscription (the proper name of whom was not preserved), since the clergy mentioned with both are different. But this may indicate that the atrium (and perhaps only its mosaic floor) was built in a later stage. In my opinion the northern wing is just structurally later than the basilica, not chronologically, so that the annexed chapel and the baptistry are contemporary with the basilica. The complex was seemingly destroyed in the earthquake of 749. The figurative depictions in the mosaics – birds and animals – were mutilated by iconoclasts, but the floors were immediately repaired, indicating that Christian occupation continued after this event (MAGBEN <i>et al.</i> , <i>Qadmoniot</i> 125, 2003 [Hebrew]).
Aristobulias, Kh.	Palaestina I	Surveyed by Mader in 1911-1914; dated tentatively to the beginning of the 5th c. (OVADIAH 1970, p. 105-106, no. 99).
Ashkelon-Barne'a	Palaestina I	The church itself was not exposed. The E part of the annexed chapel was not preserved, so there is no way to know if it was apsidal or quadrangular in shape. Its floor inscription, identifying it as a <i>diakonikon</i> , is dated to 499 CE. The narthex mosaic inscription is dated to 493-494 CE (this is the

Name	Province	Chronology
Beer Shem'a, H.	Palaestina III	ecclesiastical complex excavated in Ashkelon-Bame'a by Tzaferis and Myron in 1966-1967; not the basilical church excavated there by Ori in 1954; for references, see <i>supra</i> , n. 88).
Beth Govrin - Mahatt el-Urdi	Palaestina I	The excavators claim that the church was in use from the last third of 6th c. to the mid 7th c. Judging from the mosaic pattern of the nave, an early 6th c. date can be assigned to this floor. Remains of an earlier mosaic floor were found in the aisles (GAZZI and LENDER, in TSAFRIR 1993, p. 273-276).
Beth Loya, H.	Palaestina I	No date is given. The mosaic floors, including one depicting Jonas lying under the plant, two fishermen in a boat, and another boat with two rowers, can be dated to the 6th c. (OVADIAH 1970, p. 31, no. 19; OVADIAH and DE SILVA 1982, p. 126-127, no.7).
Beth Yerah, mono-apsidal phase	Palaestina II	Built in ca. 500, and in use until the 8th c. Iconoclasm repaired with the original <i>teseræ</i> (PATRICH and TSAFRIR, in TSAFRIR 1993, p. 265-272).
Beth Yerah, tri-apsidal phase	Palaestina II	First half of 5th c.
el-Beiyudat, Kh. / Archelais	Palaestina I	Phase II, with a quadrangular annexed chapel – under Zeno or Anastasius, later than Qal'at Sim'an; phase III, with an apsidal baptismal chapel (<i>diakonikon</i>) added, is dated by an inscription to 528. Abandoned not long after the Arab conquest (for references, see <i>supra</i> , n. 98).
al-Burz, Kh.	Palaestina II	First built at the 2 nd half of the 5th c. (on epigraphical grounds). One of the two rooms appended on the SE of the S entrance (room E) was paved by mosaics slightly later (phase Ia). In phase IIa, dated to ca. 560, the annexed chapel (room F) was appended on the SW of the S entrance. Phase III, expressed in alterations in the apse and bema, is dated by an inscription to Nov. 570, under Justin II. Abandoned and set on fire several decades later (Hrzmi, in TSAFRIR 1993, p. 160, 162-163; Id., in BOTTINI <i>et al.</i> 1990, p. 245-264; DI SEGNI, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 265-274).
al-Dayr, Ma'in	Arabia	Exact dates of construction unknown. Dated to the ca. 6th c. according to the style of the mosaics. Iconoclasm repaired by gross <i>teseræ</i> (MICHEL 2001, p. 137-138, no. 17).
Dibon, N	Arabia	The style of the mosaics floor suggests a date in the 1 st quarter, or mid 6th c. A skeleton found under the debris in the N aisle suggests destruction in an earthquake. This event took place in late 6th c. according to Piccirillo, or in the early 7th c. according to Schick (MICHEL 2001, p. 367-370, no. 163).
Dor	Palaestina I	2 nd -3 rd quarter of the 6th c. Abandoned early in the Ummayyad period (MICHEL 2001, p. 377-379, no. 143).

Name

Province

Chronology

Elusa E, mono-apsidal phase	Palaestina III	5th c. (DAUPHIN, in TSAFRIR 1993, p. 90-97; Id., <i>HA</i> 106, 1996, p. 56, ill. 75 [Hebrew]; DI SEGNI 1997, p. 435-438, inscr. 122).
Elusa E, phase II	Palaestina III	NEGEV (1989, p. 135-142) was dating the first phase to 400-450, GOLDFUS <i>et al.</i> (2000) had no data to date this phase.
Gaza-Jabaliyah	Palaestina I	GOLDFUS <i>et al.</i> (2000, p. 339) assigned this phase to the mid 5th and 6th c. NEGEV (1989, p. 135-142) was dating it to ca. 500 CE.
Gerasa, "Cathedral"	Arabia	Basilica – T.A.Q. 496-497; chapel – T.A.Q. 530. The dated inscriptions (SALOU 2000) pertain to the construction and laying of the mosaic floors of all three components: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basilica: 496-497 CE – completion of S aisle mosaics (inscr. no. 1); 732 CE – main carpet in the nave repaved (inscr. no. 15). The script of inscription 17, in a medallion in front of the N apsidiole, has a certain resemblance to that of inscription 1, but Saliou is hesitant in attributing such an early date. • Chapel: 530 – main carpet of prayer hall (inscr. no. 6); 529-530 CE – W opening connecting N aisle to chapel (inscr. no. 3). • Baptistery pavement: 549 CE (inscr. no. 9, 11); 594 CE – mosaic laid in the westernmost room of baptismal complex (inscr. no. 14). Recent excavations determined a T.A.Q. 404 for the erection of the basilica, rather than the conventional date of ca. 375 postulated by Crowfoot. Chapel added in ca. 526, or ca. mid 6th c. Inscr. 293, on a paving stone of the portico in front of the central W doorway of the basilica attributes works of repairs of the pronaos to bishop Paul, who was in office in years 526-533 (MICHEL 2001 p. 226-233, no. 85a; CROWFOOT 1938, p. 201-225; ZDPV 112, 1996, p. 139-155; ADAJ 41, 1997, p. 311-320; ADAJ 42, 1998, p. 431).
Gerasa, Genesius	Arabia	The basilica and the chapel are contemporary (MICHEL 2001, p. 43; CROWFOOT 1938, p. 249-251), but technically, absence of joints between the walls suggests that the chapel was constructed after the basilica (MICHEL 2001, p. 269-272, no. 95). The mosaic of the basilica was laid in 610-611, under bishop Genesius.
Gerasa, Marianos	Arabia	Constructed in 570, under bishop Marianos, according to dated inscription. Abandoned in the 8th c. Annexed room and chapel seem to be contemporary according to the mosaic patterns in annex, apse and vestibule. Technically, joints suggest that the annexed room and the W vestibule are additions to the chapel. A doorway was pierced in the N wall to permit access to the annex (MICHEL 2001, p. 267-269, no. 94). But its date of construction was not precised. The pottery under the floor of the vestibule was dated to the late 6th, early 7th c. (this can fit a date of 570). Abandoned in the 8th c.

Name	Province	Chronology
Gerasa, Procopius	Arabia	Basilica and chapel are contemporary, erected in 526-527 CE. Repairs of iconoclasm suggest continuous occupation into the 8th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 241-245, no. 87; CROWFOOT 1938, p. 260-262).
Gerasa, Propylea	Arabia	The basilica and the circular <i>diakonion</i> seem to belong to one construction phase, dated by the <i>diakonion</i> mosaic inscription to 565. Crowfoot suggested that the Roman propylea bridge was destroyed in an earthquake between 551 and 554, and shortly thereafter a church was built in the former thoroughfare. The apsed structure built against the S exedra of the trapezoidal piazza was also dated to the 2 nd half of the 6th c. (CROWFOOT 1938, p. 227-234; MICHEL 2001, p. 262-267, no. 93; ADAJ 45, 2001, p. 453-456).
Gerasa, St. Peter and Paul	Arabia	The basilica and chapel are contemporary according to MICHEL 2001, p. 43. But structurally, it was probably added later (<i>ibid.</i> , p. 254-259, no. 90). Due to resemblance in plan and decorations to other churches of Gerasa, CROWFOOT (1938, p. 251-254) suggested a date of mosaic pavement of ca. 540, under bishop Anastasius, who should be the successor of bishop Paul. GATTNER (<i>Syria</i> 64, 1987, p. 131-185) suggested that the church was built in 601 to house relics of Peter and Paul sent there by Pope Gregory the Great, by an emissary sent by bishop Marianus of Gerasa. Bishop Anastasius, mentioned in the mosaic inscriptions, should then be the successor of Marianus, not of Paul.
Gerasa, St. Theodore	Arabia	Two inscriptions indicate that the entire complex was constructed contemporaneously in the years 494-496 CE, under bishop Aeneas (CROWFOOT 1938, p. 224). The complex went into ruins by an earthquake. BIEBEL dated the chapel's mosaics to the early 6th c. Michel is of the opinion that the chapel was not built simultaneously with the church but later. In this case the chapel of the baptistery could have served the basilica as a prothesis chapel (MICHEL 2001, p. 233-240, no. 85b).
Herodium Central	Palaestina I	The latest among the three local churches; late 6th c. according to the mosaics style. Continued in use into the Early Arab period (NETZER, in TSAFRIR 1993, p. 232).
Herodium E	Palaestina I	2 nd half of the 6th c. according to the mosaics style. Continued in use into the Early Arab period (NETZER, in TSAFRIR 1993, p. 227, 231-232).
Herodium N	Palaestina I	The earliest among the three local churches; end of 5th or 1 st half of the 6th c. according to epigraphical and mosaics styles. The N chapel might be a later addition. Continued in use into the Early Arab period (NETZER, in TSAFRIR 1993, p. 225, 231-232).
Humeima, lower church	Palaestina III	Constructed at the end of the 5th c., or during the 6th c. Abandoned in the 7th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 141-143, no. 20).
Jericho, Tell Hassan	Palaestina III	Dated generally to the 4th to 5th c.; identified with the Theotokos Church of Jericho, repaired and restored by Justinian according to Procopius (OVADIAH 1970, p. 74-75, no. 64).

Name

Province

Chronology

Jerusalem, Mt. Olives - St. Anna	Palaestina I	Beginning of the 7th c.; in use until the end of the 8th c. (OVADIAH 1970, p. 83-84, no. 72).
Karkur 'Illit, H.	Palaestina I	It was assumed that the "non-aps I" type basilica and its annexes had a earlier phase, dated to end of the 4th c. by a coin of Arcadius (395-408), which gave a 77Q. It is also assumed that in this phase, the basilica had a normal apse. The N annex served as a baptismal chapel with a quadrilobe font for adults. The phase I complex was supposedly destroyed in a 6th c. earthquake in which the apse collapsed, never to be rebuilt. The collapsed complex was entirely rebuilt, in a similar layout (excluding the apse), in the middle of the 6th c. The excavator maintains that this was a quadrangular basilica with a curvilinear <i>synthronon</i> ! In this phase the baptismal chapel annexed on the N has a smaller, circular font, for the baptism of infants. The church was abandoned before 700 CE, being adapted for secular, domestic use (FIGUERAS 2004). The a-symmetric position of the font and its location in the chapel's hall, rather than in its sanctuary, does not exclude the possibility that it served simultaneously also as a "prothesis chapel." The altar table seems to have been of wood, since it left no traces on the mosaic floor.
Kuseifa N. Kh.	Palaestina I	Surveyed by Musil en 1901, and by Mader en 1911-1914. Dated in general to the Byzantine period (OVADIAH 1970, p. 121, no. 119).
Kursi	Palaestina II	Constructed in late 5th-early 6th c.; mosaics resemble those of the Justinianic church on Mt. Berenice, Tiberias (see below). Plan modified between 585 and 614; baptistery dated to Dec. 585; annexed chapel seems to be contemporary (TZAFARES 1983; DI SEGNI 1997, p. 275-277, inscr. no. 59). A two rooms chapel might have existed earlier on the S. Damaged caused during the Persian invasion repaired. Iconoclasm repaired. Abandoned in the 8th c.
Madaba, Apostles	Arabia	The church was built under bishop Sergius in 578-579. MICHEL (2001, p. 328) says that the chapel was built a little later, but according to the plan the basilica and the N annexes (the chapel and an additional room to its W) seem to be contemporary. The mosaic floor of the western room was laid before that of the basilica – under bishop John, Sergius' predecessor (MICHEL 2001, p. 325-328, no. 124; PICCIRILLO 1989, p. 96-107; Lux ZDFV 84, 1968, p. 106-129).
Madaba, "Cathedral"	Arabia	The earliest building activity attested in the inscriptions was under bishop Cyrus (phase I baptistery). The church was built as mono-apsidal with two <i>prothophoria</i> . A detached chapel was built and paved only in 562, under bishop John. The chapel, oriented to the west, seems to be associated with the baptismal rite (as suggested by Piccirillo), rather than with the transfer of gifts. Iconoclastic damage repaired suggests continuous occupation into the 8th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 304-309, no. 117; PICCIRILLO 1989, p. 21-40).
Madaba, Prophet Elias church	Arabia	The complex was an enterprise started under bishop Sergius, and completed under his successor, Leontius. Inevitably – first the crypt was constructed, in 595-596, under bishop Sergius. The mosaics of the upper church were laid under bishop Leontius in 608. Occupation into the 8th c. is indicated

Chronology

- Madaba, St. George (Madaba map church)
- Arabia
- Construction date of the church is unknown. Mosaic map laid under Justinian. The appearance of the Nea church in Jerusalem establishes a *T.P.Q.* of 543. Iconoclasm repaired suggests continuous occupation into the 8th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 309-311, no. 118; PICCIRILLO 1989, p. 76-95).
- Mamshit E
- Palaestina III
- 1st half, or mid 5th c., though NEGEV (1988, p. 51, and 1974) suggested to date it to the mid 4th c. A coin of Arcadius (395-408 CE) (ID. 1988, p. 71, coin no. 345 in the numismatic report) found on the site of main altar can serve as a *T.P.Q.* The depiction of crosses in the mosaic floor may as well suggest a pre-417 CE date, but this is far from being a firm chronological criterion. In any case, whenever constructed, the crosses were left in their place, untouched, until the church ceased to exist. The side chapel (Locus 115) is structurally later than the basilica (ID. 1988, p. 47), but it could not have been constructed much later.
- Mt. Nebo. Memorial of Moses
- Arabia
- The basilical church is not earlier than 531 – when the old baptistry/*diakonikon* was installed. The conversion of the old baptistry into the “New Diakonikon” – a rectangular chapel – is one phase later, contemporary with the installation of the mosaic floor of the “New Baptistry” in 597-598. The mosaic floor of the Theotokos chapel was laid in the early 7th c., under bishop Leontius (MICHEL 2001, p. 328-339, no. 125; PICCIRILLO and ALLIATA 1998; SALLER 1941).
- al-Mukhayyat, Kh. Amos and Casiseus
- Arabia
- The basilica, of flagstones pavement, is contemporary with a hall of beaten earth floor annexed to church on the N. It was dated by pottery to the 2nd half of the 5th c. The hall was renovated, becoming a quadrangular chapel with colorful mosaic floors. The phrasing of the dedication inscription, speaking about renovation, suggests that the primitive hall was a part of the ecclesiastical complex – perhaps serving as a primitive annexed chapel, from the very beginning. The quadrangular “Phase I Chapel” was accessed from the N aisle of the basilica. This chapel is dated by an inscription to the time of bishop Fidos of Madaba (end of 5th-early 6th c.), and by pottery to the early 6th c. “Phase II chapel” was an independent apsidal chapel, known as “Priest John Chapel”; its mosaic floor was laid under bishop John of Madaba, known to be in office in 562. The indication preserved in the inscription may fit either 558, or 573. Its elevation is 1.35m above the stone pavement of the basilica (so the previous opening connecting between the two had to be blocked). The chapel was entered in this phase from the N. A room is annexed to it on the N, with an opening near the NW corner. The complex was abandoned before the iconoclastic crisis of the early 8th c. (SALLER and BAGATTI 1949, p. 33-39, 49-55, 172-182; MICHEL 2001, p. 348-351, nos. 128a and 128b).
- al-Mukhayyat, Kh. al Kamisah (wadi ‘Afrnt)
- Arabia
- A room annexed on the N was interpreted as a sacristy. The site was occupied between the 6th and the 8th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 351-353, no. 129; PICCIRILLO and ALLIATA 1998, p. 205-209).

Chronology

- al-Mukhayyat, Kh. - St. George
- Arabia
- Erected in 535-536. Abandoned by mid 7th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 340-345, no. 126; SALLER and BAGATTI 1949, p. 41-45, 67-77, 139-172; PICCIRILLO 1989, p. 176-181; PICCIRILLO and ALLIATA 1998, p. 320-329).
- Nessana Central (Area F)
- Palaestina III
- The complex, comprising a mon-aps I type basilica with a baptismal chapel annexed on the N, and a basilica chapel annexed on the S, was attributed a date not earlier than the end of the 7th c., or the beginning of the 8th c. It was in use until the mid 9th c., when it was deserted (URMAN 2004, p. 50-77 [Hebrew]; 69*-101* [English]).
- Nessana E (Monastery church)
- Palaestina III
- A Greek mosaic inscription, dated to Sept. 7, 601 CE, gives a date of construction or renovation (DI SEGNI 1997, p. 790-793, inscr. 308).
- Nessana N, phase I
- Palaestina III
- An epitaph on a stone voussoir from Room 16, dated 464, and a second one on a similar stone from Room 14, dated to 475, establish a *T.A.Q.* for the construction of the church (KENDALL, in COLT 1962, p. 33-43; DI SEGNI 1997, p. 770-774, inscr. 295).
- Nessana N, phase II
- Palaestina III
- Two courtyards and galleries were added to the church complex on the E and on the N. Coins of Justinian under the floors (KENDALL, in COLT 1962, p. 37, 41) establish a *T.P.Q.* for these additions, and a *T.A.Q.* for the N wing, including the chapel. A date of 601 CE on an abacus of one of the capitals in the baptistry (*ibid.*, p. 141, inscr. 17; Di Segni 1997, p. 782-783, inscr. 302) seemingly mark the date of its addition. The latest dated tombstone in the complex is from 630 CE, and the latest dated papyri found therein are from 687-689 CE.
- Nessana S
- Palaestina III
- A *T.A.Q.* of 601-602 CE is given by a Greek inscription on a capital (DI SEGNI 1997, p. 790, inscr. 307).
- al-Nitl, St. Sergius (church B)
- Arabia
- Date of construction unknown; repaired iconoclasm suggests occupation into the 8th c. (Michel 2001, p. 365-367, no. 135).
- Oboda N
- Palaestina III
- 2nd half of 4th c. (NEGEV 1997, p. 122).
- Oboda S
- Palaestina III
- Ca. 450-500? The earliest dated burial inscription in the church is from 541, the latest from 618. According to Negev, at the absence of firm archaeological evidence, and adhering to his scheme, 450 should be set as a *T.P.Q.* for its erection, rather than ca. 500 (NEGEV 1997, p. 149). The church was destroyed, like the N church, by fire in 636 CE, during the Arab conquest (*ibid.*, p. 151).
- Petra Blue Chapel
- Palaestina III
- A C¹⁴ date of 511±30 for a wooden bench establishes a *T.A.Q.* Renovations later in the 6th c. (P. M. BIKAI, *ACOR Newsletter* 12. 1, 2000, p. 2; 14. 1, 2002, p. 1-2; EAD., *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65. 4, 2002, p. 272-274).

Chronology

Petra Cathedral mono-apsidal phase	Palaestina III	Mid 5th c., or early 6th c.	
Petra Cathedral tri-apsidal phase	Palaestina III	Early to mid 6th c. Destroyed in fire at the end of the same century, or in the beginning of 7th (MICHEL 2001, p. 157-161, no. 28; ФЕМА 2001, p. 437).	
Rehovot in-the-Negev Central Phase I	Palaestina III	This phase might have been erected in the late 4th c.	
Rehovot in-the-Negev Central Phase II	Palaestina III	A Greek dedication inscription in the floor of the nave, in front of the chancel screen, date the second phase to 550-551 CE (TSAFRIR <i>et al.</i> 1988, p. 14-16; IEJ 38, 1988, p. 122-123, 126-127).	
Rehovot in-the-Negev N	Palaestina III	The chapel is contemporary with the church. A tombstone in the floor of the N aisle, dated to 488 CE, establish a <i>T.A.Q.</i> for the erection of the church, perhaps in 460-470. Other burial inscriptions in the church range in their dates between 508 and 555. The complex was deserted not very long after the Arab conquest, perhaps at ca. 700 (TSAFRIR <i>et al.</i> 1988).	
es-Samra, Kh. - church 81	Arabia	Construction date unknown. Mosaics laid in the 7th c. under Theodore of Bostra. The excavators claim that the annexed room on the W was not part of the original construction, but this is not recognized in the S wall, which continues uninterruptedly from church to annex. Moreover, the location of the W door-off axis and the direction of door-opening suggest that it was part of the original plan. Abandoned after the iconoclastic reaction – mutilated mosaics still repaired (MICHEL 2001, p. 201-202, no. 66).	
es-Samra, Kh. - church 82	Arabia	Face the excavators, according to MICHEL (2001, p. 199-201, no. 65), the room annexed on the W is contemporary with the church. The mosaic floor, laid in 628-629, establishes a <i>T.A.Q.</i> in the time of bishop Theodore of Bostra. Iconoclasm repaired.	
es-Samra, Kh. - church 90	Arabia	Exact date of construction and abandonment unknown; general date – 6th-7th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 195-196, no. 63).	
es-Samra, Kh. - St. George	Arabia	Annexed room antedates the church. Mosaics laid in 607 and in 634-639 CE. Abandoned later than the iconoclastic mutilation (MICHEL 2001, p. 205-206, no. 68).	
Scythopolis, Andreas church	Palaestina II	Presumably 6th c. (no dates are given in the preliminary reports – <i>Quadrantior</i> 27, 1994, no. 107-108, p. 137 [Hebrew]; <i>ESJ</i> 11, 1993, p. 35-51; 17, 1998, p. 7-35).	

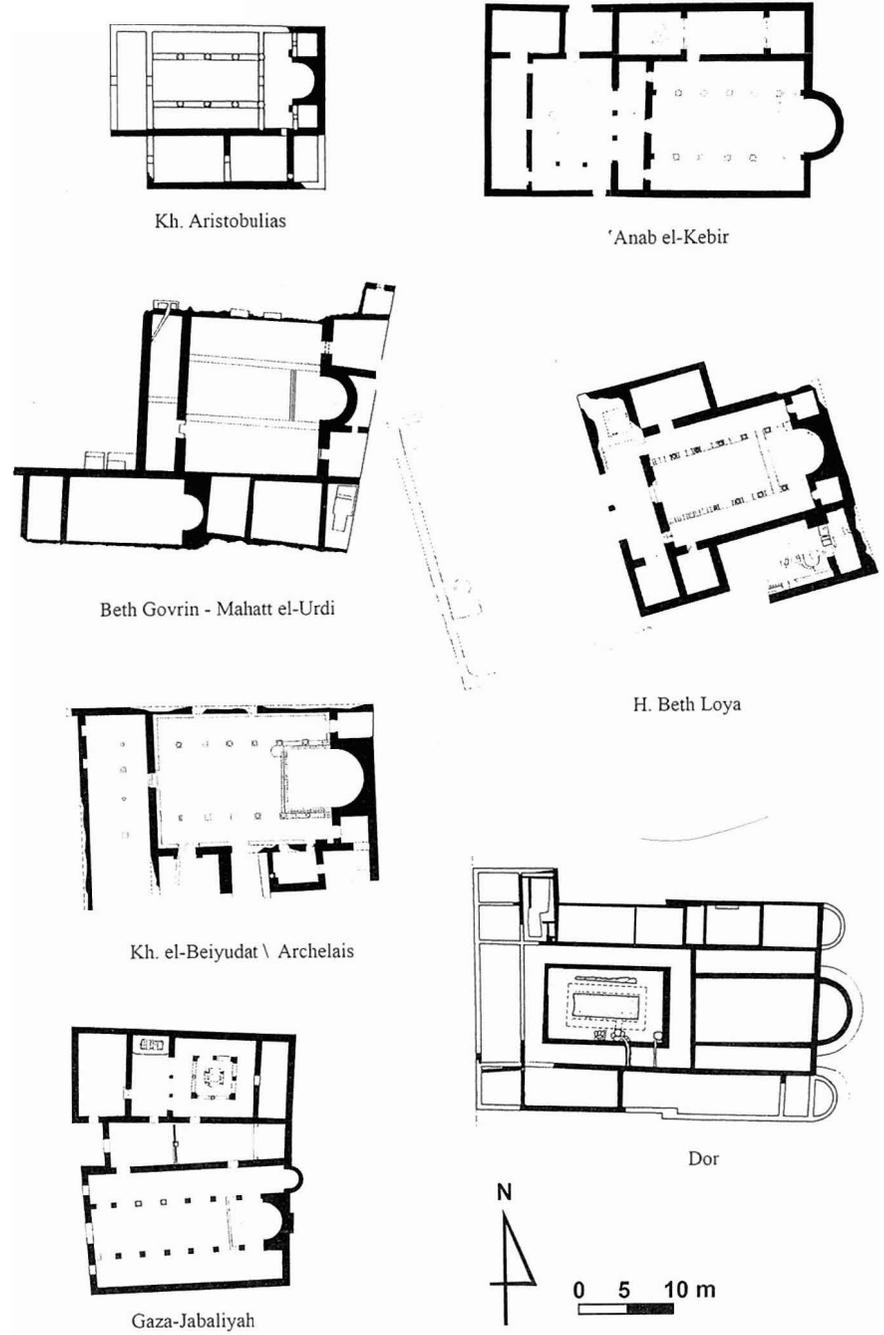
Name

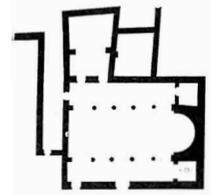
Province

Chronology

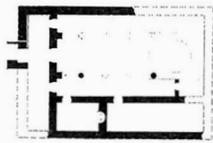
Shiloh	Palaestina I	The church was constructed in the 6th c., according to the mosaics style. Final destruction in fire following the Arab conquest, in ca. 650-660 (OVADIAH 1970, p. 164-165, no. 163, Pl. 66; ANDERSEN 1985, p. 61-75, 109 and plan H).	
Shivta Central	Palaestina III	ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM (1974, p. 100-102) suggests a 5th c. date for the original, mono-apsidal construction, and the tri-apsidal phase she puts in the 7th c.	
Shivta N, phase I	Palaestina III	<i>T.P.Q.</i> ca. 400. Seven mid-4th c. coins were found in the fill and bedding of the limestone floor in front of the room N of the apse, two more coins of the same date were found in the imprints of the nave pavement (MARGALIT 1987, p. 111 and 115). These coins constitute a <i>T.P.Q.</i> , but a construction date of mid 4th c. seems to be too early on historical grounds, since according to Nilus <i>Narratio</i> , in ca. 400 CE the inhabitants of Shivta/Sobota were mainly pagans (DI SEGNI 1997, p. 734, 816, n. 12, and p. 821).	
Shivta N, phase II	Palaestina III	Coins of the early reign of Justinian constitute a <i>T.P.Q.</i> for the remodeling of the basilica; the mosaic floor of the chapel was laid in 607, giving a <i>T.A.Q.</i> for the paving of the chapel (ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM 1982, p. 96-98, inscr. 19; DI SEGNI 1997, p. 839-842, inscr. 337). Negev had favored a date of 516-517. Since the convention of the <i>pastiphoria</i> of the first phase marked a change in the Eucharistic rite, the chapel, with its cupboards should also be attributed, in my opinion, to the remodeling phase. The latest dated Greek inscription in the church complex is a tombstone from the baptistery, dated to 679 CE (ROSENTHAL 1974, p. 86; DI SEGNI 1997, p. 848-849, inscr. 344).	
Shivta S, phase I	Palaestina III	See below, under phase II.	
Shivta S, phase II	Palaestina III	The earliest inscription from the church complex, on a lintel from Room E, in the SW corner of the complex, should be dated to 508-528 CE, rather than 415-435, or 475-495, or 593-613, suggested by earlier scholars (DI SEGNI 1997, p. 819-823, inscr. 324). This would date a western annex, and establish a <i>T.A.Q.</i> for the existence of the church, but its relation to any of the two phases cannot be established. At the absence of soundings, there are archaeological data for dating the original construction, or the transformation from mono-apsidal to tri-apsidal. Architecturally, the annexed chapel was not part of the original layout, and for liturgical reasons it should go with the second phase in the sanctuary. On stylistic grounds both phases should perhaps be assigned dates similar to those of the N church. The latest dated Greek inscription is a paving inscription from the S aisle, dated to 640 (DI SEGNI 1997, p. 826-827, inscr. 327; BAILY 1935).	
Shoam bypass road	Palaestina I	Settlement (monastery?) founded at the end of the 5th c. According to the preliminary report, the two rooms appended on the N were converted to a quadrangular chapel in the early Umayyad period. Under the Abbasids, the altar or the chapel was replaced by a baptismal font. Destruction in fire at the end of that period (DAHARI and AD, <i>HA</i> 108, 1998, p. 81-82 [Hebrew]).	

Name	Province	Chronology
Tiberias – Mt. Berenike	Palaestina II	Built in the 6th c., under Justinian; restored after the 749 earthquake. Later reduced in size to the area of the presbytery, and remained in use until the end of the 12th c. (HIRSCHFELD 1994).
Umm al-Rasas, Lions church	Arabia	An inscription records the completion of building under bishop Sergius, in year 7 of the indication, which fits 573 or 588. The W annexes – a funerary chapel on the N and a <i>diakonikon</i> on the S are dated by the excavators to the Umayyad period. Nothing is said by Michel about the date of the N annex. Repaired iconoclasm suggests continuous occupation into the 8th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 403–407, no. 147).
Umm al-Rasas, Paons chapel	Arabia	Erected at the end of the 6th c., under bishop Sergius of Madaba, according to the style of the mosaics of the chapel. Iconoclasm repaired suggests continuous occupation into the 8th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 401–403, no. 146).
Umm al-Rasas, Tower church	Arabia	6th c. A coin dated to 527 was found in an ossuary-like reliquary found under the ground in an arched niche installed at the E end of the N aisle – in a prolongation of the aisle, flanking the apse on the N (MICHEL 2001, p. 417–418, no. 151).
Umm al-Rasas, Twin, N church	Arabia	First half, or mid 6th c. The mosaics came later, under bishop Sergius of Madaba, dated in an inscription to year 12 of the indication, which fits 578–579 or 593–594. W vestibule is of the Umayyad period. The NE annex was restored at this date as well (MICHEL 2001, p. 411–415, no. 150a).
Umm al-Rasas, Twin, S church	Arabia	The church was erected in the mid 6th c., according to the style of its mosaics. It is later than the N church, since it was built against it. Abandoned during the 8th c. (MICHEL 2001, p. 415–417, no. 150b).
Zia	Palaestina I	Mosaic floor of appended chapel attributed stylistically to the 2 nd half of the 6th c. Occupation continued into the Umayyad period. Traces of iconoclastic damage repaired (MICHEL 2001, p. 109, no. 2).

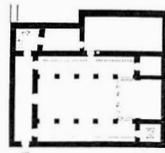




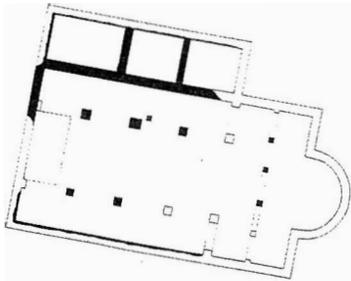
Herodium Central



Herodium E



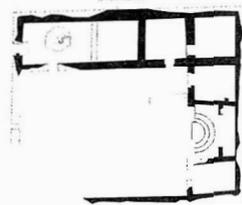
Herodium N



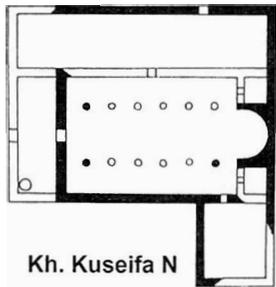
Jericho, Tell Hassan



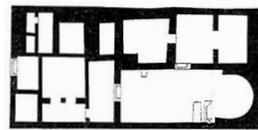
Jerusalem,
Mt. Olives,
St. Anna



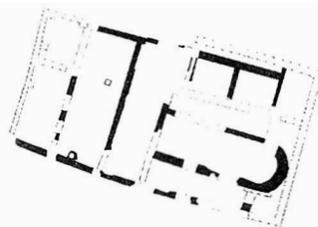
H. Karkur 'Illit



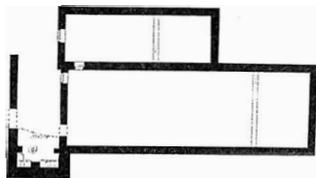
Kh. Kuseifa N



Shiloh



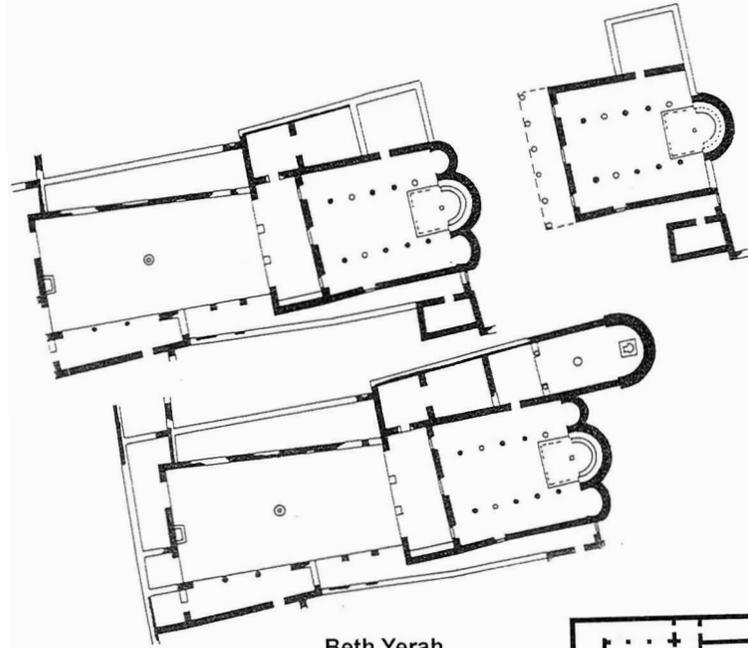
Shoam bypass road



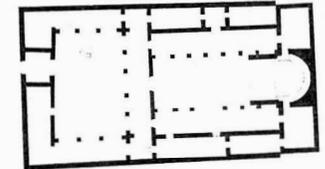
Zia



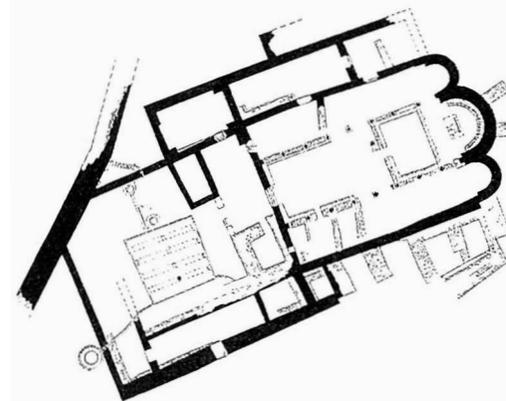
0 5 10 m



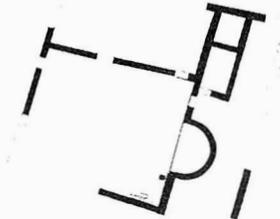
Beth Yerah



Kursi



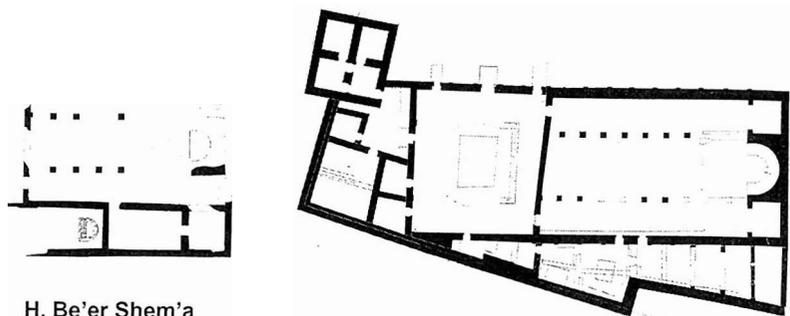
Tiberias - Mt. Berenike



Scythopolis, Andreas church

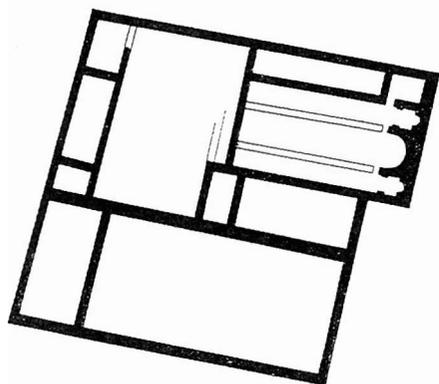


0 5 10 m

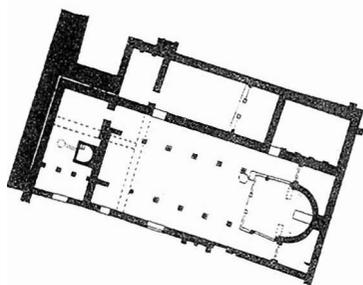


H. Be'er Shem'a

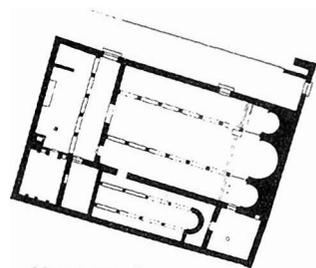
Mamshit E



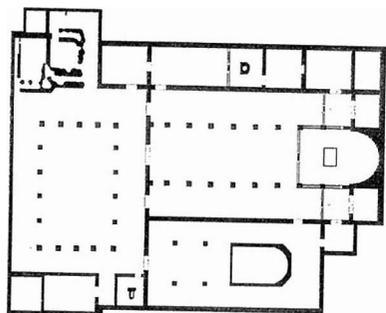
Nessana E



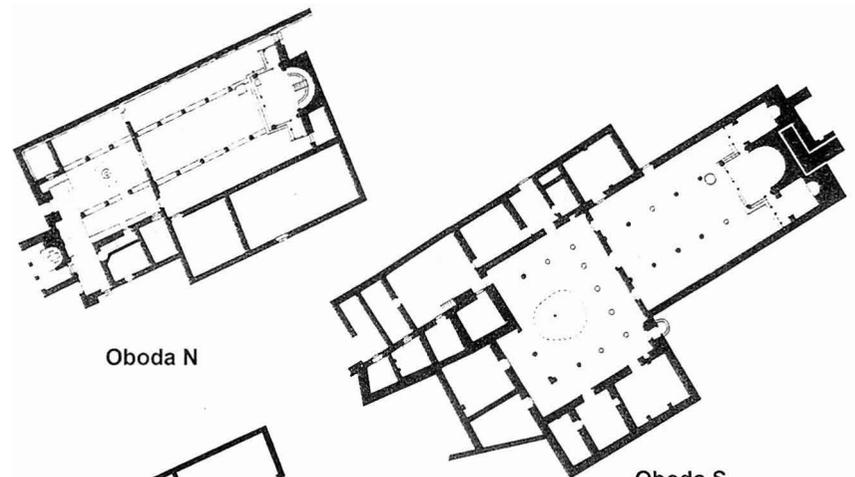
Nessana N



Nessana S

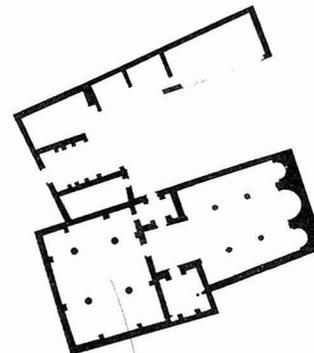


Nessana C (Area F)

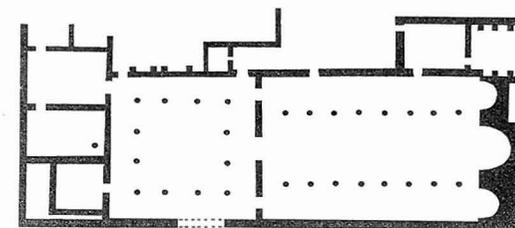


Oboda N

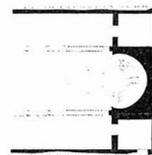
Oboda S



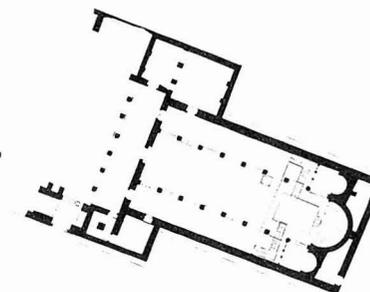
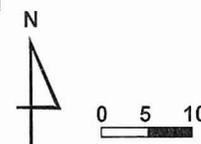
Petra Blue Chapel



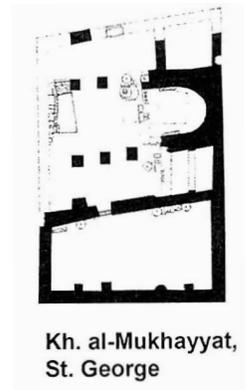
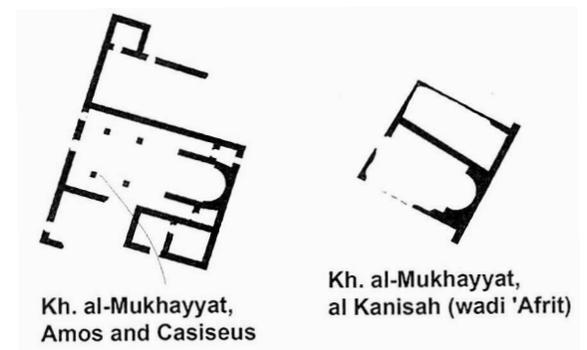
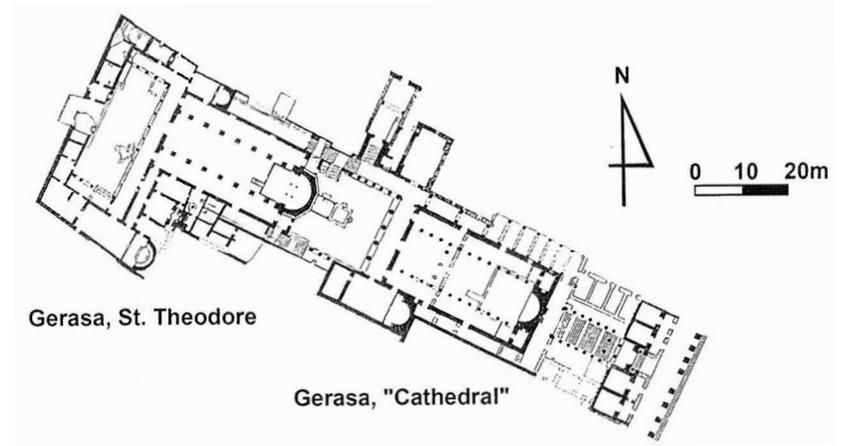
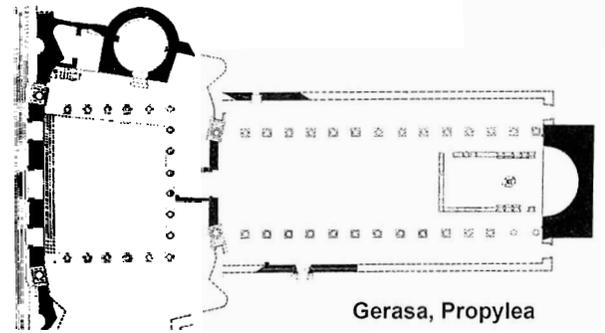
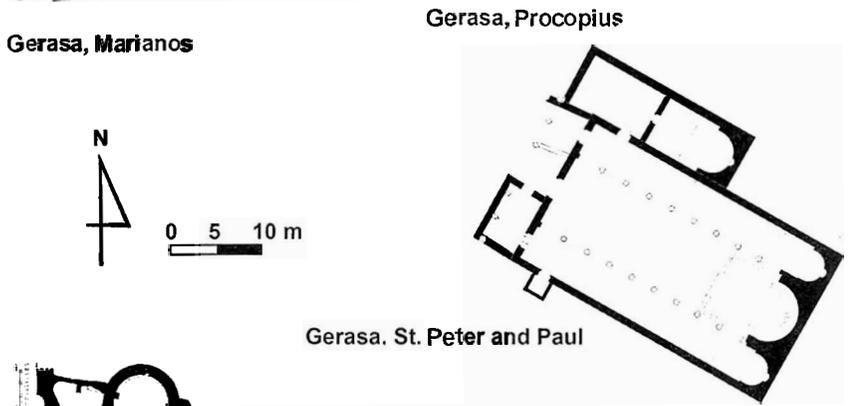
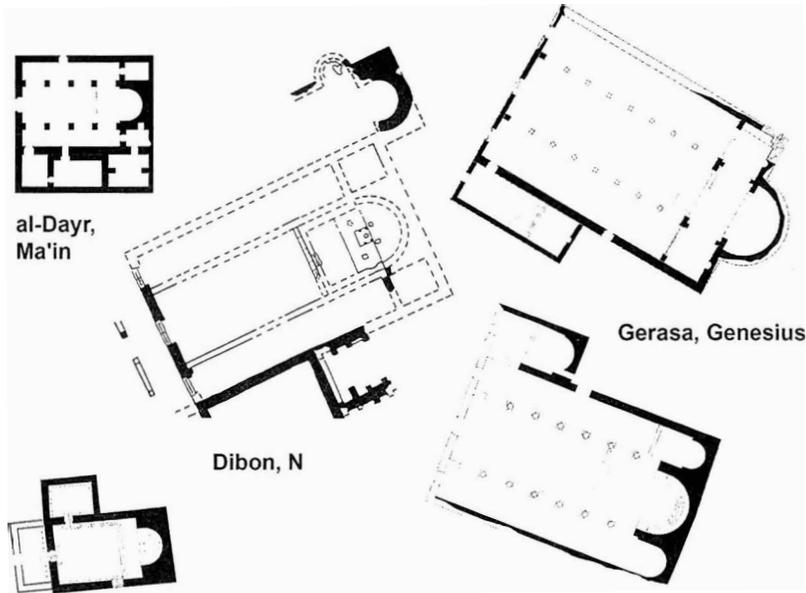
Petra Cathedral, tri-apsidal phase

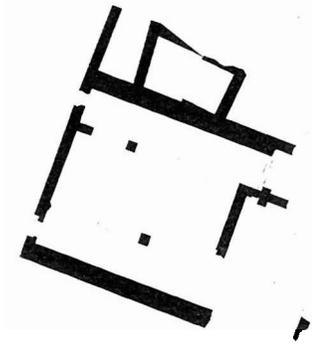


Rehovot in-the-Negev Central, Phase II



Rehovot in-the-Negev N

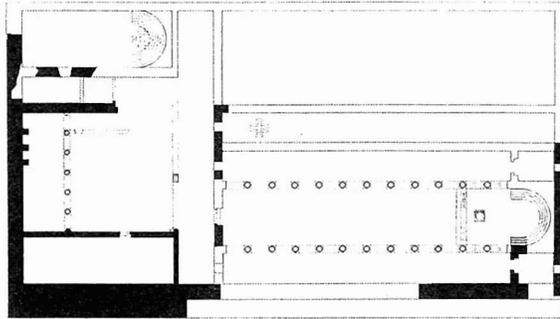




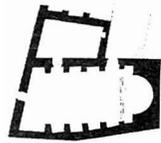
Madaba, Apostles



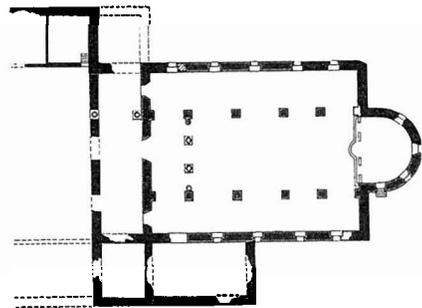
Madaba, Prophet Elias church



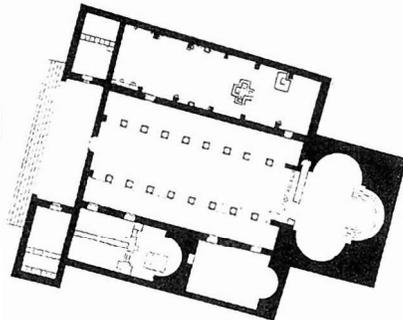
Madaba, "Cathedral"



Umm al-Rasas, Paons chapel



Madaba, St. George (Madaba map church)



Mt. Nebo, Memorial of Moses



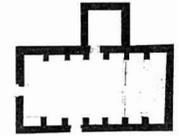
0 5 10 m



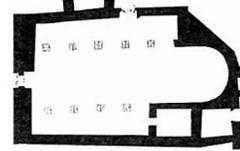
Kh. es-Samra, Church 81



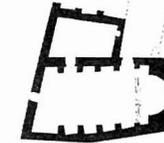
Kh. es-Samra, Church 82



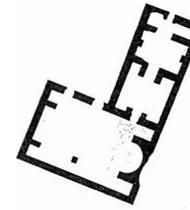
Kh. es-Samra, Church 90



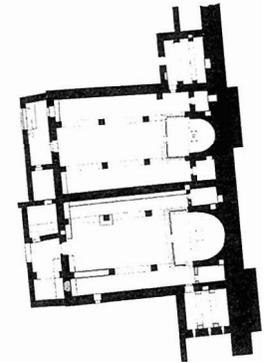
Kh. es-Samra, St. George



Umm al-Rasas, Paons chapel



Umm al-Rasas, Tower church



Umm al-Rasas, Twin church



0 5 10 m

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABEL 1931: F. M. ABEL, Gaza au VI^e siècle d'après le rhéteur Chorikios, *RB* 40, 1931, p. 12-31
- ALLEN 1985: P. ALLEN, Blue-print for the Edition of Documenta ad Vitam Maximi Confessoris spectantia, in *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History offered to Professor Albert Van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. J. A. M. C. LAGA and L. VAN ROMPAY, Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 18, Leuven 1985, p. 11-21.
- ANDERSEN 1985: F. G. ANDERSEN, *Shiloh. The Danish Excavations at Tall Sailun, Palestine, in 1926, 1929, 1932 and 1963*, II. *The Remains from the Hellenistic to the Mamluk Periods*, Copenhagen 1985.
- AVIAM 1993: M. AVIAM, Horvat Hesheq: A Church in Upper Galilee, in *Ancient Churches Revealed*, ed. Y. TSAFRIR, Jerusalem 1993, p. 54-65.
- AVI-YONAH 1975: *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. M. AVI-YONAH, Jerusalem 1975.
- BABIĆ 1969: G. BABIĆ, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques III, Paris 1969.
- BAGATTI 1971: B. BAGATTI, *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine*, tr. E. HOADE, Jerusalem 1971.
- BALY 1935: C. BALY, Sbaita, *PEFQSt* 67, 1935, p. 171-181, Pls I-IV.
- BOTTINI *et al.* 1990: C. BOTTINI, L. DI SEGNI and E. ALLIATA, *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1990.
- BOUDIGNON 2004: Ch. BOUDIGNON, Maxime le Confesseur était-il Constantinopolitain?, in *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, Études de patristique grecque et textes byzantins offerts à Jacques Noret à l'occasion de ses soixante-cinq ans*, ed. B. JANSSENS and P. V. D. B. ROOSEN, Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 137, Leuven-Paris 2004, p. 11-43.
- BRIGHTMAN 1896: F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* I, Oxford 1896.
- BRIGHTMAN 1908: F. E. BRIGHTMAN, The Historia Mystagogica, and other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy, *JThS* 9, 1908, p. 248-267; 387-395.
- BROCK 1973: S. BROCK, An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor, *AnBoll* 91, 1973, p. 299-346.
- COLT 1962: H. D. COLT (ed.), *Excavations at Nessana* I, London 1962.
- CROWFOOT 1931: J. W. CROWFOOT, *Churches at Jerash*, London 1931.
- CROWFOOT 1938: J. W. CROWFOOT, The Christian Churches, in *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, ed. C. H. KRAELING, New Haven 1938.
- CROWFOOT 1941: J. W. CROWFOOT, *Early Churches of Palestine*, London 1941.
- DALMAIS 1975: I. H. DALMAIS, Théologie de l'église et mystère liturgique dans la Mystagogie de S. Maxime le Confesseur, *Studia Patristica* 12-13, 1975, p. 145-153.
- DALMAIS 1978: I. H. DALMAIS, Maxime le Confesseur, *DSP* X, Paris 1978, p. 836-847.
- DALMAIS 1982: I. H. DALMAIS, La vie de saint Maxime le Confesseur reconsidérée, *Studia Patristica* 17, 1982, p. 26-30.
- DELOUGAZ and HAINES 1960: P. DELOUGAZ and R. C. HAINES, *A Byzantine Church at Khirbat al-Karak*, University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 85, Chicago 1960.
- DESCOEUDRES 1983: G. DESCOEUDRES, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten*, Wiesbaden 1983.

- DEVRESSE 1928: R. DEVRESSE, La vie de s. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions, *AnBoll* 46, 1928, p. 5-49.
- DI SEGNI 1997: L. DI SEGNI, *Dated Greek Inscriptions from Palestine from the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1997.
- Didascalia: Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. F. X. FUNK, Paderborn 1905.
- DIX 1945: G. DIX, *The Shape of Liturgy*, London 1945.
- DONCEEL-VOÛTE 1988: P. DONCEEL-VOÛTE, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988.
- DONCEEL-VOÛTE 1995: P. DONCEEL-VOÛTE, Le rôle des reliquaires dans les pèlerinages, *Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 52 (Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Bonn 22-28 September 1991, Teil 1), 1995, p. 184-205.
- ELTER and HASSOUNE 2005: R. ELTER and A. HASSOUNE, Le monastère de saint Hilarion: les vestiges archéologiques du site de Umm el-'Amr, in *Gaza dans l'Antiquité tardive. Archéologie, rhétorique et histoire*, C. SALIOU éd., CARDO 2, Études et textes pour l'identité culturelle de l'Antiquité tardive, Salerno 2005, p. 13-40.
- FIEMA 2001: Z. T. FIEMA *et al.*, *The Petra Church*, Amman 2001.
- FIGUERAS 2004: P. FIGUERAS, Horvat Karkur 'Illit: A Byzantine Cemetery Church in the Northern Negev, *Beer Sheva* 16, Beer Sheva Archaeological Monographs 1, 2004.
- FLUSIN 1983: B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1983.
- FLUSIN 1992: B. FLUSIN, *Saint Anastase le Persé et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VI^e siècle*, vol. II (commentaire), Paris 1992.
- FRESHFIELD 1873: E. FRESHFIELD, On Byzantine Churches and the Modifications made in their Arrangement owing to the Necessities of the Greek Ritual, *Archaeologia* 44, 1873, p. 383-392.
- GARRIGUES 1974: J. M. GARRIGUES, La personne composée du Christ d'après saint Maxime le Confesseur, *Revue Thomiste* 74, 1974, p. 182-183.
- GOLDFUS *et al.* 2000: H. GOLDFUS, B. ARUBAS and K. BOWES, New Excavations in the East Church at Halutza (Elusa): preliminary report, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13, 2000, p. 331-342.
- GRABAR 1972: A. GRABAR, Review article on T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, Univ. Park and London 1971, *Cahiers Archéologiques* 2, 1972, p. 242-243.
- GRAY 2001: P. T. R. GRAY, The Sabaitic Monasteries and the Christological Controversies (478-533), in *The Sabaitic Heritage. The Sabaitic Factor in the Orthodox Church: Monastic Life, Theology, Liturgy, Literature, Art and Archaeology (5th Century to the Present)*, ed. J. PATRICH, Leuven 2001, p. 237-244.
- GRIFFITH 1985: S. GRIFFITH, The Arabic Account of 'Abd al-Masih an-Nağrānī al Ghassānī, *Le Muséon* 98, 1985, p. 331-374.
- GRIFFITH 1986: S. GRIFFITH, Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century; The Example of the Summa Theologiae Arabica, *Byz.* 56, 1986, p. 117-138.
- GRIFFITH 1988: S. GRIFFITH, The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic, *The Muslim World* 78, 1988, p. 1-28.
- HAMILTON 1930: R. W. HAMILTON, Two Churches at Gaza as described by Choricus of Gaza, *PEFQSt* 62-63, 1930, p. 178-191.
- HIRSCHFELD 1994: Y. HIRSCHFELD, The Anchor Church at the Summit of Mt. Berenice, Tiberias, *Biblical Archaeologist* 57/3, 1994, p. 122-133.
- HONIGMANN 1950: E. HONIGMANN, Juvenal of Jerusalem, *DOP* 5, 1950, p. 209-279.

- HUMBERT 2000: J. B. HUMBERT *et al.*, *Gaza méditerranéenne. Histoire et archéologie en Palestine*, Paris 2000.
- KAZHDAN 1991: A. KAZHDAN, Maximos the Confessor, *ODB* 1991, vol. II, col. 1323-1324.
- LACKNER 1967: W. LACKNER, Zu Quellen und Datierung der Maximosvita (BHG¹ 1234), *AnBoll* 85, 1967, p. 285-316.
- LANDSBERGER 1957: F. LANDSBERGER, The Sacred Direction in Synagogue and Church, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 28, 1957, p. 181-203.
- LASSUS 1947: J. LASSUS, *Sanctuaires Chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris 1947.
- LASSUS 1950: J. LASSUS, Liturgies nestorienne médiévales et églises syriennes antiques, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 137, 1950, p. 236-252.
- LASSUS 1952: J. LASSUS, La liturgie antique de la Syrie du Nord, in *Neue Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des I. Jahrtausends*, vol. I. 1, Baden-Baden 1952, p. 45-53.
- LASSUS 1953: J. LASSUS, La liturgie dans les basiliques syriennes, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 8 (*Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, vol. II), 1953, p. 418-428.
- LOUTH 1996: A. LOUTH, *Maximus the Confessor*, The Early Church Fathers, London 1996.
- LOUTH 1998: A. LOUTH, St. John Damascene: Preacher and Poet, in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. P. ALLEN and M. B. CUNNINGHAM, Leiden 1998, p. 247-266.
- MANGO 1972: C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453*, Toronto-Buffalo-London 1972.
- MARAVAL 1985: P. MARAVAL, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient*, Paris 1985.
- MARGALIT 1987: S. MARGALIT, The North Church of Shivta: The Discovery of the First Church, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 119, 1987, p. 106-121.
- MARGALIT 1989: S. MARGALIT, On the Transformation of the Mono-Apsidal Churches with two lateral Pastophoria into Tri-Apsidal Churches, *Liber Annuus* 39, 1989, p. 143-164, Pls. 21-26.
- MARGALIT 1990: S. MARGALIT, The Bi-Apsidal Churches in Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Cyprus, *Liber Annuus* 40, 1990, p. 321-334, Pls. 45-48.
- MATEOS 1971: J. MATEOS, *La célébration de la parole*, OCA 191, Roma 1971.
- MATHEWS 1971: T. F. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, University Park and London 1971.
- METZGER: M. METZGER (éd.), *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, SC 320, 329, 336, Paris 1985, 1986, 1987.
- MICHEL 1994: A. MICHEL, *Les églises de la Jordanie byzantine. Architecture et Liturgie (v-viii siècles)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Paris IV-Sorbonne 1994.
- MICHEL 1999: A. MICHEL, Le culte des reliques dans les églises byzantines de Jordanie, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 5, 1999, p. 31-39.
- MICHEL 2001: A. MICHEL, *Les églises d'époque byzantine et umayyade de la Jordanie (provinces d'Arabie et de Palestine), v-viii siècle. Typologie architecturale et aménagements liturgiques*, Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive, Turnhout 2001.
- MILIK 1960-1961: J. T. MILIK, La topographie de Jérusalem vers la fin de l'époque byzantine, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth* 37, 1960-1961, p. 127-189.
- NEGEV 1974: A. NEGEV, The Churches of the Central Negev, An Architectural Survey, *RB* 81, 1974, p. 416-421.
- NEGEV 1988: A. NEGEV, *The Architecture of Mamfisis*, Qedem 27, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1988.

- NEGEV 1989: A. NEGEV, The Cathedral of Elusa and the New Typology and Chronology of the Byzantine Churches in the Negev, *Liber Annuus* 39, 1989, p. 129-142, Pls. 15-29.
- NEGEV 1997: A. NEGEV, *The Architecture of Oboda*, Qedem 36, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1997.
- OVADIAH 1970: A. OVADIAH, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land*, Bonn 1970.
- OVADIAH and DE SILVA 1981: A. OVADIAH and C. G. DE SILVA, Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land. I, *Levant* 13, 1981, p. 200-261.
- OVADIAH and DE SILVA 1982: A. OVADIAH and C. G. DE SILVA, Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land. II, *Levant* 14, 1982, p. 122-170.
- OVADIAH and DE SILVA 1984: A. OVADIAH and C. G. DE SILVA, Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land. III, *Levant* 16, 1984, p. 129-165.
- PALLAS 1979-1980: D. I. PALLAS, Monuments et Textes. Remarques sur la liturgie dans quelques basiliques paléochrétiennes de l'Illyricum oriental, *EEBS* 44, 1979-1980, p. 37-116.
- PALLAS 1984: D. I. PALLAS, L'édifice cultuel chrétien et la liturgie dans l'Illyricum Oriental, *Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 32 (*Actes du X^e Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne*), 1984, p. 85-158.
- PATRICH 1995: J. PATRICH, Church, State, and the Transformation of Palestine in the Byzantine Period (324-638 CE), in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. LEVY, London 1995, p. 470-487.
- PATRICH 1995: J. PATRICH, *Sabas – Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, DOS XXXII, Washington D.C. 1995.
- PATRICH 2003: J. PATRICH, Early Christian Churches in Israel, in *Near Eastern Archaeology – A Reader*, ed. S. RICHARD, Winona Lake 2003, p. 479-486.
- PATRICH 2006: J. PATRICH, Early Christian Churches in the Holy Land, in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, ed. G. G. STROUMSA and O. LIMOR, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 5, Turnhout 2006, p. 355-399.
- PATRICH forthcoming: J. PATRICH, Maximus Confessor – The Palestinian archaeological-geographical background, *St. Maximus Confessor 1st International Conference*, Tbilisi.
- PERRONE 1980: L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le Controversie Cristologiche. Dal concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)*, Brescia 1980.
- PICCIRILLO 1989: M. PICCIRILLO, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba*, Jerusalem 1989.
- PICCIRILLO and ALLIATA 1998: M. PICCIRILLO and E. ALLIATA (ed.), *Mount Nebo. New Archaeological Excavations 1967-1997*, Jerusalem 1998.
- POST 1981: P. POST, La liturgie en tant qu'architecture ? Remarques sur la relation entre le "Testamentum Domini Jesu Christi" et l'architecture des églises dans l'Illyricum oriental, *Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 42, 1981, p. 392-420.
- QUASTEN 1950: J. QUASTEN, *Patrology*, 5th paperback printing, 1990 ed II, 4 vols, Westminster MD 1950.
- RESTLE 1989: M. RESTLE, Les monuments chrétiens de la Syrie du Sud, in *Archéologie et Histoire de la Syrie*, ed. J.-M. DENTZER and W. ORTHMANN, vol. II, Saarbrücken 1989, p. 373-384.
- ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTHAM 1974: R. ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTHAM, *The North Church and the Monastery at Sobota (Shivta)*, Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Senate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1974.
- ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTHAM 1982: R. ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTHAM, *Die Kirchen von Sobota und die Dreiapsidenkirchen des Nahen Osten*, Wiesbaden 1982.
- SALLER 1941: S. J. SALLER, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo*, Jerusalem 1941.

- SALLER and BAGATTI 1949: S. J. SALLER and B. BAGATTI, *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat)*, Jerusalem 1949 (repr. 1982).
- SALIOU 2000: C. SALIOU, Gaza dans l'Antiquité tardive : nouveaux documents épigraphiques, *Revue Biblique* 107, 2000, p. 390-411.
- SCHNEIDER 1949: A. M. SCHNEIDER, Liturgie und Kirchenbau in Syrien, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1949, p. 45-68.
- SHERWOOD 1952: P. SHERWOOD, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor*, *Studia Anselmiana* 30, 1952.
- SODINI 1988: J. P. SODINI, Géographie historique et liturgie : l'opposition entre Antiochène et Apamène, in *Géographie historique du monde méditerranéen*, ed. H. AHRWEILER, Paris 1988, p. 201-206.
- SODINI 1989: J. P. SODINI, Les églises de Syrie du Nord, in *Archéologie et Histoire de la Syrie*, ed. J.-M. DENTZER and W. ORTHMANN, vol. II, Saarbrücken 1989, p. 347-372.
- SODINI 2000: J. P. SODINI, La Basilique de la Campanopétra en Chypre, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13, 2000, p. 767-778.
- SODINI and KOLOKOTSAS 1984: J. P. SODINI and K. KOLOKOTSAS, *Aliki II: La basilique double*, Paris 1984.
- SOTIROPOULOS 2001: C. G. SOTIROPOULOS, *La Mystagogie de saint Maxime le Confesseur. Introduction - texte critique - traduction française et grecque*, Athènes 2001.
- STERN 1993: E. STERN (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1993.
- STRUBE 1973: C. STRUBE, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit. Architektonische und Quellenkritische Untersuchungen*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte der östlichen Europa 6, Wiesbaden 1973.
- TAFT 1975: R. TAFT, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostome*, OCA 200, Rome 1998².
- TAFT 1997: R. TAFT, Quaestiones disputatae: The skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia and the Entrances of the Liturgy Revisited. Part I: Archaeology, *Oriens Christianus* 81, 1997, p. 1-35.
- TAFT 1998: R. TAFT, Quaestiones disputatae: The skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia and the Entrances of the Liturgy Revisited. Part II: Liturgy, *Oriens Christianus* 82, 1998, p. 53-87.
- TCHALENKO 1979-1980: G. TCHALENKO, *Églises de village de la Syrie du Nord*, Planches et Album 1 & 2, 2 vols, Paris 1979-1980.
- TCHALENKO 1990: G. TCHALENKO, *Églises syriennes à Béma*, Paris 1990.
- Test. Dom.*: Patriarch RAHMANI, *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, Mainz 1899 (Syriac text and Latin translation) – English translation: J. COOPER and A. J. MACLEAN, *The Testament of our Lord translated into English from the Syriac*, Edinburgh 1902.
- TSAFRIR 1988: Y. TSAFRIR *et al.*, *Excavations at Rehovot in the Negev*, vol. I: *The Northern Church*, Qedem. Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 25, Jerusalem 1988.
- TSAFRIR 1993: Y. TSAFRIR (ed.), *Ancient Churches Revealed*, Jerusalem 1993.
- TSAFRIR and HIRSCHFELD 1979: Y. TSAFRIR and Y. HIRSCHFELD, The Church and Mosaics at Horvat Berachot, Israel, *DOP* 33, 1979, p. 293-323.
- TSAFRIR *et al.* 1994: Y. TSAFRIR, L. DI SEGNI and J. GREEN (ed.), *TIR, Iudaea/Palaestina*, Jerusalem 1994.
- TZAFERIS 1983: V. TZAFERIS, *The Excavations of Kursi-Gergesa*, 'Atiqot XIV, Jerusalem 1983.

- TZAFERIS 1987: V. TZAFERIS, The Greek Inscriptions from the Early Christian Church at Evron, *Eretz Israel* 19, 1987, p. 36-53.
- URMAN 2004: D. URMAN, Nessana: Excavations and Studies, *Beer-Sheva* 17, 2004 (Hebrew and English).
- VON BALTHASAR 1940: H. U. VON BALTHASAR, Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Skythopolis, *Scholastik* 15, 1940, p. 16-38.
- VON SCHÖNBORN 1972: C. VON SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone de Jérusalem – Vie monastique et confession dogmatique*, Paris 1972.
- WILKINSON 1984: J. WILKINSON, Orientation, Jewish and Christian, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116, 1984, p. 16-30.