

ARISE, WALK THROUGH THE LAND



Yizhar Hirschfeld (1950–2006)

ARISE, WALK THROUGH THE LAND

Studies in the Archaeology and History of
the Land of Israel
in Memory of Yizhar Hirschfeld
on the Tenth Anniversary of his Demise

Editors

JOSEPH PATRICH, ORIT PELEG-BARKAT, EREZ BEN-YOSEF



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Aerial view of ancient Tiberias urban center. Photo: Skyview, courtesy Yizhar Hirschfeld's Tiberias Excavations.

Panther head, Ramat HaNadiv Excavations. Photo: A. Avital.

Group of dwellings in the Arab village of Deir Samit. Photo I. Shtulman.

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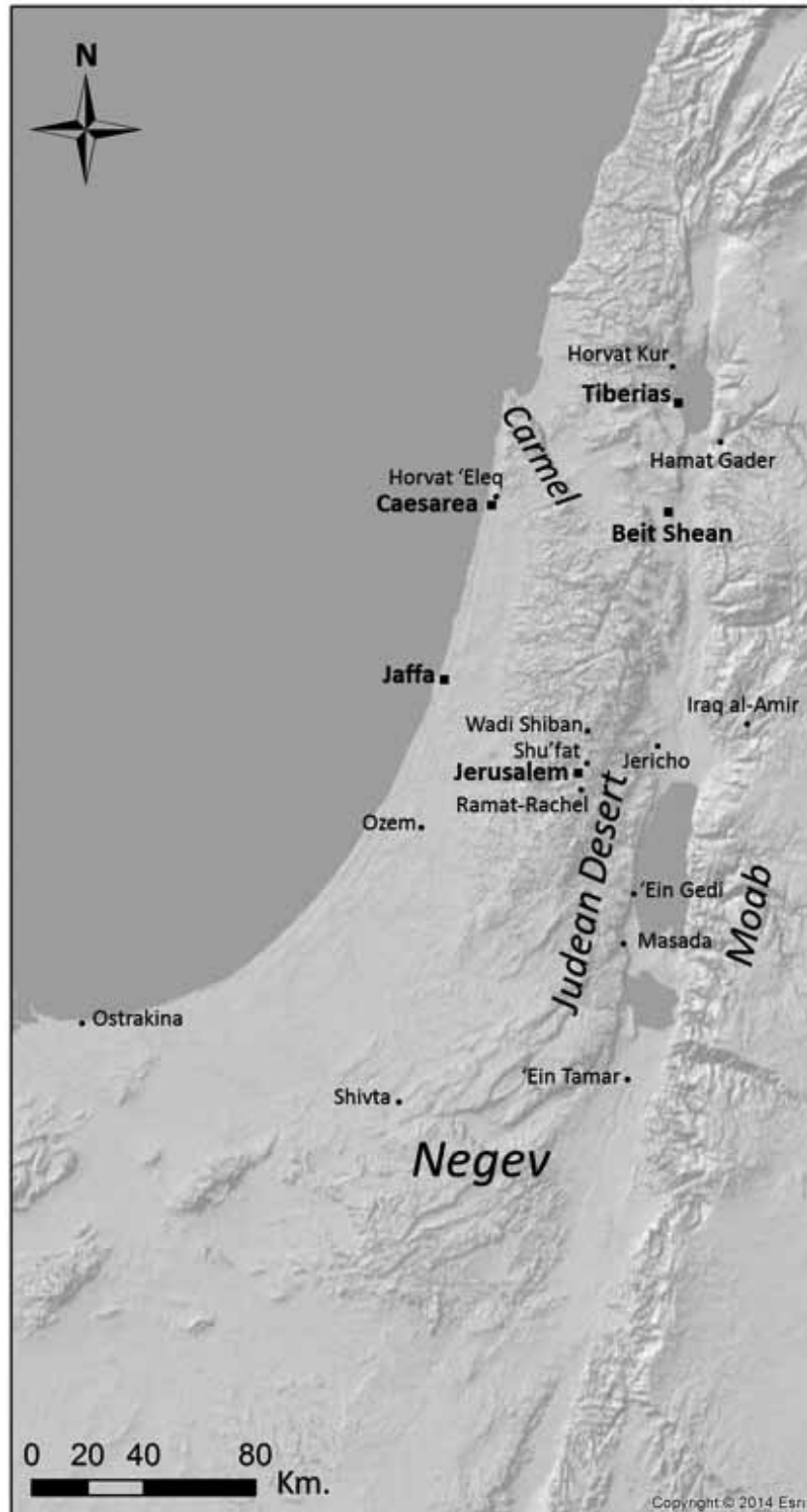
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Map of sites and geographical regions addressed in the book.



MONASTICISM IN CAESAREA AND ITS REGION

JOSEPH PATRICH

The Geographical Setting

Caesarea, a vibrant maritime city, was a metropolitan see and the administrative capital of the province of *Iudaea Palaestina* (later, from the early fifth century onward, only of *Palaestina Prima*). Its *territorium* extended between Naḥal Dalia (Nahr ed-Difla/*Chorseos Flumen*) in the north, Naḥal Poleg (Nahr Faliq/*Bdelopotamos*) in the south, the Mediterranean in the west and the foothills of Samaria in the east. It included the southern end of the Carmel range, the northern foothills of the Samaria Hills and part of the Manasseh Heights – the former territory of Jewish Nabatha and the northern Sharon Plain (Avi-Yonah 1951: map; 1962:126–128). On the east the administrative and ecclesiastical territory of Caesarea (including that of Nabatha) was bordered by that of Samaria-Sebaste (the Samaritans restricted the extension of Christianity into their land). On the south and southeast, Caesarea's territory was demarcated by the *territoria* of Antipatris and Apollonia.¹

According to Eusebius (*On.*:163), *Saronas* is the region extending between Caesarea and Joppa.² The Sharon, ca. 50 km long, extends farther beyond the territory of Caesarea. It is delineated by Naḥal Tanninim on the north, the Yarkon River on the south, the foothills of the Samaria Hills on the east and the Mediterranean Sea on the west. Narrowing gradually from south to north beyond the constricted coastal plain, it comprises three parallel longitudinal N-S geomorphological strips, each ca. 5–6 km wide. On the west, parallel to the coastal plain, are three N-S *kurkar* ridges with narrow valleys in between, the western one being known as the “trough.” These *kurkar* ridges are breached by four rivers: from south to north, Naḥal Poleg, Naḥal Alexander, Naḥal

Hadera and ‘Naḥal ‘Ada. They form broad flooding valleys of fertile alluvial soil, several kilometers wide. These valleys, less than ten meters a.s.l. in elevation, have poor drainage and tend to become swampy. Drainage operations along the river courses and near their outlets to the Mediterranean restricted the extent of marshes. Some of these had been infested with crocodiles since ancient times, as attested by Strabo (*Geographia* XVI, 2, 27) and Pliny (*NH* V, 18; 75), who speak about *Crocodilon polis* and *Crocodilon flumen*, identified with Tell Tanninim and Naḥal Tanninim to the north of Caesarea. From the late third–early fourth century CE onward, the marshes of Naḥal Tanninim (later known as the Kabara Swamps) were flooded by an artificial lake created by damming this river (Fig. 1). The lake extended from the foothills of the Carmel range on the east to the western *kurkar* ridge, running parallel to the seashore. This artificial lake and the Carmel range marked the northern extremity of Caesarea's hinterland. Sand dunes penetrated inland through the rivers' outlets and the breaches in the *kurkar* ridges. During the Roman and Byzantine periods, the dunes were more restricted in area than they became in more recent times.

The intermediate strip of the Sharon comprises hills of *ḥamra* (red sand, which also covers the easternmost of the three *kurkar* ridges, the *kurkar* rock being encountered only at a depth of up to 10 m; hence its name, “the red ridge”). The elevation of this ridge is 50–80 m a.s.l. in the north and 60–90 m a.s.l. in the south. Oak woodland, known as *drymos*,³ extended over the red sandy soils, covering ca. 60% of the Sharon area. The red ridge (like the dunes) is not arable land but is good for pasture; it is also inhabited by wildlife.

The eastern strip, known as the “gutter” (*marzeva*),

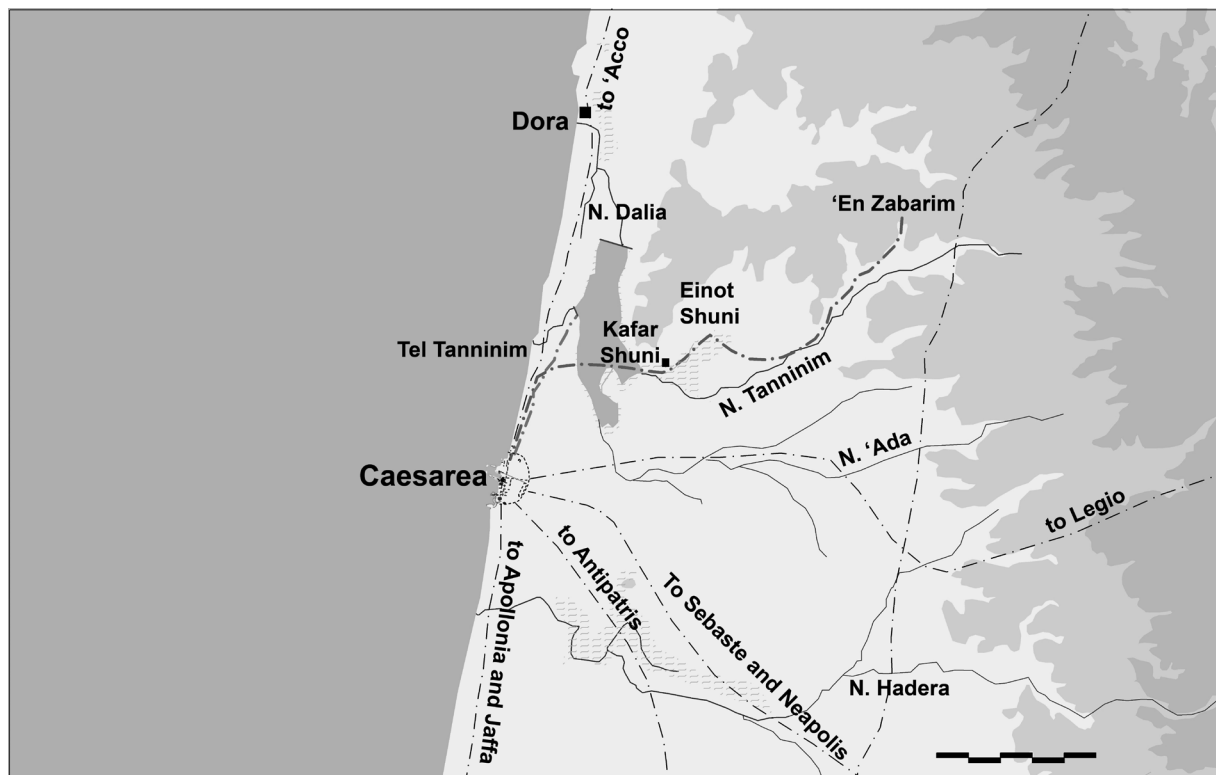


Fig. 1. Map of Caesarea and its region, indicating the aqueducts and the artificial lake (courtesy J. Mesqui).

with an elevation of less than 60 m a.s.l., is the flat plain that reaches the foothills of the Samaria Hills. Its well-drained, fertile soil is alluvial, deposited by the rivers emerging from the hill country. Until modern times this area, 10–12 km and more from Caesarea and the coast, was the most densely populated strip of the Sharon (second in its density of population was the “trough”).⁴

The Sharon was known from early times as a land of wheat, for instance in the sarcophagus inscription of Eshmunezer king of Sidon (fourth century BCE). This characterization, however, seems to refer more to its more fertile southern part. Due to its non-arable soil and poor drainage, most of the northern Sharon, nearer to Caesarea, was unsuitable for agricultural settlement, despite the fact that the mean annual precipitation rate is 500–600 mm. The richest springs are those of Nahal Tanninim. The groundwater is at a depth of 80–20 m below ground level, deeper in the east than in the west; in Caesarea it is closer to the surface. The Sharon was also known as a land of good pasture (Isa. 65:10; I Chron. 27:29–31; *Baba Qama* 10:9; *Tosefta*, *Menahot* 9:13): one of King David’s treasurers was in charge of the herds

that grazed in the Sharon (I Chron. 27:29) and most of the calves sacrificed in the Temple came from this region (*Mishnah*, *Baba Qama* 10:9; *Tosefta*, *Menahot* 9:13). Hence, the city, open to the sea, was also well provided with agricultural produce. In both the city and its hinterland “prices are low, there abundance obtains” (TY, *Kelaim* 9.4, 32c, ed. Guggenheimer; *Ketubot* 12.3, 35b, second half of third century). It was “a pleasant city and rich in everything” (*Expositio totius mundi et gentium* xxvi:160–161, fourth century). Two Christian farmers’ blessings found in a suburban villa to the north of the city, are quotations from the LXX of Deut. 7:12–13 and Ps. 4:8, asking for God’s blessing on the corn, wine and oil (*CIIP* II, Nos. 1172–1173, late fifth century).

A network of five Roman roads connected Caesarea with its hinterland and with inland cities (Fig. 2). The road running north led to Ptolemais/Acre; that running south led to Apollonia/Arsuf; that running northeast led to Gabae; and that running east to Maximianopolis through the land of the Samaritans and thence to Scythopolis/Beth Shean. The road running southeast split into three branches: the first led eastward through

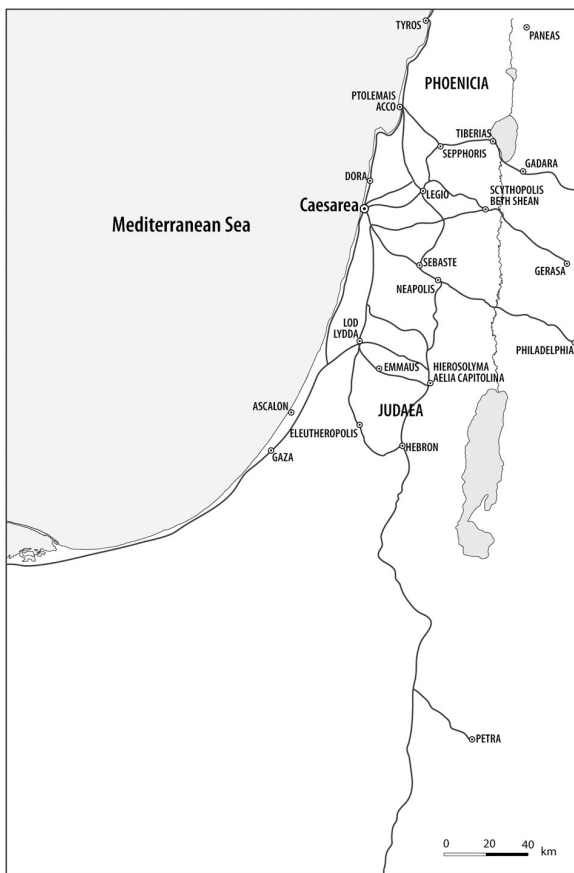


Fig. 2. Road map of Roman and Byzantine Palestine (R. Sofer).

the land of the Samaritans to Ginae and thence to Scythopolis, the second led southeast to Sebaste and thence to Neapolis/Shechem, both located in the heart of Samaria and the third led south, along the “gutter,” to Antipatris and Diospolis/Lydda. It served as a main traffic artery of the *cursus publicus*. Each of these roads had the official status of *via publica*; it was paved, marked with milestones and dotted with official way stations (*mansiones* and *mutationes*).⁵ The way stations, especially those on roads that bypassed the land of the Samaritans, could have served pilgrims, while the special needs of monks on the move could have been catered for by monasteries.

Christianity in Caesarea and its Region

Christian life in Caesarea (see Downey 1975; Krenz 1992; Patrich 2013) had already started in the first century CE and several evangelical memories are associated with the

city. Cornelius, the commander of the “Italian cohort” in the city, was the first Gentile to be baptized together with his household by the apostle Peter (Acts 10:1–48). The apostle Philip resided in the city with his four daughters, virgins. In the first century the Christian community assembled in private houses of its members, which in the fourth century were to become attractions for Christian pilgrims (Jerome, *Epistulae* 108.8).⁶ Paul and his company spent several days in the house of Philip before departing for Jerusalem (Acts 21:8–16). Later on, Paul was detained in the governor’s prison in Caesarea for two years (60–62 CE) until he was sent, at his request, to Rome to be tried by the emperor (Patrich 2000). In 195 CE the Quatrodeciman Synod was convened in Caesarea by Bishop Theophilus (the first attested bishop of the city) together with Bishop Narcissus of Jerusalem. The resolution adopted was to celebrate Easter on a Sunday rather than on the 14th of Nisan, following the Jewish practice. The Christian community of Caesarea suffered martyrdom in the persecutions under Decius, Valerian and Diocletian (Patrich 2002, 2011:259–282) and the memory of two of the martyrs was venerated by pilgrims: the Piacenza Pilgrim, pseudo-Antoninus (*Itinerarium* 45, CCSL 175:174), refers to the burial place of Pamphilus and Procopius. The church of St. Procopius was set on fire during the Samaritan revolt of 484 CE and was restored by Emperor Zenon (Malalas, *Chronographia* XV.8, ed. Dindorf 1831:382–383, ed. Thurn 2000:306–305, trans. Jeffreys and Scott 1986:212; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 1832:603–604, trans. Whitby and Whitby 1989:95–96 [the church’s name is given as St. Probus, but this is an error in the MS]). In the *Acts and Miracles of Saint Anastasius* (martyred 627 CE), the following five churches are mentioned: St. Euphemia, St. Mary the Younger (perhaps not distinct from the unspecified St. Mary), a chapel of Saint Anastasius the Persian at the tetrapylon, the “most holy church of Christ,” and a building associated with the martyr Cornelius (Kaegi 1978; Flusin 1992:231–243). Apollon,⁷ a Miaphysite priest, served in the divine church of the Miaphysites in the mid-fifth century (John Rufus, *Plérôphoriae* 26 and 29, ed. Nau 1911–1912:63 and 71 respectively). This might be the same church as the seventh-century “most holy church of Christ.” It is likely that at least some of the clergy officiating in the city’s churches were monks, being organized as groups (*tagma*) of devotees (*spoudaioi*) (Patrich 1995:5). A Church of the Apostles outside the city wall is mentioned

in 451 CE; the opponents of Chalcedon gathered there to celebrate the Eucharist, demonstrating against Juvenal upon his return from the Ecumenical Council (John Rufus, *Plérophoriae*, *ibid.*; see also below). The location of this church is not known.⁸

Only one monumental church has so far been uncovered in the city center.⁹ This is an octagonal church, decorated and revetted in marble, that was built in ca. 500 CE above the deserted temple of Rome and Augustus (Holum, Stabler and Reinhardt 2008:25; Holum 2014:89). It was perhaps dedicated to Procopius, the first martyr of Caesarea, and was set on fire in the Samaritan revolt of 484 CE, as mentioned above. A private chapel dedicated to St. Paul seems to have been installed in a second story above the warehouse complex in Area KK (Patrich 2000). Farther south another private chapel was perhaps located within the adjacent palatial mansion, annexed to the apsidal reception hall of this mansion. This is suggested by one of the inscription retrieved therein (*CIIP* II, No. 1348).

The Christian academy in the city was established by Origen, who spent most of the last twenty years of his life (ca. 230–250 CE) in Caesarea. His school of Christian theology was open to pagans and Christian alike and also provided secular education. His liberal curriculum included astronomy, mathematics, geometry, geography and philosophy. His pupil Pamphilus (martyred in 309 CE in Caesarea) collected and copied the writings of Origen. He established a library comprising 30,000 scrolls, which included many secular books on Greek science, philosophy, history, drama, poetry, rhetoric etc., and compositions of Jewish Greek authors. He, and later his pupil Eusebius, undertook the cataloguing of this collection. In the fourth century, Hilary of Poitiers, Eusebius of Vercelli, Georgius of Nazianzus, Jerome and Rufinus worked in this library (McGuckin 1992; Kofsky 2006).

The long rivalry between the sees of Caesarea (a metropolitan see) and Jerusalem (the Mother of All Churches) was concluded under Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (422–458 CE), when in the ecumenical council of Chalcedon it was decided that the supremacy was with Jerusalem, which became the fifth patriarchate of the Christian world. After Eusebius many of its bishops and their clerics and monks adhered to dissident theological stances – Arian, Miaphysite and Origenist.¹⁰ This, as well as the rivalry with Jerusalem, may perhaps be why so little of its ecclesiastical and monastic history

has reached us. As for the spread of Christianity in the countryside of Caesarea as reflected in the distribution map of the churches, see below.

Monasticism in the City and its Territory

Unlike Jerusalem or Gaza, very little is known to us about monasticism in Caesarea. No urban monasteries are known from the literary sources, nor have any archaeological remains been uncovered so far within its walls.

During the great persecutions we hear about Valentina, one of the female martyrs of Caesarea, who chose a life of virginity. She was thrown into the sea in 308–309 CE, together with Ennatha (Syr. Hatha), also a virgin, from Gaza (Eusebius, *MP* Gr. VIII.5–8, Syr. 30–32).¹¹ However, the adoption of such a private lifestyle differs from institutional monasticism, still unattested in Caesarea in this early period.

About a century later, at the end of the fourth or early fifth century, Palladius mentions a nunnery in Caesarea or its neighborhood where a woman in distress could be cared for. The daughter of a presbyter who became pregnant after being seduced by a certain man was persuaded by the seducer to put the blame on a lector (*anagnostes*) of the city named Eustathius. The lector was accused of fornication but refused to confess to a thing that he had not done, claiming time and time again that he was innocent. Finally, in order to appease Bishop Eulogius, and realizing that his denial was in vain, he took the blame upon himself and was deposed. However, he asked the bishop that the pregnant woman be given to him in marriage. When his request was granted, he entrusted her to a nunnery and ordered the deaconess of the sisterhood to care for her until the hour of birth. The time arrived but the delivery was delayed for an entire week. The woman, in her agony, confessed that she had falsely accused the lector (Palladius, *The Lausiaca History* 70, 3, trans. Meyer 1964:151–152).¹²

At about the same time is set the story of the hermit Martinian, whose *Vita* is much vested in legend. He retired at the age of eighteen to a mountain near Caesarea named “the Place of the Ark” (*topos kibotou*), where many ascetics were living. The reference seems to be to the Carmel range, or a certain part of it. For 25 years he lived there in a cell that had an outer and an inner room (*esoteron kellion*). He performed miraculous cures and was much admired. Being tempted by a Caesarean harlot

who pretended to seek shelter in his cell, he overcame the temptation by putting his hand in a fire. The harlot, stunned, admitted the plot, repented and embraced eremitic life in the Monastery of Paula in Bethlehem. Later Martinian retreated to an island in the middle of the sea, not far from Caesarea. Tiny islands (like the Doves Island) do exist in the Mediterranean opposite Ma'agan Michael, not far north of the city. Though Martinian's figure seems to lie in the realm of fantasy, such a hermit might have lived in the vicinity of Caesarea (Di Segni 2009:224–225).¹³

In the mid-fifth century, after the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE), when Juvenal of Jerusalem disembarked in Caesarea to return to his province, he was encountered by severe opposition from monks who considered him an apostate. They hastened from Jerusalem and Gaza to meet him there, headed by Peter the Iberian, who was summoned from his laura near Maiumas of Gaza (John Rufus, *Plérophoriae* 10, 56, ed. Nau 1911–1912:24, 111–113; Honigmann 1950:249).¹⁴ The entry of the rebels into Caesarea was prohibited by the governor (*archon*) because of their great numbers and the fear that they would be joined by the local citizens. They were forced to celebrate the Eucharist in the Church of the Apostles, located outside the city walls. Attempting to go out in order to appease them, Juvenal was forced in fear of his life to return within the city walls and leave Palestine for Constantinople.¹⁵ It is likely that not all the rebel monks came from Jerusalem and Gaza and that among them were monks living near Caesarea, but this is not explicitly stated in the available literary sources.¹⁶ The unrest spread throughout the country; houses were set on fire and many people were killed by the insurgent monks. In the capital Juvenal asked for the support of Emperor Marcian in order to suppress the revolt. He returned to Palestine in the summer of 453 CE and was reinstated by the military forces of the emperor, under the command of the *comes* Dorotheus. It seems that he once again landed in Caesarea and passed through Neapolis on his way to Jerusalem. According to pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor (*Chronicle* III, 5; III, 8 ed. Brooks 1919–1924:159–161; trans. Hamilton and Brooks 1899:52–54; Dan 1982:283; Greatrex, Phenix and Horn 2011:119), he found many monks there and tried to persuade them to be in communion with him. When they refused he gave the order for the soldiers who escorted him together with the Samaritans to massacre many of the monks

(*Plérophoriae* 10, ed. Nau 1911–1912:24; Honigmann 1950:247–257).

Clearer evidence is available for the later fifth century in the Syriac *Life of Peter the Iberian* by his disciple John Rufus (§§ 159–162, ed. Horn and Phenix 2008:lxvii, 234–237). After being allowed to return from his exile in Egypt, Peter the Iberian was still a prominent leader of the Miaphysite party in Palestine and Phoenicia. On his way back to Palestine from Phoenicia via Ptolemais, he arrived at Caesarea. There the Miaphysite brethren (ἀδελφοί) were already waiting for him and his followers, including John Rufus. A great feast was celebrated there for several days (ed. Horn and Phenix 2008:234–236, § 159). Horn and Phenix comment (p. 236) that the impression is that the brethren were distributed throughout the city and did not have a common monastery there.

Gregory, one of Peter's admirers, who had already joined him in Ptolemais and accompanied him all the way to Caesarea, invited him to his monastery (where he also served as a priest). This monastery was located in the village of Aphthoria, 12 miles south of Caesarea. There was a nunnery there as well, headed by Sabina, the daughter of Gregory's sister. Eugenia, a Jewess from Tyre whom Peter had converted to Christianity (*Vita Petr. Ib.*, ed. Horn and Phenix 2008: 226–229, §154) was tonsured there and received the holy habit. After the death of Sabina she became the abbess of the convent. Peter and his company stayed in the monastery of Aphthoria for four months in 489 CE, celebrating Easter and Pentecost there (*Vita Petr. Ib.* 119–120, 121.3, ed. Raabe 1895:112–113; ed. Horn and Phenix 2008:234–237, §§ 158–162).¹⁷ According to letter 42 of Severus of Antioch to the Monastery of Abba Romanus near Eleutheropolis, dated between 513 and 517 CE, the monastery at Aphthoria still existed at that time; both monasteries were parts of the Miaphysite network.¹⁸

The location of Aphthoria is debated (Rosen 1991:64–66). Clermont-Ganneau (1896:18–20) proposed the amending of the distance from 12 to 22 miles (which equals 34 km) and of the name from Aphthoria to Apollonia (Apollonia is 22 miles from Caesarea in the Peutinger Table), claiming that by the fifth century Apollonia had become an insignificant village. Later excavations, however, indicated that Byzantine Apollonia was a prosperous settlement with the status of a city, being represented in the Church councils of the fifth and sixth centuries by a bishop (Roll and Tal 1999; Isaac 2011). Later, Clermont-Ganneau (1900:240–241)

suggested Antipatris, a suggestion that was reiterated by Press (1952:31), although it is too far from Caesarea. Apollonia was reiterated by Avi-Yonah (1976:30) and more recently, albeit cautiously, by the authors of *TIR* (p. 65). Thomsen (1907:30) offered two alternative proposals: Zarafend/Tsurufa (145.228, north of Dor and hence outside the ecclesiastical territory of Caesarea; *TIR*:261 and map of churches) or a site to the east of Caesarea and north of Kafr Qar'a. Aphthoria, however, is said to lie to the south of Caesarea. Rosen (1991:66) made two different proposals, both near the Caesarea–Neapolis road. The first is Bir al-'Abd (1477.1991), 9–10 miles from Caesarea, where a Greek inscription mentioning a monastery was found (*TIR*:89; Porath, Dar and Applebaum 1985:145–147, 267). Rosen's second proposal was Baḥan (1522.1951), 13–14 miles from Caesarea, where a basilical church dated to the fifth and sixth centuries with Greek inscriptions was uncovered (*TIR*:73; Yeivin 1955; Ovadiah 1970:26–27; Porath, Dar and Applebaum 1985:221–226, 268–270, inscr. 1 and 5; Magen 2012:114–115, site No. 10).¹⁹ Of the two, Rosen preferred Baḥan. However, given the reservations about the interpretation of the church there as monastic, Bir al-'Abd should perhaps be preferred. U. Dahari (personal communication) suggests identifying it with a complex (still unpublished) excavated by the IAA in Netanya/Umm Khalid, a village in the Roman-Byzantine period. It is located due south of Caesarea on the road to Apollonia/Sozusa, and the distance fits quite well. No site is marked on the *TIR* map at the given distance on the Caesarea–Antipatris road. Gan Hefer (140.194), located between these two roads (*TIR*:129), is identified as a Byzantine farm, not a monastery.

Several anecdotes related to the monk Zosimas and dated to the early sixth century are given in three different literary sources: the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius IV.7 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier 1898:156–159; trans. Festugière 1975:368–371; trans. Whitby 2000:205–207), compiled in ca. 593 CE; the *Discourses* of Dorotheus of Gaza (written between 540 and 560 CE); and a collection of edifying sayings (*Alloquia*) attributed to Zosimas. Simeon Vailhé (1900–1901) indicated long ago that all three sources speak about the same personality. According to Evagrius, Zosimas was a native of the village of Sinde, less than 20 stades from Tyre. He excelled in the ascetic life, was a worker of wonders and had clairvoyant powers: in the company of Arcesilaus, an otherwise unknown notable of Caesarea, he heard

the earthquake that struck Antioch, hundreds of miles away, in May 526 CE.²⁰ The contemporary *episcopos* of Caesarea was John, who had previously excelled in the ascetic life in the Monastery of Choziba, on the bank of the ravine running beside the Jerusalem–Jericho road (Wadi Qelt).²¹ Again in the company of Arcesilaus, Zosimas knew that John had cured the wounded eye of Arcesilaus' wife. This time it is said that the event took place in the hermitage (*phrontisterion*)²² of Zosimas near the village of Sinde, about 500 (*pentakosioi*) stades (more than 90 km) from Caesarea.²³ Vailhé (1900–1901:362–363) differentiated between Sindé, a village of Phoenicia Maritima, and a presumed Sindénai, a village near Caesarea, where Zosimas had founded a monastery which, so he claimed, he headed.²⁴ But there is no textual basis for his assertion. Some of the edifying sayings of Zosimas are mentioned by Dorotheus of Gaza, who was a younger companion of his (*Discourses* I, 14; II, 31, 36; VI, 77; VIII, 91, 94; trans. Chrysavagis 2004:33–34 and *passim*) and in the *Leimonarion* (Chapters 203, 211, 212, 216, 218, 219).²⁵ As a matter of fact, Dorotheus may have been the compiler of this Collection of Sayings (the *Alloquia*), our third source (Chitty 1966:140; Chrysavagis 2004:vi).

From the short biographical notices given in these sayings, the impression is that after leaving his monastery (*monasterion* in the Greek) in Tyre (*Alloquia* XIIb, ed. Augoustinos 1913:92), Zosimas became a wandering monk. He stayed for a short time in the Laura of Gerasimus (*Alloquia* XIVb, ed. Chrysavagis 2004:28);²⁶ his reputation reached Jerusalem (*Alloquia* VIIIb); he visited the Pedias (*Alloquia* XVb); he was on his way to Neapolis (*Alloquia* VIIIa; it does not say from where, whether from Caesarea or elsewhere); and had dealings in Caesarea (*Alloquia* XIc and Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.7, referred to above).²⁷

However, the third anecdote referred to by Evagrius there – the taming of a lion that had devoured his ass – took place when Zosimas was on his way to Caesarea. If not a complete fable, the event may have taken place in the oak woodland (*drymos*) of the Sharon, extending southeast of Caesarea and east of Apollonia and on the Antipatris–Caesarea road. According to other, earlier sources, this region was indeed infested with lions.²⁸ According to the anecdote, the tamed lion carried the ass's burden up to the gates of Caesarea.

To sum up, in none of these sources is there an indisputable reference to a monastery of Zosimas in

Caesarea or its neighborhood. He merely visited the city and had admirers there.

The case of our next notice is clear: a monastery outside the city gate of Caesarea (it is not specified which gate), headed by Abba Cyprianus Cuculas (*koukoulion* being a hood or cowl in Greek), is mentioned at the time when the pestilence of 541/2 CE struck the city (*Pratum spirituale* 131, 132). No location can be suggested at present.

A woman of senatorial rank, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places, preferred to remain in Caesarea and lead an ascetic life there. From the bishop she obtained virgins to instruct her privately and train her in how to lead a life of solitude (*Pratum spirituale* 206). Hence, in this anecdote as well we hear about nuns in Caesarea. An orphanage (*orphanotropheion*) is attested in one of the Greek inscriptions of Caesarea dated to the fifth to mid seventh century (*CIIP* II, No. 1168). If the orphans were young children, it is likely that the orphanage was administered by nuns.²⁹

Finally, we come to the brief period of the Persian conquest (614–627 CE) as described in the *Acts of Anastasius the Persian*.³⁰ Surprisingly, no local monks are mentioned as accompanying Anastasius during his detention in the local prison (first in the *kastron* and then in the public prison) before being deported to Persia to be sentenced by the king. Two monks were sent by the abbot of his monastery near Jerusalem to serve and counsel him and one of them escorted him to Persia. While still in Caesarea he was much admired by the local believers, headed by the *commerkiarios* – the silk archon,³¹ in charge of the silk trade through Caesarea. He visited him in the public prison in order to celebrate with him the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (on the night between Sept. 13th and 14th, 627 CE). Once released from his chains, Anastasius was hosted by him in the church and in his house. Again, no local monks are mentioned in conjunction with these events (*Acta Anastasius Persae* 24–31, ed. Flusin 1992: Vol. 1:66–74). Their absence may reflect a heretical, Miaphysite stance on the part of the contemporary local metropolitan and the local monks.

Archaeological Remains

As for the archaeological remains, no monastery has so far been uncovered in Caesarea or its environs apart from the ruins possibly associated with the monastery of Aphthoria mentioned above, the location of which is still

an enigma. Two possible exception on the sea shore are the ruins on the summits of Tel Tadvira (or Hudeira) (Porath 2002:117; Olami, Sender and Oren 2005: site No. 30:27) and Tel Tanninim. The remains uncovered on top of Tel Tanninim include parts of a basilical church with mosaic floors and marble columns and capitals. On the slopes were uncovered remains of two bathhouses, a fishery and salt basins (Stieglitz 2006). A fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription dated to the sixth or early seventh century, recording some building activity (perhaps laying the mosaic floor) and mentioning a *hegoumenos*, suggests that it belonged to a monastery (*CIIP* II, No. 2089). Two other possible monastic sites are reported in the environs of Caesarea. There are remains of a church at Tell Sheikh Abu Faraj/ed-Dumeiri (143.207) in the coastal plain, ca. 7 km. to the southeast of Caesarea (Ovadia and de Silva 1984:148–149, No. 56; *TIR*:114 and its map of churches in Byzantine Palestine).³² No associated structures are reported there, so at the moment there is no evidence to identify the ruin as a monastery. A chapel with mosaic floors, capitals, various architectural fragments and associated structures, perhaps a monastery, is reported at Kh. Kabara, Nahal Tanninim site (143.217), near the pool of Timsah to the northeast of Caesarea (Ovadia 1970:143–144, No. 146 and Ovadia and de Silva 1982:158, No. 45; *TIR*:106 and map of churches). In this case the problem is that this area was within the confines of the artificial Tanninim Lake during the period under discussion. Future excavation may clarify the date of these remains and the relationship between the supposed chapel and the pool of Timsah, whether it was indeed a Christian chapel or a component of a water installation intended to isolate the spring water from that of the lake.

Lifshitz proposed to complete the reading of a broken Greek burial inscription found in Caesarea (specific findspot unknown) as the names of two monks (Symon and Severus) who were buried together (Lifshitz 1965:101, No. 10; *CIIP* II, No. 1556).³³ No other monks are attested in the inscriptions of Caesarea.³⁴

As for the Carmel range, which marked the border between Palestine and Phoenicia in the time of Eusebius (*Onomasticon* 118. 8–9), its Christianization, as indicated by Di Segni (2009), was a slow process, being confronted by strong Samaritan and Jewish opposition based at *Castra Samaritanorum* and *Sycamina Iudaeorum*, to be identified according to her (Di Segni 2009:221–222, 226–227) with Ḥorvat Qastra/Kh. Kafr Samir³⁵ and Haifa el-‘Atiqā or Bat Galim, respectively. The

Christian stronghold was Porphyreon (Shiqmona/Tell es-Samak/Shā'ar ha-'Aliya; Di Segni 2009:226–227), where a monastery was exposed (*CIIP* II, Nos. 2147, 2150).³⁶ This site, however, was not in the territory of Caesarea but seemingly in that of Ptolemais. Likewise, the monastery that may have existed in the higher part of the Carmel range at Kh. ed-Deir, to be identified perhaps with *manasterum sancti Helisei* (St. Elisha) mentioned by the Piacenza Pilgrim (3, ed. Geyer and Kuntz 1965:127; trans. Wilkinson 1977:79), half a mile above *Castra Samaritanorum* (Di Segni 2009:218 and n. 16, with further references).³⁷ Byzantine monasticism on the Carmel range, where the hermit Martinian may have lived in the late fourth to early fifth century, is discussed by Friedman (1979:60–103). Other than the laura of Elisha at the site of Kh. ed-Deir in Wadi 'Ain es-Siaḥ, Friedman proposed (1979:74–75 and map 1) that a Byzantine laura might have extended on the cliffs of 'Araq el-Aḥmar and 'Araq er-Raḥib (Monk's Cliff), along the Wadi 'Araq el-Aḥmar section of Naḥal Gallim/Wadi el-'Ain, with a spring at En Qedem. According to Friedman, this Byzantine laura had preceded the medieval abbey at Tirat ha-Carmel, known as the Monastery of Saint John of Tyre. This proposal is rejected by Di Segni (2009:218, n. 19). I would say that the numerous remains along the wadi, including not only burial caves but also structures and agricultural installations from various periods, deserve further research.

Summary and Discussion

To sum up, Martinian, who if a real figure was the earliest attested hermit in the region of Caesarea, did not acquire a reputation similar to those of Chariton and later fathers of the Desert of Jerusalem, or those of Hilarion and his follower in the region of Gaza. The existence of a nunnery in Caesarea or its neighborhood is already attested in the late fourth century. It is impossible to tell if this was the same as the convent in the village of Aphthoria, 12 miles to the south of Caesarea, referred to a century later. The monastery of monks there, attested in 489 CE, is the earliest on which we have definite information. At that time Monophysite monks, admirer of Peter the Iberian, lived in the city as well, but they were dispersed rather than being enclosed in a monastery. Next is the reference to a monastery outside the city gate in 541/2 CE, the year of the great pestilence. At about the same time several anecdotes about the monk Zosimas of

the village of Sinde, less than 20 stades from Tyre, are associated with Caesarea. None of them are indisputable evidence that he headed a monastery in or near the city; his monastery was rather in Tyre, and another is later attested near Jericho. He had admirers in Caesarea and elsewhere in Palestine and his edifying sayings were later compiled, perhaps by Dorotheus of Gaza, but he left no permanent local impact. He was neither a founder nor a consolidator of Caesarean monasticism. John, the contemporary bishop, acquired his reputation as a monk of Choziba, not of Caesarea. No local monastery, or monks, are mentioned in the *Acta Anastasius Persae*.

The literary evidence is thus very meager, as is the archaeological record. No monastery has so far been uncovered within the city walls. As for the surrounding territory, a monastery may have existed on top of Tel Tanninim. The evidence for Tel Tadvira (or Ḥudeira), also on the sea shore, is less convincing. The Byzantine settlement at Bir al-'Abd seems to have had a monastery. The alleged remains of a monastery in Netanya are still to be published. A possible hermitage is the ruin reported in Naḥal Tanninim at Kh. Kabara, near the pool of Timsah, but see the reservation noted above.

The paucity of literary and material evidence on monasticism in Caesarea and its region stands in stark contrast not only with Jerusalem and Gaza (Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky 2004; Elter 2004; Elter and Hassoune 2005; Hirschfeld 2004; Di Segni 2005), but also with Scythopolis, the capital of *Palaestina Secunda* (Mazor 2008; Patrich forthcoming). As a matter of fact, very little is known of Christian life at large in Caesarea. Possible reasons are the continuous hierarchical rivalry between the metropolitans of Caesarea and the bishops, later (from 451 CE) patriarchs, of Jerusalem and the fact that in many theological disputes they represented opposite camps. It was not in the interest of the triumphant orthodox patriarchate to preserve the memory of the rival, unorthodox metropolis. However, Gaza was likewise a stronghold of Miaphysitism, and the literary sources pertaining to its monastic fathers abound.

Caesarea was a center of secular academic life in law, rhetorics, philosophy,³⁸ history and grammar (Patrich 2013). A dozen and a half men of letters who wrote in Greek and Latin had originated in the city (Geiger 1996, 2012, 2014). Unfortunately, little of their literary yield has reached us. Caesarea was renowned in the second and third century for its school of law and of Latin and Greek education, philosophy and rhetoric, and

maintained this reputation under Christian dominance; three rhetors of the late third/early fourth century are named in a rabbinical source (TY *Megilla* 3:2, 74a). In the 340s Gregorius of Nazianzus studied rhetoric with Thespesius. According to Libanius, due to its wealth, Caesarea could compete with Antioch in attracting the best teachers. In the fourth and fifth centuries the writings of the famous second-century rhetor Hermogenes of Tarsus were taught in Caesarea. This school of rhetoric was established in ca. 361–365 CE by Acacius, an epic poet and dramatist, as well as a correspondent, friend and rival of Libanius. Commentaries on Hermogenes' writings were composed in Caesarea in ca. 420 CE by the rhetoric teacher Paul, a pupil of Acacius, and a generation later by his disciple Iohannes.

The nephew of Acacius was the historian Eutropius, the author of the *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, an abridged history of Rome in ten books (in Latin) from its foundation to his time. It was written at the request of Emperor Valens (364–378 CE). Shortly thereafter, in ca. 380 CE, Paeanius, another disciple of Acacius, translated the *Breviarium* into Greek in the city. This translation, which was used by Jerome, is still extant almost in its entirety. The second notable historian originating from the city was Procopius, the court historian of Justinian and his general Belisarius, who wrote in Greek. Three famous grammarians of the city were Orion, a contemporary of Empress Eudocia, who at that time was staying in Palestine and to whom he dedicated a book on grammar; Priscianus, the most important grammarian of Late Antiquity, who wrote among other works a treatise in praise of Emperor Anastasius; and Iohannes, a priest and important Neochalcedonian theologian of the late fifth and early sixth century. Uranius, the author of the *Arabica* cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, was a sixth-century governor of Palestine who resided in Caesarea.

But the prosperity of secular academic life in Caesarea could not suppress the evolution of monasticism in the city, since Gaza excelled in all these secular fields as well.

Despite the existence of several evangelical shrines frequented by early pilgrims (the houses of the centurion

Cornelius and the apostle Philip, mentioned above), the slow pace and moderate expansion of Christianity in the city can be recognized in the relatively small number of churches, five to seven altogether. A Church of the Apostles is recorded as early as 451 CE, but it stood outside the city wall. Those that have so far been excavated within the walls (the octagonal martyrium in the city center above the harbor and the chapel attributed to St. Paul above the complex of warehouses to the south of the harbor) are dated to ca. 500 CE. Most of the churches uncovered so far in the vicinity of Caesarea are likewise dated to the fifth and sixth century and they are located mainly along and near the coast road, not further inland.³⁹

The reason for the slow pace and moderate expansion of Christianity in Caesarea and its region seems to be the religio-ethnic composition of the local population. Unlike Gaza, mainly Christian since the suppression of paganism there in the early fifth century,⁴⁰ Caesarea had strong Samaritan and Jewish populations that resisted Christianity. There were also Samaritan and Jewish villages in the countryside; some of these are Ogdor or *Gidra shel Qisrin*, Burgatha, Kefar Parshai, Birath Soreqa, En Kushi and Kefar Shalem, all wine-producing villages mentioned in the rabbinical sources. Kefar Shuni was another village with a Jewish population (Avi-Yonah 1962; Safrai 1980).⁴¹ The Carmel range and the Manasseh Heights were also populated by Samaritans and Jews (Di Segni 2009:217; Dar 2014).⁴² Both groups adhered to their ancestral religion and resisted the spread of hermitages and monasteries in their midst,⁴³ unlike the Saracens of Arab stock in the deserts of Jerusalem and Gaza, who admired the hermits as holy men and embraced Christianity.

Another possible reason for the lack of monastic remains may be geographical: steep cliffs with caves suitable for hermitages are not to be found in the immediate vicinity of Caesarea. They do occur in the mountainous areas of the Carmel range (Friedman 1979) and the Samaria Hills, but these areas were occupied mainly by Samaritans.

ENDNOTES

1 For the territories of cities, including that of Caesarea, see the map attached to Avi-Yonah 1951 and *Atlas of Israel* 1956, Sheets IX/10a and d, IX/11c (maps prepared by M. Avi-Yonah). In the map attached to the English

translation of the *Onomasticon* (Notley and Safrai 2005), the territory of Caesarea includes that of Dora and extends farther north, penetrating into that of Ptolemais; the mountainous part of the Carmel range is designated

- there as an administrative region separate from those of Caesarea to its west and Sebaste to its south. The editors of *TIR* refrained from drawing the territorial boundaries of cities on their maps.
- 2 Jerome, *In Esa.* X, 33:9 and XVIII, 65:10 (CCSL 73:414, 752), associates the Sharon rather with the territories of Lydda and Iamnia, where the more fertile lands, around Jaffa and farther south, are located. For biblical and rabbinical references to the Sharon see Neubauer 1967:47–49. For the Sharon (and the *drymos*, below), see Abel 1933:414–415 and Avi-Yonah 1962:126–128.
 - 3 This term is used by the LXX as a translation for the Sharon in Isa. 65:10. According to Strabo (*Geographia* XVI, 2, 27; Stern 1974:290–292), the large forest (*megas drymos*) extended south of the Carmel range as far as Jaffa. It is also mentioned by Josephus (*War* I, 250; *Ant.* XIV, 334). On the species of oak that grew there in historical periods (*Quercus aegilops*), see Lifshitz, Lev-Yadon and Gofna 1985.
 - 4 The above brief geographical survey is based on Karmon 1959; Har-El and Nir 1969:326–332; Asaf 1979:3–5. The surroundings of Caesarea could easily become marshy if the drainage of its wadis was not regularly maintained. This seems to have been the case during the extended Muslim siege of the city, which lasted seven years with intermissions, since Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan ordered his secretary in the district of Filastin to purchase for him agricultural estates in the region of Ascalon and in other places with good rainfall, but not in swampy [!] Caesarea (El'ad 1982:151). Under early Fatimid rule the situation improved, as we are informed by al-Mukaddasi (Le Strange 1965:474; 985 CE). In the Crusader period and thereafter Caesarea was once again surrounded by swamps.
 - 5 See the folded map of roads in *TIR* and the maps in Roll and Ayalon 1986–1987 and Roll 1996: Fig. 1. These roads are also depicted on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. For the roads to Maximianopolis, see now Tepper 2011.
 - 6 The memory was preserved into the Crusader period; an anonymous thirteenth-century travelogue refers to the chamber of the four virgin prophetesses (PPTS VI:32).
 - 7 *Var. lec.* Apolonos, Apios, Altos, Apolaos.
 - 8 A Greek inscription on a marble plaque recording an anonymous offering to a church was found outside the city wall, to the east of the city (*CIIP* II, No. 1152; *contra* the assumption of the editors, the hippodrome referred to there as the find spot is the Roman circus, not the Herodian hippodrome uncovered on the seashore many years after the first publication of the inscription in 1961). It is impossible to tell if the reference is to the Church of the Apostles.
 - 9 The presumed church on the site of the former praetorium of the proconsul, in which several Greek mosaic inscriptions were found, is in fact a Samaritan synagogue, as is suggested by its architecture; there is neither a cross nor any Christian content in the inscriptions (*pace CIIP* II, Nos. 1150–1151).
 - 10 According to *Vita Euthymii* 26:39, 28, there were many adherents of the Origenist heresy in the region of Caesarea in his time (mid-fifth century), or rather in the time of the author, Cyril of Scythopolis (first half of the sixth century). On the various theological controversies that split the church of Palestine, see Perrone 1980; Flusin 1983:76–83; 1992, Vol. 2:359–365; Patrich 1995:301–310, 331–349.
 - 11 See also Clark 1992; Hall 1993.
 - 12 According to E. VENABLES in Smith and Wace 1877–1887, Vol. 2:391 (Eustathius 48), the falsely charged lector devoted himself to an ascetic life, was endowed with extraordinary gifts and was popularly regarded as a martyr (Meyer 1964:219, n. 569).
 - 13 His *Vita* was published in Greek without a translation by Rabbow in 1985. Di Segni (2009:224–225) provides a brief account of his *Vita* in English, as does A. Janin (1967) in Italian. A monk named Jacob with a somewhat similar legendary hagiography originated in Porphyreon (Shiqmona/Tell es-Samak/Shar ha-Aliya) in the sixth century (Di Segni 2009:223–224; Sauget 1965 [in Italian]). His *Vita* was published in Greek without a translation by Trautmann and Klostermann in 1935. Di Segni (2009:223–224) provides an essential summary in English, as does Sauget (1965) in Italian. Pummer (2002:326–331) gives the Greek text with an English translation of his early life near Porphyreon. His hermitage there had an outer cell (*exoterion kellion*) and an upper cell (*anoterios kellion*) separated by a door (*thyra*) with a window. A nunnery located not far from his cell is also mentioned there. On both hermits see also Friedman 1979:75–76 and 92–93, respectively.
 - 14 Peter the Iberian (412/17–Dec. 10th, 491 CE), a Georgian prince, was sent as a hostage to the court of Theodosius II in Constantinople. In 437 he escaped and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In 444 he left Jerusalem and settled near Maiuma of Gaza. In 452/3 he was consecrated by Theodosius, the usurper bishop of Jerusalem, as the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Maiuma, but after the reinstatement of Juvenal in 455 he had to flee to Egypt. He returned to the Holy Land only in 475. In 481 he was summoned by Emperor Zenon to the capital in order to “convert” him but managed to escape to the regions of Palestine, Arabia and Phoenicia, staying on the move in the company of a group of disciples and admirers. He finally returned to Palestine, where he died in Iamnia on Dec. 10th, 491. For the chronology see Horn 2006:400–404; Horn and Phenix 2008:lxv–lxi and, for the date of his death, 262–264. His later visit to Caesarea and his

- short sojourn in the monastery in the village of Aphthoria (see below) occurred while he was on his way back from Phoenicia to Palestine, a short time before his death.
- 15 Among Juvenal's supporters in Caesarea was a local decurion, whom Peter had already met earlier in his life in the imperial court in Constantinople. Hence, both supporters and opponents of Chalcedon lived in Caesarea. Likewise, in ca. 489 CE, we hear that Miaphysite monks lived there (see below). The priest Apollon, administering the divine church of the Miaphysites in Caesarea, was among their members (*Plérôphoriae* 26:63; 29:71; see also above, n. 10).
 - 16 I owe this plausible suggestion to Leah Di Segni.
 - 17 The sojourn of Peter the Iberian in the monastery of Aphthoria with Abba Gregory is also mentioned by John Rufus in *Plérôphoriae* 71, ed. Nau 1911–1912, PO 8.1:126.
 - 18 Athanasius of Nisibis, *The Sixth Book of the Selected Letters of Severus Patriarch of Antioch*, ed. Brooks 1902: Vol. I, Part I:132 (text); Vol. II, Part I:119 (trans.); Rosen 1991:61, n. 28, 64, n. 45.
 - 19 One of the inscriptions mentions a monk named Julian who served as headman (*kephalaïotes*; Latin *capitularius* — secretary and treasurer) of the church, who built the portico, or the monumental entrance, to the church. A second inscription mentions an unnamed lord archimandrite (*archimandrites despotes*). Di Segni (this volume), however, argues convincingly that these are not enough to indicate that this was a monastic church. In her article Di Segni provides new readings and interpretations of these two inscriptions and refers to more recent excavations at the site, in which mainly agricultural installations were uncovered. The existence of a (seemingly adjacent) monastery is implied by these inscriptions, but its remains have not yet been uncovered. According to *Vita Petr. Ib.*, the monastery of Aphthoria might have been located in the village, rather than in its agricultural lands. The village, perhaps located on Tel Baḥan, has not so far been excavated.
 - 20 According to Festugière's commentary (1975:368, n. 13), the event took place in Caesarea, though this is not mentioned in the text; it could equally have taken place in the hermitage of Zosimas near Tyre, likewise a considerable distance from Antioch. In any event, this anecdote fixes a date for his activity.
 - 21 In 518 CE Bishop John received a delegation of monastic leaders headed by Sabas at Caesarea (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 61, ed. Schwarz 1939:162–163; trans. Festugière 1962:90–91; trans. Price 1991:172). Another episode involving him when in Choziba is narrated in *Vita Sabae* (ed. Schwarz 1939:134; trans. Festugière 1962:60; trans. Price 1991:144). He died before 536 CE. *Pratum spirituale* 25 relates an anecdote about the time when he was still serving as a priest in Choziba (trans. Bouchet 2006:40–41; trans. Wortley 1992:17).
 - 22 According to the Greek–English dictionary of Liddell and Scott, *phrontisterion* is a place of meditation; according to Sophocles' Dictionary it is equivalent to *monasterion*. This term can be used in the sense of a private hermitage, rather than a communal establishment. Festugière renders here “hermitage,” Whitby “monastery.”
 - 23 There are no textual variants for the distance. Festugière writes here, without a textual basis, 50 stades (ca. 9 km); likewise Vailhé (1900–1901). Whitby, adhering to the Greek text, correctly writes 500 stades. This brings us to the environs of Tyre. Sinde was indeed a village of Tyre, less than 20 stades from this city (ed. Bidez and Parmentier 1979:156, line 30); it was not a village of Caesarea.
 - 24 As-Sindiana (7181.2002) was an Arab village on the southern slopes of the Carmel range, not far from Caesarea. It should not be confused with Sidne of Evagrius, as was suggested by Press (1952:673), saying that a monastery had existed at the site. Indeed, no archaeological remains were found there to sustain this claim; Gadot and Tepper 2008 (Introduction, the Byzantine period and sites Nos. 80 and 39). In their Introduction, Gadot and Tepper suggest that site No. 80, near as-Sindiana (site No. 39), was a monastery; this proposal is not reiterated under the site, where finds from the Early Roman, Late Roman, Early Islamic and Ottoman periods are reported. A Samaritan prayer inscription on a stone lintel, 12 lines long (a paraphrase of Deut. 6:4–9) was found at as-Sindiana; but the stone originated at Ḥorvat Hudidon, as clarified by the authors, not at as-Sindiana. Zosimas' monastery near Caesarea, if it existed, has yet to be located.
 - 25 These chapters are related to sayings Nos. VIa, 15b, XIIb, VIIIb, XIIIa, XIVb–c, respectively. In his reflections Zosimas refers to the Sayings of the Desert Fathers (*Apophthegmata*), St. Basil the Great, and more.
 - 26 Chitty (1966:140, 142 n. 95, 143), says that after staying some time in the Laura of Gerasimus, Zosimas settled near Caesarea. Interestingly, in the eighth century there is a reference to a monastery of Zosimas the Great, where he is buried, at a distance of 2 miles from Gerasimus (Epiphanius Monachi Hagiopolitae, *Syriae et Urbis Sanctae descriptio*, XI, 14, ed. Donner 1971:79; trans. Wilkinson 1977:121).
 - 27 The brethren referred to in *Alloquia* XI seem to be monks of his monastery near Tyre, not near Caesarea, where he later met one of them.
 - 28 Lions in this area are depicted on the Medinet Habu reliefs related to the military expedition of Ramses III across the region in the second millennium BCE. See Abel 1914:562–566; 1933:415. More than a millennium later, scene III on the fourth-century CE “Louvre Cup,”

- showing the foundation myth of Straton's Tower (the Hellenistic town that preceded Caesarea) in three scenes, presents three episodes of the sea voyage of Straton and his companions, among them a landing on a hostile shore frequented by lions. See Will 1983; Patrich 2011:11 and Figs. 13b–d.
- 29 There was an orphanage in Lydda as well; see references to the literature in *CIIP* II, Nos. 93–94.
 - 30 Anastasius the Persian, martyred in 627 CE, was a Persian cavalryman named Magundat who had converted to Christianity in 620 and had joined a monastery near Jerusalem. He was arrested in Caesarea, interrogated and exiled to Persia, where he was martyred on January 22nd, 628. After the restoration of Byzantine rule in Palestine, his remains were translated to Caesarea, where they were displayed for veneration and performed miracles. A chapel was constructed near the tetrapylon in the center of the city to commemorate the new martyr, and his icon placed on the tetrapylon received veneration. From Caesarea his remains were taken to their final resting place in his monastery near Jerusalem (November 2nd, 631); but a fragment remained in Caesarea.
 - 31 On the silk archon see *Acta Anastasius Persae*, ed. Flusin 1992: Vol. 1:72, n. 108, 242; Vol. 2:235. See also Patrich 2011:108, n. 24.
 - 32 The church is also depicted on the map of churches in Tsafir 1993.
 - 33 According to the editor of *CIIP* II, No. 1556 (Walter Ameling), a third name is a distinct possibility instead of the reading “monks.”
 - 34 Ameling adds that *CIIP* II, No. 1564 — the tombstone of “Aba Theotecnus, deacon and paramonarios” — may be an exception. However, following Meimaris he rightly comments that Abbas was used as a title of respect for an elder. Its holder was not necessarily an abbot or an elder monk but could have been a cleric.
 - 35 Two basilical Christian churches uncovered at the site indicate that it was partially Christianized, as recognized by Di Segni (2009:226). Gradually, Christianity penetrated into other sites as well. Yeivin and Finkelsztejn (2008:1895), who excavated the site, conceive it as a purely Christian site, to be identified with Porphyreon.
 - 36 In *TIR*:237 Shiqmona/Tell es-Samak is identified with *Sycamina Iudaeorum*.
 - 37 According to Abel 1933:352–353, this monastery was destroyed in the Persian invasion and in the Crusader period was replaced by a fortress of the Order of the Templars. In a map of 1235 CE it is labeled *S. Margaretha castellum*. Later a Greek church dedicated to this saint was built there. By the eighteenth century the site of the Greek monastery had become the property of the Carmelites. See also Olami, Ronen and Romano 2003: site No. 55: H. Minzar, located in a valley near Nahal Siyah. Excavations indicated that the site was occupied continuously from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries.
 - 38 Already in the first century CE the famous philosopher Apollonius of Tyana (*Epistle* 11) praised the city in a letter to its councillors for its Greek ethics, laws and customs (cf. also Flavius Josephus, *War* III.409). Varius Seleucus, curator of the ships of the Roman colony, honored his patron, a philosopher named T. Fl. Maximus, by erecting a statue with a dedicatory inscription on a column (*CIIP* II, No. 1266). A rhetor named M. Flavius Agrippa, who served as a pontifex and duumvir of the Roman colony, is attested at the end of the first or early second century CE (*CIIP* II, No. 1266).
 - 39 Di Segni 2009:217–218. These are at Tel Shiqmona/Shar ha-’Aliya (perhaps a monastery, according to a mosaic inscription referred to in *CIIP* II:876, No. 2150, without bringing the text); near Elijah’s Cave (Ovadiah and Pierri 2012a, 2012b; in the Byzantine period, from the fourth or fifth century onwards the cave served as a site of pilgrimage for Jews and Christians alike, Ovadiah and Pierri 2012a:45; one of the two crosses engraved on its walls seems to be early Byzantine, Ovadiah and Pierri 2012a:47); at Kafir Samir, identified by Di Segni with *Castra Samaritanorum* (two churches; the first phase of the earliest — the northeast church — is dated to the end of the fourth or early fifth century and the second — the western church — to the second half of the fifth century); at Zarafend (two churches); at Kh. Kabara (a chapel, but see above); at Kh. ed-Deir; and at Damun (sixth century). Only the pilgrim church at Dor/Dora is dated to the mid fourth century (*CIIP* II:838, No. 2116; according to Di Segni 2009:218, n. 12, *pace* the *CIIP* editors, the *episcopus* Acacius mentioned in the inscription is that of Caesarea [340–366 CE] and hence dates it to the fourth century, before Dora became the seat of a bishop). Shortly thereafter, at the end of the fourth century, we hear from Jerome (*Epistle* 108, 8) that Dor/Dora, once a very powerful town, is in ruins; but see the illuminating interpretation by Di Segni (1994) of his phrase there and his remarks on the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (79:8–10; 137:16–17). On the pilgrim church of Dora, see Dauphin 1993, 1997a, 1997b.
 - 40 A Jewish community, with more than one synagogue, existed in Gaza as well; see *CIIP* III:428 (B. Isaac) and inscr. Nos. 2460–2468, with further references. Nevertheless, Jews were an insignificant minority in the city.
 - 41 For references to literary sources and scholarly studies, see also *TIR*.
 - 42 Sites with Samaritan communities to which Dar refers were in Haifa, *Castra Samaritanorum*, Horvat Shallaleh, Samara/Sawamir, Sindiana, Umm el-Zinat (with a possible synagogue), Ju’ara and Horvat Raqit (where a Samaritan synagogue was uncovered). Some of his

literary evidence is post-Byzantine. Di Segni adds En ha-Shofet and Zeina, where Samaritan inscriptions were found, and Ḥorvat Hermesh near Eliaqim (which is already quite far from Caesarea). A Jewish synagogue was excavated in Kh. Summaqa/Samuq and another may have existed at Ḥorvat Develah/Dubil (both on the Carmel range) and at Kh. Hanna (in western Samaria). Other settlements on the Carmel range that may have been either Jewish or Samaritan are Kh. el-Kerak, Kh. Rushmiya and Kh. el-Khureibe/Ḥorvat Ḥaruvim. For

references see Di Segni 2009:217, n. 7 and TIR. From the fifth century onward, Christianity started to penetrate into Jewish and Samaritan villages.

- 43 Likewise, the distribution of monasteries in southern Judea was blocked by the Jewish presence there and monasteries are not found in the countryside of the Samaria Hills. See the distribution map of monasteries in Hirschfeld 1992, the distribution map of Christian sites in Magen 2012 and the map of Christian churches in TIR. See also Di Segni 2009:217.

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